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EXISTENTIALS AND LOCATIVES IN ROMANCE DIALECTS OF ITALY

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List of abbreviations

*	ungrammatical form or usage
??	dubious form or usage
>	indicates relative prominence on a hierarchy
#	grammatical form which is infelicitous in the given context
=	separates a cliticized form from its host
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Ø	predicate which is unspecified in logical structure or displaced from the syntactic Nucleus
ACC	accusative case
ACS	accessible
ACT	active
ADE	adessive case
ADJ	adjective
agr	agreement
AGX	Agreement Index Node
arg	argument
ART	article
A$_T$	actor of transitive
AUX	auxiliary
CL	clitic
COND	conditional mood
Contr.	controller of agreement
COP/COP	copula
CP	complementizer phrase
DAT	dative case
DEC	declarative illocutionary force
DEF	definite
DEIC	deictic
DIM	diminutive

DP	determiner phrase
d-S	derived subject of passive
ESCL	expletive subject clitic
EX.NEG	existential negation
EXPL	expletive subject
F	feminine
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future
GEN	genitive case
GER	gerund
IF	illocutionary force
IMP	imperative
IMPERS	impersonal
INA	inactive
IND	indicative mood
INF	infinitive
Infl	Inflection position
INSTR	instrumental case
LDP/LDP	Left Detached Position
LINK	linker
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NEG/NEG	negation, negative
NOM	nominative case
NONPST	non past
NP	noun phrase
Nuc	Nucleus
OApul.	Old Apulian
OBL	oblique case
OCamp.	Old Campanian
OCat.	Old Catalan
OFr.	Old French
Old Abr.	Old Abruzzese
OLig.	Old Ligurian
OLomb.	Old Lombard

ONav.-Arag.	Old Navarro-Aragonese
OPied.	Old Piedmontese
OProv.	Old Provençal
ORom.	Old Romanesco
OSic.	Old Sicilian
OTusc.	Old Tuscan
OUmbr.	Old Umbrian
OVen	Old Venician
PA	verb class marker in Ulwa
PARAG	paragogic form
PART	partitive case
PASS	passive
p.c.	personal communication
Pd	possessed
Per	Periphery
PERF	perfective
PF	proform
PFP	perfect participle
PL	plural
PoCS	Post-Core Slot
POSS	possessive form
PP	prepositional phrase
Pr	possessor
PrCS	Pre-Core Slot
PRED/pred	predicate
PREP	preposition
pro	silent variable whose value is provided by verb inflection or by a controller, or otherwise is retrieved from discourse
PROP	proprietive verb
PRS	present
PSA	Privileged Syntactic Argument
PST	past
PTCP	participle
QP	quantifier phrase
RDP/RDP	Right Detached Position

REFL	reflexive clitic
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
RP	referential phrase
S	Privileged Syntactic Argument (subject) of intransitive
S_A	actor of intransitive
SAP	Speech Act Participant
SBJV	subjunctive mood
SCL	subject clitic
SENT-KA	sentential *ka* marker in Ulwa
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
SS	same subject switch reference marker
S_U	undergoer of intransitive
SVO	subject-verb-object order
TA	verb class marker in Ulwa
TAM	tense-aspect-mood marker
TOP	topic marker
U_T	undergoer of transitive
UV	undergoer voice
V	verb
WOM	word order marker

5

Historical context

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5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we provide the historical context of the development of *there* sentences from Latin to modern Italo-Romance. We place particular emphasis on evidence from early Italo-Romance, which anticipates the variation attested in the modern Romance dialects of Italy. The primary components of *there* sentences undergo important changes in the transition from Latin to Romance. The extent of such changes is immediately observable from the evidence in (1a–d), where the classical Latin pattern is compared with its outcomes in three modern Romance languages.

(1) a. Est   modus   in rebus, sunt   certi fines.[1]   (Latin)
        be.3SG measure.NOM in things be.3PL certain boundaries.NOM
        (Horace, *Sermones*, I, 1, 106)

     b. C' è   una misura nelle cose, ci sono limiti   certi. (Italian)
        PF be.3SG a   measure in.the things PF be.3PL boundaries certain

     c. Hi ha   una mesura de les coses, hi ha   límits   certs.
        PF have.3SG a   measure of the things PF have.3SG boundaries certain
                                                                     (Catalan)

     d. Il   y   a   une mesure dans les choses, il   y   a
        EXPL PF have.3SG a   measure in   the things EXPL PF have.3SG

        des   limites   précises.   (French)
        some boundaries certain

        'There's a measure in things, there are certain boundaries.'

---

[1] The example from Horace is slightly abridged, as, at the outset of this chapter, we aim to draw attention only to the primary components of the existential structure.

Whereas Latin does not exhibit a clitic proform in *there* sentences, many Romance languages do (Blasco Ferrer 2003, Bentley and Ciconte forthcoming).[2] In addition to the Latin copula ESSE 'be', the Romance languages exhibit HABERE 'have' (cf. 1c,d), STARE 'stay', and TENERE 'hold' (see §1.1.1 and Maps 1–4), in some cases alternating two of these copulas.[3] Copula alternation is related to variation in agreement (see §§ 3.3.1 and 4.3.1). Whereas in classical Latin the nominative post-copular noun phrase invariably controls number agreement on the copula ESSE 'be', in Romance the post-copular noun phrase may fail to control agreement. Lack of agreement usually characterizes the structures with HABERE (though see the exceptions cited in §3.3.3). This is shown by the Catalan and French examples in (1c) and (1d). Finally, Latin *there* sentences do not have the expletive pre-copular pronoun which is required in Romance languages like French (cf. 1d).

We were able to document some of the changes which led to the innovations mentioned above in the analysis of a corpus of early Italo-Romance vernacular texts (see Appendix 1), where a variety of patterns is simultaneously attested. Thus, the early Italo-Romance data show that the construction with ESSE tends to manifest the characteristics of Latin *there* sentences (cf. 1a, 2a), and yet there already appear some Romance innovations, namely the optional presence of a clitic proform (cf. 2b), variation in agreement (cf. 2a,b vs. 3), and the occurrence of an expletive nominative pronoun (cf. 3). Observe that the lack of agreement and the presence of expletives characterize the northern vernaculars, thus showing typological crossdialectal differences which anticipate those of the modern dialects.

(2)   a. Sunu   multi autri dubii.   (OSic.)
          be.3PL many other doubts
          'There are many other doubts.'
          (*Sposizione*, VII, 17, 21, p. 132)

      b. Estinchi   ancora un altru modu   di cruchificari.
          be.3SG.PF yet   an other manner of crucifying
          'There is yet another way of crucifying.'
          (*Sposizione*, XXI, 3, 2, p. 232)

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[2] The etymologies of the locative clitics cannot be determined with certainty. We follow the hypothesis that the proforms derive from three etymologically locative adverbs: HINCE (according to Maiden 1995: 167, but see also the etymology ECCE HIC proposed by Rohlfs 1969: 899, Tekavčić 1980: 189, Blasco Ferrer 2003: 61), IBI (Badía Margarit 1951: 266, Wagner 1960: 624, Wanner 1987: 40), and an allotrope of proto-Romance locative *j* (Benincà 2007: 34–5). While the latter is restricted to the early vernaculars of the north of Italy, the first two are found in the other early Italo-Romance varieties. Further locative etyma are provided for the proforms of other Romance languages: HINC in Logudorese, Campidanese, Aragonese, HIC in Provençal, French, ILLOC in Campidanese, INDE in some Italo-Romance varieties (Blasco Ferrer 2003: 61).

[3] Albeit rarely, FIERI can be read existentially in some contexts, e.g. *Fit magna caedes* 'There was a great massacre' (Caesar, *De bello gallico*, VII, 70), *Miserior mulier me nec fiet nec fuit* 'There will not be, nor there ever was, a more miserable woman than I am' (Plautus, *Mercator*, IV, 700). A reflex of FIERI is found in the Romanian copula *fi*.

(3) El   sera   gran guerre.   (OLomb.)
     EXPL be.FUT.3SG great wars
     'There will be great wars.'
     (*Parafrasi*, 56[b], 20, p. 84)

The proform is not obligatory at this stage, as is shown by the contrast between the examples in (2a) and (2b), which are drawn from the same early Sicilian text. The structures with the copula ESSE show crossdialectal differences in number agreement, though to a lesser extent than their modern counterparts (see Maps 1 and 2). Whereas the southern varieties exhibit consistent agreement, in continuity with Latin (cf. 2a,b), the northern dialects deviate from this pattern and may lack number agreement (cf. 3). The northern varieties, Tuscan, and one Pugliese vernacular text (the *Libro di Sidrac*) may also exhibit an expletive pronoun (cf. 3 and 4c).

The copula HABERE begins to appear in the *there* sentences of late Latin (Zamboni 2000: 106, Bauer 1995: 217). In early Italo-Romance this is found to alternate with the copula ESSE in early Tuscan, early Piedmontese, and in early Apulian.

(4) a. **Avea**   un vecchio, ch' avea   nome ser Frulli.   (OTusc.)
        have.PST.3SG an old.man who have.PST.3SG name sir Frulli
        'There was a man whose name was sir Frulli.'
        (*Novellino*, XCVI, p. 102)

     b. **Fue**   uno re   molto crudele.
        be.PST.3SG a   king very   cruel
        'There was a very cruel king.'
        (*Novellino*, XXXVI, p. 48)

     c. El   **fo**   uno reis qui avea   un anel d' or   (OPied.)
        EXPL be.PST.3SG a   king who have.PST.3SG a   ring of gold

        o'   **avea**   una pera   preciosa.
        where have.PST.3SG a   stone   precious
        'There was a king who had a ring of gold in which was set (lit. in which *had*) a precious stone.'
        (*Sermoni subalpini*, 251, 29–30 (Parry 2013: 519))

     d. Et à   altre manere de angeli chi [...]   (OApul.)
        and have.3SG other manners of angels who
        'And there are other kinds of angel who ...'
        (*Sidrac*, 4v, 36, p. 203)

     e. Et **so'**   altre manere d' angeli.
        and be.3PL other manners of angels
        'And there are other kinds of angel.'
        (*Sidrac*, 4v, 37, p. 203)

The alternation of the copulas HABERE and ESSE is also found in the *there* sentences of other early Romance languages, as can be seen in the Old French examples reported here.

(5) a. A   la   cort   avoit   trios   barons.   (OFr.)
        at   the   court   have.PST.3SG   three   barons
        'There were three barons at the court.'
        (Béroul, *Tristan*, 581)

   b. Si   fut   un   sire   de   Rome   la   citet.
       WOM   be.PST.3SG   a   sir   of   Rome   the   city
       'There was a sir from the city of Rome.'
       (*La vie de Saint Alexis*, 3, 3)

In the following sections we will discuss in more depth the characteristics of *there* sentences in classical and late Latin, as well as early Italo-Romance. We will not offer a diachronic analysis, but will instead provide an overview of the historical background of our findings from the modern dialects. After considering *there* sentences in classical Latin (§5.2.1), we discuss the contrast between existential, attributive, and locative constructions (§5.2.2), and present a number of changes that occurred in these structures in late Latin (§5.2.3). We then move on to early Italo-Romance (§5.3). In section 5.3.1 we provide a typology of early Italo-Romance *there* sentences. We then analyse the three main innovations which occurred at this stage: the emergence and reanalysis of the proform (§§5.3.2–5.3.4), a number of changes in copula selection and agreement (§5.3.5), and the emergence of expletive pronouns (§5.3.6). Our conclusions are drawn together in section 5.4.

5.2 *There* sentences in Latin

5.2.1 *Classical Latin*

We start this section with a discussion of classical Latin *there* sentences (see Appendix 2 for our sources).[4] A subgroup of these structures is formed with the copula ESSE and a nominative post-copular noun phrase, which controls agreement on the copula.[5]

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[4] The changes which occur from archaic and early Latin to classical Latin (Adams 1976) do not significantly affect existentials. The discussion which follows can thus be considered to encompass archaic and early Latin.

[5] The Latin examples are taken from the original primary sources and have been checked within large portions of context (see Appendix 2). The translations are our own, although the Latin lexis and the English equivalents were verified on <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>.

(6) a. Erant   enim leges,   erant   quaestiones vel de caede   vel
        be.PST.3PL   indeed laws.NOM be.PST.3PL issues.NOM or on murder or
        de vi.
        on violence
        'There were laws, there were issues regarding murder or violence.'
        (Cicero, *Pro Milone*, V, 13)

     b. Est   enim   ulciscendi et   puninendi   modus.
        be.3SG   in.fact of.revenge and of.punish   measure.NOM
        'There is in fact a limit to revenge and to punishment.'
        (Cicero, *De officiis*, I, 11)

     c. Est   aliquid   quo   tendis.
        be.3SG   something.NOM   towards.which tend.2SG
        'There is something towards which you tend.'
        (Persius, *Saturae*, III, 60)

The subtype of *there* sentence shown in (6) is that of existential constructions.
The post-copular noun phrase is their only obligatory meaningful component, it is
referential but normally not specific, and it is not the argument of a separate
predicate. It can thus be considered to be the pivot—and hence the predicate—of
the existential construction (see §3.3).

   Because of the paucity of determiners, and since word order is, at least in purely
syntactic terms, flexible, some putative *there* sentences can also be construed as
attributive or locative constructions (in the sense of Feuillet 1998: 673). This is the
case with (7a), if taken out of context, since the adjectival modifier of the post-copular
nominal *leges* 'laws', *tabellariae* 'vote-regulating', can be read as the predicate of an
attributive structure. Similarly, the numeral *quattuor* 'four' can be construed as the
predicate of the construction. In (7b), on the other hand, the prepositional phrase
could equally be the coda of an existential construction or the predicate of a locative
copular sentence.

(7) a. Sunt   enim quattuor leges   tabellariae.
        be.3PL in.fact four   laws.NOM vote-regulating.NOM.PL
        'There are in fact four vote-regulating laws.'
        'The four laws are in fact vote-regulating.'
        'The vote-regulating laws are in fact four.'
        (Cicero, *De legibus*, III, 35)

     b. Erat   a   septentrionibus collis.
        be.PST.3SG from north.side   hill.NOM
        'There was a hill on the north side.'
        'The hill was on the north side.'
        (Caesar, *De bello gallico*, VII, 83)

We thus face two principal difficulties in the analysis of *there* sentences in classical Latin: the absence of determiners, which would normally signal properties that existential pivots typically lack (in particular, specificity; see §4.3.3), and the fact that word order is syntactically unconstrained. However, discourse plays a role in constraining Latin word order (e.g. Bauer 1995: 6, Vincent 1988, Salvi 2004, Devine and Stephens 2006, Ledgeway 2012a: 150–56, 2012b). Since different kinds of *there* sentence tend to be associated with different kinds of focus structure, word order allows us to discern the argumental or predicative role of the post-copular noun phrase. In the following section, we discuss how word order differentiates between existential, attributive, and locative constructions in Latin.[6]

5.2.2 *Existential vs. attributive and locative constructions*

Owing to the high frequency of Subject–Object–Verb (SOV) order in classical Latin, it is generally agreed that this verb-final pattern is the neutral, unmarked word order (e.g. Oniga 1988, 2004, Elerick 1992, Bauer 1995, Vincent 1988, Polo 2004, Salvi 2004, 2005, Devine and Stephens 2006, Magni 2009, Ledgeway 2012a, 2012b).[7]

(8)   a. Caesar   copias   suas   divisit.
         Caesar.NOM   troups.ACC   his.ACC   divide.PST.3SG
         'Caesar divided his troups.'
         (Caesar, *De bello civili*, III, 97)

      b. Ille   e   contrario peltam   pro   parma   fecit.
         he.NOM   on contrary light-shield.ACC in.place.of Thracian shield make.PST.3SG
         'He, on the contrary, made a small shield in place of the Thracian shield.'
         (Cornelius Nepos, *De excellentibus ducibus*, Iphicrates, 1)

Other orders are also grammatical, but they serve to convey pragmatically marked interpretations (e.g. Pinkster 1990: 181, Bauer 1995: 6, Vincent 1998: 418–19, Salvi 2005: 436; Ledgeway 2012a: 59). Thus, pragmatically salient constituents, whether topical or focal, tend to be fronted, and this kind of fronting has been argued to be evidence of functional structure at the level of the clause (Vincent 1998: 422–3, Pinkster 1991, Salvi 2004, 2005, 2011: 356–8, Ledgeway 2012a, 2012b). In terms of the

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[6] As pointed out in previous chapters, we subsume identificational and equational constructions under the cover term 'attributive'. For a distinction in Latin see Devine and Stephens (2006: 204–8). We should further note that classical Latin has a possessive predication with the copula ESSE, e.g. *At Catoni*.DAT *studium*.NOM *modestiae* [. . .] *erat*, lit.: 'but to Cato was the pursuit of moderation . . .' (Sallust, *Coniuratio Catilinae*, 54). However, the possessive construction is differentiated from the existential one by case, since there is no dative possessor noun phrase in existentials.

[7] The frequency of SOV order in Latin has also been correlated with sociolinguistic or stylistic factors (e.g. Adams 1976: 137, Ramat 1980, Panhuis 1982, Charpin 1989, Pinkster 1991: 70–74). In particular, Adams (1976, 2007, 2013) suggests that Latin did not have a neutral, unmarked word order. Rather, variation in word order ought to be explained in relation to sociolinguistic variation, literary genres, and authorial choices, which are specific to each source.

Layered Structure of the Clause (§1.3.2), it appears that classical Latin tends to place the Nucleus in core-initial position, in sentence-focus structures (cf. 9a,b), or to fill the Pre-Core Slot for focalization or topicalization (cf. 9c).[8]

(9) a. [_{Core} [_{Nuc} Advenit]   deinde maximi discriminis dies [. . .]]
           come.PST.3SG then   of.great of.conflict day.NOM.SG
        'Then came the day of the great conflict . . . '
        (Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae*, Liber Posterior, 85)

   b. [_{Core} [_{Nuc} Aderant]   legati   coloniarum [. . .]]
           be.there.PST.3PL envoys.NOM.PL of.the.colonies
        'There were [already on the spot] envoys from the colonies . . . '
        (Tacitus, *Historiae*, II, 14)

   c. [_{PrCS} Idem]   [_{Core} facit   Caesar]
           same.ACC   do.3SG Caesar.NOM
        'The same thing does Caesar.'
        (Caesar, *De bello gallico*, I, 15)

The example in (9a) is the first line of a new section, thus conveying all-new information. The sentence in (9b) is found in the following excerpt.

(9b') Imminere provinciae Narbonensi, in verba Vitellii adactae, classem Othonis trepidi nuntii Fabio Valenti attulere; aderant legati coloniarum auxilium orantes.

'Messengers now came in haste and alarm to inform Fabius Valens how Otho's fleet was threatening the province of Gallia Narbonensis, which had sworn allegiance to Vitellius. Envoys from the colonies were already on the spot praying for aid.'

(Velleius Pat., *Historiae Romanae*, Lib. Post., 85
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>)

Observe that the *nuntii* 'messengers' who inform Fabius are not the *legati* 'envoys' who ask for help. The latter referent is thus introduced for the first time, and is the indefinite subject of a sentence-focus structure, which is marked as such by the fronted verb *aderant*. The example in (9c) is taken from the following context.

(9c') Divico respondit: ita Helvetios a maioribus suis institutos esse uti obsides accipere, non dare, consuerint; eius rei populum Romanum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem [. . .]

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[8] We should note that Latin also has a post-verbal focus position (Pinkster 1991: 69, Salvi 2004: 47), which, however, is not used as frequently as those mentioned above.

'Divico replied that the Helvetii had been so trained by their ancestors, that they were accustomed to receive, not to give hostages; of that fact the Roman people were witness. Having given this reply, he withdrew. On the following day they [the Helvetii, *FMC*] move their camp from that place. Caesar does the same, and [sends forward] all his cavalry…'
(Caesar, *De bello gallico*, I, 14–15 <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>)

In sentence (9c) it is *idem* 'the same', rather than Caesar, that bears pragmatic salience, and is fronted to be topicalized. The verb *facit* is also raised, thus signalling that the post-verbal subject Caesar is part of the rhematic content which conveys new information.

Given that verb fronting can mark sentence focus, we will now start from the position of the copula in order to distinguish existentials and attributives. Observe the contrast in (10).

(10) a. Sunt   autem   duo   crimina.
         be.3PL   instead   two   crimes.NOM
         'There are instead two crimes.'
         (Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, 30)

      b. Lesbia   formosa   est.
         Lesbia.NOM   beautiful.NOM be.3SG
         'Lesbia is beautiful.'
         (Catullus, *Carmina*, LXXXVI, 5)

In (10a) the core-initial copula ESSE marks a sentence-focus structure (cf. also 6a–c), and this can thus be construed as an existential construction. In (10b) the adjectival predicate *formosa* 'beautiful' is the comment of an established topical argument (*Lesbia*). This is thus a predicate-focus attributive construction, which exhibits the unmarked SV order.

Attributive copular predications can also exhibit a fronted focalized constituent. This can be an adjectival predicate, if it is more salient than the nominal argument.[9]

(11) Duae   sunt   praeterea   leges   de sepulcris.
      two.NOM   be.3PL   furthermore   laws.NOM   on sepulchres
      'Two are, furthermore, the laws on sepulchres.'
      (Cicero, *De legibus*, II, 61)

On a par with attributive constructions, locative constructions normally exhibit a non-focal referential argument in core-initial position. The predicative locative prepositional phrase follows, and the copula is in core-final position.

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[9] The copula can also occur in core-initial position in attributive constructions. In such cases, it is a fronted focalized constituent that attracts ESSE in the immediately following position, where the copula, as a Wackernagel element, can attach to a focal host (Adams 1994: 127, Ledgeway 2012a: 156, 256–7).

(12) Cicero   meus   in Formiano erat,   Terentia   et   Tullia
      Cicero.NOM my.NOM in Formiano be.PST.3SG Terentia.NOM and Tullia.NOM
      Romae.
      in.Rome
      'My Cicero was in Formiano, Terentia and Tullia (were) in Rome.'
      (Cicero, *Ad familiares*, XVI, 12)

One also finds inverse locative constructions, where a topical locative predicate (presumably occurring in a detached extra-clausal position) precedes the argument, which in this case is focal.

(13) a. In eo   flumine   pons   erat.
          in that   river   bridge.NOM   be.PST.3SG
          'On that river (there) was a bridge.'
          (Caesar, *De bello gallico*, II, 5)

      b. In   Gallia [. . .] in   singulis   domibus   factiones   sunt.
          in   Gallia   in   individual   houses   factions   be.3PL
          'In Gallia . . . in each house, (there) are factions.'
          (Caesar, *De bello gallico*, VI, 11)

Observe that the focal argument is not specific in (13a,b) and thus these structures can also receive an existential interpretation, although the core-final position of the copula strongly suggests that this type of structure is locative. The patterns of prototypical locatives (cf. 12) and of inverse locatives (cf. 13a,b) can thus be represented as follows, in terms of the Layered Structure of the Clause.

(14) Locative
      [NP][LocPP][ESSE]
      [$_{Core}$ Cicero meus [$_{Nuc}$ in Formiano erat.]]

(15) Inverse locative
      [LocPP][NP][ESSE]
      [$_{LDP}$ In singulis domibus$_i$] [$_{Clause}$ [$_{Core}$ factiones [$_{Nuc}$ Ø$_i$ sunt.]]]

This evidence indicates that locative predications exhibit a clause-final copula regardless of whether they are canonical or inverse, the only difference between these two types of locative being the position of the nominal argument and of the locative predicate. In prototypical locatives the referential noun phrase is the topic, and is thus placed in the core-initial position, whereas the locative predicate follows. The same argument–predicate relation holds for inverse locatives, although the articulation of this relation is inverted for pragmatic purposes, i.e. argument focalization (§2.4.1).

What cannot be ruled out is that the locative predicate of inverse locatives, rather than being detached from the clause (cf. 15), is in the Pre-Core Slot (since the Pre-Core Slot can host topical as well as focal constituents, as is the case with modern German: see Diedrichsen 2008).

(16)   In eo flumine pons erat.
        [_PRCS_ In eo flumine_i_] [_Core_ pons [_Nuc_ Ø_i_ erat.]]

As already shown, the existential construction normally exhibits a core-initial copula, which marks the structure as sentence-focus. When the existential construction has a coda within its focus domain, this is placed between the copula and the pivot (adjuncts are claimed to occur clause-internally in classical Latin: see Devine and Stephens 2006: 79).

(17)   a.   Erant   in quadam civitate rex   et   regina.
              be.PST.3PL in one   town   king.NOM and queen.NOM
              'There were in a town a king and a queen.'
              (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 28)

        b.   Erat   ea   tempestate Romae   Numida   quidam
              be.PST.3SG in.that time   in.Rome Numidian.NOM one.NOM
              nomine   Massiua.
              by.name   Massiua
              'At that time there was in Rome a Numidian (man) by name Massiua.'
              (Sallustius, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 35)

        c.   Erat   Orici   Lucretius Vespillo et   Minucius Rufus cum
              be.PST.3SG in.Oricum Lucretius Vespillo and Minucius Rufus with
              Asiaticis.   navibus   xviii.
              Asiatic   ships   18
              'In Oricum there were Lucretius Vespillo and Minucius Rufus with 18 Asiatic ships.'
              (Caesar, *De bello civile*, III, 7)

The examples in (17) are existential constructions with a coda which is within the focus domain of a sentence-focus structure marked as such by core-initial ESSE. The prototypical existential pattern of classical Latin can thus be represented as follows.

(18)   [ESSE][LocPP][NP]
              [_Core_ Erant [_Per_ in quadam civitate] [_Nuc_ rex et regina.]]

                          Actual Focus Domain

Although Latin lacks overt encoding of (in)definiteness, the contextually driven interpretation of the existential pivot is generally non-specific or new (cf. 17a, which is the first line of Apuleius' fourth book). Indefiniteness may also be overtly expressed by a quantifier, as is the case with *quidam* 'some, a certain' in (17b). Specific pivots are not ruled out (cf. 17c), but normally require the availability reading which was discussed in previous chapters (Abbott 1992, 1993, 1997). Observe that in (17c) the third-person

singular *erat* only agrees with the first of two coordinated noun phrases. In classical Latin, exceptions to subject–predicate agreement only occur in sentence-focus, verb-initial constructions, where the post-verbal argument is focal.

A more rarely attested existential pattern is characterized by the occurrence of the coda in final position.

(19) a. Est   modus   in rebus.
          be.3SG   measure.NOM   in things
          'There is a measure in things.'
          (Horace, *Sermones*, I, 1, 106)

     b. Erat   vallis   inter   duas acies,   ut supra demonstratum
          be.PST.3SG valley.NOM between two   battle.lines as above demonstrated
          est,   non ita   magna.
          be.3SG   not so   big.NOM
          'There was a valley between the two battle lines, as is demonstrated above,
          not so big.'
          (Caesar, *De bello civili*, II, 34)

We can thus characterize the distinction between locative constructions, whether prototypical or inverse, and existential constructions in terms of verb position: whereas the copula is core-final in the former type of structure, it is fronted in the latter. We should, however, mention a construction in which the pivot precedes the copula, and there is no coda.

(20) a. Cum pulvis   est,   tum maxime ab   aqua periculum   est.
          when dust.NOM be.3SG   then indeed   from water danger.NOM be.3SG
          'When there is dust, then indeed there is danger from water.'
          (Cato Maior, *De agri cultura*, 155, 1)

     b. Si fistula   erit [. . .]
          if fistula.NOM be.FUT.3SG
          'If there is a fistula . . .'
          (Cato Maior, *De agri cultura*, 157, 14)

Assuming that the examples in (20) are existential constructions, the pre-copular position of the pivot may be explained as a case of strong focalization. Another option is to account for the pre-copular position of the pivot in terms of the syntactic restriction whereby subordinate clauses (*cum . . .*, *si . . .*) tend to exhibit S(O)V order and do not allow fronting of a focused constituent (Pinkster 1991: 69, Bauer 1995: 91, Salvi 2004: 43, Ledgeway 2012a: 232). It could also be argued that the particularly conservative style of Cato favours the canonical SOV order. Lastly, *pulvis* 'dust', *periculum* 'danger', and *fistula* 'fistula' may be topical types rather than non-specific tokens, the structures thus being locative, as the core-final copula suggests.

Put differently, these could be examples of deictic locatives (see §2.4.2) with an understood, context-dependent, topical location. Attestations like these clearly show the complexity of the analysis of the interaction of syntax and focus structure in classical Latin, which cannot be supported by prosodic evidence.

5.2.3 Late Latin

In this section we briefly consider existential *there* sentences in late Latin, placing particular emphasis on two changes, which concern copula selection and the behavioural and coding properties of the pivot. These changes lead to the diversification of existential patterns in early Romance (§5.3).[10] Before we provide further detail, we note that that the existential pattern of classical Latin is maintained and continued during the late period.

(21) a. Fuit   quidam   rex   Antiochus   nomine.
          be.PST.3SG   one.NOM   king.NOM   Antiochus   by.name
          'There was a king by name Antiochus.'
          (*Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, 1)

      b. Est   in Oceani   arctoi […]   insula   magna.
          be.3SG   in Ocean   arctic   island.NOM   big.NOM
          'There is a big island in the Arctic Ocean.'
          (*De origine actibusque Getarum*, III, 16)

      c. Sunt   in suburbanis   loca   publica.
          be.3PL   in suburbs   places.NOM   public.NOM
          'There are public places in the suburbs.'
          (*Commentum de controversis*, p. 67)

The above examples exhibit core-initial ESSE (cf. 21a–c) and a locative coda intervening between the copula and the pivot (cf. 21b,c). As was pointed out in the previous section, this is the default pattern for classical Latin existential *there* sentences (cf. 17a–c).

An important innovation that occurred in late Latin *there* sentences is the appearance of two copulas, STARE 'stay' and HABERE 'have'. The former figures both in attributive and in existential *there* sentences (cf. 22a and 22b, respectively).

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[10] Following Pinkster (1989), the classification of late Latin should not be envisaged as a purely chronological sequence of linguistic phases. Different registers, genres, or authorial styles do not fall within specific or limited periods, and can in fact extend, or be restored, over time. It is generally agreed that late antiquity and its language, late Latin, date from the 3rd to the 6th/7th centuries. For the purposes of this section, however, we use the expression 'late Latin' to refer to the chronological phase within which deviations occur from the classical model, at least as far as existential constructions are concerned. With the term 'late Latin' we also include medieval Latin, thus extending our investigation up to the 10th century.

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(22) a. Bernardus [...] stabat   male.
          Bernardus   stay.PST.3SG badly
          'Bernardus...was unwell.'
          (*Gloss. med. et infim. lat.*, 584)

      b. In ipsia uia   non longe a   ciuitate stat   columna   marmorea.
          in this road NEG far   from city   stay.3SG column.NOM marmoreal.NOM
          'On this road not far from the city there is a marmoreal column.'
          (*Antonini Placentini Itinerarium recensio altera*, 25)

To be sure, the example in (22b) could be understood as locative. However, the fact
that the verb, *stat*, is not in the usual S(O)V final position of categorical sentences,
and is followed by the noun phrase, suggests that the sentence is not a canonical
locative construction. Furthermore, in the relevant context, *columna marmorea* is
introduced for the first time and can thus be assumed to be indefinite. These
characteristics normally favour an existential reading. (See Blasco Ferrer 2003: 56
for similar considerations on late Latin STARE.)

The copular uses of STARE 'stay' are claimed to have followed from the loss of its
original meaning 'stand' (Pountain 1982: 144, Peral Ribeiro 1958: 149). Although
STARE does not subsequently spread to all early Romance vernaculars, it is attested
in early Provençal and Iberian Romance (Pountain 1982: 146–59, Ramos Alfajarín
2000: 355–62, Blasco Ferrer 2003: 57–9).

(23) a. Com dins   la mare sta   l'   aygua vivens.   (OProv.)
          as   inside the sea stay.3SG the water living
          'As in the sea there is living water.'
          (Cavalier Lunel de Monteg, 2, 17 (*Rialto* 289.2))

      b. En lo aleujament del   rey stava   una dona   tota d' argent.
          in the lodge   of.the king stay.PST.3SG a   woman all of silver
                                                                              (OCat.)
          'There was an all-silver woman in the king's lodge.'
          (*Tirant lo Blanc*, LV)

Existential STARE is not as stable as ESSE and HABERE. It is lost, for instance, in the
existential structures of the modern Occitan dialects and of Catalan. By contrast,
STARE is found in some modern dialects of central and upper southern Italy (see
Map 3), but is not attested in the early texts from this area.

In the transition from classical Latin, word order does not change in late
Latin existentials. Thus, whether ESSE or HABERE or STARE, the existential copula
is fronted and is followed by the noun phrase to mark sentence focus.
Observe, however, that the coda need not intervene between the copula and the
pivot (cf. 22b).

As for HABERE, although this copula is not as frequently attested as ESSE, the available attestations cannot be mistaken for possessive constructions (Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 416–17, Zamboni 1998: 132, 2000: 106, Blasco Ferrer 2003: 56–7, Bauer 2006), as suggested by the larger contexts of occurrence of the examples, which we provide in (24).

(24) a. In Hebraeo enim   non   habet   hunc   numerum.
          in   Hebrew in.fact NEG have.3SG this.ACC number.ACC
          'In fact, in Hebrew, this number does not exist.'
          (Hieronymus, *Commentarii*, in Ezechielem, 3, XI, 8)

     b. Habet   in bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum   elephantinum.
         have.3SG in library   Ulpian in case   sixth book.ACC ivory.ACC
         'There is an ivory book in the Ulpian library, in the sixth case.'
         (*Historia Augusta*, Tacitus, 7)

     c. Unde   ergo   habet   zizania?
         from where therefore have.3SG darnel.weeds.ACC.PL
         'From where, therefore, are there darnel weeds?'
         (*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Matthaeus, 13, 27)

(24a') Levitico ad sacerdotale ministerium a viginti quinque annis eligantur; in Hebraeo enim non habet hunc numerum, qui in Septuaginta dicitur, sed tricenarium […]

      'According to the book of Leviticus, they would be elected to the sacerdotal ministry from twenty five years; in Hebrew in fact this number does not exist, which is mentioned in the Septuagint bible, but thirty … '
      (Hieronymus, *Commentarii*, in Ezechielem, 3, XI, 8)

(24b') Ac ne quis me temere Graecorum alieni Latinorumve aestimet credidisse, habet in Bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum, in quo hoc senatus consultum perscriptum est, cui Tacitus ipse manu sua subscripsit.
      'And now, lest any one should consider that I have rashly put faith in some Greek or Latin writer, there is in the Ulpian Library, in the sixth case, an ivory book, in which this decree of the senate is written out, signed by Tacitus himself with his own hand.'
      (*Historia Augusta*, Tacitus, 7 <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Historia_Augusta/Tacitus*.html>)

(24c') Cum autem crevisset herba et fructum fecisset tunc apparuerunt et zizania; accedentes autem servi patris familias dixerunt ei domine nonne bonum semen seminasti in agro tuo unde ergo habet zizania?
      'But when the blade sprang up and brought forth fruit, then the darnel weeds appeared also. The servants of the householder came and said to him, "Sir,

didn't you sow good seed in your field? From where, therefore, are there
darnel weeds?"'
(*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Matthaeus, 13, 26–7 (World English Bible))

In none of the excerpts can a possessor be recovered from the context, as suggested
by the lack of a potential controller in the nominative case for the invariably third-
person singular *habet*.

In the examples in (24), the lack of a specified possessor hinders a canonical
possessive reading and favours an existential construal. We thus take this to be
evidence of stage II in the development of Romance existentials with HABERE,
which was first introduced in section 3.4.2, and was represented semantically as in
(25b). At this stage, the higher argument of this structure is the abstract argument of
the predication. This construal, in turn, is the very source of the modern existential
construction, which was represented semantically as in (25c), where the referential
expression now takes the role of the predicate and is not provided with lexical
entailments by a separate predicate.

(25)   a. Stage I: **be-with'** (possessor, theme)
        b. Stage II: **be-with'** (x, theme)
        c. Stage III: **be'** (x, y/pivot)

Having derived from possessive structures, the HABERE constructions contrast
with prototypical classical Latin existentials insofar as the coding and behaviour
of the post-copular noun phrase is concerned. First, this does not control
agreement on the copula. This is clearly the case with (24c), where third-person
singular *habet* 'has' does not agree with the plural pivot *zizania* 'darnel weeds'
(that this is plural is clear from the previous sentence, where *zizania* controls
agreement on third-person plural *apparuerunt*). Secondly, this noun phrase
takes accusative case.

5.3 *There* sentences in early Italo-Romance

In the introductory section of this chapter we mentioned three features of
Romance *there* sentences which constitute departures from the classical Latin
pattern: the clitic proform (cf. 26a,b), the variety of copulas and the related
variation in agreement (cf. 27a–c), and the presence of an expletive nominative
pronoun (cf. 28a–c).

(26)   a. **Nce** èy   lo procuratore.   (OCamp.)
           PF   be.3SG the procurator
           'The procurator is here.'
           (*Ricordi*, 18v, 5, p. 561)

  b. **Hi** foren   VII   stendards.   (OCat.)
     PF be.PST.3PL seven banners
     'There were seven banners (here).'
     (*Llibre de les Solemnitats de Barcelona*, 147)

(27) a. **Sunu** alcuni poeti.   (OSic.)
         be.3PL some   poets
         'There are some poets.'
         (*Sposizione*, Prol., 23, p. 21)

      b. Et **à**   altre manere de angeli chi [. . .]   (OApul.)
         and have.3SG other manners of angels who
         'And there are other kinds of angel who . . .'
         (*Sidrac*, 4v, 36, p. 203)

      c. E   denant nos **estai**   lo miradors   (OProv.)
         and before us   stay.3SG.PF the mirror
         'And in front of us there is the mirror'
         (Gauceran de Saint Leidier, (Rialto 168.1a, II, 9))

(28) a. Per ch' **el**   no gh'era   arbori ne altra frescura.   (OLomb.)
         for that EXPL NEG PF be.PST.3SG trees   nor other freshness
         'Because there were no trees nor any freshness.'
         (*Parafrasi*, 25^{b}, 24–25, p. 31)

      b. **Egli** sono state   assai volte [. . .]   (OTusc.)
         EXPL be.3PL been.F.PL many times
         'There have been many times . . .'
         (*Decameron*, I, 1, 49, p. 40)

      c. **Elli** so'   tre   manere de morte.   (OApul.)
         EXPL be.3PL three manners of death
         'There are three ways to die.'
         (*Sidrac*, 7r, 6, p. 212)

   Observe that the expletives in (28a–c) have different behaviours. In Lombard the invariably masculine, third-person singular pronoun *el* appears to control number agreement on the copula. Accordingly, it can be said to anticipate the expletive subject clitics which are found nowadays in northern varieties, in the absence of copula agreement with the post-copular noun phrase. By contrast, the Tuscan and Apulian expletives do not agree with the copula or with the post-copular noun phrase (§5.4).

   Although some of the mentioned characteristics of Romance *there* sentences emerge in late Latin (§5.2.2), the bulk of the relevant changes occur at a later stage. In particular, we were able to document these changes in the analysis of a fairly large corpus of early Italo-Romance vernacular texts (see Appendix 1 for the chronology of

these texts and some notes on textual typology).[11] No similar empirical scrutiny of *there* sentences has been carried out for any other early Romance varieties, although some useful insights are provided in the specialist literature either in a pan-Romance perspective (Pountain 1982, Blasco Ferrer 2003, Bentley and Ciconte forthcoming) or in historical grammars of individual Romance languages (see e.g. Badía Margarit 1951 for Catalan, Rohlfs 1969 for Italo-Romance, Grevisse 1986 and Buridant 2000 for French, Ledgeway 2009 for Neapolitan). The evidence cited in this literature supports our hypothesis on the late development of the hallmarks of Romance *there* sentences. In this section, we first provide a typology of *there* sentences in early Italo-Romance (§5.3.1), and then we analyse the emergence and spread of the proform (§§5.3.2, 5.3.3, and 5.3.4), the establishment of new patterns of copula selection and agreement (§5.3.5), and the appearance of expletives (§5.3.6). In the analysis of these innovations we highlight the typological differences which arise amongst the early varieties through the span of time represented by our data, i.e. the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. We claim that the emergence of the proform is to be understood in the context of the overt marking of definiteness (Ciconte 2010, 2011), which is in turn part of a major change in the expression of nominal and verbal operators. This is dealt with in the literature as the rise of overt functional structure (see Benincà 1988, 2006, Salvi 2004, Ledgeway 2012a, 2012b).

5.3.1 Typology *of there* sentences in early Italo-Romance

Cruschina's (2012b) four types of *there* sentence are not all found in our early Italo-Romance corpus. In particular, while existentials proper (type i), inverse locatives (type ii), and deictic locatives (type iii) are attested, presentational *there* sentences (type iv) are not. Type (i) *there* sentences are characterized by a pre- or post-copular pivot, which is normally indefinite. In (29a–c) this is the only meaningful component of the *there* sentence.

(29) a. E   erano   alcuni, li quali avvisavano   che [...]   (OTusc.)
         and be.PST.3PL some   who   notice.PST.3PL that
         'And there were some people who noticed that...'
         (*Decameron*, I, intr., 20, p. 14)

      b. Et   è   molte maynere de queste bestie.   (OLomb.)
         and be.3SG many manners of these   beasts
         'And there are many kinds of these beasts.'
         (*Vivaldo Belcazer*, 30–31, p. 172)

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[11] Following Vincent et al. (2003), the sources include literary texts, prose and poetry, *volgarizzamenti*, i.e. adaptations from Latin, religious florilegia, letters, testimonies of minute-books, deeds, and trial reports. The collection of the examples amounts to 2,532 constructions, of which 2,078 are *there* sentences and 454 are canonical locative predications.

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   c. Altri   son   chi crean   che [...]   (OLomb.)
      others be.3PL who believe.3PL that
      'There are other people who believe that ... '
      (*Parafrasi*, 4a, 22, p. 4)

Existentials can also exhibit a focal coda, which normally occurs either in imme-
diately pre-copular or in immediately post-copular position (cf. 30a,b). More rarely,
i.e. in 2.8 per cent of the attestations of *there* sentences in our corpus, the coda is
placed in final position (cf. 30c).

(30) a. In Firencza era   uno grande ricco.   (OCamp.)
         in Florence be.PST.3SG a   great   rich.man
         'There was a very rich man in Florence.'
         (*Ricordi*, 20r., 5, p. 564)

      b. Era   in Francia uno nobile conte, lo quale [...] (ORom.)
         be.PST.3SG in France a   noble   count who
         'There was a noble count in France, who ... '
         (*Cronica*, cap. XIIII, p. 86)

      c. Era   allora un giovane   in Pistoia.   (OTusc.)
         be.PST.3SG then   a   young.man in Pistoia
         'There was a young man in Pistoia.'
         (*Decameron*, III, 5, 5, p. 258)

In (30a) the occurrence of the locative phrase in first position is explained by the
V2 syntax of early Romance, which allows the finite verb of main clauses to be
preceded by one or more elements bearing pragmatic salience (Renzi 1985: 267–75,
1988, Vincent 1988: 62, Benincà 1994c, 2004, 2006, Salvi 2000, 2004: 107–11,
Ledgeway 2012a: 65–6, Poletto 2014: 8–11). In terms of the Layered Structure of
the Clause, V2 syntax is characterized by the placement of the Nucleus in core-
initial position and of topics or foci in the Pre-Core Slot (Diedrichsen 2008, Bentley
2010b). Now observe that the sentence in (30a) sets the scene for a new section of
the narrative. Accordingly, the pre-copular locative phrase must be part of the focal
information. In (30b) the coda occurs in the same position as in classical Latin
existentials, and is thus within the focus domain of the sentence. Finally, in (30c)
the coda figures in a post-core Periphery, which we assume to be focal because the
example is the first line of a new paragraph, and therefore serves to introduce all-
new information. In the last analysis, in all three cases, the coda is an aboutness
topic (see §2.1.1).

Type (i) *there* sentences can also exhibit a proform, although this is not obligatory
in any of the dialects under scrutiny, and in fact is not found at all in Tuscan
existentials.

(31) Estin**chi** ancora un altru modu   di cruchificari.   (OSic.)
      be.3SG.PF yet   an other manner of crucify.INF
      'There is yet another way of crucifying.'
      (*Sposizione*, XXI, 3, 2, p. 232)

Turning now to inverse locatives, or type (ii) *there* sentences, these are struc-
tures with a focal argument and a topical locative predicate (see §2.4.1). The
locative predicate can figure in an extra-clausal position or remain unexpressed,
when it is contextually or situationally recoverable in discourse. Since the latter
type is particularly frequent in our corpus of early texts, in this section we label as
'type (a)' the inverse locatives with a detached topical locative predicate, and
as 'type (b)' the inverse locatives with a salient but unexpressed topical locative
predicate.

In most Italo-Romance vernaculars, type (a) inverse locatives can exhibit a pro-
form (cf. 32), although, as is the case with existentials, this is not obligatory (cf. 33).

(32) a. In quela, çoè   in la casa de lo pianto, l' omo g' è   (OLig.)
          in that   that is in the house of the grief   the man PF be.3SG
          amonio de lo so fin.
          warned of the his end
          'In that one, that is in the house of grief, the man is (there) warned of his
          end.'
          (*Dialogo di Sam Gregorio*, 225, 10–11)

      b. Nota   chi lo Conti non ci era   in la citati.   (OSic.)
          note.IMP.2SG that the count NEG PF be.PST.3SG in the city
          'Note that the Count was not there, in town.'
          (*Conquesta*, XI, 11, p. 46)

      c. Dentro a quillo palazzo [...] sì   nce fo   una sala. (OCamp.)
          inside at that   palace   WOM PF be.PST.3SG a   hall
          'Inside that palace...there was indeed a hall (there).'
          (*Libro*, V, c. 21, 37, p. 80)

The focal argument of type (a) inverse locatives is typically definite (cf. 32a,b),
although indefinite arguments can also be focalized in inverse locatives (cf. 32c).
When there is a proform, the locative phrase is detached outside the clause, as is
clearly the case with (32a,c), where the first position of the clause—i.e. the Pre-Core
Slot—is occupied by a noun phrase or *sì*, thus allowing the proclisis of the proform.[12]

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[12] We abstract away from the possibility that the locative phrase is in a periphery of the Core. In modern
Italian, the occurrence of a locative phrase in a Core Periphery prevents its doubling with a locative
resumptive clitic. However, we are unable to determine with certainty if this is also the case with early Italo-
Romance, in the absence of prosodic evidence.

This would otherwise be ruled out by the Tobler–Mussafia law (Mussafia 1886: 255–8, Sorrento 1951: 143, Ulleland 1960: 53–4, Wanner 1987: 157), which bans proclisis on a clause-initial verb (see §5.3.4).

Importantly at this stage, it is not the case that the detached locative phrase of inverse locatives obligatorily requires a resumptive clitic as its lexical copy in the Core. In the example in (33), pre-copular *sì* suggests that the locative phrase occurs in an extra-clausal position. There is, however, no proform on the copula *era* 'was'.

(33)   In   questa insula de Colcosa sì   era   in quillo tiempo
       in   this   island of Colcosa WOM be.PST.3SG in that   time
       una citate.   (OCamp.)
       a   city
       'In this island of Colcosa, there was indeed, at that time, a city.'
       (*Libro*, II, c. 6, 34, p. 55)

Moving on to type (b) inverse locatives, these do not involve an overt locative phrase, but rather a salient topical locative predicate, which has been introduced in previous discourse.

(34)   a. Anco ce fu   don Dionisi sio zio.   (ORom.)
          also PF be.PST.3SG sir Dionsi his uncle
          'Also his uncle sir Dionisi was there.'
          (*Cronica*, XI, p. 53)

       b. E   la   contessa di Teti vi fue.   (OTusc.)
          and the countess of Teti PF be.PST.3SG
          'And the countess of Teti was there.'
          (*Novellino*, LX, p. 68)

       c. Parea   che nce fosse   una torricciuola. (OCamp.)
          seem.PST.3SG that PF be.PST.SBJV.3SG a   little tower
          'It seemed that a little tower was there.'
          (*Libro*, P, XXXIV, c. 154, 16–1, pp. 308–9)

The following passage provides the full context of the example in (34a).

(34a')   Taliffa se perdeva in tutto, se non se succurreva. Non se poteva recuperare.
         [...] Dicese che madonna santa Maria fussi nata in questa citate. [...] Ora
         non dorme lo re Alfonzo. [...] Ben se sollicita lo re. Ben chiama tutta la
         Spagna. [...] Lo primo aiutorio fu quello de papa Benedetto [...]. Lo
         secunno aiutorio fu [...]. Lo terzo aiutorio fu lo re de Aragona [...].
         Anco menao pedoni vinti milia. Anco ce fu don Dionisi sio zio con quelli
         della citate de Lisvona. [...] Mentre che lo assedio era sopra Taliffa, lo re
         Alfonzo era in Sibilia con soa baronia.

'The town of Taliffa would be lost, if it had not been helped. It could not rescue itself on its own. [...] It is said that the holy Madonna Maria was born in this town. [...] Now the king Alfonzo cannot sleep. [...] The king is well spurred on. He indeed calls all Spain. [...]. The first support was that of the pope Benedict [...]. The second support was [...]. The third support was that of the king of Aragon. He also brought twenty thousand infantry men. Also his uncle don Dionisi was there [in the besieged Taliffa, *FMC*] with those from the city of Lisbon. [...] While the siege was on Taliffa, the king Alfonzo was in Seville with his baronage.'
(*Cronica*, xi, p. 53)

The focal argument of type (b) inverse locatives is normally definite (cf. 34a,b), but in some cases it can also be indefinite (cf. 34c). Significantly, the available data indicate that in type (b) inverse locatives with a definite noun phrase the proform is obligatorily required (cf. 34a,b), whereas in those with an indefinite noun phrase it is not (see 35).

(35) a. E   seran   tanti falci cristi   e   falci profeti   e   pricaor
         and be.FUT.3PL many false Christs and false prophets and preachers
         maligni e   inganaor d' annime.   (OLomb.)
         wicked and deceivers of souls
         'And many false Christs and false prophets and wicked
         preachers and deceivers of souls will be there (at that time).'
         (*Parafrasi*, 56^b, 30–31, p. 84)

     b. E   fo   gran piouei.
         and be.PST.3SG great rains
         'And great rains were there (at that time).'
         (*Parafrasi*, 23^b, 35, p. 28)

The example in (35a) is taken from the following excerpt.

(35a') Ma innance che-l uegnia l'ultimo çuixio [...], a-l tempo de l'Anticristo e
        abondera tanta iniquitate [...], e morra in molti e a penna se porra pu trovar
        fe uraxa in terra, e seran tanti falci cristi e falci profeti e pricaor maligni e
        inganaor d'annime [...]

        'But before the final judgment comes [...], at the time of the Antichrist and
        much wickedness will abound [...], and many will die and one almost no
        more will be able to find sworn faith on earth, and many false Christs and
        false prophets and wicked preachers and deceivers of souls will be there [...]'
        (*Parafrasi*, 56^b, 19–32, p. 84)

The time frame, *Ma innance che-l uegnia l'ultimo çuixio, a-l tempo de l'Anticristo*, as well as the location, *in terra*, are clearly established in discourse, and are contextually understood as the salient predicate of the sentence in (35a).

The example in (35b) is drawn from the following context.

(35b')   Ma quel homo chi ogue queste mee parole e no fa le oure someglia a l'omo
        mato chi hedifico lo so casamento sul sabion e vegne gli fiumi e trete gran
        uenti e fo gran piouei e dan contra sta casa e vegne in gran ruina.

        'But that man who messes my words about and does not do the deeds
        resembles the crazy man who built his house on the sand, and there come
        the rivers and great winds crush [the house—*FMC*] and great rains are there
        [on the house built on the sand—*FMC*] and go against this house and it
        tumbles down in ruin.'
        (*Parafrasi*, 56^{b}, 19–32, p. 84)

The new referent *gran piouei* 'rains' is introduced in the context of the *casamento
sul sabion* 'house on the sand', which we take to be the topical predicate of this
there sentence. Observe that, by contrast with (35a), the copula of (35b) lacks agreement
with the noun phrase. Agreement is frequently lacking in sentence- and argument-
focus structures with a post-copular indefinite noun phrase, especially in the northern
varieties. This pattern is found not only in *there* sentences, but also in presentative or
event-reporting constructions with unaccusative verbs (e.g. '*vegne*(3SG) *gli fiumi*',
where '*fiumi*' is a non-specific token) and even with transitives (e.g. '*trete*(3SG) *gran
venti*'). By contrast, definite post-copular noun phrases tend to control agreement
(Ciconte 2010: 130–33, Parry 2013: 522–5). We will return to agreement in section 5.3.5.

Type (iii) deictic locatives are very rare in our corpus of early written texts. In the
formal narrative style of our sources, direct speech—where speaker-oriented, here-
and-now, deixis is likely to occur—is generally avoided. Even the texts that exhibit
use of dialogue only provide very few examples that can be considered to be type (iii)
deictic locatives. Two of these are provided here.

(36)   a. E   il   conte disse: – Che è   ciò, Riccar?   (OTusc.)
           and the   count say.PST.3SG   what be.3SG this Riccar
           – Messere, io vo'   mostrare che io non ci sono   per cacciare,
             Sir   I want.1SG show.INF that I   NEG PF be.1SG for pursue.INF
           né   per   fuggire.
           nor   for   run.away.INF
           'And the count said:—What is this, Riccar?—Sir, I want to show that I am
           here neither to pursue nor to run away.'
           (*Novellino*, XXXII, p. 45)

       b. Ma dicoti   che non ci sono se non io e   la   fante   mia.
          but tell.1SG.to.you that NEG PF be.1SG if NEG I   and the servant my
                                                                              (OTusc.)
          'But nobody is here except myself and my servant.'
          (*Novellino*, XCVI, p. 102)

In the next sections we will argue that the proform first enters type (b) inverse locatives, i.e. the locative *there* sentences without an expressed topical locative predicate, and from there it spreads to type (a) inverse locatives and type (i) *there* sentences.

5.3.2 *The emergence of the proform*

The analysis of early Italo-Romance *there* sentences points to a correlation between the definiteness of the post-copular noun phrase and the emergence of the proform. In particular, definite post-copular noun phrases consistently co-occur with a locative phrase, a locative adverb, or a locative *wh*-word (cf. 37a–d). Otherwise, they co-occur with a proform (cf. 37e).

(37)   a.   In Napole   era   la regina con duy figlie.   (OCamp.)
            in Naples be.PST.3SG the queen with two daughters
            'The queen was in Naples with two daughters.'
            (*Ricordi*, 8v., 30–31, p. 535)

       b.   Qui fo   l'   arra.   (OTusc.)
            here be.PST.3SG the down.payment
            'The down payment was here.'
            (*Dugento*, 20v, 17–18, p. 162)

       c.   In qual   inferno erano   li   iusti?   (OLomb.)
            in which hell   be.PST.3PL the good.men
            'In which hell were the good men?'
            (*Elucidario*, III, f. 113r, 22, p. 190)

       d.   Nella pianura canto mare dove   fu   la citate antica. (ORom.)
            in.the plain   next sea   where be.PST.3SG the city   ancient
            'In the plain next to the sea where the old city was.'
            (*Cronica*, cap. XIII, p. 75)

       e.   Anco ce fu   lo   puopulo de Bologna.   (ORom.)
            also PF be.PST.3SG the people   of Bologna
            'Also the people of Bologna were there.'
            (*Cronica*, V, p. 16)

There sentences solely formed by a copula and a definite noun phrase are never attested, whereas this structure is frequently found with indefinite noun phrases (cf. 38). These facts are summarized in Table 5.1.

(38)   Fu   alcuno   che penzao [...]   (ORom.)
       be.PST. 3SG someone who think.PST.3SG
       'There was someone who thought...'
       (*Cronica*, II, p. 9)

TABLE 5.1 **Frequency of patterns with indefinite and definite NPs in early Italo-Romance *there* sentences**[a]

Type	Attested (+) or not (–)	% in corpus
[copula][INDEFINITE NP]	+	41.8
[INDEFINITE NP][copula]	+	11.2
[proform][copula][INDEFINITE NP]	+	11.8
[INDEFINITE NP][proform][copula]	+	10.3
*[copula][DEFINITE NP]	–	–
*[DEFINITE NP][copula]	–	–
[+ LOC. / + proform][copula][DEFINITE NP]	+	23.2
[DEFINITE NP][+ LOC. / + proform][copula]	+	1.7

[a] The percentages in Table 5.1 were calculated on the basis of the analysis of all the *there* sentences occurring in the early Italo-Romance corpus.

In example (37e), the proform spells out the locative predicate which is situationally understood in discourse, as is indicated by the context in which example (37e) is found.

(37e') Ferrara ène una longa terra, miglio uno [. . .] Per acqua e per terra staieva assediata [. . .] Anco ce fu lo puopulo de Bologna.

'Ferrara is a long territory, one mile [. . .] It was under siege from the river and on land [...] Also the people of Bologna were there [among the besiegers—*FMC*].'
(*Cronica*, v, p. 16)

The sentence in (37e) exhibits a definite, specific noun phrase, i.e. *lo puopulo de Bologna*, and a clitic, i.e. *ce*, whereas we have seen that type (b) inverse locatives with an indefinite noun phrase do not obligatorily require a locative clitic (cf. 35a,b). It thus appears that the locative clitic emerges first in type (b) locatives with a definite noun phrase.

Assuming as we do that the proform first occurs obligatorily in *there* sentences with definite noun phrases, this innovation in the history of Italo-Romance turns out to result from a broader typological change in the expression of nominal (and verbal) operators. We are referring here to the change concerning the rise of overt functional structure (Benincà 1988, 2006, Vincent 1998: 422–3, Salvi 2004, 2005, Ledgeway 2012a, 2012b). Being overtly referential, the definite noun phrases of Italo-Romance *there* sentences need to be located or 'anchored' in time or space (Ciconte 2009, 2010, 2011). They thus require an overt locative phrase or a locative clitic. Observe in passing that we revise here Ciconte's (2011) proposal, in that we do not claim that the proform emerges in existentials with a non-canonical pivot

(i.e. a definite pivot). Rather, we claim that it starts to appear in locative *there* sentences with a definite post-copular noun phrase. From there, the locative clitic spreads to existentials. In the generalization to the latter construction, the clitic loses its locative value to become the proform which is found in the existentials of the modern dialects.

Other early Romance languages also appear to require a locative clitic, when the post-copular noun phrase of a *there* sentence is definite.

(39) a. Enaprés hi és   l'   affigurament del   firmament.   (OCat.)
          then   PF be.3SG the depiction   of.the firmament
          'Then the depiction of the firmament is here.'
          (*Llibre de les Solemnitats de Barcelona*, 147)

      b. Est es   el   lignage de los   reies de França. (ONav.-Arag.)
          this be.3SG the   ancestry of the   kings of France
          E   vi fueron   antes   de Charle Mayne.
          and PF be.PST.3PL   before   of Charles Great
          'This is the ancestry of the kings of France. And they were here before Charles the Great.'
          (*Liber Regum*, 18, 1)

The examples in (39a,b) are type (b) inverse locatives. We may thus assume that it is in this type of *there* sentence that the reflexes of the Latin locative adverbs, e.g. HINCE/ECCE HIC, IBI, evolve into locative proforms, which spell out a predicate that is topical and active or accessible in discourse.

In the following section, we focus on evidence provided by Tuscan, the most conservative of the early Italo-Romance vernaculars (e.g. Migliorini and Griffith 1984, Renzi 1988, D'Achille 1990, Maiden 1995), which further supports our hypothesis that the proform enters *there* sentences as a locative clitic spelling out a topical locative predicate.

5.3.3 *Evidence from early Tuscan*

In early Tuscan *there* sentences, the proform never co-occurs with a locative phrase within the clause, intended here in the specific sense of the Layered Structure of the Clause (see §1.3.2). Thus, one finds either an aboutness topic (cf. 40) or a proform (cf. 41a,b) within the clause, but not both.

(40) In quella Alessandria sono le   rughe ove   stanno i   saracini. (OTusc.)
      in that   Alexandria be.3PL the alleys where stay.3PL the Saracens
      'In that Alexandria there are the alleys where the Saracens reside.'
      (*Novellino* IX, p. 25)

(41) a. Come ci è   l'   astore,   così ci fosse   lo 'mperadore.
          as   PF be.3SG the goshawk so   PF be.PST.SBJV.3SG the emperor
                                                                        (OTusc.)
          'As the goshawk is here, (let us pretend that) so is the emperor.'
          (*Novellino*, XXII, p. 36)

      b. E   la   contessa di Teti vi fue.
          and the countess of Teti PF be.PST.3SG
          'And the countess of Teti was there.'
          (*Novellino*, LX, p. 68)

In (40), *Alessandria* 'Alexandria' is a clause-internal aboutness topic, as suggested by the position of the verb, which follows the locative phrase immediately. Indeed, as we mentioned in section 5.3.1, the Nucleus strongly tends to figure in the core-initial position in V2 syntax, whereas topical or focal constituents can precede it in the pre-core slot. While there is a locative phrase within the clause, there is no proform in (40). In (41a,b), on the other hand, there is a proform, but no locative phrase. As can be seen from the contexts in which these examples occur, which are reported below, the proform resumes a clause-external locative topic. These are thus type (b) inverse locatives. The *there* sentence in (41a) could also be considered to be a deictic locative, given that it occurs within direct speech and refers to a here-and-now kind of topic. In either case, the proform spells out a topical location.

(41a′) Lo 'mperadore Federigo, stando ad assedio a Melano, sì li fuggì uno suo astore e volò dentro a Melano. [. . .] Un melanese, vecchio di gran tempo, consigliò alla podestà e disse così:—Come ci è l'astore, così ci fosse lo 'mperadore, ché noi lo faremmo disentire di quello ch'elli fa al distretto di Melano!

       'While the emperor Frederick was besieging Milan, one of his goshawks escaped him and flew into Milan. [. . .] A very old citizen of Milan advised the authorities and spoke thus:—As the goshawk is here, (let us pretend that) so is the emperor, so we will make him regret what he is doing to the district of Milan!'
       (*Novellino*, XXII, p. 36)

(41b′) Or avvenne che, nel mezzo de l'arringo, il destriere del conte d'Universa cadde col conte in un monte; onde le donne discesero delle logge e portarlone in braccio, molto soavemente. E la contessa di Teti vi fue.

       'Now it happened that in the midst of the field the steed of the count of Universa fell with the count in a heap; hence, the ladies descended from the tribunes, and bore him in their arms most tenderly. And the countess of Teti was there [in that situation—*FMC*].'
       (*Novellino*, LX, p. 68)

Early Tuscan *there* sentences may not exhibit a proform at all, in which case they are existentials proper. The examples in (42a,b) are the first lines of two new tales of

the *Novellino*, which set the scene, conveying all-new information. These sentences can therefore be considered to be existential constructions.

(42) a. Fue   uno re   molto crudele.   (OTusc.)
         be.PST.3SG a   king very   cruel
         'There was a very cruel king.'
         (*Novellino*, XXXVI, p. 48)

      b. Era   una   guasca   in Cipri.
         be.PST.3SG a   Gascon   in Cyprus
         'There was a woman from Gascony in Cyprus.'
         (*Novellino*, LI, p. 60)

The examples from early Tuscan are rather copious. The scrutiny of over 2,000 pages includes the whole *Decameron*, the *Novellino*, and the vast collection of twelfth-century texts edited by Castellani in 1952 (see Appendix 1). In the analysis of the data, there is no evidence of co-occurrence of the proform with a locative phrase within the clause (in the sense of the Layered Structure of the Clause). The proform thus occurs in complementary distribution with the locative phrase (Ciconte 2008, 2009, Salvi 2010).

Assuming that early Tuscan, on a par with its descendant, modern Italian (La Fauci and Loporcaro 1997), does not admit locative clitic doubling, the complementary distribution shows that at this stage the proform is locative. The above examples further suggest that the locative proform is first introduced in type (b) inverse locatives (and, by hypothesis, in deictic locatives).

In early Tuscan, locative, resumptive *ci* is also attested in structures other than *there* sentences, where it resumes a locative topic.

(43) a. Del   seppellirlo   è   il   modo   presto qui *in questo giardino*, [...]
         of.the bury.INF.him   be.3SG the manner fast   here in this   garden
         per   ciò che niun   sa   ch' egli mai *ci* venisse.
         for   this that nobody know.3SG that he   never LOC come.PST.SBJV.3SG
         'As for burying him, the fast way is here in this garden, [...] because nobody knows that he may ever have come here.'
         (*Decameron*, IV, 6, 367)

      b. Il re   David si   mosse   incontanente, e   andò   *nel*
         the king David REFL move.PST.3SG immediately   and go.PST.3SG in.the
         campo Aminadab, suo mariscalco. Domandoe: perché mi *ci*   à'
         field   Aminadab his marshal   ask.PST.3SG why   me LOC have.2SG
         fatto   venire?
         made   come.INF
         'King David immediately hurried and went to the camp of Aminadab, his marshal. He [King David—*FMC*] asked: why did you make me come here?'
         (*Novellino*, XII, pp. 31–2)

This evidence shows a clear divide between locatives and existentials. In conservative early Tuscan, the locative proform enters first and exclusively locative *there* sentences. In the following section we will see how, in the other early Italo-Romance varieties, the proform starts to spread also to other types of *there* sentence.

5.3.4 *The reanalysis of the proform*

As we have seen, the proform starts to appear in unmistakably locative contexts, in particular, in type (b) inverse locatives. The locative meaning of the proform is confirmed by its occurrence in complementary distribution with a locative phrase in Old Tuscan. Interestingly, in dialects other than Tuscan, we found that the proform does co-occur with a locative phrase within the clause. Observe that the following examples are taken from mid-fourteenth-century texts, which are contemporary with the Tuscan *Decameron* (see Appendix 1).

(44) a. Sì   ci fu   in Sicilia grandi fami.   (OSic.)
         WOM PF be.PST.3SG in Sicily   great   hunger
         'Indeed, there was great hunger in Sicily.'
         (*Conquesta*, XVIII, 3, p. 85)

      b. Anche ce erano   fra   essi   moiti armati con iubbe doppie.
         also   PF be.PST.3PL among them many armed with jackets double
                                                                   (ORom.)
         'There were also among them many armed men with double jackets.'
         (*Cronica*, XIII, p. 78)

In both (44a) and (44b) a locative phrase intervenes between the copula and the pivot, which suggests that it occurs within the clause (in a Periphery of the Core, in terms of the Layered Structure of the Clause). In turn, this suggests that the proform is not referential, i.e. it is not locative. This evidence thus indicates that, by contrast with the proform of Old Tuscan, the proforms of these vernaculars do not occur in complementary distribution with locative phrases, and that they are being generalized to existentials—or type (i) *there* sentences—with an indefinite pivot.

Another pattern in which the proform co-occurs with a locative phrase exhibits the latter in initial position.

(45) a. In quilli paysi   ci fu   unu grandi gintilomu.   (OSic.)
         in those countries PF be.PST.3SG a   great gentleman
         'There was a great gentleman in those countries.'
         (*Conquesta*, I, 12, p. 4)

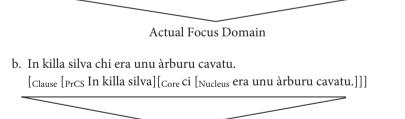b. In killa silva   chi era   unu àrburu cavatu,   e   (OSic.)
in that wood PF be.PST.3SG a   tree   hollowed and
dintru kistu àrburu chi era   amuchatu unu   prisuni.
inside   this   tree   PF   be.PST.3SG hidden   a   person
'In that wood there was a hollow tree and inside this tree was hiding a person.'
(*Dialagu*, 146, 31–2)

Given that the examples in (45) exhibit the pattern [LocPP][PF][copula][NP], it could be argued that these are inverse locatives of type (a), where the proform is an anaphoric, referential clitic, resuming a detached locative phrase. However, the diagnostics derivable from the Tobler–Mussafia Law show that the locative phrases of (45a,b) are not detached and, in fact, occur within the body of the clause.

As was mentioned earlier, in early Romance, enclisis is obligatory when the clitic is hosted by a clause-initial verb (Mussafia 1886: 255–8, Sorrento 1951: 143, Ulleland 1960: 53–4, Wanner 1987: 157). Being proclitic, the proforms of (45a,b) indicate that the verb must be in second position, thus leaving the first slot available to a pragmatically salient element, as frequently occurs in the V2 syntax of early Romance (Benincà 2004: 261f., 2006).[13] The clitic is thus hosted by the verb in the core-initial but clause-second position. As it happens, the fronted element in this case is a locative PP, which can thus be assumed to occur in a position within the clause, i.e. the Pre-Core Slot. The layered structure of (45a,b) is represented in (46).

(46)   a. In quilli paysi ci fu unu grandi gintilomu.
        [Clause [PrCS In quilli paysi][Core ci [Nucleus fu unu grandi gintilomu.]]]

Actual Focus Domain

b. In killa silva chi era unu àrburu cavatu.
        [Clause [PrCS In killa silva][Core ci [Nucleus era unu àrburu cavatu.]]]

Actual Focus Domain

While being core-external, the locative phrase is clause-internal, and is thus within the focus domain of this structure. The co-occurrence of the locative phrase with the

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[13]   According to Benincà (2004: 274, 2006), proclisis occurs when the constituent preceding the verb is in the Focus Field, i.e. in our terms, is clause-internal, whereas enclisis is required when the constituent is in the Topic or Frame (Benincà 2004: 275), i.e. it is in the Left Detached Position.

proform within the Clause suggests that the proform is not referential, i.e. it is not locative, and that these structures are existential.

The proform is also attested in inverse locative *there* sentences with an overt locative phrase, i.e. type (a), but its position and function are different in these structures. Observe the contrast between (47a) and (47b).

(47) a. In lu qualj locu chi su   multi acqui fride.   (OSic.)
          in the which place PF be.3PL many waters cold
          '[…] in which place there are many cold streams.'
          (*Dialagu*, 38, 22)

      b. In Rigiu erachi   unu grandi giganti.   (OSic.)
          in Reggio be.PST.3SG.PF a   big   giant
          'In Reggio, a big giant was there.'
          (*Conquesta*, VII, 7, p. 22)

The proclisis or enclisis of the proform distinguishes the existential construction in (47a) from the type (a) inverse locative in (47b). In (47a), the proclitic position of the proform signals that the verb is not in clause-initial position. The locative phrase is thus within the Clause, i.e. in the Pre-Core Slot, and this structure is an existential *there* sentence. By contrast, in (47b) the enclisis of the proform indicates that the verb is in clause-initial position, as the Pre-Core Slot is not filled. Accordingly, the locative phrase *in Rigiu* must be detached to the left of the Clause, the structure thus being an inverse locative in which the proform is referential and resumes the detached locative phrase (Parry 2010, 2013: 528–33). Since this is an argument focus structure, only the argument is focal in (47b). The structure of (47b) can be represented as follows.

(48) In Rigiu erachi unu grandi giganti.
      [LDP In Rigiuᵢ][Clause [Core [Nucleus era chiᵢ] unu grandi giganti.]]

                                          Actual Focus Domain

Inverse locatives with an overt locative phrase can also exhibit a proclitic proform, provided that an element other than the locative phrase is placed in the first position of the clause, as is the case with *sì* in the examples below.

(49) a. Intre le quali sì   nce foy   quillo veramente forte   (OCamp.)
          inside which WOM PF be.PST.3SG that   very   strong
          e   virtuoso   homo.
          and   virtuous   man
          '[…] in which ones was that very strong and virtuous man.'
          (*Libro*, I, c. 4, 3–4, p. 52)

b. D'appressu sì   nch' era   unu ortu.   (OSic.)
   nearby   WOM PF be.PST.3SG a   garden
   'Nearby there was a garden.'
   (*Sposizione*, XXVI, 5, 6, p. 284)

In (49a,b), *sì* occupies the first position, i.e. the Pre-Core Slot, thus shielding *nce* and *nch'*, which can occur pre-verbally (Parry 2013: 528–33). The structures are thus inverse locatives, whether the focal argument is definite (49a) or indefinite (49b).

The etymologically locative clitic is generalized also to type (i) *there* sentences without a locative phrase. In these structures the clitic does not resume a locative antecedent, and has thus lost its locative meaning to become the non-referential proform which is found in the existentials proper of the modern dialects (see §§2.2.2 and 3.4). Although this pattern is less frequently attested than its counterpart without proform (see Table 5.1), a number of attestations are found in all the early varieties of our corpus.

(50) a. Ancora g' è   una altra caxone.   (OLomb.)
         also   PF be.3SG an   other reason
         'There is also another reason.'
         (*Elucidario*, I, f. 58r, 119, p. 116)

      b. Foroci   multi guay.   (OAbr.)
         be.PST.3PL.PF many troubles
         'There was much trouble.'
         (*Cronica aquilana*, 29B, CDXLII, v. 4, p. 103)

      c. Peio   novella ince èy   che chesta.   (OCamp.)
         worse news   PF be.3SG than this
         'There is some news that is worse than this one.'
         (*Ricordi*, 30v, 16, p. 588)

      d. Chì non chi era   spirancza di loru liberationi. (OSic.)
         that NEG PF be.3PST.SG   hope   of their release
         'That there was no hope for their release.'
         (*Conquesta*, XXIX, 5–6, p. 138)

Finally, the proform is not yet obligatory in existentials and type (a) inverse locatives. Rather, existentials (cf. 51) and type (a) inverse locatives (cf. 52) are still largely attested without proform. Thus, the texts of our corpus testify to a chronological phase in which the locative clitic is not yet completely generalized to these constructions. Observe, by way of example, the contrast between (51b) below and (44a) above, which are drawn from the same text.

(51) a. E fo   ragione p(er) li iiij fiorini.   (OUmbr.)
         and be.PST.3SG reason for   the four fiorini
         'And there was a reason for the four fiorini (coins).'
         (*Terre di Civitella*, 12r, (α), 185, p. 188)

b. Era   in Sicilia unu admiragliu.   (OSic.)
   be.PST.3SG in Sicily an   admiral
   'There was an admiral in Sicily.'
   (*Conquesta*, VIII, 10–11, p. 31)

c. Fu   grandi altercacioni intra duy soy figloli.   (OSic.)
   be.PST.3SG great   quarrel   inside two his sons
   'There was a great quarrel between his two sons.'
   (*Conquesta*, XXV, 3–4, p. 112)

(52) a. Et inter   questi fon   sti   santi pueri   (OLomb.)
         and among these be.PST.3PL these holy children
         di quai   nu parlomo.
         of whom   we speak.1PL
         'Among these people were these holy children whom we are talking about.'
         (*Parafrasi*, 36^b, 2–3, p. 49)

      b. Quandu intra la hostia   esti   tuctu Cristu.   (OSic.)
         when   inside the holy bread be.3SG all   Christ
         'When in the holy bread is the whole Christ.'
         (*Sposizione*, VII, 2, 3, p. 103)

      c. In la festa   de lo Corpo de Christo questo fone.   (OAbr.)
         in the celebration of the body of Christ this   be.PST.3SG.PARAG
         'In the celebration of the body of Christ was this (the king).'
         (*Cronaca aquilana*, 64A, MXXXIII, v. 6, p. 239)

In the light of the evidence presented so far, we propose the following outline of the emergence and development of the proform in *there* sentences. In all the early Italo-Romance vernaculars under scrutiny, the proform first enters type (b) inverse locatives and, by hypothesis, deictic locatives. Its emergence is related to the overt marking of definiteness, which in turn correlates with the rise of functional structure in the transition from Latin to Romance. In *there* sentences, referential noun phrases need to be overtly located, and their coding is thus accompanied by a locative phrase or by a locative clitic. Thus, in early Romance type (b) inverse locatives, the reflexes of a number of Latin locative adverbs, HINCE, ECCE HIC, HIC, IBI, etc., develop into locative proforms to spell out a predicate which is contextually or situationally accessible in discourse. It follows that, at this stage, the proform is locative. This is clearly observable in the data from early Tuscan, where the proform occurs in complementary distribution with any other locative element within the clause, witness the absolute lack of *there* sentences in which the proform co-occurs with a locative phrase within the Clause.

From type (b) inverse locatives the proform extends to existentials and inverse locatives with an overt locative phrase. In entering these structures the proform

undergoes a process of *layering* (Hopper and Traugott 1993), which splits its role into two distinct functions. Whereas in inverse locatives the proform retains its locative meaning, this is lost in existentials. The functional split of the role of the proform is to be understood in the context of the encoding of logical structure. In type (a) inverse locatives, the locative phrase is the predicate, which needs to be resumed within the clause. The proform does precisely this, taking a pro-predicative role. By contrast, in existential *there* sentences, the coda is not an inherent component of the logical structure (see §§3.4.1, 3.4.3). Rather, it is a modifier of the contextual domain of the existential predication (Francez 2007). As such, the coda is not resumed by a proform. In this context, the proform is reanalysed, and marks the construction as an existential construction, with an unspecified argument.

In Tuscan too the proform ceases to be exclusively locative in all structures, although this happens at a later stage. To be precise, the co-occurrence of the proform with a locative phrase in existentials is attested in a Tuscan *volgarizzamento* of the Latin *Navigatio*, dating from the late sixteenth century (cf. 53). The period intervening between the fourteenth century and the late sixteenth century can thus be considered to be the stage in which the process of layering mentioned above occurs in Tuscan.

(53) E   non **v'** era   erba **in niuno luogo**.   (OTusc.)
      and NEG PF be.PST.3SG grass in no   place
      'And there was no grass anywhere.'
      (*Tuscan Navigatio*, 7, f.8r, p. 73)

5.3.5 *Copulas and agreement*

As is the case with modern Romance, among the early Italo-Romance varieties there are some crossdialectal differences in copula selection; ESSE is attested in all the vernaculars, whereas HABERE is found to alternate with ESSE in Tuscan, Piedmontese, and Apulian. We repeat here the relevant examples, which were first introduced in (4).

(54) a. Avea   un vecchio, ch' avea   nome ser Frulli.   (OTusc.)
         have.PST.3SG an old man who have.PST.3SG name sir Frulli
         'There was a man whose name was sir Frulli.'
         (*Novellino*, XCVI, p. 102)

      b. Fue   uno re   molto crudele.
         be.PST.3SG a   king very cruel
         'There was a very cruel king.'
         (*Novellino*, XXXVI, p. 48)

(55)   El   fo   uno reis qui avea   un anel d' or   (OPied.)
       EXPL be.PST.3SG a   king who have.PST.3SG a   ring of gold
       o'   avea   una   pera   preciosa.
       where   have.PST.3SG   a   stone   precious
       'There was a king who had a ring of gold in which was set a precious stone.'
       (*Sermoni subalpini*, 251, 29–30 (Parry 2013: 519))

(56)   a. Et   à   altre manere de angeli chi […]   (OApul.)
          and have.3SG other manners of angels who
          'And there are other kinds of angel who…'
          (*Sidrac*, 4v, 36, p. 203)

       b. E   v' à   altre manere   de gienti.
          and PF have.3SG other manners of people
          'And there are other kinds of people.'
          (*Sidrac*, 15r, 11, p. 242)

       c. Et   so'   altre manere   d' angeli.
          and be.3PL other manners of angels
          'And there are other kinds of angel.'
          (*Sidrac*, 4v, 37, p. 203)

A reflex of STARE is not attested in the central-southern vernaculars which exhibit this copula nowadays (see Map 3). We thus have to assume that STARE enters the written registers of these varieties at a later stage, i.e. after the sixteenth century. Due to the literary nature of the central-southern texts, the use of ESSE may be a stylistic choice conforming to the literary canon, whereas the use of STARE may be confined to the popular registers.

Copula selection is closely related to agreement, as HABERE, by contrast with ESSE (cf. 56c), is invariably found in the third person singular (cf. 56a,b). Furthermore, contrary to the constructions with ESSE, in which the noun phrase is pre- or post-copular, as well as indefinite or definite, the structure with HABERE only exhibits post-copular noun phrases, which tend strongly to be indefinite. These facts suggest that *there* sentences with HABERE are primarily construed as type (i), i.e. as existential sentences.

We should note that the majority of the structures with HABERE (96.3 per cent of our attestations of HABERE *there* sentences) do not exhibit a locative phrase. If a locative phrase occurs in pre-copular position, this is not resumed by the proform, which indicates that the locative phrase is not detached, the construction thus proving to be existential.

(57)   Et   sopra a chascuno fiume ave   un ponte.   (OApul.)
       and   above to each   river have.3SG a bridge
       'And there is a bridge on each river.'
       (*Sidrac*, 12v, 27–8, p. 233)

The locative phrase is more frequently found in final position, in which case it may co-occur with a proform.

(58) a. Ave   altra gente socta   a nuy che vegano   lo sole? (OApul.)
          have.3SG other people beneath to us   who see.SUBJV.3PL the sun
          'Are there any other people beneath us who may see the sun?'
          (*Sidrac*, 20r, 4, p. 262)

      b. Eli   v' à   altra gente in questa terraferma.   (OApul.)
          EXPL PF have.3SG other people in this   dry.land
          'There are other people on this dry land.'
          (*Sidrac*, 14v, 34, p. 241)

The contrast between (58a) and (58b) (cf. also (56a,b)) indicates that, in the fifteenth-century Apulian text, the existential proform is not yet required in type (i) *there* sentences, as is the case with all the texts of our corpus.

Only 1.8 per cent of *there* sentences with HABERE in the whole corpus lend themselves to a locative interpretation. These are exclusively found in early Tuscan. We note, however, that the interpretation of these rare attestations is not straightforwardly deictic or locative, but could also be existential, in that the post-copular noun phrase is indefinite.

(59) Èbbevi   gran risa   e   sollazzo.   (OTusc.)
      have.PST.3SG.PF great laughter.PL and entertainment
      'Great laughter and entertainment were there.'
      'There was much laughter and entertainment.'
      (*Novellino*, LXXVII, p. 88)

(59') Or giunse in Pisa […] et, essendo con la nobile gente a tavola, contò il fatto com'era stato; poi diè questa lettera al siniscalco […] e quelli la lesse, e trovò che li dovesse donare un paio di calze […]. Avendole, ebbevi gran risa e sollazzo.

      'Then he reached Pisa […] and, being at the table with noble people, he narrated what had happened; then he gave this letter to the seneschal […] and this man read it, and found that he was to give him a pair of socks […]. When he got them, much laughter and entertainment were there/there was much laughter and entertainment.'
      (*Novellino*, LXXVII, p. 88)

In (59), the proform *-vi* may spell out an understood locative predicate in the context of the scene set in Pisa, during the convivial gathering of nobles around the table, the *there* sentence thus being an inverse locative of type (b). On the other hand, the locative context is not particularly salient, and the excerpt reported in (59) follows a

lengthy narration. The example in (59) could thus be understood as an existential construction.

The divide between existential HABERE and (existential or) locative ESSE also transpires from the proforms which accompany the two copulas. Our findings suggest that the outcome of distal IBI, i.e. *vi/v'*, is consistently attested with HABERE, whereas proximal, strongly deictic HINCE, i.e. *ci*, is generally restricted to the structures with ESSE.[14] However, as we showed in (59), there are some examples with IBI which lend themselves to a locative interpretation.

As we have seen, agreement patterns are closely related to copula selection (cf. 56a–c). While HABERE is invariably found in the third-person singular, ESSE normally agrees with the post-copular noun phrase. With the latter copula lack of agreement only amounts to 3.2 per cent of the *there* sentences with ESSE and a plural pivot found in our corpus. Although this is a small number of examples, it is important to the extent that it anticipates the crossdialectal differences in agreement which characterize the modern dialects of Italy (see Maps 1, 2, and 4). In fact, lack of agreement is most frequently attested in *there* sentences of the northern varieties (see also Salvi 2010, Parry 2013: 522–4, 526), whereas in the southern dialects the post-copular noun phrase tends to control agreement on the copula. In the central vernaculars agreement occasionally fails to occur, though to a lesser extent than in the northern ones. The one result which contrasts with our modern findings is that of early Tuscan, where agreement on ESSE is consistent, whereas in modern Tuscan we have optional or no agreement with the same copula.

Interestingly, lack of agreement tends to correlate with a post-copular noun phrase.

(60) a. In lo solo è   tre cosse.   (OLomb.)
         in the sun be.3SG three things
         'There are three things in the sun.'
         (*Elucidario*, I, f. 40r, 3, p. 88)

      b. El   no gh' **era**   arbori.   (OLomb.)
         EXPL NEG PF be.PST.3SG trees
         'There were no trees.'
         (*Parafrasi*, 25^b, 24–25, p. 31)

      c. Dannunca **era**   alcuni.   (OAbr.)
         everywhere be.PST.3SG some.PL
         'In every place there was someone.'
         (*Cronaca Aquilana*, 44A, DCLXXXVIII, v. 6, p. 157)

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[14] These facts are reminiscent of the patterns found in Campidanese Sardinian *there* sentences, where distal *ddoi at* contrasts with neutral *nci* plus *essi* 'be' (see §1.1.1, n. 2, and Bentley 2011).

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    d. Anco ce **fu**   li   signori de Romagna   (ORom.)
       also PF be.PST.3SG the lords   of Romagna
       'The lords of Romagna were also there'
       (*Cronica*, cap. V, p. 16)

We only found three *there* sentences in which the noun phrase is in first position and does not control agreement on the copula. These examples are reported in (61).

(61)   a. Tre cosse **è**:   creatura, natura e   facture.   (OLomb.)
       three things be.3SG created   natural and made
       'There are three types of things: created, natural and man-made.'
       (*Elucidario*, II, f. 72v, 2, p. 138)

     b. E   foresterj **fo**   de fora.   (OVen.)
       and strangers be.PST.3SG of outside
       'And there were strangers outside.'
       (*Monumenti*, 28r, 18, p. 42)

     c. Denari   non **era**   in camera.   (OAbr.)
       money.PL NEG be.PST.3SG in room
       'There was no money in the room.'
       (*Cronaca aquilana*, 37a, DLX, v. 14, p. 126)

We note that the pre-copular noun phrases are indefinite in (61a–c), which suggests that these are existential constructions. In our corpus there are no equivalent attestations with definite noun phrases.

Lack of agreement does not seem to correlate with the occurrence or the choice of a proform. As for the post-copular noun phrase, this can be indefinite (cf. 61a–c) or definite (60d), although definite noun phrases are less likely to fail to trigger agreement than indefinite ones, especially in the early varieties of the northwest of Italy (Parry 2010: 202–7, 2013: 524). While the three agreement patterns which characterize modern Romance *there* sentences—consistent agreement, invariant lack of agreement, and differential agreement (Bentley 2013, Bentley et al. 2013a; see §4.3.1)—are not yet fully established in the early Italo-Romance varieties, the association of HABERE with lack of agreement and the tendency for definites and indefinites to contrast in terms of agreement control do prefigure the modern situation. The tendency for *there* sentences to exhibit agreement with ESSE, rather than lack it, may of course be explained by the influence of Latin and by the pressure of its literary canon on early written sources.

Finally, we observe that, in the northern vernaculars, *there* sentences which lack agreement may exhibit an expletive clitic in pre-copular position (cf. 62 and also 60b). By contrast, this expletive clitic is not attested in the structures in which the noun phrase controls agreement on the copula (cf. 63).

(62) a. **El sera**   gran guerre.   (OLomb.)
          EXPL be.FUT.3SG great wars
          'There will be great wars.'
          (*Parafrasi*, 56[b], 20, p. 84)

      b. **El**   no gh' **era**   arbori.   (OLomb.)
          EXPL NEG PF be.PST.3SG trees
          'There were no trees.'
          (*Parafrasi*, 25[b], 24–5, p. 31)

(63) a. In lo celo   **son**   sete armonie.   (OLomb.)
          in the heaven be.3PL seven harmonies
          'In heaven there are seven harmonies.'
          (*Elucidario*, I, f. 49r, 59, p. 101)

      b. In questa prima etay si **fon**   10 generacion.   (OLig.)
          in this first age WOM be.PST.3PL ten generations
          'Ten generations were in this first age.'
          (*Storia biblica*, cc. 3r–3v, prol., 8–9, p. 183)

      c. Et **eran**   ghe dentro doe tauole de marmoro.
          and be.PST.3PL PF   inside two planks of marble
          'And there were two marble planks inside.'
          (*Parafrasi*, 26[b], 28, p. 32)

The pattern in (62a,b) is comparable to the one found in modern northern Italo-Romance, to the extent that the non-agreeing subject clitics co-occur with a copula which does not agree with the pivot. The occurrence of the expletive *el*, however, is not obligatory in the early vernaculars.

(64) E   fo   gran piouei.   (OLomb.)
      and be.3SG.PST great rains
      'And great rains were there (at that time).'
      (*Parafrasi*, 23[b], 35, p. 28)

Parry (2013: 526–37) offers an insightful analysis of type (i) *there* sentences in the early northwestern Italo-Romance varieties, suggesting that the reanalysis of the proform ties in with the lack of agreement in the existential construction of these vernaculars. Parry suggests that the promotion of the locative clitic as the Subject of the Predication determines the singular on the finite form of the copula (p. 527). This process is described as a result of changes in word order which occurred in the V2 syntax of medieval Italo-Romance. At an earlier stage the locative clitic is syntactically and semantically argumental, resuming the topical, left-detached locative phrase (pp. 528, 533). In some structures, however, the locative phrase occurs in immediately post-copular position (cf. 44a,b and 51b), which in the V2 syntax of early

Romance is normally the position of canonical subjects. This word order may have encouraged the interpretation of the topical locative phrase as the Subject of Predication. In doubling the locative Subject of the Predication, the clitic is reanalysed as a subject marker on the verb (Parry 2013: 532–3). Furthermore, having lost its referential locative meaning, the existential proform is found to co-occur also with focal, pre-copular locative phrases in the Pre-Core Slot (in the Focus Field, in Benincà's 2006 terms; cf. 45a,b and 47a).

In Parry's view, the reanalysis of the locative clitic as the Subject of the Predication explains the lack of grammatical agreement between the verb and the post-copular noun phrase, as agreement is controlled by the locative subject clitic. By contrast, the southern varieties are less sensitive to the functional subject status of the clitic at the discourse/pragmatic level, and maintain verb agreement with all post-copular noun phrases (Parry 2013: 536). Finally, the grammaticalization of the locative Subject of the Predication into a subject clitic is compared with the syntactic reanalysis that yielded subject clitics in the dialects of the north. Indeed, these were originally clause-internal resumptive pronouns linked to dislocated subjects, but later weakened as agreement markers on the verbs (p. 529).

A number of facts uncovered by our investigation do not appear to be captured entirely by the hypothesis that the proform is reanalysed as a subject clitic expressing the locative Subject of the Predication. First, to be reanalysed as the Subject of the Predication, in the way outlined above, the clitic should have entered type (a) inverse locatives first. Yet our data suggest that type (a) inverse locatives do not obligatorily require a lexical copy of the detached locative phrase (cf. 33 and 63b), nor is the V2 subject position of the immediately post-copular locative phrase always doubled by a cataphoric locative clitic (cf. 51b). Rather, our data show the simultaneous generalization of the clitic both to existentials and to type (a) inverse locatives. To account for this, we posit a process of layering (see §5.3.4), which captures the concurrent appearance of the clitic in both inverse locatives with an overt locative phrase and existentials without assuming that the latter type of structure derives from the former. Spreading from type (b) inverse locatives, the clitic retains its locative meaning and referential function in type (a) inverse locatives, i.e. it is a pro-predicate, whereas in existentials the proform becomes a pro-argument. Within this account the logical structure of inverse locatives is kept distinct from that of existentials, even when these exhibit a locative phrase.

Second, if the clitic is a locative subject (Freeze 1992: 555, Parry 2013: 534), it remains to be explained why its appearance is also attested in the languages which need not overtly express the subject, and did not develop subject clitics, as is the case with the varieties of southern Italy. Our data show clear typological differences among the early Italo-Romance varieties over the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. This variation, however, concerns only agreement patterns, copula selection, and the optional presence of expletives, whereas the emergence, reanalysis,

and distribution of the locative clitic/proform appear to be comparable in the *there* sentences of all the early Italo-Romance varieties (with the chronological exception of Tuscan).

Finally, the appearance of the locative clitic can be accounted for as part of the general phenomenon of the emergence of clitic pronouns, and can be compared with the emergence of clitics as copies of lexical topics or the lexicalization of empty arguments recoverable from the context.[15] This is indeed what happens in type (b) inverse locatives, where the clitic appears to refer to a distant locative topic for semantic and discourse cohesion. In these contexts, however, the locative clitic recovers a discourse referent, i.e. a location or situation, which is not a syntactic subject. Subject clitics develop, too, as copies of lexical topics, but are restricted to the resumption of subject noun phrases. Being semantically and pragmatically motivated, the locative clitic lends itself to a variety of uses, not necessarily dedicated to the expression of syntactic subjecthood.[16] By contrast, subject expletives and subject clitics fulfil syntactic requirements. In fact, while these only appear in the dialects of the north and in Tuscan, the locative clitic/proform is attested in a variety of typologically different dialects, which never developed subject clitics.

In the next section, we will introduce a different kind of expletive, which appears to have been lost in modern Italo-Romance.

5.3.6 Expletives

The attestations of existential constructions with an expletive subject pronoun only occur in 1.3 per cent of *there* sentences in the early Italo-Romance corpus. Expletive subject pronouns in *there* sentences are not found in all vernaculars, but only in the early sources from some specific areas, namely Tuscany, the north of Italy, and Apulia. The expletive can co-occur with the proform and does not seem to correlate with the choice of copula. Significantly, it behaves differently across the vernacular areas mentioned.

As was anticipated in the previous section, in early Lombard we found a pattern whereby expletive *el*, which is a third-person masculine singular pronoun, appears to be in grammatical agreement with the third-person singular copula (see *sera* in (65a) and *era* in (65b)), though not with the pivot. This is shown in (65a), where *gran guerre* is feminine plural.

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[15] We are grateful to the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

[16] This also explains the multiple outcomes of the locative ECCE HIC (> *ci*) in early and modern Italo-Romance, e.g. 1PL personal pronoun, as in *ci parlano i dati* 'the data speak to us', or pronominal verbs such as *pensarci* 'to think about something', *contarci* 'to count on something', or type (iv) presentative *there* sentences, etc. All these uses retain to some extent the originally locative meaning, but do not fulfil the syntactic function of subjects.

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(65) a. **El**   sera   gran guerre.   (OLomb.)
          EXPL be.FUT.3SG great wars
          'There will be great wars.'
          (*Parafrasi*, 56[b], 20, p. 84)

      b. Ch' **el**   gh' era   gran pouol.
          that EXPL PF be.PST.3SG great people
          'That there were a lot of people.'
          (*Parafrasi*, 43[b], 21, p. 61)

In most of the contemporary northern varieties, which consistently display agreeing subject clitics in SV sentences (cf. 66b), the existential construction exhibits a subject clitic that does not agree in number or gender with the pivot, but does carry the number feature value of the copula, which is invariably in the third-person singular.[17]

(66) a. Al[18] gh' é   i   sciuàti,   sota 'l leč.   (Grosio, Lombardy)
          ESCL PF be.3SG the slippers.PL.F under the bed
          'There are the slippers under the bed.'

      b. I   sciuàti i[19]   é   sota 'l leč.
          the   slippers SCL.3PL.F   be.3PL under the bed
          'The slippers are under the bed'

The examples from early Lombard (cf. 65) thus prefigure the *there* sentences of the contemporary northern varieties (cf. 66a), to the extent that they exhibit an expletive form, which does not have the agreement properties of a subject clitic. This form, however, is optional in early Lombard, whereas the non-agreeing subject clitics occur obligatorily in the modern dialects.

In the data from early Tuscan the expletive appears to have a different behaviour, as suggested by the examples in (67).

(67) a. **Egli**   sono state   assai volte.   (OTusc.)
          EXPL.MSG be.3PL be.PST.PTCP.FPL many times.F
          'There were/happened to be many times.'
          (*Decameron*, I, 1, 49, p. 40)

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[17] We refer to §1.1.1 for the clitic *a*, which behaves differently from the other expletive subject clitics; e.g. it can co-occur with agreeing clitics.

[18] *(A)l* is the 3rd-person masculine singular subject clitic, as is clear in non-existential sentences like *Incö Luìs l'é mort* 'Today Louis died'. For the form *a* preceding *l* we refer to Bernini (2012).

[19] In this variety *i* is 3rd-person plural subject clitic, which allows us to establish that the syncretic form of the copula, i.e. *é* 'be', is plural in this sentence (see §1.1.1).

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b. **Egli**   ci sono dell' altre donne   assai.
EXPL.MSG   PF be.3PL some other women.F many
'There are many other women.'
(*Decameron*, III, 3, 13, p. 243)

c. **Egli**   ha   gran pezza che io a te   venuta sarei.
EXPL.MSG have.3SG great piece.F that I to you come   be.COND.1SG
'I have been meaning to come to you for a long time.'
Lit. There has a long time that I would have come to you.
(*Decameron*, II, 5, 28, p. 125)

d. **Egli**   ci avrà   mille   modi da fare.
EXPL.MSG PF have.FUT.3SG thousand ways to do.INF
'There are many ways to do this.'
(*Decameron*, III, 1, 28, p. 231)

While being the third-person masculine singular pronoun, *egli* is not an agreeing pronoun, in that it agrees neither in number with the finite form of the verb nor in number or gender with the post-copular noun phrase (cf. 67a,b).

The *there* sentences of early Apulian exhibit a number of different expletive forms, which we list below. *Ello* and *eli* are masculine forms of the third-person singular pronoun. *Elli* is a masculine form of the third-person pronoun for both singular and plural. In the third-person masculine plural, the allomorph *illi* is also attested. *Elle* is the third-person feminine plural pronoun (for a comparison with the paradigm of the personal pronouns in the *Sidrac*, see Ciconte 2010: 234–6).

(68) a. **Ello**   so'   più   manere de gelosie.   (OApul.)
EXPL.M be.3PL more manners of jealousies
'There are more kinds of jealousy.'
(*Sidrac*, 16v, 2, p. 248)

b. **Eli**   v' à   altre manere de gienti [...]
EXPL.M PF have.3SG other manners of peoples
'There are other kinds of people...'
(*Sidrac*, 15r, 19–20, p. 242)

c. **Elli**   so'   tre   manere   de morte.   (OApul.)
EXPL.M be.3PL three manners.F of death
'There are three ways to die.'
(*Sidrac*, 7r, 6, p. 212)

d. **Illi**   so'   altre ysole.
EXPL.MPL be.3PL other islands.F
'There are other islands.'
(*Sidrac*, 14v, 25, p. 240)

    e. **Elle**   so'   quactro manere   de colere in corpo de l' omo.
       EXPL.FPL be.3PL four   manners.F of cholera in body of the man
       'There are four types of cholera in the human body.'
       (*Sidrac*, 32v, 18, p. 307)

    f. **Elli**   v' à   altre ysole.
       EXPL.M PF have.3SG other islands.F
       'There are other islands.'
       (*Sidrac*, 14v, 29, p. 241)

    The behaviour of the expletives in the *Sidrac* is puzzling. In (68c), *elli* may be third-person masculine singular, thus showing no agreement either with the copula *so'* (which is in third-person plural) or with the pivot *tre manere* (which is feminine plural). However, *elli* in (68f) could be masculine plural, thus exhibiting a different pattern whereby the expletive does not agree with the copula, but carries the plural form of the pivot. This is the case with the unambiguously masculine plural *illi* in (68d), which, however, agrees with the copula. In (68e), the feminine plural *elle* agrees in number with the copula, *so'*, and in number and gender with the pivot, *quactro manere*, which is feminine plural. Yet, in (68a–d, f), the feminine gender of the noun phrases is not spelled out by the expletive. Whereas in Tuscan and in the northern varieties the expletive is invariably the third-person masculine singular of the subject pronoun, in the Apulian text the attested pronominal forms are inflected, thus showing characteristics of subject clitics, even though *elo*, *eli*, *elli*, *illi*, and *elle* are tonic pronouns, and their morphosyntactic behaviour is not consistent. As Sgrilli (1983: 112) observes, the author of the Apulian text *Sidrac* may be influenced by the language of the Florentine literary canon. This may also explain the use of subject expletives, which never appeared (or were very rare) in the history of the southern varieties. In the text, the pronominal forms *elli* and *eli* may in fact come in from Tuscan.

    Unlike early Lombard, early Tuscan and early Apulian expletives fail to prefigure the patterns found in the existential constructions of these dialects nowadays. In particular, the expletive attested in early Tuscan contrasts with the copula, which can be plural. In this respect, the Tuscan expletive fails to behave as a subject clitic, despite its pre-copular position. An explanation of this may be that at this stage the occurrence of the expletive is motivated in stylistic terms (Sornicola 1996, Ledgeway 2002), as a pragmatic pre-sentential particle, or a sentence marker (Bernini 2012). In fact, we note that the expletive is very often found in passages which report direct speech or dialogues.

(69) a. Non c' è   **egli** più persona che noi due?   (OTusc.)
       NEG PF be.3SG EXPL more person than we two
       'Is there nobody else but the two of us here?'
       (*Decameron*, III, 8, 59, p. 302)

b. Oh! – Disse   ser Ciappelletto – cotesto vi   dico   io bene [...]
   Ah   say.PST.3SG sir Ciappelletto   this   to you say.1SG I well
   Egli   sono   state assai   volte   il   dì   che io vorrei [...]
   EXPL   be.3PL   been   many   times   the   day   that   I   want.1SG.COND
   'Ah! – said sir Ciappelletto – this I tell you clearly... There have been many
   times a day when I wish...'
   (*Decameron*, I, 1, 49, p. 40)

The examples in (69a,b) are marked in terms of their illocutionary force, (69a) being
a question occurring in a dialogue, and (69b) occurring within direct speech in the
first person. The occurrence of the expletive in early Tuscan would seem to be
associated with this kind of dialogic style. See also the examples in (67), which are
excerpts of speech uttered by the characters of the tales of the *Decameron*.

5.4 Conclusion

In the transition from Latin to modern Romance, the primary components of *there*
sentences undergo important changes. First, we observe the emergence of the pro-
form, which is absent in Latin. This starts to appear in unmistakably locative
contexts, i.e. in locative *there* sentences with a focal argument and an understood
topical locative predicate. Our data suggest that the emergence of the proform is to be
accounted for in the context of the overt marking of definiteness, which in turn
correlates with the rise of functional structure in the transition from Latin to
Romance. The generalization of the proform to structures with indefinite pivots
testifies to a change whereby the proform is reanalysed as the pro-argument of
existential *there* sentences, thus losing its referential locative function, although the
locative meaning is retained in inverse locatives. Second, copula selection deviates
from classical Latin in that, starting in late Latin, HABERE (and STARE) begin to figure
in *there* sentences. Having derived from possessive structures, existential HABERE is
restricted to constructions with an indefinite post-copular pivot, which does not
control agreement on the copula. Finally, we note the emergence of expletives in
some early Italo-Romance varieties. In Old Lombard, the expletive form prefigures
the non-agreeing subject clitics of *there* sentences of the contemporary northern
varieties, in that the expletive does not have the agreement properties of a subject
clitic. In Tuscan and Apulian the expletives do not behave as subjects. Rather, their
occurrence seems to be motivated in pragmatic or stylistic terms.

Appendix 1
Early Romance sources

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The analysis provided in Chapter 5 relies on a collection of existential and locative constructions from twenty-two early Italo-Romance texts, dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century (Ciconte 2010: 34–43). The text of this corpus, over 10,000 pages, was carefully scrutinized. Reading the full texts ensured both adequate examination of contexts and the understanding of the specific, stylistic, and narratological characteristics of each source.

The texts are representative of the main vernacular areas of Italy, from the north to the south, through most of the regions of the peninsula: Liguria, Lombardy, Veneto, Tuscany, Umbria, Marche, Lazio, Abruzzo, Campania, Apulia, and Sicily. Two additional texts were examined, to include the early varieties of Piedmont and Emilia Romagna. To obtain a stylistically varied corpus (Vincent et al. 2003), we made a heterogeneous selection of sources. We thus included literary texts, prose and poetry, *volgarizzamenti*, i.e. adaptations from Latin, religious florilegia, letters, testimonies of minute-books, deeds, and trial reports.

Below we group the early Italo-Romance texts by region. We provide a brief description of each source: the date of composition, the genre and literary type, a short summary, and details of the edition used. The abbreviations of the titles used in Chapter 5 are given in brackets.

The sources of the examples from other Romance languages are listed at the end of the Appendix.

Abruzzo

Cronaca Aquilana rimata di Buccio di Ranallo di Popplito di Aquila (*Cronaca aquilana*)

Poetic composition of quatrains and sonnets. The text was written in the first half of the fourteenth century, and narrates the chronicles of the city of Aquila from its foundation to 1362.

De Bartholomaeis, Vincenzo (ed.) 1907. *Buccio di Ranallo di Popplito di Aquila: Cronaca Aquilana*. Rome: Forzani e c. Tipografi del Senato.

Apulia

Il Libro di Sidrac salentino (*Sidrac*)

Theological and natural history treatise in prose. The text was probably composed in the fifteenth century. Sidrac is the Shadrach of the Book of Daniel (1: 7), although this biblical character was often confused with the Sirach found in Ecclesiasticus.

Sgrilli, Paola (ed.) 1983. *Il 'Libro di Sidrac' salentino*. Pisa: Pacini.

Campania

Libro de la destructione de Troya (*Libro*)

Adapted translation from the Latin *Historia destructionis Troiae* by Guido delle Colonne. The text was probably composed around 1350 by an anonymous author. This literary prose narrates the mythological events of the destruction of Troy.

De Blasi, Nicola (ed.) 1986. *Libro de la destructione de Troya*. Rome: Bonacci.

Ricordi

Prose text in the form of an account of some mundane and autobiographical episodes. As stated by the author, Loise De Rosa, the text was written in 1452.

Formentin, Vittorio (ed.) 1984. *Loise de Rosa: Ricordi*. Rome: Salerno.

Emilia Romagna

Il laudario dei Battuti di Modena (*Laudario*)

Collection of poems and prayers. The text was written in 1377. It is the eulogy of a religious confraternity based in the city of Modena.

Bertoni, Giulio (ed.) 1909. *Il laudario dei Battuti di Modena*. Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 20.

Lazio

Cronica

Annalistic chronicle. The text was composed between 1357 and 1360 by an anonymous author, and reports the most important historical events of Rome from its origins to the fourteenth century.

Porta, Giuseppe (ed.) 1981. *Anonimo romano: cronica*. Milan: Adelphi.

Liguria

Dialogo de Sam Gregorio composito in vorgà (*Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*)

Adapted translation from Latin into Ligurian. The text was composed in the mid-fourteenth century and discusses some general issues concerning religion.

Porro, Marzio (ed.) 1979. *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio composito in vorgà*. Florence: Accademia della Crusca.

Una storia biblica in antico genovese (*Storia biblica*)

Abridged translation from the Latin Bible. The text was probably composed in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Cornagliotti, Anna (ed.) 1988. Una storia biblica in antico genovese: preliminari per una edizione. In A. Cornagliotti et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea di studi romanzi offerta a Giuliano Gasca Queirazza*, vol. 1. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, pp. 181–216.

Lombardy

Elucidario

Adapted translation into early Milanese of the Latin *Elucidarium* by Honorius Augustodunensis. The text was written in the fourteenth century and is the exposition of the most common Christian beliefs in the form of a maieutic dialogue between a theologian and his disciple.

Degli Innocenti, Mario (ed.) 1984. *L'"elucidario"*. Padua: Antenore.

Nuovi studi sul volgare mantovano di Vivaldo Belcazer (*Vivaldo Belcazer*)

Translation into the vernacular of Mantua of the Latin treatise *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomew of England. The text was written by the notary Vivaldo Belcazer at the end of the thirteenth or the very beginning of the fourteenth century. This prose work discusses some philosophical and scientific questions concerning nature.

Ghinassi, Ghino (ed.) 1965. Nuovi studi sul volgare mantovano di Vivaldo Belcalzer. *Studi di filologia italiana* 23: 19–172.

Parafrasi del Neminem laedi nisi a se ipso (*Parafrasi*)

Adapted translation from Latin of an old homily by John Chrysostom. This prose text was probably written in the fourteenth century, and discusses theological issues.

Foerster, Wendelin (ed.) 1880–1883. Antica parafrasi lombarda del 'Neminem laedi nisi a se ipso' di S. Giovanni Grisostomo. *Archivio glottologico italiano* 7: 1–120.

Piedmont

Sermoni subalpini

A collection of celebratory sermons written between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by an anonymous author.

Babilas, Wolfgang (ed.) 1968. *Untersuchungen zu den Sermoni subalpini*. Munich: Hueber.

Sicily

La conquesta di Sichilia fatta per li Normandi (*Conquesta*)

Translation from Latin into Sicilian of *De rebus gestis* by Goffredo Malaterra. The text was translated in 1358 by Simone da Lentini. This prose work is a detailed account of the Norman conquest of Sicily.

Rossi-Taibbi, Giuseppe (ed.) 1954. *Simone da Lentini: La conquesta di Sichilia fatta per li Normandi*. Palermo–Florence: Leo Olschki.

Libru de lu dialagu de sanctu Gregoriu translatatu pir frati Iohanni Campulu de Missini (*Dialagu*)

Adapted translation from Latin into Sicilian. The text was composed between 1302 and 1321. This prose work is of a religious nature, and is based on the literary tradition of the *Dialogues* of Saint Gregory the Great.

Santangelo, Salvatore (ed.) 1933. *Libru de lu dialagu de sanctu Gregoriu translatatu pir frati Iohanni Campulu de Missini*. Palermo: Boccone del Povero.

Sposizione del vangelo della passione secondo Matteo (*Sposizione*)

Commentary on the Passion of Christ according to the Gospel of Matthew. As stated in the *explicit*, the text was composed in 1373 by an anonymous author. In this work, short Latin sections are followed by adapted translations and by lengthy theological remarks in Sicilian.

Palumbo, Pietro (ed.) 1954. *Sposizione del vangelo della passione secondo Matteo*, vol. 1. Florence: Leo Olschki.

Palumbo, Pietro (ed.) 1956. *Sposizione del vangelo della passione secondo Matteo*, vol. 2. Florence: Leo Olschki.

Tuscany

Decameron

Collection of 100 tales written by Giovanni Boccaccio between 1349 and 1351.

Branca, Vittore (ed.) 1999. *Giovanni Boccaccio: Decameron*, 4th edn. Milan: Mondadori.

Navigatio Sancti Brendani: La navigazione di San Brandano (*Tuscan Navigatio*)

Literary account of the voyage and adventures of St Brendan. The text was composed in the sixteenth century. This work was adapted into Tuscan from a Venetan translation of the original Latin text.

Grignani, Maria Antonietta (ed.) 1997. *Navigatio Sancti Brendani: La navigazione di San Brandano*. Milan: Bompiani.

Novellino

Collection of 100 tales of various literary motifs, e.g. biblical, mythological, historical, everyday. The text was written in Florence at the end of the twelfth century, although a well-established oral tradition probably preceded the written composition.

Conte, Alberto (ed.) 2001. *Il novellino*. Rome: Salerno.

Nuovi testi fiorentini del Dugento (*Dugento*)

The corpus of the assorted Florentine testimonies edited by Castellani (1952) is a copious source of texts which date from the twelfth century. The nature of the texts is primarily commercial and administrative, including deeds, contracts, and transactions enacted in the economically flourishing Florence of the twelfth century.

Castellani, Arrigo Ettore (ed.) 1952. *Nuovi testi fiorentini del Dugento*. 2 vols. Florence: Sansoni.

Umbria

Discorso sulla Passione di Cristo

This short religious treatise was composed in the fourteenth century and discusses some issues related to the Passion of Christ. This testimony is part of a collection of six early Umbrian texts, which also include works of administrative and chancery style.

Agostini, Francesco (ed.) 1978. *Testi trecenteschi di Città di Castello e del contado*. Florence: Accademia della Crusca.

Libro d'amministrazione delle terre d'Uguicione di Ghino marchese di Civitella e dei suoi figli (*Terre di Civitella*)

Administrative minute-book. The text was composed in the fourteenth century, and reports a number of legal deeds and resolutions concerning the lands of the Marquis Uguicione di Ghino of Civitella and his sons.

Agostini, Francesco (ed.) 1978. *Testi trecenteschi di Città di Castello e del contado*. Florence: Accademia della Crusca.

Veneto

I monumenti del dialetto di Lio Mazor (*Monumenti*)

Collection of legal deeds. The text was composed between 1312 and 1319. Most parts of the collection are presumed to be the written transposition of asseverations and testimonies given in court or in notary offices.

Levi, Ugo (ed.) 1904. *I monumenti del dialetto di Lio Mazor*. Venice: Visentini.

Old Catalan

Llibre de les Solemnitats de Barcelona

Agustí, Duran, and Sanabre, Josep (eds) 1930. *Llibre de les Solemnitats de Barcelona*, vol. 1. Barcelona: Patxot.

Tirant lo Blanc

Hauf, Albert, and Escartí, Vicent (eds) 1990. *Joanot Martorell/Martí Joan de Galba: Tirant lo Blanch*. 2 vols. València: Conselleria de Cultura de la Generalitat de València.

Old French

La vie de Saint Alexis

Paris, Gaston and Pannier, Léopold (eds) 1872. *La vie de saint Alexis, poème du XIe siècle et renouvellements des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Paris: Franck.

Rohlfs, Gerhard (ed.) 1968. *Sankt Alexius: altfranzösische Legendendichtung des 11. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Tristan

Ewert, Alfred (ed.) 1939. *The Romance of Tristan by Béroul*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Old Navarro-Aragonese

Liber Regum

Cooper, Louis 1960. *El Liber Regum: estudio lingüístico*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico.

Old Provençal

Cavalier Lunel de Monteg

Ricketts 2000.—*Rialto* 9.x.2004. <http://www.rialto.unina.it/PLun/289.1 (Ricketts).htm>

Gauceran de Saint Leidier

Sakari 1963.—*Rialto* 25.x.2012. <http://www.rialto.unina.it/GsrSt-Did/168.1a (Paterson).htm>

Appendix 2
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Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*. In C. Annaratone (trans.), R. Merkelbach (intro.), and S. Rizzo (pref.), *Le metamorfosi o L'asino d'oro*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1976.

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Cato Maior, *De agri cultura*. In W. D. Hooper (trans.), *Cato and Varro: On Agriculture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press/London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

Catullus, *Carmina*. In M. Ramous (trans.), and L. Canali (pref.), *Le poesie*. Milan: Grazanti, 1986.

Cicero, *Ad familiares*. In D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, fasc. 30: *Epistulae ad familiares. Libri I–XVI*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1987.

Cicero, *De legibus*. In W. Keyes (trans.), *On the Republic. On the Laws*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press/London: Loeb Classical Library, 1928.

Cicero, *De officiis*. In W. Miller (trans.), *On Duties*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press/London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

Cicero, *Pro Caelio*. In T. Maslowski (ed.), *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, fasc. 23: *Orationes: In P. Vatinium testem. Pro M. Caelio*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1995.

Cicero, *Pro Milone*. In N. H. Watts (trans.), *Orations. Pro Milone. In Pisonem. Pro Scauro. Pro Fonteio. Pro Rabirio Postumo. Pro Marcello. Pro Ligario. Pro Rege Deiotaro* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press/London: Loeb Classical Library, 1931.

Cornelius Nepos, *De excellentibus ducibus*. In J. C. Rolfe (trans.), *On Great Generals. On Historians*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press/London: Loeb Classical Library, 1929.

Du Cange, C. et al. (1886). *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis. Editio nova a Léopold Favre*, vol. 7. Niort: L. Favre.

Hieronymus, *Commentarii, in Ezechielem*. In M. Adriaen (ed.), *Hieronymus: Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.

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Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum*. In T. Mommsen (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1883.

Persius, *Saturae*. In L. Canali (trans.), and R. Scarcia (intro.), *Le satire*. Milan: Garzanti, 1986.

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