

# The History of Spanish Subject Raising with *Parecer*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Subject raising is the movement of a subject from the embedded clause (1a) into the main clause (1b):<sup>1</sup>

- (1a) — parece [que María está enferma] non-raised  
it seems [that Mary is sick]  
(1b) María parece [— estar enferma] raised  
Mary seems [— to be sick]

It is an important phenomenon for a general theory of syntax because of the insight that it gives into the nature of clausal structure. A good indication of its importance is the number of recent studies that have looked at subject raising in Modern Spanish.<sup>2</sup> However, in spite of the attention paid to the construction in Modern Spanish, and in spite of the fact that it has undergone several important changes since Old Spanish, there has been almost no previous research on the historical development of subject raising in Spanish.

In the standard historical grammars,<sup>3</sup> there is no explicit discussion of the construction *per se*. Rather in these grammars, as well as the one study that has focused specifically on infinitival constructions in Old Spanish,<sup>4</sup> the discussion is limited to providing one or two isolated examples of *parecer* with an infinitive. Bolinger is the only researcher to date who has dealt specifically with historical subject raising, and he notes that his study was mainly introductory in nature, and was meant to ask a few basic questions rather than answer them.<sup>5</sup> He also noted that his database was limited to a handful of texts from the 1200s, and there was therefore no way to track the evolution of the construction between the 1200s and the 1900s, a period when most of the significant changes took place.

1.2 As we will see, Spanish subject raising has undergone a number of important changes since Old Spanish, any one of which should justify more in-depth study. First, the most general shift is the overall increase in subject raising, or in other words the general shift from (1a) to (1b). As the data will indicate, there are almost no cases of raising (1b) before the 1300s and it is only in the 1800s that it becomes relatively common. Second, we will see that in the early stages of Spanish subject raising (mainly the 1300s), there was a 'partial' raising construction in which the subject raised, but the embedded clause remained finite:

- (2) Et cada unos dizían tantas buenas razones [que] **pareçían que dizían** razón derecha (*Lucanor* 113 [1330])  
 And everyone gave such a good excuse that they all seemed to be telling the truth

Third, while subject raising had historically been limited primarily to third person subjects, it has recently extended somewhat tentatively to first and second person subjects:

- (3) **parezco volver** cara a la escena abandonando mi objeto (*Matritenses* 141 [1842])  
 I look like I'm going back on my plans

Fourth, we will see that although it has been possible to have indirect objects with the construction (4a), it is only within the past 200 years or so that these constructions have achieved their current state, in which the indirect object usually refers to the 'experiencer'-like subject of the embedded verb (4b):

- (4a) non **le pareçia abastar** assi aquello que la natura le avia dado (*Esopo* 99r [1482])  
 what nature had given him didn't seem to be enough  
 (4b) **me pareció sentir** aún sobre mi frente el beso (*Carmen* 625 [1882])  
 I still seemed to feel the kiss on my forehead

1.3 Because none of the preceding historical shifts has received more than minimal attention, our first goal will simply be to provide data for these phenomena from Old Spanish to Modern Spanish. These data will be based on more than 2500 tokens of the +raising or -raising construction with *parecer*, taken from the most complete corpus of historical Spanish currently available, which includes 5,300,000 words of text in 118 pieces of prose literature from 1200–1900. Table 1 shows the number of texts, the number of words of text, and the number of tokens with *parecer* in each century, and a detailed listing of the texts can be found in the notes.<sup>6</sup> In creating the corpus, care was taken to ensure that there was an adequate amount of data from each of the seven centuries under examination, which are each composed of approximately 700,000 words of text. In

Table 1: Composition of the corpus (by period)

	# texts	# words	# tokens with <i>parecer</i>
1200–1299	14	776,700	13
1300–1399	10	744,200	172
1400–1491	15	765,200	412
1492–1554	19	745,300	523
1556–1651	16	701,100	450
1660–1799	17	669,800	354
1800–1899–ES	13	425,500	241
1800–1899–LA	14	550,600	352
Total	118	5,300,000	2517

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addition, care was taken to ensure that there are at least ten texts from each century, and that no one text accounts for more than 20% of the data for that century. Notice also that the texts for the 1800s are divided into two sections—those from Spain (1800–1899–ES) and those from Latin America (1800–1899–LA).

In addition to providing observational adequacy, however, a second goal of the study is to provide descriptive and perhaps even some degree of explanatory adequacy, by showing how the different shifts are related to and may have influenced each other. Thus we will attempt to provide some motivation for the extension of subject raising to even non-third person subjects (3), the strange cases of ‘partial’ raising in the early stages of the construction (2), and certain shifts in the use of the ‘indirect object’ construction (4). As we will see, this last shift may in fact provide us with a motivation for the sudden, overall increase in subject raising in the past two hundred years.

## 2. GENERAL INCREASE IN SUBJECT RAISING

2.1 Before discussing the shifts in subject raising with *parecer*, let us consider briefly the situation with *semejar*, the lexical item that *parecer* ‘replaced’. In the 1200s, there are 75 cases of the +raising or –raising construction with *semejar*, as opposed to only 13 with *parecer*. By the 1300s, however, *semejar* was clearly on the decline with only 13 tokens, and there is only one more token in the 1400s. This compares with 172 and 412 tokens with *parecer* in these two centuries, respectively (see Table 1). Thus the use of *semejar* was limited primarily to the 1200s. The data show, furthermore, that in the 90 cases with *semejar*, 89 took the non-raised *que* construction (5a), and there is only one marginal case of subject raising (5b):

- (5a) & semeiol que era su desondra de yr en tal guisa (*Ultramar* 37v [1295])  
and it seemed to him that it was a shame to go there like that
- (5b) e por end les semeiaua de seer destroyda (*Estoria de España* 30v [1270])  
and for that reason it seemed to them that it had been destroyed

An interesting question is whether *semejar* was replaced by *parecer* for purely lexical reasons, or whether syntactic factors may have been involved also. As we will see, *parecer* was already allowing some cases of subject raising by the 1300s, whereas there were no cases with *semejar* after the one isolated case in about 1270 (5b). What happened with *semejar* and *parecer* may be analogous to what happened in another context with the two causative verbs *fazer/mandar*.<sup>7</sup> *Mandar* was more common than *fazer* in causative constructions like *él mandó/fizo construir el muro* throughout the 1200s. Yet it was also the most conservative, in terms of a number of related syntactic phenomena. As the syntax of the causative verbs began to evolve in the late 1200s, *fazer* (which allowed the new causative syntax) became much more common than the syntactically conservative *mandar*. In a sense, then, *mandar* may have fallen out of use in part because its verbal syntax had become overly archaic. It may be that the same thing happened with *semejar*, once the shift towards subject raising was underway with *parecer*.

2.2 Let us now return, however, to the major issue at hand, which is the syntactic evolution of subject raising with *parecer*. Table 2 shows the number of tokens

without raising (*parecía que María estaba enferma*) and with raising (*María parecía estar enferma*) in each of the periods from the 1200s to the 1800s, and the accompanying percentage of all cases that have subject raising (Column C). These figures show that subject raising began to increase mainly in about the 1300s (cf. 6a), and that it stayed constant at about 20–30% for the next five hundred years (cf. 6b). In the 1800s, however, it suddenly doubled to about 45–60% (cf. 6c). The figures for the 1800s compare well with those of Modern Spanish. In a separate study, based on nearly 1,800 tokens from 4,300,000 words of text in nearly 400 novels and short stories, I show that the percentage of subject raising in the late 1900s is about 66%, a slight increase from the figures for the 1800s shown here.<sup>8</sup>

Table 2: Number of tokens (by –raising/ + raising and embedded verb)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	– raising	+ raising	% raising (all verbs)	<i>ser</i>	<i>estar/ haber</i>	% other	% raising (without <i>ser, estar, haber</i> )
1200–1299	12	1	8%	(100%) 1	0	00%	0%
1300–1399	132	40	23%	(70%) 28	0	22%	5%
1400–1491	310	102	25%	(37%) 38	7	48%	10%
1492–1554	378	145	28%	(27%) 39	30	47%	11%
1556–1651	360	90	20%	(19%) 17	22	53%	10%
1660–1799	274	80	23%	(16%) 13	16	60%	12%
1800–1899–ES	135	106	44%	(2%) 2	12	86%	37%
1800–1899–LA	141	211	60%	(3%) 7	24	85%	49%

- (6a) a quien la ventura parece mostrar su cara alegre (*Sumas* 115r [1300–50])  
on whom Fortune seemed to have smiled
- (6b) hago que parezca Dios mudarse conmigo (*Nombres* 310 [1583])  
I make it so that God seems to move with me
- (6c) Aquellos taburetes parecían hablar de los tiempos aristocráticos (*Ideal* 304 [1863])  
those benches seemed to talk about the good times gone by

2.3 At this point we will not examine the issue of why subject raising has increased so dramatically in the past two hundred years, after a long period of relative stability (1300–1800). This is an issue that we will come back to in Section 5, when we consider how changes in the indirect object construction (*le parecía oír su voz*) during the period 1700–1900 may have affected subject raising in general. What we will consider at this point, however, is the way in which subject raising developed and increased in the early stages of its existence, from about 1200–1500.

A number of researchers have argued that Modern Spanish subject raising is influenced by the nature of the embedded verb: some verbs allow subject raising more easily than others. Some have claimed, for example, that it occurs exclusively

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(or most easily) with one of the three stative verbs *ser*, *estar* or *haber*.<sup>9</sup> If we apply this to the historical data, we might wonder whether subject raising first began with these three verbs. After looking briefly at some data from the 1200s, Bolinger asks the same question, but leaves it open for future researchers to answer.<sup>10</sup> His hypothesis is that *parecer* with noun phrases and adjectives was relatively common in the early stages of the language (cf. 7a). Its first occurrence with an embedded verb would have been with the verb *ser* (7b) because of the similarity in meaning between (7a) and (7b). From there it may have spread to semantically similar, simple verbs like *estar* and *haber* (7c-d), and from there to all other verbs (7e). Yet, as he mentions, this was only a hypothesis, and would have to be proven with real data.

- (7a) aquellas aues que les parecieron tan malas (*Estoria de España* 87r [1270])  
those birds that to them seemed so poor
- (7b) si a vosotros plaze & parece ser buen consejo (*Troyana* 54v [c1350])  
if he pleases you and seems to be a good advisor
- (7c) pareçia estar mas alta & mas poderosa (*Oficios* 123r [1422])  
she seemed to be taller and more powerful
- (7d) Ya me parece hauer vn año que no he visto aquel suaue descanso (*Celestina* 128 [1499])  
it seems to me to have been a year or so since I've had such a peaceful rest
- (7e) el cual parece tener poca menos insensibilidad que el infante (*Africa* 251 [1550s])  
who doesn't seem to be much more sensitive than the infante

The data from our corpus confirm Bolinger's intuitions. As Table 2 shows, in the earlier periods subject raising did occur primarily with *ser* and related verbs. Column D shows that in the 1200s and 1300s, 70% or more of all of the cases of subject raising were with *ser*, and that this figure did not decrease to less than 20% until the 1600s. Looking at things somewhat inversely, Column F shows that only about 22% of all cases of subject raising in the 1300s occurred with a verb other than *ser*, *estar* or *haber*, but that by the 1800s that figure had risen to over 85%. Thus the data show that the construction did not come into being in syntactic isolation, but that there was a natural evolution and extension from 1) *parecer* + adjective to 2) *parecer* + *ser* to 3) *parecer* + related verbs to 4) *parecer* + all verbs.

### 3. 'PARTIAL' RAISING

In the previous section we considered the process by which there was a semantic extension of the *parecer* + adjective construction to embedded verbs, via the semantically 'bland' *ser*. In this section we will consider how the construction may have developed syntactically during its earliest stages. To do so, consider the following three sentences:

- (8a) — parecía que [*María* estaba enferma]  
(8b) *María* parecía [— que estaba enferma]  
(8c) *María* parecía [estar enferma]

Subject raising is of course the movement of a subject from the embedded clause (8a) into the main clause (8c). Consider, however, the possibility that sentences with 'partial raising' such as (8b) may have served as a link between –raising sentences (8a) and +raising sentences (8c). In other words, in (8b) the subject would raise to the main clause (as in the fully raised 8c), but would still leave some type of 'trace' that caused the embedded clause to remain finite (as in 8a). Evidence for such a construction would show that there was a more gradual (syntactic) movement from –raising to +raising, just as the *ser* and related sentences of Section 2 provided a 'semantic' link between –raising and +raising.

Fortunately, the data provide us with just the evidence that we need to support such a hypothesis. The data show that 'partial' raising sentences of the type (8b) were non-existent in the 1200s, the century before subject raising became common. Then in the 1300s, precisely when we would expect to see such sentences, there are five examples (9a). In the 1400s and 1500s there are two examples each (9b–c), and the last example of partial raising is found in 1612 (9d); there are no examples from the 1700s or 1800s:

- (9a) *ca muchos parescen que fazen buenas obras* (*Lucanor* 257 [1330])  
because many seem to do good works
- (9b) *Les parescian que podían inpedir & estoruar su casamiento* (*Esopo* 34r [1482])  
it seemed to them that they were going to be able to prevent their marriage
- (9c) *Grandes humos que parecían que querían abrasar todo el campo* (*Clareo* 160 [1552])  
great clouds of smoke that seemed to consume the entire countryside
- (9d) *Otras dos candelicas a los santos que a ella le pareciesen que eran de los más aprovechados y agradecidos* (*Rinconete* 68 [1612])  
two other small candles for the saints, which to her seemed to be just right

These findings are corroborated in my study of Modern Spanish, where there is only one example of partial raising in the entire 4,300,000 word corpus:<sup>11</sup>

- (10) *Todas, casi todas ya, parecen que quieren levantarse* (*Hombres* 244:1)  
nearly all of them now look like they want to get up

In this study I also questioned nearly 150 native speakers (via the Internet), nearly all of whom strongly rejected sentences such as (10). Thus with the partial raising construction we have a nice example of a construction that looks strange and unacceptable from the viewpoint of Modern Spanish, but which makes perfect sense in terms of the subject raising grammar of the 1300s, when it served as a 'syntactic link' between non-raising and raising sentences.

#### 4. EXTENSION TO NON-THIRD PERSON SUBJECTS

In this section we will show that subject raising began mainly with third person singular subjects, but that there has been a steady, gradual increase in raising with third person plural and even first and second person subjects. Bolinger

conjectured that this was the case, but suggested that others confirm this with actual data.<sup>12</sup> As Bolinger postulated, and as we have demonstrated in the previous section, the 'full' raising construction (11a) developed from the 'partial raising' constructions (11b):

- (11a) Juan parece [haber ofendido a Marta]  
John seems to have offended Martha
- (11b) Juan, parece que [— ha ofendido a Marta]  
As for John, it seems that he has offended Martha

In cases of non-third person singular subjects, however, there is no agreement between the fronted noun phrase and the following third person singular *parece*, and for this reason there would be fewer cases of raising with these subjects:

- (12a) ellos, parece que [— han ofendido a Marta]
- (12b) tú, parece que [— has ofendido a Marta]

Following up on Bolinger's hypothesis, we might argue that once the language had moved from the 'partial' raising to the 'full' raising stage, then the awkwardness of non-3SG subjects would be less important, and we would see a corresponding increase in raising with these subjects.

The data from the corpus strongly support such a hypothesis. Initially, however, if we look strictly at the number of examples of non-3SG subjects in each century, the data seem to be somewhat confusing. As Table 3 shows, the first case of a non-3SG subject is from the 1300s (cf. 13a), and there are then a large number of tokens in the 1400s (13b), somewhat less in the 1500s (13c), relatively few in the 1600s (13d), and then it begins to climb again in the 1700s (13e):

- (13a) los quales bien parescian no denegar los dulces abraçados (*Troyana* 38v [c1350])  
who in no way seemed to reject the sweet embraces
- (13b) quando las palabras dela scriptura parescen contradezir conla Jntençion del scriptor (*Retórica* 14r [1420])  
when what is written seems to go against the main intent of the author
- (13c) Pareçíanme ser todas estas cosas difiçiles al entendimiento (*Crotalón* 293 [1553])  
for me, all of these things seem hard to understand
- (13d) Todas las partes de mi cuerpo parecieron quererse desencajar también (*Criticón* 187 [1647])  
and it seemed that every part of my body would become dislocated
- (13e) parecen haber abrazado la ociosidad (*Censor* 114 [1781–])  
they seem to have succumbed to idleness

Upon closer investigation, however, we see that (especially in the case of the 1400s), one single, anomalous text accounts for nearly all of the tokens. The high figure of 18 non-3SG subjects in the 1400s (found in the rightmost column in Table 3) is mainly due to the 14 tokens from the one text, *De los oficios*:

- (14a) por que paresçen pertenesçer a enformaçion dela vida comun (40r)  
because it seems to deal with common life

Table 3: Non-3SG subjects

	# texts	# texts with tokens	# tokens
1200–1299	14	0	0
1300–1399	10	1	3
1400–1491	15	2	18
1492–1554	19	3	8
1556–1651	16	3	4
1660–1799	17	5	14
1800–1899–ES	13	8	18
1800–1899–LA	14	9	54

- (14b) es mucho de curar que parezcamos honrrar & amar aaquellos con quien fablamos (76r).  
it is very important that we appear to respect and love those with whom we speak

To compensate for the skewed syntax of one or two anomalous texts, perhaps it would be better to see how many texts in each period have cases of non-3SG subjects. When we look at the data in this light, we see that a clear pattern emerges. As the shaded column in Table 3 shows, there has in fact been a consistent and steady increase in the number of texts that contain cases of non-3SG subjects.

Finally, we should note that the diachronic shift towards non-3SG subjects is not yet complete. In Modern Spanish, 3SG subjects are much more common than non-3SG subjects, especially those that are first or second person subjects (15a).<sup>13</sup> This shows that Spanish is not yet at the point of English, where even non-3SG subjects are quite common and acceptable (15b):

- (15a) parece / parecen / ? pareces / ?? parezco haber ofendido a Marta  
(15b) he / they / you / I seem(s) to have offended Marta

Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that Spanish is not yet at the point where it freely allows raising with nearly any person, the historical data do show a clear movement in that direction.

## 5. THE INDIRECT OBJECT CONSTRUCTION

The final subject raising construction that we will consider is one that we might call the 'indirect object construction', in which the indirect object and the subject of the embedded infinitive refer to the same person:

- (16a) donde le pareció quedar seguro de las pesquisas del rey (*Rodrigo* 311 [1793])  
where he seemed to be safe from the king's inquiries  
(16b) en las calles me ha parecido ver un pícaro (*Clemencia* 17 [1869])  
I seemed to have seen a picaro in the streets

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This construction has received very little attention in the articles that have looked at subject raising in Modern Spanish, and the only study of historical Spanish that mentions them provides just one isolated example from Old Spanish, without any further comment.<sup>14</sup> Yet as we will see, the indirect object construction may have been a very important subset of subject raising throughout the history of Spanish, and in fact may hold the key to explaining the sharp and sudden increase in subject raising in the past two hundred years.

Table 4 shows the number of cases of the indirect object construction in the different periods, both when the embedded verb was *ser* (17a) and when it was not (17b):

- (17a) Ca confesar se sabidor pareçia le seer arrogança o soberuja  
(*Inventionario* 47r [1453])  
because it seemed to him that it would be arrogance to claim to know
- (17b) esto es tan claro que me parece poder hablar en ello como en cosa  
tan propia mía como vuestra (*Diálogo* 169 [1536])  
this is so clear that it seems to me that I can talk about it as though  
it concerned me and not just you

Table 4: The indirect object construction

	with <i>ser</i>	other verbs
1200–1299	0	0
1300–1399	7	0
1400–1491	5	6
1492–1554	15	22
1556–1651	7	21
1660–1799	6	16
1800–1899–ES	0	8
1800–1899–LA	1	14

The important fact regarding the construction, however, is not the number of examples from each period, but rather the structure of the constructions in each period. From the first cases in the 1400s until the mid-1500s, the majority of the cases have an accompanying adjective or noun phrase with the indirect object pronoun in the main clause. More importantly, they have a reading in which the subject of the embedded clause can be (although is not necessarily) interpreted as PRO ('someone / people / one'):

- (18a) E grant locura me parece atribuyr al orador asi commo pequeñas  
cosas aquellas en quelos soberanos . . . (*Retórica* 9r [1420])  
to me it seems foolish [(for someone/anyone) to attribute to the  
speaker . . .]

- (18b) **cargoso me parece** pasar so silêncio lo que sant geronjmo segunt graçiano dize (*Invencionario* 71r [1453])  
to me it seems wrong [(for **people**) to ignore what St Jerome . . . says . . .]
- (18c) **Mejor me parece** dezir falta que falla (*Diálogo* 199 [1536])  
to me it seems better [(for **one**) to say . . .]

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Starting especially in the mid-1500s and extending until the mid-1700s, the majority of all cases exhibit a structure in which there is an implicit but unexpressed adjective *bien* or *mejor*, and in which the implicit subject of the embedded verb is more likely seen as being the same as the referent of the indirect object:

- (19a) Como una vez me levantase tarde y no bien dispuesto, **parecióme no trabajar** (*Guzmán* 209 [1597])  
it seemed best [(for **me**) to not work . . .]
- (19b) **Parecióle** vivir en Sevilla, por no carecer de su amada hija (*Navidades* 78 [1663])  
it seemed best [(for **her**) to live in Sevilla . . .]
- (19c) **Me ha parecido** seguir otro rumbo i creo que es el más acertado (*Mayans* 176 [1763])  
it has seemed best [(for **me**) to follow another course . . .]

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This construction with an implied *bien* or *mejor* disappears quite suddenly in the latter half of the 1700s, and is followed by the indirect object construction that is still the most common one in Modern Spanish. In this construction there is no implied adjective, and there is a strong presumption of coreference between the indirect object and the embedded subject. Note also that there is now little remaining of the sense of 'it seems good / bad / best (for him / her / someone) to do something', and the meaning is now simply '(he / she) seemed to do something'. In other words, the emphasis is now on the person as subject, rather than the person as observer or impartial judge of an action or state:

- (20a) y **parecía** ver en cada uno un enemigo (*Matritenses* 166 [1842])  
and **he** seemed to view everyone as his enemy
- (20b) **me parece** sentir alguna sequedad de espíritu durante la oración (*Pepita* 31 [1874])  
I seem to feel an emptiness during the prayer
- (20c) **me pareció** notar alguna alarma en los semblantes de los criados (*María* 603 [1867])  
I seemed to sense a certain fear in the servants

We should note that there is not a complete separation between these three periods. There are a few cases of the implied *bien* or *mejor* previous to the mid-1500s, as well as several cases of the final 'subject' interpretation previous to the late 1700s. Perhaps the only clear separation is the sudden disappearance of the implied *bien/mejor* construction in the late 1700s, which might suggest that it was in part a stylistically-driven construction that simply fell out of use. Yet an examination of the 128 cases of the indirect object construction does suggest that there was a clear shift from indirect object as observer/judge to indirect object as subject, especially in the latter half of the 1700s.

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If this scenario is correct, it may well explain the sudden increase in subject raising generally since the late 1700s. Consider again some standard cases of subject raising:

- (21a) *contra ese sentimiento que parecía dominar su corazón (Clemencia 31 [1869])*  
 against this feeling, which seemed to overpower him
- (21b) *Los ojos de Lola parecían provocar; los de Carmen expresaron un supremo desdén (Carmen 662 [1882])*  
 Lola's eyes seemed to lead you on; Carmen's just gave the sense of complete disdain

In these sentences, and in hundreds of other cases of subject raising in the corpus, the subject (*ese sentimiento, los ojos*) is seen as being the semantic subject of the embedded verb and the syntactic subject of the main verb *parecer*. The crucial point is that the subject of both clauses is seen as being the same. With the indirect object construction, this type of strong coreference between the indirect object and the subject of the embedded verb became the norm only in the mid-1700s. Thus once there was a high degree of coreference with the indirect object construction, then it became more likely that there would be a more general shift from non-raised *que* clauses (*parece que María está enferma*) to raising (*María parece estar enferma*), where the crucial issue is whether the one noun phrase can be seen as serving as subject of both clauses.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The first goal of this study was to provide comprehensive data on changes in Spanish subject raising, a phenomenon that has been largely neglected, at least in terms of older stages of Spanish. In order to do this, we have relied on more than 2500 tokens taken from more than 5,300,000 words of text. We have shown that the first cases of subject raising date from the 1300s, but that its use stayed fairly steady until the late 1700s, when it suddenly became much more common. We have also seen that there were many cases of 'partial raising' early on, but that these have now largely disappeared. We have also seen a gradual extension of subject raising to include even non-3SG subjects. Finally, we have shown that the indirect object construction has changed from being mainly 'observer/judge'-oriented to being subject-oriented.

The second goal was to provide a motivation for these shifts, whenever possible. We have suggested that subject raising may have started with semantically simple verbs like *ser*, which are in turn linked to the previous 'adjectival' use of *parecer*. We have also suggested that 'partial' raising may have served as a link between non-raising and raising, which suggests that, in this case at least, the emergence of a syntactic rule or construction was not the result of 'parametric' or 'binary' factors, but was much more gradual. The same can be said for the very gradual extension of subject raising to non-3SG subjects, which has been underway for several centuries now, and is not yet completed (cf. *??yo parezco conoerte*). Finally, although it is not the only possible scenario, the data suggest the possibility that the shift towards strong coreference with the indirect object

construction may have been a factor in motivating the shift towards subject raising generally.

## NOTES

1 In this study the terminology 'subject raising' is used in place of the more cumbersome 'subject to subject raising'. Yet one should keep in mind that in classical transformational grammar, there were assumed to be other types of raising to and from subject position, such as subject to object raising (lo vi trabajar < vi [él trabajar]) and object to raising (el libro es difícil de leer < es difícil [leer el libro]).

2 Dwight Bolinger, 'The Syntax of *Parecer*', in *Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics to the Memory of Pierre Delattre*, ed. Albert Valdman (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 65–76; Magdalena García Pinto and Marta Luján, 'On subject raising in Spanish', in *Colloquium on Spanish and Portuguese Linguistics*, ed. William T. Milan et al. (Washington, DC: Georgetown Univ. Press, 1974); María Jesús Fernández Leboráns and María del Díaz Bautista, 'Sobre la sintaxis del verbo español "parecer"', *BRAE*, LXX (1990), 353–420. See also Keith Sauer, *Sentential Complementation in Spanish* (Diss. Washington, 1972); Frank Nuessel, *Complement Structures in Spanish* (Diss. Illinois, 1973); Hildebrando Ruiz Morales, *Infinitives and Patterns of Sentential Complements in Spanish* (Diss. Indiana, 1979); Conxita Lleó, *Some Optional Rules in Spanish Complementation: Towards a Study of the Speaker's Intent* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979); Patricia Seaver, *The Syntax and Semantics of Grammatical Relations in Reduced Complement Clauses in Spanish* (Diss. SUNY-Buffalo, 1982); Carlos Subirats-Ruggeberg, *Sentential Complementation in Spanish: A Lexico-grammatical Study of Three Classes of Verbs* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1987).

3 Friedrich Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua española* (Halle a.S.: M. Niemeyer, 1913), 253–56; Hayward Keniston, *The Syntax of Castilian Prose: The Sixteenth Century* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937), 501–05; Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid: texto, gramática, y vocabulario*, 3rd ed. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1954), I, 349–51; Vicente García de Diego, *Gramática histórica española*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 1961), 354–56; Rafael Cano Aguilar, *El español a través de los tiempos* (Madrid, Arco/Libros, 1988), 217–18.

4 Wilfred A. Beardsley, *Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1921), 103.

5 Bolinger, 'The Syntax of *Parecer*'.

6 Composition of the corpus. The following is a list of the texts contained in the 118 text / 5,300,000+ word corpus of historical Spanish prose, and the full bibliographic information can be found on the Internet at <http://138.87.135.33/personal/espanol.htm>. Several of the texts from the 1200–1400s are taken from Volume 0 of the ADMYTE CD-ROM. Note also that the texts in bold refer to the abbreviations used in the examples cited above. 1200s [14 texts / 776,700 words] *Libro de los balcones*, *Tratado de la cetrería*, *Fueros de Castilla*, *Fueros de Aragón*, *Libro de los animales de caza*, *Poridat de poridades*, *Libro de los engaños*, *Estoria de España*, *Historia troyana en prosa y verso*, *General estoria*, *Libro de los cient capítulos*, *Castigos y documentos para bien vivir*, *Libro de consejo y de los consejeros*, *Gran conquista de Ultramar*; 1300s [10 texts / 744,200 words] *Crónica de Sancho IV*, *Crónica de Alfonso X*, *Sumas de la historia troyana*, *Leyes del estilo*, *Crónica de veinte reyes*, *El Conde Lucanor*, *Libro de la montería*, *Historia troyana*, *Proverbios morales*, *Libro de la caza de las aves*; 1400–1491 [15 texts / 765,200 words] [c1410] *Cuento de Tristán de Leonís*, *Suma de las crónicas de España*, *Menor daño de medicina*, *Retórica*, *De los oficios*, *Arte cistoria*, *El Corbacho*, *Libro de las doñas*, *Invencionario*, *Espejo de medicina*, *Fábulas de Esopo*, *Breve confesionario*, *Claros varones de Castilla*, *Imitación de Cristo*, *Arnalte y Lucenda*; 1494–1554 [19 texts / 745,300 words] *Cárcel de amor*, *Libro llamado Infancia Salvatoris*, *De las mujeres ilustres en romance*, *Grimalte y Gradissa*, *Historia de Grisel y Mirabella*, *Glosa sobre Lux bella*, *La Celestina*, *Amadis de Gaula*, *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias*, *Diálogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma*, *Diálogo de doctrina cristiana*, *Diálogo de la lengua*, *Relación, o Naufragios*, *Relación de las comunidades de Castilla*, *Los corsarios Barbarroja*, *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de Africa*, *Los amores de Clarea y Florisea*, *El crotalón*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*; 1556–1651 [16 texts / 701,100 words] *Guía de pecadores*, *El patrañuelo*, *Las moradas del castillo interior*, *De los nombres de Cristo*, *La perfecta casada*, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, *La vida del Buscón*, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, *Comentarios reales de los incas*, *Dos novelas ejemplares* (Rinconete y Cortadillo), *La ilustre fregona*, *Los trabajos de*

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*Persiles y Sigismundo, Vida de Marcos de Obregón, Novelas amorosas, Desengaños amorosos, Empresas políticas, Vida y hechos de Estebanillo González, El criticon; 1660–1799 [17 texts / 669,800 words] El día de fiesta por la mañana y por la tarde, Navidades de Madrid y noches entretenidas, El no importa de España, Historia de la conquista de México, Teatro crítico universal and Cartas eruditas, La poética, Vida, Historia del famoso predicador fray Gerundio de Campazas, El Pensador, Escritos económicos <Gregorio Mayans y Siscar>, Cartas marruecas, Anthology <Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos>, El Censor, La derrota de los pendientes, El rodrigo, Diario de Madrid, Cartas y discursos <Juan Meléndez Valdés>; 1800–1899 España [13 texts / 425,500 words] Las palabras, Sancho Saldaña, Escenas matritenses, El señor de Bombibre, Escenas andaluzas, Selected prose <Fernán Caballero>, Pepita Jiménez, La pródiga, La regenta, Los pazos de Ulloa, Fortunata y Jacinta, La espuma, La puchera; 1800–1899 LatAm [14 texts / 550,600 words] Don Catrín de la Fachenda, Cecilia Valdés o la loma del ángel, Facundo, Guatimozín: último emperador de México, El ideal de un calavera, María, Clemencia, Enriquillo, Carmen, Juvenilia, Amistad funesta, La noche buena, De sobremesa, El donador de almas.*

7 Mark Davies, *The Diachronic Evolution of Causative Constructions in Spanish and Portuguese* (Diss. Texas at Austin, 1992), 59, 124, 156–57. See also Mark Davies, 'The Evolution of the Spanish Causative Construction', *Hispanic Review*, LXIII (1995), 57–77; Mark Davies, 'The Diachronic Evolution of the Causative Construction in Portuguese', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, XVII (1993/96), 261–92.

8 See Mark Davies, 'A Corpus-Based Approach to Subject Raising in Modern Spanish', *Hispanic Linguistics* (forthcoming, 1997). While the present study treats subject raising from 1200–1900, in the other study I complement this by providing data for the period since 1900, based on an extensive corpus of both written and spoken Modern Spanish texts.

9 See García Pinto and Luján, Ruiz Morales, and Seaver.

10 Bolinger, 72–73.

11 See Davies, 'A Corpus-Based Approach'.

12 Bolinger, 73–74.

13 See Davies, 'A Corpus-Based Approach'.

14 Bolinger, 75.