
PART II: THE BIRTH OF ROMANCE: LATIN RETENTIONS & VERNACULAR INNOVATIONS

Michela Cennamo

Vestiges of Late Latin syntax in (southern) Italo-Romance

Existential HAVE and pleonastic SE

Abstract: This paper discusses existential constructions with HAVE and pleonastic reflexives in some southern Italo-Romance dialects, in relation to their Latin antecedents, focussing on the points of continuity of both constructions in the transition from Latin to (Italo-)Romance, involving their core realizations. It is argued that existential HAVE in Romance is not related to an original possession scheme, but that it results from paths of change reflecting the locative-stative uses of the verb *habere* ‘have, hold’, continuing and further developing Late Latin patterns introducing a new entity or situation into the world of discourse within a spatio-temporal frame. It is also shown that pleonastic SE with one-argument verbs in some southern Italo-Romance varieties functions as a split intransitivity marker, continuing a Late Latin usage surfacing also in other Romance languages (e.g., French, European Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish), albeit to a different extent.

1 Introduction

This article investigates two well-known and highly debated issues of Romance morpho-syntax, existential constructions with HAVE and pleonastic uses of reflexives (i.e., pleonastic SE) with one-argument verbs, as instantiated in some southern Italo-Romance varieties, in relation to their Latin antecedents. It is demonstrated (i) that existential HAVE in Romance continues and further develops patterns which became available in Late Latin to introduce a new entity or situation into the world of discourse within a spatio-temporal frame and results from paths of change reflecting the locative-stative uses of the verb *habere* ‘have, hold’, rather than being related to an original possession scheme, according to some current ideas in the literature, and (ii) that pleonastic SE with one-argument verbs in some southern Italo-Romance varieties functions as a split intransitivity marker, continuing a Late

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Latin usage surfacing also in other Romance languages (e.g., French, European Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish), albeit to a different extent.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 2 illustrates existential constructions in Italo-Romance, providing examples of constructions with existential HAVE in some southern Campanian varieties, whose Latin antecedents will be discussed in Section 3. Section 4 describes the use of pleonastic reflexives with one-argument verbs in Italo-Romance, whose diachrony is addressed in section 5. Finally, section 6 provides the conclusions.

2 Existential constructions in Italo-Romance and some southern Italo-Romance varieties

2.1 Existential constructions: an overview

Existentials can be defined as constructions expressing the existence of a participant ($\pm$ animate) in a given syntactic context, the pivot of predication (McNally 2011: 1830, 2016; Cruschina 2014; Bentley 2015: 1–12; Bentley & Cruschina 2017 for Italo-Romance), optionally preceded by the copula and an expletive (non-referential and invariable) element in initial position (e.g., the third person masculine singular pronoun *il* in French (1a), the third person singular neuter deictic pronoun *cheru* ‘that’ in inner Cilentano (1b) (Cennamo & Cerullo 2021), the locative/expletive *there* in English (1c)), characteristic of the subject in languages with initial S (SVO/SOV) (1a-b), and a pronominal element, a proform, resulting from the grammaticalization of an etymologically locative element in some Romance languages and varieties (e.g., Fr. *y* (< Lat. *ibi*, Ciconte 2015; Bentley & Ciconte 2016: 855), It. *ci* (< Lat. *HINCE* ‘hence’, Maiden 1995: 167) (2b), Pad. *ghe* ‘there’ (< *j* < *HIC/ILLIC/IBI* ‘here/there’) (2a) (Rohlf 1968: §903; Benincà 2007: 28 for a discussion of its etymology; Bentley 2017: 13):

- (1) a. *Il y a trois chambres et deux salles de bain...*
EXPL LOC has three bedrooms and two bathrooms
‘There are three bedrooms and two bathrooms’
(McNally 2016: 221)
- b. *(cheru) nun ave gas*
EXPL not has gas
‘There is no gas’
- c. *There is a shortage of printing paper/primary school teachers*

- (2) a. *De Papa ghe ne zé solo che uno* (Paduan)
 di Papa PF part is only that one
 ‘There is only one Pope’ (Bentley 2015: 7)
- b. *C’ è frutta ottima d’ estate/ ci sono prove*
 there is fruit excellent in summer/ there are evidence
schiaccianti
 crushing
 ‘The fruit is very good in the summer/there is overwhelming evidence’

Existentials have non-canonical morphosyntax compared with a simple declarative clause, differing for some aspects (e.g., the presence/absence of agreement) and the presence of dedicated elements (for instance, reflexes of Lat. *habere* ‘have’ in some Romance languages and varieties such as French, Spanish, Catalan, European Portuguese, and some Italo-Romance varieties from Puglia (province of Lecce), Campania (Cilento), Calabria (Catanzaro, Vibo Valentia) (Bentley, Ciconte & Cruschina 2015). In existential constructions the pivot is the only obligatory constituent¹. It can function as an argument (since it introduces a new participant into the discourse, which can be encoded as a subject, thus agreeing with the finite verb, the copula), and/or as a predicate, expressing a property of an implicit argument of the construction (Parry 2013: 512; Bentley 2015a: 23; 2015b: 100, 119–150; Cruschina 2016).

(3) (expletive) (proform) (copula) pivot (coda) (Bentley 2015a: 2; Cruschina 2015b: 35)

Following the classification proposed in Cruschina 2014, Bentley, Ciconte & Cruschina 2015, four types of existential constructions can be identified (Table 1 and examples in (4):

Table 1: *Existential and pseudo-existential constructions in Italo-Romance* (Cruschina 2014: 59).

Type	Structure	Focus	<i>Ci</i>	Pivot
I	Existential	sentence/predicate	pro-argument	predicate (indefinite)
II	Inverse locative	argument	pro-predicate	argument (definite)
III	Deictic locative	argument	pro-predicate	argument (definite)
IV	Presentational	sentence	lexicalized	argument (specific)

¹ As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the pivot however can be phonologically null (cf. Sp. ¿Hay galletas? – Sí, hay (lit. Has cookies? yes has) ‘Are there cookies? Yes, there are’).

- (4) a. *C' è un pipistrello nell'androne* (Type I: existential)
 PF is a bat in-the entrance hall
 'There is a bat in the entrance hall/porch'
- b. *C' è il pipistrello, nell'androne* (Type II: inverse locative)
 PF is the bat in-the entrance hall
 'There is the bat, in the entrance hall/porch'
- c. *C' è Maria/ ci sono i ragazzi* (Type III: deictic locative)
 PF is Mary/ PF are the boys
 'There is Mary/There are the boys'
- d. *C' è Maria che fa i capricci oggi* (Type IV: presentational)
 PF is Mary who makes the whims today
 'Maria is in a bad mood today'

Type I displays an indefinite pivot, most typically inanimate, functioning as a predicate, a property characterizing an abstract argument of predication providing the spatio-temporal coordinates of the situation described by the existential pattern, instantiated by the etymologically locative pro-form *ci* 'there', as in (4a) *C'è un pipistrello (nell'androne)* 'there is a bat in the courtyard'. The optional locative phrase, *nell'androne* in (4a), is not coreferential with the proform *ci*, that is the grammatical spell-out of the abstract spatio-temporal settings of the situation described by the existential construction. Type II exhibits a definite pivot, functioning as an argument of the predication, as in (4b) *C'è il pipistrello (nell'androne)*. The locative phrase can also occur in sentence initial position and the pro-form *ci* is coreferential with it. It is referred to as an inverse locative, because it exhibits an inverted order of the locative construction (Cruschina 2014: 59). The coda is prosodically and syntactically dislocated (Cruschina 2016: 59) and the proform *ci* is a locative clitic with a resumptive function, coreferent with the dislocated locative PP if present, as in (4b), or signaling an 'implicit topic', the locative phrase (Cruschina 2016: 131). Type III is a subtype of the inverse locative construction, characterized by a strong deictic value ("default deictic interpretation of 'here and now'") (Cruschina 2014: 59), as in (4c) *C'è Maria/ci sono i ragazzi*. Type IV instantiates a presentational *ci* sentence, that introduces a new event or situation into the discourse; it is an independent construction, characteristic of colloquial language, involving a "predicational structure characterized by a relative clause" (Cruschina 2016: 138; 2018: 53), as exemplified in (4d) *C'è Maria che fa i capricci*. In this pattern the proform *ci* is lexicalized with the copula *essere* 'be', in the verb *esserci* 'be there' (Cruschina 2016: 143–144 for a full discussion and references therein).

2.2 Existential sentences in inner Cilento (southern Campania)

In some southern Italo-Romance varieties from inner Cilento (Campania), in the Calore Lucano valley (Felitto, Laurino, Piaggine, Valle dell'Angelo) (cf. Map 1), two types of existential constructions obtain, featuring the copulas HAVE and BE. The former is regarded by speakers as more dialectal and reflecting the original existential structure, whereas the latter reflects the influence of Italian. As in other Italo-Romance dialects exhibiting existential patterns with HAVE and BE, agreement of the verb with the pivot only obtains when BE is selected. In existential patterns selecting the copula HAVE, on the other hand, the verb is in the default third person singular. HAVE is preferred with type I, canonical existentials, displaying [-Def] (the so-called definiteness effect) (MacNally 2011; 2016; Cruschina 2014: 59, note 4, among others), [$\pm$ An] pivots (5a), with which it is the sole construction allowed by some speakers, whilst the pattern with the copula BE is accepted in the other types of existentials (6)–(8) (Cennamo & Cerullo 2021)²:



Map 1: Campania.

² The same definiteness constraint on copula selection with existentials obtains in some Sardinian varieties (see discussion in Cruschina 2014: 73–74 and examples and references therein).

- (5) a. [a'via pur'tuwalli e 'pumi] (Type I, canonical existential) (HAVE)
 had oranges and apples
 'There were oranges and apples'
 b. *[ndʒə so pur'tuwalli e 'pumi] (*BE)
 had are oranges and apples
- (6) a. [(ndʒi) a'via li k'ka:nne a k'kesta 'vi:a]
 PF had the canes at this street
 'On this street there were canes' (Type II, inverse locative)
 b. ['kiru ndʒ ε lu trap'pitu d'da]
 EXPL PF is the olive mill there
 'There is the olive mill there' (Type II, inverse locative)
- (7) [avə a t'tia] (Type III, deictic locative)
 has DOM you
 'There is you'
- (8) a. [avə la fem'mina ka me li 'spanni]
 has DOM the woman who for-me them hangs-out
 'The house-keeper hangs out the laundry for me' (Type IV, presentational)
 b. [ndʒ ε la fu'kaɲna ka nu g'garde b'bɔna]
 PF is the fireplace that not burns well
 'The fireplace does not work well (Type IV, presentational)

The pivot can be [+Def], [+An]. If [+Hum], it takes the marker *a* (7), characteristic of highly individuated O arguments of transitive verbs, occurring with proper names, kinship terms, [+Def], [+Hum] common nouns and pronouns. The marker *a* is lacking with human common nouns if [−Def], [−Spec].

The copula HAVE also occurs in other patterns, denoting temporal distance, in the sequence HAVE+ temporal phrase (± the complementizer *ca* 'that') (Cennamo & Cerullo 2021):

- (9) avə 'tre anni ka nu b'beru a t'tsa graddzja
 has three years that not see.1SG DOM aunt Grace
 'I haven't seen my aunt Grace for three years' ((temporal distance - HAVE)
 (lit. 'has three years that . . .')

3 Source of the copula HAVE

The traditional assumption in the past and more recent literature is that the source of existential HAVE constructions is the possessive scheme associated with the verb HAVE (Creissels 2013; Ciconte 2015: 231; Cruschina 2015: 58). In our discussion we demonstrate that existential HAVE derives from the locative meaning of Latin *habere* and from the functional equivalence between HAVE and BE, in all their grammatical domains, a well-attested usage throughout the history of Latin (Luque Moreno 1978: 139; also Benveniste 1966: 199).

More specifically, we show that existential HAVE in Romance continues and further develops patterns which became available in Late Latin to ‘introduce a new entity or situation into the world of discourse’ within a spatio-temporal frame and that the construction results from paths of change reflecting the existential uses of the verb *habere* ‘have, hold’, starting from its stative meaning of ‘being in a (physical/abstract) state/place’ (Baldi & Nuti 2010: 273, note 34) and its early copular uses and functional equivalence with the copula *esse* ‘be’. This usage in Late Latin interacts with the reorganization of the morpho-syntactic tools available for the encoding of voice distinctions, leading to ‘quirky’ uses of the mediopassive *-r* form in active function, involving also the verb *habere*, in a seemingly active and passive auxiliary function, as witnessed by O/S₀ oriented patterns of *habere* with past participles illustrated in Section 3.2.2. None of the changes involved in the Early and Late Latin existential uses of HAVE appear to be related to an original possession scheme, i.e., to the verb of possession *habere*.

3.1 Non-lexical uses of HAVE in Latin

3.1.1 Active ‘impersonal’ constructions with have

Existential patterns consisting of an adverb + the 3rd singular of the verb HAVE (*habere*), are attested already in early (e.g., Plautus) and Classical Latin authors (e.g., Cicero), alternating with analogous constructions with the verb BE (*esse*): *recte habet/est* ‘it is right’, *bene habet/est* ‘it is good’ (10a-b) (Pinkster 2015: 97, among others):

- (10) a. *Bene habet. Iacta sunt*
 good have.PRS.IND.3SG lay.PST.PTCP.F.PL be.PRS.IND.3PL
 fundamenta defensionis (Cic. Mur. 14)
 foundation.PL.N defense.GEN
 ‘That’s good. The foundations of his defense have been laid’

- b. *Apud Herum recte erat* (Cic. *Q.fr.* 3.1.1)
 by Herus well be.PRS.IND.3SG
 ‘All was well at Herus’ (Pinkster 2015: 96)

Examples of early functional equivalence of HAVE and BE also involve personal uses, with [$\pm$ Animate] subjects (Luque Moreno 1978: 139). HAVE occurs as a purely stative verb, denoting “(temporal) permanency of the subject in a certain state” like BE (Baldi & Nuti 2010: 273–274), the verb denoting ‘existence’ or ‘state’ as in (11a), and (11b) (instantiating the equivalent personal use of HAVE with a predicative adverbial) (10a) (see Luque Moreno 1978: 139 for discussion and further examples):

- (11) a. *At sci’n quomodo tibi res*
 but know.PRS.IND.2SG in-what-manner you.DAT thing
habet? (Pl. *Aul.* 47)
 have.PRS.IND.3SG
 ‘But have you any idea of what your situation is?’
 b. *Bene habent tibi principia* (Ter. *Ph.* 429)
 well have.PRS.IND.3PL you.DAT beginnings
 ‘The start (of the story) is good for you’ (Baldi & Nuti 2010: 274)’

According to Ramos Guerreira (1998: 679), uses of HAVE to denote existence are already found in Classical Latin (e.g., Cicero), with the verb in the passive form, as in (12a) (an issue that needs further investigation)³. An isolated, apparently unique example of existential HAVE in the active impersonal form is reported for Early Latin (e.g., Cato, IIII-II BC) by Baldi & Nuti (2010: 275) (12b), with the nominal in preverbal position and in the accusative case). This pattern, however, could also be interpreted as an early instance of the accusative in subject function, with *habere* in its canonical meaning of verb of possession, with the reading ‘unless the bowl had a pierced hole’:

- (12) a. *Habetur de integro quaestio* (Cic. *Cluent.* 177)
 have. PRS.IND.MPASS.3SG from whole enquiry
 ‘The trial/enquiry starts again’

³ In the traditional literature on existential HAVE, however, the terms ‘existence, existential’ only partially overlap with current terminology, where ‘existential’ refers to ‘a proposition about the presence or existence of someone or something’ in a syntactic context, with a dedicated lexical item such as copular verbs (e.g., BE/HAVE) and an optional postcopular nominal (the pivot) conveying new information (McNally 2016: 212) (cf. discussion below and Section 2.1 and references therein).

- b. *encytum ad eundem modum facito uti globos*
 encytum in same way make.IMPER.2PL as balls
nisi calicem pertusum cauum habeat
 unless cup hole.ACC hollow have.SBJV.PRS.3SG
 ‘Prepare the encytum (a pastry dish) in the same way as the (cheese) balls,
 except that there is a bowl with a pierced hole’ (Cato, *agr.* 80,1)

The canonical existential patterns in Early, Classical and Late Latin most typically, exhibit the verb *esse* ‘be’, in sentence initial position, followed by a locative prepositional phrase (the coda) and the pivot, agreeing with the copula, as in (13a), with word order variability, (partially) illustrated in (13). The pivot may (i) precede the copula and the coda (with an understood, context-dependent, topical location) (Ciconte 2015: 227), as in (13b), (ii) it may be in sentence initial position, followed by the (coda) (i.e., the locative phrase), with the copula in final position, as shown in (13c), or (iii) it may occur after the coda (in sentence initial position), with the copula in final position, as in (13d) (Ciconte 2015: 226–228 for a thorough discussion and further examples; Rosén 1998 for a general overview of Latin existential and presentational sentences):

(13) *esse* LocPP NP (+agr)

- a. *Erant in quadam civitate (existential) rex*
 be.IMPF.3PL in one town.ABL king.NOM
et regina
 and queen.NOM
 ‘There were in a town a king and a queen’
 (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, iv, 28) Ciconte 2015: 226)
 NP ESSE
- b. *Si fistula erit...*
 if fistula.NOM be.FUT.3SG
 ‘If there is a fistula’ (Cato Maior, *De agri cultura* 157,14) (Ciconte 2015: 227)
 NP LocPP ESSE
- c. *Cicero meus in Formiano erat (locative)*
 Cicero my.NOM in Formiano be.IMPF.3SG
 (Cicero, *Ad familiares*, XVI, 12; Ciconte 2015: 225)
 LocPP NP ESSE
- d. *In eo flumine pons erat (inverse locative)*
 in that.ABL river.ABL bridge.NOM be.IMPF.3SG
 ‘On that river (there) was a bridge’ (Caesar, *De bello gallico*, II, 5; Ciconte 2015: 225)
 (a topical locative predicate precedes the argument, which in this case is focal)

3.2 Existential HAVE in Late Latin

3.2.1 Habere/haberi + [± agreeing] Nominal

Existential HAVE is well attested in Late Latin, in 4th–6th century texts (e.g., *Itinerarium Egeriae*, *Mulomedicina Chironis*, *Palladius*, Oribasius, Anthimus) (14–15). HAVE may be in the third person singular ‘impersonal’ active (14a–c)/passive (15a–c) forms, most typically followed by a non-agreeing [±An] nominal in the accusative case (14a–b) (Herzog 1910: 184; Svennung 1935: 475–477, 572–573; Leumann, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: §221, c; Bauer 1999; Cennamo 2011: 177–179; Pinkster 2015: 97). The nominal, however, may also occur pre-verbally, as in (14c), and it may also display verb agreement, as in (15a) *habetur capella*, and (15c), *alter habetur* (with a post-/pre-verbal nominative argument, respectively). In (14d) and (15d) there also occurs a past participle, *factum* in (14d) and *constructum* in (15d), that has however an adjectival function, being a modifier of the pivot nominals, *altarium* and *monasterium*, respectively, rather than forming a constituent with the finite verb, as clearly shown by its syntactic position (detached from the finite verb and generally occurring after the nominal it modifies) and by the context:

- (14) a. *habet* *in bibliotheca* *Ulpia librum*
 have.PRS.IND.3SG in library Ulpia book.ACC
 elephantinum
 consisting of ivory tablets.ACC (*Historia Augusta*, Tacitus 8.1)
 ‘In the sixth chest in Ulpian’s library, there is a book, consisting of ivory tablets’
- b. *habet* *in circuitu* *fontes*
 have.PRS.IND.3SG in surrounding area.ABL wells.NOM/ACC
 ‘There are fountains in the surrounding area’
 (Bauer 1999: 597)
- c. *In arca* *Noe homines* *habuit*
 in ark.ABL Noah men.NOM/ACC have.PRF.3SG
 ‘There were men in Noah’s ark’ (Hier. *Epist.* 123.9)
- d. *Nam et in medio ibi quasi altarium de*
 in fact and in middle there almost altar.N.SG of
 lapidibus factum *habet*
 stones.ABL make.PTCP.N.SG have.PRS.IND.3SG
 ‘And there in the middle there is an altar almost all made with stones’
 (*Itin. Eger.* 4,4)

- (15) a. *Ibi habetur capella* (Pard. 369, y. 673)
 there have.PRS.IND.MPASS.3SG goat.SG.NOM
 ‘There is a goat there’
- b. *hic (h)abetur reliquias martiris*
 here have.PRS.IND.MPASS.3SG remains.PL.ACC martyr.GEN
Bincenti
 Vincent.GEN
 ‘Here lie the remains of the martyr Vincent’ (Diehl, *ILCV* 2013)
- c. *Et deus in te est et praeter te*
 and God in you.ABL be.PRS.IND.3SG and beyond you.ABL
non alter habetur
 not other have.PRS.IND.MPASS.3SG
 ‘And God is within you and there is nobody else apart from you’ (Comm. *Ap.* 374)
- d. *Nam et ibi iam habebatur monasterium*
 in-fact and there already have.IMP.F.MPASS.3SG monastery.N
a germano eius Alicio in ipsa patris sui
 by brother his Alicius in same.ABL father.GEN his
tabernacula constructum
 dwelling build.PST.PTCP.N.SG
 ‘Then he went to the estate of his parents where **there was a monastery** built by his brother Alicius in his father’s dwelling’ (*V. Elig.* 2,15) (Mikulová 2016: 166)

In 4th c AD and later texts impersonal HAVE with a pre/post-copular nominal occurs also in spatial (16a) and temporal (16b) patterns (denoting both duration (16b) and temporal distance (16c) (cf. Panayotakis 2016 for a detailed discussion of temporal constructions with *habet* and further examples and references therein):

- (16) a. ... *inde ad sanctam Teclam habebat de civitate*
 from-there to saint Tecla have.IMP.F.3SG from city
forsitan mille quingentos passus
 perhaps one thousand five-hundred.M.PL.ACC steps.M.PL.ACC
 ‘From that place to Saint Thecla it was perhaps four miles’
 (*Itin. Eger.* 23,2)
- b. ... *dies iam habens sex*
 days.NOM/ACC already have.PRS.PTCP six
 ‘It being already six days’
 (*Pass. Theclae* 23 Bb p.62 G) (Panayotakis 2016: 210)

- c. *Pater eius . . . ex quo hinc*
 father.NOM his.GEN from which.ABL from-here
profectus est habet
 leave.PST.PTCP.M.SG.NOM be.PRS.IND.3SG have.PRS.IND.3SG
annos XIII
 years ,ACC fourteen
 ‘It has been fourteen years since his father left (from) here’ (*Hist. Apoll.*
 RA 31)

3.2.2 HAVE + past participle and a non-agreeing N

In Late Latin, impersonal active and passive forms of HAVE occur, also in conjunction with a past participle (from a transitive verb) in the neuter singular *scriptum* ‘written’ in (17a)-(17b), forming a constituent with the finite verb, to which it may be adjacent (17a-b), and a non-agreeing (most typically inanimate) Nominal (for case and/or number/gender) (17a), with clear examples from 6th century and later texts, and with varying interpretations. HAVE has an auxiliary function and is equivalent to BE, and the construction may be ambiguous at times between a resultative-stative (i.e., O-oriented) and an existential-like reading, which can only be resolved by the wider syntactic context (Reichenkron 1933: 45; Svennung 1936: 475; Mikulová 2016):

- (17) a. *Habet in ipsa cripta hebraeis litteris*
 have.PRS.IN.MPASS.3SG in this crypt Hebrew.ABL letters.ABL
scriptum nomina
 write.PST.PTCP.N.SG names
 ‘In this crypt names are written/have been written; there are names written in Hebrew letters’ (*Itin. Burg.* 25,6) (Reichenkron 1933: 45)
- b. *habetur enim ibi tumulum. . . In huius*
 have.PRS.IN.MPASS.3SG in-fact there tomb.ACC in this.GEN
fronte superiore habetur scriptum:
 side.ABL upper.ABL have.PRS.IN.MPASS.3SG write.PST.PTCP.N.SG
 SANCTAE MEMORIAE GALLAE
 saint.DAT memory.DAT Gallia.GEN
 ‘There is there in fact a tomb . . . At the top on its front side it is written/it has been written; there is an inscription’ (Greg. Tur. glor. conf. 35) (Mikulová 2016: 158)

It is worth noting that in (17b) *scriptum* is ambiguous between the participial and nominal function (meaning ‘written’ and ‘inscription’, respectively).

- (21) a. *De ipsa congregatione, quae in eo*
of same.ABL community.ABL that.NOM.F.SG in that.ABL
habetur monasterio
have.PRS.IND.MPASS.3SG monastery.ABL
‘Of the same community, that is in that monastery (is placed/located in that monastery)’ (Pard. 430, y. 693)
- b. *Quae inibi habere videntur*
that.F.PL.NOM in-there have.INF seem.PRS.SBJV.MPASS.3PL
‘That seemed to be in the same place’ (Pard. 230, p. 215, y. 615)
- c. *Avis quae dicitur avetarda*
bird.F.SG.NOM that.F.SG.NOM say.PR.IND.MPASS.3SG avetarda
bona est sed puto hic no
good.F.SG.NOM be.PRS.IND.3SG but think.PRS.IND.1SG here not
habere (=esse)
have.INF
‘A bird called avetarda (Fr. outarde) is good, but I think there is none here’
(Anthim.33)

3.4 Discussion

The HAVE existential patterns witnessed in some southern Italian dialects from inner Cilento (Campania) can be more fruitfully understood if considered in the light of their Latin antecedents: the existential uses of HAVE, attested already in early and Classical Latin, developed from the stative-locative use of the verb *habere*, with the meaning ‘to be in a state/condition, to stay’ (Baldi & Nuti 2010: 278, 376). These forms were also attested in the Late Latin use of the passive form *haberi* ‘to be situated, be located, be found’ in 6th-8th century Merovingian texts (Mikulová 2016:165).

As shown in Section 3.3, also *haberi* + past participle may occur in existential function, with HAVE denoting existence/location, as well as being equivalent to the copula and auxiliary *esse*. The auxiliary function of HAVE might reflect the functional opacity of voice forms in Late Latin, whereby the passive may occur in active function (so-called deponentization) and the active in passive function, with clear attestations in 6th century and later texts, as illustrated in (22), from the 7th c. AD (Cennamo 1998):

- (22) a. *petens ut per eius adiutorium*
 asking that through his help
liberaret (= liberaretur)
 set free.IPFV.SBJV.3SG
 ‘Asking to be set free with his help’ (*Fredeg. Chron.* IV C, 183, 17; VII AD)
eo anno luna oscurata est
 that.ABL year.ABL moon darken.PST.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.IND.3SG
 (= (se) *oscuravit*)
 RFL darken,PRF.3SG
 ‘That year the moon darkened’
 (*Fredeg. Chron.* 4, 11, 5)

In Late Latin, however, existential HAVE is only found with canonical existential constructions, i.e., with an (in)animate, indefinite/non-specific pivot, lack of agreement of the pivot with the copula, and different word order possibilities, partly reflecting the same variability in the order of the existential patterns with BE (exs. (13a-d) (Ciconte 2015), with a tendency (to be further investigated) for the order LocPP NP *habet*. Most typically, a referential locative phrase defining the spatial context of predication occurs, as shown in (14)-(17).

More specifically, three types of variability are found in Late Latin:

- (i) word order: pre-and post-copular NP/pivot (14a) *habet . . . numerum* vs (14b) *altarium . . . habet*; (15a) *habetur capella* vs (15c) *alter habetur*
- (ii) $\pm$ agr of the copula *habere* with the pre-/post-copular NP/pivot: +AGR: (15a) *habetur capella*, (15c) *alter habetur*; -AGR: (15b): *habetur . . . reliquias*
- (iii) case-marking of the pre/post-copular NP/pivot (15a) *habetur capella* / (NOM) vs *habetur tumulum* (ACC)

The data investigated also point to the presence of ‘impersonal’ HABET and lack of pivot agreement as the overt markers of a change in progress, leading to existential constructions with HAVE, with the subsequent (Romance) reanalysis of the locative argument as a non-referential, unspecified argument, the abstract spatio-temporal argument of predication (Parry 2013, Bentley 2015a: 152; Bentley & Cruschina 2016). The diachronic steps in the changes in the logical structure of HAVE in its grammaticalization from verb of location/locative copula to existential copula can be described adapting the schema put forward in Bentley (2015: 151–152) and Ciconte (2015: 231), cast withing the R(ole) and R(eference) G(rammar) notation

for the logical structure of copular constructions (Bentley 2015: 151–152; 2017: 8), as in (23)⁴:

- (23) I. Be-Loc' (location, theme) > II. Be-Loc/Exist' (location, theme) > III. Be-Loc' (x, theme) > IV. Be' (x,y/pivot)

The Late Latin data discussed illustrate an intermediate stage, (II) in (22), where *habere* still occurs in its locative and copular functions, taking a locative and a theme argument (like at stage I), albeit displaying existential uses anticipatory of subsequent (Romance) developments, witnessed by patterns with impersonal *habet* and variable position of the pivot. The construction, however, does not signal the presence of an abstract argument (x) expressing the spatial and temporal coordinates of the existential predication (like at stage III), since the locative phrase/adverb is always referential and the theme is still an argument in the construction. At the last (Romance) stage (IV), instead, the locative has been reanalysed as an implicit abstract argument (x), with the referential expression, (y), functioning as a predicate (cf. It. *non c'è gas* not PF has gas 'There is no gas' (see Bentley 2015: 152; Ciconte 2015: 231; also Bentley & Cruschina 2016: 487),

Interestingly, there is a clear correspondence between some instantiations of the Late Latin existential pattern with HAVE and the core existential sentences with HAVE in some inner Cilento dialects (characterized by a [-Def], [±An], non-agreeing pivot) described in (5a, 6a), for which the corresponding pattern with the copula BE, the proform (*ngi* 'there') and pivot agreement is either not available or only marginally accepted (Cennamo & Cerullo 2021).

4 Pleonastic reflexives with one-argument verbs in Italo-Romance

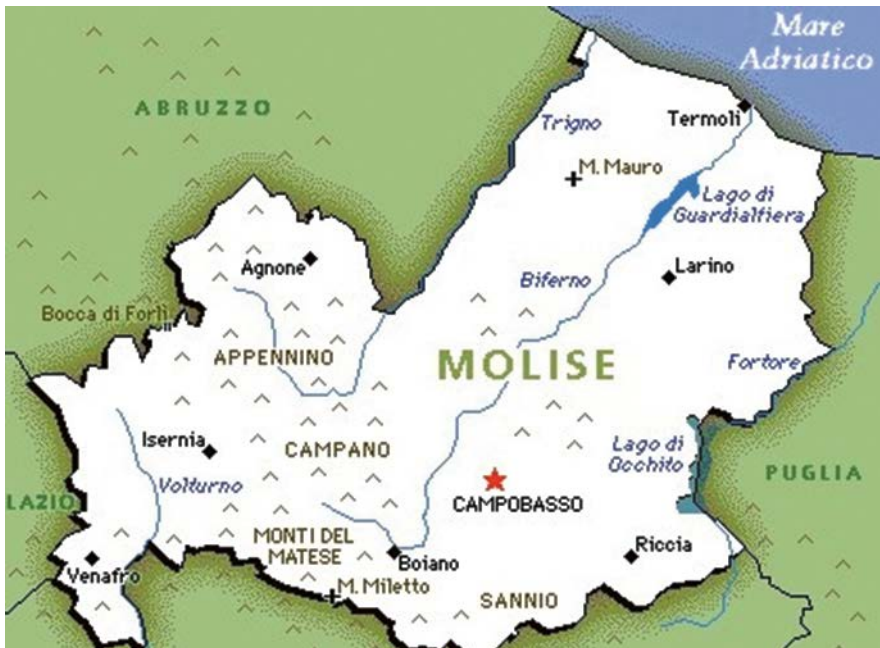
Alongside these existential constructions, we find another characteristic feature of many southern Italian dialects (e.g., Marchigiano, Abruzzese, Molisan, southern Lazio) and Sardinian, and of the corresponding regional varieties of Italian: the so-called pleonastic reflexives with one-argument verbs (Cennamo 1997: 159; 1998: 83; 2016: 971). The construction is also widespread in other Romance languages

⁴ In (23) Be and Have are the spell-out of the predicative relation between the two non-verbal phrases (cf. Bentley 2017; Van Valin 2005: 48–49; 2023: 39; Peterson 2023: 185–187 for a recent discussion of copulas and copular verbs in RRG).

(e.g., Spanish, insular (Madeira and Porto Santo) and (central-southern) continental European Portuguese (cf. *Ja se aconteceu* already RFL happened ‘It already happened’), Romanian (Cennamo 2016: 971 and references therein). The pattern is illustrated in (24) for a Molisan dialect (Isernia) (Map 2), quoted in the regional variety of Italian, and summarized in Table 2. Pleonastic *SE* is only found with unaccusative verbs denoting telic changes of state/location (24a–g), with statives (23h) and with anticausatives (24i–k) (see Cennamo 1999: 141–142):

- (24) a. *S’ è partorita mia cognata*
 RFL is give birth.PTCP.F.SG my sister-in-law
 ‘My sister-in-law gave birth to a child’
- b. *S’ è morto il calzolaio*
 RFL is die.PTCP.M.SG the shoe-repairman
 ‘The shoe-repairman died’
- c. *S’ è morta e poi s’ è risuscitata*
 RFL is die.PTCP.F.SG and then RFL is resuscitate.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘She died and then she came back to life’
- d. *Me s’ è passato il dolore*
 I.DAT RFL is go.PTCP.M.SG the pain
 ‘The pain has gone away’
- e. *Me se so’ saltate le mattonelle del terrazzo*
 I.DAT RFL are come-off.PTCP.F.PL the tiles of-the balcony
 ‘The tiles on the balcony have come off’
- f. *Ma quanto tempo si passa per fare questo sopralluogo?*
 but how-much time RFL elapse for do this inspection
 ‘But how long does it take to do this inspection?’
- g. *S’ è venuta bene la maglia*
 RFL is come.PTCP.F.SG well the jumper
 ‘The jumper has come out nicely’ (after washing)
- h. *Maria non si vuole stare a casa*
 Mary not RFL wants stay at home
 ‘Mary doesn’t want to stay home’
- i. *S’ è finito il detersivo per i panni*
 RFL is finish.PTCP.M.SG the powder for the clothes
 ‘The washing-powder has run out’ (anticausative)

- j. *La ferita s' è guarita*
 the wound RFL is heal.PTCP.F.SG
 'The wound has healed'
- k. *S' è cambiato il tempo/ tutto*
 RFL is changed.PTCP.M.SG the weather/ everything
 'The weather has changed / everything has changed'



Map 2: Molise.

This structure is, on the other hand, impossible with unergative verbs (**Mario s'e' lavorato* – Mario RFL-is worked (PST.PTCP.M.SG) - 'Mario has worked').

Pleonastic *se* also occurs in standard Italian, albeit only with a few verbs denoting inherently directed change of location (25):

- (25) a. *Mario se ne andò*
 Mario RFL away went.3SG
 'Mario left'
- b. *Mario se ne scappò*
 Mario RFL away ran.3SG
 'Mario ran away'

- c. *il bottone se n' e' caduto*
 the button RFL away is fall.PST.PTCP.M.SG
 'The button has fallen down'

In contrast, these forms are very common in some central/southern dialects (e.g., in southern Lazio, Molisan, and Campanian varieties) and in the regional variety of Italian spoken in these areas, clearly reflecting the underlying dialect(s). In some Molisan dialects, e.g., Isernia, *se* identifies two subclasses of intransitives, occurring with unaccusatives but not with unergatives.

Table 2: Pleonastic *se* in Molisan (Isernia).

Change of state	<i>partorirsi</i> 'give-birth', <i>morirsi</i> 'die', <i>risuscitarsi</i> 'resuscitate', <i>passarsi</i> 'end', elapse, <i>finirsi</i> 'finish, run out of', <i>guarirsi</i> 'heal', <i>cambiarsi</i> 'change'
Change of state/location	<i>saltarsi</i> 'come off', <i>venirsi</i> 'come'
Stative	<i>starsi</i> 'stay'

The function of the reflexive with one-argument verbs in these varieties and in Romance can be understood in the light of a Late Latin development, the use of the dative (*sibi*) and accusative/ablative (*se*) forms of the reflexive as split intransitivity markers, occurring, respectively, with unaccusatives and unergatives (Cennamo 2016: 971).

4.1 Pleonastic reflexives in Latin

A well-known and thoroughly investigated area of Latin syntax is the pleonastic use of the accusative/ablative (*se*) and dative (*sibi*), marking, in their prototypical functions, the 'direct object' and 'indirect object/dative of interest' denoting coreference between the Agent and the Recipient/Benefactive of a three-place predicate (Cennamo 2000: 41).

One aspect of the gradual process of desemanticization and defunctionalization of the reflexive pronoun, probably representing the last stage of this development, is its occurrence with intransitive verbs – a stage which is well-attested by the third to fourth centuries A.D., and even more so later on, continuing into Early Romance (Salonius 1920:275–276; Löfstedt 1933:387–396; Norberg 1943: 167–171, among others). The occurrence of the accusative vs. dative form of the reflexive is usually regarded as idiosyncratic and determinable mainly on a verb-by-verb basis (Dahlén 1964; Löfstedt 1933: 389). However, as shown in Cennamo 1999;

2000, a careful study of the distribution of *se/sibi* in some Late Latin texts reveals that their occurrence is not completely arbitrary, and that it is possible to detect the preference for *se* vs *sibi* to reflect distinct verb classes (unergatives and unaccusatives, respectively), as a result of two different paths of change, that at some point converge: (i) the reorganization of voice distinctions, with the middle/ anticausative/passive functions of the *-r* form being increasingly replaced by *se* (Cennamo 1998; 2022; Cennamo et al. 2015), (ii) grammaticalized uses of the dative reflexive *sibi*, already attested in early Latin (e.g., Terence) in patterns such as *suus sibi* ('its own') and later also in structures where *sibi* = *per se* 'by itself', coming to denote the spontaneous manifestation of an eventuality, occurring with ± animate subjects, as in (26) (Dahlén 1964: 116; Cennamo 1999: 122–124)

- (26) a. *maturescit* (sc. *forunculus*) *enim per se* (Cels. 5, 28, 4)
 ripen.PRS.IND.3SG (boil) in-fact by RFL
 'It (sc. the boil) ripens by itself'
- b. *donec ea* (sc. *tonsillae*) *suppurent et per se*
 till they.N (tonsils) suppurate.PRS.IND.3PL and by RFL
aperiantur
 open.PR.SBJV.MPASS.3PL
 'Till they (sc. the tonsils) suppurate and open spontaneously' (Cels. 6, 10, 15)
- c. *tubergula quae et per se erumpunt et sibi*
 cysts.N that.N either by RFL arise.PRS.IND.3PL or RFL
sanatur
 heal.PRS.IND.MPASS.3SG RFL
 'Cysts that either arise naturally or heal spontaneously' (*Mul.Chir.* 364)
- d. *sed si iam sibi laxaverint* (sc. *ossa*)
 but if now RFL come-off.FUT.PRF.SBJV.3PL (bones)
tunc ea educito
 then they.N.PL remove.IMPER.2SG
 'But, if they come off naturally, then remove them' (*Mul.Chir.* 58)
- e. *et non post multum solet* (sc. *iumentum*)
 and not after long use.PRS.IND.3SG (donkey)
sibi refrigerare
 RFL cool-off.INF
 'and after not too long it (sc. the donkey) cools off by itself' (*Mul. Chir.* 414)

By the 4th c. AD *se/sibi* appear to occur interchangeably in all their functional domains, as shown in (26d), where *sibi* occurs also in an anticausative pattern, alongside the canonical *se* (*sibi laxare* vs *se laxare*), unless one interprets the

pattern with *sibi* as underlining the spontaneous manifestation of the verb eventuality, unlike the pattern with *se*, where the reflexive would just be a marker of anticausativization (cf. Cennamo 2000: 43–44).

The dative reflexive *sibi* is fully pleonastic already from its earlier occurrences (3rd c. AD) (e.g., *Sortes Sangallenses*) (27a). More specifically, it occurs with one-argument verbs of inherently directed (27a–e), later also non-inherently directed (27f) change of location, change of state (28), statives, denoting location (29a), relation (29b) and, marginally, with anticausatives (29c) (albeit its incidence needs further investigation):

- (27) a. **vade** **tibi**, fatue (*Sort. Sang.* 7,1)
 go.2SG.IMPER RFL silly
 ‘Off you go, silly man’
- b. et **transite** **vobis** habitatio Pulchra, confusa
 and go.IMPER.2PL RFL home beautiful bewildered
 ignominia
 shame
 ‘And go, your beautiful home is bewildered with shame’ (*Vulg Mich.* I, 11)
- c. **vade** **tibi** in propriam ecclesiam
 go.IMPER.2SG RFL in own.ACC community.ACC
 ‘Go to your own community’ (*Cereal.* 20; Migne, PL 58, 768 B)
- d. ecce hiems transit, pluvia **abiit** **sibi**
 now winter go-away.PRF.3SG rain stop.PRF.3SG RFL
 ‘Now winter has gone away, the rain has stopped’
 (*Hier. epist.* 18 B, 4; CSEL54, 101)
- e. **revertatur** **sibi** ad parentes suos
 go-back.PRS.SBJV.MPASS.3SG RFL to parents his
 ‘That he go back to his parents’ (*Ed Roth.* 216; MGH leg IV, 53)
- f. ille solemniter **sibi** **ambulabat** (*Formul. Tur.* 30; FMK 34, 10)
 he solemnly RFL walk.IMPF.3SG
 ‘He walked solemnly’
- (28) dum optima Cartaginis antiquaque potentia **sibi** pugnando
 till great Carthage old-and power RFL fight.GER.AB
 periit
 perish.PRF.3SG
 ‘Till in the fight Carthage’s great and old power perished’
 (*Fulg. aet. mund.* 169, 14)

- (29) a. *permissum est Paulo manere sibimet*
 allow.PST.PTCP.N.SG be.PRS.IND.3SG PAUL.DAT remain.INF RFL
cum custodiente se milite
 with holding-in-custody he.ACC soldier.ABL
 ‘Paul is allowed to remain with the soldier who held him in custody’
 (Vulg. *act.* 28, 16)
- b. *ostendit unamquamque in Trinitate personam...*
 show.PRS.IND.3SG each.ACC in Trinity.ABL person.ACC
ipsam sibi esse quod habere naturaliter
 herself.ACC RFL be.INF that have.INF naturally
predicatur
 say.PRS.MPASS.3SG
 ‘He shows that in the Trinity each Person himself (lit. herself) is, a fact that is said to occur (lit. ‘have’) naturally (Fulg. *Rusp. epist.* 14, 16; Corp. Christ. 91, 403)
- c. *infundis turtures ut combibant sibi*
 sprinkle.PRS.IND.2SG turtle-doves so-that soak-up.PRS.SBJV.3PL RFL
 ‘Sprinkle these turtle-doves (sc. with a small amount of juice) so that they soak up’ (Apic. *exc.* 30)

Conversely, fully pleonastic *se* is attested, alongside anticausatives, with intransitive mental process verbs mainly denoting emotion (30a-b), and later (6th c. AD) also perception (30c), with intransitive speech act verbs expressing emotion (30d), as well as with some intransitive stative verbs (often denoting abstract/physical location (30e-f) (Löfstedt 1933: 389–395; Norberg 1943: 159–170; Dahlén 1964):

- (30) a. *ubi vades paenitebis te*
 where go.PRS.IND.2SG will-repent.FUT.2SG RFL
 ‘Wherever you go, you will repent’ (Sort. *Sang.* 2, 10)
- b. *non desperans memetipsum*
 not despair.PRS.PTCP.NOM myself
 ‘Without despairing’ (Vulg. 2 Mach. 9,22)
- c. *se stupuit tunc ipse*
 RFL surprise.PRF.3SG then I-myself.NOM
reor
 trust/be-persuaded.PRS.IND.MPASS.1SG
 ‘He was surprised, so I myself trust him’
 (Ennod. *Car.* 1, 9, 33; MGH *auct ant VII*, 43)

- d. *et tunc lamentabunt se omnes tribus terrae*
 and then moan.FUT.3PL RFL all.NOM people.NOM earth.GEN
 ‘And then all the people of the earth will moan’ (Itala Matth. 24, 30 h)
- e. *priusquam se incipiat adparere ut*
 before RFL start.PRS.SBJ.3SG be-apparent.INF that
cadat corporis tumor
 fall.PRS.SBJ.3SG body.GEN swelling.NOM
 ‘Before it starts to be apparent that the swelling of the body will decrease’
 (Orib. Syn 1, 3, 36 m. Aa)
- f. *ut . . . neque quicumque clericus se illi*
 so-that neither whoever.NOM clergyman.NOM RFL he.DAT
adhaereret
 adhere.IMPF.SBJV.3SG
 ‘So that no clergyman whatsoever will be devoted to him’
 (Agnell. 112; MGH lang I, 351, 12)</

During the 8th and 9th c. AD, pleonastic *se* also occurs with pure intransitive speech act verbs (e.g., *se periurare* (31a) and with intransitive activity verbs such as *se vacare* (31b), *se contremulare* (31c), *se obdormire* ‘to sleep’, *se pausare* ‘to stop’, the latter already attested in the 6th century (Norberg 1943: 161; Dahlén 1964: 104; 1077: 33):

- (31) a. *si aliquis alicui imputaverit quod se*
 if somebody.NOM someone.DAT ascribe.SBJV.3SG that RFL
periuraret
 perjure.SBJV.3SG
 ‘If somebody blamed somebody else of perjury’
 (Lex Sal. 48, 2 k; MGH leg sect I, IV: I, 187)
- b. *aquae se contremulent*
 water.NOM.PL RFL tremble.PRS.SBJV.3PL
 ‘Waters tremble’ (Ordin. Iudic. Dei, 4,1; MGH leg. sect. V, 648)
- c. *vacabant se supradicti martyres*
 dealt-with.IMPF.3PL RFL aforementioned.NOM.PL martyr.NOM.PL
Christi die noctuque orationibus et ieuniis
 Christ.GEN day.ABL night.ABL-and prayers.ABL and fasts.ABL
 ‘The aforementioned martyrs prayed and fasted day and night’
 (Passio Kil 9; MGH Mer. V, 725, 21)

The picture, however, is not clear cut. Alternations in the use of *se/sibi* already occur, with some verbs, during the early attestations of the phenomenon, a fact that might be due to the equivalence between the accusative and dative forms of the reflex-

ive pronoun, already found by the 4th c. AD (Norberg 1943: 171–173). This might account for the occurrence of *se vadere* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (32), instead of the usual form *sibi vadere* (cf. also Löfstedt 1933: 391)

- (32) *et vadent se unusquisque ad hospitium suum*
 and go.SBJV.3PL RFL everybody to lodging his
 ‘And let everybody go to his lodging’ (*Itin. Eger.* 25, 7)

Already by the 3rd and 4th c. AD, truly pleonastic *sibi/se* come to differentiate two different subclasses of intransitive verbs, corresponding to what are usually referred to in the literature as unaccusatives and unergatives, i.e., they become markers of Split Intransitivity. In particular, *sibi* occurs mainly with verbs denoting telic change of state (alternating with *se* at some point, although with a difference in Control for anticausatives), telic change of location, statives (mainly predicates denoting location and relation).

Sibi therefore ends up marking a Patient/Theme subject, characteristic of change of state verbs, and of processes denoting change of location and statives, respectively. *Se*, on the other hand, occurs with anticausatives (where it can alternate with *sibi*, although with a difference of meaning at first), with intransitive mental process and speech act verbs and later on with other activity verbs.

Two parameters appear to be crucial in the patterns of active-like syntax we are arguing for: the nature of the surface subject, i.e., its Control (Animacy, Agentivity, etc.) - and inherent lexical aspect, in particular the notion of Telicity, although such features as the Dynamicity/Concreteness of the situation described by the verb also appear to be involved, as illustrated in Table 3.

As a matter of fact, a careful analysis of the verbs with which pleonastic *sibi* occurs reveals that in many of them the process is telic (that is, it denotes an event with an endpoint), as with intransitive verbs denoting change of state (*sibi perire*), with anticausatives (*sibi combibere*) and intransitive verbs denoting inherently directed change of location (i.e., telic movement) (*sibi vadere*, *sibi fugere*). Non-directed (i.e., atelic) change-of-location verbs can also take *sibi*, (e.g., *sibi ambulare*, *sibi vagari*, *sibi peregrinare*), although they are attested later than inherently directed ones (e.g., *sibi vadere*, *sibi fugere*, *sibi discedere*. . .) (see Löfstedt 1933: 389–396; Dahlén 1964). *Sibi* can also occur with stative verbs denoting location and relation (e.g., *sibi manere*, *sibi stare*, *sibi esse*), which are inherently atelic, and where the surface subject has low or no Control over the verbal process, being ‘inert’ or ‘neutral’ (Vincent 1982).

Se, on the other hand, occurs with verbs which are inherently atelic (mental process, speech act and other activity verbs which have an Experiencer/Agentive subject (though it is also attested with telic verbs such as *se paenitere*) and with

stative (location) verbs such as *se insidere*, *se residere*, *se adhaerere*, having a Theme subject.

Canonical uses of fully pleonastic *sibi* occur with verbs having telic aspect and an Undergoer subject, denoting dynamic, concrete situations. Canonical uses of fully pleonastic *se*, on the other hand, are attested with inherently atelic verbs having an Actor subject, denoting concrete, dynamic situations⁵.

Fluctuations in the use of *sibi/se* obtain at the periphery of the categories of Unaccusativity/Unergativity, in particular with stative verbs denoting location/relation, that is with atelic, concrete/abstract, -Control, static situations (e.g., *sibi manere*, *sibi stare*, *sibi esse* vs *se residere*, *se adherere*, *se esse*), so that we either have alternations of the two forms, or we find some intransitive verbs taking *se*, with others taking *sibi*, all other features being equal, a fact which might reflect the different historical paths pointed out above.

- (33) a. (=29b) *ostendit unamquamque in Trinitate personam. . . ivsam **sibi esse** quod habere natura/iter predicatur* (Fulg. *epist.* 14, 241)
 ‘He shows that in the Trinity each Person himself exists, a fact that is said to occur naturally’
- b. Si *quis* ***se fuerit*** *aut ego*
 if somebody RFL be.FUT.PRF or I
 ‘If somebody will be . . . or I . . .’
 (Formul. *Andec.*, FMK 6, 17)

Table 3: *Sibi* / *Se* as unaccusative/unergative markers in Late Latin.

<i>sibi combibere</i>	change of state verbs	<i>se combibere</i>	change of state verbs
<i>sibi laxare</i>	(anticausatives)	(<i>se laxare</i>)	(anticausatives)
<i>sibi sanari</i>		<i>se sanare</i>	
<i>sibi perire</i>	change of state verbs	<i>se poenitere</i>	stative verbs
<i>sibi nasci</i>		<i>se stupere</i>	(mental process)
<i>sibi fieri</i>		<i>se desperare</i>	(emotion)
<i>sibi obdormiscere</i>			

⁵ Actor and Undergoer are syntactico-semantic categories, subsuming the different thematic relations of the core argument(s) of a clause to its (their) predicate. The prototypical Actor is an Agent, whilst the prototypical Undergoer is a Patient, i.e., a highly affected participant, as with telic change of state verbs). However, it is also possible for a Theme, i.e., a participant with a lower degree of affectedness, that is in a state or that undergoes a change of location, to function as an Undergoer (Van Valin 2023: 108–109 and references therein, see also Cennamo 2000: 38–39).

Table 3 (continued)

<i>sibi vadere</i>	change of location verbs	<i>se lamentare</i>	speech act verbs
<i>sibi discedere</i>	(+ inherently directed)	<i>se flere</i>	
<i>sibi abire</i>		<i>se plorare</i>	
<i>sibi transire</i>		<i>se periurare</i>	
<i>sibi reverti</i>		<i>se reclamare</i>	
<i>sibi ire</i>			
<i>sibi pertransire</i>			
<i>sibi percurrere</i>		<i>se vacare</i>	other activity verbs
<i>sibi vagari</i>	(- inherently directed)	<i>se pausare</i>	
<i>sibi ambulare</i>		<i>se obdormire</i>	
<i>sibi peregrinare</i>		<i>se contremulare</i>	
<i>sibi currere</i>			
<i>sibi gradi</i>			
<i>sibi manere</i>	state verbs		
<i>sibi stare</i>	(location/relation)		
<i>sibi sedere</i>			
<i>sibi esse</i>			

By the eighth-ninth century the two paths converge, and the distinction between the two sets of intransitives becomes formally neutralized, owing to the equivalence between the dative and accusative forms of the reflexive, whereby *se* comes to be used with unaccusative verbs (*se turnare*) and *sibi* occurs with unergative ones (*sibi recognoscere*) (see Norberg 1943:171–172; Dahlén 1964, who discuss the issue within a traditional framework) (Cennamo 1999a: 133; Cennamo 2000: 45).

This pattern of active-stative alignment continues, however, in early Romance, and is still apparent in the Romance languages, though to a different extent, as shown in our discussion for Italian, where pleonastic *se* only occurs with few inherently directed change of location verbs, and some Molisan dialects, where *se* is a split intransitivity marker, occurring with unaccusative verbs only.

5 Conclusions

The analysis of existential constructions with HAVE and pleonastic reflexives with one-argument verbs in some southern Italo-Romance varieties reveals interesting patterns of continuity with the original Late Latin antecedents of these constructions.

More specifically, evidence has been provided for existential HAVE in the southern Italo-Romance varieties investigated (inner Cilentano) to instantiate the initial

stage(s) of the Late Latin changes leading to Romance existentials. Late Latin texts show an impersonal HAVE and a non-agreeing indefinite pivot (most typically, albeit not consistently, post-copular); the HAVE existential is not found with other types of existentials (e.g., inverse locatives), unlike the BE existential. This construction becomes the core existential pattern in the inner Cilentano dialects examined here. In these dialects, the corresponding structure with the copula BE plus the (etymologically locative) proform *ngi* ‘there’ does not appear, and agreement with the post-copular pivot is either not allowed or marginally accepted. It has also been demonstrated that existential HAVE in Romance continues and further develops patterns which became available in Late Latin, resulting from paths of change reflecting the existential uses of HAVE, starting from its stative-locative meaning of ‘being in a (physical/abstract) state/place, location’, leading to its early copular uses and functional equivalence with the canonical existential copula BE. This usage in Late Latin interacts with the reorganization of voice distinctions, leading to the use of the passive voice in active function (so-called deponentization), involving also the verb HAVE, as witnessed by the auxiliary function of the passive form *haberi*, equivalent to *esse* ‘be’, in the sequence *haberi* + transitive past participle. None of the changes involved in the early and later existential uses of HAVE appear to be related to an original possession scheme, associated with the verb HAVE, as is usually assumed in the literature.

It has also been shown that the occurrence of pleonastic SE with one-argument verbs in some southern Italo-Romance varieties identifies two subclasses of intransitive verbs, occurring with unaccusatives, continuing a Late Latin usage, surfacing also in other Romance languages, albeit to a different extent. Specifically, in some Molisan varieties (Isernia), pleonastic *se* is currently a marker of split intransitivity, and is found with the same lexico-aspectual classes of verbs with which pleonastic *sibi* occurred in the initial attestations of the phenomenon in Late Latin, telic change of state/location verbs and statives, thus reflecting the syntax and function of the original Latin pattern.

Therefore, in both instances of connections between contemporary patterns in some Italo-Romance dialects and their Latin antecedents, the core syntactic instantiations of the Late Latin innovations are retained.

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