Variation, Contact, and Reconstruction in the Ancient Indo-European Languages

Between Linguistics and Philology

Edited by

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To the loving memory of
Romano Lazzeroni (1930–2020)

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Grammatical Categories and Conceptual Representations

Anticausativization in Latin and Early Italo-Romance: The Semantics of Predicates and the Syntax of Voice

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1 Introduction

This article[1] explores synchronic and diachronic aspects of the morphosyntax of anticausatives in Latin and early Italo-Romance, namely Old Florentine, with reference to the distribution of the different strategies available to mark anticausativization: the (medio-passive) *-R* form, the Reflexive pattern and the Active Intransitive in Latin, the Active Intransitive and the Reflexive in Old Florentine. It is shown that the different forms are not interchangeable, as assumed in the literature (Feltenius, 1977 for Latin, Brambilla Ageno, 1964 for Old Italian) and that the structural and lexical aspects of the verb meaning as well as the inherent and relational properties of verbal arguments affect the use of the different anticausative patterns, both in Latin and in old Florentine, interacting with the restructuring of grammatical voice and argument structure in the transition from Latin to Romance.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses some current issues in the marking of the anticausative alternation, whose synchronic and diachronic instantiations in Latin are illustrated in Section 3. Section 4 describes the anticausativization strategies employed in one early Italian vernacular, Old Florentine, considering their interplay with the reorganization of the voice system and changes in the encoding of the argument structure of the clause in the transition from Latin to early Italo-Romance. Finally, Section 5 draws the conclusions.

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2   The Anticausative Alternation: Some Current Issues

The term *anticausativization* refers to the non-causative (i.e., intransitive) member of a transitivity alternation, where the original inanimate object (i.e., the Undergoer)[2] of a transitive pattern occurs as subject and the Actor is suppressed, either both syntactically and semantically (Haspelmath, 1987: 7), or at the level of argument structure (i.e., the lexical syntactic representation), but retained in the lexical semantic representation (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995: 84; Koontz-Garboden, 2009: 97; Bentley, 2006: 126–136 for Italian). The process is presented as occurring spontaneously, lacking an external causer.

Depending on the language and the diachronic stage investigated (Lazzeroni, 2009), the anticausative pattern may be either morphologically unmarked (1a) or both morphologically marked and unmarked, signalled by a dedicated marker, the reflexive morpheme in French, Italian and German, albeit with different distribution and constraints (Labelle, 1992; Cennamo, 1995; 2012; 2015: 432–434; 2021: 267–268; Cennamo & Jezek, 2011; Sorace, 2000: 871–873; Schäfer, 2008; Alexiadou Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer, 2015 int. al. and Kailuweit, 2011; Bentley, 2016: 831; Cennamo, 2016: 970–971 for a cross Romance perspective and further references therein) (1b–c):

(1)   a. *The window opened*

       b. *Die Vase **zerbrach***   (German)
           the vase break.PST.3SG
           'The vase broke.' (Alexiadou et al., 2015: 71)

       c. *Die Tür **öffnete**   **sich***   (marked)
           the door open.PST.3SG RFL
           'The door opened.'

       d. *La neige **fond***   (unmarked) (French)
           the snow melt.PRS.IND.3SG
           'The snow is melting.'

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2 Actor and Undergoer are syntactico-semantic categories, subsuming the different thematic relations of the nuclear arguments of the clause. Actor is the generalized Agent-like argument (including Agent, Effector, Instrument, Experiencer and other thematic relations); Undergoer is the generalized Patient-like argument (including Patient, Theme, Experiencer and other thematic relations) (Van Valin & La Polla, 1997: 141; Van Valin, 2005: 60–67).

e. *Le   vase   (se)   casse*   (optionally marked)
   the vase RFL break.PRS.IND.3SG
   'The vase breaks.'

f. *La luce si   spense   improvvisamente*   (marked) (Italian)
   the light RFL go-off.PST.3SG suddenly
   'The light suddenly went off.'

In the literature two general semantic constraints are usually recognized, (i) the *Spontaneous manifestation of an eventuality* and its corollary, 'unspecific change of state' (Haspelmath, 1987: 15 and recent discussion in Haspelmath, 2016) and (ii) the *Thematic underspecification of the causer* (Koontz-Garboden, 2009: 80–86, int.al.).

Thus, by constraint (i), only transitive causative verbs denoting events which may come about spontaneously, without a willful animate causer may occur in the anticausative alternation (Haspelmath, 1987: 15, Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995: 102). This property involves the *absence of agent-oriented meaning components* or other 'highly specific meaning components' (e.g., the lexicalization of a manner component in the verbal root, rather than a final/result state), that debar the spontaneous interpretation of the verbal process (Haspelmath, 1987: 15; 1993: 94), therefore excluding from the alternation verbs such as *bite, dig, paint* … (Haspelmath, 1993: 93; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2010 int.al.). By constraint (ii), only verbs with a thematically underspecified causer (e.g., Engl. *break, open*), which may take both an agentive and a non-agentive subject, undergo anticausativization. Verbs with a thematically specified causer (i.e., only taking an agentive subject) do not allow the anticausative alternation (e.g., *kill, assassinate*), unlike verbs allowing also a non-agentive causer (e.g., instrument, natural force) such as *break, open, change* (Koontz-Garboden, 2009: 80–91; Cennamo, 2015: 432–433 for Italian). Our discussion focuses on intransitive patterns with [–animate] Undergoer subjects, which appear to be clearly derived from corresponding transitive ones. We do not address the issue of the direction of the derivation in this alternation (transitive > intransitive or intransitive > transitive), an issue that has been widely debated (see more recent analyses in Haspelmath, 2016; Cennamo & Jezek, 2011: 810–812 for Italian; Rappaport Hovav, 2014 for English and references therein), and we do not consider the possible deviations from and counter-examples to the above mentioned semantic constraints, also in non-Indo-European languages. For instance, in Lakhota (Siouan, North/South Dakota), verb morphology clearly shows the intransitive > transitive derivation of this alternation via a causativization morpheme (e.g., the instrumental prefix *-yu* or the causative verb functioning as

a causative suffix *-ya*) attached to state/achievement/accomplishment roots (Van Valin & La Polla, 1997: 98; 181–184). In Italian, on the other hand, divergences may result from the semantics of the root and the inherent properties of the argument(s) associated with it in event structure, whereby it is difficult in some cases to ascertain the corresponding transitive structure from which the intransitive, seemingly anticausative pattern might derive from. This is shown in (2) for the deadjectival verb *accorciare* "shorten", for which (2c) is the intransitive pattern derived from (2a), rather than from (2b), owing to the different degree of thematic specificity (i.e., agentivity) of the subject, higher for *il sarto* "the tailor" in (2b), and lower for the deverbal noun *il lavaggio* "the washing" in (2a) (see also Cennamo & Jezek, 2011: 811):

(2) a. *Il   lavaggio in lavatrice   ha*
        the washing in washing.machine have.PRS.IND.3SG
        accorciato   the trousers
        shorten.PST.PTCP.M.SG *i   pantaloni.*
        'The washing in the washing-machine has shortened the trousers.'

     b. *Il   sarto ha   accorciato   i   pantaloni.*
        the tailor have.PRS.IND.3SG shorten.PST.PTCP.M.SG the trousers
        'The tailor shortened the trousers.'

     c. *I   pantaloni si   sono   accorciati.*
        the trousers   RFL be.PRS.IND.3PL shorten.PST.PTCP.M.PL
        'The trousers shortened.'

     d. *Le giornate si   sono   accorciate.*
        the days   RFL be.PRS.IND.3.PL shorten.PST.PTCP.F.PL
        'The days got shorter.'

For (2d), on the other hand, there appears to be no corresponding transitive pattern from which the sentence can be derived.

Regardless of possible departures from the general definition adopted in our discussion, partially discussed above for Italian, in several languages the core of the category is realized by verbs lexicalizing a final/result state (i.e., achievements/accomplishments) (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995: 9, int. al), also referred to in the literature as verbs of *quantized change* (Beavers, 2011; 2013), building on the distinction put forward by Hay, Kennedy & Levin (1999: 132–138), lexicalizing the attainment of a specific new state (e.g., *break*), differing from verbs of *non-quantized change* such as *cool* (e.g., degree achievements/gradual completion verbs; Hay, Kennedy & Levin, 1999; Bertinetto &

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Squartini, 1995), that lexicalize instead the gradual approximation to a final goal that may not be reached and that 'may or may not be clearly definable' (Bertinetto & Squartini, 1995: 12), i.e., verbs entailing the existence of a 'new nonspecific state' (Beavers & Koontz-Garboden, 2017: 856).

The anticausative alternation, however, may occur also with verbs of other aspectual classes such as (continuation of) activity verbs (i.e., aspectuals, verbs denoting the 'initiation, termination or continuation of an activity' (Levin, 1993: 274)) (3a) and states (3c) in Italian (Cennamo, 1995: 93; 2012: 395–396):

(3)   a. *La lezione è   continuata   per tre   ore.*
         the lecture be.PRS.IND continue.PST.PTCP.F.SG for three hours
         'The lecture continued for three hours.'

      b. *Il   consenso si   basa   sulla   condivisione di idee*
         the consent   RFL base.PRS.IND.3SG On.the sharing   of ideas
         e   progetti.
         and projects
         'Consent is based on the sharing of ideas and projects.'

3   Anticausatives in Latin: Synchronic and Diachronic Aspects

In Latin three strategies are employed for the anticausative alternation: (i) The Mediopassive *R* form (3.1), (ii) The Reflexive pattern, *se* + verb in the active voice (3.2), (iii) The Active Intransitive (i.e., lability) (3.3). The distribution of these constructions appears to be aspectually streamlined, interacting with changes in the voice system in the transition from Latin to Romance (Feltenius, 1977; Gianollo, 2014; Cennamo Eythórsson & Barðdal, 2015: 683–704; Cennamo, 2020: 110–120; 2021: 273–276).

3.1   *The Mediopassive -R Form*
The -R form[3] is found throughout the history of Latin[4] with all verb classes allowing the anticausative alternation: achievements (4a), accomplishments (4b), gradual completion verbs/degree achievements (denoting the gradual

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3   The -R ending, whose original impersonal (Ernout, 1908–1909; Lindsay, 1895: §21, int. al.) or medio-passive nature (Bassols de Climent, 1948: §5; Leumann, Hofmann & Szantyr, 1965: §162, note a) and more recent discussion in Rovai (2019) has always been a long-standing point of controversy (see also Kurzová, 1993: 157–171), may be referred to as the *marker of the non-active voice* (Cennamo, 1998: 78), employed for different types of intransitive structures, all departing from "the prototypical transitive situation whereby a highly agentive, topic subject acts upon a patient participant, determing some change in it". It includes *middles*,

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approximation to a terminal point along a scale, which may not be attained) (Bertinetto & Squartini, 1995), e.g., *minuere* "decrease" (4c) activities (4d). Ambiguity may arise between an anticausative and a passive interpretation of the pattern, generally resolved by the context (4d):

(4)   a. *frangitur*   *aestus*
        breaks.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG tide.NOM
        'The rolling tide breaks.' (Lucr., *De Rer. Nat.* 6,121)

      b. *quae*   *fluxae*   ... *semper in advorsa*
        which.NOM.PL unstable.NOM.PL   always in opposite.N.PL
        mutantur
         change.MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL
        '(Human affairs), which ... are always changing to opposite extremes.'
        (Sall., *Iug.* 104, 2)

      c. *memoria*   *minuitur*   (Classical Latin)
        memory.NOM decrease.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG
        'Memory is impaired.' (Cic, *Sen.* 7,21)

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patterns where the the Actor and Undergoer have identical reference and the Actor/subject, + animate, is both the Initiator and the Beneficiary of the verbal process, as in the so-called *Dativus Commodi* (canonical middle) (e.g., (*sc. Coroebus*) *Androgei galeam induitur* (Verg. Aen. 2, 392–393) Coroebus Androgeus.GEN helmet.ACC put-on.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG 'He (sc. Coroebus) puts on the plumed helmet of Androgeous') (Cennamo, 1998: 79) or is involved in the verbal process, with varying degree of affectedness (non-canonical middle/endoreflexive) (e.g., *convortor domum* (Plaut., *Stich.* 402) return.MPASS.PRS.IND.1SG 'I return home')/*ibo et ornabor* go.FUT.1SG and get-ready.MPASS.FUT.1SG (Plaut. *Poe.* Prol. 123) "I must go and get into my costume"). The *-R* ending also marks anticausatives (discussed in (4)), passives (e.g., ... *iter impediretur* (Caes., *Gall.* 2, 17, 5) way block.IMPF.SBJV.3SG "... the way is blocked") and impersonals (e.g., *consurgitur ex consilio* (Caes., *Gall.* 5, 31,1) stand-up.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG from meeting.ABL "There was standing up from the meeting") (examples from Cennamo, 1998: 79–81; see also Pinkster, 2015: 230–242 for a recent discussion and references therein). The *-R* form only occurs in imperfective tenses (present, imperfect, future), so-called *infectum*. In the *perfectum*, i.e., in forms expressing perfective aspect (perfect, pluperfect, future perfect), a syntactic construction is employed, consisting of a form of the verb *sum* "be" + the past participle of the lexical verb (see Pinkster, 1988: 220 ff.; 2015: 230–242, Cennamo, 2005: 178–179; 2020; Gianollo, 2014: 949–951, int. al., and references therein).

4   The data analysed consist of literary and non-literary texts (including the inscriptions) from the earliest attestations to Late Latin, following the conventional periodization of the language: Early/Pre-Classical Latin (250–81 BC), Classical Latin (81 BC–14 AD), Post-Classical/Imperial Latin (14–180 AD), Late Latin (180–600 AD), Medieval Latin (end of 500 AD–700 AD) (Feltenius, 1977; Cuzzolin and Haverling, 2009; Gianollo, 2014: 949, note 3; Pinkster, 2015: 5–6 and references therein). The asterisk (*) indicates the lack of occurrence of a pattern with a specific verb in the corpus investigated.

    d. *animi   ... circum terram   volutantur*
       souls.MASC.PL   around earth.ACC roll.MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL
       'Souls ... whirl/are whirled around this world.' (Cic., *Rep.* 6,28)

3.2   *The Reflexive Pattern*

The Reflexive strategy—less common than the *-R* form in Early and Classi-
cal Latin in anticausative function, but well attested in technical works at all
times (Wistrand, 1941, int.al.)—mainly occurs with achievements (e.g., *scindere*
"crack") and accomplishments (e.g., *mutare* "change", *aperire* "open", etc.) (Cen-
namo Eythórson & Barðdal, 2015: 686):

(5) a. *lutamenta   scindunt   se*
      plaster.N.PL crack.PRS.IND.3PL RFL
      'Plaster cracks.' (Cat., *Agr.* 128)

    b. *brassica   commutat   sese semper cum calore*
      cabbage.NOM change.PRS.IND.3SG RFL always with heat.ABL
      'Cabbage constantly changes its nature with heat.' (Cat., *Agr.* 157, 1)

Se+active is not found with verbs of variable/reduced telicity, e.g., gradual com-
pletion verbs (6), with which it appears to be attested only from the 1st century
A.D. onwards (cf. example (13a), from Pliny the Elder):

(6)   **memoria*   *se*   *minuit*
      memory.NOM RFL decrease.PRS.IND.3SG
      'Memory diminishes.'

With activity verbs (e.g., *volutare* "to roll", *quassare* "tremble") the Reflexive is
not attested in the anticausative alternation (7a–b). With this aspectual class
of verbs only the *-R* form (4d) and the Active Intransitive occur instead (9c–d)
(Cennamo, 1998; 2001):

(7) a. **animi   /saxa   se   volutant*
      soul.NOM.PL stone.N.PL RFL roll.PRS.IND.3PL.
      'Souls whirl/Stones roll.'

    b. **caput se   quassat*
      head   RFL tremble.PRS.IND.3SG
      'The head shakes.'

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The provisional generalization emerging from the analysis of the distribution of the reflexive as an anticausativization strategy in Early and Classical Latin is that *se* + active occurs with inherently telic predicates, i.e., with verbs lexically encoding a final/result/target state (reversible change, Parsons, 1990), achievements (5a) and different types of accomplishments (8):

(8)   a. *valvae   se   ipsae   aperuerunt*
         doors.NOM.PL RFL themselves open.PRF.IND.3PL
         'The doors suddenly opened of their own accord.' (Cic., *Div.* 1, 34, 74)

      b. *brassica   commutat   sese semper cum calore*
         cabbage.NOM change.PRS.IND.3SG RFL always with heat.ABL
         'Cabbage constantly changes its nature with heat.' (Cat., *Agr.* 157,1)

The Reflexive also seems to be preferred (to the medio-passive -R form) when the subject, although inanimate, is personified, showing some degree of control, as shown in (8a) vs. (8b), where no personification is involved, and *se* simply marks the intransitive (anticausative) variant (Ronconi, 1968; Cennamo, 1998; Adam, 2013: 683–718 for a criticism of the proposed analysis and a divergent interpretation of the data).

3.3   *The Active Intransitive*
In Early and Classical Latin the Active Intransitive occurs mainly with gradual completion verbs (e.g., *lenire*, "soothe", *ampliare* "enlarge", *minuere* "decrease", *sedare* "calm down") (9a–b), and, marginally, activities (e.g., *quassare* "shake", *volutare* "roll") (9c–d):

(9)   a. *irae   leniunt*
         anger.NOM.PL soothe.PRS.IND.3PL
         'Anger abates.' (Plaut., *Mil.* 583)

      b. *tempestas   sedavit*
         storm.NOM calm.down.PRF.IND.3SG
         'The storm went down/calmed down.'

      c. *capitibus   quassantibus*
         head.N.ABL shake.PRS.PTCP.ABL
         'While their heads shook (lit. "their heads shaking").' (Plaut., *Bacch.* 304)

    d. *confusaque   verba   volutant*
       confused.N.PL word.N.PL roll.PRS.IND.3PL
       'And confused reports flit about.' (Ov., *Met.* 12, 54/55)

This form is excluded in anticausative function with verbs lexically encoding a final/result state, for instance with achievements (e.g., *rumpere* "break", *scindere* "crack") and accomplishments lexicalizing the endpoint of the verb eventuality (10a–c), the core of the category in Latin and in other languages which shows this type of (in)transitive alternation (Cennamo Eythórson & *Barðdal*, 2015 and references therein).

    An exception to this tendency is instantiated by accomplishments such as *claudere* "close", *aperire* "open" in Early Latin, e.g., Plautus (10d). These verb, however, denote a reversible change of state, i.e., a target state (Parsons, 1990; Cennamo Eythórson & *Barðdal*, 2015: 691–692), unlike *scindere* "crack" and *rumpere* "break", which denote a non-reversible change, i.e. a result state, and which therefore lexicalize a higher degree of telicity:

(10) a. **foris   rumpit*
        door.NOM break.PRS.IND.3SG.
       'The door breaks.'

      b. **lutamenta   scindunt*
         plaster.N.PL crack.PRS.IND.3PL.
        'Plaster cracks.'

      c. **corrumpit   iam   cena*
         spoil.PRS.IND.3SG already dinner.NOM
        'Dinner is spoiling already.'

      d. *foris   aperit*
       door.NOM open.PRS.IND.3SG
       'The door opens.' (Plaut., *Persa*, 300)

In Late Latin the Active Intransitive in anticausative function is well attested, especially in 4th century and later technical works (e.g. veterinary texts such as the *Mulomedichina Chironis*) (11) (Pirson, 1906; Feltenius, 1977, Gianollo, 2014; Cennamo Eythórsson & *Barðdal*, 2015, int.al.):

(11) *quae   rumpunt*   (*sc. collectiones*)
    that.F.PL break.PRES.IND.3PL absess.NOM.PL
    'Abscesses that break.' (*Mul. Chir.* 42,2)

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This strategy appears to have been initially stylistically marked, as revealed by a passage from a second century AD author, Aulus Gellius (12), who explicitly states that the active intransitive anticausative function *mutant* (< *mutare* "change") belongs to a high register, perceived as *elegantissime* "very elegant" compared to the *-R* form (example from F. Rovai, p.c.):

(12) *mutant*   *inquit*   *elegantissime pro*
       change.PRS.IND.3.PL say.PRS.IND.3SG very.elegantly for
       mutantur
       change.MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL
       '*Mutant*, 'change', is a very elegant expression for *mutantur* 'are changed'.'
       (Gell., *N.A*. 18, 12, 8)

3.4   *Interim Summary*

The data investigated clearly show that the alternation among the different voice forms marking anticausativization in (Early and Classical) Latin reflects both the idiosyncratic (i.e., the root) (e.g., the type of change, reversible/target ~ non-reversible/result state) (Parsons, 1990) and the structural aspect (i.e., the event structure template) of a verb meaning. Thus, variability in the marking of anticausativization in Latin with verbs of quantized change (e.g., achievements such as *rumpere* "break" and accomplishments such as *aperire* "open"), can be neatly accounted for by considering the different templatic root entailments associated with them, illustrated in (13), adopting the scheme and classification of roots put forward in Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2020: 231), viewing roots as including also templatic entailments in their semantics (e.g., notions such as causation, change, possession, co-location), following recent research by Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2017; 2020), Beavers et al. (2021) and Bentley (2018) with evidence from Italian and Italo-Romance.

Both *rumpere* and *aperire* share the general template entailment of change of state, represented through the operator BECOME, denoting the transition to a state on the third column of the table in (13), but differ as for the type of result state, non-reversible for *break*, reversible/'target state'[5] (Parsons, 1990: 234–235) for *close* and *open*, as shown in the first column to the left in (13).

More specifically, the following points emerge: (i) the *-R form* is generally found with all verbs which allow anticausativization; (ii) the *Reflexive pattern* occurs with telic [± punctual] verbs (e.g., *scindere* "crack", *movere* "move",

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5   Unlike result states, that 'hold for ever after the culmination of the event', target states 'may or may not last for a long time' (Parsons, 1990: 235).

(13)

Entailments	Root	Templatic head entailed
– manner, + cause, + result, + state	√RUMPERE "break"	ᵛact′ ᵛcause′ ᵛbecome
– manner, + cause, + result, + target state	√APERIRE "open" √CLAUDERE "close"	ᵛact′ ᵛcause′ ᵛbecome

aperire "open", *frangere* "crack", *rumpere* "break"); (iii) the *Active Intransitive* most typically occurs with verbs which do not lexicalize the attainment of a final state, i.e., the endpoint of the process. This strategy is attested with gradual completion verbs (e.g., *lenire* "soothe", *minuere* "decrease", *sedare* "calm down"), and activities (e.g., *quassare* "shake", *volutare* "roll"). It is also found with accomplishments denoting a target state like *claudere* "close" *aperire* "open" (Cennamo, 1998, 2001).

As discussed in Section 3.5, the root and event structure template aspects of verb meanings illustrated in Sections 3.1–3.4 interact, in the course of time, with changes in the voice system and the encoding of the argument structure of the clause (Cennamo, 1998; 2009; 2020: 112–118).

3.5 *Anticausatives and Transitivity in Late Latin*

In Late Latin the semantics of predicates and the inherent and relational properties of the subject are no longer relevant for the morphological realization of anticausatives, as revealed by the distribution of the anticausative strategies, namely (i) the co-occurrence of the *-R* form, the Reflexive and the Active Intransitive patterns with the same verb(s), (ii) the occurrence of the Reflexive and the Active Intransitive with aspectual classes with which they are not found in Early and Classical Latin (e.g., gradual completion verbs and activities).

As a matter of fact, the *Reflexive* comes to occur also with *gradual completion* verbs (e.g., *minuere* "decrease") (14a), i.e., with verbs of non-quantized change, and *other types of accomplishments* (e.g., *coquere* "cook"), de-nominal verbs like *cicatricare* "heal" (< noun *cicatrix* "scar") (14c), at times alternating with the *-R* form in one and the same text, as in (14c–d) (Pirson, 1906; Feltenius, 1977):

(14) a. *minuente*   *se*   *morbo*
        decreasing.PRS.PTCP.ABL RFL disease.ABL
        'When the disease is on the decline.' (Plin., *Nat.* 23, 50)

b. *memoria   minuitur*   (Classical Latin)
   memory.NOM decrease.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG
   'Memory is impaired/diminishes.' (Cic., *Sen.* 7,21)

c. *vulnera   cum se   cicatricaverint*
   wound.N.PL when RFL heal.FUT.PRF.3PL
   'When the wounds will have healed.' (Orib., *Syn.* 7,10 a)

d. *vulnera   cicatricantur*
   wound.N.PL heal.MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL
   'The wounds heal.' (Orib., *Syn.* 7,3)

By the same period, *se* + active is also found with activity verbs (e.g., *vexare* "to
oppress", *servare* "to keep", *excusare* "to justify/excuse") (Cennamo; 1998, 2001b:
238), at times with ambiguity between an anticausative and a passive inter-
pretation, i.e., between a spontaneous vs. an induced process reading of the
construction (15) (Cennamo, 1998; 2001; 2006):

(15) *mala   ... toto   anno   servare   se   posssunt*
     apple.N.PL   whole.ABL year.ABL keep.INF RFL can.PRS.IND.3PL.
     'Apples ... can keep/be kept for the whole year.' (Pall., *De agr.* 3,25,18; Ron-
     coni, 1968: 24)

Also the *Active Intransitive* in anticausative function is attested with verbs with
which it is not found at earlier stages, namely accomplishments and achieve-
ments, i.e., with verbs of quantized change, alternating with the reflexive, as
shown in (16) for the accomplishment verb *confirmare* "heal" and in (16) for
the achievement verb *rumpere* "break" (see Feltenius, 1977: 82; Cennamo, 1998;
2006: 317 for further examples):

(16) a. *ut   confirmet   (sc. vulnus)*
        in.order.to heal.SBJV.PRS.3SG (wound)
        'So as it (sc. the wound) heals.' (*Mul. Chir.* 670)

b. *donec cicatrix   oculo   se   confirmet*
   till   scar.NOM eye.DAT RFL heal.SBJV.PRS.3SG
   'Until the scar in its eye heals.' (*Mul. Chir.* 76)

(17) a. *postea   rumpunt   dentes*   (Active Intransitive)
        afterwards break.PRS.IND.3PL tooth.NOM.PL
        'Its teeth break.' (*Mul. Chir.* 775) (IV AD)

b. *vitium   ... ambulationibus   cum   Etiam ruperit*
fault.NOM   ambulation.DAT.PL when also   break.SBJV.PRF.3SG
se   (Reflexive)
RFL
'When also a difficulty in the ease of ambulation impairment arises (lit. "difficulty to smooth ambulations broke itself").' (*Mul.Chir. 384*)

Also with these aspectual classes of verbs the *-R* form continues to occur in anticausative function, as exemplified in (18) from a sixth century text for the verb *rumpere* "break".

(18) *quotiens   ergo in matrice   rumpitur*
whenever thus in womb.ABL break.MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL.
(*sc. collectio*)   (Mediopassive)
    tumor
'Whenever a tumor bursts in the womb' (Soran. 99 ff.); (Feltenius, 1977: 121) (VI AD).

Thus, in Late Latin, with clear examples from 4th and 6th century texts, the Active Intransitive, the Reflexive and the *-R* form display full interchangeability as markers of anticausativization, occurring with all aspectual classes of verbs, i.e., with verbs of quantized, non-quantized change, as well as with activities (Pirson, 1906; Feltenius, 1977: 121; Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal, 2015: 692). More specifically, the data investigated point to the spread of the Reflexive strategy from inherently telic verbs, i.e., achievements and accomplishments (e.g., *scindere* "crack", *frangere* "break", *mutare* "change"), to non-inherently telic and atelic ones (e.g., *citare*, *provocare* "cause", *minuere* "decrease", *servare* "keep", i.e., accomplishments of variable/reduced telicity and activities) (Cennamo, 2001a). With these aspectual classes either only the medio-passive *-R* form (in passive function) occurred in Early and Classical Latin (cf. (19a) vs (19b)) or the active intransitive/the *-R* form, in anticausative function (18c–d). If the pattern clearly marked an induced process (passive interpretation) only the *-R* form occurred instead (19a), (19d) (Cennamo, 1998; 2006; Cennamo, Eythórsson & *Barðdal*, 2015):

(19) a. *stercora   provocantur*
excrement.PL cause.PRS.IND.MPASS.3PL.
'Excrement is induced.'

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b. *stercora   se   provocant
   excrement.N.PL RFL cause.PRS.IND.3SG.
   '*Excrement causes itself.'

c. memoria   minuitur/minuit
   memory.NOM decrease.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG./PRS.IND.3SG.
   'Memory is impaired.' (lit. 'Memory decreases')

d. mala   servantur
   apple.N.PL keep.MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL.
   'Apples are kept.'

In late texts the reflexive pronoun and the -R form may co-occur in anti-causative function in the same sentence, at times with ambiguity between an anticausative and a passive reading, as in (20), depending on the verb and on the syntactic context:

(20) si autem minutetur   se   medicamen
     if then   pulverize.MPASS.PRS.SBJV.3SG RFL drug
     'If then the drug pulverizes/gets pulverized.' (Orib. *Eup.* 4, 63; Svennung, 1935: 463, n. 2) (VI A.D.)

The use of the -R form in anticausative function with all verb classes in Late Latin might also reflect so-called *Deponentization* (Flobert, 1975), the wide-spread use of the passive morphology in active function (Feltenius, 1977; Cennamo, 1998, 2009 and references therein), attested with both intransitive (21a) and transitive verbs (21b), already in 4th century texts (21a), and even more so at later times, as in (21b), from the 9th century A.D. (Cennamo, 1998; Gianollo, 2014):

(21) a. et   sabbato   non ieiunantur
        and saturday.ABL not fast.PRS.IND.MPASS.3PL
        'And they do not fast on Saturdays.' (*cPer. Aeth.* 27,1)

     b. cum illo   qui   eam   ... dugatur
        with he.ABL who.NOM she.ACC   take.MPASS.PRS.SBJV.3SG
        uxorem
        spouse.ACC.
        'With that person who will marry her" (lit. "will take her as his spouse').
        (*Cod. Verc.* cap. 192; Löfstedt, 1977: 275)

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Deponentization also affects the tenses of the *perfectum*. Thus, the analytic passive pattern, BE+past participle (e.g., *oscurata est*, lit. "darkened is" in (22)), may be found with active (anticausative) meaning, instead of the canonical active intransitive (*o(b)scuravit*) and reflexive (*se o(b)scuravit*) forms (Norberg, 1943: 155–159; Cennamo, 2005; 2021: 276 and further references therein):

(22) *eo   anno   luna   oscurata est   (=o(b)scuravit*
     that.ABL year.ABL moon.NOM darken.PST.PTCP.F.SG darken.PST.3SG
     /se o(b)scuravit)
     /RFL.darken.PST.3SG.
     'That year the moon darkened.' (Fredeg., *Chron.* 4, 11.5)

The changes in the distribution of the anticausativization strategies in Late Latin are part and parcel of a radical restructuring of the morphological and syntactic tools conveying voice distinctions in the transition from Latin to Romance, with clear attestations from fourth-seventh century non-literary texts, illustrated above for the anticausative alternation but affecting all domains. More specifically, the analytic passive may be found in active (reflexive/non-canonical middle) function, as in (23a), replacing the reflexive, and the reflexive pattern may have passive function, initially with inanimate subjects, subsequently also with animate ones (23b) (Cennamo, 1998; 2005; 2016; 2020: 110–120; 2021: 273–276; Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal, 2015: 683–704):

(23) a. *qui   (sc. Alciocus) in marca Vinedorum salvatus*
       who Alciocus   in marsh wends.GEN save.PST.PTCP.M.SG
       est   (= se salvavit)
       be.PRS.IND.3SG RFL.SAVE.PRF.3SG
       'Who (sc. Alciocus) found safety in the Wendish marsh.' (Fredeg., *Chron.* 4, 72; Norberg, 1943: 158)

    b. *per ista sunnis ... homo ... excusare   se   poterit*
       for this amount   man   excuse.INF RFL can.FUT.3SG
       'For this amount of money, a man can be discharged.' (Child., *Reg. cap.* 8, 32–33)

In addition, the active morphology may also occur in passive function, signaling an Undergoer argument as subject (24):

(24) *petens   ut   per eius   auxilium liberaret (= liberaretur*)
     ask.PRS.PTCP that by of.him help   set.free.IMPF.SBJV.3SG
     'Asking to be set free with his help.' (Fredeg. *Chron.* IV c, 183, 17; VII AD)

Unlike the active in passive function, that appears to be only a reflex of the functional opacity of voice morphology in Late Latin, the reflexive pattern in passive function will become a new voice system in the transition to Romance (Cennamo, 1991; 1993; 2016; 2020).

The reorganization of the voice system, partially illustrated above, comes to interact with concomitant changes in the encoding of the argument structure of the clause, witnessed by the use of the accusative in subject function, the so-called *extended accusative* (Plank, 1985), well attested by the second half of the 4th century AD with unaccusative verbs/patterns and subsequently also with unergatives, and, marginally, transitives (Löfstedt, 1933: 329–334; Norberg, 1943: 95 f.; 1944: 21–32) (e.g., *nascitur ... contractionem* (*Mul.Chir.* 516) arise.PRS.IND.3SG spasm.ACC ("a spasm arises"), *crepitavit panem in furno* (Agnell, 391, 26) crackle.PST.3SG bread.ACC "bread crackled in the oven", *fontem colorem mutat* (*Per. Aeth.* Nachträge VIII) spring.ACC colour.ACC change.PRS.IND.3SG "the colour of the spring-water changes") (see also Cennamo, 2016: 969). The interplay between the two phenomena, the temporary loss of the grammatical dimension of voice, whereby voice forms become functionally interchangeable, no longer matching their canonical functions, and the extension of the accusative to subject function, brings about profound changes in the marking and linking of arguments in the transition to Romance. As a matter of fact, owing to the functional equivalence among voice forms (e.g., passive for active and active for passive), passive morphology no longer consistently signals an Undergoer argument in subject function and active morphology no longer consistently signals an Actor argument as subject (to the exception of deponents) (Cennamo, 2001: 61; 2009; 2016: 969; 2020).

Once case-marking and at some point, agreement (Cennamo, 2009) no longer consistently identify the syntactic function of verbal arguments, as witnessed by the accusative for Actor arguments, it is difficult to identify the grammatical function of the nuclear arguments of the clause (i.e., their Actor or Undergoer status), if voice distinctions are no longer consistently marked by means of clearly identifiable morphological and syntactic patterns. Therefore, new tools are employed for the encoding of voice and the argument structure of the clause, partially discussed above (see Cennamo, 2001; 2009; 2020 for further examples and discussion of the issue).

3.6   *Summary*
Summing up the changes illustrated above, in Late Latin the Reflexive pattern and the Active Intransitive come to occur in anticausative function with different aspectual classes: the Reflexive expands to verbs of variable/reduced

telicity, as well as activities, whilst the Active Intransitive spreads to accomplishments and achievements. In late texts all verbs may freely alternate the three voice forms, regardless of their structural and inherent features.

This development is part and parcel of wider and pervasive changes in the encoding of voice and argument structure in the passage to Romance. Both the event structure template of verbs and the meaning components lexicalized in the verb, i.e., the root, in particular the type of change encoded as well as the degree of control of the Undergoer subject, appear to affect the choice of anticausative strategy, interacting, in the course of time, with changes in the encoding of transitivity and argument structure.

Thus, a preliminary investigation clearly reveals the aspectually driven progression of the change, although further study and a more fine-grained description of the path of development need to be carried out, in order to detect the steps of the change, for instance whether the Anticausative Reflexive occurs earlier with gradual completion verbs (i.e., verbs of non-quantized change) than with activities.

4   The Anticausative Alternation in Old Italian (Old Florentine)

In early Italian vernaculars (e.g., Old Florentine) (13th–15th century texts) two strategies mark anticausatives, the reflexive and the active intransitive in simplex tenses, with all verb classes which allow this alternation. In compound tenses the presence/absence of the reflexive to mark anticausativization reflects the gradual reconstitution of the tense-aspectual and voice systems consequent to the disruption of the grammatical dimension of voice in the passage to Romance (Cennamo, 1998; 2005; 2012: 417).

4.1   *Old Florentine*
The electronic scrutiny of 13th–15 century Florentine texts shows the higher occurrence of the Reflexive with verbs which lexicalize a final state, i.e, achievements like *spezzare* "crack", for which the non-reflexive form does not appear to be attested.

Si generally functions as a marker of thematic reduction. It tends to occur more prominently with verbs which lexicalize a terminal point, alternating with the active intransitive: *achievements* (e.g., *frangere* "smash", *rompere* "break") (25–26), *different types of accomplishments* (e.g., *aprire* "open", *mutare* "change", *cuocere* "burn"/"cook", *allagare* "flood"), including *gradual completion verbs* (*scurare* "darken", *seccare* "dry", *ampliare* "enlarge", *aumentare* "increase", *variare* "vary") (27–28). The alternation also involves *aspectual* verbs (e.g., *ces-*

sare "stop", *continue* "continue", denoting the termination and continuation of an activity, respectively), illustrated in (28) for the verb *continuare* "continue" (Cennamo, 2012):

(25) a. *la   spada   sì   si   spezza*   *presso alla*
      the sword thus RFL break.PRS.IND.3SG near   to.the
      punta   (*achievements*)
      tip
      'The sword breaks near the tip.' (*Tavola ritonda*, [cap. 18 | page 71])

    b. *il   carro   ... tutto si   spezzò*
       the wagon   all RFL break.PST.SG
       'The wagon broke completely.'

(26) a. (*la terra*) *ruppe*   *in molte parti del   mondo*
       the earth break.PST.3SG in several parts of.the world
       '(The earth) opened up in several parts of the world (lit. "broke").' (*Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi*, [cap. 59 page 98]|)

    b. *lo   mio ... sonno ... si   ruppe*
       the my   sleep   RFL break.PST.3SG
       'My sleep was interrupted (lit. "broke itself").' (Dante, *Vita nuova* [cap. 3, parr1–9 | page 14]); (*Giovanni Villani* (ed. Porta) [L. XII, cap. 114 | page 0])

(27) a. *lo   stato di Roma quasi   ogne die di diverse   maniere si*
       the state of Rome almost every day of different ways   RFL
       muta
       change.PRS.IND.3SG
       'The State of Rome changes almost every day.' (Bono Giamboni, *Orosio* [L. 6, cap. 12 | page 384] a)

    b. *lo   giorno poi   ver'   mezzogiorno ... muta*
       the day   then towards noon   change.PRS.IND.3SG.
       'Then the day changes towards noon.' (Percivalle Doria (ed. Contini), a. 1264 (*tosc.*) [Parte non numerata 1 | page 162])

(28) a. *le   pene   ... s'   aumentano   e*
       the punishments   RFL increase.PRS.IND.3PL and
       stanno   e   starano   ...
       stay.PRS.IND.3PL and stay.FUT.3PL

'The punishments increase and continue and will continue forever.'
(Boccaccio, *Esposizioni*, par. 47, p. 664) (*gradual completion*)

b. *e   le   biade **aumenteranno***
and   the   corns   increase.FUT.3PL
'…. and corn will increase.' (Boccaccio, *Filoloco* [L.5, cap. 54| page 624])

(28) a. *dalle   altre due parti, onde   **si**   **continua**   la*
from.the other two parts   where   RFL continue.PRS.IND.3SG the
terra
earth
'From the other two areas, where the earth continues.' (Bono
Giamboni, *Orosio* [L. 1, cap. 2 | page 19])

b. *in questa prima parte   (il   capitulo) **continua***
in this   first   section the chapter   continue.PRES.IND.3SG
'In the first section the chapter continues ….' (Chiose falso Boccaccio,
Inf., 1375)

Activity/process verbs such as *bollire* "boil", are only found in the non-reflexive
form (29a), the corresponding reflexive construction having a passive interpre-
tation, as expected, since it is an activity verb. Thus, *l'acqua si bolle* in (29b) does
not mean "water boils" but "water is boiled", with *si* signalling external causa-
tion (see also Cennamo, 2012: 409):

(29) a. *perocché il   mosto   ancora **bolliva***
since   the grape.must still   boil.IMPF.IND3SG
'Since the grape must was still boiling.' (Marchionne di Coppo … .
Cronaca fiorentina [*Rubr. 876* | page 382])

b. *la cui   acqua **si**   **bolle**   in caldare   di piombo*
the which water   RFL boil.PRS.IND.3SG in containers of lead
e   fassene   sale
and make.PRS.IND.3SG.RFL.OF.IT salt
'Whose water is boiled in three lead containers and salt is made with
it.' (*Metaura d'Aristotile volgarizzata* …, App. B, 2, 29, p. 327. 2–3)

With the verb *cuocere* "cook, burn" the two strategies alternate under the pro-
cessual/activity interpretation of the verb, i.e., under the meaning "burn" (30a–
b). Under the change of state interpretation of the verb, i.e., in the

sense of "cook", when the verb lexicalizes a result, only the reflexive form occurs, as in it (30c):

(30) a. *quanto il   fuoco è più   ristretto, più   cuoce*
   when   the fire is more strong   more cook.PRS.IND.3SG
   (= *arde*)
   (= burns)
   'When the fire is stronger, it burns more.' (*Boccaccio, Esposizioni* [c. X, par. 7 | page 514])

   b. *per   che 'l   ciel, come pare   ancor, si*
   since that the sky as   seems.PRS.IND.3SG yet   RFL
   cosse
   cook.PST.3SG.
   'As a result of which, as it still seems, the sky burnt.' (Dante, *Commedia* [Inf. 17| page a 290]109)

   c. *mettivi   uno bicchiere d'acqua che si   cuoca*
   put.there a   glass   of water that RFL cook.PRS.SBJV.3SG
   con essa a compimento
   with it   thoroughly
   'Add a glass of water, so that it cooks thoroughly.' (*Ricette di cucina, XIV m. .LVII*)

The data also reveal hints of the existence of regional variation. For instance, in Old Florentine the achievement verb *accendere* "light" occurs mainly in the reflexive form (31a), whereas in Old Pisan (31b–c) both strategies are well-attested (see also Cennamo, 2012: 408).

(31) a. *nel   tempio de'   Dei s'   accese   il   fuoco*
   in.th temple of.the gods RFL ignite.PST.3SG the fire
   'Fire ignited in the gods' temple.' (Giamboni, Bono. *Delle Storie contra i Pagani di …* [L. 4, cap. 12 | page 230])

   b. *come carbon,   che 'n fuoco accende*
   like   charcoal that in fire   ignite.PRS.IND.3SG
   'Like charcoal that ignites.' (Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo* [L. 5, cap. 25 | page 409])

    c. (*il fuoco*) *che s'   accese   in quell' anno*
       the fire   that RFL ignite.PST.3SG in that   year
       'The fire that ignited that year.' (Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo* [L. 1,
       cap. 24 | page 69])

In compound tenses the reflexive is mainly found with telic verbs (i.e., achieve-
ments/accomplishments) (e.g., *rompere* "break", *accendere* "light", *aprire*
"open'", *mutare* "change") (32) (albeit with very few examples), rarely with verbs
of reduced telicity, for instance with indefinite change verbs such as *mutare*
"change" (32c) and gradual completion verbs such as *ampliare* "enlarge" (32d)
(Cennamo, 2012: 410):

(32) a. *la   cordellina del   pesce di legno s'   era*
       the little.cord of.the fish   of wood RFL be.IMPF.IND.3SG
       rotta,   ...
       break.PST.PTCP.F.SG.
       'The wooden fish's string had broken.' (Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle*, 216,
       p. 561. 24)

    b. *credeano   di spontanea   volontà* **acceso   si**
       they.thought of spontaneous will   ignite.PST.PTCP.M.SG RFL
       fosse   (*sc. il tumulto*)
       be.IMPF.SBJV.3SG (SC. the turmoil)
       'They thought that [the tumult] had arisen spontaneously (lit. ignited).'
       (Deca terza di Tito Livio [L 10, cap. 6 | page 454])

    c. *se in tenebre   si   fosse   mutato*
       if in darkness RFL be.IMPF.SBJV.3SG change.PST.PTCP.M.SG
       sì fatto giorno!
       such   day
       'If the day had turned to night', (Boccaccio, *Fiammetta* [cap. 1, par. 8 |
       25])

    d. *verso   l'   Occidente miserabilmente s'   era*
       towards the west   wretchedly   RFL be.IMPF.IND.3SG
       ampliata   (*pestilenza*)
       spread.PST.PTCP.F.SG (plague)
       'The plague had spread towards West.' (Boccaccio, *Decameron* [*Intro-
       duzione* | 9])

In compound tenses the presence of the reflexive in anticausative patterns resolves the ambiguity of interpretation of the sequence BE+past participle in the perfect/pluperfect, among three possible readings: (i) *active* (anticausative), (ii) *passive* and (iii) *result state*, depending on the context and the verb (33) (Brambilla Ageno, 1964: 186–199; Cennamo, 2012: 411–412; 2021: 281–282; Cennamo, Ciconte & Andriani, 2020: 168–170):

(33) *ora mi   fate   venire   una lancia, perciò che la*
       now to.me make.PRS.IND.2PL come.INF a   spear   since that the
       mia   è   rotta
       mine be.PRS.IND.3SG break.PST.PTCP.F.SG.
       'Now let me have a spear, since mine broke (antic.)/has been broken (passive)/is broken (res. state).' (Tristano Ricc. App., p. 376)

As illustrated in (34), the presence of *si* in compound tenses has a disambiguating function, singling out the active (anticausative) reading of the construction, the only possible in (34), unlike in (33), the structure without the reflexive:

(34) *la   cordellina del   pesce di legno s'   era*
       the little.cord of the fish   of wood RFL be.IMPF.IND.3SG
       rotta,   ...
       break.PST.PTCP.F.SG.
       'The wooden fish's string had broken.' (Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle*, 216, p. 561. 24)

4.2   *Interim Summary*

The analysis of the distribution of the two stategies employed in Old Florentine for marking anticausativization suggests the following tendencies: (i) *the free alternation of the reflexive and non-reflexive strategy in simplex tenses*, with all verbs undergoing anticausativization: *achievements* and *different subtypes of accomplishments*, including *gradual completion verbs*, as well as (continuation of) *activity verbs*, (ii) *the occurrence of the reflexive in compound tenses only with achievements and some accomplishments, marginally with gradual completion verbs, never with activities*, the (iii) *aspectual motivation for the presence of the reflexive*, namely the relevance of the aspectual template of predicates and the type of change lexically encoded in the verb (e.g., a final/non-reversible change or a target/reversible change) (cf. *la porta si è rotta* "The door broke" vs **la porta si è aperta* "The door opened"), (iv) the *gradual establishing of the reflexive as the main/only anticausative strategy with some aspectual classes of verbs, namely those which lexically encode a final state, both in simplex and compound tenses,*

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with *si* gradually penetrating into the anticausative domain starting from telic verbs. The reflexive, however, only marks the suppression of an external causer at argument structure[6] and has not become also a marker of telicity yet (as in contemporary Italian), as signaled by the free alternation between the reflexive/non reflexive forms with verbs which allow both an activity/processual reading and a result interpretation (e.g., *cuocere* "cook, burn", *gelare* "freeze", *ardere* "burn") (see also Cennamo, 2012 and Cennamo, Ciconte & Andriani, 2020 for other early Italian vernaculars).

4.4   *Anticausative* si *and Voice Distinctions in Old Italian*
The Old Florentine data investigated clearly show the gaining ground of aspectual notions such as telicity in determining the (obligatory) occurrence of the reflexive morpheme in anticausative constructions, a change reflecting the reconstitution of voice and tense-aspect distinctions in early Italo-Romance, consequent to the temporary loss of the grammatical dimension of voice in Late Latin, with which this change comes to interact (Ambrosini, 1960–1961; Brambilla Ageno, 1964; Cennamo, 2012).

More specifically, the gradual reshaping of the grammatical dimension of voice in Old Italian is testified by three morphosyntactic features (Ambosini, 1960–1961; Brambilla Ageno, 1964: 177–247; Cennamo, 2002: 206–211; 2012: 419; Ledgeway, 2009: 599 for Old Neapolitan; Cennamo, Ciconte & Andriani, 2020: 180 for other early Italian vernaculars): (i) the *frequent lack of the reflexive morpheme se/si in compound tenses with pronominal patterns* (e.g., with anticausative, middle, pleonastic reflexives). Thus, the pattern *è rotto* ("is broken") can mean *si è rotto* (RFL "is broken") "it broke" (anticausative), the sequence *è mosso* ("is moved") (with an animate subject) can be interpreted as *si è mosso* (RFL "is moved") "He moved" (middle reflexive) and the structure *era pentuto* ("was repented") can equal *si era pentito* (RFL "was repented") "He repented" (pleonastic reflexive); (ii) the *Use of the past perfect (and more rarely also the*

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6   The nature and function of the reflexive morpheme in the anticausative alternation is a matter of controversy, and it has been widely debated whether *si* ought to be viewed as marking a suppressed unspecified external causer (Centineo, 1995: 67; Bentley, 2006: 127), or as denoting the presence of a terminal point (either a final/result or target state) in the verb/predicate (Folli, 2002; Jezek, 2008; Cennamo & Jezek, 2011, int.al.). The two perspectives, however, can be easily reconciled if viewed as representing different stages in the development of the morphological encoding of anticausativization in Italian: *si* is originally a marker of the suppression of the causer, later developing an aspectual meaning, coming to denote also the telicity of the predicate, as clearly revealed by the Old Florentine data investigated as well as by data from other early Italian vernaculars (Cennamo, 2012: 405–416; 2021: 277–283; Cennamo, Ciconte & Andriani, 2020).

present perfect) *to replace the simple past in order to underline the terminal point of an event* (Ambrosini, 1960–1961: 37) with all verbs (intransitive, reflexive, transitive). Therefore, *fu sanato* ("was healed") "He/it healed" could replace *si sanò* (RFL "healed") "He/it healed", *fu giunto* ("was arrived") = *giunse* "He/it arrived", *ebbe promesso* ("had promised") = *promise* "He/she promised", etc.; (iii) *the ambiguity of the sequence BE + past participle in passive function, between a dynamic-eventive and a resultative reading with telic predicates, and between a resultative-stative and an adjectival interpretation with atelic verbs.* Hence, *è rotto* ("is broken") can be equivalent to *viene rotto* ("comes broken") "It gets broken"/*è stato rotto* ("is been broken") "It has been broken". A pattern with an atelic verb such as *amare* "love", as in *è amata* ("is loved"), can be ambiguous instead between a resultative-stative (*è stata amata* "She has been loved") and an adjectival interpretation ("She is loved") (Brambilla Ageno, 1964: 186–199; Cennamo, 2003).

Therefore, *è rotto* out of context can be interpreted as referring both to a past event (*si ruppe/ruppe* "it broke"), and to the current relevance of a past event (*si è rotto* "it has broken"), with the reflexive morpheme coming to differentiate the perfective, resultative active reading (*si è rotto* "it has broken") from a resultative stative passive one (*è stato rotto* "it has been broken").

5   Conclusions

The investigation of the distribution of the strategies employed in Latin and in Old Florentine reveals that the apparently free *alternation* among the various anticausativization strategies is structured and reflects changes in progress in both languages: (i) the *demise of the interplay of thematic and aspectual notions* in the encoding of anticausatives *in Latin*, leading to the total equivalence among the various strategies, (ii) the gradual *gaining ground of lexico-aspectual notions* such as telicity in determining the obligatory occurrence/preference for the Reflexive over the Active Intransitive in Old Florentine, anticipating the obligatoriness of the morpheme *si* with telic, punctual verbs (i.e., achievements) in contemporary Italian.

The Latin and Old Florentine data, therefore, offer interesting diachronic insights on the current debate on the interplay between root and templatic aspects of verb meaning in shaping argument realization, confirming analogous results for other early Italian vernaculars.

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