

THE PASSIVE VOICE IN THE PRIMERA CRÓNICA GENERAL

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

by

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* * * * *

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1979

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am sincerely grateful to the Chairman of my Reading Committee and my Advisor Professor David A. Griffin for his generous help.

I am obliged to Professor Catherine Callaghan of the Department of Linguistics, The Ohio State University, for reading my draft and offering valuable suggestions and information pertaining to the presentation of my work.

I am deeply thankful to my Professors and members of my Reading Committee, Drs. Eleanor Webster Bulatkin and Aristobulo Pardo V. whose continuous concern, encouragement and trust are greatly responsible for the completion of this study.

My special thanks go to Drs. Jules Piccus and José Ornelas of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst for their interest and stimulating discussion.

And last but not least, I am indebted to my dear husband Milan, for his patience, support, comfort and persistence with which he has sustained me in achieving this effort. Needless to say, I extend my appreciation to my loving children, students themselves, for their understanding and cheerfulness.

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(A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Akron in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree Master of Arts in Spanish) June 1972.

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INTRODUCTION

0.1 As is well known, Spanish, like many other languages, has certain constructions in which the grammatical subject is not the actor but is rather acted upon by an outside agent. We shall call such constructions passive.

0.2 Formally, there are two grammatical patterns by which this relationship between subject and verb may be expressed: the so-called periphrastic passive, consisting of the auxiliary verb SER + the past participle of a transitive verb, and the so-called reflexive passive, in which the verb is accompanied by a reflexive pronoun. Spanish has increasingly favored the second of these devices but exactly to what extent, under what circumstances, and for what reasons it has not been satisfactorily determined, either for the modern language or for its older stages.

0.3 In this study, we shall attempt to examine these questions through an analysis of materials drawn from late thirteenth century historical prose as represented by the Primera Crónica General¹ (PCG). It is not claimed that such a procedure will reveal the state of passivity in all medieval Spanish, for surely stylistic considerations, for

¹Published by R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906.

instance, might well affect the frequency of these constructions relative to each other.

0.4 We shall begin this study by presenting the views of scholars with regard to the passive as a verbal category in the light of:

- A. The Evolution of the Passive Voice in Latin;
- B. The Transition of the Passive Voice from Latin to Romance Languages;
- C. The Passive Voice in Spanish.

0.5 In Chapter 2 we exemplify, analyze and classify the standard types of SER and SE passives as opposed to formally identical non-passive constructions found in the PCG.

0.6 We also present a statistical analysis of SER and SE passives occurring in six sections of our corpus consisting of a total of approximately 50,000 words. These sections were picked at random and comprise ten consecutive pages each. This method, we felt, would provide a representative collection of samples which could be used as a basis to explore not only the numerical frequencies, but also to illustrate possible occurrences of SER passive sentences and their SE passive counterparts.

0.7 As a matter of interest we also indicate the frequency of the overt expression of an agent introduced by a preposition.

0.8 In Chapter 3 we compare our results from the standard historical prose of the PCG with the usage of the presumably more popular El Libro de Buen Amor (LBA) by Juan Ruiz,¹ composed some sixty years later. By comparing the more conservative literary style with the more popular expression, we hope to show that the participial passive construction was maintained, perhaps in part artificially, in historical narrative while in more popular language it was increasingly replaced by the reflexive.

0.9 Finally, in support of our analysis, we have compiled an Appendix of selected examples of SER and SE passives found in the PCG in addition to those listed in Chapter 2 of this study.

¹Critical edition by Manuel Criado de Val and Eric W. Naylor. Madrid, 1972. We have also used the 11th edition of Julio Cejador y Frauca, Vol. I, Madrid, 1970.

CHAPTER I

THE PASSIVE AS A VERBAL CATEGORY

Statt das Passiv als natürliche
Seitenform zum Aktiv zu betrachten,
sollte man sich eigentlich über das
Dasein eines Passivs wundern.

--Jacob Wackernagel

(Vorlesungen über Syntax, 1² [Basel,
1926], p. 135.)

1.1 Like Wackernagel, numerous past and present scholars have been intrigued with the passive voice. Wackernagel feels that the passive does not form as complete or as essential a system as the normal, basic active. This may be a very general phenomenon also found in other than the Indo-European languages.¹

1.2 However, it is essential to realize that the relationships between the subject and the verbal action may be expressed by a variety of forms in different languages. Thus, passives may differ from other verbal structures by taking specific personal endings, as in Latin, or exhibiting

¹Professor Catherine Callaghan of the Department of Linguistics, The Ohio State University, has pointed out to me that: "the passive voice in Lake Miwok, a Central California Indian language, is of even less importance and it is indicated by a simple derivational suffix rather than inflexional, and the agent is not mentioned."

a particular vowel pattern, as in Arabic, or they can be characterized by a special suffix, such as the -s in Swedish jag kallas 'I am called'. Other languages create passive constructions by employing an auxiliary verb combined with a past participle, e.g., the Latin dictus est 'was said' or factus est 'was made', German wurde geschossen 'was shot' (literally 'became, got shot'), Serbo-Croatian Čitan je 'he or it is read', ljubljen je 'she is loved'. In Eskimo and Ooldea, the subject of a transitive verb is in the active case, while a passive case affix is attached to verbal objects and intransitive subjects.¹

1.3 Such expressions may permit the addition of a phrase expressing the agent of the action, as is the case with Latin, German and Serbo-Croatian, or, as in Arabic, Swedish and Lake Miwok,² the actor cannot normally be so specified. But common to all of these structures is the feature which, so to speak, characterizes the passive, in that the grammatical subject does not participate in the verbal action except as a goal.

1.4 Furthermore, we can say that the passive is a construction that permits an action with a stated goal to be expressed without mentioning the agent. However, it is

¹Babcock, The Syntax of Spanish Reflexive Verbs. The Hague, 1970, p. 33.

²For data from Lake Miwok I am indebted to Professor Callaghan; see Note 1 on p. 4 of this study.

secondary to and dependent on the active, at least in Indo-European languages. The passive's very existence stems from a need to express actor-action-goal constructions when the actor is unknown (or the speaker does not choose to mention the actor).¹ As we know, there are a number of ways in which this may be accomplished: an indefinite subject may be used while maintaining the basic active construction, as when one says Someone repaired the clock, or when a transitive verb is used intransitively with the goal now expressed as subject, as in The window broke or This wall cleans easily. Or there may be a special verb ending indicating an indefinite actor, such as may have originally been the case with the -r endings of Latin and Celtic.

1.5 Now, as we have mentioned in our introduction, two constructions developed in Latin and have continued in the Romance languages: the so-called periphrastic passive and the use of reflexive verbs for the expression of the same grammatical relationship.

1.6 In order to explain the background and the historical process through which these constructions developed we have consulted a number of studies by linguists and grammarians and whose ideas we explore next.

¹When asked whether he uses passive constructions in his speech a native Cuban replied: "Of course I do. I always ask tactfully: '¿se compró el pan?' (a task my wife is in charge of). However, she always counteracts with '¿regaste las plantas?'".

A. The Evolution of the Passive Voice in Latin

1.A.1 With respect to the manner in which the verbal action affected its subject the Greek language distinguished three diatheses:¹ the active, the passive and the middle. This is to say that when the subject performs an action his interaction with the verb is active; and when the subject does not perform an action but the action occurs and affects the subject from outside and without his participation, the construction is considered to be passive. However, when the verbal action is performed by the subject and affects him or his sphere of interest, the relationship between the subject and the verb is seen as middle. The concepts of active, passive and middle relate to the content of the verbal action and not to its form. The original Greek term diathesis had more affinity with content than the Latin term vox, which in the beginning merely designated the form of a word.²

1.A.2 With reference to verbal voice in Latin we shall in the following pages summarize the views stated by Alfred Ernout and François Thomas.³ These authors explain that the middle voice was eliminated as a category from Latin morphology so that this language distinguished only the opposition between the active and the passive. However,

¹Bassols, Syntaxis Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 3.

²Ernout-Thomas, Syntaxe latine, §222.

³Ibid., §§222-234.

the middle sense could still be expressed within certain groups of verbs (medio-passives and deponents) which appeared under a passive form. Compare the middle sense in induor 'je me vêts' with the passive amor 'je suis aimé'.

1.A.3 Due to this ambiguous character of such verbs a new voice appeared under the pronominal form: me uerto 'je me tourne'.¹ On the other hand, the Latin passive was built in part on an old impersonal form, which still subsists to a certain degree. This impersonal sense was characterized by the ending in -r already in the Italo-Celtic, and it subsisted in Latin in the third person singular expressing a verbal action pure and simple without mentioning the agent. Such indefinites evidently became confused with the idea of passive. There is, as we shall see, a constant tendency for indefinites, middle and passive to affect each other. This form was used with both transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g.: cras petito dabitur 'demande demain, il te sera donné' (it is not stated who the giver will be); itur 'on va'. So too it occurs in the perfect where, of course, Latin had no r forms: uentum est 'on vint', pugnatum est acriter 'on combatit vigoureusement'. As we shall see, the expression of indefinite subject develops also in the new Romance use

¹Cf. Ernout-Thomas, o.c., §222: "Mais, en raison de cette amphibologie, une nouvelle "voix" apparaît sous la forme du 'pronominal'..." The quotation marks seem to indicate "not quite voice" and "not quite literal reflexive" meaning perhaps a form which denoted a middle content.

of reflexives as these constructions take on passive meaning.

1.A.4 As for the personal passive, this form is generally found with transitive verbs. Nevertheless, it is difficult to establish an absolute distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. Passage from one to the other category occurred frequently, and, depending on the context, a given verb could be used to express a transitive or an intransitive notion, e.g.: mouere 'mouvoir' (transitive) and 'trembler' (intransitive).

1.A.5 The pronominal form expressed a reflexive sense with which it supplemented the medio-passive: me excrucio = excrucior 'je me tourmente' in which a middle value is denoted. However, this reflexive sense could become weaker and express only a simple intransitive value especially with verbs of movement, e.g.: Pl., Tri. 1078 (Ernout-Thomas, p. 214): quo tu te agis? 'où t'en vas-tu?'.
 1.A.6 During the Late Latin period the pronominal form extends to verbs which are clearly intransitive, e.g.: Peregr. Aeth. 25, 7 (Ernout-Thomas, p. 214): recipit se episcopus et uadent (i.e., uadunt) se unusquisque 'l'évêque se retire et chacun s'en va'.

1.A.7 Sometimes it is possible for the reflexive pronoun to express a dative of interest, but it happens as well that this notion gets lost completely, e.g.: Mul. Chir. 681 (Ernout-Thomas, p. 214): statim fugiet sibi 'il

s'enfuira'.

1.A.8 At the same time, the pronominal form became closely associated in meaning with the passive to the point of replacing it, e.g.: Pl. Nat. 5, 121 (ap. Ernout-Thomas, p. 214): Myrina quae Sebastopolim se uocat, (i.e., uocatur) 'M. que s'appelle S.', se sanare replaces sanari in Mulo-medicina Chironis.

1.A.9 Let us examine now the other passive construction which existed in Latin and which was composed of the past participle and the auxiliary verb esse. We shall call this form the participial passive as opposed to the pronominal passive, which, as we have explained earlier, consists of the reflexive pronoun se and an active verbal form.

Now we shall present briefly the evolution of this construction in Latin.

1.A.10 Ernout and Thomas¹ explain that the past passive participle is a verbal adjective in -to- which subsists in some adjectives in its original form, i.e., outside of the conjugation, e.g.: cautus, peritus, potus, quietus, tacitus, etc. This verbal adjective was used to express state and accordingly was assigned to the perfectum. And since the latter had a double value (i.e., both statal and actional) the verbal adjective, sharing this quality with the perfectum, could denote not only an achieved state but

¹Ernout-Thomas, o.c., §288-289.

also a past action which was anterior to the verbal action in the main sentence, e.g.: Cés., B. G. 4, 27, 5 (Ernout-Thomas, p. 276): Caesar, questus quod . . . bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiae dixit obsidesque imperavit 'après s'être plaint . . ., il déclara qu'il pardonnait à leur ignorance . . .'

1.A.11 This fact explains why the participle in -tus, with its original statal value, was not linked exclusively with the passive, so that the same form potus could express two notions: 'qui a bu' as well as 'qui a été bu'.

1.A.12 The participle could also function as a deponent, i.e., active: imitatus 'ayant imité' (denoting the state of having imitated). This development stems from the fact that -tos words were not originally committed as to voice. This explains why even participles of active verbs often had no passive meaning, as we show next.

1.A.13 The participial form could even occur in an active sense with transitive verbs: adultus (= qui adoleuit), nupta (= quae nupsit), pax conuenta 'une paix conclue' (= quae conuenit). Also: cenatus 'qui a dîné', pransus 'qui a déjeuné', etc.

1.A.14 On the other hand, the participle in -tus can also denote state. This development stems from two sources: first, in some participles the statal sense persists due to their adjectival origin, e.g.: nupta 'qui est mariée', and second, in some verbs, especially compound ones indicating

that an action has come to an end, the participle in -tus can also denote the present state which results from a previous action, e.g.: Cic., Cat. 2, 5 (Ernout-Thomas, p. 277): illum exercitum . . . contemno collectum ex senibus desperatis 'cette armée qui a été recrutée parmi (et qui se trouve composée de) vieillards désespérés'.

1.A.15 Because of these characteristics of the participle in -tus, writers of the imperial period employed this form in order to express the circumstance which accompanied the principal action, e.g.: Tac., Agr. 14 (Ernout-Thomas, p. 277): biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis 'il eut deux années de succès, soumettant les populations et établissant des postes fortifiés'.

1.A.16 But the most important rôle assigned to the past participle in -tus was its participation in the periphrastic conjugation. Both auxiliaries esse and habere could be joined with the participle. Esse + past participle formed the passive perfect: amatus est, which in the beginning denoted a past occurrence. Habeo + past participle formed the perfect tense in which the participle still maintained its original value which was to emphasize an achieved state: Pl., Cas. 189 (Ernout-Thomas, p. 277): uir me habet . . . despiciatam 'mon mari ne fait que m'outrager'.

B. The Transition of the Passive from Latin to the Romance Languages

1.B.1 It is well known that the periphrastic construction composed of the auxiliary esse and the past participle is considered to be the true passive voice in the Romance languages. However, as we have indicated earlier, in Latin this form could be employed in a variety of functions reflected in Romance.

1.B.2 We shall examine now the various functions occurring in the periphrasis with respect to the oppositions: past/present and action/state.

1.B.3 An example such as domus clausa est exemplifies the above mentioned versatility of the Latin perfect passive participle with the following meanings:

$$\text{domus clausa est} = \begin{array}{l} \text{a) 'la casa está cerrada'} \\ \text{b) 'la casa ha sido cerrada'} \\ \text{c) 'la casa fue cerrada'} \end{array}$$

a) indicates the present state

b) indicates the result of the previous action;

c) indicates a completed action in the past.¹

1.B.4 It is obvious from the above presentation that one form such as clausa est could be interpreted in a variety of ways, since form and content are not in a one-to-one

¹Note that b) and c) are very close in meaning, i.e., passive while a) is statal. Of course a) is not considered standard classical Latin. We may note that Romance returns to the interpretation which was presumably the original one.

relationship. Rather we see three content values represented by one form.

1.B.5 In the following pages we shall summarize the formation of compound verbal forms for the expression of anteriority as explained by Tekavčić.¹ This author asserts that there is an important difference between Classical Latin and all of the Romance Languages in that these created a whole new series of verbal forms which expressed an action completed before another action, i.e., anteriority. Some compound forms, as we have stated already, were known also in Latin, but, as we shall see, there is an essential difference here between Latin and Romance.

1.B.6 It is known that Latin synthetic perfect contained within itself the Indo-European aorist and perfect, and thus it had two functions:

1. It expressed an action which took place in the past and had no connection with the moment in which one spoke: e.g., vēnī could mean 'I came' (once, in the past, even a remote past) and correspond to a Romance aorist (Italian venni, French je vins, Spanish vine, etc).
2. It expressed a past action whose result or consequence or whatever connection with it was still in effect at the moment in which one was speaking: thus, the same form vēnī could signify 'I came' as well as 'I have come' (a minute ago, and I am here now) the latter corresponding to the Romance perfect tense (Ital. sono venuto, Fr. je suis venu, Sp. he venido, etc.).²

¹Tekavčić, P., Uvod u vulgarni latinitet, §97.

²Tekavčić, Ibid., §97.

1.B.7 In other words, as we can see from the above presentation, in Classical Latin there also existed certain verbal constructions which could express different features of content by the same form.¹ Hence one could say that vēnī is one form which could serve for the expression of two functions, that of an aorist and that of a present perfect, (vine vs. he venido) so too we find such polyvalence in the forms we are studying: SER + past participle and SE constructions.

1.B.8 In order to assign each function its own outward form, Vulgar Latin began to distinguish two sets of perfect tenses: first, the original synthetic perfect now specialized for the expression of an action completed in the past, and second, the newly created periphrastic perfect for the expression of the second function, i.e., anteriority, the expression of a past whose consequences may still be felt in the present. In this way the dual content obtains its signals also on the level of expression. However, the periphrastic form, in addition to the expression of anteriority, is also capable of expressing a completed action with the aid of the auxiliary verb. We find traces of this in Latin monuments where phases can be attributed to new forms very close to those in Romance.

¹This means that the periphrastic passive as a form could also cover two types of content as did the perfects such as veni.

1.B.9 An immediate prototype for a statal present or present perfect interpretation of the periphrastic construction amatus est is seen in such locutions as cognitum habeo, deliberatum habeo, etc., which, however, do not convey the anteriority but only the result of an action.¹ When Cicero says that in ea provincia pecunias magnas collacatas habent (De Imp. C. Pomp., 18, ap. Tekavčić, §97), the periphrastic form means the result only: 'they have money deposited', but not yet 'they have deposited money'. Some centuries later St. Augustine (Sermones 37, 17, ap. Tekavčić, §97) says metuo enim, ne ibi uos habeam fatigatos. Here the compound form in no way signifies only the result but rather that there was a preceding action, 'ho paura di avervi fatigati'.

1.B.10 In later texts, examples are more frequent and clearer. Gregory of Tours (6th Cent.) writes promissum enim habemus nihil sine eius consilio agere (Hist. Franc., IX, 16, ap. Tekavčić, §97): 'nous avons promis de ne faire rien sans leur conseil'.

1.B.11 Hence, from the auxiliary verb in the present tense and the past participle with passive meaning, a new periphrasis was formed which is the active present perfect inasmuch as it expresses anteriority with respect to the present.

¹We feel that such locutions could convey either concepts depending on the nature of a verb.

Accordingly, a parallel form was compounded from the participle and the imperfect in order to express anteriority toward the past tense, and for anteriority in the future there was a form composed of the participle and the future tense of the auxiliary verb: porto : HABEO PORTATUM ; portabam : HABEBAM PORTATUM ; portabo : HABEBO PORTATUM.

1.B.12 Tekavčić notes that the auxiliary verb denotes only morphemic oppositions; that is, it becomes grammaticalized.¹ Although the Romance languages do not agree in all details, the basic structures and functions of periphrastic forms are similar.

1.B.13 The difference between Latin and Romance periphrases is evident. In Classical Latin we have a compound passive perfect and a simple active perfect, and both of these forms could express both functions, i.e., they were able to express the past in connection with the present (function a) and they could express the past without this connection (function b). The Romance languages, on the contrary, have assigned the periphrastic forms for the function a, and the simple forms for the function b,² and this applies to the active as well as the passive, though in the latter case the distinction appears, of course, in the verbal auxiliary.

¹Tekavčić, o.c., §97.

²The modern Romance developments in which the perfect assumes the function of the old preterit (Ital. *ho detto* for *dissi*, etc.) do not concern us here.

Here are the examples:

<u>amavi</u>	(<u>a</u> , <u>b</u>)	'he amado' (<u>a</u>)	} active
		'amé' (<u>b</u>)	

<u>amatus</u>	<u>sum</u>	(<u>a</u> , <u>b</u>)	'he sido amado' (<u>a</u>)	} passive
			'fui amado' (<u>b</u>)	

1.B.14 After having discussed the formation and the basic functioning of periphrastic constructions in Latin and Romance, we shall now examine the se forms which, like the periphrastic ones, have gone through a complex historical development in the Romance languages.

1.B.15 In French, according to Sneyders de Vogel,¹ the use of the pronominal form with passive meaning was less restricted in its earlier stages than it is in the modern language. In fact, the pronominal form cannot now express the passive under three circumstances:

1. if the subject refers to a person,
2. if the action is not habitual,
3. if the agent is expressed.

1.B.16 In order to express in an imperfective tense what might have been expressed by a passive construction in a perfective tense, French may resort to the active voice with the pronoun on, since the reflexive construction may not be used. Thus, instead of *Les voleurs se pendent the expression "On pend les voleurs" will be used. Likewise, following the above rules, *à un moment donné le livre se jeta

¹Sneyders, Syntaxe, p. 117.

will be expressed by "à un moment donné le livre fut jeté."

1.B.17 In earlier French, when the use of the se construction in a passive sense does begin to occur, the language adhered to the second restriction but not to the other two, e.g., Le François ne se vainq que par le François mesme (Sat. Ménippée, p. 225, ap. Sneyders, p. 126); Mais ne pense pas que cela se doibve plus observer par les orateurs que par les historiographes Dolet, La manière de bien traduire, p. 16 ap. Sneyders, p. 127), Le prétérit se conjugue par la pluspart de cette sorte (Vaugelas, Rem., I, 196 ap. Sneyders, p. 127).

1.B.18 The above mentioned restrictions are peculiar to French and are not observed in either Modern or Old Spanish, or in Portuguese, Rumanian or Italian. In examining the passive forms in these languages, we find that most of them continue using both the se passive and the periphrastic -tus passive which constructions were developed in Latin and transmitted to Romance.

In the following pages we shall illustrate how most Romance languages maintain parallel traits in their passive expressions.

1.B.19 Rohlf's points out that in Italian there are two possible notions expressed by the participial construction, one statal and the other actional:

In unione col participio passato di verbi transitivi, essere può aver due significati: il primo è di uno stato senza riferimento a una

precedente azione, il secondo di uno stato come conseguenza di un'azione. Il primo caso si presenta in casi come la porta è chiusa, il paese è abitato, la lettera è scritta, l'appello era perduto, la terra è mossa, l'acqua è arginata, siamo vinti. Qui il participio ha funzione d'aggettivo verbale. Esempi del secondo caso sono: egli è amato da tutti, lo scolaro è lodato dal maestro, non è stimato da nessuno, il ragazzo è chiamato dal padre. Gli esempi del secondo gruppo si presentano come una forma d'espressione del passivo.¹

In clarifying further the above statement, this scholar points out that the passive sense in the first group, e.g., la porta è chiusa, is not clearly expressed due to the fact that essere in the present tense is followed by the past participle and nothing else, and that such a construction may indicate state. Hence, such examples are ambiguous and only the addition of an agent would indicate that we are not dealing with a state but "col risultato d'un'azione compiuta da qualcun altro." He claims further that the imperfective form la porta era chiusa is not satisfactory either, while la porta fu chiusa, being perfective, reveals clearly that here we are dealing with action and not with state. He adds that some other tenses may also express passivity, e.g., l'acqua sarà arginata, lo scolaro sarebbe punito, la casa è stata abbandonata, il cavallo era stato venduto.

The reflexive replacing the passive, however, is very common in Italian, and hardly needs illustration here:

¹Rohlf's, Grammatica storica della lingua italiana, III, §734.

Le leggi si rispettano vs. Le leggi sono rispettate
'the laws are respected'.

1.B.20 In Portuguese both participial and the pronominal passives are represented with essentially the same limitations as we shall see for Spanish: O trabalho foi feito ontem 'the work was done yesterday', Fêz-se o trabalho 'the work was done', etc.

1.B.21 Sandfeld, Kr. and H. Olsen point out that in Rumanian:

La construction réfléchie a souvent la valeur d'un passif: Dacă mă aleg eu, vom putea respira toți Rebr. Ion II 23.¹

These authors emphasize that:

Dans une très large mesure, la construction réfléchie s'emploie en remplacement du passif: Sindrila se măcinase in multe părți de ploi (Gârleanu. Nucul 228.²

The same authors point out that the Rumanian language even permits occasionally the expression of se passive construction in which the agent is introduced by the preposition de: Atunci s'a scris adiata, s'a iscălit de împărat (Ispirescu),³
'The testament was written, was signed by the emperor'.

¹Sandfeld and Olsen, Syntaxe roumaine, I, p. 138.

²Sandfeld and Olsen, Syntaxe roumaine, III, pp. 94-95.

³Ibid., p. 94.

1.B.22 Also, according to these authors, the reflexive passive construction could even be used with intransitive verbs:

pe locul înghețat se patina,

as well as in sentences with personal subjects:

Aseară s'au prins doi inși.¹

Sandfeld and Olsen claim also that the se "impersonal" with a conjugated verb in singular is common, however not "approved":

i se dă bani 'Money is given to him'.²

1.B.23 With regard to the passive periphrasis in Latin and Romance, we shall also present the views on the subject by Bassols.³ This author explains that the Romance languages had eliminated all the synthetic passives while the deponent forms were dropped completely from the themes of the present system, the verb being given an active ending, e.g.:

moritur > morit, nascitur > nascit, etc.

1.B.24 However, the periphrastic forms of the deponent perfect tenses were not eliminated but continued to serve as intransitive perfects alongside of the passive of transitives such as amatus est.

¹Sandfeld and Olsen, o.c., III, p. 95.

²Sandfeld and Olsen, o.c., III, pp. 94-95. (I am indebted to my Adviser, Dr. Griffin, for data concerning the Rumanian language.)

³Bassols, o.c., p. 144.

1.B.25 The periphrastic form was then extended by analogy to all other intransitive verbs so that next to the traditional perfect venit, a matching periphrasis was formed: ventus est. Thus the perfect participle was used to form a periphrastic expression not only for transitive but also for intransitive verbs.

1.B.26 Of course the dual rôle--actional vs. statal--inherent in these periphrastic phrases made it almost natural for amatus est to take on the tense of its auxiliary, passing from 'he was loved' to 'he is loved'. We shall later see that this transition was not yet complete in Old Spanish.

1.B.27 Now, turning to the development of the reflexive for passive, Bassols first explains that the perfect of the reflexive verbs is expressed already in Late Latin through a periphrasis such as lauatus est* thus creating the conflict between a reflexive and a passive. But, according to Bassols, and we quote:

Es perfectamente explicable que se utilizara una forma pasiva para expresar una acepción reflexiva, ya que en realidad tanto las ideas pasivas como reflexivas no son más que variantes de la categoría intransitiva.¹

In addition, this author explains that in Late Latin many originally intransitive verbs could admit the reflexive form, e.g.: vadit se, ambulat se, etc. Consequently, if a truly

¹Bassols, o.c., p. 145, Note 4.

* A similar development is found in Old Spanish as pointed out by R. Menéndez Pidal, Cantar de mio Cid, I, p. 359, see later, 1.C.22 and 1.C.23.

reflexive turn such as se lavó could be expressed through the passive periphrasis, it would be logical to expect that an externally¹ reflexive expression like se irrupit could be expressed by irruptus est, rather than simply irrupit.

1.B.28 It results from the aforementioned that a large number of intransitive verbs, including all that admitted the reflexive construction, could have periphrastic perfects.

1.B.29 In summing up our presentation of the transition of the passive voice from Latin to the Romance languages, we noted that the latter employ the periphrastic forms composed of the participle in -tus with an auxiliary verb in various verbal periphrases formed from transitive, intransitive, and reflexive verbs. We have discussed the functions of the form vēnī, which could, since the period of Late Latin, stand for a completed past as well as a perfect.

1.B.30 But, the Romance languages, while preserving the meaning and the form of the simple perfect (preterit), assigned to the auxiliary esse the function of denoting its own tense, even in periphrastic combinations, so that je suis aimé, sono amato, soy amado are now presents, whereas amatus sum had past reference.

¹As Bassols explains, o.c., p. 145, Note 5: "en este caso el pronombre, por entero superfluo, no modifica la acepción del verbo; da, en efecto, lo mismo decir irrupit y se irrupit; en cambio es por completo distinto el significado de lavat y se lavat."

1.B.31 All of this affected, of course, the linguistic development of the Spanish language, though later further changes were introduced in order to further eliminate ambiguities of form and content. Thus, in order to express an achieved state with transitive verbs the auxiliary estar came to be employed. But the process of change took many centuries to mature, and in the meantime the prose of Alfonso el Sabio still contains many of these grammatical ambiguities regarding the identification of the passive constructions which occur in the multi-functional reflexive and periphrastic forms. We shall attempt to clarify these varying features of content next.

C. The Passive Voice in Spanish

1. The Passive Voice in Old Spanish

1.C.1 As we try to explain the functioning of the passive voice in Old Spanish we should remember that in Indo-European there were verb forms which could be understood as either middle or passive. This, however, was not originally true of the perfect which could express only the state in which the subject is found as a result of a previous action, so that the consequences of the verbal action always affected the subject.

1.C.2 It seems that the basic difference between the active, the middle and the passive stems from the rôle played by the subject in such functions. When the involvement in the performance of a given verbal action rests solely on the subject, the verb is seen as active. On the other hand, when the subject is actively both involved and affected by the verbal action, the subject's participation is described as middle. However, when the subject is not involved in the verbal action but is affected by it only as a goal, i.e., without the subject's active participation, the relationship between subject and verb is said to be passive.

1.C.3 It is understandable now why middles could easily convert into passives already in Indo-European. In order to illustrate this in Spanish, consider such verbs as espantar (a transitive action), espantarse (an intransitive reflexive equivalent to a middle) and ser espantado (a transitive action but in which the subject participates only as a goal).

1.C.4 We can see from the above presentation that the reflexive middle shows considerable affinity with the formal participial passive expression pointing to the basic trend of historical development, which, as we shall later show, moves from reflexive to middle and finally to passive.

1.C.5 There is also another possibility, namely, that the connection between the subject as actor and the verbal action may become weaker. We find such constructions, for instance, as me afeitó, not 'I shave' but rather 'I get shaved'. The effect on the subject is the same, the actor becomes less important and the construction becomes nearly factitive.¹

1.C.6 So it could be stated further that a reflexive middle can come to denote a passive when the grammatical subject does not participate in the verbal action: no se afeitó él sino que le afeitan.

1.C.7 By analogy, once created, the reflexive passive may be applied to both animate and inanimate subjects. However, as explained above, an ambiguity arises with human

¹Though not quite, since it is hardly so explicit as me hago afeitar.

subjects: cf. se baña el niño as opposed to se lava la mesa. In the latter example it is obvious that the subject cannot perform the action on itself.

1.C.8 We can see now that the pronominal passive has evolved from a reflexive middle. Attention is concentrated on the effect of the action on the subject. Eventually the very possibility of the subject's acting is disregarded and the reflexive is used when there is an outside agent, even if unspecified.

1.C.9 One can now conclude that the passivizing process often moves from a reflexive through the middle to the passive: $R > M > P$.

1.C.10 That, however, does not mean that all middle verbs in Romance (or in Greek or in Latin) were originally literal reflexives, but rather that, as middles tend to become passives, so too reflexives tend to become middles and then, like other middles, to become passives in their turn. One may suppose this to be a common drift.

1.C.11 Let us consider now a slightly different point, namely a parallel between reflexive-middles and intransitives, in both of which the action is not performed by an outside agent. Even a transitive verb commonly used with an expressed direct object may be intransitivized by the use of the reflexive, thus assuring that it be felt as not having an outer goal. For example, when one says yo me levanto one could parallel this action with yo lo levanto.

Nevertheless, verbs which usually have a direct object like levantar or cansar even when undergoing this intransitivization by reflexivization, retain an implication of transitivity. Hence there remains a certain ambiguity in Pedro se cansa, which can be understood as a middle ('Pedro gets tired') or as a transitive reflexive ('Pedro tires himself', literally).

1.C.12 Next, it would seem necessary to analyze the rôle of the periphrastic -tus construction which could denote two functions: the statal and the passive.

1.C.13 As we have explained earlier, the old perfect could express only a state in which the subject is found and not only was this true of the synthetic perfect (e.g., amastī) but also of the periphrastic as its composition with esse + verbal adjective in -tus shows.

1.C.14 But eventually, when the original middle function of the old perfect was largely given up in favor of a simple active sense the newly created analytic -tus construction came to function as an actional passive as well, while retaining its original statal implication.

1.C.15 We can now observe that the most important distinction between the old perfect and the new one was the expression of state, inherent in the old one, as opposed to action marking the new one. As Tekavčić has noted,¹ the new

¹Tekavčić, o.c., 97.

Romance forms were able to express an achieved action which he termed as anteriority. This new faculty stems directly from the participle in -tus, a verbal adjective which, as we shall remember, could denote a two-fold concept in which potus est means both 'está bebido' and 'ha bebido'. The first notion would then be assigned to a present state and the second one to a past action.

1.C.16 It seems understandable also that an actional passive in the past could emerge from a statal present, given the inherited features of -tus adjectives. In contradistinction to the pronominal actional passive (se passive), we shall call this construction the participial actional (ser passive).¹

1.C.17 Based on its underlying possibilities the participial construction was, like its pronominal counterpart, subject to grave ambiguities.

1.C.18 It is known that Latin equivalent of amatus est was equivalent to 'fue amado'. It is also known that Romance languages changed its past connotation to signify the present; hence 'es amado'. However, when forming the passive voice in Old Spanish, the past participle retains its original implication of a previously accomplished action

¹SER and SE passives: terms used by Roger Hadlich, A Transformational Grammar of Spanish.

and hence is strongly perfective. This awkwardness is reflected in modern Spanish where the passive cannot be construed with verbs in the present or imperfect, except when indicating habitual or reiterated action.¹

1.C.19 As opposed to modern Spanish, which envisages the verbal action from two points of view as process and result with different sets of auxiliaries, in the older language these notions were not clearly separated. Thus, an expression such as es dicho could denote a) present state, b) present (habitual or repeated) actional passive, or c) present perfect passive.

1.C.20 In the following pages we shall present and discuss the findings of scholars who have investigated the passive voice in Spanish.

1.C.21 Herzog² opines that the present of the passive voice in Old Spanish could be used in three situations:

1. durative of the type so servido
2. iterative of the type eres clamado
3. general of the type es falado

All three of these types appear in PCG:

1. PCG 616b29 et quando el Çid mejor et mas onrrado es,
tanto so yo más onrrado por el

¹Gili y Gaya, Curso superior de sintáxis española, p. 124.

²Herzog, "Das to-Partizip im Altromanischen," Beiheft XXVI zur ZRP, p. 104.

2. PCG 5a21 en la tierra que es llamada Cilicia

3. PCG 7b7 mas no son contados en estorias

1.C.22 An interesting point is brought out by Menéndez Pidal (Cid I, 359), who remarks that while so pagado usually means 'me he pagado', with the auxiliary ser and omission of the reflexive pronoun, as is usual in such cases, at other times so pagado is simply a present 'me pago' (a statal, as we would view it). Now Menéndez Pidal is here speaking of reflexive verbs, but the time reference in so pagado 'me pago' suggests a retention of the Latin pattern amatus sum with present auxiliary but past meaning. Similarly, Hanssen,¹ in speaking of dictus est meaning 'fue dicho', calls attention to such cases as PCG 417a9 [Amigos, vos sabedes como yo so desonrrado del conde Fernand Gonçalez] where one might see a similar retention of the Latin type. Of course, it is precisely such examples where we find it difficult to be certain whether the underlying structure should be seen as actional (and hence past) or statal (hence present).

1.C.23 R. Menéndez Pidal was the first to realize that the perfect of reflexive verbs in Old Spanish omitted the reflexive pronoun. This means that only one form, es leuantado, covered the underlying meaning of 'se ha levantado', and that

¹Hanssen, AUC, p. 108.

of a passive action as well. We may quote the relevant passage:¹

asi, en vez de leuantos 3409, 3414, se halla es leuantado 2219; en vez de se legó 3511, hallamos son legados 1841, 2349 (en 796 es transitivo pasivo); en vez de tornos 49, se dice tornado es 387; era puesto el sol 416, 'se había puesto', etc...

1.C.24 Quoting some examples from Old Spanish, Hanssen² compares them with the same process in Old French, where esloigniez est is the equivalent of es tornado, both perfects. He claims that the form with habere developed later, first in French, il s'a esloigniez, and later in Spanish, se ha tornado. Hanssen cites only one such example from the PCG 589a4 [Fizome Dios merced que gane Valencia et so apoderado de ella]. In the next chapter we shall quote more examples of these underlying concepts which appear in passive form but are in fact active or statal.

1.C.25 Charles Barrett Brown³ has investigated the problem of the passive and the reflexive in Old Spanish. He has contributed to the understanding of the passive reflexive construction as applied to personal subjects by finding that this construction was more popular than the grammarians had realized.

¹Menéndez Pidal, o.c., p. 359.

²Hanssen, o.c., p. 102.

³"The Passive Reflexive as Applied to Persons in the Primera Crónica General," PMLA 45(1930):457-461.

1.C.26 Brown has examined the reflexive verbs in the PCG and divided them into groups "according to the degree of passivity indicated."

1.C.27 The examples listed below are, according to this author:

1. "quasi-passives,"
2. "ambiguous, reflexive or passive,"
3. "ambiguous, but the presence of the prepositional phrase introduced by por, here at times indicating agent, suggests passivity rather than reflexivity,"
4. [verbs in which] "the passive idea is paramount and the reflexive element is negligible."

1.C.28 We have found, however, that most of his examples, including those in group 4, are not passive but literal or middle reflexives. Here are but a few:

Group 1. se affirmaran los dubdosos 696b51
(middle reflexive)

cayo ... en el rio, et affogosse alli 182b45
(middle reflexive)

cosa de que ellos mucho se agrauiasen 35a26
(middle reflexive)

por que se enoyassen 562b45
(middle reflexive)

se crebantaua todo con dolor 555b25
(middle reflexive)

la hueste non se desordenasse porque fuesse
desbaratada 701b45
(middle reflexive)

Group 2. We have found that the majority of verbs cited in this group were literal reflexives:

Julio ... se llamo consul 87a18
(literal reflexive)

Pelayo ... alçosse 314b16
(literal reflexive)

conortaron se con este 298b50
(middle reflexive)

Si el rey onrrarse quiere de mi 350b18
(literal reflexive)

partiosse la caualleria ... en dos partes 299b35
(middle reflexive)

Group 3. Again, most of the examples are middle reflexives,
and the adverbial modifier 'por' gets mistaken
for an agent-introducing preposition por:

se detardasse alli por aquello 749b13
(middle reflexive) cause not agent

detouosse en Roma por pleytos 255b34
(middle reflexive) cause not agent

se enbargaua mucho con aquella guerra 63a29
(literal reflexive) or (middle reflexive)

quiauanse ... todos por el 344a29
(literal reflexive)

nin se espanto por aquel miraglo 543a45
(middle reflexive)

nin se mouio por ruego 543a46
(middle reflexive)

Group 4. Even in this group, which is supposed to show
examples of 'paramount' passivity, we find
predominantly nonpassive reflexives:

conuertieron se ... a la fe 163b45
(literal reflexive)

el rey Espan se coronó 12a44
(literal reflexive)

mataron se ellos mismos 90b52
(literal reciprocal reflexive)

por este nombre se llamasse 709a21
(literal reflexive)

echosse desuso, et quemosse alli
(middle sense)

querien se perder de sed 136a32
(middle reflexive)

uenciendosse a reuezes 340b41
(literal reciprocal reflexive)

1.C.29 Mendeloff has investigated the passive voice in Old Spanish. He approached the problem in terms of concurrence and opposition: concurrence in the expression of a) the passive of action and b) the passive of state and c) the agent of passive action and tabulating the opposition between the passive of action and passive of state. He then traced the evolution of the passive voice in Old Spanish by tabulating instances of concurrence and opposition in representative works of XIIth through XVth century literature, using these tabulations to derive ratios of concurrence and frequency which, to the extent of the sampling, would be indicative of the linguistic norms for each of the centuries concerned. He has not, however, traced developments within a century nor did he find it necessary to tabulate the above stated concurrences in the Primera Crónica General, due to the fact that some of this task had been carried out by Brown.¹ First of all, as Mendeloff points out,² Brown's

¹Brown, see Bibliography.

²Mendeloff, o.c., p. 274.

synchronic study of the passive voice is limited in scope to the passive reflexive and to the Primera Crónica General. Secondly, Mendeloff criticizes Brown's approach and procedures, and thirdly, he questions Brown's investigatory criteria as related to some examples of the passive reflexive followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by por. Nevertheless, Mendeloff accepts one of Brown's examples as reflexive passive. We, however, have classified this example, guiauanse todos por ellos (PCG 344a29), as a literal reflexive and not passive since the verbal action in guiauanse indicates a determined participation on the part of the subjects.

1.C.30 Earlier, in our presentation of Brown's work, we found that many of his examples of reflexives cited as passives were erroneous. It is therefore doubtful that Mendeloff's quoting the frequency of 57:1 derived by Brown for the passive reflexive with personal subject from a sampling of the PCG could be considered as accurate as against our findings, which show that out of 35 occurrences of the se passive, 7 occur with personal subjects--a ratio of 5 : 1.

1.C.31 Additional statements with regard to the present passive are given by Bastardas Parera.¹ This author is of

¹Bastardas Parera, Particularidades sintácticas del latín medieval, p. 133.

the opinion that the transformation of the Latin perfect passive into the Spanish present passive could not have taken effect until the XIIIth century, when ha sido dado appeared in structural contrast to es dado.

1.C.32 More cautious with regard to this problem is Alicia Yllera Fernández. She states that es dicho, era dicho have the value of the perfect and the pluperfect, and she adds: "Es posible que estas formas hayan sido sumamente raras con este valor." She claims that forms such as ha sido dicho, había sido dicho were very rare in her texts and nonexistent in the Corvacho, while es dicho, era dicho, attested since the first half of the XV century in Embajada a Tamborlán,¹ would gradually drop out of circulation, except for repeated action. She further asserts that "el participio de verbo desinente mantiene en castellano moderno el carácter de acción acabada que tenía en latín, por lo que, unido a ser, difícilmente expresa una acción presente no habitual." The key word of this statement being mantiene, we can safely say that many ambiguous instances of es + an intransitive verb in Old Spanish should be interpreted as the resulting state, while es + a perfective transitive verb denotes an actional passive, which, being inherently perfective, implies a completed past action and hence is the equivalent of a perfect.

¹Yllera Fernández, Estudio sobre perífrasis verbales an el español del siglo, XV, p. 25.

This author further assesses the role of the auxiliary ser in the old language as follows:

ser aparece para formar los tiempos compuestos de intransitivos, reflexivos y medios (en concurrencia con aver), para formar la pasiva con idea de perfecto o de resultado. Por lo que la evolución del sistema se nos presenta como una marcha perfectamente coherente hacia un deslindamiento de las funciones de ser y aver por una parte (para formar los tiempos compuestos y la voz pasiva sin expresión de resultado), de ser y estar para expresar la pasiva vista como acción o como resultado, de aver y tener para diferenciar la acción anterior y acabada (activo) de esta misma acción vista en su resultado.¹

Speaking of 'deslindamiento' of the functions of ser, she points out that, being the only auxiliary in the beginning it had to restrict its boundaries which were later contested by new auxiliary rivals. Indeed in the Old Spanish of the PCG there was still only ser to represent the underlying concepts of action vs. result that we are trying to separate.

¹Ibid., p. 23.

2. The Passive Voice in Modern Spanish

1.C.33 Although our work centers around the linguistic problems related to the syntactic evolution of the passive voice and its manifestation in the language of the XIIIth century, we feel that it would be worthwhile to present the views of a few of the numerous authors dealing with this subject.

1.C.34 Antonio de Nebrija, the first published grammarian of the Spanish language, opines with regard to verbal voice in Spanish, that contrary to the Latin language which has three voices, the active, impersonal verb, and the passive, the Spanish language has only one, the active.¹ This idea is maintained by Lenz and also by Alarcos Llorach.

1.C.35 Lenz declares that the passive voice is losing ground in Spanish, and he suggests that this diathesis has become useless and that it should be eliminated from school grammar books.²

1.C.36 Alarcos Llorach goes so far as to contend that the Spanish language lacks a distinct expression for the passive voice in that the construction of ser and estar + past participle merges with the corresponding copulative expressions while the passive reflexive merges with the active

¹Nebrija, Arte de la lengua castellana, p. 1

²Lenz, La oración y sus partes, §57.

reflexive.¹

1.C.37 It is obvious from the above presentation that Nebrija, Lenz and Alarcos Llorach fail to recognize the passive as a content category as against surface form.

1.C.38 By Green's logic all reflexives are passive.²

Thus the transitive lavarse is a passive: 'Pedro se lava' = 'Pedro lava a Pedro' = 'Pedro es lavado por Pedro'. By the same logic Pedro lava a Juan becomes "passive" because it equals Juan es lavado por Pedro:

1.C.39 Josse de Kock presents a documented range of SER passives used by Unamuno. He has found that the turn consisting of the auxiliary verb ser + the passive verbal adjective appears a minimum of 62 times in 55 passages, and a maximum of 92 times in 81 passages in 206 journalistic articles written by Miguel de Unamuno between 1931 and 1936.³

1.C.40 Gili y Gaya discusses the problems which converge in the use of the passive voice and its competition with the passive reflexive, "que, si bien remedia las dificultades de la pasiva con ser, acaba por suplantarla y hacerla cada vez menos frecuente." This author informs us that since the

¹Alarcos Llorach, Estudios de gramática funcional del español, pp. 90-94.

²Green, "On the Frequency of Passive Constructions in Modern Spanish," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies 52 (1975): 345-362.

³Kock, 'La "rarete" de ser + adjectif verbal, passif,' RE Ling. 3:343-67.

origin of the Spanish language one encounters examples of 3rd person passive expressed with se: non se faze assí el mercado (Cid, verso 139). He states that in our times the construction called la pasiva refleja is predominant not only in the spoken language but in literary style as well, concluding that "el se ha dejado de ser reflexivo y se ha convertido en mero signo de pasiva."¹

1.C.41 Hayward Keniston² discusses both passive action and the state which results from this action:

- A. when the action is stressed and
- B. when the state resulting from the action is stressed.

A. When the action is stressed, it is expressed by ser and the past participle. This type of action relates to two types of verbs, perfective and imperfective; perfective being terminative and imperfective being durative or iterative. Keniston points out that:

perfective verbs are not used in Spanish to express a passive action in progress . . . , there is no passive equivalent for the English 'the house is (was) being built'.

In Spanish, he maintains, to convey the same idea one would use an active verb with an indefinite subject (third person plural, uno, etc.) if the agent of the action is not expressed: están construyendo la casa.

¹Gili y Gaya, o.c., p. 113.

²Keniston, The Syntax of Castilian Prose, Chicago, 1937, p. 470 (35.21) and (35.23).

B. When the state resulting from the action is stressed, although estar has become the standard auxiliary verb for expressing state in the prose of the 16th century, there are vestiges of the older use of ser with the same function. This fact creates ambiguities so that one finds it very difficult to distinguish when ser + past participle denotes state (the statal passive) or when it denotes action (the actional passive) apart from the fact that the statal construction itself may be of three different types:

1. ser + past participle,
2. the perfect tense of a reflexive verb,
3. a participle which has become a common adjective without verbal force, and hence used with generic force.

The following examples, given by Keniston, "illustrate the types of situation in which the concept of state seems most probable":¹

Cor 65,29 eramos obligados en puñar contra los enemigos.

Pen 49,28 Ya son abiertas las puertas de tu carcel.

Laz 37,7 luego yo era puesto en pie.

Laz 40,24 Luego otro dia que fuy levantado.

1.C.42 With regard to the agent of a passive action, Keniston has found that por predominates in comparison with

¹Ibid., p. 472 (35.23 and 35.233).

de in the prose of the sixteenth century. Again, he divides the examples according to the emphasis on action or on the resulting state: "The general tendency is to use de when the action is indefinite (universal, durative, or iterative) and when the agent is also indefinite, and to use por when the action is definite (perfective) and the agent is definite."¹

1.C.43 Keniston's treatment of the passive voice when expressed by the reflexive constructions is interesting: With regard to this phenomenon he states that:

the distinction between the indefinite construction and the passive construction is not one of concept but rather of emotion, and this same distinction obtains between the reflexive construction and the passive construction.²

(and perhaps in this observation lies the reason for the fact that the ser passive is being increasingly displaced by the se passive).

Keniston himself observes that "the reflexive construction is far more common in the 16th century than is the passive."³ According to him,⁴ the uses of the passive reflexive fall into two groups, those in which the subject of the verb used reflexively is expressed, and those in

¹Ibid., p. 472 (35.24).

²Keniston, o.c., p. 471 (35.22)

³Ibid. (35.22).

⁴Ibid., p. 340 (27.4).

which there is no expressed subject.

The subject is either animate or a person. However, "the use of the reflexive to indicate an indefinite subject or a passive, when the subject is a person, is diminishing in the 16th century."¹

He stresses that a number of verbs, sometimes considered as passive reflexives are rather intransitive reflexives; cf. baptizarse meaning 'receive baptism' rather than 'be baptized',² i.e., the verb is not really passive but rather middle.

He also points out that the reflexive construction is used without any grammatical subject and states: "It is clear that the reflexive pronoun has become the logical subject of the sentence."³

This last statement has been challenged by other scholars as we shall see when presenting more views on the subject.

1.C.44 Keniston, Gili and Lenz concur in the opinion that there is no grammatical difference between esta mujer es hermosa and esta mujer es admirada stating that passive sentences express qualities of the subject with the copulative ser and are therefore assimilated to the attributive

¹Ibid. (27.42).

²Ibid., p. 341 (27.42).

³Ibid. (27,43).

sentences.¹

1.C.45 Hadlich argues, however, that:

a passive sentence (e.g., Esta actriz será aplaudida) often looks much like a similar copulative sentence (Esta actriz será magnífica). In each case the verb agreeing with the subject in person and number is ser and in each case the adjectival agrees with the subject in number and gender. Yet the similarity is superficial, residing in the surface structures of the two sentences. The latter sentence is a copulative with ser serving as the principal verb in the deep structure. The former is a passive, so actriz is the object in the deep structure rather than the subject, and the principal verb is aplaudir rather than ser. Ser does not even appear in the deep structure; it is inserted by the passive transformational rule.²

1.C.46 While Hadlich explains the difference between copulative and passive structures, we would like to examine further the above stated claim by which passive sentences express qualities with copulative 'ser'. We shall discuss actional passivity as opposed to resultant state, in presenting the views on this subject by Bull.

1.C.47 In contrasting the uses of the two constructions, the passive and the reflexive, Bull³ asserts that:

The reflexive has become a device to eliminate any exterior agent, and it is used whenever the event takes place without reference to any specifically involved entity (Desde aquí se ven las montañas; Las puertas se cierran a las nueve; Esto no se hace con frecuencia; Se dice que lo sabía). Who actually performs the action is literally irrelevant to the message. When the statement is abstract or represents

¹Keniston, o.c., p. 472 (35.23); Gili, o.c., p. 109; Lenz, o.c., §57.

²Hadlich, R., o.c., p. 32.

³Bull, W., Spanish for Teachers, p. 269.

a universal law, there can be no agent at all (Hasta se escribe con hache; El agua se compone de dos elementos). The passive, as an alternate of the active voice, requires an agent, either expressed or implied, and it cannot be used where no agent actually exists.¹

1.C.48 Speaking of ser versus estar² with regard to their use with the past participle of a verb, Bull points out that ser:

always indicates action while estar deals with the state or condition which results from the action. There are two patterns which depend on the nature of the event. First, the action comes to an end and at its termination the state is initiated (La casa fue destruida, La casa está destruida; La puerta fue cerrada, La puerta estaba cerrada). The ser construction is passive voice; the estar construction is descriptive. The first may combine with por plus an agent. The resulting-state pattern, since the action is terminated, cannot include an agent.

1.C.49 We note that his passive examples are construed with the verb in a perfective tense.

1.C.50 Sandra Babcock (1965) has done the first study of the so-called pseudo-reflexive sentences in Spanish which is based on the transformational-generative theory of language.³ Speaking about the intransitivization of reflexives Babcock states that:

Voice change can occur also with no change in verbal form. This is the case with intransitive mediopassives in English, which corresponds quite consistently to several types of Spanish

¹These statements have been questioned by González-Mena de LoCoco and others; see later.

²Bull, o.c., p. 292.

³Babcock, "The Syntax of Spanish Reflexive Verbs," O.S.U. dissertation.

reflexives and to the middle voice in Greek . . .¹

1.C.51 Speaking about the relationship between middle verbs and passive, Babcock asserts that:

The Spanish reflexives are middle verbs . . .
The middle includes features of the active, or of the passive, or of the causative, according to the type of verb. In all cases where the middle affix se occurs, it indicates some modification of the active or transitive direction of the verb.

The definition of the middle emerges from the study of Spanish reflexives. The affix se, is in all of its occurrences, the auxiliary of the middle voice . . .²

1.C.52 In construing the deep structure of pseudo-reflexive sentences Schroten distinguishes two types of Agentives:³ 'normal' Agentives and fully unspecified human Agentives to which two types he adds yet another which he calls: FORMAL AGENTIVES, stating that Formal Agentives trigger transformational rules, such as subject copying, that cause the formal Agentives to be replaced by another pattern and thus to disappear altogether. We assume that by 'normal' agentives Schroten means passive sentences with an expressed agent, while fully unspecified human agentives are SE passives. Formal Agentives are SER passives with an unspecified agent subject to transformational rules (i.e.,

¹Babcock, also book under the same title published by Mouton, The Syntax, 1970, p. 33.

²Babcock, The Syntax, p. 39.

³Schroten, Concerning the Deep Structure of Spanish Reflexive Sentences, p. 49.

the underlying SER type is converted to a passive).

In connection with our analysis, we are interested in the specific problem of ambiguity treated by Schroten as follows:

An important and rather interesting consequence of our treatment of formal-reflexive sentences and pseudo-reflexive sentences, is that it is impossible to determine the deep structure of sentences containing reflexive pronouns on the basis of the formal properties of surface structures. We are able to determine which deep structure might in principle be assigned to a sentence containing a reflexive pronoun, and which deep structures are excluded. But only after having had access to the lexical features of the verb one finds in that sentence, will it be possible to assign the correct deep structure(s) to the sentence in question, and so to determine the correct semantic interpretation it has.¹

According to Schroten sentences like se cerraron las ventanas 'the windows closed', '(some)one closed the windows', or 'the windows were closed' and se quemaron los libros 'the books burnt', '(some)one burnt the books', or 'the books were burnt', are ambiguous; that is, they may be interpreted as formal- (i.e., literal) reflexive sentences or as pseudo-reflexive sentences. "This ambiguity," explains Schroten, "is due to the fact that their verbs allow both formal and non-formal Agentives."²

¹Schroten, *ibid.*, p. 108.

²*Ibid.*, p. 109.

1.C.53 Margarita Suñer¹ and Veronica González-Mena de LoCoco² present similar arguments in order to dispel the belief of some grammarians who claim that the impersonal or the indefinite se functions as the subject in those se sentences. Suñer cites Chomsky³ and de LoCoco quotes Hadlich,⁴ in order to prove that se in the mentioned circumstances cannot be treated as the subject. For example, se does not behave like a subject in the following:

2. Juan no habla mucho

Se no habla mucho.

In other words, in the above context Juan cannot be replaced by se.

1.C.54 When trying to demythologize the existence of the SE passive, Suñer admits, however, that the SER passive and the SE passive do co-occur . . . , 'although the presupposition of focus is not the same in each case:

38. Se volcó la leche (The milk got spilled)

Sentence 38 does not convey exactly the same meaning as:

39. La leche fue volcada (The milk was spilled).

Sentence 38 states that the spilling happened by accident

¹Hispania, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 268-275.

²Ibid., Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 887-890.

³Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, 1965.

⁴Hadlich, A Transformational Grammar of Spanish, 1971:114.

and that there might or might not be an agent involved; sentence 39 clearly indicates that there was an agent involved.'

1.C.55 With regard to the unspecified agents, we feel that they are irrelevant in both sentences 38 and 39 and that they simply do not interest us. As for the argument that in sentence 38 the spilling happened accidentally, we would like to consider the following parallel structure:

Se arregló el reloj (The clock got/was repaired).

We fail to detect any implication of the clock being repaired by accident. On the contrary, we assume that a nonfunctioning clock had to be repaired by someone (an implied agent).

Between,

Se arregló el reloj, and El reloj fue arreglado

there is a slight difference, not so much in the meaning but in the emphasis. The se construction suggests an unspecified animate actor, while the true passive construction relates coldly an accomplished fact. The important thing would be to establish that the underlying concept for both sentences should be:

(Human) Subject arregló el reloj = Juan arregló el reloj = Se arregló el reloj.¹

¹Which, however, does not mean that se replaces Juan but that it emphasizes the action rather than the actor.

1.C.56 González-Mena de LoCoco discusses the animate/inanimate distinction, which according to her, has to be extended to the underlying subject expressed by these constructions. She disagrees with Bull's rule saying that "when a statement is abstract or represents a universal law, there can be no agent at all," applied to his example:

10. Desde aquí se ven las montañas

and 11. "Hasta" se escribe con hache

claiming that ver and escribir require an agent to perform the act and that due to this fact the above sentences cannot be normal reflexives.¹

¹Hispania, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 887-890.

CHAPTER II

THE PASSIVE TYPES IN THE PRIMERA CRÓNICA GENERAL

2.1 Generally speaking, the contrast between the two verbal categories, the active and passive is stated by Paul¹ in the following terms:

The distinction between Active and Passive, . . . , is of essentially syntactical nature, since it expresses nothing else but a differing relation of the verb of the predicate to the subject. That which in the active is object, is in the passive the subject. Hence the employment of the passive renders it possible to make a psychological subject, which otherwise would necessarily take the grammatical form of the object, into the grammatical subject as well; and this is a principal reason for the use of the passive construction. In impersonal sentences it is a matter of indifference whether the active or the passive is employed.

2.2 Paul's statement is, of course, based on content analysis and shows how, without changing the pattern Subject + Verb, their relationship can be expressed in opposite directions. It is precisely this understanding which allows us to distinguish between active and passive whatever the grammatical form. We shall see that, with this criterion in mind, it will be possible to distinguish between the two even in cases which are outwardly ambiguous.²

¹Paul, Principles of the History of Language, p. 306.

²Note that se lava is one form but might express a true or literal reflexive, one expressing an ethical dative or a passive (i.e., having an outside agent).

2.3 We shall now examine the circumstances which lead to the employment of the actional passive. It is of utmost importance for an actional passive to occur that the verbal action have an outside agent.

2.4 It is essential that an actional passive sentence should contain two basic parts, namely the expressed verbal action and its object, i.e., the grammatical subject. The latter can be animate or inanimate, cf.

- a) La casa fue construida
- b) Se construyó la casa
- c) Los godos fueron uengudos

2.5 It is possible to have an actional passive with an unspecified subject of the types, es dicho - [se dice]¹ which is seemingly subjectless and agentless. However, the underlying concept of such expressions implies an outside agent who does something; cf. an equivalent active expression in the third person plural, dicen, also implying a personal subject.

2.6 The expression of an agent in the actional passive utterances is optional.

2.7 An agent could be introduced by a preposition de which is more frequently used in the older language than por when introducing specific individuals.

¹Not found in PCG.

2.8 The aspectival limitations are not as strict in the older language. This is perhaps one of the reasons why se had not yet replaced the periphrastic actional passive construction. We shall discuss these matters later.

2.9 In the following pages we shall illustrate and discuss the underlying concepts of various other constructions, namely, the statal passive, middle reflexive, the intransivizing reflexive and the "omitted" reflexive in order to show how these constructions differ and why they cloud, sometimes, the distinction between them and the actional passive. Through an understanding of these underlying concepts one is able to determine with greater certainty how they could co-exist, while occasionally causing ambiguity.

2.10 Except for very few instances, in which we find estar + ppl., there is no formal difference in our materials between the periphrastic actional passive and the periphrastic statal constructions, in that both are formed with the auxiliary ser + ppl. The ambiguity which results from the surface identity of these underlying structures is especially felt when the present tense of the auxiliary ser + ppl. of a perfective verb occurs. Observe that in an example such as es uençudo the perfective notion implied by the past participle militates against the present tense of the auxiliary. Since the actional passive is inherently perfective and the statal is inherently imperfective, a careful examination of the context will usually clarify the meaning.

2.11 We have observed three types that occur in PCG:

1. This type uses the auxiliary ser instead of modern estar:

Estonce los Cipiones non tienien todas sus gentes
consigo, ca eran esparzidas por la tierra a una part
e a otra (19b56).

Note that the above example and the following are parallel
in meaning:

Los otros de Roma que estauan esparzidos por la
tierra, (20a21)

2. This type expresses the perfect tense of a reflexive
verb:

las yentes que eran alçadas por las montannas (325a2).

Compare this sentence with the contemporary language:

las gentes que se habian alzado.

3. The third type exemplifies a past participle which has
become a common adjective without verbal force:

Del loor de Espanna como es complida de todos bienes
(310b28).

el regno de los godos fue siempre abondado de grand
sabiduria (322b48)

A. Classification of SER Passive Types

Prototype (I) of the actional passive with an animate subject and an expressed outside agent:

SER (I) los mejores omnes que ouo en Carthago, fueron
muy mal recebidos de los romanos (PCG 46a13).

In Prototype (II) the outside agent is not expressed:

SER (II) assi que los uencieron e mataron alli all
Emperador Amilcar, e todos los otros de su
huest fueron muertos e presos (PCG 15a44).

Prototype (III) exemplifies an inanimate subject and an expressed outside agent:

SER (III) Estas razones fueron much afincadas de los
unos e de los otros (PCG 45b4).

Prototype (IV) also appears with an inanimate subject while the outside agent is implied only:

SER (IV) Y estas treguas ... fueron firmadas en
tiempo de Lutacio; (PCG 44b33).

2.12 But, as we have indicated earlier (2.13) the aspectual limitations on the actional passive as being inherently perfective and the statal "passive" as being inherently imperfective are not always absolute in PCG. Consider the following examples:

ALÇAR/ALÇARSE

Julio Cesar fue alçado por emperador (92a32).

so fijo, era alçado rey en so logar (368a46).

DAR/DARSE

que nunca fueron dadas con otras mujeres (619a32).
et esse cauallero era dado por guarda al ninno
(708b20).

DECIR/DECIRSE

que non digan . . . que uos non fue dicho antes
(510b11).
et por que las sus palabras eran dichas con derecho
(577b38).

DESTROYR/DESTROYRSE

fue el regno . . . destroydo et astragado por un mui
grand tiempo (322a28).
Et poblo en Portugal estas cibdades que eran destroydas
de moros (377b54).

ECHAR/ECHARSE

fue echado del regno (329b5).
como el que era echado de Castiella (532b44).

FAZER/FAZERSE

E fue asi fecho (352a30).
lo que el Çid mandaua . . . esso era fecho (565a25).

MANDAR/SE

et que dixiesse lo quel fuera mandado (545a46).
como les era mandado dell apostol (360b35).

¹Cf. (319a7) 'eran vencudos' = habian sido vencidos as
equivalent to Latin victi erant.

PERDER/SE

et desta guisa fueron perdudos los fechos (4a15).

Et Abeniaf anbiol dezir que el pan que lo robaran todo
et que era todo perdido (568a26).

PRENDER/SE

Et A. fue y preso (396b36).

et dizieronle los de la tierra como era preso (412a26).

SONAR/SE

despues que fue sonado por todas las tierras (592b6).

porque era sonado por toda la tierra (412a12).

UENCER/SE

fueron uengudos los espalos (217a25).

E quando oyo que los cristianos eran uengudos (319a7).

2.13 Many of the above examples show ambivalence with respect to the concepts of actional passive and the statal sense. It is difficult to tell whether they convey an action, e.g., (360b46) or state (412a26) or whether we deal with a perfect tense of a reflexive verb (319a7); hence, the reflexive for passive. Now (322a28) seems to be clearly statal, while (377b54) has an expressed agent in which case eran seems to be equivalent to habían sido. The same appears to be true for (565a25) in which era fecho is equivalent to había sido fecho.

Note that a statal imperfect depends on a previous action and therefore can be understood as a pluperfect. This is precisely what happened in Latin in which VICTI ERANT

came to mean 'they had been conquered' in spite of the imperfect erant. This construction is still frequent in PCG; cf. 319a7 eran vençudos 'habían sido vencidos'.

2.14 Furthermore, we have noted that in order to narrate one specific historical event it is not uncommon to find a combination of two verbal constructions in the same sentence. Thus, in the following examples we have a sequence of actional passives in the preterite followed by the statal sentence in the present showing the result of that previously occurred action:

Todas estas prouincias eran de cristianos, e despues fueron et son las mas dellas metidas so el sennorio et la secta de Mahomat (328b48).

ca maguer que ouieron guerra con los romanos et los barbaros nunqua fueron uençudos, mas agora sonlo ya por el iuyzio de Dios, et toda su fuerça crebantada (322b40).

2.15 However, such participles as dicho and llamado may be felt, both in the present and in the imperfect, to be habitual actional passives:

un rio que es dicho Ebro (6b1).

la tierra que era llamada Esperia (9b7).

B. Classification of SE Passive Types

Let us consider now the use of reflexive forms for the expression of actional passivity. We are using here the same analysis as applied to the SER passive earlier, see 2.3 and ff.

Prototype (I) appears with an animate subject and an expressed outside agent:¹

SE (I) e torno el pueblo a yudgarse por
consules assi cuemo de primero
(PCG 7a42).

In Prototype (II) the agent is not expressed:

SE (II) Affranio et Petreo, pues que uieron que
de tod en todo perderien sus compannas,
. . . ouieron se a uencer (PCG 76a19).

Prototype (III) exemplifies an inanimate subject and an expressed outside agent:

SE (III) que se començo la guerra et la batalla
por los mandaderos (PCG 686b48).

Prototype (IV) appears with an inanimate subject. The outside agent is not expressed:

SE (IV) Jahan non se pudo conbater por la grant

¹The findings by Brown, o.c. pp. 457-461 and by us in this study contradict the statements of older grammarians to the effect that this construction appeared first in the 16th century.

fortaleza della (PCG 720a47).

2.16 Next, we shall present the reflexive constructions which are not passive. There is a parallel between the periphrastic passive and the SE passive constructions in that both of these utterances are matched by constructions which are not passive but might be confused with them, since their surface structure is the same.

2.17 We shall now, as we did earlier for SER + ppl. (see 2.11 ff.), illustrate and discuss these other SE constructions, namely, the literal, reciprocal, and middle reflexive types. We shall point out immediately that these three types have one thing in common, namely, the verbal action or state which originates within the subject and remains within the sphere of the subject(s). This characteristic of a verbal action whose goal is the subject itself contrasts with the SE passive types, in which, as we have seen, the verbal action affects the subject from an outside source.

2.18 Note that in the literal reflexive the subject initiates and performs the action on himself of his own accord or volition:¹

ca fallamos que Julio, que fue el primero cesar, se llamo consul et dictador con otorgamiento de la corte de Roma (87a18).

¹Compare se echó del caballo y se mató as against a middle reflexive action in cayó del caballo y se mató.

2.19 Observe that in the reciprocal reflexive each subject is both actor and goal of the action performed on each other, hence no outside agent is involved:

mataronse un por otro (404a19).

2.20 The middle reflexives are perhaps the most interesting types in that they indeed, with respect to their verbal action, stand between the literal reflexives and the passive reflexives. This is to say that they get involved in the verbal action or state but they do not control it, and that they are actually in the middle, as semi-active or semi-passive.

2.21 We could, perhaps, describe the middle reflexives as a category in which the grammatical subject becomes involved in an inner process which redounds on him, involving him in the consequences of the verbal action. And we can assume that in behaving this way, the middle stands between the active and the passive action:

en el maltraymiento dell amargaronse (687a26).

Also note that verbs such as batearse, conuertirse, espan-tarse, partirse, guiarse, ayuntarse, fazerse, quemarse, and the like are the ones that display the above mentioned middleness:

et esto por la fuerça que el puso entonce en las
aguas quando se bateo en ellas (109a39).

(The specific context of the above example points to the fact that the subject is actively involved.

Also in:

Et luego que començaron a regnar eran gentiles, mas
conuertieron se a pocos dias a la fe (163b49).

There is a shade of doubt for they might have been willing
to convert. There is a parallel concept in the following
example:

conuiene que sepades todos que no queremos nos que se
tornen ningunos por fuerça cristianos (185b53).
nin se espanto por aquel miraglo que alli contecie
(543a45).

Despues de su muerte partiosse la cavalleria de los
alaraues en dos partes (299b35).

Again ambiguity for they could have separated willingly or
have been ordered to separate, so doubt exists as to whether
these are literal or passive reflexives. Observe further:

et guiauanse . . . todos por el (344a29).

et guiauase por su conseio en todas las cosas (505a28).

The last two examples seem to engage the subject into a vo-
litional decision making process and hence are literal
reflexives.

2.22 To the above types of nonpassive reflexives we
shall add those in which the verbal action is intransi-
tivized:

La tercera guerra se leuanto en tiempo de Lucio (45a8).
e otrossi abriosse una uez un luziello por si mismo
(127b22).

ueno a la puerta de la cipdad que se cerraaua con pestiello de fierro (675b6).

2.23 The above process can occur with an animate subject as well. Consider the following:

mando fazer . . . una grand foguera, por que si los enemigos uiniessen contra el, que diesse consigo en ella et se quemasse y (236a46).

The degree of the subject's projected suicide makes this construction sound literally reflexive, i.e., it evokes the concept of transitivity, and yet it can be seen simly as a middle, that is, with no outside goal, as clearly in:

Et los godos, . . . dieron fuego a la casa, et quemos y ell emperador et todos (228b22).

2.24 Coming back to SE passive constructions we should like to point out that contrary to modern recommended usage, we can occasionally find an agent expressed even in these constructions:

que se començo la guerra et la batalla por los mandaderos (686b48).

et los priulegios que los espannoles auien con Ponpeyo por los romanos que se crebantauan alli por ellos (70b34).

2.25 The SE passive construction lends itself well to being used for habitual actional passives in the present tense:

et el traslado del salterio aun oy se reza en algunas

de las eglesias (543b21).

Et esto assi sse mantiene y oy cutianamientre (686a32).

ca en muchas otras cosas se despiende ell aver (392b1).

se espiende ell oro et la plata (73b51).

azul, almagra, greda . . . , et otros muchos de

quantos se fallan en otras tierras (311b22).

2.26 But, and as we pointed out earlier, its major and the most successful function was to replace the SER passive constructions in the imperfective tenses particularly when the action is in process. Replacements of the SER passive by reflexives occur already in the PCG both with personal and inanimate subject as illustrated in our examples. Also, occasionally, there appears a combination of SER and SE passives both in one sentence, showing no doubt the inclination of the language to utilize more and more the reflexive:

vna fue esta de las mayores et mas altas conquistas
que en el mundo todo fue vista nin fecha que se en
tan poca sazon feziesse (769a41).

2.27 To sum up: in the preceding pages we have tried to clarify the functions of the periphrastic and the reflexive passives. We have analyzed the underlying concepts in both constructions, and after careful examination we tried to identify these concepts as they occur in our examples.

2.28 In the following pages we shall, accordingly, adhere to the distinctions explained. Our sole concern will

be the observation and the counting of both SER and SE actional passive types in the PCG, taking care to distinguish a) an action from a resulting state and b) in se constructions, whether the subject is involved as actor or merely as the goal of the verbal action.

C. Frequency of SER and SE Passives

2.29 In order to obtain a realistic picture of occurrences of SER and SE passives in the Primera Crónica General, six sections, consisting of 10 consecutive pages each, were selected at random and screened for the exact number of examples of SER and SE passive sentences. For the reader's convenience the examples are listed on pp. 74 ff.

2.30 In the first section consisting of pages 101-110 we have found 39 occurrences of SER passives and 8 occurrences of SE passives.

In the second section consisting of pages 234-244 we have found 29 occurrences of SER passives and 2 occurrences of SE passives.

In the third section consisting of pages 362-372 we have found 20 occurrences of SER passives and 3 occurrences of SE passives.

In the fourth section consisting of pages 453-463 we have found 17 occurrences of SER passives and 7 occurrences of SE passives.

In the fifth section consisting of pages 580-590 we have found 11 occurrences of SER passives and 5 occurrences of SE passives.

In the sixth section consisting of pages 645-655 we have found 22 occurrences of SER passives and 10 occurrences of SE passives.

2.31 Graphically the opposition between the two types can be presented as follows:

Sections	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Pages	(101-10)	(234-44)	(362-72)	(453-63)	(580-90)	(645-55)
SER	39	29	20	17	11	22
SE	08	02	03	07	05	10

In the above table the SER passive appears 138 times as compared to the occurrences of the SE passive, which appears 35 times.

2.32 In 35 examples of SE passives the SE passive with an animate subject occurred 7 times.

2.33 Also, based on the above data, we shall list below the types of verbs and the number of their appearances. We have not included here numerous single occurrences of SER passives, but they are listed in the collection on which this statistical analysis was based. The single appearances of SE passives, however, are listed in contrast with the SER passives.

SER	SE
UENCER . . . 22	UENCERSE . . . 03
POBLAR . . . 12	POBLARSE . . . 01
FAZER . . . 07	FAZERSE . . . 06
DAR . . . 02	DARSE . . . 02

SER	SE
ACABAR . . . 03	ACABARSE . . . 01
ENTERRAR . . 04	ENTERRARSE . . 01
TENER . . . 02	TENERSE . . . 01

2.34 Next we list the types of verbs which appear only once in SER passive:

LEUANTAR . . . 01	LEUANTARSE . . . 03
LEUAR . . . 01	LEUARSE . . . 01

2.35 The following verbs do not correspond, i.e. they are found more than once in the SER passive with no showing in the SE passive:

DECIR . . . 09	FIRMAR . . . 02
LLAMAR . . 05	GUARDAR . . 02
ALÇAR . . . 05	PRENDER . . 02
CRIAR . . . 04	TENER . . . 02
FERIR . . . 05	
PONER . . . 04	
RECEBIR . . 05	
MORIR . . . 03	
AYUNTAR . . 02	
COBRAR . . 02	
CONTAR . . 02	
DESTROIR . 02	

2.36 The following verbs appear once or more times in the SE construction only:

SE	
DEFFENDERSE . . .	02
ENTENDERSE . . .	01
ESTORUARSE . . .	01
FENCHIRSE . . .	01
HERMARSE . . .	01
LEERSE . . .	01
MANTENERSE . . .	01
PERDERSE . . .	04
UENDERSE . . .	01

2.37 The above analysis shows that the most frequent SER/SE verb constructions were found with UENCER/SE and FAZER/SE. Uencer serves best an animate subject while fazer is found mostly with an inanimate subject. The following analysis shows the frequency of the actional SER passive as recorded in our six sections:

I		II		III	
fue	+ ppl. 23	fue	+ ppl. 21	fue	+ ppl. 19
fuera	+ ppl. 13	fuera	+ ppl. 04	fuera	+ ppl. 01
es	+ ppl. 02	seer	+ ppl. 03		
seer	+ ppl. 01	es	+ ppl. 01	Total	20
Total	39	Total	29		

IV		V		VI	
fue	+ ppl. 12	fue	+ ppl. 04	fue	+ ppl. 17
es	+ ppl. 03	seer	+ ppl. 03	fuera	+ ppl. 03
fuera	+ ppl. 01	fuera	+ ppl. 01	es	+ ppl. 01
fuessen	+ ppl. 01	sera	+ ppl. 01	seyendo	+ ppl. 01
Total	17	sea	+ ppl. 01	Total	22
		seamos	+ ppl. 01		
		Total	11		

2.38 Next we have counted the occurrences of the expressed agent introduced by the prepositions de or por in the six sections examined:

I	II	III
de = 01	de = 04	de = 01
por = 01	por = 02	por = nil

IV	V	VI
de = 03	de = nil	de = 03
por = nil	por = nil	por = 01

2.39 There is a total of 16 instances of an agent being introduced by the preposition de or por.

2.40 The SER passive had the agent introduced by de 12 times and by por 04 times.

2.41 There were no instances of an agent being introduced by either de or por in the examples of SE passive in

the above sections. However, we have found occurrences of an agent being introduced by por elsewhere in the PCG. Several examples of the SE passive sentences with an expressed agent introduced by the preposition por are illustrated in Chapter II-B "Classification of SE Passive Types," and in the Appendix. The same applies to SER passive sentences. See Chapter II-A "Classification of SER Passive Types," and the Appendix.

2.42 The following are the examples of SER passive found in the above analyzed six sections. The examples are listed alphabetically. They contain only a minimum of information sufficient, however, to illustrate the SER passive.

ABRIR

fue abierta (109a45)

ACABAR

fueron acabadas et assessegadas (102b35)

fue acabado de fazer e consagrado (el templo) (107a33)

sera acabado (584a45)

ADUCIR

fue aducho (106a47)

ALÇAR

fue alçado (242a2; a5; a45) + (243a23) + (463a13)

AYUNTAR

fueron ayuntados . . . poderes (101b34)

fueron ayuntadas . . . flotas (362a20)

BATEAR

fue bateado (109a37)

CATIUAR

fue catiuada (109a26)

COBRAR/CONBRAR

fue cobrada et refecha e tornada . . . por (651b18)

seer conbrados et arribados (589b40)

CONQUERIR

fueron conqueridas (653a14)

CONSAGRAR

fue consagrado del (651a9) + (651a11)

CONTAR

fueron contados (103a41)

no podrie seer contada (243b40)

CORONAR

fue coronado (653a44)

CREBANTAR

fue crebantado (371b41)

CRIAR

fue criado (109a19)

fueran criados (588b8)

fuera criado (645b19)

DAR

fue dado (368a10) + fue dada (454a35)

DECIR

es dicho (103a36) + (108a44) + (244a36) + (463a13; b39)

es dicha (651b36)

fue dicha (368a12) + fue dicho (645a23)

seyendo dicho (652a20)

DESCUBRIR

fuessen descubiertos (462b35)

DESTERRAR

fueran desterrados (242b3)

DESTROIR

fue destroido (101a16)

fueron destroidas et assoladas (103a45)

ENCUBRIR

podrie seer encubierta (584b1)

ENTERRAR

fue enterrado (244a21) + (362b36) + (649a1)

fue enterrada (645b24)

ENUIAR

fue enuiada (105a51)

ESCRIBIR

fue escripto (649b42)

ESPARZER

fue esparzuda (235b49)

FABLAR

fuera fablado (647a24)

FALLAR

non fueron fallados (370b48)

FAZER

fue fecho (109b6) + (368a2) + (456b43) + (590a1) +
(653a1)

fue fecha de (651a34)

fue fecha (456b38)

FERIR

fue ferido duna lança (235b53)

fue ferido dun dardo (238b19)

fue ferido . . . por iuyzio de Dios (243a20)

fue ferido et preso (453b26)

fue ferido (368b30)

FIRMAR

fue firmada entrellos¹ (587a16)

fue firmado (587b37)

GUARDAR

seer guardado (235a49)

seamos guardados (590a31)

LEUAR

fue leuado catiuo (109b14)

LEUANTAR

fueran leuantadas (102b37)

LLAMAR

fue llamado (103a19) + (367b41)

fueron llamados (107a11) + (102b52) + (368a31)

LOAR

fue loadado de (646b51)

METER

fueron metudos (460b11) + (635a5)

MORIR

fue muerto (236a3)

fueron muertos (236b18)

fuera muerto (236a6)

MOSTRAR

seer mostrada por (236b35)

NOMBRAR

fue nombrada entre (455b23)

¹entre is considered as an agent marker by other investigators, e.g., Josse de Kock.

PARTIR

fue partida (368a15)

PERDER

fue perdido . . . el regnado (109a26)

POBLAR

fuera poblada (101a39; b4; b21) + (102a14) + (104a51) +
(105b8) + (106a29; b46) + (107a54; b29) + (108a12) +
(109b26)

PONER

fue puesto (369a53) + (370b54) + (460b44) + (461a36)

PRENDER

fue preso (238b26)

fueron presos (580b16)

QUERER

fuera quisto de (242a18)

RECEBIR

fue recebido (105b41) + (107b6; b37)

fue recebido de (368b35) + (461b30)

SACAR

fue sacado et escogido (242b23)

SOTERRAR

fue soterrado (236b48)

TENER

sea tenido (589b10)

ser tenido (590b3)

TOLLER

fue tollido (234a31)

UENCER

fueron uençudos (104a4; a25) + (240a21; a47) + (369b49)

+ (647b20; b42)

fue uençudo (238b38) + (243a41; b3) + (365a52) +

(462b7) + (648b47) + (652a49)

fue vençido (461b51)

fue uençuda (370b50) + (371a37) + (372a25)

fuera uençuda et librada (370a52)

fuera uençudo (462b24) + (648b43)

fueran uençudos (462b24) + (648b43)

2.43 Ambiguous cases. The following examples, and those listed earlier (see 2.12), present a problem in that they cannot be classified with certainty as either actional or statal passives.

CRIAR/SE

eran criados (587a11). Denotes the pluperfect of the reflexive verb, se habían criado in which the reflexive is omitted. The past participle could be felt as descriptive rather than actional, hence our interpretation might be of a statal, but if eran equals habían sido we would have an actional passive. In any event, if an outside agent were implied, it would indicate passivity.

DECIR/SE

eran dichos (242b46) ('habían sido dichos'; see above).

MANDAR/SE

era mandado (650b43) (See above.)

2.44 Examples of SE passive found in the above analyzed six sections.

ACABARSE

se non acabo . . . el casamiento (648a12)

DARSE

se le dauan las cosas (650a30)

se daua a entender [crueza] (236b23)

DEFFENDERSE

se deffendiesse [la çipdad] (649b20)

deffenderse [las çibdades] (652a44)

ENTENDERSE

se entiende por aquello (108b41)

ENTERRARSE

et mandosse enterrar (653a10)

ESTORUARSE

se estoruo . . . el casamiento (648a11)

FAZERSE

se fizieran [batallas] (101b37)

fizieron se [mortandades] (101b40)

se fizo [el roydo] (462b45)

non se fizo como ellos cuydaron (585a2)

se fiziesse el roydo (580b5)

se fiziesse este casamiento (648a10)

FENCHIRSE

se finchio la plaça (585b5)

HERMARSE

se ouieron a hermar [los lauradores] (459b49)

LEERSE

se leo (107a21)

LEUANTARSE

nin se leuantasse [la contienda] (367b40)

LEUARSE

mandosse leuar et enterrar (649b35)

MANTENERSE

se mantouiessen las tierras (108a55)

PERDERSE

se perdieron [çibdades] (106b9)

se perdieran [Gormaz, Osma et San Esteban] (454a4)

non se dexassen perder [moros] (580a11)

perderse la tierra (648a46)

POBLARSE

se pcblaua (453a49)

TENERSE

se pudiessen tener [las çibdades] (652a43)

UENCERSE

ouieronse de uencer (456b15) + (463b8)

se uencieron (363a21)

UENDERSE

se uendien [cosas] (460b6)

2.45 With reference to the frequency in which various tenses and moods occur we have found that the most frequently represented tense in which the SE passive occurred was the third person singular or plural of the preterite, although such is to be expected in historical prose.

2.46 The following analysis shows the frequency of the actional SE passive as recorded in the six sections:

INDICATIVE

PRETERITE

se non acabo (648a12)
 se estoruo (648a11)
 fizieron se (101b40)
 se fizo (462b45)
 non se fizo (585a2)
 se finchio (585b5)
 se leo (107a20)
 se perdieron (106b9)
 se uencieron (363a21)
 mandosse enterrar (653a10)
 se ouieron a hermar (459b49)
 mandosse leuar et enterrar (649b35)
 ouieronse de uencer (456b15) + (463b8)

IMPERFECT

se dauan (650a30)

se daua (236b23)

doblauanse (581b41)

se poblaua (453a49)

se uendien (460b6)

PLUPERFECT

se fizieran (101b37)

se leuantaran (102b39)

se perdieran (454a4)

PRESENT

se entiendo (108b41)

PAST SUBJUNCTIVE

se deffendiesse (649b20)

se fiziesse (580b5) + (648a10)

nin se leuantasse (367b40)

se mantouiessen (108a5)

non se dexassen perder (580a11)

se pudiessen tener (652a43)

INFINITIVE

deffenderse (652a44)

se leuantar (367b39)

perderse (648a46)

2.47 The count of tenses presented graphically shows:

I N D I C A T I V E			
<u>PRETERITE</u>	<u>IMPERFECT</u>	<u>PLUPERFECT</u>	<u>PRESENT</u>
15	5	3	1
<u>PAST SUBJUNCTIVE</u>	<u>CONDITIONAL</u>	<u>INFINITIVE</u>	
7	1	3	

in a total of 35 appearances of the SE actional passive.

2.48 Next we shall examine the correspondence of SER and SE occurrences in the six sections. The replacement of the SER passive by SE passive was often found within the context of the same sentence or in the closely related text and even frequently in the same tense, as it will be illustrated below:

ACABAR/SE

se non acabo . . . [el casamiento] (648a12)

fue acabado de fazer . . . [el templo] (107a33)

DAR/SE

este nombre le fue dado (368a10)

se le dauan [las cosas] (650a30)

ENTERRAR/SE

mandosse enterrar y (653a10)

et fue enterrado en Montaragon, (646a1)

FAZER/SE

se fizo el roydo (462b45)

Et pues que esto todo fue fecho (456b43)

LEUANTAR/SE

las contiendas que fueran leuantadas entre los
 çibdadanos de Roma por los uandos de la muerte de Julio
 Cesar et por qualquier otra cosa que se y leuantaran
 fasta aquella sazon (102b36-b39)

LEUAR/SE

mandosse leuar et enterrar (649b35)
 fue leuado catuio (109b14)

POBLAR/SE

se poblaua [Auila] (453a49)
 fuera poblada [Roma] (101a39)

UENCER/SE

se uençieron los normanos (363a21)
 fueron uençudos los moros (369b49)

In addition to the above analysis, we have found various examples which showed interesting features.

2.49 In several passive sentences we noticed that a logical agent appeared, introduced by an adverbial modifier; cf.

las batallas et las contiendas que fueran leuantadas
entre los çibdadanos de Roma (102b37)

Esta batalla fue nombrada entre los alaraues (455b23)

Et esta batalla es muy alabada et muy nombrada oy en
 dia entre los moros (456b37)

Et fue el abenencia assy firmada entrellos (587a16)

e era puesto entrellos de numqua cerrallas (102b25)

2.50 The following examples are difficult to classify

since verbs of emotion are involved. These, referring as they do, to states, may indicate either its existence or its being broughtabout. Their subject is, of course, always animate:

E el rey Athila quando esto uio fue much espantado et ouo miedo (234b44)

E quando el rey Athila oyo aquesto, fue . . . conortado (235a1)

Et con esto conortauanse yaquanto (584a19)

Et ellos fueron todos marauillados daquellas palabras (455b47)

et uio ell una dellas [uacas] que traye el pie corto, marauillosse mucho (235a10)

los godos, marauillandosse de la muerte del su rey (236a53)

Et todos los quel assi veyen yr apressurado pora batalla marauillauanse ende mucho por aquello (459a15)
fueron por ende muy toruados los omnes (236b25)
et conseiol commo se guardase de aquella traycion (454b25)

Let us consider fue conortado (235a1)

fue espantado (234b44)

fueron marauillados (455b47)

fueron toruados (236b25)

In these sentences, we would expect that SER + ppl. would normally indicate the formal passive. Yet, there is, in the

cited examples, a clear participation of the subject in the effects of the verbal action, i.e., the subject comes into a state. Again, we are faced with a possible ambiguity of SER being used in the preterit to denote coming into a state. It is almost as though fue served as a sort of pluperfect for the statal (adjectival) participles of conortarse, espantarse, marauillarse, and toruarse, hence denoting an achieved statal situation.

2.51 To sum up. The statistical analysis of six sections consisting of ten consecutive pages each and selected at random showed the following:

1. The number of SER and SE passive sentences (138:35)
2. The number of SE passive with an animate subject was 7 occurrences out of 35.
3. There were 16 instances of an expressed agent all of which appeared in SER examples, de 12 times and por 4 times.

CHAPTER III
TYPES OF PASSIVES AND THEIR FREQUENCY
AS FOUND IN EL LIBRO DE BUEN AMOR

This text appeared some sixty years after the Primera Crónica General, and for this reason we thought that it would be of interest to analyze and compare these two major works in order to see the status of our topic in both historical narrative and a more popular type of material.

First, the examples of SER passive with an animate and an inanimate subject will be presented.

Second, the examples of SE passive with an animate and an inanimate subject will be presented.

Third, the passive constructions found in the LBA will be compared with the passives in the PCG.

A. The SER Passive with Animate Subject in LBA

- 336c Por end'no deve ser dél ninguno acussado (agent)
- 831b Que sodes de aquel ome locamente amada (agent)
- 130d Apedreado ha de ser [el fijo]
- 329b Dél en muchas maneras fueste apercebydo (agent)
- inv.p.12 . . . , e porque sean todos apercebidos
- 206c El que non toviere premia, non quiera ser apremiado
- 224c Fueron e son ayrados de Dios los que te creyeron
(agent)
- 603d Ay! Senor dona Venus ssea de vos ayudado! (agent)
- 336a Muchas vezes de furto es de juez condenado (agent)
- 608a Ya fueste conssejado del Amor, mi marydo (agent)
- 234a Maguer de su natura buenos fueron criados
- 394c con vycyos es criada, ençerrada e guardada
- 234b Por la su grand sobervia fueron é son dañados
- 429d Panfilo e Nason de mí fué demostrado (agent)
- 337a Otrosi le apongo que es descumulgado de mayor
descumunió n por custitución de legado
- 346c Non querien abenencia para ser despechados
- 332d El lobo, quando l'vido, luego fue enbaçado
- 328c Que sea enforçada e muerta como ladrón
- 336d . . . non deve ser . . . oydo ni escuchado
- 15a E porque mijor sea de todos escuchado (agent)
- 588a So ferido e llagado, de un dardo so perdido (agent)
- 240c En el cuerpo, muy fuerte, - de lança fue ferido
(agent)

- 132b Mandó que los maestros fuesen muy bien guardados
- 476c Porque seades guardada de toda altra locura
- 346d Pyden que por sentencia fuesen de ally lybrados
- 422a Porque de muchas dueñas malquerido sería, (agent)
- 760b que a mi es mandada
- 609a Si algo por ventura de mi te fuere mandado (agent)
- 760c Del segundo marido non sería tan onrrada (agent)
- 247a Por la grand escaseza - fué perdido el rico
- 282c Por enbydia fué preso e muerto e conquisto
- 787ab Coraçon, que quisiste ser preso e tomado de dueña
(agent)
- 30c Fué Spiritu Santo puesto en tu santa compañía.
- 131a Este ha de ser quemado [fijo]
- 608d De lo qu'el non te dixo, de mi sera rrepetido
(agent)
- 481b Ffue de la su muger con desden rescebido (agent)
- 106d Partíme de su pleito pues de mí es rredrada (agent)
- 339c Señor, sean tenidos En reconvención
- 282a Ffue por la enbydia mala traydo Jhesuxristo
- 685d Toda muger es vencida
- 32c [Madre Santa], Nuestro Señor Jhesuxristo Por ti
sea de nos visto

B. The SER Passive with Inanimate Subject in LBA

- 597c Con toda la mi grant fuerça non puede ser
arrancada [saeta]
- 206d Lybertat e ssoltura non es por oro conplado
- 307a Rencor e homecida criados de ti son
- 36a El segundo fue cunplido
- 890 Todo vuestro deseo es por mi byen cunplido
- 685d desqu'esta joya es dada.
- 217d Passar los mandamientos, que de Dios fueron dados
(agent)
- 542c Ffue su mala fasienda en punto descobyerta
- 147c E el fuero escripto non es por ende desfecho
- 64c Veras que bien es dicha
- 711c Despues con poco fuego cient vezes sera doblada
[cera]
- 64c si bien fues' entendida [palabra]
- 171d cantigas que son deyuso escriptas
- 280d En ty non es un byen nin fallado nin visto
- 268a El ssopo que era fecho por su escantamente¹
- Invocation p. 10 E estas son algunas de las rrazones,
porque son fechos los libros de la ley . . .

¹Note that both this example and the following one with the past participle fecho (268a and Inv. p.10) denote a previously completed action, and may be understood as pluperfect and perfect respectively.

- 476c Porque seades guardada de toda altra locura
- 329a Seyendo la demanda enjuyzio leyda
- 248a Maguer que te es mandado por santo mandamiento
- 354c Que la constitución deviera ser nonbrada
- 133b Pidió al rrey su padre que la fuese otorgado
(de ir . . .)
- 334b non deve ser oyda su petición
c su petición Non deve ser oyda . . .
- 229a Lo mas e lo mejor, lo que es maspreciado
- 631d En todas las animalyas esta es cosa provada
- 362c Fallo que es provado quanto la marfusa pon'
- 354d E faste nueve dias deviera ser provada [constitución]
- 80a Enbiel esta cantiga, que es deyuso puesta
- 260ab Ffueron por la loxuria cinco nobles cibdades
Quemadas e destruydas
- 763d Grand plaser e chico duelo es de tod' ome querido
- 608d De lo qu' el non te dixo, de mi sera rrepetido
- 363d Pronuncio que la demanda . . . non seya
rrescibida

C. The SE Passive with Animate Subject in LBA

- 730a Mancebillo en la villa atal non se fallara
- 619d Moverse ha la duena por artero seguidor
- 395b Porque se onrren della su padre e sus parientes
- 72d Ca por obra se prueba el sabio e su fablar.
- 888d El sabydor se prueba en cuytas e en presuras
- 621d Vencerse una dueña non es cosa tamaña
- 79d Es de buenas costunbres, sossegada e queda
non se podra vencer por pintada moneda
- 619a Por arte los pescados se toman so las ondas

D. The SE Passive with an Inanimate Subject in LBA

- 618c [Con arte] alcançanse pesos duros
- 75b [El ffuego] . . . mas arde, quanto mas se atiza
- 819a Esto, dixo la vieja, byen se dize feroso
- 618 [Con arte] derribanse los muros
- 361a Por exención se puede la demanda desechar
- 682d Egualar non se podrian ningunas otras mercedes
- 104d Al tienpo se encoje mejor la yerva malva
- 821b Encúbrese en cabo con mucho arteria [fe]
- Invocation p. 7 E esto se entiende en la primera rrazon
del verso
- 136d Que lo que Dios ordena en como ha de ser, Segund
natural cursso, non se puede estorcer
- 534a . . . del vyno se faze/La sangre verdadera de Dios
- Invocation p. 13 . . . e do este non es cimientto non se
puede fazer obra firme . . .
- 235c [batallas e pelleas] Amor, por tu sobervia se
fazen
- 510d Toda cosa del siglo se faze por su amor
- 854a non sabe lo que se faga, sienpr' anda descaminado
- 584d Todo por su consejo se fara ado apuerte.
- 304c Sy non se faz lo tuyo, tomas yra e saña
- 782d Lo que fazer se puede, por ello trabajedes
- 22a El primero gozo que s' lea

- 731d Grand amor e grand ssaña non puede sser non se
mueva
- 623d Non puede ser que s' non mueva canpana que se
tañe
- 356a Quando la descumunion por la dilitoria se pone
- 355d Si se pone perentoria, esto es otramante
Cf. 80a: . . . que es puesta
- 166d La costunbre es otra natura, ciertamente
Apenas non se pierde fasta que vien la muerte
- 452c Sy se tarda, non se pierde, el amor nunca falle[c]e
- 424a Por poco maldezir se pierde grand amor
- 260d Por malas vezindades se pierden eredades
- 785d Por esperanca vana todo se va perder
- 290c Lo suyo e lo ageno todo se va a perder
- 73a Que diz' verdat el sabio claramente se prueba
- 355c De publico notario devie syn falimente
Esta tal dilitoria provarse claramente
Cf. 354d . . . deviera ser provada
- 731c El corazon del ome por la obra se prueba
- 618a Con arte se quebrantan los coracones duros
- 887c Lo que nunca se puede reparar nin enmendar
- 690b Si la leña se tirare, el fuego menguara luego
- 618b [Con arte] . . . Tomanse las cibdades
- 548b Muchas bondades tiene, si s' toma con mesura
[el vino]
- 544b Pierde la fuerça toda, sy s' toma syn medida
[el vyno]

10c Ffaz que se torne sobre los mescladores [tu saña]

14d Ca por todo el mundo se usa e se faz'

E. Comparison of Passives in the PCG and LBA

3.1 We shall discuss now the passive constructions in PCG and compare them to those in LBA. If the tendency to replace the participial passive forms with se constructions was already taking place in the historical narrative prose of the Primera Crónica General, this trend was found to be even more alive in El Libro de Buen Amor. The language of the latter is rich in dialogue with facts and experiences concerning daily happenings, together with a treasure of popular knowledge and advice. Thus, by the very nature of such a work, one would indeed expect that its language would reflect a form of speech as well as a style which was closer to the people. And, apparently, participial passive constructions were even less favored in informal expression.

3.2 To support the above statement we have made a rough count of the passive constructions in the first volume of El Libro de Buen Amor, 11th edition by Julio Cejador y Frauca,¹ and find the SE passive to be slightly more frequent than the SER passive. This, in our opinion, is a significant increase in the usage of the SE construction when compared to the Crónica, where our selection shows almost 300% more SER passives than SE passives.

¹Madrid, 1970.

3.3 The most common replacement in the LBA is of the type se prueba for es provado expressing an imperfective occurrence.

3.4 Here are some of the most common replacements:

- LBA 72d Ca por obra se prueba el sabio e su fablar
 888d El sabydor se prueba en cuytas e en presuras
 731c El coracon del ome por la obra se prueba
 235c [batallas e pelleas] Amor, por tu sobervia se fazen
 510d Toda cosa del siglo se faze por su amor [dinero]
 166d La costunbre es otra natura, ciertamente
 Apenas non se pierde fasta que vien la muerte
 424a Por poco maldezir se pierde grand amor
 260c Por malas vezindades se pierden eredades¹
 14d Ca por todo el mundo se usa e se faz'

3.5 Note that all of the examples above express an imperfective idea, hence a durative action in the present. But due to the fact that their counterparts es provado, es fecho, es perdido, es usado, etc. contain within their past participles a notion of perfectivity, they came to be replaced more and more by the SE passive in order to eliminate this element of completed action and, so to speak, to escape the aspectival limitation inherent to the SER passive.

¹We omitted the examples of perderse with animate subject since such cases allow for a middle interpretation while those with inanimate subject do not, all of which is basically the same sort of the tendency of animate subjects to act so that the construction is not forced into a passive interpretation.

3.6 So too the SER passive does not appear frequently in the imperfect.

3.7 Next we have noted that, contrary to the low count of SE passives with an animate subject found in a ratio of 5 to 1 in the Primera Crónica General, in El Libro de Buen Amor such occurrences were more frequent. Their ratio was slightly over 3 to 1.

3.8 An agent expressed by the preposition de is frequent with the SER passive but rare with SE passive. We have found only one example of SE passive with an animate subject with expressed agent:

LBA 619d Moverse ha la dueña por artero seguidor

The above preposition por must not be confused with the casual por, as in:

LBA 404b Pierdese por vil ome dueña de grand rrepuesto

3.9 Another interesting example, and the only one found in LBA with estar replacing ser shows how a statal situation could be expressed:

LBA Invocation p. 7 E desque está informada e instruyda
el alma

3.10 We should also like to point out that the examples of the type es vencida could be interpreted as statal "passive," that is to say that actional and statal when relating the present are of nearly equivalent meaning:

LBA 282d En ty non es un byen nin fallado nin visto

3.11 Of course the restriction on perfectives to conveying a passive idea are avoided in those passive constructions which use tenses other than the present and imperfect indicative which do not impose such restrictions, e.g., the subjunctive.

LBA 339c Señor, sean tenidos en reconvención

LBA 603d Señora doña Venus ssea de vos ayudado

Invocation p. 12 e porque sean todos apercebidos

LBA 15a E porque mejor sea de todos escuchado

3.12 And finally, when wanting to express an on-going process, but at the same time stress that the process also occurred in the past, we find a curiously regular use of a preterit auxiliary followed by another in the present:

LBA 234b Por la su grand sobervia fueron e son
dañados

LBA 224c Fueron e son ayrados de Dios los que te
creyeron

The same process was noted also in the Crónica as we recall:

PCG 328b48 Todas estas prouincias eran de cristianos,
e despues fueron et son las mas dellas
metidas so el sennorio et la secta de
Mahomat

3.13 The use of the preterit fueron in the above examples is odd. There is a strong sense of an action which took place in the past and whose consequences are still felt in the present. On the other hand, son would indicate

in Old Spanish a pluperfect, and which would in later Spanish be expressed by habían sido metidas.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4.1 It is clear that the passive voice, i.e., the true passive construction consisting of the auxiliary ser + the past participle, is quite frequent in Old Spanish historical texts of the XIII century, considerably more so than in the modern language.

4.2 Our analysis shows that the SER passive construction outnumbers the SE passive by three to one, a ratio which exceeded our expectations.

4.3 Although considerably more frequent than traditionally believed, the SE passive with an animate subject was still found sporadically in the PCG.

4.4 The results obtained by former investigators showing higher numbers of occurrences of this form seem to be due to the equivocal character displayed by various se constructions.

4.5 In order to gain an insight into these ambiguities, we have examined the underlying processes of these constructions in an effort to uncover their true functions by separating their identical formal appearances from their semantic aspects.

4.6 We have found that por occurs as a preposition introducing an agent with both SER and SE passives in the Primera Crónica General and in El Libro de Buen Amor (LBA), both medieval texts. Here are some examples in which an agent is introduced by por found in our texts:

PCG 502b13 e fue librado el rey . . . por R. Diaz

PCG 38a11 (Dido) que non serie tan preciada ni tan
amada por el mundo com ante era

PCG 686b48 que se començo la guerra et la batalla
por los mandaderos

PCG 70a17 et eran auenidas las yentes a mandarse
por ellos muy bien

LBA 619d Moverse ha la duena por artero seguidor

4.7 We have found that se + verb + por and ser + participle + por occur with animate and inanimate subjects. (See Appendix for additional examples.)

4.8 It was further observed, in connection with the SE passive, that, since an animate subject tends to be seen as participating in a verbal action, many sentences are ambiguous as to whether they are to be seen as middle or really passive.

4.9 The passage from the middle sense to the passive was observed in the following examples:

e torno el pueblo a yudgarse por consules
assi cuemo de primero (PCG 7a42) + (PCG
70a17) above

Et los godos, . . . dieron fuego a la casa,
 et quemos y ell emperador et todos (PCG
 228b22)

et ellos contendien en esso que se non
 quieren castigar por ell (PCG 465a43)

4.10 We clearly see in such examples how certain verbal constructions which initially had only a reflexive function tended to shift their semantic range to first a middle function and finally to a passive one.

4.11 Our findings confirm the statements by other students of the Spanish language to the effect that the actional passive had only a limited use with imperfective tenses (see Chapter II in this study). In view of this fact, it would appear that it was precisely this limitation upon the actional passive that favored its replacement by the reflexive in these tenses, since the latter construction did not have this limitation.

4.12 Yet, the imperfective tenses, namely the present and the imperfect of the auxiliary ser in conjunction with the past participle do occur in our text. However, these constructions are not to be understood as statal constructions but rather as perfects or pluperfects of the Latin type AMATUS ERAT. Hence, examples such as:

et con peones cristianos de los almoçaraues que eran
criados en tierra de moros (PCG 587a11), and

mientras se fazien las cosas que dichas son (PCG 697a25) doubtless meant 'habían sido criados' and 'habían sido dichas' respectively.

4.13 These constructions are remarkably archaic, since they preserve the Latin perfect and pluperfect passive with actional meaning. In the modern language, of course, such auxiliary verbs in the present and imperfect establish the temporal feature of the verbal constructions but, because of the limitations inherent in these tenses, they tend to imply a statal rather than an actional sense in these constructions.

4.14 Finally, a count was made of the passive constructions in the first half (891 quatrains) of Juan Ruiz' Libro de Buen Amor in order to compare two works of different style in Old Spanish. In contrast to the results obtained for the PCG, we found that in LBA the se passive constructions slightly outnumbered the ser passives. The SE passive was found approximately 30% more often than the SER passive.

4.15 In conclusion, we would like to suggest that, in formal prose, the participial passive structure is maintained as a traditional and conservative relic in opposition to the reflexive passive, which seems more adaptable and increasingly more popular in fiction and similar types of prose. It has been said that one reader has found recently only a single example of the SER passive in a contemporary novel. On the other hand, Josse de Kock has found that the turn

consisting of the auxiliary verb ser + the passive verbal adjective appears at the minimum 62 times in 55 passages, and at the maximum 92 times in 81 passages within 206 journalistic articles written by Miguel de Unamuno between 1931 and 1936.¹

4.16 It seems that the Spanish language, both old and modern, always cultivated two styles, the formal and the informal, and this is, we believe, well reflected in the Primera Crónica General in contrast with El Libro de Buen Amor.

¹Kock, "La 'rarete' de ser + adjectif verbal, passif" *Revista Española de Lingüística*, Vol. 3, pp. 343-67.

APPENDIX

Actional Passives SER and SE in the PCG *

	Page
a) with an Animate Subject	108
b) with an Inanimate Subject	116

* We submit here a further list of selected examples from other sections of the PCG. They will serve to further illustrate the various constructions discussed.

Actional Passives SER and SE in the PCG

a) with an Animate Subject

ABATER

et fue el Cid abatudo a tierra (564a16)

ACOGER

que se ouo de acoger por fuerça, (Julio Cesar) (84a10)

ALÇAR

fue alçado por emperador (92a32)

fue alçado rey (+ many variants) (321a20)

BATEAR

fue bateado en el rio Jordan (521a20)

CASTIGAR

(et ellos contendien en esso) que se non querien castigar
por ell (465a43)

CONTAR

Et fue contado ell emperador Constantino en la cuenta de
los dios (197a40)

(la su yent) non se podrie contar (681a42)

que non podrien seer contados (muertos) (58b32)

CORONAR

(que despues de la muerte assi meresca) seer coronado de
Dios (686a44)

CREBANTAR

que se fiziesse aquella batalla en que serien crebantados
et abaxados los paganos (692a35)

CRIAR

ca yo fuy criado en Camora (506b24)
"Cid, uos sabedes como fuestes criado comigo..." (507a9)
porque fuestes aqui criado con ella (508a39)
(et con peones cristianos de los almocaraues que)
eran criados en tierra de moros (587a11)
mas porque fueran criados con los moros (588b8)
(et en su mancebia) criarase con este rey don Sancho
(667a2)
(Et en estas costumbres tales) se criaua aquel...ninno
(671a15)
(Costumbre era) de criar se los donzelles en el palacio
(307b30)
mancebo que se crio en la eglesia (544b4)
(que este don A. rey ninno) criandosse como es dicho
(672a15)

CRUCIFIGAR

(Ihesu Cristo el Nazareno que) fue crucifigado (190a37)
et que fuera crucificado (191b15)

CUBRIR

(Nero) cubriesse todo de formigas aladas (127b21)

DEGOLLAR

(Et pues que el carnero) fue degollado (504b35)

DESBARATAR

et fueron desbaratadas las huestes (90b46)

DESFAZER

alli fuera Julio Cesar desfecho et perdudo por siempre
(91b45)

ECHAR

(omne) fue echado de parayso (4b31)
et seer el (Tolomeo Dionis) por y echado del (81a48)
(Ell uno de los dos primeros consules) fue luego echado
de Roma (88a38)
(Despues uinieron galeses) que eran echados de su tierra
(6b41)
(el Cid) era echado de cristianos (526a34)
et mando que fuessen echados de tierra (192b19)

ENTERRAR

(Este rey don Alffonssso) fue enterrado en Cangas (337b21)
(el rey don Fernando...ouiera puesto de) enterrarse
(490a9)

ESPARZER

(este rey d. A. dio achaque et razon a los almohades, que
eran estonces ell alteza) de seer esparzidos et desterrados
(649b29)
(Sobresto dize el arcobispo) que se esparzieron luego todos
los mas de la hueste (512b35)

FALLAR

et fue fallado en ella (tienda) Aluar Saluadorez (598a39)

FAZER

fue...fecho arcobispo de S. (326b23)

et fizieronse por todos L caualleros (402a30)

fueron todos fechos caualleros (431b6)

FERIR

et fue ferido de muerte el cauallo dell inffante (555a2)

(Bruto el primero de todos) fue ferido en una batalla
(88a47)

(de las primeras feridas) fueron los infantes feridos
de grandes lancas (626a40)

Mas no seran feridos de la mi part (75a45)

LEUAR

(don Alffonso) fue leuado a Ouiedo et enterrado (382b21)

LIBRAR

(e rey don Sancho) fue...librado de la prision (501b19)

e fue librado el rey...por R. Diaz (502b13)

LLAMAR

dond ellos fueron despues llamados latinos (5b29)

que son llamados eolides (5b37)

(el quarto fue el conde d. O.) que se llamaua de Campos
(617b36)

llamosse Cesar Augusto (84b27)

fue llamado...sennor de V. (592a46)

MANDAR

Et mandosse leuar a la cibdad de Toledo et enterrar (649b35)

MANTENER

(tu pueblo...non puede) seer mantenido

MARTIRIAR

fueron martirizados (194a7)

fue y martirizado (206a40)

METER

que fueron todos metudos a espada (383b26)

MORIR

(E cuenta Paulo Orosio) que fueron tantos...muertos

(que non podrien seer contados) (58b31)

OYR

(por fiestas...que fizieran a sos dioses que los ayudassen)

et non fueron oydos dellos (77a35)

PERDER

de como fue perdudo el rey (309b13)

que y fueron perdudos et muertos (323a20)

"...si la reyna se perdiere por nuestra razon..." (541b39)

se puede perder un grand omne por mal consegero (419b5)

PONER

fue puesto en su lugar (328a37) (Appears frequently)

PRECIAR

(Dido) que non serie tan preciada ni tan amada por el
mundo com ante era (38a11)

PRENDER

fue preso el rey don P. (323b51)
Et fueron presos todos los parientes de A. (580b16)
et como fuera su padre preso et desondrado (447a16)
que su padre era preso (354b18)
(Et fuxo M., et guareciol la noche) que non fue alli
preso o muerto (60a31)

QUEMAR

(Valent) fue quemado en un fuego (310b47)
(Et los godos,...dieron fuego a la casa) et quemos y ell
emperador et todos (228b22)
que fuesse quemado dellos en el fuego (228b27)

RECEBIR

fue mui mal recebido del (322a12)
seer recebido en Espanna (542b52)
que fuesse recebido de nuestro sennor Dios (678a36)
fue alli recebido...et guardado (543b17)

SACAR

et por que fue sacado aquel ninno del uientre de su madre
(89b50)

SALUAR

(fallo la corte por derecho) que se saluasse la reyna
(475a21)

SOTERRAR

et fueron alli en aquel logar soterrados (332b5)

TENER

(non touieron por bien de les foyr la batalla) por que les
non fuesse tenuto por couardia (20a4)
(Octauiano) serie tenuto por muy alto (97b38)

TIRAR

(mando) que se tirassen las guardas (76b19)

TOLLER

(E dizen que oyron voces...a la su muerte que...dizien)
"...como es tollido et leuado deste mundo el iusto et el
bueno..." (337b16)

UENCER

fue uengudo Gunderigo (233b25)
fue vençido Carlos (357a11)
fueron uengudos los espalos (217a25)
fueron vençidos los moros (355b36)
(los cristianos) eran uengudos (319a7)
(con la uentura del) vencidos serien los moros (596a44)
auien a seer uengudos (626a26)
mas vençidos nunca seremos (625a2)

UENCER (cont.)

(que dixo Julio Cesar....: "que nin P. sopiera uencer, ni J.C. pudiera) seer uençudo (79b39)

(si Ponpeyo...sopiesse cuemo staua J.C.) quando se uencio (91b44)

(E luego de las primeras feridas,) uencieron se los caualleros de P. (80b6)

(E quando uio Oto) que se uencien los suyos, matosse el (130b5)

que se uençrien los cristianos (310a8)

(pero al cabo) ouieron se a uençer (207b13)

anse a uençer los buenos por los malos (397a8)

"uençerse an" (410a10)

(Mas el que bien quiere conseiar a sennor) et non se deue uençer nin por miedo ni por uerguenza (419b10)

(Et lidiaron aquel dia todo) que se non pudieron uençer (403a24)

fueronse uençiendo la hueste del rey don Garcia (485a52)

que se ouieron de uençer los de parte de Bramant (340b27)

Actional Passives SER and SE in the PCG

b) with an Inanimate Subject

ACABAR

(ca bien touieron) que non se acabaríe lo que auian
començado (761a49)
(las...misas) fueron acabadas (426b9)
fasta que eran acabadas quantas misas (426a42)
(Et esto dezíe el conmo en manera de escarnio teniendo)
que se non podía acabar aquello que el rey querie (731a39)

AFIRMAR

pero mas se afirma que fue A.F. que non el Çid (501b17)

ALIMPIAR

(reciblo por sacrificio con que) se alimpíen los peccados
de la tu alma (34a40)

ALONGAR

(que el su fecho) se podíe mas alongar (761a9)

AMANSAR

(porque por la sabiduria) se amansasse el desacuerdo
(689a12)
(maguer que cuedauan los omnes que nunca aquella contienda)
se amansaría nin se amataría entrellos et la reyna (716b34)
(et por esta guisa) se podría amansar et allanar la
discordia (668b42)

ARRANCAR

et por el se arranco la fazienda et fue uençada (426b33)

AYUNTAR

(lo que yo e ganado) que se ayunte todo en uno (525a44)

CAMBIAR

(e aquel nombre nunqual) fue camiado (10a13)

COMENCAR

(Et aquell anno otrossi) fue començada...una yglesia
(194b47)

(et durarien por ende los uandos) que eran començados
entre los çibdadanos (91a32)

COMBATER

(que, sin guerrearla luengo tiempo con engennos, semeia
que se non podrie combater (695b12)

(la cibdat era tan fuerte) que se non podie conbater con
engenno de omne (722a47)

(et porque Jahen) non se pudo conbater, por la grant
fortaleza della (720a47)

COBRAR

(et como fueron los cristianos despues cobrando la tierra)
por que se non pudo cobrar tan ayna (4b14)

CONQUISTAR

(la cibdad de T.) fue conquista por fuerca et por el seso
deste rey d. A. (539b19)

CONTAR

(E los que esto assi contaron, touieron que esta lit que
fizieron aquel dia..., que por sennas batallas) fueron
contadas (80b45)

que sera contada la uestra bondad

(que la su alabanca della) fuesse contada (82a32)

(et tantos tormentos que adur) podrien seer contados
(187a35)

Assi cuemo es ya contado (85a4)

segund que es dessuso contado (219a21)

CUMPLIR

(fasta que el riepto) sea conplido (513a28)

en guisa que se conplio toda la entrega (619b10)

et assi se deuie cumplir lo que fuera fadado dell imperio
(73a11)

(Et desque todo esto) fue conplido (593b17)

esto fue prometido...que se cumpliosse (361a45)

CREBANTAR

(et los priuilegios que los espannoles auien con Ponpeyo
por los romanos) que se crebantauan alli por ellos (70b34)

DAR

(que non passaron fasta quel) fue dada la fortaleza de
Cuenca (679a39)

contra quien era dado el juyzio (619a32)

(Et de como guerreaua a los moros..., todas las cosas)
se le dauan llanamientre (650a30)

DAR (cont.)

diosse a bien aquella obra...et approuecho...por las manos
de los monges (666a52)

que se dio Toledo a este rey (538b10)

(ca bien ueyen) que se darie a grand mal aquel fecho
(432b35)

DECIR

Et desque la misa fue dicha (601a21)

(que aquel dia de la fazienda que oyo la primera misa)

que se en aquel logar dio (426b1)

(et por que las sus palabras) eran dichas (577b38)

(metiendo mientes en estas palabras) que se dezien antel
(622a49)

(cuya generacion) es ya dicha (651b36)

(cinco razones ponen los sabios por que) fue dicho este
nombre Cesar et llamado a Julio (89b40)

(que cada dia fueron fechas estas noblezas) que dichas
son (88a36)

Despues que esto fue dicho et firmado (516a26)

assi como es ya dicho (521b31)

DESAMPARAR

(ca no era Roma logar) pora seer desamparada (20b1)

DESCUBRIR

(Mas pero al cabo), ante que se descubriesse atal
atreuimiento (423b10)

(E el fecho por o esto uino) descubriosse en este Ponpeyo
el grand, et cumpliosse en Julio Cesar, et firmosse en
Cesar Augusto (56b16)

(Sobre las razones desta conquista de las Espannas se
començo a descubrir el fecho por o fueron despues...mudadas
las maneras (56b11)

DESTROIR

(los santuarios) fueron destroydos (313a33)
fue toda destroyda (198b16)
que fuessen destroidos todos los templos (195b34)
que ouiera a seer destroyda Roma (62a25)

DESPENDER

(ca en muchas otras cosas) se despiende ell auer (392b1)
(non an por que entregar) lo que se despendio (619a3)

DESVIAR

(mas si alguna carrera pudiessemos fallar) por o se
desuiasse esta lid tenerlo ya yo por bien (392a43)
(et quantol mostro los bienes que por ello uernien en las
yentes et los males) que por y se desuiarien (683a32)
se les desuiarie la batalla (72a42)

DOBLAR

Et cada dia se yba doblando el precio de las viandas
(582b41)

ENTENDER

(como uedaue los furtos) puede se entender por esta razon
(659b42)

que se entendie por esto (98b7)

ESPARZER

(La nonbradia de sus bienes) fue esparzida por todo el
mundo (748a46)

ESPENDER

(ca sobrel defendimiento desta) se espiende ell oro et
la plata, et son preciados los buenos caualllos et guardados
pora en las batallas, et ayuntadas las grandes flotas por
mar (73b51)

ESTORUAR

(el peligro) por que se estoruasse (674a4)

FALLAR

(grant auer) y fue fallado (592b25)

o (la cruz) fue fallada (193a50)

(solazes) que por Espanna pudieron seer fallados (657a21)

(almagra, greda..., et otros muchos de quantos) se fallan
en otras tierras (311b22)

en que se fallo...el cuento (100a1)

(et compusiemos este libro de todos los fechos) que fallar
se pudieron (4a45)

FAZER

(la entrega) fue fecha (619b17)

(las arcas) fueron fechas (524a9)

FAZER (cont.)

que fuesse fecha una grant foguera (543a18)
 (lo que el Cid mandaua,) esso era fecho (565a25)
 Desque esto fue fecho (602a45)
 que se faria muy graue de creer a quien lo non uiesse
 (727b47)
 (et la fuerte cosa) se faze ligera de fazer desta guisa
 (420b10)
 se fizo y una gran foya (351b36)
 et alli se fizieron periglos de batallas (685a15)
 mientras se fazien las cosas que dichas son (697a25)
 (aquella justicia) que se deue fazer (610b1)
 (este casmiento) que se a de fazer (623b46)
 (esta pleytesia) que se non fiziesse, librosse desta
 guisa: (705a10)

FIRMAR

era esse priuilegio firmado de tod el regno con yura
 (713b45)

LEUANTAR

(muro) fue leuantado (557b20)
 se leuanto el sossanno (711b33)
 non ouiesse por que se leuantar contienda entrellos, nin
 se leuantasse (367b39)
 (la contienda) que del se les podrie leuantar (713a4)

LEER

(que todas las posturas) fuessen leydas (302a20)

LIBRAR

Et desque (todas estas cosas) fueron libradas (629a43)
 (esta razon) librose (724a12)
 non se librarie el fecho (622b1)
 alli se mourie aquel pleyto et alli se librarie (683b1)
 ... "assi se libre et se faga la cosa..." (698b12)
 Agora diremos de como se libro esto (509b28)
 aquello se librarie (70a51)
 Et demientre que (estas cosas) se yean librando (698a38)

LLAMAR

(en la tierra) que es llamada Cilicia (5a21)
 (cibdat...Fenis) et fue assi llamada (7b12)
 (la tierra) que era llamada Esperia (9b7)

MANDAR

et de como fue mandado a la eglesia (545a46)

MANTENER

et se mantouiesse todo so los reyes (85a18)
 Et esto assi sse mantiene y oy (686a32)

METER

et fueron las torres metudas en su poder (679a40)
 fue metida en poder de los moros (325b50)

MOSTRAR

E esto muestrase por el comienço dell yerro (188b18)

MOUER

(La segunda guerra) mouiosse a 534 annos (44b40)

MUDAR

(la primancia) fue mudada dalli (326b10)
et fuel mudado este nombre (522a20)
et en el se mudo la manera del sennorio dell imperio
(84b25)

NOMBRAR

(quatro logares) se nonbran en la estoria (740a51)
(las cibdades et los castiellos daquela tierras) del
nombre destas duennas se nombrauan (219b19)

ORDENAR

Et abes fue esto ordenado (596a32)
que es ordenado por el poder de Dios (92a2)

PARTIR

(la tierra) fue partida (368a15)
Et como se partieron...estos dos regnos (723b31)
(esta contienda) que se partiesse por batalla de dos
(542b40)
(como fue aquella contienda) et como se departio (673b24)
porque se partiera todo tan bien (529b46)

PERDER

(Valencia) fue perduda (547b47)
se perdio la cibdad (304b36)
(el prez de los godos) que se perdiera otro tiempo (348a20)
se perderie Valencia por ell como se perdiera Toledo (550a44)
(los fechos) serien...muertos et perdudos (555b14)
et desta guisa fueron perdudos los fechos della (4a15)

PERDER (cont.)

que non se perdiessse el Andaluzia (557a12)
 que se aura...a perder toda Castiella (412b17)
 perderse a la penna de Martos (738b4)
 que se pierda la penna de Martos (738b17)
 porque se perderia la penna (738a23)
 "...por desacuerdo se perdien las cosas, e por acuerdo se
 deffendien..." (30b47)
 y (el sennorio de Roma) perderse por aquel lugar (31a3)
 (por los libros) que se perdieron et fueron destroydos
 (4a17)
 que (los saberes) se perderien muriendo aquellos que los
 sabien (3a10)
 es todo perdido (322b51)

POBLAR

(Tiro) se poblaua muy bien (31b16)

PONER

Et pues que fueron puestas las pazes (408b45)
 dos libros fueron puestos en la foguera (543a31)
 Las pazes seyendo puestas (234b5)
 en que se ponera este fecho (633b18)

PRENDER

de como fue presa Cordoua (314b13)
 (la cibdades) fueron presas de los moros (312a11)
 et fue el castiello preso de moros (687a12)

(esta cibdat) se podrie prender por mingua de uianda
(504a40)

si podrie seer presa...esta cibdat (504a35)

QUEMAR

non finco (uilla non cibdad) que non fuesse o quemada
o derribada o retenida de moros (303b8)

adur se quemo la meatad dellas (armas) (704a45)

Et pero que se quemaron las casas, diz que se non quemaron
los libros (83b47)

RENOUAR

Et...se renouo la guerra del Cid con los de Valencia
(574a37)

REZAR

et (el traslado) aun oy se reza (543b21)

TIRAR

que se tire la tu sanna de sobre nos (390b17)

TOLLER

"...si a esta cibdat fuesse tollido el pan..." (504a38)

TOMAR

Et en esse dia mismo fue tomado de los nuestros el
castiello Ferral (698a22)

TORNAR

la eglesia toda fue tornada en laydeza (313a42)
et tornosse (Valencia) en poder de cristianos
(522a13)

por la sabiduria se amanssasse el desacuerdo...

et se tornasse en acuerdo (689a12)

TURUAR

Mas la reyna...temie que (el regno) se turuiasse por la
guarda dellos (710a1)

UENCER

(la batalla) fue uencuda (314b15)

(la batalla) fuera uencuda et librada (370a52)

se uence la fazienda (397a4)

UENDER

E la franqueza non se uende bien por tod ell oro del mundo
(73b47)

USAR

E esto se usa aun agora entre los moros et los iudios
(85a25)

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