Argument structure, alignment and auxiliaries between Latin and Romance. A diachronic syntactic account

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Between Latin and Romance: the rise of periphrastic perfects. Synchronic variation and diachronic observations.

0. Introduction

Romance displays substantial synchronic variation in the expression of the perfect: the distribution of analytic vs. synthetic forms is not the same in all Romance varieties, and different languages also show different perfective auxiliary selection patterns. In this chapter, these issues will be explored from a diachronic perspective. In particular, it will be shown that the syntactic reanalysis of deponent verbs and the active/inactive contrast of the Latin verbal system were decisive factors in the development of periphrastic perfect forms. From this perspective, the current Romance outcomes can be understood under a unified account as different chronological stages of a long and predictable diachronic development that began in late Latin with the reshuffling of voice distinctions.

1. The expression of the perfect in Romance

Romance languages vary in the strategy they adopt to express the perfect: they use a synthetic form, an analytic form, or both. Moreover, in the case of periphrastic forms, there is massive variation in the selection of the auxiliary. The term 'perfect' is used to refer to an event/state that precedes the Speech Time on the time-line. This event/state can either have present relevance (present perfect interpretation) or not (preterite interpretation) (Reichenbach 1947):

Past (present perfect)	Past (Preterite)
E – R, S	E, R – S

In both cases, the past action has been accomplished with respect to the Speech Time. In this sense, the perfect differs from the imperfect, which

expresses an unaccomplished event located in the past[67].In this section, the data concerning Romance variation in the perfect will be presented and discussed.

1.1 The synthetic-analytic opposition in the Romance perfect

Romance languages generally display two strategies for the expression of the perfect tense. Some varieties only display a synthetic perfect form, like Sicilian, as exemplified in (1):

(1) a. ora la luna si nascusi,
    now the-f.sg. moon-f.sg itself hid-past-3.sg
    ma prima era bellissima [Sicilian]
    but earlier was-3.sg beautiful
    "Now the moon has hidden itself, but earlier it was beautiful"
  b. mi scrissi tanti anni fa [Sicilian]
    1.sg.obl wrote-past-3.sg many years ago
    "He wrote to me many years ago"

The examples in (1) show that the perfect in this case expresses both the past punctual and the present perfect interpretation. It can be associated both with adverbs expressing present relevance like *ora* "now", and with adverbial expressions referring to a temporal point located in the past, like *tanti anni fa* "many years ago"[68].

Other languages, by contrast, display both an analytic and a synthetic perfect form, which usually express different aspectual specifications. Consider, for instance, the examples below from Standard Italian:

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[67] Recall chapter 2, § 2.

[68] In these varieties, an analytic form (aux + PP) is also available, but either with an aspectual resultative value, as in (i), or with an experiential aspectual value, as in (ii) (Bertinetto & Squartini 1996; Harris 1982; Ledgeway 2000; Squartini & Bertinetto 2000; Amenta 2010):

 (i) Non m' a scrivutu [Sicilian]
  Not to me-DAT. HAVE-3.sg written-PP
  "He has not written to me"
 (ii) aju manciatu u piscispata
  HAVE-1-sg eaten –PP the swordfish
  "I have eaten the swordfish = I know what swordfish tastes like"

(2)   a.   Oggi/adesso mi   hanno   rubato   la macchina [It.]
           today/now   1-sg-DAT. HAVE-3.pl stolen-PP the car
           "They stole my car today today/now"

      b.   *Oggi/adesso mi   rubarono   la macchina
             today/now 1.sg-DAT. stole-past.3.pl   the car
           "They stole my car today/now"

      c.   Il mese scorso mi   rubarono   la macchina
           the month last   1.sg-DAT. stole-past.3.pl   the car
           "They stole my car last month"

In Italian, the periphrastic form is used to refer to a past event with present relevance, as shown in (2-a). Conversely, the synthetic *passato remoto* "remote past" is associated with a preterite (i.e. no present relevance), as illustrated in (2-b-c)[69]. The same contrast can be observed in other languages, like French and Spanish:

(3)   a.   Aujourd'hui ils m'   ont   volé   la voiture [French]
           today   3.pl 1.sg-DAT. H-3.pl   stolen-PP the car
           "They stole my car today/now"

      b.   *Aujourd'hui/maintenant ils   me   volèrent
           today/now   3.pl   1.sg-DAT. stole-past.3.pl
           la   voiture
           the   car

      c.   Le mois dernier ils me   volèrent   la   voiture
           the month last   3.pl 1.sg-DAT. steal-past.3.pl the   car
           "Last month they stole my car"

(4)   a.   Hoy   me   han   robado   el coche   [Spanish]
           today 1.sg-DAT. HAVE-3.pl stolen-PP   the car
           "They stole my car today"

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[69] In spoken Italian (even in the formal spoken variety), the use of the *passato remoto* has become quite rare (Serianni 2006), whereas the *passato prossimo* tends to be increasingly used in all contexts, probably because of its greater transparency (cf. Beretta 1993). The same tendency can be observed in many other Romance varieties (cf. Squartini & Bertinetto 2000), like French, where the *passé simple* has practically disappeared from the spoken language (Jones 1996; Lang & Perez 2006), Romanian (Daniliuc & Daniliuc 2000; Dindelegan 2013), and peninsular Catalan (Badia i Margarit 1994; Wheeler, Yates & Dols 1999). Nonetheless, the *passato remoto* is still robustly used in the regional Italian of a number of linguistic areas, especially in Southern Italy, where this tense is productively used in the dialectal substrate.

b.	*Hoy	me	robaron	el coche	
	today	1.sg-DAT.	stole-past.3.pl	the car	
c.	Me	robaron	el coche	la semana pasada
	1.sg-DAT.	stole-past-3.pl	the car		the week last
	"They stole my car last week"				
d.	? Me han	robado	el coche	la semana pasada
	1-sg. HAVE-3.pl	stolen-PP	the car		the week last

Romanian exhibits two forms as well: the simple perfect (*perfectul simplu*), (5-a), and the compound perfect (*perfectul compus*), (5-b), (Daniliuc & Daniliuc 2000; Dindelegan 2013):

(5)   a.   eu   adunai   [Romanian]
                1-sg   gathered-past
                "I gathered"

            b.   eu   am   adunat
                1-sg   HAVE-1.sg   gathered
                "I have gathered"

In this language, the analytic form is very frequent, whereas the synthetic form is only sporadically used in the standard variety[70]. Nevertheless, the periphrastic perfect is quite commonly used in southwestern Romania, especially in the Oltenia region, to express a past event with present relevance (Daniliuc & Daniliuc 2000; Dindelegan 2013):

(6)   Tocmai   îl   văzui   pe Ion   la facultate   [Romanian]
          just   3.sg   saw-past.1sg John-ACC.   at faculty
          "I have just seen John at the faculty".

By contrast, in Romanian, this interpretation is impossible with the synthetic past:

(7)   *Îl   văzui   pe Ion   la facultate   ieri   [Romanian]
          3.sg   saw-past.1sg John-ACC.   at faculty   yesterday
          "Yesterday I saw John at the faculty"

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[70] The usage of synthetic past forms in Romanian is limited to a high register of the language. In particular it is used in narrative, mostly after a dialogue line in narration (Weinrich 1964; Dindelegan 2013):

      (i)   Ion a venit!, zise   Maria
             John came! said-past.3.sg Mary

In Catalan, too, the analytic past (*pretèrit indefinit*), formed by the auxiliary HAVE + PP, expresses a past action with present relevance. Moreover, Catalan displays the *anar* "go" + infinitive[71] construction (*pretèrit perfet*), (8), which is highly productive in most varieties of Catalan, including the language of Barcelona. This periphrasis generally conveys preterite interpretation (Badia i Margarit 1951, 1995; Wheeler, Yates & Dols 1999):

(8) El 1999 i entre el 2005 i el 2007, Ahtisaari **va intentar** trobar una sortida
     negociada al conflicte de Kosovo.   [Barcelona Catalan]
     "In 1999 and between 2005 and 2007, Ahtisaari tried to find a negotiated
     solution to the Kosovo conflict"

Conversely, the synthetic perfect (*passat simple*) is the dominant form in Valencia Catalan, whereas it has almost disappeared from most varieties:

(9) El 1999 i entre el 2005 i el 2007, Ahtisaari **intentà** trobar una sortida negociada
     al conflicte de Kosovo.   [Valencia Catalan]
     "In 1999 and between 2005 and 2007, Ahtisaari tried to find a negotiated
     solution to the Kosovo conflict"

In European Portuguese, on the other hand, the synthetic/analytic opposition encodes a different aspectual contrast:

(10) estudei   muito   esta   semana   [E. Portuguese]
      study-past.1.sg much   this-f.sg week-f.sg
      "I studied a lot this week"
(11) tenho   estudado   muito esta   semana
      hold-1.sg   studied-PP   much   this-f.sg week-f.sg
      "I have been studying a lot this week"

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[71] Functional *anar* "go" in Catalan exhibits a full-fledged paradigm, as opposed to a lexical one, which confirms its auxiliary status in the system:

Table IV	Lexical *anar* "go"	Functional *anar* "go"
1.sg	vaig	vaig/vàreig
2.sg	vas	vas/vares
3.sg	va	va
1.pl	anem	vam/vàrem
2.pl	aneu	vau/vàreu
3.pl	van	van/varen

As illustrated in the example above, the alternation between the Portuguese preterite and the *ter*-periphrasis encodes an aspectual contrast: the synthetic form expresses a perfective interpretation as shown in (10). On the other hand, the *ter* + PP periphrasis (in the indicative) is used in order to confer a durative/iterative aspectual meaning, as in (11).

Finally, some Romance languages only display an analytic form, which expresses both the past punctual and the present perfect interpretation. This is the case in Sardinian, for instance, which has no synthetic perfect form (Mensching 1992):

(12) a. apu   cantau   [Sardinian]
     HAVE-1.sg sung-PP
     "I sang/I have sung"
  b. seu andau
     BE-1-sg. gone-PP
     "I went/I have gone"

The same holds for several Italo-Romance varieties[72] that only display a periphrastic perfect. This typically happens in northern Italian dialects, as in (13-a); but also in many southern Italian varieties, as in (13-b):

(13) a. a   sʊm   'nitʃ/'nitʃa   [Cavergno]
     CLS-1.sg   BE-1.sg   come-PP.m.sg./f.sg
     "I have come/I came" (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II:553)
  b. sɔŋgə   mə'nu:tə/   maɲ'ɲɛɐtə [Pescolanciano]
     BE-1.sg   come-PP/   eaten-PP
     "I (have) come/eaten"   (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II:759)

The contrast between synthetic and analytic perfect forms in Romance therefore looks quite different from the synthetic/analytic opposition characterizing the Latin perfect. In Latin, the occurrence of either form depends on the argument structure of the verbal construction. In Romance, by contrast, this alternation is related to the aspectual specification (in those languages that display such an opposition). To understand this difference, we must look at the diachronic development of the verbal forms involved. It will

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[72] Italo-Romance dialects descend from Latin. From a linguistic point of view they are therefore sister languages of the standard Romance varieties, and their contribution to a better understanding of the Romance area is essential. A substantial part of this work will focus on Italo-Romance varieties and their interesting patterns of perfective auxiliation.

then be possible to capture both the synthetic/analytic distribution of the perfect and the variation in patterns of auxiliation.

1.2 The diachrony of Romance perfect forms

Most Romance synthetic perfect forms descend from the Latin *perfectum*. This form was synthetic in the active domain, as shown below:

(14)   a.   egli   disse   [Italian]
he-3.sg say-past.3.sg

    b.   il   dit   [French]   <   DIXIT   [Latin]
he-3.sg say-past.3.sg   say-perf.ind-3.sg

    c.   él   dijo   [Spanish]   "he said/has said"
he-3.sg say-past.3.sg
"He said/has said"

The Italian *passato remoto* form *disse*, the French *passé simple* form *il dit* and the Spanish *pretérito* form *dijo* all directly descend from the Latin perfect form DIXI(T) It should be noted, though, that while the Latin form expresses both the past punctual and the present perfect meaning, the value of its Romance counterparts varies depending on the synthetic/analytic distribution of the perfect forms, as observed in the previous paragraph. On the other hand, Romance periphrastic perfect forms descend from Latin periphrases, as shown in the examples below[73]:

(15)   a.   egli   è   nato   [Italian]
he-3.sg BE-3.sg born-PP   <   NATUS   EST [Lat.]

    b.   il   est   né   [French]   born-PP   BE-3.sg
he-3.sg BE-3.sg born-PP   "He   was   born"
"He was born"

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[73] Latin is generally claimed to have a SOV basic linear order (Oniga 2004 and references therein). This order has gradually shifted to SVO for a number of reasons, among which alignment factors seem to play an important role (Ledgeway 2012). For a detailed discussion of the changes in linear order from SOV to SVO, see Väänänen 1966; Adams 1976; Ledgeway 2012; Danckaert 2012, among others)

In (15), the Latin periphrasis NATUS EST has developed into Romance as a periphrases formed by aux BE + PP): this is the case in French and Italian. Modern Spanish, however, displays aux HAVE in this context: later on we will see that this fact can be explained as a specific development of the Spanish system, which happens to be more innovative with regard to perfective auxiliation[74]:

(16)   él   ha   nacido   [Spanish]
            he-3.sg   HAVE-3.sg   born-PP
            "He is born"

Many cases of Romance HAVE + PP periphrasis[75] descend from the HAVE + PP construction in Latin:

(17)   a.   egli   ha   detto   [Italian]
                 he-3.sg   HAVE-3.sg said-PP
                 "He has said"
        b.   il   a   dit   [French]   < DICTUM HABET [Lat.]
                 he-3.sg   HAVE-3.sg said-PP   said-PP HAVE-3.sg
                 "He has said"
        c.   él   ha   dicho [Spanish]
                 he-3.sg   HAVE-3.sg   said-PP
                 "He has said"

Note, however, that this is not always the case, since many verbs that select auxiliary HAVE in Romance used to select auxiliary BE in Latin for the formation of the periphrastic perfect. Consider the cases below:

(18)   a.   egli   ha   meditato   [Italian]
                 he-3.sg   HAVE-3.sg meditated-PP
                 "He has meditated"
        b.   il   a   médité   [French]
                 SC-3.sg   HAVE-3.sg meditated-PP   < MEDITATUS   EST [Lat.]
                 "He has meditated"   meditated-PP BE-3.sg
        c.   él   ha   meditado   [Spanish]
                 he-3.sg   HAVE-3.sg meditated-PP
                 "He has meditated (resultative)"

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[74] See § 2 in this chapter.

[75] For a thorough discussion of the origin, occurrence, and distribution of the HAVE + PP periphrasis in Latin, see § 2 in this chapter.

The example above illustrates that it is not possible to establish a one-to-one correspondence between auxiliaries in Latin and their Romance outcomes. It seems, therefore, that in the passage from Latin to Romance some other processes took place along with phonological changes. The diachronic reasons behind these differences will be examined in this chapter; we will begin with the synchronic variation in Romance auxiliary selection.

1.3   Auxiliary selection in the perfect: Romance synchronic variation

Romance languages display significant variation in the selection of the auxiliary with perfective periphrases (Tuttle 1986; Vincent 1982, 1988; Cocchi 1994, 1995; Ledgeway 2000, 2009; Cennamo 2002, 2003, 2008 *et seq.*; Bentley 2006; D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010a; D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010; Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2007; Loporcaro 2007, 2011, 2012, 2014; D'Alessandro 2016). The patterns attested today are summarized in Table I (on the basis of Ledgeway 2012):

Table I - Auxiliary selection in Romance perfective periphrases

	INACTIVE			ACTIVE	
	Passive	**Unaccusative**	**Refl.**	**Unergative**	**Trans.**
E. Portuguese	BE				
Spanish	BE				
Catalan	BE				
N./Bal./Alg. Catalan	BE	BE	BE		
French	BE	BE	BE		
Occitan	BE	BE	BE		
Raeto-Romance	BE	BE	BE		
Sardinian	BE	BE	Alternating HAVE/BE		
Italian	BE	BE	BE		
NIDs	BE	BE	Alternating HAVE/BE		
Upper SIDs	BE	Alternating HAVE/BE	Alternating HAVE/BE	Alternating HAVE/BE	Alternating HAVE/BE
Extreme SIDs	BE				
Romanian	BE	Alternating HAVE/BE	Alternating HAVE/BE	Alternating HAVE/BE	Alternating HAVE/BE

Legend	
BE	BE
Alternating HAVE/BE	Alternating HAVE/BE
HAVE	

Most Romance languages are consistent in selecting BE as passive auxiliary[76], as illustrated in the following examples:

(19) a.   egli   è   colpito   [Italian]
                 he-3.sg BE-3.sg hit-PP
                 "He is hit/he is being hit"

          b.   egli   è   stato   / fu   colpito
                 he-3.sg BE-3.sg   been-PP BE-past.3.sg. hit-PP
                 "He has been/was hit"

(20) a.   il   est   frappé   [French]
                 he-3.sg BE-3.sg hit-PP
                 "He is hit

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[76] An exception to this general tendency can be found in several Italo-Romance varieties, located in the areas of Basilicata and northern Puglia, which exhibit the auxiliary *ve* "have" with passives (cf. Loporcaro 1988).

	b.	il	a	été	frappé
		he-3.sg	HAVE-3.sg[77]	been-PP	hit-PP
		"He has been hit"			
(21)	a.	él	es	golpeado	[Spanish]
		he-3.sg	BE-3.sg.	hit-PP	
		"He is hit"			
	b.	él	ha	sido	golpeado
		he-3.sg	BE-3.sg	been-PP	hit-PP
		"He has been hit"			
(22)	a.	Fui	ferido	por	José [E. Portuguese]
		BE-perf-3.sg	struck-PP	by	José
		"I was struck by José"			
(23)	a.	sunt	văzut/ă		[Romanian]
		BE-1.sg	seen-PP-m/f		
		"I am (being) seen"			
	b.	am	fost	văzut/ă	
		HAVE-1.sg	BE-PP	seen-PP-m/f	
		"I was/have been seen"			

The analytic perfect of the active paradigm in modern Romance displays different patterns of auxiliary selection. More specifically, observing the variation schematized in Table I, at least five different types can be identified:

1) The paradigm displays only one auxiliary (either BE or HAVE) in all active contexts. This is the case in Spanish, Romanian and ESIDs, for instance.
2) The paradigm is characterized by a BE/HAVE alternation based on verbal class (split intransitivity). Some examples of this pattern are Occitan, Balearic Catalan, Standard French and Standard Italian.
3) The paradigm displays a BE/HAVE alternation sensitive to other factors (person specification, modal/temporal factors or free variation) (USIDs).

The core aim of this chapter is to outline a diachronic and syntactic link between the properties of the Latin perfect identified in the previous chapter

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[77] The presence of HAVE in this context can be explained by the fact that HAVE is used as a functional element in BE-compound tenses (Rowlett 2007). A similar explanation holds for Spanish in (13): in this case HAVE is the only perfective auxiliary for all active contexts, as shown in Table I.

and its (Italo)-Romance outcomes[78]. The investigation will mainly focus on auxiliary selection in the perfect indicative for two main reasons. Firstly, the perfect indicative (periphrastic and/or synthetic) is present in all Romance varieties, making it very suitable for a comparative analysis. Secondly, the paradigm can be considered "unmarked" compared to other paradigms such as the future and the conditional, which present additional mood/tense specification and do not always occur in modern languages with the same characteristics. The perfect indicative, therefore, constitutes a good basis for an examination of the pan-Romance scenario. The analysis of other Romance perfective periphrases, including other mood paradigms, will be left open for future research.

1.3.1 Pattern 1: one-auxiliary systems

When a system exhibits only one auxiliary throughout the whole perfective paradigm[79], this auxiliary can be either BE or HAVE. The former is mainly found in some Italo-Romance varieties of the upper southern linguistic area, in particular in the dialects of Molise, Campania, Abruzzo and Lazio. An example is given in (24):

(24)	sɔŋgə	məˈnu:tə/	maɲˈɲɛɐtə	[Pescolanciano]
	BE-1.sg	come-PP/	eaten-PP	
	si	məˈnu:tə/	maɲˈɲɛɐtə	
	BE-2.sg	come-PP /	eaten-PP	
	ɛ	məˈnu:tə/	maɲˈɲɛɐtə	
	BE-3.sg	come-PP /	eaten-PP	
	semə	məˈnu:tə/	maɲˈɲɛɐtə	
	BE-1.pl	come-PP /	eaten-PP	
	setə	məˈnu:tə/	maɲˈɲɛɐtə	
	BE-2.pl	come-PP /	eaten-PP	
	suə(nnə)	məˈnu:tə/	maɲˈɲɛɐtə	
	BE-3.pl	come-PP/	eaten-PP	

"I/you/he/we/you/they have come/have eaten"

(Manzini & Savoia 2005, II : 759)

In the paradigm in (24), BE is selected as perfective auxiliary both with the transitive verb "eat" and with the unaccusative verb "come". It functions,

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[78] In the spirit of the VIDI-project *Splitting and clustering grammatical information*, of which this dissertation is part.

therefore, as a universal active perfective auxiliary. The same behaviour is exhibited by HAVE in the varieties that select this functional element as the only perfective auxiliary. One-auxiliary systems with HAVE are exemplified below:

(25) a.   he   venido   [Spanish]
           HAVE-1.sg   come-PP
           "I have come"
     b.   he   comido
           HAVE-1.sg   eaten-PP
           "I have eaten"

(26) a.   he   portat   [Catalan]
           HAVE-1.sg   bring-PP
           "I have brought"
     b.   he   anat
           HAVE-1.sg   gone-PP
           "I have gone"

(27) a.   ajʊ   vi'nʊtʊ   [Calascibetta]
           HAVE-1.sg   come-PP
           "I have come"
     b.   ajʊ   ca'matʊ
           HAVE-1.sg   called-PP
           "I have called"   (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 801)

(28) a.   ʼaddʒə   be'nutə   [Neapolitan]
           HAVE-1.sg   come-PP
           "I have come"
     b.   ʼaddʒə   'maɲ'ɲatə
           HAVE-1.sg   eaten-PP
           "I have eaten"

The Spanish examples in (25) illustrate that HAVE is always selected as perfective auxiliary, even though the syntactic environment differs: it is selected with both unaccusative and transitive verbs. The same pattern is broadly attested in all extreme southern Italian dialects, exemplified by the Sicilian example in (27) and also in many dialects of Campania, as shown in (28). HAVE also functions as active auxiliary in the Romanian finite paradigm[80]:

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[80] Romanian has two paradigms for HAVE, which are partially distinct: functional HAVE, as in (i-a), and lexical HAVE, as in
(i-b) (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Dindelegan 2013):

(29)   am   plecat   [Romanian]
           HAVE-1.sg   left-PP
           "I have left"   (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994: 3)

In the Romanian example in (29) HAVE is selected as the perfective auxiliary[81] with the unaccusative verb "leave", illustrating that HAVE is also present as an active perfective marker in prototypically inactive contexts.

Finally, Portuguese exhibits functional *ter,* originally meaning "hold", as an active perfective auxiliary (Dias da Costa 1976; Harre 1991):

(30)   a.   estudei   muito   esta   semana   [E. Portuguese]
               study-past.-1.sg   much   this-f.sg week-f.sg
               "I studied a lot this week"
    b.   tenho   estudado   muito esta   semana
               hold-1.sg   studied-PP   much this-f.sg   week-f.sg
               "I have been studying a lot this week"

Although the active auxiliary in Portuguese is lexicalized as *ter*, its distribution and properties are the same as HAVE in other Romance varieties. Therefore, it can be considered a different lexicalization of the active perfective auxiliary[82].

(i)   a. am/   ai/   a/   am/   ați/   au
        HAVE-1.sg/HAVE-2.sg/   HAVE-3.sg/ HAVE-1.pl/ HAVE-2.pl/H-3.pl
        b. am/   ai/   are/   avem/   aveți/   au
        HAVE-1.sg/ HAVE-2.sg/HAVE-3.sg/HAVE-1.pl/HAVE-2.pl/HAVE-3.pl

[81] However, with infinitival constructions, the future perfect, and the conditional perfect, as well as in the forms of the analytic pluperfect, the perfective auxiliary is BE (Ledgeway, 2014):

(ii)   Înainte de a fi   mâncat /   plecat citeam ziarul
       before of to be.INF eaten/   left   (I) read newspaper.DEF
       "Before having eaten/left, I was reading the newspaper"
                              (Ledgeway 2014: 4)

[82] The distribution of Portuguese *ter* is different from that of Spanish *tener:*

(i)   a.   Tenho estudado   muito esta   semana   [E. Portuguese]
             hold-1.sg studied-PP much this-f.sg week-f.sg
             "I have been studying a lot this week"
     b.   Tenho   uma   irmã
             hold-1.sg   a-f.sg   sister-f.sg
             "I have a sister"

1.3.2 Pattern 2: Split Intransitivity

In some Romance languages, the perfective auxiliary is selected depending on verbal class: while transitive and unergative verbs are always accompanied by aux HAVE, reflexive (and other *si/se-*) constructions and unaccusative verbs select BE (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986). This auxiliation pattern has been defined in the literature as "split intransivity", as it marks the distinction between two different kinds of intransitive verbs, namely unergatives and unaccusatives. An example of this pattern is the auxiliation system exhibited in Standard Italian:

(31) a. ho   mangiato   una   mela [Italian]
      HAVE-1.sg eaten-PP   an-f.sg apple-f.sg
      "He has eaten an apple"
   b. ho   dormito
      HAVE-1.sg slept-PP
      "I have slept"
   c. sono   venuto
      BE-3.sg   come-PP
      "He has come"

In (31), HAVE is the selected auxiliary in transitive constructions and with unergative verbs like *dormire* "sleep". Conversely, BE is selected with unaccusative verbs like *venire* "come" (Burzio 1986). Therefore, auxiliary selection appears to be syntactically motivated, as it reflects differences in

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(ii) a. He   estudiado mucho esta   semana [Spanish]
      HAVE-1.sg studied-PP much   this-f.sg week-f.sg
      "I have studied a lot this week (resultative)"
   b. Tengo   una   hermana
      hold-1.sg   a-f.sg sister-f.sg
      "I have a sister"

The contrast between the examples above shows that, while Portuguese *ter* is displayed in both possessive and perfective contexts, Spanish *tener*, also etymologically from Lat. TENERE, is only present in possessive constructions. In this sense, Portuguese *ter* seems to display a more functional behaviour than its Spanish counterpart

argument structure. The same pattern is also exhibited by Standard French, (32)[83], Balearic Catalan[84], (33), and Occitan, (34):

(32)   a.   j'   ai   mangé   une   pomme   [French]
            1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   eaten-PP an-f.sg   apple-f.sg
            "I have eaten an apple"
       b.   j'   ai   dormi
            1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   slept-PP
            "I have slept"
       c.   je   suis   venu
            1.sg   BE-3.sg   come-PP
            "I have come"
(33)   a.   en Joan   ha   menjat   una poma   [Bal. Cat.]
            John-3sg. HAVE-3sg.   eaten-PP   an   apple
            "John has eaten an apple"
       b.   en Joan   és   arribat
            John-3.sg   BE-3sg.   arrived/come-PP
            "John has arrived/come"
(34)   a.   ai   vist   [Occitan]
            HAVE-1.sg   seen-PP
            "I have seen"
       b.   es   arribada
            BE-3.sg   arrived-PP
            "She has arrived"

---

[83] Note, however, that in contrast to Italian, French selects HAVE for indefinite change-of-state verbs (Jones 1996, Rowlett 2007):

(i)   a.   Il   a   grandi   [French]
            he-3.sg   HAVE-3.sg   grown up-PP
            "He has grown up"
       b.   È   cresciuto   [Italian]
            BE-3sg.   grown up-PP
            "He has grown up"

On the other hand, both French and select BE for telic change-of-state verbs:

(ii)   a.   Il   est   né/mort   [French]
            he-3.sg   BE-3.sg born-PP/dead-PP
       b.   E'   nato/morto   [Italian]
            BE-3.sg   born-PP/dead-PP

This variation can be accounted for as a parametric distinction (in the sense of Biberauer, Roberts and Sheehan 2010) in the way in which different languages encode syntactic-semantic properties in the grammar (cf. Sorace 1995, 2000; Bentley 2006).

[84] Continental Catalan, on the other hand, lost this distinction, in the same way as Spanish did, and displays now a one-auxiliary system with HAVE (Badía i Margarit 1951, 1962).

Split intransitivity systems show the tight relationship between syntax and auxiliation and confirm the fact that auxiliary selection generally reflects a specific syntactic environment. In this case, transitives and unergatives pattern together since their sentential subject, which generally corresponds to the Agent/Experiencer θ–role, is merged as an EA. With unaccusatives, however, the S-argument (Theme) is merged as an internal argument and thus displays properties that are comparable to the properties of an object (Perlmutter 1978) [85]. In some cases, auxiliary alternation in split intransitivity systems is not as clear-cut as it might be expected, as in the following example from Standard Italian (from Sorace 2000: 864):

(35)   Maria   è   caduta   apposta   [Italian]
         Mary-f.sg   BE-3.sg   fallen-PP   on purpose-Adv.
         "Mary fell on purpose"

---

[85] Reflexives are a complex case. On the one hand, reflexives are transitive structures in which the subject and the object are co-referent (cf. Reinhart and Reuland 1993; Reuland 2011). Recall that in Latin, discussed in chapter 2, reflexives do not exhibit inactive marking for this reason. The same happens in a number of old and modern Romance varieties, which encode reflexives as transitive. Consider, for instance, the examples below:

      (i)   jesse č e llava:tə   [Lesina]
             she refl is washed
             'She has washed herself'   (Loporcaro 2007:192)
      (ii)   ella s   a lavada   [Vallader]
             she refl   is washed
             "She has washed herself"   (Loporcaro 2007: 191)

In the cases above, the selection of HAVE indicates that this structure is syntactically active (cf. Kayne 1993). On the other hand, other languages treat reflexives as inactive structures and select auxiliary BE. This is the case in Italian and French, for instance:

      (iii) mi   sono   lavato/a   [Italian]
             1.sg-ACC   BE-1.sg   washed-PP
             "I have washed myself"
      (iv)   je me   suis   lavé   [French]
             1.sg 1.sg-ACC.   BE-1.sg   washed-PP
             "I have washed myself"

In this case, the selection of BE reflects thus the presence of an S_O.

In the example above, the selection of BE predicts that the S-argument behaves like an Undergoer. Yet, the compatibility with an intentionality adverb like *apposta* "on purpose" constitutes a counterexample to this prediction. In other words, it seems that the intentional vs. non-intentional character of the construction is not sufficient to determine auxiliary selection. Another factor that has been claimed to play a role in this sense is telicity. Consider, for instance, the following data:

(36)	a.	Maria	ha	corso	per tre ore		[Italian]
		Mary-f.sg.	HAVE-3.sg	run-PP	for three hours		
		"Mary has run for three hours"					
	b.	Maria	è	corsa	a	casa	
		Mary-f.sg.	BE-3.sg	run-PP	to	home-f.sg	
		"Mary has run home"				(Sorace 2000: 876)	

Although the examples above display the same verbal item, *correre* "run", they exhibit a contrast as far as perfective auxiliation is concerned: while in (36-a) the perfective marker is HAVE, in (36-b) auxiliary BE is selected. This difference is related to the difference in telicity between the two examples: non-telic contexts tend to prefer aux HAVE as the perfective marker, whereas telic contexts generally select BE (Folli 2002; Schäfer 2007; Cennamo 2008; Folli & Harley 2005). Romance varieties display a number of phenomena like those exemplified above, in which various factors seem to influence the selection of the auxiliary. In the literature, these cases have been analysed as semantically (rather than syntactically) motivated (cf. Sorace 1995, 2000, 2004, 2011): the core claim of this approach is that contextual and semantic factors may also play a role in the selection of the perfective auxiliary. From this perspective, auxiliary selection is not seen as a syntactic phenomenon but rather as a semantic one. Moreover, it is claimed that auxiliary alternations follow fine-grained semantic distinctions. This approach is summarized by the Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (ASH hereafter) which identifies the main classes of verbs and their corresponding auxiliaries mainly by examining their semantic properties (Sorace 2000 *et seq.*):

Table II - Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (from Sorace 2000)

CHANGE OF LOCATION	selects BE (least variation)
CHANGE OF STATE	
CONTINUATION OF A PRE-EXISTING STATE	
EXSTISTENCE OF A STATE	
UNCONTROLLED PROCESS	
CONTROLLED PROCESS (MOTIONAL)	
CONTROLLED PROCESS (NON-MOTIONAL)	selects HAVE (least variation)

The ASH undoubtedly has the advantage of capturing all verb classes under a unified approach and provides us with a good indication of general tendencies regarding auxiliary selection across languages. Indeed, the classes identified roughly correspond to the verb classes which have been shown to share relevant syntactic-semantic commonalities (cf. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005). Observe, however, that it is the syntactic factor that seems to play a decisive role as far as auxiliation is concerned (cf. Kayne 1993; Ledgeway 2000; Manzini & Savoia 2005; Bentley 2006; Loporcaro 2007, 2012, 2014; D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010; D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, among others). Consider, for instance, the example in (35): the selection of auxiliary BE is syntactically motivated on the basis of the properties of the verb, even though the verb is contextually used agentively[86]. In the previous chapter, it was claimed that syntax and semantics are related in that inner aspectual properties of verbs are syntactically encoded through functional features (in the spirit of Folly & Harley 2005; Ramchand 2008, among others). These features are generally related to the semantics of the verb as well, but there are also cases in which the syntax-semantics relationship happens to be more opaque (as in (35)). To sum up, the ASH is a good tool to express the BE/HAVE alternation in split intransitivity systems, but it cannot be disjoint from a syntactic analysis of the contexts where these alternations take place.

1.3.3   Pattern 3: BE/HAVE alternation based on other factors

In some Romance varieties, the BE/HAVE alternation does not depend on the verbal class like in split intransitivity systems, but on other factors. In particular, the person specification of the sentential subject plays a decisive

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[86] Consider also the parallelism with Tsounoda's Transitivity Hierarchy (2005), according to which verb argument structure and semantics are related to each other.

role with respect to auxiliary selection in many upper southern Italian Dialects (henceforth USIDs), such as that of San Benedetto del Tronto:

(37) a.   sɔ/   ʃi/   vəˈnu:tə/dərˈmi:tə/ ˈviʃtə   [S. B. del Tronto]
               BE-1.sg /BE-2.sg   come-PP/slept-PP/seen-PP
               ʃɛmə/   ʃetə   vəˈnu:tə/dərˈmi:tə/ ˈviʃtə
               BE-1.pl/ BE-2.pl   come-PP/slept-PP/seen-PP
               "I/ you/ we/ you have come/slept/seen"
       b.   a   vəˈnu:tə/dərˈmi:tə/ ˈviʃtə
               HAVE-3ps   come-PP/slept-PP/seen-PP
               "He has seen/They have seen"   (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II:682)

In this dialect, the selected auxiliary is always BE for 1st and 2nd person (both singular and plural), as shown in (37-a). By contrast, in the case of 3rd person, the selected auxiliary is HAVE, as illustrated in (37-b). Notice that this pattern is independent from the verbal class, as it is exactly the same with unaccusatives (*vəˈnu:tə* "come"), unergatives (*dərˈmi:tə* "slept") and transitives (*ˈviʃtə* "seen") (Rohlfs 1969; Ledgeway 2000; Manzini & Savoia 2005; D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010; Legendre 2010; Torcolacci 2012; D'Alessandro 2016). Therefore, in the varieties that behave like that of San Benedetto del Tronto, the perfective auxiliary is selected on the basis of the person specification of the sentential subject[87]. Interestingly, this only holds for the *passato prossimo*: the alternation disappears in other periphrastic paradigms. For example, in the dialect of Canosa Sannita, the *passato prossimo* exhibits person driven auxiliation, (38), but the pluperfect does not, (39):

(38) a.   sɔ/ si/ semə/ setə   miˈnutə/ maɲˈɲa:tə   [Canosa Sannita]
               BE-1.sg /BE-2.sg/ BE-1.pl/ BE-2.pl come-PP/eaten-PP
               "I/you/we/you have come/eaten"
       b.   a   miˈnutə/ maɲˈɲa:tə
               HAVE-3ps   come-PP/eaten-PP
               "He has come/eaten; They have come/eaten"

---

[87] This auxiliation pattern is not attested in any other Romance varieties, except from the Catalan dialect of Olot, which displays a person driven auxiliary system:

      (i)   so/   ha   bist/ vingut   [Olot Catalan]
               BE-1.sg HAVE-3.sg seen-PP/come-PP
               "I have/he has seen/come"

(Ledgeway 2012: 324)

This is the only Catalan dialect exhibiting this auxiliation strategy. Conversely, in some Italo-Romance geo-linguistic areas, like Abruzzo, Southern Marche and Southern Lazio, this pattern is extremely frequent.

(39)   a.   a'vɛ/ a'vi/ a'vɛ/ (s)a'vamə/ (s)a'vatə/ a'vɛ   mi'nutə
                HAVE-1.sg/H-2.sg/ H-3.sg/H-1.pl/H-2.pl/H-3.pl come-PP
                "I/you/he/we/you/they have come"

       b.   a'vɛ/ a'vi/ a'vɛ   maɲ'ɲa:tə
                HAVE-1.sg/H-2.sg/ H-3.sg eaten-PP
                "I/you/he has eaten"
                a'vamə/ a'vatə/ a'vɛ   maɲ'ɲi:tə
                HAVE-1.pl/H-2.pl/H-3.pl come-PP
                "I/you/he/we/you/they have come" (Manzini & Savoia 2015, II : 687)

In other mood/tense paradigms, some varieties even display both split intransitivity and auxiliary alternations according to person . The dialect of Guardiaregia (Molise), for instance, which always selects auxiliary BE in the *passato prossimo* (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2005, II : 714), displays two distinct splits in the pluperfect (40) and in the counterfactual paradigms (41) (cf. Ledgeway, in press):

                                                  [Guardiaregia]

(40)   a.   ɛva/ sivə/ ɛva/ sa'vamə/ sa'vatə/ 'ɛvanə mə'nutə/a; par'latə
                BE-impf.1.sg/2.sg/3.sg/1.pl/2.pl/3.pl come-PP/talked-PP
                "I/you/he/we/you/they had come/talked"

       b.   r   ɛva   ca'matə
                him/it BE-impf.1.sg   called-PP
                ru   sivə   ca'matə
                him/it BE-impf.2.sg   called-PP
                r   ɛva   ca'matə
                him/it BE-impf.3.sg   called-PP
                ru   sa'vamə / r a'vamə   ca'matə
                him/it BE-impf.1-pl/him/ it HAVE-impf-1.pl   called-PP
                ru   sa'vatə/ r a'vatə   ca'matə
                him/it BE-impf.2-pl/him/ it HAVE-impf-2.pl   called-PP
                r   'ɛvanə   ca'matə
                him/it BE-impf.3.pl   called-PP
               "I/you/he/we/you/they had called him/it"
                                      (Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: 715)

In the pluperfect, all intransitive subjects (S_O and S_A) align with BE, as shown in (40-a). Conversely, in the transitive paradigm (40-b), HAVE can be selected with 1st person plural and 2nd plural. In counterfactual constructions, by contrast, intransitive subjects select BE in the singular (41-a) but HAVE in the

plural, (41-b), whereas for some persons, transitive subjects can select both auxiliaries (41c), (cf. Ledgeway, in press):

(41)   a.   fussə/ sar'ria/ 'sɛra   mə'nutə/ par'latə   [Guardiaregia]
                BE-subj.impf.1.sg/BE-cond.1.sg come-PP/talked-PP
                fussə/ sar'rissə/ a'vissə   mə'nutə/ par'latə
                BE-subj.impf.2.sg/BE-cond.2.sg/H-subj.impf.2.sg come/talked-PP
                fussə/ a'vessə   mə'nutə/ par'latə
                BE-subj.impf.3.sg /H-subj.impf.3.sg come-PP/talked-PP
                "I/you/he would have come/talked"
    b.   a'vissəmə   mə'nutə/ par'latə
                H-subj.impf.1.pl   come-PP/talked-PP
                a'vissətə   mə'nutə/ par'latə
                H-subj.impf.2.pl   come-PP/talked-PP
                a'vissərə(mə)   mə'nutə/ par'latə
                H-subj.impf.3.pl   come-PP/talked-PP
                "We/you/they would have come/talked"
    c.   ru   sar'ria   ca'matə
                him/it   BE-cond.1.sg   called-PP
                ru   fussə/   r   a'vissə   ca'matə
                him/it   BE-cond.2.sg/   him/it H-subj.2.sg   called-PP
                ru   sar'ria   ca'matə
                him/it   BE-cond.3.sg   called-PP
                r   a'vəs'simmə/ ru   sar'rimmə   ca'matə
                him/it   H-subj.1.pl/ him/it BE-cond.1.pl   called-PP
                r   avəs'sitə   ca'matə
                him/it   H-subj.2.pl   called-PP
                rə   'fusserə   ca'matə
                him/it   BE-subj.3.pl   called-PP
                "I/you/he/we/you/they would have called him/it"
                                    (Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: 716)

Therefore, modal/temporal factors also seem to play a role in auxiliation, embedded within an overriding person-based system (Rohlfs 1969; Ledgeway 2000, in press; Manzini & Savoia 2005, among others). Moreover, numerous USIDs display split intransitivity phenomena, in that person-based auxiliary selection excludes unaccusative verbs. An example of this is provided the southern Marchigiano variety of Ortezzano:

(42)   a.   sɔ/ si/ ɛ/ semo/ sete/ ɛ   vi'nutu/a   [Ortezzano]
                BE-1.sg /BE-2.sg/ BE-3.ps/ BE-1.pl/ BE-2.pl/ BE-3.ps come-PP
                "I/you/he/we/you/they have come"

b.　　sɔ/ si/ semo/ sete　　　　　　dur'mito/ rla'vato i 'paɲɲi
　　　BE-1.sg /BE-2.sg/ BE-1.pl/ BE-2.pl　slept-PP/washed-PP the clothes
　　　"I/ you/we/you have slept/washed clothes"
　　　a　　　　　　　dur'mito/ rla'vato　　　i 'paɲɲi
　　　HAVE-3.ps　　slept-PP/washed-PP　　　the clothes
　　　"He has slept/washed clothes; They have slept/washed clothes"
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 682)

These varieties therefore have quite complex grammatical systems, defined in the literature as "mixed", in which various grammatical factors play a role in determining auxiliary selection as well as other syntactic properties (cf. Loporcaro 2007; Ledgeway 2012).

The auxiliary selection paradigm in (37) is very widespread in USIDs and constitutes one of the many distinctive traits of this linguistic area (Rohlfs 1969; Giammarco 1973; Ledgeway 2000; Manzini & Savoia 2005). It should be noted, however, that this pattern occurs with massive micro-variation (Ledgeway 2000, 2012, in press; Manzini & Savoia 2005; Loporcaro 2007, 2011, 2014; Legendre 2010; Migliori & Torcolacci 2012; Migliori 2015b; Torcolacci, 2015), such that it is impossible to identify all USIDs with this pattern. There are numerous varieties in which BE only occurs with the 1st and 2nd person singular, as shown in (43):

(43)　a.　　sɔ/si　　　və'neutə/drəm'meutə/ la've:tə　la'makənə [Giovinazzo]
　　　　　　BE-1.sg/BE-2.sg come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the car
　　　　　　"I/you have come/slept/washed the car"
　　　b.　　a/ammə/a'vitə/ann　　　və'neutə/drəm'meutə/la've:tə la makənə
　　　　　　H-3.sg/H-1.pl/H-2.pl/H-3.pl come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the car
　　　　　　"He/we/you/they have come/slept/washed the car"
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 722)

In other dialects, on the other hand, BE is only selected in the 2nd person singular, as in the variety spoken in Bitetto (Puglia):

(44)　a.　　aɟɟə　　　　　　və'neutə/dər'meutə/ca'mɨ:tə　　　　[Bitetto]
　　　　　　BE-1.sg　　　　come-PP/slept-PP/ called-PP
　　　　　　"I have come/slept/called"
　　　b.　　si　　　　　　 və'neutə/dər'meutə/ca'mɨ:tə
　　　　　　BE-2.sg　　　　come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP
　　　　　　"You have come/slept/called"

    c.   ε/simə/si:tə/annə   vəˈneutə/dərˈmeutə/caˈmi:tə

          H-3.sg/H-2.pl/H-2.pl/H-3.pl come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP

          "He/we/you have come/slept/called"

                           (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 725)

Finally, some southern Italian varieties exhibit free variation in the selection of the perfective auxiliary (cf. Rohlfs 1969; Loporcaro 1988, 2007, 2011, 2012, 2014; Ledgeway, in press), as in Altamurano, studied by Loporcaro (1988, 2007, 2012, 2014):

(45)   a.   sɔ   mmanˈǧɛit/   aɟɟə   manˈǧɛit   [Altamura]

          BE-1.sg eaten-PP/   HAVE-1.sg   eaten-PP

          "I have eaten"

    b.   sɔ   ˈǧǧʊut/   aɟɟə   ˈšʊut

          BE-1.sg gone-PP/   HAVE-1.sg   gone-PP

          "I have gone"

Auxiliary selection in Altamurano can be summarized in the following table (on the basis of Loporcaro 2007):

Table III – Auxiliary selection in Altamurano

Altamurano	1.sg	2.sg	3.sg	1.pl	2.pl	3.pl
Transitive	BE/H	BE/H	BE	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H
Unergative	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H
Unaccusative	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H	BE/H

Moreover, for some speakers of this variety, indirect reflexives pattern together with active clauses, whereas others treat them as an independent verb type, displaying free variation in auxiliary selection (Loporcaro 2007, 2014).

To sum up, the southern Italian picture is very complex and diversified as far as auxiliation is concerned. However, the huge variation that characterizes auxiliary selection in this area can be understood though the identification of systematic auxiliation paradigms which show a certain regularity in the patterns of variation and suggest the possibility of a principled explanation. See Table IV (from Migliori & Torcolacci 2012) showing the most recurrent patterns:

Table IV – Auxiliary selection in SIDs. Synchronic variation.

Dialect	BE	HAVE
Type I	All persons	-
Type II	1 and 2 (sg e pl)	3 (sg and pl)
Type III	1 and 2 (sg)	3 (sg and pl), 1 and 2 (pl)
Type IV	Either 1 or 2 (sg)	1 / 2 (sg) ; 3 (sg and pl), 1 and 2 (pl)
Type V	-	All persons

This schema shows that in SIDs the BE/HAVE alternation often depends on the person specification of the sentential subject (see Types II-IV). However, there are many other factors that also appear to play a role in some varieties, such as number and mood, among others (Ledgeway 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2000, 2009; Manzini & Savoia 2005; Cennamo 1999a, 2001c *et seq.*; D'Alessandro 2014). In particular, number seems to be relevant for types III-IV (Torcolacci 2015). Conversely, Type I and Type V constitute one-auxiliary systems, comparable to those that we identified in section 1.3.1 in other Romance languages. In section 2 of this chapter, it will be shown that this variation can be understood under a unified diachronic account.

2. The rise of perfective periphrases in Romance

In diachronic terms, the substantial variation in the distribution and semantic value of Romance perfective periphrases can be taken to be tightly related to the development of ESSE "be" and HABERE "have" as tense markers.

2.1 The limits of the grammaticalization account

In order to look at the development of Romance perfective periphrases, we first need to recall the relevant Latin data. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the Latin perfect exhibits a contrast between an active synthetic perfect, (46-b), and an analytic inactive perfect, (46-d), (47-d). This difference is not only relevant to the morphological expression of the perfect, but also reflects crucial differences in argument structure. Moreover, the Latin perfect encodes both the past punctual and the present perfect reading. It will be shown later that this fact is crucial for the Romance outcomes.

(46) a. nec-o   b. neca-v-i
          murder-1.sg   murder-perf.ind-1.sg
          "I murder/am murdering"   "I murdered/I have murdered"
      c. nec-o-r   d. necatus   sum
          murder-1.sg-*r*   murdered-PP   BE-1.sg
          "I am (being) murdered"   "I was/have been murdered"
(47) a. *medit-o   b. *medita-v-i
          meditate-1.sg   meditate-perf.ind.-1.sg
      c. medit-o-r   d. meditatus   sum
          meditate-1.sg-*r*   meditated-PP   BE-1.sg
          "I meditate/am meditating"   "I meditated/have meditated"

The Latin paradigm above shows that the ESSE + PP periphrasis was already part of the Latin system and that it was regularly used in an inactive perfective configurations (passive, deponent verbs) (La Fauci 1988, 1997, 1998; Cennamo 1999b, 2008, 2009, 2011; Bauer 2000; Zamboni 2000; Panhuis 2006; Ledgeway 2012; Migliori 2014). By contrast, HABERE + PP does not seem to belong to the regular conjugation. This then raises a question about the development of this active periphrasis, which does not at first appear to occur regularly in the Latin verbal system.

According to the traditional account, the development of this periphrastic construction is to be seen as the result of a grammaticalization process (Thielmann 1885; Nicolau 1936; Harris 1982; Vincent 1982; Salvi 1987; Squartini & Bertinetto; Fruyt 2011; Haverling 2013). The lexical verb HAVE was then reanalysed and grammaticalized, so that it gradually changed its status from lexical to functional. This diachronic process is generally argued to follow a predictable path, as schematized below:

(48) **Grammaticalization path (on the basis of Hopper & Traugott 2003)**
      lexical verb > aspectual marker > perfective marker > past tense marker

The claim is thus that possessive HABERE went through these stages, gradually changing its state from lexical to functional. According to this approach, the basis for this diachronic process is the Latin resultative construction in which HABERE governs a *praedicativum* past participle (HAVE + object + PP), like in the following cases:

(49)   in   ea   provincia   pecunias
       in   that-f.sg.ABL.   province-f.sg.ABL.   money-f.pl.ACC.
       magnas   conlocatas   habent   [Cic. *Man.* 10, 17,18]
       big- f.pl.ACC.   invested-PP.f.pl.ACC.   HAVE-3.pl
       "They have huge amounts of money invested in that province"

(50)   qui   eum   vinctum
       who-m.3.sg.NOM. him-m.sg.ACC. tied-PP-m.sg.ACC.
       habebit   [*Lex* XII *Tab*. 3,4]
       HAVE -3.sg.fut.
       "The one who will hold him tied in bonds"

In the examples above, it is not possible to identify the Agent of the event expressed by the participle, as in both cases this argument is not expressed. It has been claimed that this absence/under-specification of the Agent is an important trigger for the reanalysis and subsequent grammaticalization of the HABERE-periphrasis: since the subject of the *praedicativum* is not specified, speakers have reanalysed the subject of HABERE, which still has lexical value in such cases, as the subject of the whole periphrasis. Therefore, a process of reanalysis took place (in the sense of Roberts and Roussou 2003; Roberts 2007), thanks to which HABERE + PP were reinterpreted as monoclausal, as schematized below[88]:

(51) $[_{VP}$ HABERE $[_{NP} [_{AP}$ Part$]]] > [_{VP}$ HABERE $[_{VP}$ PartP$]]$

The consequence of this process of reanalysis was the gradual transformation of HABERE from lexical to functional. It has been claimed that this change passed through fixed semantic stages, which are summarized in Table V (from Harris 1982: 49-50):

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[88] An analogous process is claimed to be at the basis of other active auxiliaries like, for instance, Port. *ter* < Lat. TENERE. This verb, originally meaning "hold/keep", was gradually grammaticalized and eventually became a full auxiliary (Thielmann 1885; Harre 1991, among others.).

Table V

	HABERE + PP periphrasis	Languages
Stage 1	**Aspectual value**: Present resultant state of past actions (resultative)	ESIDs
Stage 2	**Aspectual value:** Current relevance of past situation and also marked for duration/ repetition (durative)	European Portuguese Brazilian Portuguese Galician Asturian Leonese Latin-American varieties
Stage 3	**Temporal value:** *Present perfect*: past action with present relevance	Castilian Spanish Catalan some Occitan varieties Italian
Stage 4	**Temporal value:** *Past punctual:* Past situations without present relevance	(spoken) French NIDs and northern regional Italian Romanian Sardinian

Table V shows that the different stages of grammaticalization of HABERE + PP are reflected in modern Romance varieties. Moreover, it has been claimed that the development of different semantic values is also reflected by the synthetic/analytic distribution of perfect forms, as the gradual extension of HABERE + PP goes hand in hand with the development of different semantic interpretations (Harris 1982):

Table VI – Semantic values of the synthetic/analytic perfect in Romance (Harris 1982)

Stages	Preterite (Tense)	Present perfect (Tense)	Resultative (sspect)	Durative/ iterative (Aspect)
1	Synthetic	Synthetic	Analytic	-
2	Synthetic	Synthetic	Analytic	Analytic
3	(Synthetic)	Analytic	Analytic	Analytic (also other aux)
4	Analytic	Analytic	Analytic	Analytic (also other aux)

The grammaticalization approach therefore appears to have great explanatory power, because it explains the development of HABERE + PP while also providing an account of the variation in modern Romance periphrases. It should be noted, however, that this analysis is problematic as there are numerous Romance counterexamples to the generalizations in Table V. Recall, for instance, that the analytic perfect does not always occur with HAVE, as shown in the previous sections (cf. the case of many SIDs displaying BE as universal perfective auxiliary discussed in Manzini & Savoia 2005). Examples of this type constitute a significant empirical problem for the analysis. This approach also seems problematic for other reasons, for instance because of the status of HABERE + PP within the Latin system. According to this approach, the perfective value of the periphrasis is an innovation, which emerged at quite a late stage, at the earliest during the late Latin period. However, as demonstrated by Pinkster (1987), this is not consistent with the empirical evidence. In fact, HABERE + PP was already productive in early and Classical Latin and coexisted together with the synthetic form in order to express perfective/accomplished interpretation, as shown in the following examples (already Pinkster 1987):

(52) quid Athenis exquisitum habeam [Cato, *ad fil*. Frg. 1]
       what Athens.f.pl.ABL. found-PP.n.sg H-pres.subj-1sg
       "What I have found out in Athens"

(53) quantum tironi sit commitendum
       how much-Adv. recruit-DAT. BE-subj.pres-3.sg rely-GRDV-n.sg
       nimium saepe expertum habemus [Pl. *apud* Cic. *Fam.* 10,24, 3]
       too much-Adv. often-Adv. experienced-PP HAVE-1.pl
       "We have too often experienced how far recruits are to be relied upon"

(54) necdum omnia   in quae   coniurarent
      not yet every-n.pl.ACC. to which-n.pl.ACC. conspire-subj.impf-3.pl.
      edita   facinora   habent [Liv. XXXIX, 16,3]
      revealed-PP-n.pl.ACC.   crimes-n.pl.ACC HAVE-1.pl
      "They have not revealed yet all the crimes to which they have conspired"

(55) quem   ad modum   de   ea re
      which-m.sg.ACC. to way-m.sg.ACC.   about that thing-f.sg.ABL.
      scriptum   habemus   [Vitr. 9,1,14]
      written-PP.n.sg.ACC.   HAVE-3.pl
      "As we have written above on this matter"

(56) qui   per urbes   agri Sallentini
      who-Nom.   through cities-pl.ACC. field Salentino-m.sg.GEN.
      castra   disposita   habebat   [Liv. XXVII, 40,11]
      military camp   placed-PP   HAVE-impf.ind.3.sg
      "who had disposed military camps through the cities of the Salentino
      country"

As observed by Thielmann (1885), this construction is frequent in Classical
Latin, especially in Cicero's prose, in which the HABERE +PP periphrasis
appears to be used as a stylistic variant of the synthetic perfect. Consider the
examples below (from Thielemann 1885: 518 and Adams 2013: 622-23):

(57) quem   si tu   iam   forte   cognosti […] [Cic. *Fam*. 13.17.2-3]
      him-ACC. if 2.sg-NOM.already by chance know-ind.perf.2.sg
      sin   autem. . . nondum eum satis habes   cognitum
      if not instead   not yet him-ACC. HAVE-2.sg   known-PP
      "if you happen already to have got to know him […] but if you have not yet
      got to know him sufficiently"

(58) aliquid   sese,   quod   de   his duobus
      something-ACC. 3-sg.Acc. which-ACC. about   these two-ABL.
      habuerint   compertum,
      HAVE-3pl.subj.perf.   discovered-PP
      de ceteris   comperisse   [Cic., *Cluent*. 127]
      about others-ABL.   discover-inf.perf.
       "[they might claim] that they discovered about the others something
      which they might have discovered about these two,'

Despite the claims made by Adams (2013) that only a resultative reading was
available in Latin, cases like those above are likely to be understood as
perfective periphrases. In fact, a present perfect (and sometimes even a past
punctual) interpretation seem much more appropriate than a resultative
interpretation in this context. Moreover, in many cases a (implicit or explicit)
direct object is absent: this shows that the *praedicativum* cannot refer to an

object and confirms thus that HABERE directly selects the past participle. In other words, in these cases, HABERE seems to behave as a full auxiliary. In fact, Adams himself admits that the perfective interpretation of this periphrasis is possibly available in Latin, at least in a number of specific contexts. An example of this is the periphrases expressing mental/material acquisition, for which this reading is usually the most appropriate:

(59)   eum   autem   emptum   habebat
        it-m.ACC.   but   bought-pp.m.sg.ACC HAVE-ind.impf.3.sg
        cum   socio   Cn. Acerronio   [Cic. *Tull.* XVI]
        with   partner-m.sg.ABL. Cn. Acerronio-m.sg.ABL.
        "On the other hand, he had bought him with his partner, C. Acerronius"

(60)   qui   aut faenore   aut   periuriis
        who-NOM. or usury-n.sg.ABL.   of   deceit-n.pl.ABL.
        habent   rem   paratam   [Plaut. *Men*. 581–4]
        HAVE-3.sg   thing-f.sg.ACC. obtained-PP
        'the ones who acquired their fortune of by usury of by deceit'

As shown by Adams (2013), cases like (59) and (60) are well attested in various genres and registers of the literary language, which suggests that the construction was quite widespread in Classical Latin. Observe, moreover, that auxiliary HABERE occurs here in the imperfect tense, which confers a pluperfect interpretation to the whole periphrasis. This fact also seems to confirm that this verbal item here has the status of an auxiliary.

The fact that HABERE + PP does not only target resultatives is further confirmed by the occurrence of this periphrasis in other kinds of constructions (Pinkster 1987; Cennamo 1998, 1999b, 2001, 2008; Ledgeway 2012). In the following examples, for instance, this periphrasis is used with *verba sentiendi/dicendi*, belonging to the semantic verb class of activities, for which the resultative reading is generally not available (Dowty 1979, 1991):

(61)   de   Caesare   satis   hoc
        about   Caesar-m.sg.ABL   enough-Adv.   this-n.sg.ABL.
        tempore   dictum   habeo   [Cic. *Phil*. 5, 52]
        time-n.sg.ABL   say-PP.n.sg   HAVE-1.sg
        "At present, I have said enough about Gaius Caesar"

(62)　cum　　cognitum　　　　　　　　　habeas
　　　　when　　understood-PP.n.sg.ACC.　　HAVE-pres.subj.2.sg
　　　　quod　　　　　　sit　　　　　　　summi
　　　　which-n.sg.NOM.　BE-pres.subj.3.sg　supreme-m.sg.GEN.
　　　　rectoris […]　　　　　numen　　　　　　　　[Cic. *Fin.* 4,11]
　　　　lord- m.sg.GEN.　　　will-n.sg.NOM.
　　　　"When you have realized which the will is of the supreme lord"

(63)　auditum　　　　　　habemus　　　quod […]
　　　　heard-pp　　　　　HAVE-1.pl　　that　　　　[Vulg. *Gal.* 1, 23]
　　　　"We have heard that…"

As pointed out by Pinkster (1987), the object in these examples cannot be interpreted as an object of HABERE only, but must be interpreted as the object of the whole periphrasis. In these cases too, then, HABERE seems to be a functional element rather than a lexical one. This poses a serious problem for the grammaticalization approach, which claims that HABERE was still lexical at this stage: the Latin data presented above in fact show that the alleged final stage of development was already present in the Latin system at quite an early stage and that HABERE functioned as an active tense marker in that period.

Another issue that is not resolved by the grammaticalization approach regards the relationship between the active periphrasis with HABERE and the inactive one with ESSE. According to this analysis, the two developments were, in fact, more or less independent from each other: while HABERE + PP was the product of a long diachronic process, ESSE + PP was already part of the Latin verbal system. It is only at the end of the grammaticalization path that the two periphrases have become active/inactive counterparts (cf. Vincent 1982; Harris 1982). Nonetheless, in the light of the Latin data examined in this section, such an assumption does not seem to be correct, as it does not take into consideration the functional status of HABERE in Latin. Moreover, it does not seem plausible, in diachronic terms, that the presence of another periphrasis in the system, namely the inactive perfect with ESSE, would not have played any role in this development.

To sum up, the grammaticalization approach cannot provide an accurate explanation for the rise of HABERE as a perfective marker, as this element seems to display different properties in Latin than those predicted by this hypothesis. For all these reasons, then, this account will be abandoned in this study. An alternative analysis will be proposed, which will not treat the development of the HABERE and the ESSE perfective constructions as isolated phenomena. Instead, an attempt will be made to analyse these facts from a broader perspective, and in relation to the properties of the whole Latin verbal system.

2.2 The rise of perfective periphrases in Romance: alignment and auxiliaries

In the previous section, it was observed that the HABERE + PP periphrasis coexisted with the synthetic perfective form to express the active present perfect. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the use of this periphrasis was less frequent in Latin than in modern Romance varieties (Cennamo 1998, 1999b, 2002, 2008; Ledgeway 2012). This therefore raises a question about the forces that triggered the expansion of the H + PP throughout the system, until it became the regular (proto)-Romance strategy for expressing accomplished/perfective interpretation within the active conjugation. In particular, two facts seem to have been significant for this change: the presence of the perfective inactive periphrasis ESSE + PP, and the active/inactive contrast of the Latin verbal system[89]. In this chapter, we will claim that that these facts, which are not taken into account in the grammaticalization analysis, have played an essential role in the development of periphrastic perfect forms in Romance.

The Latin data show that this language was characterized by an active/inactive contrast in several domains of the grammar. In the previous chapter, it was shown that this alignment opposition was particularly pervasive within the clausal domain (cf. the occurrence of –r for marking inactive contexts). The same alignment contrast can be observed in other environments. What is interesting for our analysis is that this contrast is frequently encoded by the ESSE/HABERE opposition. This is the case with possessive constructions, for instance[90] (La Fauci 1988, 1997, 1998; Zamboni 2000; Baldi & Nuti 2010; Ledgeway 2012):

(64)   a.   est   patri   meo   domus [Pl. *Aul.* 187]
                BE-3.sg.   father-m.sg.DAT. my-m.sg.DAT. house-f.3.sg.NOM.
                "My father has a house"
    b.   habet   domum   formosam   [Sen. *Luc.* 87, 5]
                HAVE-3.sg.   house-f.sg.ACC. beautiful.sg.ACC.
                "He has a beautiful house

In (64-a) the possessor is a dative argument, the possessee is in the nominative and the possession relation is expressed by the auxiliary ESSE, in a clear

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[89] Recall chapter 2.

[90] The development of possessive constructions from Latin to Romance is discussed in detail in chapter 4, § 1.

inactive configuration. Conversely, in (64-b), the possessor has nominative case, the possessee is in the accusative and the relation is expressed through the auxiliary HABERE, in an active configuration. In possessive structures, the ESSE/HABERE contrast therefore encodes an active/inactive opposition. An analogous example can be found in participial structures expressing material/mental acquisition (Ledgeway 2012: 319; Adams, 2013). Observe the contrast between the inactive periphrasis in (65-a) and the active periphrasis in (65-b):

(65) a. tanti   sunt mi   emptae? [Var. *Rust.* II 2, 5]
       so much-sg.GEN. BE-3.pl 1.sg.DAT. bought-PP.f.pl.NOM.
       "Have they been bought by me for such a price?"
  b. eum   autem emptum   habebat
       it-m.ACC. but bought-pp.m.sg.ACC H-ind.impf.3sg.
       cum socio   Cn. Acerronio   [Cic. *Tull.* XVI]
       with partner-m.sg.ABL. Cn. Acerronio-m.sg.ABL.
       "On the other hand, he had bought him with his partner, C. Acerronius"   (Ledgeway 2012: 319)

Furthermore, the same contrast can be observed in the periphrases expressing obligation/necessity[91]:

(66) a. dicenda   tibi   sunt   hodie [Liv. IV 40, 9]
       say-GRDV-n.pl.NOM 2.sg-DAT. BE-3.pl. today-Adv.
       "These things have to be said by you today = You have to say these things today"
  b. pugnandum   habebam   [Sen. *Contr.* 10,2]
       fight-GRD.n.sg.ACC.   HAVE-impf.ind-1.sg
       "I had to fight"
(67) a. (homini)   necesse est   mori [Cic. *Fat.* 17]
       human-m.sg.DAT. necessary BE-3sg. die-inf.pres.
       "Humans have to die"
  b. multa   probare necesse habet [Quint. *Inst.* 3, 8, 24]
       many-n.pl.ACC. prove-inf.pres. necessary HAVE-3.sg
       "He has to prove many claims"

In (66-a) the necessity/obligation of the action is expressed through a construction formed by gerundive + ESSE with a dative Agent: the configuration is thus inactive. In contrast, in (66-b) the obligation is expressed

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[91] The development of deontic periphrases between Latin and Romance will be examined in chapter 4, § 2.

by a HABERE + gerund construction, in which the subject coincides with the Agent. The structure is thus active. The same contrast can be observed in the deontic constructions with NECESSE "necessary", (67), which can be expressed both with ESSE and with HABERE, displaying an inactive/active contrast. Finally, Latin displays a number of periphrases which can be either expressed with ESSE, in an inactive configuration, or with HABERE, in an active one. Some examples are given below (cf. *TLL*):

(68) a.   aliquis   est   mihi   obvius
            someone-NOM.   BE-3.sg   1.sg-DAT.   that you come across-NOM.
      b.   habeo   aliquem   obvium
            HAVE-1-sg   someone-ACC.   that you come across-ACC.
            "I met someone"
(69) a.   perspectum   mihi   est
            known-PP   1.sg-DAT.   BE-3.sg
      b.   perspectum   habeo
            known-PP   HAVE-1.sg
            "I know, I am convinced"
(70) a.   aliquis   mihi   invisus   est
            someone-NOM.   1.sg-DAT.   hated-PP   BE-3.sg
      b.   invisum   habeo   aliquem
            hated-PP.ACC.   HAVE-1.sg   someone-ACC.
            "To hate someone"

Therefore, there are numerous contexts in Latin in which ESSE and HABERE alternate in the same construction, encoding an inactive/active opposition. In light of these observations, it seems plausible to link the extension of HABERE + PP to this active/inactive contrast present in Latin (La Fauci 1988, 1997, 1998; Cennamo 1999b, 2002, 2008, 2009, 2011; Zamboni 2000, Ledgeway 2012). The claim is that this process could take place a result of two forces: the presence of the inactive auxiliary ESSE in the perfect and in other periphrastic constructions on the one hand; and the active/inactive alignment of the whole verbal system on the other hand. Therefore, HABERE has gradually developed into an active marker, according to the following correspondence[92] :

(71)   ESSE : inactive // HABERE: active

This periphrasis, which would initially have been only marginally used, was able to expand throughout the whole system because of the extension of the use of functional HABERE as an active functional element. In this sense, the

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[92] See also Cyrino 2009.

innovation does not involve a change in the status of the verb from lexical to functional, but its gradual expansion as an active marker. In other terms, this verbal periphrasis, which was a minor usage pattern, i.e. a non-obligatory variant of the synthetic perfect, gradually became a major usage pattern until it became one of the main strategies for expressing the perfect in Romance.

Another relevant fact should be taken into account at this point. The aspectual distinction between *infectum* inactive forms (synthetic, e.g. *necatur*) and *perfectum* ones *(*analytic, e.g*. necatus sum)* gradually faded away starting from late Latin (Winter 1984; Bauer 2006; De Melo 2012, among others). This in turn provoked an increase in the use of inactive periphrastic forms, which gradually took the place of the synthetic forms (cf. Italian *sono ucciso* "I am (being) murdered"). Therefore, periphrastic forms with ESSE became more and more widespread. It seems likely, then, that the presence of this frequently used analytic form in the system significantly influenced the extension of the active form. Therefore, the extension of HABERE can be said to be related to the active/inactive opposition characterizing the Latin verbal system that was pervasive at different levels of the grammar and triggered a number of phenomena in several domains of the language[93] (cf. La Fauci 1988, 1997, 1998; Zamboni 2000; Cennamo 2001, 2002, 2008, 2009, 2011; Loporcaro 2007, 2014; Ledgeway 2011, 2012). The extension of functional HABERE can be understood as a diachronic process coherent with other phenomena triggered by this alignment contrast. From this perspective, the extension of the perfective periphrasis can be defined as a "conservative innovation" (cf. Zamboni 2000: 87) in that it simply extended a property with which auxiliary HABERE had already been endowed since a very early stage and made that its property *par excellence*.

To sum up, the extension of HABERE + PP is not merely the result of a grammaticalization process, but must instead be understood as the consequence of an alignment opposition. It can hence be understood as one of many processes and changes in the Latin system as a whole, rather than being treated as an isolated phenomenon.

Finally, it should be noted that this approach is not at odds with the generalizations made in Table V; those data must, however, be interpreted from a different perspective. The stages detected do not correspond to the various steps of grammaticalization of HABERE, but rather to the different phases of extension of this periphrasis as an active perfective marker. It is then possible to capture the Latin data presented in this section: considering Latin HABERE as functional allows us to understand its early occurrence in a number

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[93] See Ledgeway (2012: 312 and ff.).

of constructions/values, without losing the generalization about a major development in one specific direction. It thus appears that this alignment account allows for a more exhaustive explanation of the development and a more satisfactory account of both the diachronic data and of current variation.

2.3 The role of deponent verbs in the change

In the previous chapter, it was shown that Latin deponents generally pertain to the non-agentive field and therefore always occur with *–r* morphology (*-r* endings/periphrastic perfect forms constituted by ESSE + PP). In this sense, deponents form a fairly homogeneous class: they are structurally inactive, i.e. they lack a canonical agentive EA (Gianollo 2000, 2005, 2010; Kallulli 2013; Migliori 2015 a, b; *contra* Baerman 2006, 2007; Embick 1997, 1998, 2000; Weisser 2014). On the other hand, deponents occur in a number of different inactive structures: recall, for instance, the contrast between experiential deponents (e.g. *meditor* "reflect" and *arbitror* "decide") with S merged in [Spec, Exp*v*] and unaccusative deponents (e.g. *proficiscor*, "leave", *morior* " die", *nascor* "be born", *labor* "fall"), the S of which is an IA. In this sense, deponents are also a heterogeneous class, as the *Merging*-point of the sentential subject is not the same for all verbs. Furthermore, it has been observed that some deponents (*e.g. vereor* "fear", *miror* "be astonished") select an argument with inherent accusative case, as in the following examples:

(72) a. [Quinctius]   miratur
        Quinctius-m.sg.NOM.   is astonished-3.sg.*r*
        subitum   aduentum   [Liv. XXXIX 30,10]
        sudden-m.sg.ACC   arrival-m.sg.ACC.
        "Quinctius is astonished for the sudden arrival"

     b. moderationem   patientiam-que
        temperance-f.sg.ACC.   patience-f.sg.ACC.
        mirantur   [Cic. *Phil*. X 14, 127]
        are astonished-3.pl-*r*
        "They are admired because of his temperance and patience"

(73) a. qui   omnia   verentur   [Cic. *Phil*. X 17, 28]
        who   everything-n.pl.ACC .   fear-3.pl-*r*
        "[those], who are afraid of everything"

     b. quid   enim   vereris?   [Cic. *Att*. 4,7,2]
        what-ACC.   in fact   fear-2.sg-*r*
        "What are you afraid of, then ?"

Deponents look like a complex verbal class, in that they appear to be homogeneous on the one hand (all inactive) and heterogeneous on the other hand (they pertain to various inactive constructions with different syntactic-semantic properties). Given these properties, it is not surprising that deponents created learnability problems from an acquisition point of view. In fact, it has extensively been shown in the literature (cf. Flobert 1975; Gianollo 2005, 2010; Cyrino 2009) that this class has continuously undergone reanalysis throughout the development of the Latin language, from the early Latin right up to the early Romance period, constantly including new verbs via analogy or excluding others whose properties were no longer associated, in the speakers' mind, with the characteristics of this class[94]. Recall, too, the case of semi-deponents, discussed in the previous chapter, which were gradually associated with the deponent class in the speakers' mind, probably because of their semantic commonalities with those verbs.

The core claim of this chapter is that deponent verbs, precisely because of their specific properties, played a crucial role in the development of Romance perfective auxiliation. More specifically, it will be proposed that the basis for the rise of specific Romance auxiliation patterns is to be found in the syntactic reanalysis of a precise group of deponents, i.e. the verbs pertaining to the experiential domain. Under this hypothesis, experiential deponents are held to have been gradually reanalysed as active, paving the way for the extension of auxiliary HAVE in Romance perfective periphrases[95].

Syntactic reanalysis (i.e. the structural reinterpretation of a given morphological form in the speakers' mind, cf. Roberts & Rousseau 2003; Roberts 2007) is here claimed to have been triggered by a number of potentially ambiguous contexts that, combined with the specific (heterogeneous) properties of deponents, might have gradually separated experiential deponents from other deponent types .

An initial significant trigger for reanalysis can be identified in the deponents selecting an accusative argument (recall the example in 72). The ambiguity was caused not only by the presence of the accusative itself, but also by the

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[94] Consider the interesting parallelism with Modern Greek, in which the deponent class appears to be undergoing a number of changing as well, either creating or loosing (new) active counterparts, as discussed in Zombolou & Alexiadou (2014b).

[95] The role of experiential verbs in the reanalysis process is also taken into account also under the traditional grammaticalization approach, as in these cases the subject of the PP must co-refer with the subject of HAVE. However, this account has not considered the deponent character of numerous Latin experientials, which is crucial for understanding this change from a syntactic point of view.

comparison between deponent + ACC structures and constructions like the following:

(74) rogatus   sum   sententiam   [Cic. *Pont*. XVI 41, 13]
      asked-PP.m.sg.NOM.   BE-1.sg   opinion-f.sg.ACC.
      "I was asked for an opinion"

(75) nos[96]   ne   hoc
      we-1.pl.ACC.   int-prtcl   this-n.sg.ACC.
      celatos   tam   diu   [Ter. *Hec.* 643]
      hidden-PP.m.pl.ACC.   such   long time
      "And we have been ignoring this fact for such a long time?!"

These examples show the passive form of double accusative constructions, which are typical of ditransitive verbs like *rogo* "ask", *celo* "hide", *dono* "give". Observe that these cases look exactly like deponents from a morphophonological point of view:

(76)   Past participle   aux   BE   ACC.-argument

Nonetheless, differently from deponents, these examples also have an active counterpart, as shown below:

(77) otium   divos   rogat   [Hor. *Car.* II, 16,1]
      rest-n.sg.ACC.   gods-m.pl.ACC.   ask-3.sg.pres.
      "He asks the gods a rest"

The claim is that the morphological similarity between the perfect of deponents + accusative and the passive form of double accusative constructions was a locus of syntactic reanalysis. As stated in the literature (Roberts & Rousseau 2003; Roberts 2007) morphological ambiguity is one of the most frequent triggers for this phenomenon. As a result of this ambiguity, deponent verbs taking the accusative were gradually reanalysed as transitive. It is also important to note that the Latin verbal system underwent a massive reshuffling process with regard to voice distinction, particularly in late Latin. This process mostly involved the active/inactive distinction, in that the syntactic-semantic value of –*r* forms was often reanalysed, and they came to be used in different contexts (cf. Cennamo 1998a, 1999b, 2001b, 2008, *et seq.*).

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[96] This argument is in the accusative as it is the sentential subject of an infinitival complement clause, exhibiting Exceptional Case Marking (Oniga 2004).

Given this scenario, it seems entirely plausible that deponent + accusative constructions might have been reinterpreted as structurally active.

A further significant fact must be taken into consideration at this point. Most deponents occurring with an accusative argument are experientials. As already observed in the previous chapter, these verbs constitute a class with specific syntactic semantic properties. In particular, this class is syntactically closest to active constructions:

(78)   [VoiceP **[Exp*v*P** [Ben/Goal*v*P [Poss/Loc*v*P [Pat*v*P [VP]]]]]]

This structural proximity, together with the ambiguous contexts identified above, has probably created a context for reanalysis leading to the inclusion of experientials were included in the active domain. Another factor that might have pushed the change in this direction can be found in *verba dicendi*. These verbs are a sub-group of the experiential class, with specific properties. As already observed in chapter 2, deponent verbs of speaking (e.g. *loquor "speak"*) are less agentive than transitive verbs, as the grade of intentionality is lower than in active transitive cases like *neco* "murder" (Gianollo 2000, 2005, 2010). Moreover, it has been observed that *verba dicendi* occurring with inactive morphology are generally used intransitively in the languages of the world (cf. Kemmer 1993; Marelj 2004; Kallulli 2013, among others). However, these verbs are endowed with a [control] feature, as the sentential subject is partly responsible for the action expressed[97]. In this sense, experiential verbs constitute the most "agentive-like" class within the deponent group: their argument is, in fact, the highest inactive argument. Moreover, these verbs could also occur with a neuter accusative element, which was generally used adverbially:

(79)   sed   nimis   longum loquor   [Pl. *Ep*. 376]
        but   too   long-n.sg.ACC. speak-1.sg-*r*
        "But I do not speak for a too long time"
(80)   nimis diu   et   longum loquor
        too   long time and   long   speak-1.sg-*r*
        "I do not speak for at length and for a too long time"
(81)   si   falsum   loquor
        if   false-n.sg.ACC.   speak-1.sg-r
        "If I speak untruthfully"

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[97] Recall the discussion on semantic roles in chapter 2.

It is possible to hypothesize that this fact, together with the agentive-like character of these verbs, created a further context for syntactic reanalysis and that they were reanalysed as transitive at a certain stage. To sum up, because of their properties and because of the existence of some ambiguous contexts, experiential deponents have been reanalysed as active and gradually included in the active/transitive class. Evidence in favour of this hypothesis can be found in the widespread process of deponentization that occurred in late Latin, thanks to which active verbs began to occur with inactive morphology, without losing their active structural properties (cf. Bonnet 1890; Norberg 1943; Flobert 1975; Cennamo 1998a, 2001b, 2008, *et seq.*):

(82) si quislibet   ea coercebatur   [Chron. Sal. in Norberg 1943: 155]
      if someone-NOM. her-ACC. force-ind.impf-3.sg-r.
      "If someone forced her"

(83) proviciam lues   debellata est   [Greg. Tour H.F. 8,39 in Bonnet 1890: 411]
      province plague-NOM. conquered-PP BE-3.sg
      "The plague conquered the province"

(84) et   cogniti   sunt   Romulides   [Agnell.81 in Norberg 1943: 155]
      and   learnt-PP BE-3-pl   Romans-3.pl-NOM.
      "And… the Romans (have) learnt"

(85) certati   sunt   cursu [Hygin. *Fab*. 273,120 in Norberg 1943: 155]
      competed-PP   BE-3.sg   race-ABL
      "They had a race"

Similarly, it is possible to find examples of active verbs (displaying active morphology) indicating an inactive interpretation:

(86) item si   a rota   vexaverit   [Pelag. 233 in Feltenius 1977: 137]
      then if   by wheel-ABL.   troubled-subj.perf-3.sg-r
      "Then if he (= the horse) is troubled by the weel"

These morphological alternations found in late Latin clearly show that a change in the active/inactive distinction was occurring, meaning that the correct interpretation could only be inferred by the contexts and not by morphology alone. These facts seem to constitute strong evidence in support of the hypothesis that deponents were reanalysed as active: the fact that verbal endings alternated shows that that a process of reanalysis affected the syntactic distinction between active and inactive fields, between which deponents are syntactically and semantically located.

2.3.1 The reanalysis of the *v*-field

In syntactic terms the inclusion of experiential deponents in the active class meant a reanalysis of the Latin little *v*-field, which encodes inactive structures. In Latin, the structural border between active and inactive clauses lay at the height of Voice, as discussed in the previous chapter:

(87) **Latin:**

[VoiceP | [Exp*v*P [Rec/Goal*v*P [Poss/Loc*v*P [Pat*v*P[VP]]]]]]

ACTIVE | INACTIVE

By contrast, after this process of reanalysis, the experiential projection is exhaustively included in the active domain:

(88) **(Early) Romance:**

[VoiceP [Exp*v*P [Rec/Goal*v*P [Poss/Loc*v*P[Pat*v*P[VP]]]]]]

ACTIVE | INACTIVE

This reanalysis had decisive consequences for the development of the verbal system between Latin and Romance. In the next sections, the focus will turn to the changes that this reanalysis meant for Romance perfective auxiliaries.

2.4 Consequences for Romance auxiliation

In the literature, the analytic perfect, made up of aux + PP, has been often analysed as corresponding to a copular structure headed by auxiliary BE (Benveniste 1966; Freeze 1992; Kayne 1993). This claim has been made on the basis of the similarities between perfective structures and possessive structures, which can cross-linguistically occur either with BE (as in 89-a) or with HAVE (as in 89-b):
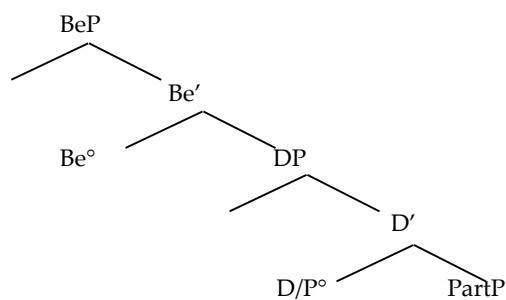
(89) a. nek-em van haza-m   [Hungarian]
   DAT-1sg BE.3sg house-1sg (Jung 2011: 51)
 b. ho   una casa   [Italian]
   HAVE.1sg a house
   "I have a house"

Both in the perfect and in possessive structures, BE is always associated with an inactive structure. On the other hand, HAVE is able to assign accusative case. This difference has been explained as a consequence of the different composition of these two elements. The core claim is that BE is the only primary auxiliary, whereas auxiliary HAVE results from the incorporation of BE into a locative preposition (P) (Freeze 1992; Kayne 1993):

(90) BE + P → HAVE

Because of the presence of the P, HAVE can assign structural accusative. The basic structure of possessive BE/HAVE and auxiliary BE/HAVE is given below (based on Kayne 1993):

(91)

```
                    BeP
                   /    \
                      Be'
                     /    \
                 Be°       DP
                          /   \
                              D'
                             /  \
                        D/P°     PartP
```

In (91), copula BE takes a DP complement, headed by a covert prepositional D (labelled D/P). This head contains an NP (possessive) or VP (auxiliary) substructure. Conversely, HAVE differs from BE in that it is the result of the incorporation of an abstract preposition, namely D/P, into BE (Freeze 1992). This movement is claimed to be triggered by properties of the participial clause:

(92)

```
                    BeP
                   /    \
                      Be'
                     /    \
                 Be°       DP
                          /   \
                              D'
                             /  \
        incorporation    D/P°    PartP
```
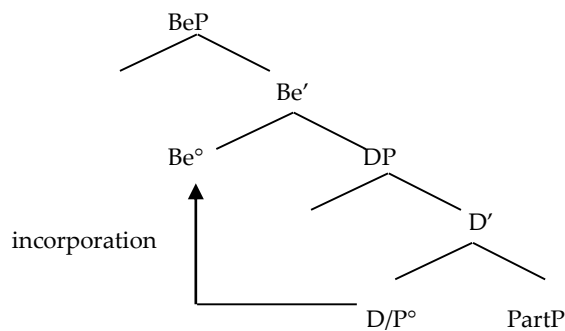
For this reason, BE is basically unaccusative, i.e. unable to assign structural accusative case.

Very much in the spirit of Kayne (1993), D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010) and Roberts (2013) claim that HAVE auxiliaries arise through incorporation (of *v* to Voice), while BE auxiliaries are the default, arising where no such incorporation takes place. The basic cross-linguistic environments for the realization of the auxiliary *v* as HAVE or BE are considered to be as follows, where *v** denotes a non-defective *v*, one capable of agreeing with the case of the direct object and assigning an external thematic role to the subject (in the sense of Chomsky (2001)):

(93)   **BE/HAVE alternation (cf. Roberts & D'Alessandro 2010, Roberts 2013)**

    a. v*$_{Perfect}$ = have; $v_{Perfect}$ = be (Italian, German, etc.)

    b. $v_{Perfect}$ = have; $v_{Passive}$ = be (Spanish, English, Sicilian, etc.)

    c. $v_{Perfect}$[3pers] = have; $v_{Perfect}$ [1,2pers] = be (USIDs)

Even though the technical details of this analysis are different from Kayne's, the gist of the proposal is roughly the same, namely that BE is the default auxiliary, whereas HAVE is the result of an incorporation operation. Moreover, these two functional elements reflect an active vs. inactive syntactic structure in this study too. Building on this core idea, this study will consider the occurrence of auxiliary BE as corresponding to an inactive syntactic structure, whereas HAVE will be taken to occur in the case of active syntax.

In this chapter, it has been proposed that the passage between Latin and early Romance meant a change in the active/inactive distinction, in that a number of deponents gradually came to be included within the active field:

(94)   **(Early) Romance:**

[VoiceP [Exp*v*P [Rec/Goal*v*P [Poss/Loc*v*P [Pat*v*P [VP]]]]]]

    ACTIVE (H)   **INACTIVE (BE)**

Morphologically, the active/inactive contrast is expressed through the alternation of the auxiliaries HAVE (active) vs. BE (inactive) in those languages that mark this distinction[98]. The distribution and development of

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[98] For one-auxiliary systems, see § 3.2 in this chapter.

these two functional elements seems to confirm that syntactic reanalysis of experiential deponents was decisive in the development of (Italo)-Romance perfective auxiliation.

2.5   Diachronic empirical evidence

Relevant empirical evidence in support of the hypothesis that experiential deponents were gradually included in the active class can be found in Old Italian (henceforth OI; i.e. the Tuscan variety attested around the 12th-14th century). At this stage of the language the etymological descendants of experiential deponents behave consistently as active verbs, as reflected in their perfective auxiliation (selection of HAVE as perfective auxiliary). These facts, which contrast with the Latin situation, show that these verbs had already been reanalysed as active at this chronological stage[99]:

(95)   a.   nemo   minus   passus   est   [Sen. Rh. *Con.* 1,2,22]
            no one-NOM.   less-Adv.   suffered-PP BE-3.sg
            "No one   could suffer/bear less (that)…"
        b.   quando l'   anima   a   patito   [*Best.Tosc.* 27,50,9]
            when the-f.sg   soul-f.sg HAVE-3.sg suffered-PP
            "He has suffered"

---

[99] However, the *Confessione di Norcia* (1040 ca AD, Central Italy) (Castellani 1973) displays BE as the perfective auxiliary of a verb descending from the deponent *confiteor* "confess":

(i)   confessu   so   ad me senior
        confessed-PP BE-1.sg   to my lord
        "I have confessed to my Lord"

The same text exhibits auxiliary HAVE in the case of the transitive verb *fare* "do":

(ii)   et qual   bene tu   ai   factu
        and which   good you   HAVE-2.sg done-PP
        "And good things that you have done"

This auxiliary alternation shows that HAVE was already used as an active perfective marker at this stage. On the other hand, the presence of auxiliary BE in (i) seems to suggest that deponents had not yet been reanalysed yet in this linguistic area. Nonetheless, the specific nature of this text must be taken into account: it is a religious text containing clearly latinized language, as was usual in religious contexts. It hence seems wise to consider this occurrence of BE as a consequence of the specific features of this text.

(96)   a.   ἀνέξιαν   in unum   annum
            tolerance-f.sg.ACC.   for one-m.sg.ACC.   year-m.sg.ACC.
            meditatus   sum   [Cic. *Att.* 5,11,5]
            meditated-PP   BE-1.sg
            "I have been meditating about the concept of tolerance for one
            year"
       b.   ho   meditato   la   legge   tua [Bib. tosc. *Sal.*118,5]
            HAVE-1.sg   meditated-PP the- f.sg law-f.sg your-f.sg
            "I have meditated about your law"

Other deponents, however, still display inactive properties in Old Italian. This
is true of unaccusative verbs, which generally exhibit BE auxiliation,
indicating that they preserved the same structure in OI as in Latin:

(97)   a.   quia   exacto   anno   mortuus
            because   exact-m.sg.ABL.   year-m.sg.ABL.   died-PP
            erat   [Liv. XXVI, 23,8]
            BE-impf.ind-3sg
            "Because he had died precisely in that year"
       b.   appo   Mirsia   fue   morto   [B. Giamb. *Or.* 7, 25]
            near   Mirsia   BE-ind.pret.   died-PP
            "He had died near Mirsia"

Most interestingly, some auxiliary alternations can still be observed with
certain verbs at this stage, which suggests that the change was still underway.
This is true of verbs of advantage, for instance (*e.g. utor* "make use of"), which
select an ablative complement in Latin. Their behaviour in Old Italian is
ambiguous: while they generally display intransitive properties (as
etymologically expected), they behave, in very few examples, like transitive
verbs. This contrast in the structure often also encodes a difference in
interpretation, as in OI *usare* (descending from the Latin deponent *utor* ''make
use of"), which means "be used/usual" in its inactive occurrence and "use
(something)" when employed actively:

(98)   a.   sì   come   usato   è   [*Stat. Pis*. 2,46]
            in this manner   as   used-PP   BE-3.sg
            "In this way, as it is usual"
       b.   avere   usato   il   dominio
            HAVE-inf.pres.   used-PP   the-m.sg   supremacy-m.sg.
            e   la   signoria   [Ciamp. 3,86,6]
            and   the-f.sg   lordship-f.sg
            "Having used the supremacy and the lordship"

These alternations suggest that some cases like these might have been considered ambiguous by speakers because the reanalysis process was still underway. Recall, too, that as claimed in chapter 2, this class is structurally close to the experiential verb group, so it is not surprising that they display some alternations due to partial reanalysis.   Further confirmation can be found in the recurrent active usage of some unaccusative verbs like "die" (cf. *OVI*): the transitive character of these constructions is shown by the presence of a direct object (99-a) and by the possibility of passivization (99-b):

(99)   a.   abbiendo   morto   il   figliuolo   [B. Giamb. *Or.* 3, 9]
               HAVE-Ger.   died-PP the-m.sg son-m.sg
               "Having killed the son"
         b.   da quelli   di Spagna   in   battaglia
               by those-m.pl.   from Spain   in   battle-f.sg
               fue morto   [B. Giamb. *Or.*4, 14]
               BE-pret-3.sg died-PP
               "He had been killed during the battle by those coming from Spain"

Old Neapolitan (12th – 14th century) displays a similar situation to that observed in Old Italian. In this variety, HAVE occurs in the perfect of active constructions (96-a,b) as opposed to BE, which occurs with unaccusative verbs (100-c). Experientials behave in the same way as transitives here, too (the examples are from Ledgeway 2009):

(100)   a.   scripte   avemo   tre libelli   [*BagniR* 637]
               written-PP   HAVE-1.pl three books-pl
               "We have written three books"
         b.   scuno [ciascuno] de lloro avea   faticato   [*LDT* 125.5–6]
               everyone   of them HAVE-impf.3.sg   worked-PP
               "Everyone of them had worked"
         c.   Hercul(e)s   si   era   morto   [*LAFGP* 6r.a.28]
               Hercules-3.sg   SE   BE-3.sg died-PP
               "Hercules had died"

The Neapolitan data again show a consistent active/inactive contrast: while transitive and unergative always select HAVE, unaccusative verbs display BE as the perfective auxiliary (Formentin 2001, Ledgeway 2009). Moreover, some verbal items display alternation in the choice of perfective auxiliary: *figliare* "give birth", for instance, can display either HAVE or BE (Ledgeway 2009):

(101) a.   E poy che   aveano   figlyato   [*LDT* 234.8]
            and after that   HAVE-impf.3.pl given birth-PP
            "And after that they had given birth"
       b.   in Napole èy figliata [una donna]   [*De Rosa* 54v.12]
            in Naples BE-3.sg given birth [a woman]
            "A woman gave birth in Naples"

This shows that a verb like *figliare* had a double status in Old Neapolitan as it could be employed both actively and inactively (Ledgeway 2009). This ambiguity confirms the hypothesis sketched above, as it demonstrates the diachronic change that took place in verbs in the experiential domain. Modern Neapolitan differs from Old Neapolitan, as auxiliary HAVE has been extended to all contexts:

(102) a.   ʼaddʒə   beˈnutə   [Neapolitan]
            HAVE-1.sg   come-PP
            "I have come"
       b.   ʼaddʒə   ˈmaɲˈɲatə
            HAVE-1.sg   eaten-PP
            "I have eaten"

The Old Neapolitan data, then, provide us with useful evidence for the direction of the diachronic change under investigation, which proves quite regular and predictable.   Finally, an extensive survey of old and modern Romance data (Formentin 2002; Loporcaro 2007, 2011, 2012) seems to confirm the regularity of this change, as, despite a number of alternations, the various perfective patterns make up a fairly systematic picture (see Table VII):

Table VII (from Loporcaro 2014: 63)

	INACTIVE					ACTIVE
	Unacc.	Reflexive				Transitive/ unergative
		retr.	direct trans.	indirect. unerg.	indir. trans.	
Italian						▓
Sardinian					▓	▓
Old Romanesco				▓	▓	▓
Old Florentine			▓	▓	▓	▓
Leccese		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Spanish	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓

	BE
▓	HAVE

The diachronic data therefore seem to indicate that the direction of the change is from active/inactive and that a gradual reanalysis process affected deponent verbs from late Latin to early Romance. Indeed, the data presented above show that this change sometimes even involved verbs that were structurally and semantically different from transitives but that were nevertheless occasionally reanalyzed simply because a more general reanalysis process involving other inactive verbs was taking place[100].

3. The rise of different auxiliation patterns

The syntactic reanalysis of experiential deponents as active verbs was a crucial factor in the rise of all Romance auxiliation patterns. This diachronic change forms the basis of split intransitivity systems, which plausibly constitute the origin of all further Romance developments.

3.1 Split Intransitivity

In Romance split intransitivity systems, the structural distinction between active vs. inactive structures is expressed morphologically through the

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[100] Consider, moreover, that to this reanalysis process concerning voice distinction correspondend a gradual extension of the Latin reflexive pronoun SE/SIBI, which became more and more frequent as a strategy to indicate inactive structures. At an initial stage, this pronoun was involved in this reshuffling process, so that it is possible to observe its frequent pleonastic usage (cf. Cennamo 1991, 1993 a,b).

BE/HAVE alternation. Recall the relevant data from Italian (Perlmutter 1978; Merlan 1985; Burzio 1986; Klaiman 1991):

(103)   a.   ho   mangiato   una   mela   [Italian]
                     HAVE-1.sg   eaten-PP   an-f.sg   apple-f.sg
                     "I have eaten an apple"

          b.   ho   dormito/ meditato
                     HAVE-1.sg   slept-PP/ meditated-PP
                     "I have slept/meditated"

          c.   è   nato
                     BE-1.sg   born-PP
                     "He was born"

The intrinsic connection between Romance split intransitivity systems and Latin deponent verbs has been observed by Gianollo (2010), who pointed out that the development of this pattern is closely related to the encoding of voice distinctions in Latin. In particular, deponents seem to have played a decisive role in that they often encode stativity (see also Lazzeroni 1990). Building on this observation, in this chapter it has been proposed that a change in the active/inactive distinction formed the basis of the development of Romance auxiliation. In this sense, split intransitivity systems directly follow from the syntactic reanalysis of deponents. While they displayed inactive properties in Latin, these verbs are generally included in the active domain in Romance, and therefore occur with auxiliary HAVE[101]:

(104)   <u>Experientials</u> > Active (aux HAVE)
        a.   meditates   sum [Lat.]> ho   meditato   [Italian]
                meditated-PP   BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   meditated-PP
                "I have meditated"

        b.   patitus   sum [Lat.] > ho   patito   [Italian]
                suffered-PP BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   suffered-PP
                "I have suffered"

        c.   recordatus   sum [Lat.] >   ho   ricordato   [Italian]
                remembered-PP   BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg remembered-PP
                "I have remembered"

        d.   usatus   sum [Lat.]   > ho   usato   [Italian]
                used-PP BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   used-PP
                "I have used"

---

[101] Notice that most experientials are associated with a [Sentient] semantic role, which means that they are related to the stative domain while still being structurally active (recall Chapter 2).

e. auspicatus sum [Lat.] > ho   auspicato   [Italian]
    hoped-PP BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   hoped-PP
    "I have hoped"

f. suspicatus   sum [Lat.] > ho   sospettato   [Italian]
    suspected-PP   BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg suspected-PP
    "I have suspected"

g. (ad)miratus sum [Lat.] > ho   (am)mirato   [Italian]
    astonished BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   admired/surprised-PP
    "I have been astonished" "I admire…"

h. ratiocinatus sum [Lat.] > ho   raziocinato [Italian]
    reasoned-PP BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   reasoned-PP
    "I have reasoned"

i. confessus   sum [Lat.] > ho   confessato   [Italian]
    confessed-PP   BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg confessed-PP
    "I have confessed"

j. adsensus   sum [Lat.] > ho   assentito   [Italian]
    agreed-PP   BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg agreed-PP
    "I have agreed"

k. (ex)hortatus sum [Lat.] > ho   esortato   [Italian]
    exhorted-PP BE-1.sg   HAVE-1.sg   exhorted-PP
    "I have exhorted"

Conversely, unaccusative deponents remained inactive in Romance as well:

(105) <u>Unaccusatives</u> = Inactive
    a. natus   sum [Lat.]   > sono   nato/   [Italian]
        born-PP BE-1.sg   BE-1.sg born-PP.m.sg/f.sg
        "I was born"
    b. mortuus   est [Lat.] >   è   morto/a
        dead-PP   BE-3.sg   BE-3.sg dead-PP.m.sg/f.sg
        "He has died"

The examples above show that although a number of deponents disappeared in the passage between Latin and Romance (cf. Flobert 1975), those that survived consistently follow this pattern. Split intransitivity systems therefore continue to reflect this structural distinction between experiential and unaccusative deponents. While the former are included in the active domain and occur with auxiliary HAVE, the latter always select BE, as they are syntactically inactive.

On the basis of these observations, it seems plausible to argue that this auxiliation pattern directly arose as a consequence of the syntactic reanalysis of argument structure, in particular the reanalysis of experiential deponents as transitives. This theory also allows us to explain why HAVE spread to

experiential constructions in Romance, while these constructions selected BE in Latin . Once the active/inactive structural border had shifted in early Romance, the active domain included both transitives and experientials (active statives): aux HAVE began to be selected for the perfect of the latter group of verbs as well (La Fauci 1997, 1998; Cennamo 1998a *et seq.*; Loporcaro 2007; Ledgeway 1997, 2009, 2012). This fact can be thus considered as the direct consequence of the reanalysis of this structural opposition. Therefore, the auxiliary alternation generally reflects a syntactic distinction in the *Merge*-point of arguments in the syntactic spine[102].

In this respect, split intransitivity systems can be considered as "conservative" Romance varieties, in that they still display the active/inactive alignment contrast characterizing Latin verbal system, even though the structural border is found at a different point in the verbal clause (Zamboni 2000; Cennamo 1998a, 2001b, 2008 *et seq.;* Loporcaro 2007, 2014; Ledgeway 2012; Migliori 2015a).

3.1.1   Split intransitivity: synchrony and diachrony

The split intransitivity pattern, which is displayed by many modern Romance varieties (Italian, French, Occitan, Catalan and most northern Italian dialects) was also attested during earlier stages of other Romance languages that today display a different auxiliation system. This is true of Old Spanish, for example (Aranovich 2003; Stolova 2006):

(106)   a.   Exido   es   de   Burgos   [*Cid*, 231]
                  exit-PP   BE-3.sg from   Burgos
                  "He left from Burgos"

         b.   Los   Yfantes   de   Carrion
                  the-m.pl.   infants-m.pl   of   Carrion
                  bien   an   caualgado   [*Cid*, 2246]
                  well   HAVE-3.pl   ridden-PP
                  "The infants of Carrion have ridden well"   (Stolova 2006: 301)

The examples above show that Old Spanish displayed an opposition between two distinct groups of intransitive verbs, in the same way that modern split intransitivity systems do. While an unaccusative verb like *exir* "exit" used to select auxiliary BE, the unergative *cabalgar* "ride" was conjugated with HAVE.

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[102] Recall, nevertheless, the caveat concerning fine-grained semantic factors which may also play a role with regard to auxiliary selection (see Sorace 2000).

Modern Spanish, in contrast, no longer expresses this distinction. As shown in section 1, this language is characterized by a one-auxiliary system, in which HAVE is the only perfective auxiliary:

(107)   a.   he   venido   [Spanish]
               HAVE-1.sg   come-PP
               "I have come (resultative)"
        b.   he   comido
               HAVE-1.sg   eaten-PP
               "I have eaten (resultative)"

This extension of aux HAVE to the whole system can be explained by considering it to be related to the occurrence of HAVE in *irrealis* contexts (i.e. modal conditional), from which this auxiliary also spread to *realis* context (cf. Ledgeway 2003, in press, Stolova 2006). Moreover, the rise of the nominative/accusative alignment, which is an innovative feature of Romance, also seems to have played a role (La Fauci 1997, 1998; Bauer 2000; Zamboni 2000; Loporcaro 2007, 2014; Ledgeway 2012): because of this change, the active/inactive contrast lost saliency. The structural distinction between unaccusative vs. unergative/transitive is hence no longer visible from a morphophonological point of view[103]. The data from Spanish therefore show that split intransitivity is the first diachronic step between the late Latin scenario and the extension of aux HAVE to the whole system. it is therefore possible to understand the rise of systems that only display HAVE as a subsequent and more innovative chronological step, triggered by structural changes in alignment.

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[103] Observe, however, that the structural contrast between these two intransitive classes is still present in Spanish. Despite the lack of alternation in the morphological marking, unergatives and unaccusatives still display distinct syntactic properties. Consider, for instance, the case of bare plural DPs, which are licensed in with unaccusative subjects and transitive objects but not with unergatives:

(i)   a.   Han   visto   animales   [Spanish]
          HAVE-3.pl   seen-PP animals-m.3.pl
          "They have seen animals"
      b.   Han   pasado   animales
          HAVE-3.pl   passed by-PP animals-m.3.pl
          "Animals have passed by"
      c.   *Han dormido   animales
          HAVE-3.pl   slept-PP animals-m.3.pl

3.2   BE as the only perfective auxiliary

As shown in § 1.3.3, a number of USIDs display an auxiliation system with BE as the only perfective functional element. In light of the observations made above, we will propose in this study that these systems must be understood as a consequence of the reanalysis of deponents[104]. In other words, in a number of Italo-Romance varieties, the transitivization of experiential verbs produced a different pattern of perfective auxiliation, namely the overgeneralization of auxiliary BE. This paradigm is exhibited in numerous USIDs, in particular in the Molise area:

(108)	sɔŋgə	mə'nu:tə/	maɲ'ɲɛɐtə	[Pescolanciano]
	BE-1.sg	come-PP/	eaten-PP	
	si	mə'nu:tə/	maɲ'ɲɛɐtə	
	BE-2.sg	come-PP/	eaten-PP	
	ɛ	mə'nu:tə/	maɲ'ɲɛɐtə	
	BE-3.sg	come-PP/	eaten-PP	
	semə	mə'nu:tə/	maɲ'ɲɛɐtə	
	BE-1.pl	come-PP/	eaten-PP	
	setə	mə'nu:tə/	maɲ'ɲɛɐtə	
	BE-2.pl	come-PP/	eaten-PP	
	suə(nnə)	mə'nu:tə/	maɲ'ɲɛɐtə	
	BE-3.pl	come-PP/	eaten-PP	

"I/you/he/we/you/they have come/ eaten"

(Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 759)

In (108), BE is the only perfective marker. In fact, no auxiliary alternation marks the difference between diverse verbal classes: both inactive (unaccusatives, e.g. *mə'nu:tə* "come") and active structures (transitives/unergatives, e.g. *maɲ'ɲɛɐtə* "eaten") exhibit the same functional element to form the active periphrastic perfect. However, it is likely that an early stage of the language was characterized by an active/inactive distinction in this case too (cf. Loporcaro 2007, 2012; Ledgeway, in press). Recall, on the other hand, that split intransitivity reflexes are often present in modern SIDs as well, as observed in the previous sections.

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[104] This claim does not preclude the analysis of the gradual extension of BE as an innovative trait in some varieties (like the ones observed by Cennamo 2001c; Ledgeway in press) in which BE gradually seems to permeate HAVE contexts. In these cases, differently from the varietie exemplified in (108), is often possible to observe a HAVE/BE alternation. Conversely, Molise dialects (and the varieties exhibiting the same auxiliation pattern) look stable in the selection of BE for all persons.

The hypothesis concerning the development of auxiliation in these dialects can be formulated as follows: once a conspicuous group of deponents had been included in the active domain (recall section 3.1), an active/inactive system arose, in which experientials patterned together with transitives from a syntactic point of view. However, in contrast to what is observed in other Romance languages, deponents started functioning as an active morphological model and auxiliation with BE was graduatlly extended to the whole system. Two arguments seem to support this proposal. Firstly, recall that a process of deponentization characterized late Latin (cf. Bonnet 1890; Norberg 1943; Flobert 1975; Cennamo 1998a, 2001b, 2008 *et seq.*). Indeed, in late Latin there are numerous attestations of active verbs exhibiting deponent morphology:

(109)   commeatur   sanguis per   totum corpus
          come uit-3.sg-r blood-NOM.   through all-ACC body-ACC
          "The blood emerges from all over his body"
                                                        [*Chiron* 732 in Cennamo 2009: 333]

(110)   optati   sumus ire
          chosen-PP   BE-1.pl go-inf.pres
          "We chose to go"
                                                        [*Per. Aeth*. 10, 9 in Cennamo 2009: 333]

Moreover, the gradual extension of BE has been observed in several modern southern Italo-Romance varieties as well (Cennamo 2001c *et seq.*; Ledgeway in press), so that it is possible to hypothesize a similar process in a previous stage of the language for those varieties exhibiting BE throughout the system. Furthermore, numerous varieties exhibiting a different auxiliation pattern for the *passato prossimo* still retain BE as a universal auxiliary in other paradigms. One example of this is the dialect of Ortezzano, in which the present perfect displays a split auxiliary selection system for transitives and unergatives, whereas the pluperfect has BE throughout:

(111)   a.   sɔ/ si/ ɛ/ semo/ sete/ ɛ vi'nutu/a   [Ortezzano]
                BE-1.sg /BE-2.sg/ BE-3.ps/ BE-1.pl/ BE-2.pl/ BE-3.ps come-PP
                "I/you/he/we/you/they have come"
        b.   sɔ/ si/ semo/ sete   dur'mito/ rla'vato i 'paɲɲi
                BE-1.sg /BE-2.sg/ BE-1.pl/ BE-2.pl   slept-PP/washed-PP the clothes
                "I/ you/we/you have slept/washed clothes"
                a   dur'mito/ rla'vato   i 'paɲɲi
                HAVE-3.ps   slept-PP/washed-PP   the clothes
                "He has slept/washed clothes; They have slept/washed clothes"

(112)   εro   vi'nutu/ dur'mito/ rla'vato i 'paɲɲi

                    BE-impf-1.sg   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the clothes

                    εri   vi'nutu/ dur'mito/ rla'vato i 'paɲɲi

                    BE-impf-2.sg   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the clothes

                    εra   vi'nutu/ dur'mito/ rla'vato i 'paɲɲi

                    BE-impf-3.ps   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the clothes

                    εra'vamo   vi'nuti/ dur'mito/ rla'vato i 'paɲɲi

                    BE-impf.1.pl   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the clothes

                    εra'vate   vi'nuti/ dur'mito/ rla'vato i 'paɲɲi

                    BE-impf.2.pl   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the clothes

                    εra   vi'nuti/ dur'mito/ rla'vato i 'paɲɲi

                    BE-impf.3.ps   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the clothes

                    "I/you/he/we/you/they have come/slept/washed clothes"

                                              (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II : 683)

This fact seems to suggest that at a previous stage BE was present as a universal auxiliary and the perfect was partially modified, whereas other paradigms maintained the former pattern. Finally, many of these dialects lack the passive paradigm[105], which is generally formed by the BE + PP periphrasis in other Romance languages:

(113)   a.   una   mela   è   mangiata da Luigi   [Italian]

                  a-f.sg   apple-f.sg BE-3.sg eaten-PP by Luigi-m.3.sg

                  "An apple is (being) eaten by Luigi"

          b.   une   pomme   est   mangé   par Louis   [French]

                  a-f.sg   apple-f.sg BE-3.sg eaten-PP by Louis-m.3.sg

                  "An apple is (being) eaten by Louis"

This fact seems to confirm once again that the model for the systems like (104) were deponent verbs: this class was composed of inactive intransitive verbs that did not pertain to passive constructions. The general lack of passive structures in these varieties shows that, on the basis of the syntactic reanalysis of deponents, auxiliary BE encoded the middle-active field.

To sum up, as a consequence of syntactic reanalysis, a number of SIDs overgeneralized deponent morphology to the whole verbal system. While this process triggered the extension of HAVE in the experiential domain in other

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[105] Consider, however, the cases of passives and impersonals discussed in Cennamo (1997). If the passive is present in the system, it is marked by some other means, as in the case of eastern Abruzzese (Biberauer & D'Alessandro 2008; D'Alessandro & Scheer, forth.) and some varieties of Molisano (D'Alessandro, p.c.).

Romance varieties, in these dialects aux BE became the only active perfective auxiliary.

3.3 Synchronic variation as mirror of a diachronic path

Let us return to the three main patterns of Romance perfective auxiliation detected in section 1.3:

1) The paradigm displays only one auxiliary (either BE, (Pattern 1a) or HAVE, (Pattern 1b) in all active contexts. This is the case forSpanish, Romanian, Sicilian and Neapolitan, for instance.
2) The paradigm is characterized by a BE/HAVE alternation based on verbal class (split intransitivity). Some examples of this pattern are Old Spanish, Occitan, Balearic Catalan, Standard French and Standard Italian.
3) The paradigm displays a BE/HAVE alternation sensitive to other factors (person specification, modal/temporal factors or free variation) (USIDs).

In light of the observations made above, it is possible to understand the attested patterns of perfective auxiliation in diachronic terms. Modern variation can, in fact, be said to reflect different stages of a long diachronic process that began in late Latin with the reorganization of the diathesis (Cennamo 1999b, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2002, 2005, 2007, 2008 *et seq*.), with changes in the alignment that took place between Latin and early Romance being one of the main triggers of this development (La Fauci 1997, 1998; Zamboni 2000; Cennamo 2002, 2009, 2011; Ledgeway 2012).
At an initial stage, the persistence of an active/inactive opposition, typical of the Latin verbal system, was the determining factor in the development of Romance perfective auxiliation. The active/inactive alignment contrast can still be observed in several Romance varieties which still retain this opposition in their verbal domain: this is the case for varieties that display pattern 1a and pattern 2. Languages exhibiting pattern 1a, (only auxiliary BE, cf. some USIDs) can be considered as relatively conservative varieties, as the extension of HAVE as a functional element can be understood as a hyper-generalization of the inactive auxiliary as a universal perfective element (Cennamo 2008; Migliori, 2015). On the other hand, diachronic evidence seems to indicate that this system was actually found at the earliest stage of many varieties that

display a different pattern today[106] (Cennamo 1998, 1999, 2008; Ledgeway 1997, 2009).

In split intransitivity systems (Pattern 2), like Italian, French and Occitan, the active/inactive contrast is still visible in the verbal domain and is marked through the BE (S_O) / HAVE (A/S_A) alternation (La Fauci 1997, 1998; Loporcaro 2007; Ledgeway 2012). In this sense, these languages can also be considered to be conservative, even though the active/inactive border is located at a different structural point with respect to Latin, as experiential verbs have been included within the active field. Pattern 1 and pattern 2a can thus be considered as the two possible Romance outcomes of the syntactic reanalysis of deponents, i.e. as the two attested starting points for the development of other patterns.

At a later stage, the rise of the nominative/accusative alignment, an innovative feature of Romance, caused a number of changes in the linguistic system, including the reorganization of the verbal domain (La Fauci 1988, 1997, 1998; Cennamo 1999b, 2002, 2009, 2011; Zamboni 2000; Loporcaro 2007; Ledgeway 2012). In this kind of system, the distinction between active and inactive contexts is not salient. In other words, all sentential subjects group together and are distinct from direct objects, as recalled in Table VIII (from La Fauci 1988):

Table VIII- Typological alignment of A, S and O

Nominative/Accusative	Active/Inactive-Stative	Ergative/Absolutive
A	A	A
S	S_A	S
	S_O	
O	O	O

As far as perfective auxiliation is concerned, the emergence of the nominative/accusative alignment corresponded to an extension of the perfective auxiliary HAVE. The final step of this process is displayed by those languages in which HAVE has reached the inactive domain as well (with the exception of passives) as in Modern Spanish, Modern Neapolitan and Romanian[107]. In these varieties, the distinction between active/inactive is no longer salient for auxiliary selection: both unaccusatives and transitive/unergatives form the perfective periphrasis with auxiliary HAVE.

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[106] See also § 4.3.1 in this chapter.

[107] Recall, however, that Romanian maintains auxiliary BE in indefinite clauses

Therefore, the distinction between an Undergoer subject (S_O) and an Agentive one A/S_A is no longer marked. Here too, diachronic data show unambiguously that these languages are mostly innovative: recall, for instance, the case of Old Spanish and Old Neapolitan which both used to display a split intransitivity system, whereas they exhibit HAVE as a universal perfective auxiliary in the modern varieties.

To sum up, variation in Romance perfective auxiliation can be understood as a predictable diachronic path, whose evolution was mainly driven by syntactic reanalysis on the one hand and the competition of different kinds of alignment on the other.

3.3.1 The diachrony of auxiliation patterns in SIDs

Considering the reanalysis of experiential deponents as the basis of Romance auxiliation also allows us to capture the diachronic development of the auxiliation patterns attested in Southern Italy. As is well established in the literature, this linguistic area is characterized by great variation as far as auxiliary selection is concerned (cf. Ledgeway 2000, 2012, in press; Cennamo 1998a *et seq.*; Manzini & Savoia 2005; Legendre 2010; D'Alessandro 2016,; Torcolacci 2012, 2015; Migliori 2015, among others). Nonetheless, this massive variation can be captured through the identification of recurrent paradigms, as summarized in Table IX (from Migliori & Torcolacci 2012):

Table IX - Auxiliary selection pattern in SIDs (most frequent paradigms)

Dialect	BE	HAVE
Type I	All persons	-
Type II	1 and 2 (sg and pl)	3 (sg and pl)
Type III	1 and 2 (sg)	3 (sg and pl), 1 and 2 (pl)
Type IV	Either 1 or 2 (sg)	1 / 2 (sg) ; 3 (sg and pl), 1 and 2 (pl)
Type V	-	All persons

In light of the diachronic observations sketched above, it is possible to understand this variation in diachronic terms too. More specifically, it will be claimed here that the different auxiliation patterns observed reflect different chronological stages of a long diachronic process that began in late Latin with the reshuffling of voice distinction (Cennamo 1998a, 1999a *et seq.*). The first diachronic stage is represented by one-auxiliary systems with BE (Type I). The relevant data are given below:

(114) sɔŋgə/si/ɛ/semə/setə/suə(nnə)   məˈnu:tə/ maɲˈɲɛɐtə [Pescolanciano]
       BE-1.sg/BE-2.sg/BE-3.sg/BE-1.pl/BE-2.pl/BE-3.pl come-PP/eaten-PP
       "I/you/he/we/you/they have come/have eaten"

                                                    (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 759)

As stated above, there are plausible reasons to assume that this pattern descends directly from Latin, as the perfect of these varieties seem to share relevant morphosyntactic properties with deponent verbs, such as the absence of passivization, for instance. More specifically, it is claimed that auxiliary BE was extended in these varieties because of two main triggers: (i) the reanalysis of experiential deponents (cf. Migliori 2015); (ii) the process of deponentization characterizing late Latin (Bonnet 1890; Norberg 1943; Hermann 2002; Flobert 1975; Cennamo 2008, 2009, 2011) [108].

A second stage of this diachronic development can be observed in types II to IV, which display a BE/HAVE alternation:

(115) a.   sɔ/   ʃi/   vəˈnu:tə/dərˈmi:tə/ ˈviʃtə   [S. B. del Tronto]
            BE-1.sg /BE-2.sg   come-PP/slept-PP/seen-PP
            ʃɛmə/   ʃetə   vəˈnu:tə/dərˈmi:tə/ ˈviʃtə
            BE-1.pl/ BE-2.pl   come-PP/slept-PP/seen-PP
            "I/you/ we/you/   have seen"
       b.   a   vəˈnu:tə/dərˈmi:tə/ ˈviʃtə
            HAVE-3ps   come-PP/slept-PP/seen-PP
            "He has seen/they have seen"   (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II:682)

                                                               [Giovinazzo]
(116) a.   sɔ/si   vəˈneutə/drəmˈmeutə/laˈve:tə laˈmakənə
            BE-1.sg/BE-2.sg   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the car
            "I/you have come/slept/washed the car"
       b.   a/ammə/aˈvitə/ann   vəˈneutə/drəmˈmeutə/laˈve:tə la makənə
            H-3.sg/H-1.pl/H-2.pl/H-3.pl come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the car
            "He/we/you/they have come/slept/washed the car"
                                                    (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 722)

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[108] Recall § 3.2 in this chapter.

(117) a. sɔ/ɛɟɟə vəˈneuətə/drəmˈmeuətə/laˈva:tə lɛː ˈmɛkənə   [Molfetta]
BE-1.sg/H-1.sg   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the car
sə   vəˈneuətə/drəmˈmeuətə/laˈva:tə lɛː ˈmɛkənə
BE-2.sg come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP   the car

b. a/ammə   vəˈneuətə/drəmˈmeuətə/laˈva:tə lɛː ˈmɛkənə
H-3.sg/H-1.pl come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the car
aˈvitə/ɔnnə   vəˈneuətə/drəmˈmeuətə/laˈva:tə lɛː ˈmɛkənə
/H-2.pl/H-3.pl   come-PP/slept-PP/washed-PP the car
"He/we/you/they have come/slept/washed the car"

(Manzini e Savoia 2005, II: 723)

(118) a. aɟɟə   vəˈneutə/dərˈmeutə/caˈmi:tə   [Bitetto]
BE-1sg   come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP
"I have come/slept/called"

b. si   vəˈneutə/dərˈmeutə/caˈmi:tə
BE-2.sg   come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP
"You have come/slept/called"

c. ɛ/simə/si:tə/annə   vəˈneutə/dərˈmeutə/caˈmi:tə
H-3.sg/H-2.pl/H-2.pl/H-3.pl come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP
"He/we/you have come/slept/called"

(Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 725)

In Type II, exemplified in the variety of San Benedetto del Tronto, the auxiliary of the *passato prossimo* is selected on the basis of the person specification of the sentential subject: while 1st and 2nd person always select BE, 3rd person always selects auxiliary HAVE, with no distinction according to verbal class (Rohlfs 1969; Giammarco 1973, 1979; Ledgeway 2000; Legendre 2010; D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010). Therefore, in these varieties, the perfective auxiliary BE also encodes the grammatical information related to person specification (Ledgeway 2000; Manzini & Savoia 2005; Ledgeway & D'Alessandro 2010; Legendre 2010; D'Alessandro 2016; Torcolacci 2011, 2014, 2015).

In types III and IV (examples 116-118), the distribution of the two auxiliaries is not the same as in (115): BE is generally selected with 1st / 2nd singular, whereas HAVE is present in the rest of the paradigm. From a diachronic perspective, this can be related to the gradual extension of auxiliary HAVE in the system. In this respect, Types II-IV are more innovative with respect to Type I. This is further confirmed by the pluperfect paradigms of these varieties, which reflect the gradual emergence of auxiliary HAVE:

(119)   a.   sɔ/si/samə/satə   arrəˈvi:tə/parˈlæ:tə/caˈmæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə [Campli]
                BE-1.sg/2.sg/1.pl/2.pl   come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your
                "I/you have come/talked/called your brother"
                samə/satə   arrəˈvi:tə/parˈli:tə/caˈmæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə
                BE-1.pl/BE-2.pl   come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your

         b.   a   arrə'vi:tə/par'læ:tə/ca'mæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə
                BE-3.ps come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your
                "He has/They have come/talked/called your brother"

(120)   (a)ˈɛrə/saˈvevə   arrəˈvi:tə/parˈlæ:tə/caˈmæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə
                BE-impf./HAVE-impf. come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your
          (a)ˈɛrə/saˈvevə   arrəˈvi:tə/parˈlæ:tə/caˈmæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə
                BE-impf./HAVE-impf. come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your
          (a)ˈɛra/saˈvevə   arrəˈvi:tə/parˈlæ:tə/caˈmæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə
                BE-impf./HAVE-impf. come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your
          sa'vamə/sa'emə   arrəˈvi:tə/parˈlæ:tə/caˈmæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə
                H-impf.1.pl/BE-impf.1.pl come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your
          sa'vatə/sa'etə   arrəˈvi:tə/parˈlæ:tə/caˈmæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə
                H-impf.1.pl/BE-impf.1.pl come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your
          (a)ˈɛra/saˈvevə   arrəˈvi:tə/parˈlæ:tə/caˈmæ:tə ˈfrætə-tə
                BE-impf./HAVE-impf. come-PP/talked-PP/called-PP brother-your
                "I/you/he/we/you/they had come/talked/called your brother"
                                      (Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 685)

In the dialect of Campli, which exhibits person-driven auxiliary selection in the *passato prossimo*, see (119), the pluperfect displays a BE/HAVE alternation, as shown in (120). Conversely, in the dialect of Bitetto, belonging to Type IV (cf. 118), the pluperfect auxiliary is always HAVE:

(121)	a'vɛvə	və'neutə/dər'meutə/ca'mɨːtə	[Bitetto]
	HAVE-impf.	come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP	
	a'vivə	və'neutə/dər'meutə/ca'mɨːtə	
	HAVE-impf.2.ps	come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP	
	a'vɛvə	və'neutə/dər'meutə/ca'mɨːtə	
	HAVE-impf.	come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP	
	a'vɛmmə	və'neutə/dər'meutə/ca'mɨːtə	
	HAVE-impf.1.pl	come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP	
	a'vivə	və'neutə/dər'meutə/ca'mɨːtə	
	HAVE-impf.2.ps	come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP	
	a'vɛvənə	və'neutə/dər'meutə/ca'mɨːtə	
	HAVE-impf.	come-PP/slept-PP/called-PP	

"I/you/he/we/you/they have come/talked/ called"

(Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 726)

As in the rest of Romance, the main reason underlying the extension of HAVE in this case is the rise of the nominative/accusative alignment (Loporcaro 2007, 2011, 2014; Cennamo 2008; Zamboni 2000; Ledgeway 2012). Moreover, other factors also seem to have played a crucial role in the development of perfective auxiliation in SIDs: verbal class, person specification and mood/tense (Cennamo 1998, 1999b, 2001, 2002, 2008; Ledgeway 2012; Loporcaro 2007, 2011, 2014). Verbal class characterized the extension of HAVE in all other Romance varieties as well: historical data show that this auxiliary gradually extended from the inactive to the active domain. Modal factors[109] also played a role in some other languages: recall the case of Old Spanish and Old Neapolitan as opposed to the modern varieties, discussed above in this chapter. By contrast, the syntactic saliency of person specification for auxiliary selection is a grammatical trait attested only in the dialects of southern Italy and absent from the rest of the Romance-speaking area, if we do not consider the limited case of Olot Catalan. In this respect, SIDs, and USIDs in particular, can be said to display a mixed system, in which different grammatical factors determine the selection of the perfective auxiliary (Ledgeway 2000, 2009, 2012; Loporcaro 2007, D' Alessandro & Roberts 2010).

The role of these forces can be observed by looking at the diachronic development of auxiliaries in these varieties. Historical data show that auxiliary HAVE is gradually and systematically extended. The direction of this change generally proceeds from the active (transitive/ unergative) paradigm to the inactive (unaccusative) conjugation; and from 3rd person to

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[109] For the role of mood/tense specification see also Ledgeway (1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2003, 2009); Cennamo (2001, 2002); Formentin (2001).

the rest[110]. This diachronic path has proven to be consistent in several SIDs, such as Neapolitan (Ledgeway 1999, 2009, 2012), numerous Campanian dialects (Cennamo 2001c, 2002, 2008) and northern Pugliese (Loporcaro 2007, 2011, 2014). Consider, for, instance, the following examples from Campania dialects, which display competition between auxiliary BE and HAVE (Altamura 1961; Altamura & D'Ascoli 1970; Del Donno 1965; Maturi 1997; Ledgeway 1998; Cennamo 2001): the variant with auxiliary HAVE happens is the innovative one (Cennamo 2002; Ledgeway 2003, 2009):

(122) a. sɔ/ si akkat'tatə nu kilə 'e fa'sulə
           BE-1.sg/BE-2.sg bought-PP a kilogram of beans-pl
           "I/you bought a kilogram of beans"
       b. simmo / site durmuto
           BE-1.pl/BE-2.pl slept-PP
           "We/you guys have slept"
(123) a. l' 'addʒu / ɛ 'vistə
           him/it HAVE-1.sg HAVE-2.sg seen-PP
           "I have seen him/it"
       b. ammo / avite durmuto
           HAVE-1.pl HAVE-2.pl slept-PP
           "We/you guys have slept"

Furthermore, the change from BE to HAVE generally starts from the 3rd person, as shown by the alternations in the examples below:

(124) a. sɔ/ si rri'mastə [Sorrento]
           BE-1.sg/BE-2.sg stayed-PP
       b. ɛ rri'mastə
           HAVE-3.pl remained-PP (Cennamo 2001c: 438)

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[110] This is exactly the opposite of what has been observed for ergative languages, which display, in the case of a split system, a nom/acc contrast in in the 1st/2nd person and an erg/abs constrast for 3rd person (Dixon 1994, among others). This seems to confirm that, despite the 1st/2nd person vs. 3rd person opposition exhibited in many USIDs, these languages only appear to display ergative traits. In fact, the data concerning the diachronic development of the verbal domain seem to indicate an active/inactive system changing into a nom/acc system, as in the rest of Romance, even though in this case the system is structurally more complex as other factors also play a role both synchronically and diachronically (Loporcaro 2007 *et seq.*; Ledgeway 2009 *et seq.*)

As a further example, consider the alternations in the transitive class in the Vallecorsa dialect in southern Lazio (cf. V.v. 1972):

(125)   a.   so   fatta   magnata de ciammotte   [Vallecorsa]
                  BE-1.sg done-PP eating-f.sg of snails-f.pl
                  "I have eaten snails"

         b.   m'   ai   fatta   sposa
                  1.sg-ACC.   H-2.sg. made-PP   bride
                  "You have made me your bride"

         b'.   sie   fatto   le ciambelle
                  BE-2sg   made-PP   the donuts-pl
                  "You have made donuts"

         c.   tre   anni   de suldato   a /au   fatto
                  three years-m.pl   of soldier-m.sg. H-3.sg/pl   done-PP
                  "He/they have done three years of military service"

(126)   a.   so   vvista
                  BE-1.sg   seen-PP
                  "I have seen"

         b.   sie /   ai   visto
                  BE-2.sg   H-2.sg   seen-PP
                  "You have seen"

         c.   chi   t'   a   visto?
                  who-NOM.   2.sg-ACC.   3.sg   seen-PP
                  "Who has seen you?"

These data illustrate that this variety generally selects BE with the 1st/2nd person singular, whereas HAVE is generally found with 3rd person specification. Nonetheless, there is a BE/HAVE alternation in the 2nd person, frequently within the same verb paradigm: this fact suggests that a change is underway and that HAVE is undergoing expansion within this system. Moreover, observe that this extension begins, as predicted by our hypothesis, in transitive contexts. With unaccusatives, however, this dialect regularly displays BE as a perfective auxiliary. Auxiliary alternations such as those attested in Vallecorsa thus provide significant empirical evidence about the forces and the direction of the diachronic change affecting perfective auxiliation in SIDs.

The "three-auxiliary" systems found in northern Pugliese varieties, in which BE and HAVE apparently alternate freely (Loporcaro 2007, 2011, 2014) can also be understood in these terms. Here, the competition between BE and HAVE should not be seen as a random fluctuation, but can be considered as the result of this change (*pace* Loporcaro 2007, 2011 *et seq*.). This "three-

auxiliary" system involves the class of indirect reflexives, which is a borderline case from an argument structure perspective. This can be the reason why these verbs exhibit auxiliary alternations. It has also been observed that alternations in auxiliary selection is often a matter of variation between different age groups (Cennamo 2001c): this fact again confirms that a reanalysis process is still affecting the verbal clause in some areas, so this process can be observed and documented.

The final stage of the extension of functional HAVE can be observed in Type V, where this auxiliary throughout the whole perfective system:

(127)	ad'dʒu	və'nutə/	rur'mutə	[S. Maria a Vico]
	HAVE-1.sg	come-PP/	slept-PP	
	a	və'nutə/	rur'mutə	
	HAVE-2.sg	come-PP/	slept-PP	
	a	vvə'nutə/	rrur'mutə	
	HAVE-3.sg	come-PP/	slept-PP	
	am'mu	və'nutə/	rur'mutə	
	HAVE-1.pl	come-PP/	slept-PP	
	a'litə	və'nutə/	rur'mutə	
	HAVE-2.pl	come-PP/	slept-PP	
	an'nu	və'nutə/	rur'mutə	
	HAVE-3.pl	come-PP/	slept-PP	

(Manzini & Savoia 2005, II: 779)

In this pattern, HAVE has developed into the only perfective auxiliary for all contexts: the variety above clearly does not display person distinctions, and auxiliary selection is unrelated to any factors concerning the verbal class. This type is typical of most of the Campania region, many Lucanian dialects and extreme southern Italian dialects (Sicilian, Southern Calabrian and Salentino). From a diachronic perspective, these SIDs can be grouped with Modern Spanish; they are the most innovative systems in Romance with regard to alignment development (Ledgeway 2012).

A variety of explanations have been proposed for the extension of HAVE in these varieties. Some studies have argued that modal/temporal factors played a crucial role in the process. Under this approach, the generalization of HAVE in SIDs (and in other Romance varieties, like Old Spanish) was due to *irrealis* modality, which eventually led to the generalized use of this auxiliary in all contexts (Ledgeway 1997a, 1997b, 2005, 2009). In light of the observations above, it seems that internal (i.e. grammatical) factors, rather than external factors, were crucial for this development. Moreover, it is also plausible that auxiliary BE might have been, at a certain stage, de-functionalized with

respect to its perfective function, because of its systematic association with person specification[111]. At the same time, the rise of the nominative/accusative alignment increased the extension of HAVE, which gradually entered the system to fulfill this function. This final stage can then be understood as a predictable result of previous chronological steps. From this perspective, it seems feasible that this process was caused by language-internal factors, i.e. by grammatical triggers (like mood) and by a general internal readjustment of the system. This change is still operational in certain varieties, specifically those that display BE/HAVE alternations in the unaccusative class. This oscillation regarding auxiliary selection again seems to be related to the person specification (Cennamo 2001c). Consider, for instance, the Campanian variety of Vico Equense, which only allows BE (alternating with HAVE) for the 2nd person singular of unaccusative verbs:

(128)   a.   'ɛddʒə   ka'rutə   [Vico Equense]
                HAVE-1sg   fallen-PP
                "I have fallen"
       b.   si/   jə   ka'rutə
                BE-2.sg/ HAVE-2.sg   fallen-PP
                "You have fallen"   (Cennamo 2001: 439).

These data confirm, once again, that the direction of the diachronic change is as outlined above. In summary, a chronological development path can be drawn from Type I to Type V, allowing all the synchronic micro-variation to be understood as a predictable diachronic change.

4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the development of perfective auxiliaries from Latin to Romance has been examined from a diachronic and comparative perspective. Firstly, it has been demonstrated that the traditional grammaticalization account encounters serious issues both empirically and theoretically. In particular, the fact that HAVE already behaves as a functional element in Latin constitutes a significant argument against this approach.

Instead, it has been claimed that the syntactic reanalysis of specific inactive contexts (i.e. experiential deponent verbs) has been crucial both for the rise of

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[111] Consider, in this sense, the recent proposal made in D'Alessandro (2016), according to which the occurrence of BE in person driven auxiliary systems merely corresponds to the morphologization of π, a bundle of ɸ-features encoding the specification of grammatical person.

periphrastic perfects in general and for the development of specific Romance outcomes. This analysis has allowed us to account for both the synchronic and the diachronic variation in the distribution of Romance perfective periphrases and in the auxiliation patterns.