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The Spread of ESSE as Universal Auxiliary in Central Italo-Romance

Not infrequently the overview required by even the better manuals precludes acknowledging discrepant dialectal details that might encumber a clear profile or obscure the grander design of developments within a full language family. Such has been the case for better than a century now with the evolution of the Romance compound past tenses, i.e., those verbal syntagms composed of two historically discrete elements: a lexical participle marked for completion (perfective aspect) and a grammaticalized copula or auxiliary optimally expressing specific tense, mood, and person. Since the days of Diez 1844_1: 253f = 1882_5: 971-6, two Latin sources have been identified for such syntagms: HABĒRE with transitive participles (correferent with the grammatical object) and ESSE with deponential or intransitive participles (referring to the grammatical subject); while the descendants of both types co-exist (howbeit with varying lexical extensions) in the central Romance languages, e.g., Sardinian, Italian, Provençal, and French, HABĒRE was generalized to the exclusion of ESSE in lateral areas, a process documentable for Ibero-Romance [1], but pre-literary in Rumanian [2].

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[1] Diez was better informed about the situation in Old Spanish than not a few modern Romanists (e.g., «l'uso di ESSERE è tuttavia limitato alla Romània centrale (Italia, Galloromania, Alpi), mentre nelle aree periferiche (Balcani, Ibero-romania) esso non è penetrato» — Tekavčić 1972: II, 295 [§ 838]) — recall that his first philologic endeavor dealt with *Altspanische Romanzen*, Frankfurt 1818.

[2] Cf. most recently Vincent 1982: 87-8 (where is mentioned a forthcoming article, «A Non-case of Centre versus Periphery in Romance»). The use of *a avea* in standard (i.e., Daco-) Rumanian is less monolithic than frequently implied, since for the subjunctive mood *a fi* is the characteristic auxiliary, e.g., *să fi(u) făcut* 'that I did', also (arch., dial.) *să fi(u) fost făcut* 'that I had done', as well as with the future perfect (= futur antérieur), e.g., *voi(u) fi făcut* (ORum. *faptu-voiu-fi*) 'I will have done' and the conditional perfect *aş fi făcut* 'I would have done'. In older and dialectal Rumanian, the pluperfect indicative (which in standard Rum. continues the forms of the Latin pluperfect subjuctive: *făcusem* 'I had done') also came to be formed with *a fi* (1) in the perfect *am fost făcut*,

Inexplicably, Meyer-Lübke 1890, 1894, 1899 shed no new light on the issue at hand. Although he showed interest in formal developments of the past participle (1890: 231, 1894, 1894: 370-89 [3]) taken in isolation, he nowhere delved into the distribution of the auxiliaries — a curious omission since he made use of dialect monographs which drew attention to auxiliary uses dramatically different from those of Tuscan, e.g., Savini 1881: 12, 94 et passim [4]. Thus the Diezian vision, notwithstanding refine-

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(2) in the imperfect *era(m) fắcut*, and (3) in the pluperfect *fusesem fắcut* — a form of hypercharacterization, the result of dialect conflation? — v. Pop 1948: 255. Berchem 1973: 105-14 provides a clear synthesis of these developments, examining their relation to the Slavic pressures generally held to have engendered them (implicitly as tertiary accomodations from an *a avea* or HABĒRE-based system) — cf. also Sandfeld-Jensen 1930: 149. (It might be added to Berchem's discussion that homonymy [a factor which frequently disturbs grammarians more than speakers] should not have been irksome since the passive construction with ESSE + past participle was little used in ORum. [cf. Poerck and Mourin 1962: 170], where it may even be a calque from Latin or western Romance). Note that in Macedo- or Arumanian these compound tenses are still formed with *a avea*, e.g., subj. *s'am^u kîntắtắ* (with the so-called «feminine participle» derived from Bulgarian), *s'aveắm^u kîntắtắ*, pluperfect *aveam^u kîntắtắ* (as also in Megleno-Rum. *veam cắntắt* = stand. *cîntasem* 'I had sung', fut. perf. *va s-am^u kîntắtắ* (= stand. *voi fi cîntat*), with variant *va aveam^u kîntắtắ* 'I will have sung' and ' would have sung', cf. Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1968: 110-12, 1975: 250-1, 282. Syntagms with ESSE + past part. of intransitive verbs in Arumanian and Megleno-Rumanian (e.g., *escu venit* or *sam venit* = stand. Rum. *am venit* 'I have come') are considered by Sandfeld-Jensen 1930: 132 & 149 to have arisen «manifestement sous l'influence du bulgare» (← Blg. *az săm došắl*). Yet, since this use of *hire* (= *fire* = *a fi* 'to be') appears restricted to intransitives, while the same Bulgarian pressure sholud have borne equally on transitives (e.g., *az săm kupil* 'I have bought', lit. 'I am bought'), one might infer that Meglenite conserved some vestigial use of ESSE with intransitives which was reinforced and thus preserved by the putative Bulgarian influence, whereas the same influence did *not* produce an outright innovation through the extension of *hire* to transitives. (Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1975: 282 expresses doubt that such participles with 'to be' stand as genuine periphrastic past syntagms, but rather may be simple predicate adjectives: «De fapt, în acest caz nu avem a face cu un perfect compus, ci cu adjective de origine participială, acordate ca orice adjectiv: *io sam vinit di un lucru* 'eu sînt venit pentru un lucru'». Although she concedes that «în unele graiuri, para-digma verbului *iri* [= *fire*] la prez. ind. este influențată de verbul corespunzător din bulgară»).

[3] Thus it is only with reference to the participles for ESSE that he mentions the anomalous **sum habūtus/*habeō stătus* developments which stirred a fair amount of speculation and controversy in the first decade of this century in the wake of Gauchat's brief comment on *sono avuto* (1901). Salvioni 1902-5: 208, with characteristic skepticism and erudition, injected various northern Italian instances of ESSE well beyond its familiar parameters into the discussion, but his leads were not followed up until Rohlfs 1949: II, 569ff (cf. infra).

[4] Indeed, an omission all the more curious in view of the fact that the initial version of the 1890 *Italianische Grammatik* was prepared with D'Ovidio,

ments in transmission, has endured unchanged in its essence until rather recently. Even comparativists of the stature of Lausberg [5] and Väänänen [6], both writing in 1962, passed in silence over auxiliary developments at the heart of the Romance domain which might well have given pause for reflection. I speak of that wide extension of ESSE into grammatical slots elsewhere reserved for HABĒRE which characterizes the dialects of central Italy — an extension that was being duly documented for Lazio [7] during the first quarter of this century in a series of monographs sponsored by the Società filologica romana (under the guidance of Monaci). The sedimentation of data may have been gradual, but by 1925 anyone with access to a fair university library could have pinpointed the use of ESSE as an auxiliary with transitive verbs, e.g., ⌐*sono visto*⌐ 'I have seen', for at least the towns shown on the map to the right. (And this without sifting through the copious collections of dialect texts such as Zuccagni-Orlandini 1864, Papanti 1875, Battisti 1921, etc.). Returning to Lazio dialects by way of example, while for Marino Torquato 1885: 21 offered fleeting testimony: «i nostri Marinesi scambiano ... il Verbo *Essere* per *Avere* dicendo *so domito, so veduto, so conversato*», and for Subiaco Lindsstrom 1907: 263 merely listed as «Perf. passato: *so mañatu, si mañatu, a mañatu*» 'I have eaten, you

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who, as a native speaker of Abruzzese (b. Campobasso 1849), must have been aware of the problem (cf. 1888: 542-3, unimproved in the Italian edition 1906: 151-4).

    [5] 1962₁: 219-24 (§§ 853-9 (= 1972₃: 233-237). Note that Lausberg's not inconspicuous work on southern Italian dialects happened to involve an area in which HABĒRE had been generalized as the universal auxiliary (1939: 161-6).

    [6] 1962₁: 139-40, but unaltered in the 1982₃: 227.

    [7] Nor should Campanelli's first-rate study of Reatine, published by Loescher in Turin (1896), have escaped notice, especially after its favorable review by the Viennese master himself a year later (Meyer-Lübke 1897: 415-7). Cf. the observation that «si usa talora l'ausiliare *essere* (ma nelle sole voci che cominciano per *s* [i.e., 1st and 2nd pers.]) invece dell'*avere* del linguaggio letterario: *sò ddittu, so ffattu*... Nell'ascolano si verifica proprio il caso opposto» — 1896: 130. Three years before, Meyer-Lübke (1894: 235-7) had no less favorably and searchingly reviewed the second edition of Finamore's (central Adriatic) Abruzzese dictionary, giving special attention to the grammatical introduction. There one reads: «Nel nostro uso, tra gli ausiliari Essere e Avere c'è sempre un conto aperto: *Hajje state* 'sono stato'; *so' vute* 'ho avuto';؛ *so' fatte, so' ditte; hajje jite, hajje menute; me le čî da dá'* 'me l'hai da dare, hai da darmelo'; *j'á bbastute* (~ *bbastute*) 'gli è bastato'» — 1983: 25. Finamore, who in this edition shifted the main focus from his native hamlet, Gessopalena, to the dialect of the regional center, Lanciano, provided complete paradigms for several important verbs, e.g., *avé* (26), *fa'* (51), with references to neighboring dialects as well.

[8] Parducci 1904: 113, glossing an 18th-c. Lucch. adj. *servito* with «valore attivo: 'che ha servito'» (a common meaning for intransitive participles, e.g., *uomo pentito*, *uomo saputo*, *uomo viaggiato*), noted «a titolo di curiosità, l'uso speciale del passivo nella frase *siam vinti*, che nel contado ha valore quasi unicamente di 'abbiamo vinto'». Unfortunately, the *AIS* maps give no similar instances, nor do any occur in Zuccagni-Orlandini 1864: 245-54, nor in Nieri's collections of folktales, nor are any recalled by linguists from the area (e.g., Marcel Danesi [personal communication]). There seems no reason to doubt Parducci, yet the usage must have been peripheral and moribund already in the 19th C. For a similar survivor of the deponential (*neutropassiva*) model, cf. It. *siamo intesi?* 'have we understood (each other)?' cit. ap. Ageno 1964: 200n3. Dante likewise conjugated *vincer(si)* with *essere*: *ma io sarei ben vinto* 'but I would have won' *Inf.* 24, 34ff.

[9] In addition to Lazio and the Abruzzi, Salvioni 1902-5: 208 localized the phenomenon at Rapagnano (Marche), Terdobbiate and Trecate (Novara), and Moncalieri (Torino). By 1928, when Pellis conducted the *ALI* investigations at Moncalieri, his informant (who had lived in Turin) gave no notable extensions of ESSE. At nearby Chieri, however, this year (1985) I was able to verify extended use of ESSE as

have eaten, he/she has eaten', Vignoli 1911: 168 provided a more circumstantial account of the auxiliaries at Castro dei Volsci:

«Nei tempi composti l'uso degli ausiliari è arbitrario e le sole norme, che siano costantemente seguite o soffrano poche eccezioni, sono: (1) Nelle terze persone singolare e plurale si ha quasi sempre l'ausiliare *avé*: *issə à dittə, lorə èu* (o *àu*) *dittə* (*lorə so dittə* non si ha mai assolutamente — a Frosinone, Veroli... invece, si ha appunto *issə è dittə, lorə sò dittə*). (2) Nei riflessivi veri o apparenti, ne' verbi reciproci e negli intransitivi pronominali si ha sempre l'ausiliare *essə* nelle seconde persone singolare e plurale, ma spessissimo, nelle terze, prevale *avé*: *tu tə sì lavatə, uwa və sétə lavatə* λə *mussə... uwa və sétə tiratə* ('picchiati'); *tu tə sì pəntútə, uwa və sétə pəntútə...*; ma *issə s'à lavátə, lorə s'èu* (o *s'àu*) *lavátə* ecc. Nella prima sinolare e plurale si usano ora *essə*, ora *avé*: *i' mə songə lavátə* o *m'ai* (*m'ongə*) *lavátə*» [10].

After much further research in the area, Vignoli 1920: 71 specfied for Amaseno (10 km. to the S.W.) that:

«L'uso degli ausiliari ne' tempi composti è soggetto alle seguenti norme: (1) Nella 1ª sing. si ha ugualmente *ài* ← *ha(b)io* e *so* ← SUM: *i' ài* (o *so*) *mañatə*. (2) È costante l'uso di *essə* nella 2ª sing. e nella 1ª e 2ª plur.: *tu sì mmañatə, nua sémə mañatə, ua sétə mannñatə*. (3) È costante l'uso di *avé* nella terza singolare e plurale: *iss'à mañatə, issi au mañatə*. Così ogni verbo con enclisi pronominale: (1) *i' m'ai lavatə* (*m'ai lavatə lə mani, mə so ppəntútə*); (2) *tu tə sì llavatə* (*tə sì llavatə lə mani, tə sì ppəntútə*); *nua cə sémə lavati* (*cə sémə lavatə lə mani, cə sémə pəntútə*); *ua və sétə lavatə* (*və sétə lavatə lə mani, və sétə pəntútə*); (3) *issə s'à lavatə* (*s'à lavatə lə mani, s'à pəntutə*), *issi s'au lavatə* (*s'au lavatə lə mani, s'au pəntútə*)» [11].

archaïc, rustic variants for the 1st and 2nd persons of urban Piedmontese forms with HABERE, e.g., (for 'I have seen her', 'we have seen her', etc.)

m'i su vistla	(nu) e' süma vistla
(~ m'i l'ai vistla)	(~ e' l'üma vistla)
ti č'è vistla	(vu) i sevi vistla
(~ ti tl'až vistla)	(~ i l'evi vistla)
kiel al a vistla	(lurə) al i vistla

Additional information had also been available for the Lomellina region (south of Novara); Rusconi 1878: xx-xxi gave a paradigm for Trecate and commented: «Il verbo *essere* sostituito all'*avere* nel *mi son dicciovro* 'io [l']ho detto' di Trecate si usa pure in Lomellina, dove si dice costantemente *Mi son fai, Mi son vist, Mi son mangià* per 'ho fatto', 'ho visto', ecc.».

[10] Further south, on the border with Campania (at that time within the prov. of Caserta), Maccarrone 1915: 28 reported a largely identical situation at Cassino and Cervaro: «Passato e trapassato prossimo [si coniugano] comunemente coll'ausiliare *essere*, ma anche coll'aus. *avere*, specie alla 3ª p. sing. e pl. ... *so' mañata, so' škittə*, ecc., ma á *mañatə*». Cf. also *so' jutə ~ aǵǵə jutə*, Ib.: 30, and *aǵǵe štatə*, while for 'to have' «l'ausiliario ... è *essere*» Ib.: 29.

[11] For Veroli he was soon to note (1925: 51): «come a Castro e ad Amaseno, l'uso degli ausiliari è arbitrario. Nella 3ª sing. si usano l'uno e l'altro: *isso a (è) ditto*; nella 3ª plurale prevale *avé*: *issi au ditto*; nelle altre prevale *éssə*: *tu si'*

Shortly thereafter for Paliano (roughly equidistant between Ve-
roli and Subiaco), Navone 1922: 97 observed that «l'uso degli
ausiliari è inverso di quello italiano: *ho stato*; *te so vvisto*; *s'a
mmorto*; *jo so mmañato*; *so kkapito.*»

In the meanwhile, a readership far larger (than that of *Studj
romanzi*) could have been alerted to regional variation in auxilia-
ries through Bertoni's divulgative «Manuale Hoepli» on *Italia
dialettale*, where a tight little paragraph (1916: 186) summarized:

«§ 123. Costrutti intransitivi. Coi verbi intransitivi, l'uso di HABĒRE e ESSE
è vario nei dialetti. In genere, quelli settentrionali usano indifferentemente
l'uno e l'altro, ma il veneto preferisce HABĒRE (p. es. *g-ò corso*) salvo per
'andare' e 'venire' (*son andao, arrivao*, ecc.). Nell'Italia centrale trovasi
piuttosto ESSE, la cui frequenza notasi già nell'Emilia. Nel Sud accade che
coi transitivi si inclini ad usare ESSE, e cogli intransitivi HABĒRE, p. es. abr.
hajje statu 'sono stato', *so avute* 'ho avuto'; nap. *te l'aggiu venuto a dicere*;
Gessopalena: *sci ricivut* 'hai ricevuto', calabr. *hannu venutu principi e ba-
runi*, ecc. HABĒRE riprende il sopravvento nel mezzogiorno quando si hanno
verbi impersonali, p. es. abr. *ha piovute, ha nengute*. Nelle combinazioni
coi verbi servili (*dovere, potere*), il toscano (e la lingua letteraria) usano
ESSE con gli intransitivi e HABĒRE coi transitivi (p. es. *sono dovuto correre*,
ma *ho dovuto fare*). Nell'Italia settentrionale trionfa in questi casi HABĒRE».

Although unreferenced, these observations were lifted from Filzi
1914: 58-61, whose compartive syntax, if not cut short by the
war and not quite so roundly damned in the prestigious *Archivio*
(by Prati 1914-22: 578-9), might have focussed more attention on
the question of the auxiliaries. The next, far more commanding
source of information should have been the *AIS*; unfortunately,
however, its most relevant (final) volumes appeared on the eve
of more belligerance and it was not until 1949 that Rohlfs' handy
digest (III, 568-72 [§§ 729-31] = 1969$_2$: 122-4) of these data made
them available, at least potentially, to general Romanists. This
last adverb represents a crucial qualification, since Rohlfs' *AIS*
auxiliary data hovered *in potentia* outside actual discussions of

(*nu sémo, vu séta*) *ditto*. E sempre si ha *éssa*, normalmente, nella 2ª sng. e nella
1ª e 2ª plur. dei riflessivi veri o apparenti, dei reciproci, e degli intransitivi pro-
nominali: *ta si' llavato*; *ca sémo* (*va séta*) *lavati*; *ta si' llavatu lu musso, ca
sémo* (*va séta*) *lavatu lu musso*; *ca sémo* (*va séta*) *lavatu lu musso, ca sémo* (*va
séta*) *tirata*; *ta si'* (*ca sémo, va séta*) *pantita* (o *pantuta*). Invece nella 3ª sng.
usasi *avé*: *isso s'a lavato, isso s'a lavatu lu musso*; *s'a tirato*; *s'a pentuto*. In-
fine nella 1ª sng. e nella 3ª plur. si usano ugualmente i due ausiliarii: *i ma so*
(o *m'ai*) *lavato*; *i ma so* (*m'ai*) *lavatu lu musso*; *i ma so* (*m'ai*) *tirato*; *i ma so*
(*m'ai*) *pantuto*. — *Issi sa so* (*s'au*) *lavato*; *issi sa so* (*s'au*) *lavatu lu musso*; *issı
sa so* (*s'au*) *tirato*; *issi sa so* (*s'au*) *pantuti*».

the compound past tenses. If Rohlfs' gifted pupil, Lausberg did not draw upon it (cf. supra n. 5), no surprise then that the rival, less data-rich linguistic history of Italian ignored it completely (Tekavčić 1972: II, 290-300), and all the less reason to reproach syntheses authored by specialists from other areas for their silence (e.g., Iordan and Manoliu 1974: 301-4, Anderson and Rochet 1979: 193-200).

Thus codified in rough binary terms (transitive versus intransitive, HABĒRE versus ESSE → triumph of HABĒRE), the opinio comunis is deficient at the level of description no less than at that of explanation. Happily, the deeply researched survey by Berchem 1973: 115-136, along with the more localized analysis of Giammarco 1973*a* [12], has done much to rectify the former deficiency, placing in general circulation through a broadly comparative study facts that seemed heretofore to elude attention. The more delicate latter problem, explaining the rise of the compound tense system in its varied forms, has only recently seen major advances, most notably in the articles of Harris 1982, Ramat 1982 and 1983, and Vincent 1982. It is on Vincent cit. that I shall lean most heavily in the initial phase of the discussion which folows. As to its final phase, I should like to clarify the distribution of ESSE's auxiliary functions, both geographically within Italy and structurally within the main dialect types where it has assumed various rôles played by HABĒRE in Tuscan.

By way of preface, it is worth recalling that, while clear surface representations of semantic categories may become blurred or obscured and outrightly lost, the categories can continue to exist as psychological possibilities, eventually resurfacing, as they call forth alternate, new representations for their expression. Such appears to have been the case for certain Latin oppositions of aspect and, although to a lesser extent, as we shall see, of voice in Romance. Reassertion of an aspectual distinction, the present perfect in opposition to the simple preterite, has been treated most recently and synthetically by Harris 1982, with its gradual formal consolidation analyzed by Vincent 1982. A loosely analogous recasting and transmission of early Latin voice distinctions still awaits scrutiny. Whether various middle-voice constructions can be directly linked to the Romance compound pasts formed

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[12] Meriting publication, alas, in a more readily accessible journal. Cf. also Giammarco 1973*b*: 14-5 & 79-80.

with ESSE remains *sub judice*. That many ESSE-based past para-
digms line up semantically with Latin mediopassive precedents
seems beyond doubt. How ESSE developed and was extended (or
eliminated) as an auxiliary will form the main focus of this paper.

The rise of a neo-Latin periphrastic past formation has been
couched in the same terms for several generations. As the initial
formal precedent, a Classical sentence or two with HABEŌ and the
perfect participle [13] are cited, say Plautine HABEO CULTELLUM
COMPARATUM 'I have a readied knife' or Ciceronian IN EA PROVINCIA
PECUNIA MAGNUS COLLOCATAS HABENT 'they have heavy investments
placed in that province', with appropriate warning that HABĒRE
here still retains its full lexical meaning 'to hold, possess'. Then,
almost without warning, a leap is made to later Christian writers
in whom the new tense is fully in place, say Augustine of Hippo
(† 430) METUO ENIM, NE IBI VOS HABEAM FATIGATOS (*Sermones* 37,
17) 'I fear, then, I may have wearied you with these things' [14],
or Gregory of Tours († 594) EPISCOPUM INVITATUM HABES (*Vitae
patrum* 3, 1) 'you have invited the bishop' [15], where the same
string now clearly signifies present perfect, HABĒRE having yielded
up its semantic autonomy and serving the rôle of grammatical
copula (or *Hilfselement* - Coseriu 1976: 120) in the verbal syntagm.
The great semantic abyss, yawning between Cicero's and Augu-
stine's usage, remained largely uncharted; it is the signal merit

[13] Characteristically, HABEŌ + perfect participle is taken as the representative
or canonic type, while the competing ESSE-based model, as Vincent 1982: 72 rightly
observes, «has been treated as the poor relation».

[14] The potential for such reanalysis seems already present in Petronius' nearly
parallel construction EGO SI MENTIOR, GENIOS VESTROS IRATOS HABEAM (*Satyricon*
62 — ed. Ernout 1923: 61) 'if I lie, may I have angered [all] your deities' or,
more idiomatically, 'may I feel the wrath of your deities'; for the type IRATUM
HABEO, OFFENSUM HABEO, PROPITIUM HABEO, etc., cf. Thielmann 1885: 384. The theory
of a lull or a period of quiescence in the syntactico-semantic evolution of the
HABEO + PP construction (from the *praedicativa* types to periphrastic present
perfect) between the Archaïc and the late Latin periods, as postulated by Happ
1967: 103f, would seem rather an illusion created by the more closely-monitored,
literary nature of Classical texts, causing a relative paucity of attestations (noted
by Thielmann 1885: 540) than a linguistic reality inferrable from the linguistic
processes involved. Pinkster 1985: 30f seems rightly suspicious of any such sudden,
tardy efflorescence of the compound perfect (around the time of Gregory of
Tours; note also his critical review of Bulhart's documentation assembled for
the *TLL* s.v. HABERE).

[15] Ramat 1982: 146 and 1983: 1454n2 seems well advised in rejecting the still-
possessive interpretation forced on the phrase by Pulgram 1978: 6 «You now have
(with you) the bishop who has been invited».

of Vincent 1982 to have bridged this gap by reconstructing a series of plausible intervening stages (to which I shall return momentarily) in so substantial a semantico-syntactic change. A few of the better, more circumstantial accounts have not failed to present the advance of the new periphrastic present perfect in terms of a concomitant retreat of the Classical simple perfect [16], which may be viewed as a formal-functional repolarization within the perfect system.

This latter process merits a moment's clarification. Inferrably proto-Latin should have had three aspects: infectum, aorist, and perfectum — the optimum tripartition reconstructable for certain of its Indo-European congeners. However, in the on-going flux between tense and aspect, that latter, more subjective [17], non-temporal category had been simplified as a binary opposition of infectum to perfectum. The Latin perfectum subsumed both the perfect [18] and the vaguer

[16] Tekavčić 1972: II, 290f deserves credit in this regard: «Nel perfetto latino sono confluiti due paradigmi, che nel greco, ad esempio sono distinti per funzione e per forma: l'aoristo e il perfetto (in senso stretto). Da qui scaturisce la fondamentale duplicità di funzione del perfetto latino». Having defined the two functions and sketched the rise of HABEO + P.P. to express a present result acquired through past completion, T. concludes: «Proprio per il fatto di essersi sviluppata dall'espressione del risultato, la nuova perifrasi s'introduce al posto della seconda funzione del perfetto latino».

[17] Precisely due to its subjectivity, aspect remains a polysemous, shifting category, often requiring or receiving very language-specific definitions (from Slavists, from Semiticists, etc.), e.g., punctual, durative, habitual, iterative (as a *Verlaufsart*), or actualized versus non-actualized, *accompli : inaccompli*, etc. (as a yet more judgemental *Aktionsart*). Seiler 1952: 166 sought to identify its psychological basis: «La catégorie des aspects . . . met en évidence la caractère que possède une action aux yeux du subjet. Elle sert à la *Veranschaulichung* de l'action». Cf. also the substantial (but not unfriendly) review of Seiler by Kahane in *Lg*. 30 (1954), 115-123; also the (unjustly neglected) survey of Garey 1957 (focussed on French), not to mention Knobloch 1965: 172-180, and, more recently, Comrie 1976.

[18] That the perfectum narrated events or completed actions with a result projecting up into the present is evident from its use with adverbs of contemporaneity, e.g., NUNC CONFUGI AD TE 'now I have taken refuge with you', QUID MIHI TANDEM HODIE . . . QUOD DICI POSSIT RELIQUISTI? (Cic. *DeOrat*. 2, 365) 'What did you leave me to say today?' (lit. 'what to me finally today . . . that might be said have you left?'). Collateral proof comes from the use as a present equivalent of the perfectum of a few verbs for which the completed action was strongly identified with the present result, e.g., CONSĒDĪ 'I have sat down, taken a seat' → 'I am [now] sitting', CONSTITĪ 'I have stood firm' → 'I stand firm', CONSUĒVĪ 'I have become accustomed to' → 'I am accustomed to', MEMINĪ 'I remember', NŌVĪ 'I know', ŌDĪ 'I have' — cf. Ernout-Thomas 1953₂: 223, Tekavčić 1972: II, 508. For a rough parallel, compare the evolution of the «perfecto-present» verbs of O-and MEng. *wāt* 'know' (cf. Goth. *wait* 'I know', Grk. οἶδα, Skt. *véda* ← I.E. **woida*

aorist [19] or preterite functions [20] — an historical fact not without relevance in the present context since it serves to point up a potential dichotomy within the past system between actions or events conceived as wholly over and done, with no further specification, e.g., Caesar's terse alliteration VENI, VIDI, VICI, and events with continuing reverberations into the present. Harris 1982: 44ff specifies such binary psychological cleavage «in terms of present relevance»:

«[on the one hand], the preterite category... subsumes events, or series of events, which took place in a period of time which is, explicitly or implicitly, wholly past (possibly the very recent past), which are not marked as being presently relevant», [while, on the other], «the present perfect category serves primarily to mark the present relevance of [a past] event...» [21]. Harris astutely adds: «An appropriate context for the verbal paradigm having present perfect value in a particular language may be one in which the period of time in which the event occurred is still in progress».

Needless to say, this became specifically the case for various of the periphrases which have arisen to express the present perfect in numerous I. E. languages. However, there is no necessity about the process of refashioning a present perfect paradigm (where one did not exist or had been lost) to give explicit and separate expression for that aspect in opposition to the preterite.

The binary opposition infectum: perfectum, in which the latter

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'I have seen' — Buck 1948₂: 239), *can, dar* 'dare', *maeg, mōt* 'must', etc. — Jespersen 1931: 47.

[19] Recall that the aorist was generally marked vis-à-vis the infectum (via an apparent increment to the present stem); thus it shared certain formal and semantic features with the perfectum (e.g., both were marked for punctuality and completion in opposition to the infectum [-punctual], cf. Kahane 1957: 268ff). As a result, notwithstanding that its remotest origins may have been as a subset of the infectum, in a binary reanalysis in proto-Latin it clove with the perfectum.

[20] The sygmatic perfects, formally echoing the cognate Greek aorist, bear testimony to this merger — cf. Buck 1948₂: 238ff. Later Latin grammarians, measuring from Greek, recognized the potential semantic duality of their perfectum, e.g., Diomedes (4th C.) commented «tempus perfectum apud nos pro ἀορίστῳ καὶ παρακειμένῳ valet» — cit. ap. Ernout-Thomas 1953₂: 216.

[21] Note, among the plethora of terms grown up around this psychological category, such variants as *présent de memoire* (= *passé défini*) which «associe subjectivement un fait de mémoire au présent» as versus the *passé défini* which coldly narrates «un passé achevé» — De Boer and Buffin cit. ap. Garey 1957: 94f. (Pushing perhaps a step too far along the axis of subjectivity, Barthes has called the *passé simple* «le temps des choses jugées» while the present and the *passé composé* are «les temps des suppositions»). For the parallel English constructions, Jespersen spoke of the compound perfect (*I have eaten*) as a «retrospective present» in opposition to the simple preterite (*I ate*).

served as an umbrella for both the present perfect and the aoristic preterite aspects, might have endured undisturbed, but for the presence in Latin of a series of verbal adjectives in -*to*- denoting the state acquired as a result of completing their stem-verb's activity. Before reviewing the nature of these adjectives and the verbal peripharses to which they gave rise, it is critical to rectify a persistent error as regards the semantic motivations and relative chronology of their use alongside the Classical perfectum. Participial periphrases were pressed into service as a mode of hyper-characterizing the present perfect and progressively were elected by speakers to render more explicitly and forcefully that semantic aspect or category (which through initial phases of variation and near synonymy must have still been present in the perfectum, howbeit in a less emphatic form), thereby drawing it of from the Classical bi-functional perfectum, which came eventually to be left with only its aoristic preterite meaning as a residue. Regrettably, even a specialist as expert as Väänänen presents a reverse view, whereby:

«poiché il valore del preterito è prevalso sul valore primitivo del perfetto, si è fatto ricorso, per indicare l'aspetto di stato acquisito, alla perifrasi formata da HABEO + participio passato all'accusativo» — 1982$_3$: 227 (= 1962$_1$: 139 [§ 300]; the same sequence is implicit in Ernout 1953$_3$: 217) [22].

Besides the truism that innovating (plebeian) speakers tend to move towards more vivid, highly characterized constructions (rather than towards paler, more ambiguous ones), the relative chronology by which the Classical bi-functional perfectum was increasingly emptied or deprived of its present perfect meaning by a more potent competitor is required to explain (1) the persistence of both functions as original in the perfectum heirs of conservative Romance dialects (southern Italian, Galician, [cf. Rojo 1979: 121-3] etc.), and (2) the on-going extension of the psychologically more immediate present perfect among innovating Romance dialects (French, northern Italian, etc.), which thereby re-enact with the *passé composé* an aspectual merger analogous to that of proto-Latin [23].

[22] Yet Thielmann 1885: 510 had already adumbrated the correct sequence of events.

[23] Note that the reassertion of this binary aspectual distinction, whereby the present perfect meaning precipitated out of the Classical *perfectum praesens* onto the new periphrastic formal medium, can costitute an autonomous semantic account for the innovation, i.e., an account which does not require (but need

Returning to the raw material of the spoken Latin periphrastic past, the verbal adjectives in *-to-*, although customarily called «perfect passive participles», e.g., HOMO AMATUS 'beloved man', HOMO VULNERATUS 'wounded man', were (1) neither formed on the perfectum stem [24] (but acquired their pastness only with regard to completeness in the presence of the main verb [25], as a result of the semantics of the specific root verb on which they were derived [26]), nor (2) were they exclusively passive. While it is

not exclude) substratal pressures (cf. Lindsay 1894: 511, Brugmann 1895, also 1916₂: 505 [*Grndr.* II: 3, § 421], Leumann, Hoffmann & Szantyr 1963₅: 342) nor adstratal influence from Greek (cf. Coseriu 1972: 274ff, Dietrich 1973, also Aerts 1962). For the general diffusion of such periphrastic or compound past constructions, cf. Brugmann *Grndr.* §§ 897ff, Meillet 1923: 9f, also briefly in 1935: 7f, Vendryes 1937: 85ff, and most recently Shimomiya 1974: 218ff.

[24] Although originally formed on the zero-grade of the verbal root, «many verbs show the influence of the present stem in the participle: JŪNCTUS to JUNGŌ, cf. Skt. *yuk-tas*, PĀSTUS for **pasc-tos* to PĀSCŌ, root **pa-*; OLt. SURTUS for SURRĒCTUS after SURGŌ . . .» — Kent 1946: 133.

[25] For that matter, many shed their original sense of acquired state coming to suggest simultaneity or an abiding quality, e.g., (HOMO) FALSUS 'deceitful' ← 'who has deceived' ('who deceives'), REGIO HABITATA 'inhabited region' ← 'which was inhabited' ('which is inabited'), LICITUS 'permissible' ← 'which was permitted' ('which is permitted', TACITUS 'silent' ← 'which became silent'. Kuryłowicz 1964: 56 has characterized this secondary semantic function as «imperfective», in opposition to the primary «perfective» value of the *-to-* participles, i.e., «anteriority as primary, simultaneity (= non-anteriority) as secondary». The tendency towards such secondary re-interpretation of the acquired (originally perfective) state as simultaneous (hence imperfective, on-going, abiding) occasioned an ambiguity between the passive perfect and predicate adjectival statements with ESSE in later Latin, whereby speakers hypercharacterized the passive perfects in opposition to a present stative expression, e.g.,

DOMUS CLAUSA EST 'the house is locked' (stative) ~ 'the house was locked' (perf. pass.)	DOMUS CLAUSA EST 'the house is locked' (stative) **domus clausa fuit* 'the house was locked' (perf. pass.)
HIC MURUS BENE CONSTRUCTUS EST 'this wall is well built' (stative) ~ 'this wall was bulit well' (perf. pass.)	HIC MURUS BENE CONSTRUCTUS EST (stative) **hic murus bene constructus fuit* 'this wall was built well' (perf. pass.)

— cf. Brugmann 1895: 104ff, Ernout 1953₃: 228, Väänänen 1982₃: 225f, Ageno 1964: 187f. The shift forward in time one degree eliminated all trace of the Classical synthetic present passive in the Romance languages — Diez 1882₅: 910nl, Tekavčić 1972: II, 296.

[26] In the 2nd ed. of his *Grammatik*, Diez 1872₂: III, 203 (= 1882₅: 911) introduced a distinction between verbs denoting a punctual, momentary action = «Classe Perfectiva», which derived genuinely perfect participles, e.g., HOSTIS VICTUS

true that with transitive verbs (and recall that most Latin verbs could be used transitively), their underlying or implicit stative meanings were generally passive, e.g., HOMO AMATUS ← HOMO QUI EST AMATUS, HOMO VULNERATUS ← HOMO QUI EST VULNERATUS, with intransitives they more frequently had an active sense [27], e.g., HOMO CENATUS 'a man who has supped' ← HOMO QUI CENAVIT, HOMO DESPERATUS 'a desperate man' ← HOMO QUI DESPERAVIT 'an man who has lost hope', HOMO IURATUS ← HOMO QUI IURAVIT 'a man who has sworn', HOMO PRANSUS ← HOMO QUI PRANDIDIT 'a man who has dined' [28] — cf. 1953₃: 219f, also Meyer-Lübke 1899: 14f (§ 11) [29].

Let me first examine, in the wake of Vincent 1982, the better-studied adaptation of the *-to-* adjectives to use in a verbal syntagm

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or It. *battuto, destato, finito, rotto*, versus durative verbs (frequently of emotion) = «Classe Imperfectiva», whose participles denoted an abiding state, e.g., *egli è amato da tutti.* For English, where a parallel division obtains, Jespersen 1931: 92f coined the terms «conclusive», e.g., *a defeated, captured enemy, a conquered city,* versus «non-conclusive», e.g., *an honored colleague, a well-known teacher,* to designate this semantic characteristic of verbs as measured in its effect on their participles. Suffice it to note that verbs admitting both an on-going, durative and a punctual, perfective interpretation may produce participles with both meanings, e.g., OBLIVISCOR → OBLITUS 'forgetful' and 'forgotten' (E.-M. 455a), PLACEO → PLACITUS 'pleasing' and 'pleased', cf. also EXPERIOR → EXPERTUS 'experienced, expert' (durative ← active 'who has experienced') and 'tried' (perfective ← passive 'who has been tried').

[27] The same semantic duality carries forth into the Romance languages, e.g., OFr. *traïtor menti* 'lying traitor' (← 'who has lied'), or ModFr. *un homme entendu* 'a shrewd man', *un homme juré* 'a sworn, faithful man', *un homme osé* 'a daring man', *un homme repenti* 'a repented man' — cf. Rigal 1884, Tobler 1886 [= 1921₃: 151-165], Meyer-Lübke 1899: 16f, Schultz-Gora 1924₄ [= 1906₁]: 131, Herzog 1910: 131-135 (for a multitude of Latin precedents with Romance cognates), and, most recently, Berchem 1973: 119f. In addition to a scattering of intransitives, the prime verb class producing such active participles is the reflexive (a descendant subset of the middle voice), i.e., those verbs in which the only NP referent must occur in the subject slot. In English likewise intransitive verbs tend to produce active participial adjectives, e.g., *a fallen angel* (← who has fallen), *escaped prisoners* (← who have escaped), *a retired sea-captain, a well-breakfasted juryman* (Dickens), as opposed to those derived from transitive, e.g., *armed men* (← who have been armed), *a spoilt child* (← who has been spoiled), *a reserved seat* — cf. Jespersen 1931-40: IV, 92f, V, 420.

[28] Likewise in absolute use, ANTE SOLEM OCCASUM, POST SOLEM OCCASUM (Plautus), SOLE OCCASIO 'before, after, with the setting sun', DIE IAM VESPERATO, etc. Cf. Barbelenet 1913: 74f for numerous Classical examples.

[29] The exceptions cut both ways, i.e., transitives (through absolute use) might spin off active participles, e.g., HOMO POTUS 'a man who has drunk' (met. 'a drunken man') ← HOMO QUI POTAVIT, VIRGO DOTE CASSA 'a maiden lacking in dowry' (Plautus) ← VIRGO QUAE DOTE CARET; while intransitives may derive passive participles, e.g., MARE NAVIGATUM 'a charted, known sea', FESTINATAE NUPTIAE 'a hasty marriage' (← 'a marriage which was hastened') — cf. Bassols de Climent 1966: 374.

of pastness, that with HABERE. No attempt at summation can do justice to an essay, already succinctly worded, which synthesizes a complex set of relations, yet it is essential to present here some digest of Vincent's explanation of the phases by which HABERE and the participial adjectives were amalgamated into a new compound past tense.

The traditional grammatical categories of subject and object, with their corollary verbal division into transitive, optimally contructing with both subjects and objects, as versus intransitive, admitting a subject only, have proven inadequate to predicting such phenomena as the selection of auxiliaries in those Romance languages which still use two [30]. The intuitive binary association of HABERE with transitive verbs as against ESSE with intransitives is, of course, vitiated in its latter component by the substantial number of intransitives which, in such visible languages as standard French and standard Italian, call for HABERE. This distribution suggests that further distinctions are required, at the very least, among the range of intransitive verbs. Thus Vincent, drawing upon the complementary distinctions provided by case grammar, as adumbrated by Fillmore 1968, 1971 and refined over the past fifteen years (Id. 1977, Stockwell, Schachter and Partee 1973, Anderson 1971, 1977, Gruber 1976 — v. Harris & Vincent 1982 for ref.s), sets out to specify «a theory [which] will ... account for the relations between ESSE and HABERE and thus provide the basis for an understanding of which verbs evolve with which of the alternative periphrastic constructions» — 1982: 73. He identifies as germane to his analysis four such case relations, the LOC(ative), the AG(ent), the EXP(eriencer, i.e., the subject of *verba sentiendi/dicendi* wherein the fundamental theme of the action involves the subject's participation rather than any change operated upon the object), and — most significant and most elusive — the NEUT(ral).

«Neutral is the case of the argument which is, so to speak, semantically inert, and thus takes its interpretation from the meaning of the verb rather

[30] Witness the reams written attempting to infer pedagogic principles or to lay down guidelines for contemporary French and Italian usage (e.g., Burzio 1981), not to mention some of the more deeply-researched, philologic efforts to account for issues such as the retreat of ESSE in Ibero-Romance (Benzing 1931) and, it should be added, its analogous (although less sweeping) retrenchment in Italian (Ageno 1964) and French (Hofmann 1890, Horluc 1907, Sneyders de Vogel 1927₂: 131f, 253f).

than from any independently definable case functions such as Agentivity, Location, etc.» — 1982: 76.

While most often in the object position grammatically, the NEUT(ral) may stand as subject in passive transformations and with the verb 'to be' (Id. 81). It follows that:

«adjectives, being generally terms which express properties or attributes of objects, [will most] naturally co-occur with the Neutral Case, whether or not the relationship is mediated by ESSE» (Ib.).

By way of illustration, Vincent examines the case-assigning semantics of several key Latin verbs, most notably HABERE which, with its subject-possessor, posits the LOC(ation) of a NEUT(ral) object, e.g.,

> (Plt.) TANTUM DIVITIAS HABET
> so many   riches   he-has   'He has great riches'
>   [adj]   NEUT   LOC

> (Cic.) INCLUSUM IN CURIA SENATUM HABUERUNT
> confined   in the senate   Senate   they-had
>   [adj]   house   NEUT   LOC
>
> 'They held the Senate locked up in the Senate Chamber'

Examples of the latter sort lead to analysis of such pivotal constructions as the by-now-familiar:

> (Cic.) IN EA PROVINCIA PECUNIAS MAGNAS COLLOCATAS HABENT
> in that province capital great   placed   they-have
>   NEUT   [adj]   LOC
>
> 'They have heavy investments placed in that province';

spurring further scrutiny of the participial adjective, COLLOCATAS, which properly modifies the NEUT(ral) object, PECUNIAS. Given the semantic nature of the root verb, COLLOCARE, optimally a three-place or three-argument verb (having AG[ent] subject, NEUT[ral] object, and LOC[ation] expressed adverbially, i.e., the agent places something in a determined locus), there might have been an agent expressed, e.g., PECUNIAS COLLOCATAS PATRI 'monies invested by (their) father'. If the present possessors had been the former AG(ents) of COLLOCARE, i.e., the original investors (e.g., PECUNIAS COLLOCATAS EISDEM/SIBI), there would have been a congruence of the (LOC) subject of HABERE with the potential AG(ent) subject underlying the participle. For sentences in which

such congruence or identity obtained (a by no means insignificant group in pragmatic or existential terms),

«the circumstances will dictate the identification of the LOC of HABERE with the AG of the participial verb, and it is then but a short step for this habitual identification to become a grammatically required one. In other words, HABERE no longer selects its own LOC but fills that position in its structure by promotion of the unexpressed AG of the [underlying participial] verb to which it is attached by the NEUT 'hinge'» (Id. 84).

To paraphrase, when the original AG(ent) who operated to produce the participial result on the NEUT(ral) object is one with that object's present LOC(ation) or possessor (= the original subject of HABERE), then a structure is in place within which the AG(ent) and LOC(ation) may be reanalyzed and condensed as the unified subject of a new composite verb phrase, i.e, subject fusion prompts verb fusion between the two implicit underlying or constituent sentences [31].
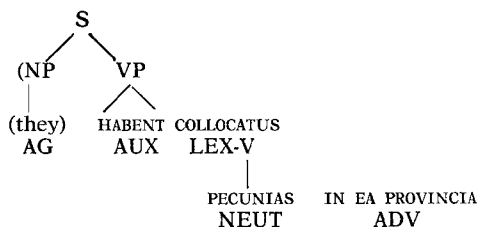
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[31] I.e., one might reconstruct a pair of parallel «then/now» constituent sentences such as:

(1) *IN EA PROVINCIA PECUNIAS MAGNAS COLLOCAVERUNT (TUNC)
                              (vel = COLLOCATAS SUNT EISDEM)

(2)) *IN EA PROVINCIA PECUNIAS MAGNAS HABENT (NUNC)

(the NUNC clause being the logical present possessed result of the earlier TUNC completed activity), which, when subjoined, would have their redundant elements deleted as a sort of elipsis (recall the elipses implied by appositive use of participles in general):

(3) *IN EA PROVINCIA PECUNIAS MAGNAS (QUAS) COLLOCATAS (SUNT EISDEM) HABENT

(4) → IN EA PROVINCIA PECUNIAS MAGNAS COLLOCATAS HABENT.

Perhaps the fact that the AG(ent) most frequently occurred in the subject position favored its initial promotion and subsequent predominance over against the original LOC(ation) subject of HABERE. In the reanalyzed structure with the AG(ent) subject and correlated participial verb as dominant, the NEUT(ral) object depends solely on the participial verb:

```
                        S
                      /   \
                 (NP      VP
                  |      /  \
               (they)  HABENT COLLOCATUS
                  AG     AUX   LEX-V
                                 |
                             PECUNIAS   IN EA PROVINCIA
                               NEUT          ADV
```

Note that in point of aspect, semantically reduced HABENT, which had originally fostered a durative sense in COLLOCATAS, has been thrust into the background and

This reconstruction requires that the model for the past verbal syntagm with HABERE must have first evolved with two-place or transitive verbs, which subsequently, through optional one-place or absolute use, may have stood as the models for strictly one-place, intransitive verbs (a later stage — Vincent 1982: 85). As a proposed syntactico-semantic evolution it explains why

«verbs where the two rôles in question [i.e., LOC and AG] cannot be other than identical will be in the vanguard of the change [i.e., the fusion of HABERE and the past participle as a unified syntagm]. Such is indeed the case for verbs with EXPERIENCER-subjects, e.g., COGNOSCO 'I know', COMPERIO 'I learn, discover', PERSPICIO 'I inspect', PERSUADEO 'I persaude', etc.» (Id. 84-5)

In effect, numerous authors have observed that *verba sentiendi*, denoting a «sensory-intellective» process (Benveniste 1968: 87), were in the forefront of the reanalyzed composite past syntagm. So Thielmann 1885: 509 observed that:

«sobald das mit HABEO verbundene Verb von seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung sich entfernt, sobald es in übertragenem Sinne zur Zezeichnung einer g e i s t i g e n Thätigkeit verwandt wird, die Umschreibung dem einfachen Perfekt sehr nahe kommt. Der Grund dieser Erscheinung ist klar. In einer Verbindung wie COGNITUM HABEO muss notwendig das Subjekt zu HABEO identisch sein mit dem Subjekte, von dem die Thätigkeit des COGNOSCERE ausgegangen ist, worüber bekanntlich in dem Ausdruck NOMINA SCRIPTA HABEO Zweifel herrschen kann. Wenn aber gerade Verbindungen, die COGNITUM, COMPERTUM HABEO u. ä., auch verhältnismässig am häufigsten vorkommen, so hat dies seinen Grund wohl darin, dass es bei diesen Verben besonders wünschenswert sein mochte, den aus der Thätigkeit des COGNOSCERE, COMPERIRE etc. hervogehenden g e i s t i g e n Besitz, das daraus resultierende Wissen genau zu bezeichnen. Erscheint also auch hier wieder HABERE zunächst in selbständiger Bedeutung, so konnte sich dieselbe doch sehr leicht in der Weise abschwächen, dass in COGNITUM HABEO letzeres Verb nur noch das in die Gegenwart hereinfallende Resultat der (früher geschehenen) Handlung des COGNOSCERE bezeichnete, dass also COGNITUM HABEO im faktischem Gebrauche dem logischen Perfekt COGNOVI gleichkam».

Thielmann (1885: 379f & 510ff) also noted that such sentient HABEO expressions stood as idiomatic equivalents for passive constructions with a dative of agent, which in turn, through a growing durative sense in the participial adjective, could become

the perfective (punctual) meaning of the auxiliate has been reaffirmed: HABENT COLLOCATAS has shifted from durative aspect (infectum) back to punctual aspect (perfectum).

loosely equivalent to a stative phrase with predicate adjective; whence a point of semantic contact was established with active HABEO + predicate adjective idioms ('to hold dear', etc.)

(1) ALIQUID COGNOVI 'I have known something'

(2) → ALIQUID COGNITUM MIHI EST 'something was known by me'
                                 'something is known to me'

parallel in the latter meaning to:

(3) ALIQUID CARUM MIHI EST 'something is dear to me'

ιequal to:

(4) ALIQUID CARUM HABEO 'I hold something dear'

whence finally:

(5) ALIQUID COGNITUM HABEO 'I hold something (as) known' [32].

Through such «Wechselwirkung und Wechselbezeichung», a rough semantic equivalence might result in this specific class between the paraphrase and the simple perfectum (HABEO COGNITUM = COGNOVI), in which the former expressions, more clearly rooted in the present time frame by HABEO, stood to mark more emphatically the past result acquired (and held) in the present, e.g., Quintil. NEQUE SUSPECTUM HABEO, NEQUE TIMEO 'Neither have I suspected (anything), nor do I fear (anything)'. In short, it is with such *verba sentiendi* that unequivocal Classical examples of HABERE + past participle with a present perfect interpretation are most forthcoming: e.g., Cic. (not in *Fam.* only, but also in oratorical register, *Div. in Q. Caecil.* 4, 11) SICULI AD MEAM FIDEM QUAM HABENT SPECTATAM JAM ET DIU COGNITUM CONFUGIUNT 'The Siculi have recourse to (take refuge in) my faith (reliability) which they have already experienced (observed) and have known for a long while'.

From this most plausible first phalanx, the semantic reanalysis of HABERE + past participle reconstructably spead to other

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[32] E.g., EXOSUM HABEO ALIQUEM = ALIQUIS EST MIHI EXOSUS, SUSPECTUM HABEO ALIQUEM = ALIQUIS EST MIHI SUSPECTUS — Thielmann 1885: 383. Cf. even Plautus *Cas.* 189 VIR ME HABET DESPICATAM 'the man holds me in disdain', perhaps equal to 'the man disdains me'; as an active transformation of *DISPICATAM VIRI SUM 'I have been disdained by the man' or 'I am disdained by the man', it comes close to a past meaning: 'the man has disdained me'.

two-place verb phrases of analogous structure. Occurrences with non-human, then inanimate AG(ent) subjects (i.e., subjects which could not easily fill the LOC function as would have been required by a semantically intact HABERE of possession) represent an intermediate frontier of expansion and imply reanalysis was complete already by the 1st C., as in Valerius Maximus (fl. 26 AD) MULTORUM AURES ILLA LINGUA ... ATTONITAS HABUERAT 'that tongue had stunned the ears of many' (cit. ap. Thielmann 1885: 379). Once it had been extended to the absolute use of such transitive verbs, i.e., wherein no object was expressed (VINUM POTUM HABEO → POTUM HABEO), a potent mechanism was in place which could conceivably have covered all verbs, extending to strict intransitive (one-place) items no less than transitive (POTUM HABEO → *dormītu habeo*), as the *neutralia* were analogically equipped with past participles. As for reflexives, recall that genuine reflexives stand merely as a speical transitive subset «in which the direct object happens to be identical to the subject ... Therefore, HABERE should in strict logic be required, and indeed it is found [in Old French, Old Italian, etc.]» — Vincent 1982: 94f. Thus the powerful HABERE-based periphrase could theoretically have become the general or universal present perfect construction had it not encountered a well-entrenched competitor: (late) Latin periphrases with ESSE.

If, in tracing the development of the HABERE + p. p. periphrase, it was crucial to bear in mind real and potential Indo-European distinctions of aspect, for the evolution of kindred periphrases based upon ESSE + p. p., one needs be no less mindful of the realizations of I.E. categories of voice [33]. Alongside the active, a polysemous middle voice is generally reconstructed for ancestral P.I.E. which expressed some special direct interest or psychological concern of the subject in the action, e.g., as it might involve his person, his possessions, his sentiments [34]. It typically

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[33] «Voice» will here be limited to distinguish semantic classes, i.e., without the formal accretions it acquired in the Latin grammatical tradition. (Cf. Flobert 1975: 7f). Thus it is fundamentally equivalent to Greek *diathesis* = the «disposition» or attitude of the subject as regards the verbal action — cf. Benveniste 1966 [= 1950]: 169f.

[24] The middle, where it exists, is uniformly defined in relation to the primary active. Pānini, noting such Skr. pairs as *yajati* 'he makes a sacrifice (for someone else, acting as an officiant, priest)' versus *yajate* 'he makes a sacrifice (for himself, as an offrant)', distinguished the active (acting for another) from

also conveyed such collateral categories as reflexive and passive[35]. In Latin (also in Italic, Celtic, even Hittite — cf. Buck 1948: 237), its passive-forming content or use came strongly to the fore[36] in a growing binary opposition to the active — these

the middle (acting for oneself). Benveniste 1966 [= 1950]: 172ff has enriched this basic notion of personal subject interest in the verbal action by examining «verbes à double diathèse» (the overwhelming majority in I.E., there being but few *activa tantum* [= *neutralia*] and few *media tantum* [= strict *deponentia*]), in which the active subject remains external to the action, while the medial subject is affected by it as well as effecting it. Thus one can: «situer des positions du sujet vis-à-vis du procès selon qu'il y est extérieur ou intérieur, et ... le qualifier en tant qu'agent, selon qu'il effectue, dans l'actif, ou qu'il effectue en s'affectant, dans le moyen»; [and one might even] «substituer aux termes 'actif' et 'moyen' les notions de 'diathèse externe' et de 'diathèse interne'».

[35] Regarding the affinity of reflexive and passive, recall that both show heightened subject involvement (with subject directly affected). Regarding use of the synthetic middle voice to express the semantics of passive, recall that since (1) the passive is frequently construed by modern Western linguists as a secondary transformation of an active phrase promoting the erstwhile object to a rôle of greater focus (obj. → subj.), i.e., as a «stylistic» permutation of a primary (underlying) active construction (cf. Kuryłowicz 1964: 29), and since (2) the middle voice emphasized subject affective participation, its heightened subject focus could stand as a synthetic expedient in an analogous semantic intensifying or marking process. The same subject focus or intensification of the middle voice served to convey the heightened affectivity of the subject acting for its own benefit in reflexive use, e.g., LAVOR 'I wash myself', LAVAMUR 'we wash ourselves' mentioned by Varro *LL* 9, 107 (ed. Kent 524f) in opposition to the straight actives LAVO, LAVAMUS (with direct object often expressed). Cf. further such pairs as FALLO 'to deceive': FALLOR 'to deceive oneself' (Cic. ERRORE QUODAM FALLIMUR IN DISPUTATIO), MOVEO 'to move': MOVEOR 'to move oneself' (Livy PRIUSQUAM HOSTES MOVERENTUR 'before the enemy was moving itself'), VERTO 'to turn towards'; VERTOR 'to turn oneself towards' (Livy AD CAEDEM VERTUNTUR 'they turn themselves towards the slaughter, fray'). Note that with straight active verbs a reflexive pronoun was required to express this same meaning (for the competition and blending of these collateral constructions, v. infra), at least in older writers, e.g., Plt. *Mil.* glor. 1032 AIT ILLAM MISERAM CRUCIARI ET LACRIMANTEM SE ADFLICTARE (wherein the verbs are loosely synonymous), cf. Reichenkron 1933: 17. Flobert 1975: 37f, 387f proposes an initial internal semantic distinction (subsequently blurred) between these two formal types, whereby the genuine reflexive was expressed prominally (SE [IPSUM] MOVERE 'to put oneself in motion') while the medio-passives were expressed by the middle-synthetic forms (MOVERI). He identifies some 700 of the latter type which grade, through varying degrees of nuanced subject interest and and participation, into the deponent class, characterized by straightforward active meanings (including direct transivity). As an outgrowth of its reflexive use, the ancient middle functioned in the early language on occasion to show reciprocity, e.g., Plt. *An.* 116 COPULANTUR DEXTERAS 'they shake one another's hand' — a use already being replaced by more explicit periphrases, e.g., ALIOS ALII, ALTER AD ALTERO, INTER SE, SE IPSI, etc. — cf. Ernout-Thomas 1953₃: 186.

[36] One might be tempted to hypothesize — although the hypothesis is unverifiable — that the periphrastic past paradigm of the proto-Latin middle voice arose first with the passive, which, through its semantic promotion of a NEU-

representing, after all, the two extreme, most concretely isolable poles of voice. The other middle-filed functions, more semantically nuanced and less easily isolated, were cast by Latin grammarians into the limbo of anomalies, e.g., the *verba communia, deponentia,* and *neutropassiva* (= «semi-depondents», formally defined below). Now, thanks in part to the deeply-researched *thèse d'état* of Flobert 1975, we possess a far clearer picture of the semantic and the formal extensions [37] of middle voice categories than did earlier linguists. The Classical Latin grammarians (e.g., Varro, Quintilian) distinguished only the most sharply-profiled, opposed voices: active and passive (*verba faciendi* versus *verba patiendi*). Gellius sketched a third class, *verba communia,* into which he lumped the deponents admitting a passive (alongside their active) meaning, e.g., COHORTOR, CONFITEOR, CONSOLOR, DIGNOR, as well as those with variant active forms. It was only at the close of the 3rd C. that Marius Plotius Sacerdos (cit. ap. Flobert 1975: 10) introduced a more finely-graded set of distinctions (five in number), yet these, as would prove the case with those of Priscian and all the later tradition, merge formal together with semantic criteria.

T(ral) to subject, would have called for ESSE (cf. the formal model for such a periphrase present with stative expressions of ESSE + predicate adjective of result, e.g., ALEA JACITUR → ALEA JACTA EST 'the die is/was cast' — Brugmann 1895: 104f), and then, as a function of the passive's frequency, was generalized to all middle voice expressions, thereby replacing a putative earlier (concurrent) synthetic type. Both sorts are found in Italic, e.g., Osc. *sakrafir* = SACRATUM SINT 'are to be consacrated' (with parallel synthetic presents as in Latin: *sakarater* = SACRA- TUR, *sakraitur* = SACRETUR, *ier* = ITUM SIT, *comparascuster* = CONSULTA ERIT 'she shall be consulted', *lamatir, scriftasset ~ screhto est* — cf. Buck 1928₂: 177f, Pisani 1964₂: 24. Whether the Italic vestiges of a synthetic middle voice past represent an archaïsm or an innovation (which simply never spread to Latin) cannot be ascertained. As Flobert 1975: 480 remarks: «On aimerait savoir si c'est le latin qui a plus évolué que l'osco-ombrien en généralisant le périphrase ou si c'est au contraire l'osco-ombrien qui a innové». (Yet cf. arch. MERCASSITUR Inscr. Gru- teri = class. MERCATUS FUERIT).

[37] Although the author may be overly inclined to interpret tardy «déponen- tisation» as evidence of vitality of the class in spoken proto-Romance rather than as mere hypercorrection in late written Latin. This warning is sounded in the searching review by Löfstedt 1975 who objects that «die Häufigkeit de- ponentialer Verben im späten Latein besagt nichts über ihre Vitalität in der gesprochenen Sprach ... sondern sich immer um grammatische Korrektheit und Imitation anerkannter stilistischer Vorbilder bemüht» (120). Cf. also Norberg 1943: 157 who specifies that the deponential past paradigm (cf. infra) may likewise have favored literary reconstruction of synthetic «néo-déponents» (Flobert): «auch der Einfluss der volkssprachlichen Perfektbildung vom Typus AMBULATUS SUM eine grosse Rolle spielt».

The formally intact heirs to the middle voice, i.e., the deponent verbs with a nearly complete[38] passive paradigm but active meanings[39], were judged (from the Latins' synchronic viewpoint) to have «laid aside» their passive semantics[40]. (Historically, of course, the reverse is true: they merely had not laid aside their original middle-voice meanings). By and large, such *deponentia* predictably involve verbs of emotion, entreating, fulfilling of function (bodily or official), changing of state or position (movement), etc. in which the subject is affected by the action he effects (cf. sup. n. 33 for Benveniste's «diathèse interne»), e.g., ADULOR/-ATUS 'to flatter' (= BLANDIOR), ARBITROR/-ATUS 'to judge', CONOR/-ATUS 'to try', EXPERIOR/EXPERTUS 'to experience, try', FATEOR/FASSUS 'to confess', HORTOR/ATUS 'to exhort, urge', FUNGOR/FUNCTUS 'to perform, busy oneself with', IRASCOR/-ATUS 'to become angry', LOQUOR/LOCUTUS 'to speak' (cf. arch. FOR/FATUS), MENDICOR/-ATUS 'to beg', MEREOR/MERITUS 'to deserve', MORIOR/MORTUUS 'to die', NASCOR/NATUS 'to be born', ORIOR/ORTUS 'to rise, issue', OBLIVISCOR/OBLITUS 'to forget', OPINOR/-ATUS 'to opine', PATIOR/PASSUS 'to suffer', QUEROR/QUESTUS 'to cry plaintively', SOLOR/-ATUS 'to comfort', VENOR/-ATUS 'to hunt game' (cf. AUCUPOR/-ATUS 'to catch birds'), MERCOR/-ATUS 'to buy, traffic' (cf. NEGOTIOR), TARDOR/-ATUS 'to delay' (cf. MOROR), GRADIOR/GRESSU (cf. EGRESSOR, PRO-, TRANS-, etc.) 'to walk, advance', PROFISCOR/PROFECTUS 'to set out, go forth', SEQUOR/SECUTUS 'to follow'. Middle voice descendants for which formal integration into the active paradigm (as prompted by their active sense) was already underway were also remarked by later grammarians (again as synchronic anomalies) on the basis of their ancient collateral past sytems, e.g., AUDEO 'to dare' → AUSI ~ AUSUS SUM, COEPIO 'to begin' → COEPI ~ COEPTUS SUM, FIDO 'to trust' → FISI ~ FISUS SUM (cf. CONFISUS, DIFFISUS), GAUDEO 'to enjoy' → GAVISI ~ GAVISUS SUM, SOLEO 'to be accustomed to' → SOLUI ~ SOLITUS SUM — cf. Flobert 1975: 497ff. Such «semi-deponents» are generally dubbed *neutropassiva*[41] — a term

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[38] From the earliest record, the present and future participles were suppletive active forms, e.g., SEQUENS, SECUTURUS.

[39] Save for the gerundive which was passive.

[40] Cf. Priscian: «deponens vocatur ... quae deponit alteram significationem [i.e., the passive] et unam [i.e., the active] per se tenet» — ap. Keil *GL* II, 374, 8.

[41] So Priscian: «inveniuntur tamen [verba] ... in *o* desinentia ... in quibus praeteritum perfectum per participium solet demonstrari, quae neutropassiva artium scriptores nominant» — ap. Keil *GL* II, 420, 9.

again blending form and function. This model [42] of asymmetrical integration into the active paradigm became especially wide-spread for deponents indicating movement or change of state: i.e., a new active infectum was flanked by the older periphrastic past constructions with ESSE, e.g., MORIO/MORTUUS SUM, NASCO/NATUS SUM, SEQUIO/SECUTUS SUM. Since the subject undergoes the change of state or locus, it exists presently in the resultant state or place, almost tantamount to a stative expression with the *-to-* adjective as a predicate of ESSE, e.g., ADOLESCO → ADULTUS SUM, EMERGIT → EMERSUS EST [43]. Such loose semantic coalescence may have fostered a formal congruence or at least favored retention of ESSE as the auxiliary for such verbs. Thereafter the *neutropassiva* or semi-deponent formal model could attract other non-deponent verbs of kindred meaning: VENIO → VENTUS SUM as the preferred present perfect periphrastic replacement for VENI [44]. The case grammarians (cit. ap. Vincent 1982: 77 & 86) concur that verbs of motion or change of state require ESSE. However, the asymmetrical *neutropassiva* model still leaves another vast semantic class of deponents, the medio-passives, e.g., CINGOR 'I gird myself', INDUOR 'I dress myself', DELECTOR 'I enjoy myself', MEMOROR 'I remember (to myself)', yet to be accounted for — and here it would appear speakers made recourse to quite a different strategy for marking these and integrating them into a formally active paradigm.

The forementioned formal fluctuations of the deponents likely

[42] As yet another element in this background of formal vacillation or variation, a few inverse formal analogies were also remarked by the grammarians: those middle voice descendants which, apparently as a lingering I.E. idiom, formed an active perfect, e.g., ASSENTIOR 'I agree' → ASSENSI, REMINISCOR 'I remember' → (RE)MEMINI, REVERTOR 'I turn back' → REVERTI — Kent 1946: 101. Thus Varro is reported by Gellius [† 175] as noting «cum a *ceno* et *prandeo* et *poto* et *cenatus sum* et *pransus sum* et *potus sum* dicamus, a *destringor* ['I wipe (myself) off'?] tamen et *extergor* ['I rub (myself) down'] et *lavor* ['I wash myself'], *destrinxi* et *extersi* et *lavi* dicimus» — cit. ap. Neue and Wagener 1897: 125.

[43] Flobert 1975: 497 notes of this semantic class that «le procès indéterminé (cf. les présents en -EO [not -EOR, cf. MEREO/MERITUS SUM]) se matérialise alors dans une qualité permanente».

[44] Cf. Agnellus (mid-6th c. bishop of Ravenna) IN PANNONIA DEVENTI SUNT cit. ap. Norberg 1943: 152, who, after also citing the inscriptions SORORES UNA DIE OBITAE SUNT, ...QUE OBITA EST (on the stative model of MORTUUS EST), comments: «die perfektformer gewissen Deponenzien sind also mit der romanischen Perfekt-bildung der intransitiven Verben verschmolzen. Als eine Vorstufe dieser Bildung kann man auch folgende Beispiele betracten: Trai. Plin. epist. 10, 46 PRAETERITUS EST DIES; Itala Luc. i, 7 ... PROCESSI ERANT ... Man hätte hier vielmehr PRAETERIT und PROCESSERANT erwartet».

bear witness to a deeper vestigial semantic variability (however increasingly blurred), as might be expected if one recall that the most concretely isolable function of the middle voice, the passive, had been drawn off as a discrete new category of voice, leaving only the vaguer, more subjective traces of personal subject involvement still inhering in the deponent/semi-deponent class. Then note that the next-most clear-cut function, that of reflexivity, was being hypercharacterized by means of a pronominal marker and integrated into the active paradigm; analytic active reflexive constructions occur side-by-side with the older middle or deponential type in Classical authors, e.g.,

> (Cic.) PARES VETERE PROVERBIO CUM PARIBUS FACILLIME CONGREGANTUR
> 'according to the old proverb: birds of a feather flock together'

> but also: IMPII CIVES UNUM SE IN LOCUM CONGREGABANT
> 'the wicked, disrespectful citizens gathered together in one place';

> (Livy) NEC VESTIGIO QUISQUAM MOVEBATUR, but also NE SE EX EO LOCO MOVERENT [45].

Such reflexive = deponent equivalences (i.e., alternant constructions present as synchronic variants) appear to have entangled the remaining deponent types at a formal level — even where strict semantic motivation was lacking [46]. While for the medio-

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[45] The same pronimal periphrases are present in Plautus, apparently as emphatic variants, e.g., IPSUS SE ECRUCIAT, EGOMET ME COQUO ET MACERO ET DEFETIGO, TANDEM IMPETRAVI, UT EGOMET ME CORRUMPERE, UBI SE ADIUVAT IBI ME ADIUVAT — cf. Sneyders de Vogel 1927₂: 116 & 121, Reichenkron 1933: 16f, Flobert 1975: 387. Although such an emphatic increment does not seem present in the frequent Plautine VERTO ME = VERTOR. Cf. Norberg 1943: 158f.

[46] In strict logic one might wish to reconstruct which cases should have called for a dative and which for an accusative reflexive pronoun. However, for the dominant atonic forms, no sharp distinction seems to have been made in practice, and, for later Latin, Löfstedt 1911: 142 speaks of «häufigen Wechsels von Akk. und Dat.» That is, one might have imagined that transitive deponents, at the very least, would have evolved a pronominal strategy separate from genuine passives using a dative of interest, e.g., CINGOR FERRUM, INDUOR LORICAM (PALLAM, TOGAM, etc.), RADOR BARBAM, VESTIOR ALBAM → *CINGOR MIHI FERRUM, *INDUOR MIHI LORICAM, etc.; yet already in the *Vulgata* INDUIT SE LORICAM, INDUEBANT SE GLORIAM ET STOLAS BELLI (cit. ap. Flobert 1975: 402, who notes such «doubles accusatifs» already in Tert. UESTIERUNT NOS STOLAS CANDIDAS). Dative examples appear to be fewer and for the most part later (cf. Flobert 1975: 388-392); the 4th-c. *Mulomedicina* Chironis is the best-known mine of such constructions (already extended to inanimate subjects), e.g., GENUS VULNERIS QUI SIBI CASCATUR LOCIS COMMISSURALIBUS 'the sort of wound which may arise, may form in the places of joining', NASCUNTUR TUBERCULA PLENA SANIE, QUAE ET PER SE ERUMPUNT ET SANATUR SIBI

passives a semantic motive was, of course, not wanting, neither for the reflexive pronoun (ME CINGOR → *me cingo 'I gird myself', to mark this use off more explicitly from the genuine passive CINGOR 'I am girt [by someone else]') nor for the continued use of the stative auxiliary ESSE, the same cannot be said for other middle-voice descendants [47] and still less for verbs of motion and (change of) state which were being integrated into the *neutro-passiva* paradigm and which thence came to develop an optional

'pustules form [themselves] which erupt by themselves and heal [themselves]' — cf. Reichenkron 1933: 26f. (But cf. already Ter. QUAE ORNANTUR SIBI 'who adorn themselves' with the pronoun redundant, and the dative with collateral active in Plt. *Capt.* 2, 1, 4 DUM MIHI MORIGERO [flanked by accus. with dep.: EI VOS MORI-GERARI 'to accomodate yourselves to it' *Am.* 3, 3, 26]). The growing functional equivalence of SIBI and SE in these contexts seems attributable to their essential deiktic rôle, shifting their strict case regime to the background. Löfstedt 1911: 140ff and 1956: 390 viewed their use as part of a general tendency towards emphatic expressions increasing in later Latin, e.g., VADE TIBI, FATUE! 'Go off with you, fool!' (3rd C. *Sortes Sangall.*). Examples abound for «verba sentiendi und declarandi», e.g., SIBI CREDAT = CREDAT, EGO AUTEM NON CREDAT MIHI, NISI AURUM INSPEXERO Aulul. s. Quer.; TU TIBI ARBITRARIS CONTUMELIAM TE PATI, SIBI . . . CONFESSI SUNT; but instances of the accusative are yet more frequent: SPERAVIT SE, SPERABAM ME, PUTABAM ME, UBI VADES PAENITEBIS TE 'wherever you go, you will regret [it]' — cf. also Flobert 1975: 392. As Reichenkron 1933: 27 observed: «Je weiter man in der Latinität vorschreitet, desto mehr sieht man, am deutlichsten vielleicht seit der Merowingerzeit, dass SE und SIBI ohne unterschied in der Funktion immer stärker durcheinander gehen . . . [e.g.], SIBI RECOGNOSCERE nben SE RECOGNOSCERE». Later (Id. 31) he alludes to phonetic, along with semantic, factors as having favored a merger of the kindred types. Cf. also Tobler 1906: II, 61-69, Löfstedt 1956: II, 387ff. (Rumanian alone among the Romance dialects retains a distinction between the two pronominal types).

   [47] Perhaps the most semantically remote class of middle-passive descendants to receive the pronominal characterization is the «impersonal passive» which became «impersonal reflexive». This was the sub-class which placed the verbal action in prime focus (with only an implicit dummy subject), e.g., CONCURRITUR 'there is a clashing together (of opposing soldiers)', PUGNATUM EST 'fighting went on' — cf. Kent 1946: 101, Väänänen 1982₃: 224. Varro (*LL* 10, 32 — ed. Kent 558f) was aware of the «impersonal passive» as a special usage; he considered only those in the 3rd. pers. sg. and thus classed them as inflexions having «tempora . . . sine personis», e.g., FODITURNE? 'is digging going on?', (answer): FODITUR 'digging is going on'. Cf. Flobert 1975: 18. Through semantically adjacent constructions, such as the growing relexive passive, e.g., Pliny MYRINA QUAE SEBASTO-POLIM SE VOCAT (= VOCATUR), personified here, but in later use extended to straight inanimate subjects: 4th C. *Mul.* Chir. DONEC SE VULNUS LIMPIDET, 5th C. Pallad. MELA . . . TOTO ANNO SERVARE SE POSSUNT, the way was opened to proto-Romance types such as *Peregr. Æth.* FACIT SE HORA QUINTA, COEPERIT SE MANE FACERE of which Löfstedt 1911: 168 observed: «Dieser Gebrauch von SE FACERE = FIERI gehörte ohne Zweifel der lebendingen Sprach an; er hat sich überall im Romanischen erhalten». (Cf. Flobert 1975: 389, Väänänen 1982₃: 222, and for the various Romance offshots, Diez 1882₅: 976, 987f, especially prominent in Italian, cf. Schlaepfer 1933: 120ff and Rohlfs 1968₂: 187).

construction with SE/SIBI (for accusative/dative merger, v. sup.
n. 46), e.g.,

INGREDIO(R)/INGRESSUS SUM → QUIS... SE INGRESSERIT (5th-6th C. Flobert 1975:
326), AMBULO/*ambulatus sum* → AMBULAVIMUS NOBIS, SIBI AMBULAVIT (6th-7th
C. — Id. 247), TENDO 'to reach towards, move towards' → first as deponent:
TENDEBATUR (Id. 261), then reflex. in *Peregr. Æth.* MULTI FRATRES TENDUNT
[sic!] SE UT LAVENTUR IN EO LOCO, Ibid. AD QUAE SIGNA SE TENDENT, Ibid. also
VADENT SE UNUSQUISQUE AD HOSPITIUM SUUM 'they go, each and every one,
to their own guest rooms' (Terracini 1945 [= 1957: 172f]), cf. FUGIET SIBI
(*Mul. Chir.* 681 ap. Löfstedt 1956₂: 391), SED IPSE SERVIUS IN OMNIBUS AC CAUSA
RECOGNOVIT ET AD SERVITIUM SIBI REVERSUS FUIT (Reichenkron 1933: 26), cf.
SIBI REVERTITUR (Löfstedt 1911: 141), *Peregr. Æth.* SIC PLECAREMUS NOS AD
MONTEM DEI, PLICAVIMUS NOS AD MARE (as against one instance without re-
flexive pronoun — cf. Löfstedt 1911: 66) [48].

In sum, although its origin was likely with the medio-passives
(perhaps to mark them off from genuine passives, e.g., ME CINGOR,
'I gird myself' as versus CINGOR 'I am girt [by another]', ME
MOVEO(R) 'I move myself' as versus MOVEOR 'I am moved, I have
myself moved [by another]'), the formal model with SE/SIBI was
extended to most all the heirs of the ancient middle voice (as trans-
mitted in the deponent/semi-deponent class, with such additional
verbs of motion and state, etc. as had been attracted to the
neutropassiva paradigm). Inasmuch as these constituted a weakly-
motivated form class, i.e., one with polysemous, vaguely-defined
semantic contours, one could imagine that as a paradigmatic
pattern it would have been best transferred from generation to
generation in the more conservative varieties of late spoken Latin:
those of central Italy — precisely the region which most concerns
us here (although, as we shall see, its effects were also felt in
Old French, Old Provençal, Old Spanish, etc.). Thus Meyer-Lübke
1899: 408 [§ 384] (and cf. Diez 1882₄: 903 before him) noted that:

«Im Italienischen ist der Gebrauch des Reflexivums sehr ausgedehnt. Man
trifft Bewegunsverba wie *andarsi* [cf. SIBI AMBULAVIT cit. sup.], *venirsi,
fuggirsi, uscirsi,* Zustandsverba wie *giacersi, sedersi, starsi, essersi, rima-
nersi, viversi, dormirsi, tacersi,* ganz abgesehen von Inkoativen wie *addor-
mentarsi, ammalarsi* u. s. w., ähnlich im Altfranzösichen, wo zu *soi aler,
soi venir, soi fuir,* die bis heute geblieben sind, unter anderem noch *soi
gesir, so seoir, soi estre, soi remanoir, voi vivre, soi dormir* kommen...
Auch der Western verhält sich ähnlich, vgl. span. *irse, venirse, fuirse, que-*

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[48] For the alternation of forms with and forms without pronoun, cf. Reichen-
kron 1933: 29ff and 36ff, and for a recent of the entire process of pronominal
hypercharacterization of middle types, Orbán 1974: 242ff.

darse, dormirse, portg. *sahirse, virse* u. s. w.... Und hierher kann man auch stellen ital. *pensarsi, credersi,* afr. *soi penser . . . ».*

This emphatic or deiktic-ethical use of the reflexive pronoun had an important peculiarity: in non-finite verb forms, such as the constructions with the participial adjective in *-to-*, it appeared rather late and only rarely, e.g., TRADITIO DE QUA SIBI IN CONSILIO NUMIDIAE CONFESSI SUNT 'the teaching of which they confessed (themselves) in the council of Numidia' (late 4th C., Optatus, bishop of Milevitanus), or, with a verb of motion, the Merovingian ex. cit. sup. . . . AD SERVITIUM SIBI REVERSUS FUIT. Possibly because the medio-passive and the genuine passive could so often converge semantically upon the same effective result or acquired state, the impulse to mark the former off from the latter may have been less strongly felt in the past; cf.

ME CINGOR
'I gird myself'

CINGOR
'I am girt (by
another'

CINCTUS SUM

'I have girt myself'
('I am girt')

'I have been girt (by
another)'

The consequent asymmetrical distribution of the middle or «ethical» reflexive carried forward into the medieval Romance languages, where its absence in nonfinite or uninflected forms attracted Diez' attention (1882_4: 903f — «können nicht wenige eigentliche Reflexiva unbeschadet ihrer Bedeutung das Pronomen ablegen») no less than Meyer-Lübke's 1899: 404:

«Eine bemerkenswerte Eigentümlichkeit in der Anwendung des Reflexivpronomens ist weiter, dass es ursprünglich nur zum Verbum finitum tritt, also bei den Partizipien, beim Gerundium und beim Infinitiv fehlen kann. Am häufigsten finden sich die Biespiele dafür im Altfranzösichen, vgl. *de la fontainne est approchiés* (Rich. 944), *d'une fresce robe est viestis et celi dont est deviestis au couchier son oste donna* (1121), *et de ce est elle moute plainte...»*

Gradually, but only gradually, in most Romance dialects, but not in all, the reflexive pronouns were extended to non-finite verb forms as well. As Meyer-Lübke (ib.) continued:

«Schon frühzeitig findet man, wenn auch zunächst noch selten, nun aber das Reflexivum auch bein den Partizipien und beim Gerundium und Infi-

nitiv ausgetzt, offenbar in Analogie nach den Formen des Verbums finitums».

Cf. also Herzog 1910: 142f. Rohlfs 1949₁: 189f [§ 482a] recorded traces of the cognate asymmetrical pattern in older Italo-Romance [49] as the «Unterdrückung des Reflexivpronomens», e.g., *siete voi accorti (Inf. 12, 80)* for 'vi siete voi accorti?', adding that:

«in qualche dialetto il pronome riflessivo pare essere ancor oggi superfluo col participio, cfr. a Treviso *son intés* 'ci siamo intesi' [50], *l'è ammazzá* 'si è ammazzato'» [51].

But the great treasury of such examples was gathered and interpreted by Ageno 1964: 177-247, who was at pains to specify the early history of the phenomenon (200):

«Quando alla forma mediale dei tempi semplici si sostituì la riflessiva, e si disse SE SEGREGARE in luogo di SEGREGARI, SE DISSOLVERE invece di DISSOLVI, la forma del perfetto restò immutata, e quindi anche in volgare troviamo, alle origini, il participio passato + *essere* in corrispondenza di un presente riflessivo con valore medio (cioè, ovviamente, non nel caso di *uccidersi*, ma in quello di *accorgersi*): in altre parole, nei tempi composti dei verbi riflessivi il pronome non viene *tralasciato*, come si è detto tante volte, ma non è ancora stato introdotto».

Her data are eloquent both regarding the continued frequency of the pattern,

e.g., *io sono fatto a lei amico,... l'amistà è confermata e fatta grande* (Dante, *Conv.* 1, 13, 1), *orgogliosa se' fatta e per me dura* (Dante, *Rime* 88, 4),

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[49] For analogous asymmetrical use of pronoun, v. Herzog 1910: 141f, 175, e.g., *Passion Prov. li felun ... vers nostre don son aproismad*, versus *s(e)* with inflected forms: *li fel ... ja s'aproismed*, OSp. *tornado es myo Çid*, but *se torno/torno's* = REVERSUS EST/SIBI REVERTITUR, cf. Hanssen 1911: 777, also Benzing 1931: 405, 430, Matthies 1933. In other instances the reflexive pronoun is already used in the modern manner: *Envers le roi s'a aproismé* (*Flor. Blanchefl.* 940); cf. the identical pronominal augment in Pelagius (early 5th C.) APPROXIMASSET SE AD EUM; NUNQUAM AD SACRIFICANDAM OBLATIONEM ALTARI APPROXIMARENT; QUANTUM SE APPROXIMAT HOMO DEO, TANTUM SE PECCATOREM VIDET — cit. ap. Orbán 1974: 244; also Salonius, *Vitae Patrum*, 362-3, cit. ap. Ageno 1964: 133n1.

[50] Ageno 1964: 200n3 mentions for standard Italian «l'espressione fossilizzata: *Siamo intesi?*». Cf. a similar fossil preserved in rustic Lucchese until the late 19th C.: *siamo vinti* 'we have won', cit. sup. n. 8.

[51] The forms cited happen to be from the late 16th-c. *Egloga di Morel*, culled from Salvioni's «Illustrazioni» (*AGI* 16 [1902-5]: 275). Modern rustic Trevisan dialects appear to have generalized the reflexive construction with *avere* + p.p. (already present in Morel, e.g., *m'he buttà* 'mi sono buttato') to all instances, e.g., *se ón lavá e man* 'ci siamo lavati le mani', *'l se a negá* '(si) è annegato', *me ò maridá* 'mi sono sposata' — cf. Mazzarolo 1970: 282.

perché lo ree Meliadus èe perduto e non si ritruova (Trist. Ricc. 6, 12-3),
questo filosafo era un giorno bagnato in una troscia d'acqua e stavasi in
una grotta al sole (Novellino 66, 113 [other MSS have si era bagnato, cf.
ed. Favati 1970: 281]), *ché la mattina quando son levato* (Angiolieri 75, 5),
venne in Guascogna sopra le sue terre che-lli erano rubellate (but cf. 4
lines earlier: *il re di Scozia si rubellò da messer Aduardo* — in late 13th-c.
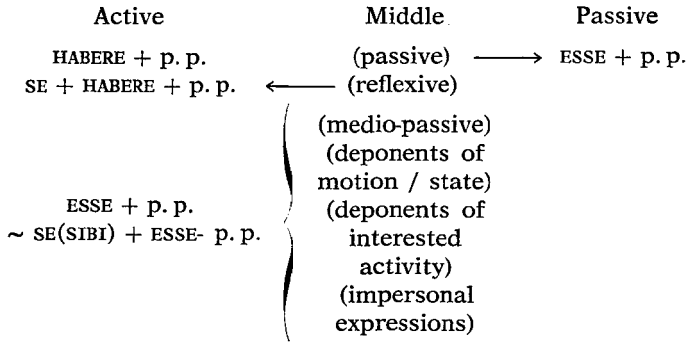Flor. *Cronica*, ed. in Schiaffini, *Testi fior.* 145, 13f);

and as attesting to the gradual rise, often within a single author,
of variants with the reflexive pronoun, e.g., in Agnolo Torini, the
14th-c. lay *volgarizzatore, si sono faticati, vi siete faticati*, beside
the older alternative without pronoun, *che quantunque l'uomo
sia molto faticato e abbia ragunato molto tesoro* (= 'si sia molto
[af]faticato') — Ageno cit. 201 [52].

Thus generalization of the reflexive pronoun with the ESSE-
based past periphrase was only gradual and its rate of progress,
as the preferred alternant, as well as the constructions in which
it became dominant, varied from dialect to dialect. The simple
fact of gradualness and variation, as much as the specific models
thus far sketched, will form the critical background for the
discrepant individual developments with which we must deal
shortly. To round out this résumé of late Latin constructions,
we may conclude that, with degrees of frequency varying from
region to region and within social classes [53], proto-Romance

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[52] Under the influence of such pronounless compound pasts, even prepon-
derently pronominal types developed simple active forms for the synthetic or
finite tenses, e.g., from constructions such as *Che remor è levato?* 'What racket
has been raised?' *Chron. aquil.* cit. ap. Haumer 1934: 66f arose finite types like:
O stella rilucente, che levi la maitina (Notaro Giac. Lent.), *po dal maitin levava
e offreva sacrificio* (Bonves.), *per tempo leverai, per tempo alberherai* (Franc. da
Barb.), *la maitina per tempo levava* (Aliprandi), with the pronounless construction
being especially frequent in imperatives: *leva suso immantinente!* (Folgore),
Lieva, Morgante, sù tosto! (Pulci), *Leva sù, non dormire!* (Bianco) — in this
context, cf. OProv. *leva sus!* (for numerous OProv. exs., cf. Winkler 1923: 60f),
OFr. *lieve sus!* (cit. ap. Diez 1882₅: 904), OSp. *levad* (*Cid* 3562 and with a hortative
subj. *levedes* 1380, Menéndez Pidal 1942₂: 1, 345). Likewise for the analogous
Romance verb *alzare, mentre che 'l sole alzava, alzavano essi* (Pucci), *[le monete]
non hanno prezzo fermo, ma ora alzano, ora abbassano* (Sassetti) — cit. ap.
Ageno 1964: 85; cf. OSp. *alzad del suelo!* Ageno 1964: 132-136 lists many pronominal
(medio-passive) types which are not infrequently constructed on this pronoun-
less *neutropassiva* model, e.g., *dolersi* but *(io) doglio* (Pier della Vigna, Guittone,
Rustico, Francesco da Barberino), *lamentarsi* but *lamento* (= 'mi lamento', fre-
quent in Rustico alongside an occasional use with pronoun: *spesso si lamenta
e si cordoglia* 52, 13), *pentirsi* but *pento* (frequent in Guittone).
[53] Already Löfstedt 1911: 141 specified such hypercharacterized turns as VADENT
SE, SEDETE VOBIS in sociolinguistic terms: «Das eigentlich Gebiet dieser und ähn-

speakers had recourse to the following alternative modes of constructing the present perfect and related periphrastic tenses (here schematized in terms of ancestral voice):

| Active	Middle	Passive
HABERE + p. p.	(passive) ——→	ESSE + p. p.
SE + HABERE + p. p. ←——	(reflexive)	
	(medio-passive)	
	(deponents of	
	motion / state)	
ESSE + p. p.	(deponents of	
~ SE(SIBI) + ESSE- p. p.	interested	
	activity)	
	(impersonal	
	expressions)	

I.e., all ancestral middle-voice functions, including active and transitive deponents, retained a periphrastic past constructed with ESSE, and all, save the genuine passive, came to be optionally marked by a reflexive pronoun. The active deponential model is not simply the early *neutropassiva* type (INGRESSUS SUM, SECUTUS SUM, whence *ambulatus sum, ventus sum*), restricted to verbs of motion and state, but rather encompasses a series of variants on the pronominal medio-passive model which could also spread and contaminate the entire verb system, e,.g., *godersi, prendersi, vestirsi* (including those same verbs of motion and state, e.g., *andarsi, starsi*). In sum, the heirs to the middle voice, both original and indirect (i.e., as assimilated due to semantic affinity, either to the *neutropassiva* pattern = non-pronominal active infectum/non-pronominal periphrastic perfectum with ESSE, or to the medio-passive pattern = pronominal reflexive infectum/non-pronominal periphrastic perfectum with ESSE), provided a substantial range of precedents for the use of ESSE with active, transitive verbs. (Recall that speakers fashioned analogic past participles for former *verba neutra*, e.g., **dormitu sum*, just as they produced preterites for the deponents, e.g., **se mossit, *se nacuit*). Moving from such an auxiliary distribution to that attested in early Romance requires but one sort of major innovation: competition from the HABERE-type encroaching within the ranks of ESSE.

licher Ausdrücke mit ihrer meistens unwiedergeblichen, naiv persönlichen Nuancierung ist die lebendige Volkssprache».

The first presence of HABERE within the deponent types in likely to have been with genuine reflexives. Such constructions logically call for HABERE since, as Vincent 1982: 95 notes: «a two-place verb is being used transitively». For the simplest, initial sort, *mi ho lavato* 'I washed myself' as suggested by Rohlfs 1968$_2$: 124 [§ 731] «in corrispondenza di *ti ho lavato, l'ho lavato*», the pronoun stood as a NEUT(ral) object correferent with the AG(ent) subject. Likewise with reciprocal meaning: *questi due cavalieri s'aveano longamente amato (Novellino* 34 — for the absence of participial agreement, cf. Lucchesi 1962: 224). At this point it is but a short step semantically to the medial type **(me) sum levatu*[54] 'I got up' (recall that the dative and accusative pronouns had merged as a single accusative form in Western Romance), in which HABERE became especially frequent when a direct NEUT(ral) object was expressed, while the (ethical) reflexive stood as beneficiary[55], e.g., *Bito . . . s'avea messa la più ricca roba di vaio (Novellino* 96), *suoi d[enari] ch'ella s'avea guadagnati di suo salario* (Benciveni II, 456, 5). Diez 1882$_4$: 976 cited numerous examples of this structure from the *Decameron*, e.g., *avendosi l'anel di lei messo in bocca* (7, 3), *tu te n'hai data la*

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[54] Chabaneau 1872: 24 already noted the same uses of HABERE in Old French, e.g., *Si s'a mis en une vallée (Thomas le Martyr*, v. 406), *Mais Conan s'a bien defendu (Rom. de Brut*, v. 6140) [cited along with examples of a more medial sort: *Et mult s'avait pené, Trois fois le list, lors s'a pasmé*], and commented: «Remarquons, en terminant, que le peuple et les enfants conjugent souvent les verbes réfléchis avec *avoir*». Cf. Fontaine 1888: 45, Herzog 1910: 175f, Nyrop 1930: 214f.

[55] For older Italian, it seems to have been the presence of a NEUT(ral) object and an AG(ent) subject which prompted selection of *avere*, i.e., the same conditions which called for HABERE in constructions without any pronominal marking of subject interest or participation. One could speculate that the underlying phrase was a transitive construction, *avere* + p. p. with object agreement, into which the reflexive pronoun was inserted as a dative of interest:
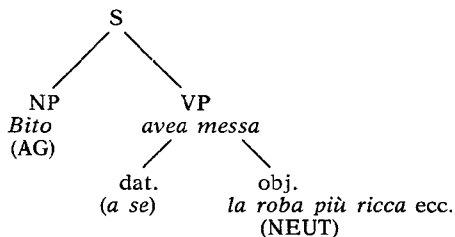
Phrases lacking a NEUT(ral) object only rarely appear with *avere*; Fontaine 1888: 57 found but two in the *Decameron* (e.g., *Poiché la donna s'ebbe assai fatta pregare*).

perdonanza tu stessa (4, 10); cf. Meyer-Lübke 1899: 319, and also Fontaine 1888: 55ff for a substantial array of forms with both *essere* and *avere* from the Trecentisti up through the Cinquecento (less useful is the interpretation imposed upon the data, seeking to correlate *avere* with a dative reflexive and *essere* with an accusative). This advance of *avere* meant that for several sorts of reflexive construction both auxiliaries were available alternates. Not merely, but both pronominal alternants might also alternate with the earlier non-pronominal medio-passive construction, e.g., for *farsi amico di* 'to befriend' in Dante *io sono fatto amico di lei* = 'io mi sono fatto amico' (cit. sup.), there is also *Dell'anime, che Dio s'ha fatte amiche* — Par. 25,90. (Note that in such transitive depononential reflexives the participle characteristically still agrees with the direct object, e.g., *quando s'ebbe scoperta la gran bocca* — Inf. 12,79, just as in a similar non-reflexive construction with *avere*, cf. n. 55 sup.) Thus in numerous Romontsch/Rumantsch dialects, the older, non-pronominal *neutropassiva model* (i.e., ESSE + p. p. with subject agreement) prevailed for many medio-passive deponents, while the transitive HABERE + p. p. with no subject agreement + reflexive pronoun was preferred for genuine reflexives (cf. Lausberg 1966: 324f [§ 859]), e.g., Surmeir (data from Thöni 1969):

<div align="center">

séser 'to sit'
</div>

ia sung sisía	nous ischan sisías
te ist sisía	vous ischas sisías
el è sisía	els èn sisías
ella è siséida	ellas èn siséidas

<div align="center">

lavar 'to wash' → *sa lavar* 'w. oneself'
</div>

ia va lavò	→ ia va ma lavò	nous vagn ans lavò
te ast lavò	→ te ast ta lavò	vous vez az lavò
el ò lavò	→ el ò sa lavò	els on sa lavò
ella ò lavò	→ ella ò sa lavò	ellas on sa lavò

Recall that the passive auxiliary has been restricted to VENĪRE (Surmiran *neir*, v. Thöni 1969: 139f, e.g., *Mengia vign clamada da Peder* 'M. is called by P.') thereby obviating any potential ambiguity with the *neutropassiva* model for the present perfect — cf. Lausberg: 1962₁ = 1966₂: 328 (§ 866). The same distribution of auxiliaries prevails in Sutselvan and Engadine, while ESSE

(*esser*) is used with reflexives in Sursilvan, e.g., *jeu sun selavaus* [56] 'I have washed (myself)' not **jeu haiel selavaus*, cf. further *el ha rut il bratsch* not **el ha serut il bratsch* 'he has broken his arm'. This Alpine Romance solution will again become relevant as we turn to examine those central Italian dialects which use HABERE with reflexives alongside ESSE for medial and active constructions [57].

Before turning our attention to the central Italo-Romance extensions of ESSE, we may summarily take stock of the various late spoken Latin middle-voice models for expressing the present perfect:

<div align="center">

Deponentia

</div>

Neutropassiva   medio-passives

vbs. of state,   ethical pseudo-   genuine reflexives
  motion   reflexives   (trans. w/ HABERE)

active infect.   pronominal infect.   pronominal infectum
ESSE + p. p.   ESSE + p. p.   pronominal perfectum

ambulo/   *me levo/levatu sum*   *me lavo/me habeo lavatu*
ambulatu sum

levo/levatu sum   *me levo/me lavo*   *me aio lavatu*
    me sum levatu/me sum lavatu [58]

(Eng. *eu sun alvà*)   (It. *mi sono levato/lavato*) (Eng. *eu m'he lavà*)
    (Fr. *je me suis levé/lavé*)

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[56] Note that the 3rd pers. pronoun has been generalized to all persons as a kind of verbal prefix, cf. Stimm 1973: 9ff and 72ff, in most varieties of Sur- and Sutsilvan, e.g., Sutsilv. *nus vagn salavò* Mani 1977: xviii 'we washed (our-selves) . For Surmiran, Grisch 1939: 215f specifies that *sa* has been generalized within the plural only at Sursés, while at Sotsés it stands for all persons (older *ma* and *ta* still varying with *sa* at Vaz). The same phenomenon characterized older Lombard, cf. Rohlfs 1968₂: 185 [§ 479], and continues to gain ground in Ticinese, cf. Spiess 1976: 207f.

[57] In addition, such data makes a pronouncement like the following from a scholar of Togeby's caliber (1980: 148) quite unfathomable: «In languages having the two auxiliaries *esse* and *habere*, their use may vary from language to language. But *esse* will always be the auxiliary of the reflexive verbs. This is a systematic law which is not easy to explain».

[58] As far as the merger of the genuine reflexive (transitive constructions with

From our present vantage, three factors appear to have attended the development of the above late spoken Latin/proto-Romance system into that of the various early Romance dialects: (1) the extension of the auxiliary HABERE, leading to (2) eventual overlap and alternation with ESSE in what are likely to have been nearly synonymous constructions, which prompted (3) the gradual election of one or the other auxiliary for a growing majority of cases (i.e., reduction of allomorphy). It should be borne in mind that the blending of genuine transitive reflexives constructed with HABERE and the middle- or pseudo-reflexive types constructed with ESSE was not a unilateral extension of the latter (i.e., *me sum levatu → *me sum lavatu* for French and Italian) nor of the former (*me habeo lavatu → *me habeo levatu* for Spanish), but rather a growing interchange and alternation. Considering (by way of example) the latter, better-known spead of HABERE, it appeared as a competing auxiliary with medial reflexives in Old French, e.g., *m'ai levé* (on the model of *m'ai lavé*), *Lubias s'a vestu et chaucié* 'L. dressed and shod (himself)', *s'ont aresté et desçandu* 'they stopped and dismounted', and has remained frequent in plebeian French; cf. Nyrop 1930: 215 (and v. sup. n. 54 for earlier ref.s) for copious ex.s, e.g., *j' m'aurais marié, je m'avais trompé, je m'ai cassé la jambe, je m'ai dit, je m'ai évanoui*. The HABERE periphrase was even extended to medials which followed the pronounless *neutropassiva* model: first *ai levé*, then *ai alé* [59]. Nor was an incipient analogous extension of HABERE lacking in older Italian (well through the Renaissance — cf. Fontaine 1888: 57ff and Rohlfs 1966₂: 124), as seen above in the *Novellino* ex. *Bito ... s'avea messa la più ricca roba di vaio ...*, and further

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HABERE and the pseudo-reflexives of interest or participation (with ESSE) is concerned, Vincent's (1982: 96) proposal seems sensible: «What ultimately seems to decide the case in favour of *essere/être* as the only auxiliaries for all uses of the reflexive in Standard Italian and French (but not in the dialects) is the statistical preponderance of the medio-passive over the genuine transitive use».

[59] Even genuine reflexives could sporadically be constructed on this model: *ai lavé* (= mod. 'je me suis lavé') 'I washed (myself)', cf. Chrétien *Or ont lavé, si vont seoir* 'now they have washed (themselves), [and] thus go to sit down' — recall the omission of the pronoun even in the finite or inflected tenses, e.g., *tot erranment li roi laverent* 'the kings washed [themselves] promptly (cit. ap. Sneyders de Vogel 1927₂: 125), likewise OProv. *autra ves lavon* 'they washed [their hands] once again' *Flamenca* 583, and cf. sup. n. 52. The pattern is also attested for reciprocal reflexives, e.g., *l'uns a l'altre at clinet* 'the one to the other bowed' (*Rol.*) — Sneyders de Vogel 1927₂: 127ff and Diez 1882₅: 903 (where also a finite OIt. ex. of *clīnāre* without pronoun: *a quel parlar chinò la donna*).

in Boccaccio: *egli s'avesse molto messo il cappuccio inanzi* (*Dec.* 7, 5), *i panni che spogliati s'avea* (*Ib.* 10, 10), Pulci *s'ha sgreto-lato*, Lorenzo de' Medici *coperto m'ho*, Ariosto (a Ferrarese writ-ing in Tuscan) *che piede o braccio s'abbia rotto, ... che s'avea ... cambiati i panni*, Firenzuola [*le mutande*] *le quali egli si avea sfibbiate*, Guicciardini *che una famiglia sola s'avesse arrogata la potestà*, Machiavelli *tutta la gloria che si avevano nel principio acquistata*, etc. But, once again, I would venture that is was more the presence of an expressed direct object which called forth the transitive model with HABERE (the basic sentence stand-ing as **la gloria che avevano acquistata*, the pronoun still being optional in the non-finite participial construction, cf. sup. n. 55), than the incidental, co-occurring fact that the reflexive pronoun has a dative rôle (expressing subject interest, benefit, etc.) as for Fontaine 1888: 53ff, Rohlfs 1966₂: 124 [§ 731], etc. Recall that under other conditions (i.e., without a direct object), this same dative or middle-type construction remained a strong bastion of residual ESSE, originally without pronoun (*ché la mattina quando sono levato, la nebbia che era levata in quel padule* — Ageno 1964: 201, even Diez 1882₅: 904), but subsequently with reflexive pronoun as well, e.g., *Novellino* (38) *io mi sono costumato a levare*, Boccaccio *d'ogni cosa opportuna ... fornito s'era* (*Dec.* 3, 5), *si fu molto ingegnato* (*Ib.* 3, 7), *s'è ... ingegnato* (*Ib.* 2, 2), *quando ella si sarebbe voluta dormire* (*Ib.* 3, 4). In older Italian, however, one does not find such parallel extreme extensions of HABERE as **(mi) ho levato* for '(mi) sono levato' (= OFr. [*m'*]*ai levé*) [60], much less *ho lavato for '(mi) sono lavato' (= OFr. *ai lavé*) or *ho andato for '(mi) sono andato' (= OFr. *ai alé*), in these categories where the several ESSE-based constructions held faster. Indeed, the deponential descendants least permeable to intrusions of HABERE are verbs of the *neutropassiva* (pronounless) sort, especially those of movement, i.e., *(mi) muovo* → *(mi) sono mosso*, but never *ho mosso or *mi ho mosso, *(si) muove* → *(si) è mosso/-a*, but never *ha mosso. Although Old (and plebeian, substandard or advanced) French is less conservative in this regard than older Italian (e.g., *tant ai alé, tant ont alé* cf. Herzog 1910: 178ff, Nyrop 1930: 208ff), one can judge from the standard

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[60] Although cf. *dapoi che lu cavallu a fatigatu* 'after the horse has exerted himself' (= 'dopo che il cavallo si è [af]atigato') cit. ap. Herzog 1910: 180 from Rusio, *Mascalcia*, p. 61 (an author I have not yet succeded in tracing).
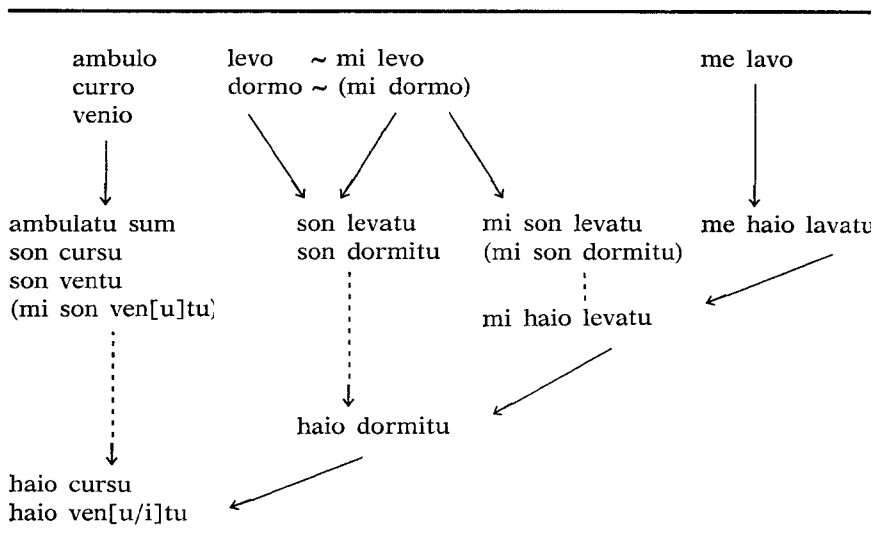
language — a consensus at one point — that this class of depo-
nent types proved most durable and resistant to penetration by
HABERE. A similar inference can be drawn from the fact that this
was the same class in which ESSE resisted longest in Old Spanish [61],
before succumbing to full and final replacement by *haber* during

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[61] E.g., the type *fue entrado/-a, son idos, son tornados* and, as late as the
Quixote, los turcos ya son idos, which came to be flanked by (analogic) reflexiv-
ized variants, *son se tornados, me soe tornado, me soy escapado, se eran partidos*,
and, still in the *Quixote, ya se es ido el caballero*; cf. Fontaine 1888: 35ff, Me-
néndez Pidal 1942_2 [= 1908_1]: 1, 359, Benzing 1931: 400ff. Yet already in the *Cid
an entrado* (note lack of agreement) and with reflexivized verbs of motion in
Poema Fern. Gonçalez 100c [*Dyos*] *a se de nos partido* '[God] has departed from
us' cit. ap. Herzog 1910: 177. While *ser* is widely used with reflexives of interest,
e.g., *eran se bien vengados (Alix.), erase bien provado por buen batallador (Ib.)*
(as well as in their earlier pronounless form: *es levantado, son acordados, somos
vengados [Cid]*), significantly it does not appear with genuine reflexives, i.e.,
not **me so(y) labado*. Indeed, the firmly fixed **me habeo lavatu* model stands as
the likely base from which *haber* spread to the medial reflexives, e.g., *el se la
a ganada (Cid* 1196, 1779, 2011), *asaz te as bien escusado* (cit. ap. Lapesa 1980_3
[= 1942_1]: 213), and thence to all medial-deponent heirs. This process is well-
advanced in the *Cid*, compare *haber* there already with the impersonal passive
reflexive construction: *myos aueres se me an levado* 'my goods have been taken
from me' (in which participial agreement has been abandoned even though the
direct object precedes) — Menéndez Pidal 1942_2: 3, 994 (v. 2912). The abandonment
of *ser* in later medieval and Renaissance Spanish seems tied to the declining
use of pronominal, deponential verb patterns in general. Further to the East,
the ESSE patterns appear better entrenched, e.g., OArag. *es ydo,passado es (Fuero
de Teruel* and for other *fueros*, cf. Tilander 1937: lxix and 1956: 73), and with
reflexives of interest *se son levantados (Gestas Jaime I* cit. ap. Alvar 1953: 293);
surviving in modern dialects, e.g., at Hecho *so βeníu* 'I have come', *ye salíu*
'he has gone', although *haber* variants are present in neighboring hamlets, e.g.,
Sallent *a βeníu* 'he has come' — cf. Kuhn 1935: 154f; likewise for reflexixized
deponents or medials: *yo men so íu* (fem. *-íδa*), *yo men so tornáu* (fem. *-áδa*),
éλa sen yé íδa, but Sallent *éλa sen a íδo* (no agreement); while significantly even
at Hecho genuine reflexives can be alternately constructed with *haber* — cf.
Kuhn 1935: 156. Note that in Gascon, although ESSE has penetrated all reflexives,
HABERE still is used when a direct object is expressed (i.e., in the same transitive
type seen in OIt. *Bito . . . s'avea messa la più ricca roba . . .*), i.e., compare *que s'ey
negàt* 'he has drowned', *que s'èra escounùt* 'he has hidden (himself)', but *que
s'a coupat la cama* 'he has broken a leg', *que m'ey labat las mas* 'I have washed
my hands' — Rohlfs 1970_2 [= 1935_1]: 224 [§ 546]. In Old Catalan, as a token of the
relatively greater strength of ESSE constructions, *esser* had been extended even to
genuine reflexives (as well as the other classes), e.g., *après que Cató se fou gitat
sobre la sua espasa* 'after C. had thrown himself on his sword' (14th C. Fr. Antoni
Canals). This full presence of ESSE (contrasting with its only partial presence in
Old Castilian) forms relevant historical background since, as we shall soon see,
an isolated part of Catalonia (Capcir) has extended *esser* still further in a manner
reminiscent of some central Italian dialects, e.g., *só posat les claus damunt la
taula* 'I have set the keys on the table', *no so vist la processó* 'I did not see the
procession'.

the 16th C. (cf. Benzing 1931: 413f). Compare *haber* already used with reflexives while *ser* remains with verbs of movement in phrases such as *allegados son a Burgos, con el rey se han encontrado* (mediev. romances cit. ap. Menéndez Pidal 1942₂ [= 1908₁]: 1, 356 [164.1]). In many Catalan dialects, *esser*, replaced in reflexives, still lingers with verbs of motion, e.g., *sò βiŋgút* 'I have come' ap. Badía Margarit 1951: 326. Likewise in those northern Italian dialects where HABERE has enjoyed wide extension, ESSE tends to resist longest with verbs of motion; e.g., in the Veneto (cf. Rohlfs 1966₂: 123) for Asolano, Mazzarolo 1970: 280ff cites: (genuine reflexives) *se ón lavá e man* 'ci siamo lavati le mani', (reflexives of interest) *me a ò godésta* 'me la sono goduta', *i se géa intosegà* 'loro si erano arrabbiati', *me ò mariδà* 'mi sono sposata', (impersonal constructions) *a 'pena sonà dieśe bòti* 'sono appena suonato le dieci', *'l a nevegà* 'è nevicato', *a vaést a pena* 'è valsa la pena', *no ge a ñanka parést vera* 'non gli è neanche sembrato vero', cf. also *te àea piaśést?* 'ti è piaciuta?' and a far wider range of intransitives than Italian: *a ga kaeàδa de peşo* 'è calata di peso' (not *a è kaeàδa), *i ge a pasà davanti* 'gli sono passati davanti', *i a vivést pok 'nka eóri* 'sono vissuti poco anche loro'; but *ésar* is still used with *nar* 'to go', *vegnir* 'to come', etc. (cf. also the passive construction *è nat rovinà tanta de kea roba* 'è stata rovinata così tanta merce', *fato sta ke a é nata vendùa* 'in parole povere fu venduta'). (However, with modal auxiliaries, *aver* again comes to the fore: *a ga voést partir e no a ga poδést tornar* 'è voluta partire e non è più potuta tornare'). One can even observe for certain verbs of movement the same alternation of auxiliaries present in Italian and (older) French, determined by two-place transitive use with an expressed object calling for HABERE as versus absolute use (no object expressed) preserving ESSE, e.g., *'l a pasà 'l pont* 'ha passato il ponte' versus *'l é pasà ieri* 'è passato ieri', cf. Rohlfs 1966₂: 120 *aveva salito le scale, ha cresciuto il bambino, hanno passato un fiume, hanno morto il mio figliuolo*.

Schematizing, grosso modo, one could infer a slope or gradient by which HABERE was extended to serve eventually as universal auxiliary, i.e., substituting ESSE first in reflexives of interest, reflexivized intransitives, intransitives used transitively, then eventually verbs of state and motion. Standard Italian and, although to a lesser degree, standard French have arrested this progress

in midstream [62]. In Veneto it has moved on apace, while in Spanish and plebeian French it has run full course.

```
        ambulo      levo   ~ mi levo                    me lavo
        curro       dormo ~ (mi dormo)
        venio
          |           \     /      \                       |
          |            \   /        \                      |
          ↓             ↓ ↓          ↓                      ↓
  ambulatu sum        son levatu    mi son levatu      me haio lavatu
  son cursu           son dormitu   (mi son dormitu)
  son ventu             :             :
  (mi son ven[u]tu)     :           mi haio levatu
          :             :
          :             :                    /
          :             :                   /
          :             ↓                  ←
          :          haio dormitu   ←
          ↓
  haio cursu                 /
  haio ven[u/i]tu    ←
```

Such an advance of HABERE, intruding among the middle-voice deponential descendants from its likely point of departure with genuine reflexives, thence extending to reflexives of interest (first used transitively, then absolutely), and thereafter to all pronominal types, including (lastly) intransitives of state and motion, represents an inverse trajectory from that we must reconstruct for the advance of ESSE. One might effectively speak of their interaction as the intersection of two conflicting currents. (Recall that much of southern Italy, in zones abutting on those we shall now consider with extensions of ESSE, has generalized HABERE with verbs of motion and reflexives, e.g., *AIS* 1598 'siete venuti' → ⌜*avete venuto*⌝, *AIS* 1646 'siamo arrivati' → ⌜*abbiamo arrivato*⌝, *AIS* 1649 'ti sei scordato' → ⌜*te ne hai scordato*⌝). Nowhere is the intersecting and overlapping of the two currents, i.e., of HABERE and ESSE variants, more pronounced than in the Abruzzo and the parts of Lazio we shall now consider.

If all the central Italian dialects which have extended ESSE

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[62] And even it one notable case reversed it, generalizing ESSE for the genuine reflexives, i.e., **me haio lavatu/*me son levatu* → **me son lavatu.*

as auxiliary with all verbs, transitive and intransitive alike, did so in the uniform manner of, say, modern Terracinese:

motion/state	reflexives of int.
so jítə	(mə) so pendítə
si jítə	(tə) si pendítə
è ítə	(s') è pendítə
semə ítə	(šə) semə pendítə)
setə ítə	(və) setə pendítə
ènnə ítə [63]	(s') ènnə pendítə
so statə	— so cagnatə casa
si statə	— si cagnatə casa
è statə	— è cagnatə casa
semə statə	— semə cagnatə casa
setə statə	— setə cagnatə casa
ènnə statə	— ènnə cagnatə casa

transitive reflexives	transitives
mə so lavatə	so bbəútə (lu wínə)
tə si lavatə	si bbəútə (lu wínə)
s'è lavatə	è bbəútə (lu wínə)
šə semə lavatə	semə bbəútə (lu wínə)
və setə lavatə	setə bbəútə (lu wínə)
s'ènnə lavatə	ènnə bbəútə (lu winə)
mə so fattə malə	so candatə (na canzóna)
tə si fattə malə	si candatə (na canzóna)
s'è fattə malə	è candatə (na canzóna)
šə semə fattə malə	semə candatə (na canzóna)
və setə fattə malə	setə candatə (na canzóna)
s'ènnə fattə malə	ènnə candatə (na canzóna)

one might infer simply that the *neutropassiva* and medio-passive models had been better preserved in central Italy and, given (1) their frequent formal variation (the one pronounless, the other pronominal), (2) the active potential of most intransitive participles [64], and (3) the increment of heightened subject interest in-

[63] Terrac. *ènnə* is an analogic replacement of **so(n)* < SUNT (cf. *hanno, danno, stanno*, etc.) which is also frequent in northern Italy, e.g., N. & E. Pied., Lomb. *in/en*, OPad. *eno*, cf. Rohlfs 1968₂: 271 (§ 540).

[64] Cf. sup. n. 42 for the type CENATUS SUM, POTUS SUM, and for Romance heirs OProv. *sui di(n)nat*, OSp. *soy çenado, soy yantado, eran mal yantados* (if the latter is not merely a predicate adjective) — Diez 1882₅: 956; Menéndez Pidal 1942₂ [= 1908₁]: 1, 358; Benzing 1931: 411f.

hering in the prominal ESSE-based construction (cf. It. *mi sono bevuto l'intera bottiglia* 'I drank up the whole bottle [myself]' as in Rohlfs 1968₂: 188f, Tekavčić 1972: 2, 550, Berchem 1973: 121, Devoto 1974: 57, Giammarco 1973: 77n18), that first the pronominal and then the less emphatic pronounless ESSE constructions had ousted the nearly synonymous, but semantically paler, HABERE periphrases. In brief, ESSE wound up with a full flush that swept the game.

This scenario is not all bad (indeed it contains elements which need figure in any account); merely it is not adequate. For a start, it does not address the question of participial agreement or the want thereof. I.e., if the reflexves of interest and verbs of motion descend in direct, linear fashion from the deponential source, why should they not bear the characteristic mark of subject agreement in the participle? E.g., Terrac. *šə semə nfossə* 'we have gotten all soaked' (= It. 'ci siamo bagnati'), rather than **šə semə nfussə*; for the metaphony elsewhere, cf. *comə na zzòcchəla nfossa* '[soaked] as a wet rat', versus *do macarunə nfussə all'ajjə e l'ojjə* 'a bit of spaghetti in the humblest sauce' — cit. ap. De Cara 1983: 58 [65]. More profoundly, it does not account for the differential distribution of ESSE and HABERE in those neighboring dialects (the vast majority quantitatively) which still use both. A brief glance at other dialects in Lazio and the Abruzzo (and into the southern Marche) suggests that the maximal diffusion of ESSE sketched above for Terracinese represents the full term of a process as yet incomplete elsewhere [66]. For example, there are nearby dialects in which ESSE is universal for all periphrastic past tenses, save the present perfect, i.e., the most frequent and therefore inferrably the least subject to analogical reworking, where HABERE remains the preferred auxiliary for the 3rd person, e.g., Roiate (Orlandi 1980: 66f), Zagarolo (Lacetera 1983: 112). In fact, Terracinese of a generation ago seems likewise to have preserved HABERE in the 3rd person, at least for inanimate sub-

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[65] Note that even in plebeian French, which has proven so lavish in generalization of HABERE, such reflexives of interest with ESSE still call for subject agreement, as Chabaneau 1872: 24n1 documented: [of a woman speaker] *je me suis faite un chapeau, je me suis dite . . .*, deeming them «[façons de parler] très communes, du moins dans quelques provinces», and the direct heirs of earlier *ils se sont frottés leur main* (Rabelais), *nous nous sommes rendus des preuves* (Corneille), etc.

[66] Furthermore, the inverse current, bearing HABERE into all verb classes has triumphed in neighboring areas — cf. infra.

jects; cf. *c'è datə nu cazzottə ca i ha fattə rəmané alləštratə am-miezzə a la via* 'he has given him [such] a clout that [it] has left him flattened out in the middle of the street' — Di Cara 1983: 20 [67]. At Cori (LT) such vestigial use of HABERE has been reduced to only the plural forms of the 3rd person: *issi èo ma-gnato* (from earlier **au* < HABUNT) — cf. Chiominto 1984: 178ff), yet even this vestige still occurs with reflexives: *issi s'èo vergo-gnati/jésse s'èo vergognate* 'they were ashamed [of themselves]'. (For the implications of this latter presence, see below). Moving a step further towards a mixed auxiliary distribution, there are other neighboring dialects in which HABERE remains not merely unvarying for the 3rd person (sg. and plr.) but can also be used optionally for the 1st person singular, e.g., Amaseno (Vignoli 1920: 71), Cassino and Cervaro (Maccarone 1915: 28), Veroli (Vignoli 1925: 51 [correcting 1911: 168]), or for both 1st persons, e.g., Castro dei Volsci (Vignoli: 1811: 168). This seems roughly the distribution described by Finamore 1893₂: 25f, 51 et passim for Lanciano in the Abruzzo, compare *ji' hajje ~ so' fatte* 'I have done/made', *hajje ~ so' jite* 'I have gone', *ne' mme n'hajje potut' adduvená* 'I could not figure it out', etc. (however Giammarco 1973: 73ff, presumably working with more recent data, does not register this alternation in the 1st person singular). At Intro-dacqua, in whose dialect Giammarco 1973: 71f has native com-petence, such variation (in 1, 4, and 5) has been eliminated in favor of HABERE, which firmly dominates all persons save the 2nd singular. Then there are Abruzzese dialects, in the Valle d'Orte and the upper Valle del Pescara — cf. Giammarco 1973: 73f, which present HABERE throughout the paradigm. One might schematize such a range of solutions as follows, adding merely that the most frequently encountered distribution pits the 1st and 2nd persons with ESSE against the 3rd with HABERE, occurring

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[67] The *ALI* questionnaire (Giacomelli and Grassi, 1953) for nearby San Felice Circeo (less than 15 km. west), using informants native to Terracina (born 1892, 1913), registered ESSE in all persons save the 3rd singular, e.g.,

  i-so-ffattə 'I have made'   *nuĭ-semmə-fattə* 'we have made'

  tu-si-ffattə 'thou hast ...'   *vuĭ-sétə-fattə* 'you have made'

  iss-a-fattə 'he has made'   *issə-so-fattə* 'they have made'

HABERE is used with all verbs in the 3rd pers. sing. (just as ESSE is exclusive in the rest of the paradigm); *a-vənú'/ɟə* 'he came', *sə-n-a-í'/ɟə-n-ʲ/ᵤnnə* 'it sank', *s-a-ʃbu-dá'/ɟə* 'si è slogata', *s-a-missə* 'si è messo' (also for weather: *a-ppĭovú'/ɟə* 'it has rained').

widely as delimited by Giammarco 1973: 72 in the «Abruzzo NO (sabino-cicolano-marsicano-carseolano) e orientale (chietino-pe-scarese-teramano-adriatico)», which he typifies with data from L'Aquila, Avezzano, and Pescara.

Terracina	Cori (LT)	Roiate/Zagarolo	L'Aquila/Avezzano/Pescara
1. ESSE	1. ESSE	1. ESSE	1. ESSE
2. ESSE	2. ESSE	2. ESSE	2. ESSE
3. ESSE (HAB.)	3. HAB.	3. HAB.	3. HAB.
4. ESSE	4. ESSE	4. ESSE	4. ESSE
5. ESSE	5. ESSE	5. ESSE	5. ESSE
6. ESSE (HAB).	6. HAB.	6. HAB.	6. HAB.

Castro dei Volsci	Lanciano	Introdacqua	Valle d'Orte
1. ESSE/HAB.	1. ESSE/HAB.	1. HAB.	1. HAB.
2. ESSE	2. ESSE	2. ESSE	2. HAB.
3. HAB.	3. HAB.	3. HAB.	3. HAB.
4. ESSE/HAB.	4. ESSE/HAB.	4. HAB.	4. HAB.
5. ESSE	5. ESSE/HAB.	5. HAB.	5. HAB.
6. HAB.	6. HAB.	6. HAB.	6. HAB.

Glancing over such a schema, one might be tempted to infer that the initial breach in the use of HABERE as transitive auxiliary occurred with the 2nd person singular, i.e., the system of Intro-dacqua as compared with that of the Valle d'Orte, and that there-after ESSE was extended to the 2nd person plural, thence to the 1st person, and so forth, eventually reaching full extension as at Terracina. This reasoning is flawed in that it does not ade-quately acknowledge the widespread early Romance alternations of nearly synonymous ESSE and HABERE periphrases (the ones vestigially marked for subject interest, the others flatly declara-tive) for all persons [68]. It is one-sided insofar as it does not reckon with the no less dramatic extensions of HABERE in these same dialects — with reflexives, not merely of the transitive type (ʳs'a

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[68] Also note that the loosely synchronic distributions sketched do not align themselves geographically along an axis or around any epicenter; thus theories of diffusion seem quite out of place in this context.

lavatu⌐ ← SE LAVARE), but also of interest (⌐*s'a pentitu*⌐ ← SE POENITURE), with verbs of state and motion, whether reflexivized or not (⌐⟨*s'*⟩*a mortu*⌐ ← SE MORIRE, ⌐⟨*s'*⟩*a itu*⌐ ← SE IRE). We are instead in the presence of divergent secondary simplifications of an excessively rich or polymorphous early Italo-Romance array of compound past constructions. At this point we must seek to ascertain the principle of differentiation which determined the dominance of either ESSE or HABERE, as they are distributed in differing local paradigms.

Several facts force such an interpretation. For tightness of argument, let us momentarily set aside all the comparative data for widespread variation of ESSE and HABERE in cognate early Romance dialects which has been adduced above [69]. Even within the dialects at hand, there are internal features which require the reconstruction of relatively complete, competing paradigms, e.g.,

*a magnatu ~ s'a magnatu	** s'a venutu ~ a venutu*
*è magnatu ~ s'è magnatu	**s'è venutu ~ è venutu.*

For example, what of the presence of HABERE in these same dialects, constructing with reflexives, verbs of motion and state (as mentioned above), e.g., *s'a mortu, a itu, ajj' itu* (← **HABEO ITU*)? One could not easily conceive of a linear spead of HABERE restricted to the third person or to the third and the first persons in the face of a putatively stronger ESSE moving no less directly to usurp its rôle elsewhere. What is critical in all the above systems is that auxiliary choice has come to be governed by subject person and no longer, as in Latin, not to mention standard Italian, French, etc., by verbal class. Giammarco 1973: 71 was quick to point this out:

«la selezione dell'ausiliare non è condizionata, né dipendente dalla classe del verbo. Non esiste, cioè, alcuna opposizione tra gli ausiliari /essere/ ~ /avere/ parallela all'opposizione tra le classi dei verbi: /verbi transitivi/ ~ /verbi riflessivi/ ~ /verbi intransitivi/ come invece si verifica nelle lingue romanze ad estrazione letteraria» [70].

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[69] As for the early phases of central Italian dialects, regrettably the written record is far poorer than for Old French or Old Spanish; but, on the other hand, modern dialectal fragmentation is far better preserved. Thus comparative and internal reconstruction must here seek to supplant the lacunae in medieval documentation.

[70] However we must part company with the great Abruzzese specialist when he continues: «Di conseguenza è da ritenersi legittimamente che la situazione

One likely pre-condition for so sweeping a redetermination of auxiliary distribution is the presence of nearly synonymous ESSE and HABERE constructions which, converging semantically to a certain degree, and blending formally, would form the background for speakers to move (away from hypertrophy and near redundancy) towards one auxiliary — presumably settling on the one more frequent with each person. (As to why ESSE was more frequent with the 1st and 2nd persons and HABERE with the 3rd, cf. infra).

A second internal factor demanding reconstruction of widespread alternation of ESSE and HABERE periphrases regards participial agreement. Even for those Abruzzese dialects which eventually settled on HABERE as universal auxiliary, strong evidence for ˀan earlier dual paradigm, i.e., one in which ESSE and HABERE alternated in the manner of Italian, comes from the presence of subject agreement in the participle, here observable as vestigial metaphony (occasioned historically by a final -*i*). E.g., San Tommaso (PE, in the Orte Valley, data from Giammarco 1973: 73f):

m'ɛ̀jjə arrauatə	ci auǎmmə ɛrrɛuétə
t'i arrauatə	v'auàitə ɛrrɛuétə
s'a rrauatə	s'óuənə ɛrrɛuétə

(implying **ci semu arrivati*, **vi sete arrivati*, and **si su[n] arrivati*). For Introdacqua, where HABERE has also come to dominate the paradigm, save in the 2nd person singular, even active transitive phrases show such participial agreement, e.g., (data from Giammarco 1970: 183)

i ɛ̀iiə maññàtə	nu avɛ̀mmə mɛññétə
tu ši maññàtə	vu avɛ̀itə mɛññétə
éssə à maññàtə	ɛ́ssə óvə mɛññétə

(implying **nu [ci] semu mɛññéti*, **vu [vi] sete mɛññéti*, etc.).

On the matter of participial agreement, recall that the two periphrastic structures were neatly opposed in spoken Latin and early Romance. That with ESSE inserted the participle as a predicate adjective correferent with the subject, while that with HABERE + NEUT(ral) direct object made it correferent with the object. Later, in absolute use, where a determining correferent

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abruzzese rispecchi più da vicino il latino popolare», for reasons that will become clear momentarily.

with strainght active transitives, ESSE with the medio-passive reflexives of interest, motion verbs, etc.); e.g.,

sò magnatə	avamə ~ sèmə magnatə
ši magnatə	avatə ~ sètə magnatə
a magnatə	a magnatə
me sò magnatə	cə avamə ~ sèmə magnétə
tə ši magnatə	v'avatə ~ sètə magnétə
s'a magnatə	s'a magnétə

The inferential value of participial agreement can occasionally serve to reconstruct the erstwhile domain of HABERE directly (rather than ex silentio). For example, at Cori (data again from Chiominto 1984), where HABERE survives only in the 3rd person plural, optional object agreement (as well as no agreement) marks its former presence with active transitives, while subject agreement with reflexives of all sorts and verbs of motion and state reveals the proto-Romance area of ESSE; e.g., *Ntonio è rotta la bbrocca* 'A. has broken the pitcher', *Maria è rutto jo ndindaròlo* 'M. has broken the piggy-bank', *si vinta la tombola* 'you have won the lottery', *so ccote le prunca* 'I have picked the plums', *la neve è ruvinata l'uva* 'the rain has ruined the grape crop', *la so ppiantata tardi* [sc. *la nzalata*] 'I (masc.) planted [the lettuce] late', but compare *Chécco è ito fori* 'Frank has gone out' / *Cobbilla è ita alla cchiésia* 'C. has gone to church', *nù simo magnato*, but *nù simo iti, nù ci simo vergognati, issi èo magnato/jesse èo magnato*, but *issi èo iti, issi s'èo vergognati/jesse èo ite, jesse s'èo vergognate* [72].

If such internal factors require reconstruction of a rather thoroughgoing alternation of auxiliary periphrases, we are faced by two capital questions: (1) why should HABERE and ESSE have produced alternating periphrases to begin with? and (2) what

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[72] Those dialects which distinguish neuter from masculine provide yet another participial index for reconstructing the earlier respective domains of ESSE and HABERE even in the singular; e.g., at Servigliano (Ascoli Piceno, data from Camilli 1929: 230 et passim):

sò mmagnato		sò vvinutu
sò ffatto lo pa		sò statu
sò ffatto lu vutu	but	ši statu
sò mmazzato lu porcu		te ši svejjatu
sò vviduto		ce ši vinutu

(where *lo cašo* 'cheese', *lo peššo* 'fish' in general, whereas a single, specific [count] 'fish' is *lu peššu*, just as *lu mulu* 'mule', *lu porcu* 'hog', etc.).

object was absent, participles appeared with HABERE in their least-marked, neuter form. As the participle became increasingly integrated into a verbal syntagm with HABERE and its vestigial ties to a potential direct object became correspondingly weakened, the more general, unmarked ending became ever more dominant. The manuals characteristically cite an example from Oribasius' (6th-c.) medical synopsis: ILLA OMNIA PROBATUM HABEMUS (not *PROBATA) [71]. As is well-known, the various Romance dialects have moved differing distances towards the total elimination of transitive participle agreement with HABERE. Direct object agreement is already absent in Roland: *Li reïs se drecet, si at rendut ses armes* (v. 2849 — not *rendutes*); yet recall the stir created by the *Arrêté ministériel du 26 fév 1901* which sought, ever so modestly, to bring official standards closer in line with popular usage — cf. Nyrop 1930: 255ff. Since this sort of formal government is echoic, word-order came to serve as its prime determinant: a preceding marked NP is more likely to be echoed in subsequent correferent participles than the reverse (i.e., anticipatory agreement, which is becoming rare even in conservative central Italy). Nyrop loc. cit. provides a characteristic older French example: *il eurent tendu leur voiles et leur banieres mises* (Robert de Clari, although erosion of final -*s* may here play a contributing rôle; cf. also Levitt 1973). For Italian, cf. Hall 1958 and, for a seaching historical account, Lucchesi 1962-3, not to mention Rohlfs 1969₂: 115. One may summarize the formal correlations of participle agreement and auxiliary type briefly as follows: the ESSE or stative model called for subject agreement, while the HABERE or transitive model had either optional direct object agreement or, increasingly, no agreement.

In the restructuring which took place in central Italy, whereby auxiliary selection was increasingly determined by verbal person, participial agreement may frequently stand as an index to an earlier distribution of auxiliaries, as noted a moment ago for San Tommaso (PE) and Introdacqua (AQ). Consider the situation at Lanciano (CH), where ESSE and HABERE are now distributed by person, while subject agreement in the participles suggests an older auxiliary distribution according to verbal type (HABERE

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[71] Cf. Thielmann 1885: 547f, who also cites unmarked participles earlier in FACERE periphrases, e.g., Pompeius in Cicero (*Att.* 8, 12*b*) COHORTES ... AD ME MISSUM FACIAS, later Gromat. (p. 351, 23) COLORES ET ... GENERA AGRI MENSORI NOTUM FACIAM.

factors motivated their eventual reshuffling or redetermination as a function of subject person rather than verbal type (as in Latin and the more conservative Romance languages)? Sufficient answers to the first question, in terms of late Latin and early Romance background, have already been provided above to allow for its reformulation is slightly altered terms: why should the middle-voice deponential model with ESSE experience its greatest extension (to all verb classes) cheek-by-jowl with a no less remarkable extension of HABERE (also to all verb classes)? E.g., ⌐*so magnata*⌐ beside ⌐*a ita*⌐, ⌐*a štata*⌐, ⌐*s'a levata*⌐. The thrust of ESSE into active transitive categories through medio-passives and reflexivized *neutropassiva* brought it into contact with HABERE in nearly synonymous constructions that could first contaminate and then eventually neutralize one another[73]. It is no accident therefore that the extension of ESSE has as its necessary concomitant a parallel and complementary extension of HABERE. Note that outside central Italy, where ESSE enjoys a similar extension, it is likewise in the midst of dialects which extended HABERE. In the Catalan areas, for Capcir and Fenouillet, see Krüger 1913: 53ff where [*sun agut*], [*sun kregut*], [*sun sapyut*], [*sun tingut*] 'I have had', 'I have believed', 'I have known', 'I have held', correspond to neighboring forms with HABEO, [*ai agut*], [*ai kregut*], etc., and, more significantly, [*m'ai sigut*] 'I have sat down', [*an anat*] 'they have gone'; for Olot and Gerona, [*sò βist*] just as [*so βiŋgut*], beside [*è βist*], [*è βiŋgut*], cf. Badía Margarit 1951: 326, also Berchem 1973: 117ff. Likewise in southern Italy (in areas noted neither by Berchem 1973 nor by Giammarco 1973), ESSE crops up sporadically midst more widespread generalization of HABERE, e.g., around Bari and Ruvo di Puglia (*AIS* Pt. 718), *so akkattata, si akkattata, so avuta,* cit. ap. Lacalendola 1969: 23 et pass., Melillo 1976: 58ff[74]. The prime northern Italian islet of ESSE extension is in the province of Novara, where in addition to neighboring dialects with opposing HABERE extension, auxiliary determination by subject person internally opposes ESSE (*vess*) for the 1st and 2nd persons to HABERE (*avegh*) for the 3rd in all

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[73] A curious instance of auxiliary blending is mentioned by Giammarco 1973: 74n16: «A Ortona a Mare (CH) si registra anche la fase dell'incrocio HAB[ES] + ES nella II pers.: *asci fätta, m'asci fätta* 'hai, mi hai fatto'».

[74] For the use of ESSE to set the 3rd person off from the 1st and 2nd around Brindisi and in the Salentine Peninsula (Carovigno [*AIS* Pt. 729] and Avetrana [*AIS* Pt. 738]) and in a few Calabrian towns, e.g., Montegiordano, cf. infra n. 76.

verb classes: e.g., (data from Turri 1973: 116ff) *mi i son mangià* [75], *mi i son durmì*, but *lü l'à durmì, lü l s'a lavà, lur i s'àn lavà, lur i s'àn salüdà* 'they have greeted one another'. Likewise at Chieri (TO), where ESSE still lingers as the more archaïc, rustic auxiliary for the 1st and 2nd persons (cf. supra n. 9), HABERE is used uniformly for the 3rd, e.g., *(kiel) al a setássə* 'he has sat down', *(lurə) al ⁽ʸ⁾an setássə* 'they have sat down', *(lurə) al ⁽ʸ⁾an lavássə* 'they washed (themselves)' (data from June, 1985).

Turning to the second issue, let us begin by asking why in (most, although not in all [76]) the dialects with this radical restructuring of auxiliary distribution, should ESSE have come to the fore in the 1st and 2nd persons, either in the one or the other or, more often, in both, with HABERE enjoying like extension in the 3rd? Accounting for this opposition requires positing some slight residual semantic distinction between the middle-voice descendants with ESSE and the transitive-based HABERE perhiphrases. I do not have enough Latin, least of all late Latin, to opine as to whether the variant constructions with SE carried some putative nuance of heightened subject involvement absent from those

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[75] Some of the variation Turri cit. presents may likely reflect dialect levelling or conflation within Novara. The *ALI* questionnaire, for example, does not appear to speak as frankly as Turri, concealing extension of ESSE, while outlying communities in the province show ESSE yet more strongly entrenched, e.g., Trecate (*ALI* Bc 11 — Pellis 1938-42) on which see Tuttle forthcoming. In a far broader theater, I believe the widespread northern subject for the 1st and 2nd persons singular derive from a blending of these medio-passive and straight transitive constructions, e.g., *(mi) levo, (mi) vado, (mi) son*, flanked by the characteristic past periphrases, *(eo) aio levato*, whence *mi haio levato → a mi go levà*, etc.

[76] In a few towns of northern Calabria, e.g., Montegiordano, and other points in the Salentine Peninsula, e.g., Carovigno and Avetrana (*AIS* 729 and 738), ESSE has been extended universally in the 3rd person, which is thereby opposed to the 1st and 2nd with HABERE throughout. Melillo 1976: 58ff refers to the same distribution («'è fatto' per 'ha fatto'») as characterizing «l'area tarantino-brindisina», yet a glance at the *ALI* questionnaires from Taranto (Gm9), Palagianello (Gm6), Ceglie Messapico (Gm3), all compiled by Corrado Grassi in November, 1956, shows no trace of ESSE beyond the conditions of standard Italian. Quite the contrary, in a majority of instances, HABERE appears in contexts where Italian would have ESSE, e.g., Tar. *s'a ffáttə* 'si è fatto', *s'a üastăătə, ánnə skappáătə* 'sono fuggiti', Palag. *s'a ᵃmmarètə* 'si è guardata [nello specchio]', Ceglie *s'a ttrimⁱndúútə* 'si è guardata', *s'a spuštátatə* 'si è slogata', *sᵉ-n' óŏnə skappáătə* 'sono fuggiti'. In short, this is a matter requiring further investigation (into local phonologic developments, homonymic collisions within the paradigm [the 2nd person singular is uniformly *a* in these zones], etc.). Note, however, that all the reported locales are surrounded by areas in which HABERE has been generalized in the inverse manner, e.g., Montegiordano *è dittə, è ffattə, s'è mis n kaminə*, as against nearby Amendolara *a ddittə, a ffattə, a bbenútə* 'è venuto', *ss'a mis a kkaminá, si nn'a ghiútə* 'he has gone', etc. (cf. Rensch 1973 for maps).

without reflexive pronoun (cf. Herzog 1910: 143, Sneyders de Vogel 1927₂: 129, Terracini 1945 [1957: 171ff], Väänänen 1982₃: 222). The Latin middle descendants (with semantically kindred verbs attracted to their formal patterns) appear to have maintained sufficient coherence to have received SE as a form class, marking them off from genuine passives. As an enduring, even Romance, option, the dative of interest, expressed by means of a reflexive pronoun, could be inserted with most transitive verbs as a semantic increment (as in Italian, French, etc.). Even synchronically such a stylistic device could foster continuing (re)-interpretation of any reflexive of interest as the more-colored variant, i.e., with enhanced personal, psycho-physical subject participation, than its flatter, more declarative non-pronominal equivalent (*me lo sono mangiato* versus *l'ho mangiato*). The frequency of such reflexivized active verbs in central Italian dialects has long struck observers, e.g., Finamore 1893₂: 23 «il trans. e l'intrans. usiamo di frequente nella forma riflessiva: *Ajuttirse* 'inghiottire', *Se 'ngrasse* 'ingrassa', *Ji' me crede* 'io credo, io penso', *Se crede* 'crede', *S'è mmorte* 'è morto'... [etc.]» [77]. Although for the earlier stages of these dialects there is a paucity of written evidence, compare Haumer 1934: 65f for the 14th-c. *Cronica aquilana*, e.g., *n'andemo, ne gemmo, gisende, corsese, se ne fugero, non te potrai partire*, etc. In the 14th-c. Roman *Legenda di S. Cristoforo* (ed. Vattasso), *io me vo partire* (p. 78, 99), *lo demonio se partìo* (p. 80, 161), *io me so brigante* (p. 77, 75) — cf. for the latter even Dante *I' mi son* (*Purg.* 24, 52). Such reflexivization of *essere* gave rise to a second paradigm at Velletri (Crocioni 1907: 54):

io somme ~ so'		noi semonce ~ semo	
tu site ~ si		voi seteve ~ sete	
quello esse ~ è		quelli sosse ~ sonno	

which appears fairly old, given the clitic postposition (Lex Tobler-Mussafia) and the fact that **so* < SUNT for the 3rd pers. plr. had not yet received an analogic integration with *ponno, vonno*, etc.

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[77] Leafing through Giammarco's *DAM* brings up a greater abundance of reflexivized forms than in Italian (or French, Spanish, etc.), e.g., *figliəmə sə n'è ccadutə* 'my son has fallen' (Bisegna, L'Aquila), *jéssə sə cròidə ca*... 'he believes that...' (Pescara), and the same holds for the *AIS*, e.g., *n sə və ʃte* 'he does not want to stay' (Castelli).

Thus, in the context of the variation of near equivalent periphrases here reconstructed, it does not seem too great a leap of the imagination to suppose that the medial ESSE constructions would, with their slight semantic marking, have been used more frequently with the 1st and 2nd persons, or both, than with the 3rd, where the psychologically unmarked HABERE periphrases would instead have been most frequent. Recall that locutor and interlocutor (i.e., speech-act participants) are most often human, while the 3rd person is often inanimate. (Benveniste 1966: 228f has even referred to the 3rd as a «non-personne»). In this sense, the 1st and 2nd persons rank higher than the 3rd on what Comrie 1981: 178ff has termed the «animacy hierarchy»: «whose main components, from highest to lowest degree of animacy, are: human > animate > inanimate». One might surmise that the parameters of agentivity and empathy are more vividly engaged in the 1st and 2nd persons which were thus more apt or suited for frequent expression by a middle-voice construction. There is so much evidence, from a range of languages, for the psychological or semantic (and thence formal) separation of the 1st/2nd from the 3rd persons that it may here be taken for granted. Just as languages of politeness flee 1st/2nd-person deixis (Japanese being an extreme case in point, cf. Comrie 1981: 29), vivid, plebeian languages make frequent recourse to such emphatic devices for marking subject participation and interest. And with frequency of use comes overuse and semantic erosion («usure sémantique», to use Bally's phrase). At such a point, the sheer frequency of ESSE-based medial constructions with the 1st and/or 2nd persons must have led to its acceptance as the only auxiliary even in pronounless periphrases with HABERE-originated rules of participle government. I.e., I prefer to consider the type ⌜*so' magnato*⌝ as secondary compromise between *aio magnato and **me so' magnato*, than as a direct descendant of Classical CENATUS SUM, PASTUS SUM, POTUS SUM — at least in the vast number of dialects which do not observe the stative rule of subject agreement in the participle (*semu magnato* rather than *semu magnati). Still, it must be owned that are dialects, such as that of Introdacqua, cit. sup. with *avɛmmə mɛññétə* [78], which may suggest that the

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[78] Cf. even with the 3rd person (a bastion of HABERE): *óvə mɛññétə, óvə ɛvvəčanétə, óvə ellukkétə* 'they have yelled' — Giammarco 1970: 183, perhaps still more indicative that the entire paradigm derives from a stative model. Such a

neutropassiva, pronounless model with subject agreement surviv-
ed in some more conservative areas. However, this remains a
question of local variation at best, within a larger paradigm, and
does not change our basic thesis: that some coherent middle-
voice categories remained sufficiently intact both to foster trans-
mission of a full range of ESSE periphrases and subsequently to
determine their distribution according to a semantic criterion.

What is essential to understanding the generalization of ESSE
constructions in the 1st person (as in northern Teramano or at
Collelongo south in the Marsica) or the 2nd (as at Introdacqua,
etc.) or, as is most often the case, both, in opposition to a greater
presence of unmarkerd HABERE in the 3rd, is the psychosemantic
edge these middle-voice descendants retained (as marking height-
ened subject interest). In conclusion, just as an aspectual di-
stinction, remaining in latency, triggered development of the
HABERE periphrase, a voice distinction, lingering among the medio-
passive/deponent class, determined the peculiar efflorescence of
ESSE as an auxiliary with all verb classes in central Italy.

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model certainly survived in the oldest stages of the Romance dialects, e.g., *les
tuenz judemenz ne sui obliez* 'I have not forgotten your judgements' < OBLITUS
SUM (*Psautier d'Oxford* cit. ap. Chabaneau 1872: 24n1); yet whether they have
survived into relatively recent central Italian dialects is another matter.

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