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# L'ITALIA DIALETTALE

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(Serie Terza, XVII)

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Atti della Tavola Rotonda su  
*Comparazione e classificazione  
dei dialetti d'Italia*  
(Reggio Emilia, 17 novembre 2017)



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Venerdì 17 novembre 2017, al Dipartimento di Comunicazione ed Economia dell'Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia, si è svolta una tavola rotonda su *Comparazione e classificazione dei dialetti d'Italia*, organizzata a conclusione delle iniziative di ricerca di un progetto biennale su *La struttura della variazione linguistica e la sintassi dei dialetti emiliani*, coordinato da Cristina Guardiano.

L'iniziativa è stata concepita con l'obiettivo di fare il punto sulle sfide poste dalla dialettologia italiana nel panorama della linguistica contemporanea, ed in particolare sul contributo dello studio della microvariazione all'indagine sul mutamento linguistico, all'analisi della struttura interna delle grammatiche, alla spiegazione della diversità linguistica.

La selezione dei relatori è stata guidata dalla precisa volontà di riunire intorno a temi di ricerca condivisi prospettive molto diverse (e spesso conflittuali) sull'indagine dialettologica. Ai metodi tradizionalmente consolidati per lo studio della diversità dialettale in ambito italo-romanzo sono stati dunque affiancati orientamenti che si servono degli strumenti dell'analisi morfosintattica formale, della comparazione interlinguistica, della classificazione computazionale e dello studio storico della variazione linguistica.

I relatori hanno presentato e discusso i contenuti delle loro ricerche in vari ambiti della dialettologia italiana contemporanea, proponendo e condividendo numerosi spunti di riflessione. Ne è scaturito un dibattito intenso che ha messo in luce un vivace panorama di ricerche e progetti in corso sui dialetti d'Italia, una ricchissima quantità di dati e di problemi condivisi, e anche una certa volontà di una più articolata interazione fra le diverse prospettive presentate.

Alla luce di ciò, abbiamo ritenuto che i temi ed i contenuti emersi in quell'occasione meritassero una riflessione più strutturata e sistematica, e abbiamo proposto ai partecipanti alla tavola rotonda di riunire i loro contributi in un volume che condensasse i principali temi emersi dalla discussione. Al volume hanno partecipato tutti i relatori e anche loro collaboratori, alcuni dei quali erano peraltro presenti alla giornata di studi.

C.G.



## The syntax and semantics of anticausativization in early Italo-Romance

### 1. *Introduction\**

This article investigates diachronic aspects of the morphosyntax of anticausatives in some early Italo-Romance varieties, in relation to the distribution of the different strategies available to mark anticausativization, the active intransitive and the reflexive morpheme SE. It is shown that the structural and lexical aspects of the verb meaning affect the use of the different patterns, interacting with the encoding of voice in the transition from Latin to Romance.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 2 provides the theoretical background on the notion of anticausativization, illustrated for Italian in Section 3. Section 4 analyses the anticausative alternation in a number of early Italo-Romance vernaculars: old Florentine, old Neapolitan, old Paduan and old Sicilian. Section 5 illustrates the constraints on such alternation, the relationship with the voice systems, and the nature and function of anticausative SE. Finally, Section 6 draws the conclusions.

### 2. *The anticausative alternation: some current issues*

The term anticausative refers to the non-causative, i.e., intransitive, member of a transitivity alternation, whose original inanimate object, the Undergoer, occurs as subject, whilst the Actor is suppressed, either both syntactically and semantically (Haspelmath 1987, p. 7), or at the level of argument structure, i.e., the lexical syntactic representation, but retained in the lexical semantic representation (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: p. 84). The process is presented as occurring spontaneously (see also Cennamo 2012)<sup>1</sup>.

\* Abbreviations: F = feminine; FUT = future; IMP = imperative; IMPF = imperfect; INF = infinitive; M = masculine; PL = plural; PRS = present; PST = past; PTCP = participle; RFL = reflexive; SBJV = subjunctive; SG = singular.

<sup>1</sup> Derived intransitive patterns with an animate subject, so-called endoreflexives/agentive anticausatives (Haspelmath 1987, pp. 27-29) or autocausatives (Geniušienė 1987, pp. 86-101), very frequent with motion verbs (e.g., *move, turn*), are not included in the discussion, since they involve differ-

Depending on the language and the diachronic stage investigated (Lazzeroni 2009), the anticausative pattern may be either morphologically unmarked (1a-b) or both morphologically unmarked and marked, signalled by a dedicated morpheme, e.g., the reflexive (1c-e):

- |        |   |                     |                       |
|--------|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) a. | <i>the vase broke</i> (< <i>Mark broke the vase</i> )                         | [unmarked]          | (English)             |
| b.     | <i>das Segel zerriss</i><br>the sail tear.PST.3SG<br>'The sail tore'          | [unmarked]          | (German)              |
| c.     | <i>die Tür öffnete sich</i><br>the door open.PST.3SG RFL<br>'The door opened' | [marked]            | (Schäfer 2008, p. 11) |
| d.     | <i>la neige fond</i><br>the snow melt.PRS.3SG<br>'The snow is melting'        | [unmarked]          | (French)              |
| e.     | <i>le vase (se) casse</i><br>the vase RFL break.PRS.3SG<br>'The vase breaks'  | [optionally marked] |                       |

Two general semantic constraints are recognized in the literature. The first one concerns the spontaneous manifestation of an eventuality and its corollary, «unspecific change of state» (Haspelmath 1987, p. 15), whereby only transitive causative verbs denoting events which may come about spontaneously, without a wilful animate causer may occur in the anticausative alternation (Haspelmath 1987, p. 15, 2016; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, p. 102). A pre-requisite for anticausativization is the absence of agent-oriented meaning components or other «highly specific meaning components» that debar the spontaneous interpretation of the verbal process (Haspelmath 1987, p. 15; 1993, p. 94). Therefore, «actions are excluded which imply specific instruments or methods, e.g., *bite, cut, dig, paint...*» (Haspelmath 1993, p. 93). Thus, verbs which lexicalize a manner component rather than a final/result state seem to be excluded from the alternation (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010; also Cennamo 2012, p. 396; Cennamo, Eythórson and Barðdal 2015, p. 680).

The second constraint involves the thematic underspecification of the causer. Only verbs with a thematically underspecified causer, e.g., *break*,

ent parameters and intransitivity domains, although in several languages (e.g., the Romance languages, German, Turkish, Lithuanian, among others) the same strategies are employed (e.g., the reflexive morpheme) (see Cennamo 2012, p. 395, n. 3; Cennamo, Eythórson and Barðdal 2015 for discussion and further references).

*open*, undergo anticausativization. By contrast, verbs with a thematically specified causer, i.e., agent, do not allow the anticausative alternation, e.g., *kill*, *assassinate* (Koontz-Garboden 2009, pp. 80-86, *int. al.*).

As is well known, the core of the category in several languages is instantiated by verbs lexicalizing a final, result state, i.e., achievements/accomplishments (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, p. 9, *int. al.*), as is shown in the Italian example in (2a). The pattern, however, may occur also in contexts where such value is not available, as in its uses with (continuation of) activity verbs, e.g., the aspectual verb *continuare* ‘continue’ (2b) and states (2c) in Italian (Cennamo 2012, pp. 395-396):

- (2) a. *Il diluvio si è placato*  
 the downpour RFL be.PR.3SG stop.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘The downpour has stopped’
- b. *la lezione è continuata per tre ore*  
 the lecture be.PRS.3SG continue.PST.PTCP.F.SG for three hours  
 ‘The lecture has continued for three hours’
- c. *una comunità omogenea si basa anche su una  
 a community homogeneous RFL rely.PRS.3SG also on a  
 mediocrità di fondo*  
 mediocrity of background  
 ‘A homogeneous community is based also on some sort of underlying  
 mediocrity’

In addition, the direction of the derivation is often difficult to identify, as in (2d), for which there is no conceivable corresponding transitive structure with a wilful causer:

- d. *le giornate si sono accorciate*  
 the days RFL be.PRS.3PL shorten.PST.PTCP.F.PL  
 ‘Days have become shorter’ (Cennamo and Jezek 2011, p. 811)

### 3. *Anticausatives in Italian: some current issues*

In the literature on anticausativization in Italian, two subclasses of anticausatives are usually recognised, on the basis of the distribution of the reflexive morpheme *si* (see 3a-b) (Centineo 1995; Bentley 2006, p. 131; Schäfer 2008, among others). Three subtypes emerge by considering the interplay of the presence, absence and optionality of *si* with auxiliary selection in com-

pound tenses (see 4-6) (Folli 2001; Manente 2008; Cennamo and Jezek 2011; Cennamo 2012). Depending on the perspective taken, which can be labelled, respectively, “thematic” and “(lexico-)aspectual” (Cennamo 2012, pp. 396-397), the presence of the reflexive *si* is either viewed as reflecting an externally caused eventuality, with verbs lacking *si* instantiating internally caused events (Centineo 1995; Bentley 2006, pp. 130-134, drawing upon Haspelmath’s 1987, 1993 typological survey and Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, pp. 89-98), or it is described as resulting from the aspectual characteristics of predicates, in particular the presence of a terminal point, either final/result or target (i.e., reversible) state (Parsons 1990) for *si*-anticausatives (Folli 2001; Cennamo and Jezek 2011; Cennamo 2012).

Under the “thematic approach” only the form with *si*, e.g., *rompersi* ‘break’, instantiates an anticausative structure, whilst the pattern without *si*, e.g., *affondare* ‘sink’, realizes an internally caused event (Centineo 1995, pp. 67). Thus, with verbs optionally taking *si* in the anticausative pattern, e.g., *bruciare/bruciarsi* ‘burn’, *gelare/gelarsi* ‘freeze’, only the structure with *si* should be regarded as anticausative (3a), whereas the structure without *si* would exemplify instead an intransitive verb, denoting an internally caused event (3b) (Bentley 2006, pp. 128-131 and discussion in Cennamo 2012, pp. 397):

- (3) a. *la foresta si bruciò / il lago si gelò* [anticausative]  
 the forest RFL burn.PST.3SG the lake RFL freeze.PST.3SG  
 ‘The wood burnt down/the lake froze’
- b. *la foresta bruciò / il lago gelò* [internally caused]  
 the forest burn.PST.3SG the lake freeze.PST.3SG  
 ‘The forest burnt / the lake froze’

As we demonstrate in this study, building on Cennamo (2012), who puts forward this claim for a smaller sample of data and vernaculars, the two views are not mutually exclusive, but represent different diachronic stages in the development of the morphological encoding of anticausatives in Italo-Romance.

Under the “lexico-aspectual approach”, three subtypes of anticausatives are recognized, identified on the basis of the distribution of the reflexive morpheme *si* (i.e., its presence, absence and optionality), and its interplay with auxiliary selection, reflecting the inherent aspectual characteristics of predicates, in particular the presence of a final/result/target state, for *si*-anticausatives (Folli 2001; Jezek 2008; Manente 2008; Cennamo and Jezek 2011).



The first subtype, [+si] [+‘be’], involves the class of telic predicates (achievements/accomplishments), e.g., *rompersi* ‘break’, *spezzarsi* ‘crack’, *spegnersi* ‘turn off’, *svuotarsi* ‘empty’).

## (4) [+si] [+‘be’]

- a. *il bicchiere \*(si) rompe*  
 the glass RFL break.PST.3SG  
 ‘The glass broke’
- b. *il bicchiere \*(si) è rotto*  
 the glass RFL be.PRS.3SG break.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘The glass broke’

The second subtype, [-si] [+‘be’], includes predicates of variable telicity, with no lexically encoded final state, i.e., degree achievements/gradual completion verbs, expressing the gradual approximation to a terminal point along a scale, which may or may not be attained (Centineo 1995; Sorace 2000, p. 864). Some examples are *umentare* ‘increase’, *migliorare* ‘improve’ etc., which entail «attainment of the final goal or of a further stage» (Bertinetto and Squartini 1995, p. 23). This class comprises different kinds of accomplishments, e.g., *guarire* ‘heal’, *affondare* ‘sink’, *cambiare* ‘change’.

## (5) [-si] [+‘be’]

- a. *i prezzi aumentarono*  
 the prices rise.PST.3PL  
 (< *i commercianti aumentarono i prezzi*)  
 ( the shopkeepers rise.PST.3PL the prices)  
 ‘Prices rose’
- b. *i prezzi sono aumentati*  
 the prices be.PRS.3PL rise.PST.PTCP.M.PL  
 (< *i commercianti hanno aumentato i prezzi*)  
 ( the shopkeepers have.PRS.3PL raise.PST.PTCP.M.SG the prices)  
 ‘Prices rose (lit. are risen)’

Finally, the third subtype, [ $\pm$  si], concerns verbs describing a complex event consisting of a change process and an optional telos. The existence of a final state is possible but not necessary (Folli 2001; Schäfer 2008), e.g., *fondersi* ‘melt’, *bruciar* ‘burn’, *cuocer* ‘cook’, *gelare* ‘freeze’. In the pattern with *si*, the focus is on the attainment of a final state. If *si* is lacking, the focus is on the process, with possible telic/atelic interpretation and related ‘be’/‘have’ selection (Sorace 2000, pp. 874-875; Cennamo and Jezek 2011).

- (6) a. *il bosco è bruciato*  
 the wood be.PRS.3SG burn.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
   / *ha bruciato* [processual interpretation]  
   have.PRS.3SG burn.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
*per giorni*  
 for days  
 ‘The wood burnt for days’
- b. *il bosco si è bruciato*  
 the wood RFL be.PRS.3SG burn.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
*completamente / \*per giorni*  
 completely for days  
 ‘The wood burnt down completely / \*for days’
- c. *il bosco è bruciato* [stative interpretation]  
 the wood be.PRS.3SG burn.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘The wood is burnt down’

In the following discussion we consider the possible insights offered by the analysis of anticausatives in early Italian varieties, in relation to the nature and function of *si*, whether a marker of the suppression of the causer or a marker of a final/result/target state.

#### 4. *The anticausative alternation in some early Italo-Romance vernaculars*

In the next sections we explore the alternation between the reflexive and the active intransitive to mark anticausatives in a number of early Italo-Romance vernaculars (old Florentine, old Neapolitan, old Paduan and old Sicilian) in 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century texts<sup>2</sup>. We show that, whereas in simplex tenses the two strategies alternate with all the verb classes allowing this construction, in compound tenses the presence/absence of the reflexive reflects the gradual reconstitution of the tense-aspectual and voice systems consequent to the loss of the grammatical dimension of voice in the passage to Romance (Cennamo 1998, 2005, 2012, for old Florentine and old Neapolitan, Cen-

<sup>2</sup> The present study provides a qualitative analysis of anticausativization in a number of Italo-Romance vernaculars. The corpus investigated consists of 28 texts from C13<sup>th</sup> to C15<sup>th</sup>, whose editions are electronically available in the OVI corpus (*Opera del Vocabolario Italiano*, <<http://www.ovi.cnr.it/>>). The figures obtained from the electronic scrutiny suggest tendencies, to be tested in further research on a wider sample of lexical verbs – including in the present investigation mainly achievements, accomplishments and some activities and aspectuals – and vernaculars.

namo, Eythórson and Barðdal 2015), leading to the rise of new tools for the encoding of voice, among which the reflexive pattern in passive and impersonal function (Cennamo 2016) and various verbal periphrases covering different nuances along the imperfective-perfective spectrum (Cennamo 2018, 2019, 2020 for a more recent discussion).

#### 4.1. *Anticausatives in old Florentine*

In Old Florentine both strategies are available in simplex tenses, regardless of the aspectual nature of the predicate and of the verb's inherent meaning. However, the reflexive form tends to occur more frequently with verbs which lexicalize a final state, i.e., achievements and accomplishments, alternating with the non-reflexive pattern (7)-(8), including aspectuals denoting the termination of an activity, e.g., *cessare* 'stop', in (9) (discussion from Cennamo 2012).

- (7) a. *tutta la lancia si ruppe in pezzi* [achievement]  
 all the spear RFL break.PST.3SG in pieces  
 'The whole spear broke into pieces'  
 (*Tristano Riccardiano*, 119, 17, p. 216)
- b. *E quando quelli cavalieri passavano uno ponte,*  
 and when those knights cross.IMPF.3PL a bridge  
*il ponte ruppe, e tutti caddero nel fiume*  
 the bridge break.PST.3G and all fall.PST.3PL in-the river  
 'And while those knights were crossing a bridge, the bridge broke, and they all fell into the river'  
 (*Legenda Aurea*, 21-22, p. B819)
- (8) a. *c' alcuna azione si muta d'un luogo ad altro e*  
 that some action RFL change.PRS.3SG from-one place to other and  
*d'un tempo ad altro*  
 from-one time to other  
 'That some action changes from one place to another and from one time to another'  
 (*La Rettorica*, 13, p. 85)
- b. *e muta lo dì nella notte* [accomplishment]  
 and change.PRS.3SG the day in-the night  
 'And the day changes into the night'  
 (*Bibbia volgare*, VIII, 7, p. 198)
- (9) a. *la quale infamia si cessa* [aspectual]  
 the which slander RFL stop.PRS.3SG  
 'Which slander comes to an end'  
 (Dante, *Convivio*, I, 2, p. 12)

- b. *cessò l'aiuto a'nimici*  
 stop.PST.3SG the-help to-the-enemies  
 'The help to their enemies stopped'  
 (Bono Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi*, 51, p. 87)

With some achievements, for instance with the verb *spezzare* 'crack', the non-reflexive form is hardly attested, with only one example occurring in the non-reflexive structure (11), ambiguous between an anticausative and a transitive active interpretation (Cennamo 2012, p. 407).

- (10) a. *e lla pietra tutta si spezza minuta* [achievements]  
 and the stone all RFL break.PST.3SG small  
 'And the stone breaks all in small pieces'  
 (*Storia della distruzione di Troia*, 18, p. 472)
- b. *il carro... tutto si spezzò*  
 the wagon all RFL break.PST.3SG  
 'The wagon broke completely' (Giovanni Villani, ed. Porta, LXII, 114)
- (11) *Iason ferì adunque lo serpente sopra la schena, di sua lancia,*  
 Jason wound.PST.3SG then the snake on the back of his spear  
*ma sua lancia spezzò*  
 but his spear break.PST.3SG  
 'Jason then hit the snake on its back, with his spear, but his spear broke'  
 (*La storia di Troia*, 5, p. 104)

The alternation found in different types of accomplishments also includes gradual completion verbs/degree achievements, e.g., *diminuire* 'decrease', *ampliare* 'enlarge', *gelare* 'freeze', *cuocere* 'burn/cook', *ardere* 'burn', as illustrated in (12-16).

- (12) a. *così le mie tribulazioni s'aumentano* [gradual completion]  
 thus the my troubles RFL-increase.PRS.3PL  
 'Thus my troubles increase'  
 (Boccaccio, *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, VIII, 1, 13, p. 231)
- b. *e le biade aumenteranno*  
 and the corn.PL increase.FUT.3PL  
 'And corn will increase' (Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, 5, 54, p. 624)
- (13) a. *per la qual cosa la fama sua s'ampliò molto*  
 owing-to the which thing the fame his RFL-increase.PST.3SG a lot  
 'Owing to this his fame increased a lot'  
 (Boccaccio, *Esposizioni*, 22, p. 692)

- b. *poi amplìò*                      *la fama di Santa Maria in Pruneta*  
 then increase.PST.3SG    the fame of Saint Mary    in Pruneto  
 ‘Then the fame of Saint Mary in Pruneto increased’  
 (Sacchetti, vol. 2, p. 229; Brambilla Ageno 1964, p. 64)
- (14) a. *Il Danubio... si parte del mare...*  
 the Danube    RFL part.PRS.3SG from-the sea  
*e gelasi di verno*  
 and freeze.PRS.3SG-RFL of winter  
 ‘The Danube parts from the sea... and freezes in winter’  
 (*Ottimo Commento della Commedia*, xxvii, 7-8, p. 550)
- b. *e li fiumi quivi gelano*  
 and the rivers here freeze.PRS.3PL  
 ‘And that his shoulders freeze’  
 (*Ottimo Commento della Commedia*, xxvii, 15, p. 550)
- (15) a. *quello che mangiano, non si cuoce nello stomaco*  
 that which eat.PRS.3PL not RFL cook.PRS.3SG in-the stomach  
 ‘What they eat does not cook in their stomach’  
 (*Pistole di Seneca*, 95, p. 301)
- b. *il fuoco con più forza cuoce*                      (= arde)  
 the fire with more force cook.PRS.3SG (= burn.PRS.3SG)  
 ‘The fire burns with greater force’                      (Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, II, 9, 15, p. 133)
- (16) a. *là ove la fenice si arde*  
 there where the Phoenix RFL burn.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Whereby the Phoenix burns’  
 (*Tesoro di Brunetto Latini*, v, 26, 2-3, p. 122)
- b. *Fugite, fugite, che 'l cielo e la terra arde*  
 run.IMP.2PL run.IMP.2PL that the sky and the earth burn.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Run, run, as the sky and the earth are burning’  
 (*Bestiario toscano*, xviii, 32, p. 39)

The alternation between the two strategies is also attested with aspectual verbs denoting the continuation of an activity, e.g., *continuare* ‘continue’, as shown in (17) below.

- (17) a. *E l'aire si continua*                      [continuation of activity]  
 and the-air RFL continue.PRS.3SG  
*insieme e non hae in sé neuno vòto*  
 together and not have.PRS.3SG in self no vacuum  
 ‘And the air continues altogether and has no vacuum in itself’  
 (*Metaura d'Aristotile volgarizzata*, 9, p. 252)

- b. *Nella prima parte continua questo capitolo al precedente*  
 in-the first part continue.PRS.3SG this chapter to-the previous  
 ‘In this first part this chapter continues with the previous one’  
 (*Ottimo Commento della Commedia*, XII, p. 195)

By contrast, with activity/process verbs such as *bollire* ‘boil’, only the non-reflexive form occurs (Cennamo 2012, p. 409).

- (18) *però quando l'acqua bolle*  
 but when the-water boil.PRS.3SG  
 ‘But when the water boils’ (*Commento all'Inferno*, XXI, 19-36, 17, p. 574)

In compound tenses the pronoun *si* is attested mainly with telic verbs, i.e., achievements and accomplishments, e.g., *rompere* ‘break’, *accendere* ‘light’, *mutare* ‘change’, *ampliare* ‘enlarge’, as shown in (19).

- (19) a. *per acconciare una cinghia*  
 for fix.INF a belt  
*che gli s'era rotta*  
 that to-him RFL-be.IMPF.3SG break.PST.PTCP.F.SG  
 ‘To fix a belt that broke to him’ (*Trecentonovelle*, 218, 12, p. 566)
- b. *alquanto nel suo cor si fu acceso il foco*  
 quite a lot in-the his heart RFL be.PST.3SG ignite.PST.PTCP.M.SG the fire  
 ‘The fire ignited in his heart quite a lot’  
 (*Ninfale Fiesolano*, 266, 5-6, p. 290)
- c. *l' cuor d'una donna: il qual niente per lor di sua durezza*  
 the heart of-a woman which nothing for them of its harshness  
*s'è mutato*  
 RFL-be.PRS.3SG change.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘The heart of a woman: which in no way has changed in its harshness for them’  
 (Rime, *Fiammetta*, II, 17, p. 160)
- d. *verso l'Occidente miserabilmente s'era ampliata*  
 towards the-West wretchedly RFL-be.IMPF.3SG spread.PST.PTCP.F.SG  
 (sc. *pestilenza*)  
 plague  
 ‘(The plague) had spread towards West’  
 (Boccaccio, *Decameron*, *Introduzione*, 9)

The reflexive form only rarely occurs with verbs of reduced telicity, e.g., indefinite change of state verbs such as *crescere* ‘grow’ (see 20a), although here *si* might equal the adverb *si* ‘thus’. The reflexive is never found with gradual completion verbs such as *diminuire* ‘decrease’, and other types of accomplishments

which do not lexically encode a final state/the endpoint of the process, e.g., *gelare* ‘freeze’, *cuocere* ‘cook’ (20b-c), that is, change verbs optionally encoding the endpoint of the process (see Sorace 2000; also Manente 2008).

- (20) a. *tu mi desti speranza, la quale insieme con l'amore*  
 you to-me gave.3SG hope the which together with the-love  
*si è cresciuta*  
 RFL be.PRS.3SG grow.PST.PTPC.F.SG  
 ‘You gave me hope, that has grown with love’  
 (Ceffi, *Epistole eroiche, ep. Aconzio*, p. 193)
- b. *del sangue... della sua madre che è gelato (\*si è gelato)*  
 of-the blood of-the his mother that be.PRS.3SG freeze.PST.PTPC.M.SG  
 ‘Of his mother’s blood ... that froze’ (Libro di Sidrach, 294, p. 323)<sup>3</sup>
- c. *e quando è cotto a compimento (\*si è cotto)*  
 and when be.PRS.3SG cook.PST.PTCP.M.SG at completion  
 ‘And when it has cooked completely’ (Ricette di cucina, XIV, 11, p. 10)

The spread of *si* to compound tenses in anticausative function interacts with the ambiguity of the ‘be+past participle’ pattern in the perfect/pluperfect, among three possible interpretations: an active (anticausative) function, a passive and a result state reading, depending on the context and the verb, as illustrated in (21a) (see Brambilla Ageno 1964, pp. 186-199 and more recent discussion in Cennamo 2012, pp. 411-413 and references therein). Alongside the form without the reflexive morpheme, as in (21a), there also occurs the form with the reflexive, as in (21b).

- (21) a. *ora mi fate venire una lancia,*  
 now to-me make. PRS.2PL come.INF a spear  
*perciò che la mia è rotta*  
 since that the mine is break.PST.PTCP.F.SG  
 ‘Now let me have a spear, since mine broke (anticausative) / has been broken (passive) / is broken (state)’ (Tristano Ricc. App., p. 376)
- b. (= 19a) *e... choltella..., e... se n'era*  
 and knives and RFL of-them-be.IMP.F.3SG  
*rotto xij*  
 break.PST.PTCP.M.SG seven  
 ‘And ... knives..., and... of which seven had broken’  
 (Doc. fior., p. 361)

<sup>3</sup> The *Libro di Sidrach* is an Apulian text, which, however, is clearly influenced by the Tuscan literary canon, hence by its linguistic and stylistic features (see Sgrilli’s (1983, pp. 9-187) introduction to the edition of the text).

Thus, Brambilla Ageno's (1964, p. 211) claim, whereby by the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century the reflexive forms were frequently used in compound tenses (and in non-finite tenses), alongside the non-reflexive ones, is only partially confirmed. In addition, the alternation between the two patterns seems to take place with non-anticausative reflexives of different types, but it is quite rare with anticausatives, although there might be regional variation in this respect as well, with some varieties using the reflexive strategy more prominently, both in simplex and compound tenses (see also Cennamo 2012, p. 412).

Summing up the main findings, in old Florentine the reflexive and non-reflexive strategies alternate freely in simplex tenses with all verbs undergoing anticausativization, i.e. achievements and different subtypes of accomplishments, including gradual completion verbs, as well as aspectuals denoting the termination and continuation of an eventuality. With some achievements (e.g., *spezzare* 'crack') the reflexive form appears to be the main/only strategy (an issue to be further investigated, also in a geolinguistic perspective). In compound tenses, instead, the reflexive only occurs with achievements and some accomplishments, but never with gradual completion and activity verbs, thereby showing that its occurrence is beginning to be aspectually determined, sensitive to the aspectual template of predicates and to the type of change lexically encoded in the verb, e.g., a final/non-reversible change or a target/reversible change.

#### 4.2. Anticausatives in old Neapolitan

In old Neapolitan the two strategies, i.e., the reflexive and the active intransitive, alternate less freely than in old Florentine. In simplex tenses the reflexive is the only anticausative strategy with most verbs which lexically encode a final state, such as achievements, e.g., *spe(c)zare* 'crack/break', *squarzare* 'tear', as in (22a-b), and accomplishments, e.g., *mutare* 'change', *refrescare* 'refresh', *accrescere* 'grow', as in (22c-d).

- (22) a. *li arbore se spezavano in trunco* [+se] only  
 the masts RFL break.PST.3PL in base  
 'The masts broke at their base' (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 31, p. 267)
- b. *squarzavalesse lo core*  
 break.PST.3SG-to-her-RFL the heart  
 'Her heart broke' (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 23, p. 206)



- c. *la belleze soa la quale per lo multo desiderio de amore per plu*  
 the beauty hers which for the much desire of love for more  
*volte se le mutava in pallore*  
 times RFL to-her change.IMP.F.3SG in pallor  
 ‘Her beauty, which many times changed into pallor (lit. to her) because of  
 much desire for love’ (*Destr. de Troya*, XXIII, 34, 35, p. 206)
- d. *la vattaglia plu duramente se refrescava*  
 the battle more hardly RFL refresh.IMP.F.3SG  
 ‘The battle took up again more cruelly’ (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 15, p. 159)

Also indefinite change of state and gradual completion verbs occur in the reflexive form only, as shown in (23).

- (23) a. *honore e salute ve se accresca* [+se] only  
 honour and health there RFL grow.SBJV.3SG  
 ‘May your honour and health increase’ (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 13, p. 135)
- b. *quattro volte si varia*  
 four times RFL vary.PRS.3SG  
 ‘It changes four times’ (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 13, p. 135)

The two strategies alternate only with some achievements, e.g., *frangere* ‘smash’, *rompere* ‘break’, as is shown by the contrast in (24) and (25), and gradual completion verbs such as *aspriare* ‘wither’ (26). Therefore, there occurs minimal alternation with (inherently) telic verbs.

- (24) a. *la preta perde lo colore e tutta se frange in molte pieze* [±se]  
 the stone loses the colour and all RFL break.PRS.3SG in many pieces  
 ‘The stone loses its colour and breaks up into many pieces’  
 (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 3, p. 66)
- b. *colla schiuma che getta lo mare quando frange*  
 with-the foam that throw.PRS.3SG the sea when breaks  
 ‘With the foam that is thrown up by the sea when it breaks’  
 (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 34, p. 300)
- (25) a. *Ma l’altre nave... che se rompevano infra le rocche*  
 but the-other ships which RFL break.IMP.F.3PL among the rocks  
 ‘But the other ships... which were breaking among the rocks’  
 (*Destr. de Troya*, XXXII, 2-4, p. 273)
- b. *iamay la nave non romperria in mare*  
 never the ship not break.COND.3SG at sea  
 ‘The ship would never break at sea’ (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 7, p. 99)

- (26) a. *la vattaglya plu se aspriava*  
 the battle more RFL intensify.IMPF.3SG.3SG  
 ‘The battle became more intense’ (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 14, p. 143)
- b. *La vattaglya aspriava fortemente*  
 the battle become-harsh.IMPF.3SG strongly  
 ‘The battle became harsher’ (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 13, p. 133)

In compound tenses the reflexive hardly occurs, and is confined to (some) inherently telic verbs, e.g., *spezare* ‘crack’, *fenire* ‘finish’, generally with the auxiliary ‘have’ (27a-b) (see also Ledgeway 2009, pp. 608-610; Cennamo 2012, pp. 414-416).

- (27) a. *che la soa lanza se avesse spezata in trunco*  
 that the his spear RFL have.IMPF.SBJV.3SG break.PST.PTCP.F.SG at base  
 ‘That his spear had broken into pieces’ (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 16, p. 169)
- b. *parea... che lo mundo se avesse*  
 look.IMPF.3SG that the world RFL have.IMPF.SBJV.3SG  
*voluto fenire ad acqua un'altra volta*  
 want.PST.PTCP.M.SG turn.INF to water one-more time  
 ‘It looked as if the world wanted to turn to water again’  
 (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 18, p. 176)

Most typically, however, in compound tenses the non-reflexive form is attested, as in (28), at times with ambiguity of interpretation between an active (anticausative), passive and resultative-stative meaning, according to the verb and the context, that is only rarely resolved by the presence of the reflexive morpheme *se*, as in (28c), where the presence of the reflexive gives the pattern a clear perfective-resultative reading.

- (28) a. *quando pareva a llo che llo fuoco*  
 when seem.IMPF.3SG to them that the fire  
*fosse allumato*  
 be.IMPF.SBJV.3SG ignite.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘When the fire seemed to have ignited / have been ignited / be ignited’  
 (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 30, p. 252)
- b. *la vattaglya era multo aspriata*  
 the battle be.IMPF.3SG much become-harsh.PST.PTCP.F.SG  
*intre llo*  
 among them  
 ‘The battle among them had become harsher’  
 (*Destr. de Troya*, XIV, 11, p. 123)

- c. *per dubitatione de qualeche remore se fosse*  
 for doubt of whatever turmoil RFL be.IMPF.SBJV.3SG  
*sollevato*  
 raise.PST.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘In case a turmoil had arisen’ (Cronaca 123r. 19)

Thus, in old Neapolitan the reflexive and non-reflexive strategies do not alternate freely. The reflexive form is the main/only strategy (depending on the lexical verbs and the texts) with achievements and accomplishments. In compound tenses the reflexive occurs rarely, and in some texts it is mainly attested with the auxiliary ‘have’ (see also Cennamo 2012, pp. 414-415).

#### 4.3. Anticausatives in old Paduan

In old Paduan the reflexive occurs as the only anticausative strategy in simplex tenses with verbs which lexicalize a final state, that is, achievements, e.g., *romper*, *\*squas(s)ar* ‘break’, as in (29a-b), and different types of accomplishments, including some degree achievements e.g., *indurar* ‘harden’, *\*sgonfiar* ‘deflate’, *\*fredir* ‘cool’, as in (30a-b).

- (29) a. *quando el (sc. stercho del leguro) se rompe,*  
 when it ( manure of-the green-lizard) RFL break.PRS.3  
*rende odore*  
 give.PRS.3 smell  
*de accetoxitè simele a la accetoxitè del levamento*  
 of sourness similar to the sourness of-the yeast  
 ‘When it (i.e. green lizard’s manure) breaks, it releases a sour smell similar to that of yeast’ (Frater Jacobus. *Agregà de Serapiom, Bestiario*, 28, p. 438)
- b. *(lavanda a la bocha) çoa a le çençive*  
 washing to the mouth soothe.PRS.3 to the gums  
*apostemà e a li dente che se squassa.*  
 abscess.PST.PTCP.PL and to the teeth that RFL shake.PRS.3  
 ‘(Mouthwash) fixes abscessed gums and the teeth which move’  
 (Frater Jacobus. *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 5.4, p. 9)
- (30) a. *el balsamo puro, quando el diventa vechio, el se indura,*  
 the balm pure when it become.PRS.3 old it RFL harden.PRS.3  
*e corumpese la soa ve(r)tù... E sgonfiase,*  
 and corrupt.PRS.3-RFL the its virtue and deflate.PRS.3-RFL  
*quando... se mette in l’aqua.*  
 when RFL put.PRS.3 in the-water

‘When pure balm becomes old, it hardens, and its properties are altered...  
And it shrinks when placed in water’

(Frater Jacobus, *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 155, p. 160)

- b. *e po se buta del vino sovra [la olla],*  
and then RFL throw.PRS.3 some wine on the pot

*perfina che la se fredisse*

until that it RFL cool-down.IMP.F.SBJV.3SG

‘And some wine is poured over the pot, until it cools down’

(Frater Jacobus, *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 5.3, p. 9)

With other degree achievements/gradual completion verbs, e.g., *smenuir* ‘decrease’ (31a-b), and with aspectuals (31c-d) the two strategies alternate instead.

- (31) a. *e chi la (sc. raixe) mescea cum le altre mexine*  
and who it root mix.PRS.SBJV.3 with the other medicines

*che avre le opillatiom e che fortifica el figò,*  
which open.PRS.3 the obstruction and that fortify.PRS.3 the liver

*el se smenuisse el so nocum(en)to*

it RFL decrease.PRS.3 the its harm

‘And the harm decreases whenever the root is mixed with other medicines  
which open the (stomach) obstruction and strengthen the liver’

(Frater Jacobus, *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 184, p. 190)

- b. *uno altro autore dixe che quando el se mescea el*  
an other author say.PRS.3 that when it RFL mix IMPF.3 the  
*miele..., el smenuisse molto de la virtù laxativa de quello*  
honey, it decrease.PRS.3 much of the virtue laxative of that  
‘Another author says that when honey was mixed with honey, its laxative  
properties heavily decreased.’

(Frater Jacobus, *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 196, p. 205)

- c. *chi comença el tratà de le medexine calde e humide*  
here begin.PRS.3SG the treaty of the medicines warm and wet

‘Here begins the essay on the warm and wet remedies’

(Frater Jacobus, *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 319-322, p. 356)

- d. *chi se comença el numero de le medexine*  
here RFL begin.PRS.3SG the number of the medicines

‘Here begins the number of the remedies’

(Frater Jacobus, *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 336-356, p. 371)

By contrast, change verbs such as *bruxar/brusar* ‘burn’, denoting a change process and an optional telos, only occur in the active intransitive form (32a), whilst the pattern with the reflexive has a passive interpretation (32b).

- (32) a. *la virtù de la feça bruxà è che la ha virtù*  
 the virtue of the faeces burn.PST.PTCP is that it has virtue  
*che bruxa molto forte*  
 that burn.PRS.3 very strong  
 ‘The property of burnt faeces is that it burns vigorously’  
 (Frater Jacobus, *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 35.6, p. 48)
- b. *ancora questo legno se bruxa*  
 again this wood RFL burn.PRS.3  
 ‘This wood is burnt again’  
 (Frater Jacobus, *Agregà de Serapiom, Erbario*, 59, p. 70)

In compound tenses, on the other hand, only the active intransitive strategy is found (33). The ‘be+past participle’ pattern in the perfect/pluperfect is ambiguous among three possible interpretations: an active (anticausative) function, a passive and a result state reading, depending on the context and the verb (see also Brambilla Ageno 1964, pp. 186-199).

- (33) *tirève indriedo, puo’ che le nostre lançe*  
 pull.yourselves.IMP.2pl backwards after that the our spears  
*son rotte*  
 be.PRS.3PL break.PST.PTCP.F.PL  
 ‘You retract, now that our spears are broken’  
 (Anonimo, *Tristano veneto*, 283, p. 256)

A preliminary generalization emerging from the analysis of the distribution of the anticausative strategies in old Paduan is that their occurrence appears to be aspectually determined. Verbs lexically encoding a final point/result state only occur with *se* in the anticausative pattern. Verbs of variable telicity, e.g., degree achievements/gradual completion verbs, and aspectuals denoting the initiation of an activity (e.g., *començar* ‘begin’), alternate the two strategies. By contrast, verbs denoting change and an optional *telos* such as ‘burn’ and aspectuals denoting the termination of an activity (e.g., *cessar* ‘stop’), only occur in the active intransitive form in the anticausative structure.

#### 4.4 Anticausatives in old Sicilian

In old Sicilian the reflexive is the sole strategy with some achievements and accomplishments in simplex tenses, e.g., *rumpiri* ‘break’, *spaccari* ‘break/crack’, *smuoveri* ‘move’ as is shown in (34).

- (34) a. *ki la terra trema, lu munti Calvariu si ruppi*  
 that the earth shakes the Mount Calvary RFL break.PST.3SG  
*in plui di quaranta parti*  
 in more of forty parts  
 ‘That the earth shakes, Mount Calvary broke into more than forty parts’  
 (Anonimo, *Sposizione del Vangelo*, 25, 1, p. b107)
- b. *lu velu di lu temple si spaccau in dui parti, ..., et*  
 the veil of the temple RFL break.PST..3SG in two parts and  
*la terra si smossi et li petri si spaccaru,*  
 the earth RFL tilt.PST.3SG and the stones RFL break.PST.3PL  
*et li sepulturi si apersiru.*  
 and the graves RFL open.PST.3PL  
 ‘The veil of the temple split in two, ..., and the earth moved and rocks  
 broke, and graves opened’  
 (Anonimo, *Sposizione del Vangelo*, 24, prol., p. b104)

The reflexive and active intransitive alternate instead with degree achievements/gradual completion verbs and generally with verbs of variable telicity, e.g., *spandiri* ‘spread’, *inflari* ‘swell’ (35-36), as well as with aspectuals denoting the beginning of an activity, e.g., *acumenzari* ‘begin’ (37), but not with change verbs optionally encoding the endpoint of the process, e.g., *ardiri*, ‘burn’ (38).

- (35) a. *e (sc. li humuri) ... non si spandinu a li gambi*  
 and the fluids not RFL spread.PRS.3PL to the legs  
 ‘And (the fluids) do not spread to the legs’  
 (Anonimo, *Mascalcia di Giordano Ruffo*, cap. 2, p. 579)
- b. *la quali fissura si acumenza da curuna di lu pedi...*  
 the which slit RFL begin.PRS.3SG from crown of the foot  
*e spandi... pir la fissura sangui vivu*  
 and spread.PRS.3SG through the slit blood live  
 ‘The slit starts from the crown of foot... and at times liquid blood spreads  
 out from the slit’ (Anonimo, *Mascalcia di Giordano Ruffo*, 48, p. 603)
- (36) a. *tutta la gula si infla*  
 all the throat RFL swell.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Its throat swells up’ (Anonimo, *Mascalcia di Giordano Ruffo*, cap. 3, p. 579)
- b. *kista glandula infla et ingrossa*  
 this gland swell.PRS.3SG and enlarge.PRS.3SG  
 ‘This gland swells and enlarges’  
 (Anonimo, *Mascalcia di Giordano Ruffo*, *Di lu mali...*, p. 577)

- (37) a. *accidentalimenti infirmitati veninu a lu cavallu: una la*  
 accidentally diseases come.PRS.3PL to the horse one the  
*quali chiama<sup>4</sup> vermi, la quali si acumenza in lu pectru*  
 which call.PRS.3SG. worms the which RFL begin.PRS.3SG in the chest  
*di lu cavallu, ..., e poi li dixindi a li gambi...*  
 of the horse and then to-it descend.PRS.3SG to the legs  
 ‘Horses accidentally contract diseases: one of these is called worms, which  
 starts in the horse chest..., and then descends to its legs’  
 (Anonimo, *Mascalcia di Giordano Ruffo, Di lu mali...*, p. 576)
- b. *acumenza lu libru di la Maniscalchia*  
 begin.PRS.3SG the book of the Maniscalchia  
 ‘The book of Maniscalchia begins’  
 (Anonimo, *Mascalcia di Giordano Ruffo, Tavola gen.*, p. 568)
- (38) a. *dananti lu sepulcru di Cristu omni iornu si ardi* [passive]  
 in-front the sepulchre of Christ every day RFL burn.PRS.3SG  
*plui di dui antara di ogliu*  
 more of two ewers of oil  
 ‘Every day, in front of Christ’s sepulchre, more than two ewers of oil  
 are burnt’ (Anonimo, *Sposizione del Vangelo*, 27, 2, p. b127)
- b. *ka si l’arburu viridi ardi, ki farrà l’arburu siccu?*  
 that if the-tree green burn.PRS.3SG what do.FUT.3SG the-tree dry  
 ‘For if the living tree burns, what will the dry one do?’  
 (Anonimo, *Sposizione del Vangelo*, 19, 2, p. b56)

In compound tenses only the non-reflexive strategy is found, although the issue needs further investigation, on a wider corpus of texts. In the perfect/pluperfect the ‘be+past participle’ pattern is ambiguous among three possible interpretations: an active (anticausative) function, a passive and a result state reading, depending on the context and the verb, as shown in (39).

- (39) a. *a mali di denti quandu fussiru guastati*  
 to ache of teeth when be.IMPF.SBJV.3PL damage.PST.PTCP.M.PL  
 ‘For tooth ache if (the teeth) had become rotten / were rotten / had been  
 damaged/ruined?’ (Anonimo, *Thesaurus pauperum*, 92, p. 65)
- b. *e ja ti era spezzatu e*  
 and already to-you be.IMPF.3SG crack.PST.PTCP.M.SG and  
*ruttu l’elmu*  
 break.PST.PTCP.M.SG the-helmet

<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting the use of the active intransitive (*chiama*) rather than the reflexive (*si chiama*) in the anticausative/passive pattern *una la quali chiama vermi* ‘one which is called/whose name is worms’.

‘And your helmet had already broken / had been broken / was already broken’ (Accurso di Cremona, *Libru di Valeriu Maximu*, 3, 2, p. a111)

Therefore, in simplex tenses the reflexive appears to occur as the only anticausative strategy with achievements and accomplishments, alternating with the active intransitive with degree achievements/gradual completion verbs and aspectuals denoting the initiation and termination of an activity. Change verbs denoting a process optionally leading to a telos, e.g., ‘burn’, only occur in the active intransitive form.

### 5. *Distribution of the anticausative strategies and inherent lexical aspect*

As regards the semantic constraints on the occurrence of the two anticausative strategies in the vernaculars investigated, the non-reflexive pattern may occur with telic/punctual predicates, that is, with achievements (e.g., *frangere*, *rompere* ‘break’) in old Florentine and old Paduan and old Sicilian, and with different subtypes of accomplishments (e.g., Florentine *aprire* ‘open’, *cuocere* ‘cook’, *allagare* ‘flood’, *infracidare* ‘soak’, *ampliare* ‘widen’, *sciogliere* ‘melt’, *seccare* ‘dry’, *affondare* ‘soak’), including also gradual completion verbs (e.g., *aumentare* ‘increase’, *diminuire* ‘decrease’, *ampliare* ‘widen’, *scurare* ‘darken’, *aspriare* ‘harshen’). In old Florentine, old Paduan and old Sicilian, the alternation also involves aspectuals, e.g., ‘continue’, ‘begin’, ‘stop’, varying according to the texts and the vernacular.

In simplex tenses, in all the early varieties investigated, verbs lexically encoding a final state tend to occur in the reflexive form, although old Neapolitan and old Paduan seem to be more advanced in the fixing of the reflexive morpheme with telic verbs, whilst old Florentine appears to instantiate an earlier stage, with the reflexive obligatorily associated only with some telic, punctual verbs, i.e., achievements such as *spezzare* ‘crack’, but otherwise showing generally free alternation with the non-reflexive form with both achievements and accomplishments (see also Cennamo 2012).

In compound tenses, instead, the pattern without the reflexive is more frequent in old Florentine and old Neapolitan, and is the only strategy available in the old Paduan and old Sicilian texts investigated. The few examples of *SE* in old Neapolitan and old Florentine are only found with achievements/accomplishments, i.e., verbs which lexicalize a final state, e.g.,



*spe(c)zare* ‘crack’, *fenire* ‘finish’ in old Neapolitan; *rompere* ‘break’, *ampliare* ‘widen’, *aprire* ‘open’, *accendere* ‘light’, *mutare* ‘change’ in old Florentine. No examples of this pattern occur in old Paduan and old Sicilian.

Therefore, the data reveal a clearly perceivable tendency for the reflexive morpheme to occur with inherently telic, punctual verbs in both simplex and compound tenses, as well as the lack of SE with gradual completion verbs and generally with verbs which do not lexicalize a final/result state in compound tenses in the varieties where the reflexive in anticausative function is found, e.g., old Neapolitan and old Florentine.

Thus, the analysis points to 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, i.e., achievements, both in simplex and compound tenses. SE, however, has not become a marker of telicity yet, i.e., of a final/result or target state, as signalled by the free alternation between the reflexive/non-reflexive forms with verbs which allow both an activity/processual reading and a result interpretation, such as *cuocere* ‘cook’, *gelare* ‘freeze’, *ardere* ‘burn’ in old Florentine.

### 5.1. *Anticausative SE, its function and voice distinctions in old Italo-Romance*

The data investigated show the gaining ground of aspectual notions such as telicity in determining the preference/obligatory occurrence of the reflexive morpheme in the anticausative construction, supporting the hypothesis put forward in Cennamo (2012), that the main (and original) function of the reflexive in the anticausative alternation is to signal the suppression of a wilful causer (building on Bentley 2006, p. 131). Its aspectual meaning, whereby SE comes to mark telicity, is a later development in the early vernaculars analysed, with varying degrees of attestation, depending on the variety. In point of fact, the reflexive is not yet a telicity marker (no difference is attested, for instance, between *gelare/-si* ‘freeze’, *cuocere/-si* ‘cook’, *aspriare/-si* ‘harshen’ in old Florentine and other vernaculars showing the same type of alternation in the encoding of anticausatives).

The choice of strategy for the encoding of the anticausative alternation, however, can only be understood in light of a wider phenomenon, namely the reconstitution of voice and tense-aspectual 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 2002, 2003, 2016, 2020, *int. al.* and references therein).

Three morphosyntactic features testify to the gradual reshaping of the grammatical dimension of voice in early Italo-Romance, illustrated below with examples from old Florentine (Ambrosini 1960-1961; Brambilla Ageno 1964, pp. 177-247) but relevant for the vernaculars investigated (see Cennamo 2002, pp. 206-211; 2012, p. 419; Ledgeway 2009, p. 599 for old Neapolitan).

The first feature concerns the frequent lack of the reflexive morpheme in compound tenses with pronominal patterns, e.g., with middle, anticausative, pleonastic reflexives, whereby the structure *è rotto* 'is broken' can mean *si è rotto* ('RFL is broken') 'it broke' (anticausative), and *è mosso* 'is moved' can be interpreted as *si è mosso* ('RFL is moved') 'he moved' (middle reflexive), and *era pentuto* 'was repented' can equal *si era pentito* ('RFL was repented') 'he repented' (pleonastic reflexive).

The second feature involves the use of the past perfect (and more rarely also the present perfect) to replace the simple past in order to underline the terminal point of an eventuality (Ambrosini 1960-1961, p. 37) with all verbs (intransitive, reflexive, transitive), whereby a pattern such as *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.

The third feature pertains to the ambiguity of the sequence 'be+past participle' in passive function, between a dynamic-eventive and a resultative-stative reading with telic predicates, and between a resultative-stative and an adjectival interpretation with atelic verbs. Thus, a pattern such as old Florentine *è rotto* 'is broken' and its corresponding forms in the other vernaculars investigated, can equal *viene rotto* ('comes broken') 'it gets broken', and *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 (*è amata* 'she is loved') (see Brambilla Ageno 1964, pp. 186-199, Cennamo 2003).

Therefore, a structure such as *è rotto* 'is broken', out of context can be interpreted as referring both to a past event, i.e., *si ruppe/ruppe* 'it broke', and to the current relevance of a past event, i.e., *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').

In Table 1 below we provide an overview of the anticausative patterns found in the four vernaculars under investigation. The presence/absence of the pronominal form are symbolized by the values +/-, respectively. The values in brackets indicate a remarkably low frequency of the pattern's occurrence.

Tab. 1 - Anticausative strategies and their distribution in early Italo-Romance

Verb class	old Florentine		old Neapolitan		old Paduan		old Sicilian	
	simplex tenses	compound tenses	simplex tenses	compound tenses	simplex tenses	compound tenses	simplex tenses	compound tenses
<b>Achievements</b>	(-)/+	+	(-)/+	-/(+)	+	-	+	-
<b>Degree achievements</b>	-/+	-	+	-/(+)	-/+	-	-/+	-
<b>Accomplishments</b>	-/+	-/(+)	(-)/+	-/(+)	+	-	+	-
<b>Change process, optional telos</b> (e.g., 'burn')	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Legenda: ( ) = lower occurrence of a strategy with some verbs.

## 6. Conclusions

The comparative study of the anticausative alternation in four early Italo-Romance vernaculars from different areas, old Florentine, old Paduan, old Neapolitan and old Sicilian, reveals the gaining ground of aspectual notions such as the inherent telicity of the verb in determining the preference/obligatory occurrence of the reflexive morpheme in the anticausative alternation. Therefore SE, originally signalling the suppression of a wilful causer, gradually acquires an aspectual meaning and comes to be associated with telic, punctual verbs, e.g., achievements such as *spezzare* 'crack', that are not attested or only marginally attested, depending on the vernacular, in the non-reflexive form, both in simplex and compound tenses. The reflexive morpheme, however, is not attested yet as a marker of a final/result/target state, as in contemporary standard Italian.

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