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The rise and grammaticalization paths of Latin *feri* and *facere* as passive auxiliaries

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This paper discusses the various stages of the change leading to the emergence of the Latin verbs *feri* ‘to become, to be done/made’ and *facere* ‘to do, to make’ as imperfective and perfective passive markers, respectively, between Late Latin and early (Italo)-Romance.

It is argued that the grammaticalization of these verbs involves an initial stage in which they become equivalent to the copula. Only gradually they expand into the verbal system and become T(ense), A(spect), M(odality) and passive markers. As for the latter function, crucial to the passive interpretation of the sequence *feri/fakere*+past participle is a change in the aspectual nature of the verbs entering the construction, from causative accomplishments to active accomplishments and activities.

It is also shown that the rise of these passive verbal periphrases is related to radical changes affecting the domains of voice and grammatical relations, which cut across, at some point in time, the aspectual morphological cleavage existing in the Latin verbal system between imperfective and perfective verbal forms.

1. Introduction

In this paper we examine the rise of Latin *feri* ‘to become, to be done/made’ and *facere* ‘to do, to make’ as markers of the passive voice (so-called passive auxiliaries) in the transition from Latin to (Italo-)Romance, in patterns consisting of a finite form of the verbs *feri* and *facere* + the past participle of the lexical verb, as in Late Latin *fiat reconpensatus* ‘(that) he be (lit. *become*) rewarded’ and Old Logudorese Sardinian *fekit pettita* ‘She was (lit. *made*) asked for’.

We show that the initial stage of the auxiliarization of these verbs involves their equivalence to the copula and that the rise of these verbal periphrases is part and parcel of deep and pervasive changes affecting the encoding of the argument structure of the clause between Late Latin and early Romance.

The paper is organized as follows: in Section 2 we discuss the notions of auxiliation and voice, which are illustrated with reference to Late Latin and early (Italo-)Romance in Section 3. In Section 4 we investigate the various steps leading to the grammatical-

ization of Latin *fieri* and *facere* as passive markers. Finally, in Section 5 we summarize the conclusions.

2. Auxiliation and voice

The constructions under investigation fall under the general notion of **auxiliation** and exemplify the change of lexical verbs denoting change of state (*fieri*) and activity (*facere*) into T(ense) A(spect) M(odality) and voice markers.¹

In line with Heine 1993, among others, we take auxiliaries to be clines, paths with “focal points where phenomena may cluster” (Hopper & Traugott 1993:7), ranging from full lexical items (e.g. verbs) to grammatical ones (marking tense-aspectual-modality distinctions, so-called TAM chain), involving most typically the following stages (see Hopper & Traugott 1993:108, int. al.):

- (1) full verb > (vector verb)² > auxiliary > clitic > affix

They tend to be finite and are identified by the interplay of four parameters, whose relevance varies according to the type and stage of the auxiliation involved: *desemantization* (loss of lexical content, ‘semantic bleaching’), *deategorialization* (reduced verbal behaviour), *cliticization* (loss of morphosyntactic status as an independent word), *erosion* (e.g., loss of phonetic substance) (Heine 1993:55–58; 131).

In the auxiliarization process the structure of the sentence changes: the lexical verb becomes a TAM marker and the original (non-finite) verbal complement (e.g., a past participle) becomes the main verb (i.e., the lexical verb). The two predicates, originally two distinct constituents, merge into one. Therefore the sentence, initially biclausal, consisting of a verb plus a sentential complement, becomes monoclausal, with the original lexical verb becoming an auxiliary to another verb (i.e., the original complement, that is reinterpreted as the ‘main’ (i.e. lexical) verb) (Heine 1993:55; Harris & Campbell 1995:172–173):

- (2) *carnes* [coctae] [fiunt] /*fecerunt] >
 meat-PL.NOM cook-PP.F.PL.NOM become.PRES.IND.3PL /*make.PERF.IND.3PL
 [coctae] fiunt /*fecerunt] (Late Latin)
 cook-PP.F.PL.NOM become.PRES.IND.3PL /*make.PERF.IND.3PL
 [complement] [lexical verb] > [lexical verb auxiliary]
 ‘Meat cooks (lit. becomes cooked)’ > ‘Meat is (being)/gets cooked’

In the Late Latin example in (2), for instance, as a result of auxiliation, the lexical verbs (*fiunt* ‘become’//**fecerunt* ‘made’) become TAM markers and their non-finite complement (the past participle *coctae* ‘cooked’) becomes the main verb, i.e., the lexical verb. The two elements, originally belonging to two different clauses, coalesce into one.

The auxiliary verbs *fieri* and *facere* in (2) also mark O³-orientation and Agent defocusing, functioning as passive auxiliaries.

Table 1. The passive continuum

-
- Agent-defocusing (e.g., Agent suppression)
 - Stativization (Perfective-resultative perspective on the event/Marked verbal morphology)
 - Subjectization of a non-Agent (Patient/Benefactive/Recipient, an original DO/IO)
 - Topicalization of a non-Agent
 - Affectedness of surface subject
-

Following Comrie 1981, 1988; Givón 1984; Shibatani 1985, 1988, 1994 among others, we view the *passive voice* as a marked system of correlations among (morpho)syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features, instantiating different points along a Detransitivization continuum, as illustrated in Table 1 (see also recent discussion in Abraham, this volume):

In many languages and varieties of languages *core passives* are characterized by O-orientation, a marked verb morphology (often a form of the verb ‘to be’), agent suppression, topicalization and subjectization of a non-agent, as in (3a–b), respectively from Latin and Old Logudorese Sardinian, the early Italo-Romance vernacular where the continuation of Latin *facere* occurs as a passive auxiliary:

- (3) a. *puella amata est*⁴
 girl-NOM love.PP.F.SG.NOM be.PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘The girl was loved (past perfective)/The girl has been loved (present perfective)’
- b. *furun binkitos*
 be.PERF.3PL defeat.PP.M.PL
 ‘They were defeated’

The affectedness and topicality of the (non-Agent) subject are instead the least important among the properties of the passive continuum listed in Table 1. As a matter of fact, they also characterize non-passive patterns, e.g., the *esse+pp* construction in Latin under the adjectival function of the past participle, as in (3a) *puella amata est* under the meaning ‘the girl is loved’.

Passives with overt expression of the Agent are rare cross-linguistically (Siewierska 1984: 35, int. al.). They may be regarded indeed as *less prototypical*, in that they merely reorganize the encoding of the two participants, A and O, according to the discourse perspective, whereas the propositional content of the clause does not change. In Latin, for instance, they have a low frequency and appear mainly in the past tense (Stempel 2002: 331). They are rare also in Old Logudorese Sardinian (4a), where, when both A and O are expressed, usually the active, with right dislocation of the object occurs instead of the passive (4b) (see discussion in §4.2):⁵

- (4) a. *furon binkitos parentes e(O) de piscopu Jorgi*
 be.PERF.3PL defeat.PP.M.PL relative-PL by bishop Jorgi
Maiule (A) (CSPS 79.8)
 Maiule
 ‘The relatives were defeated by the bishop Jorgi Maiule’

- b. *los* (O) *abeat* *binkitos* *piscopu Jorgi Maiule* (A) *sos*
 them have.PRES.IND.3SG defeat.PP.M.PL bishop Jorgi Maiule the
parentes (O) (id. 79.11–12)
 relatives
 ‘The bishop Jorgi Maiule has defeated the relatives (lit. them has won the bishop
 Jorgi Maiule the relatives)’

Passives may also be differentiated according to whether they have a processual/eventive interpretation, sometimes referred to in the literature as *dynamic passives* (Giacalone Ramat 2001b), as in (5):

- (5) a. *laudamur*
 praise-MPASS.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘We are being/get praised’
 b. *laudati* *sumus* (Classical Latin)
 praise.PP.M.PL be.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘We were praised’ (past perfective interpretation)
 c. *constructae* *fiunt* (Late Latin)
 build.PP.F.PL.NOM become.PRES.IND.3PL
 ‘They are being/get built’
 d. *fuit/fekit* *pettita* (O. Logudorese Sardinian)
 be-PERF.3SG/make.PERF.3SG ask.PP.F.SG
 ‘She was asked for’

O-oriented patterns with a marked verbal morphology and a perfective-resultative interpretation, denoting the state resulting from a previous action, as affecting the O argument, instantiate instead so-called *resultative-stative passives* (6) (see also Cennamo 2003a, 2005).

In Latin in the perfect they have the same expression as dynamic passives (cf. (6b) and (6a)); in O.Logudorese a resultative form (i.e., the pattern with *istadu* ‘been’), from the verb *istare* ‘to stay’ is only attested in the 15th century (6c) *est istatu datu*. In earlier texts instead no such form occurs and, depending on the context, *esse+pp* may instantiate both a resultative stative passive, as in (6b) *sun fattos* and a copular construction, with the past participle in adjectival function (e.g., *sun fattos* = ‘are made, consist of’) (see discussion in Cennamo 2003a):

- (6) a. *laudati* *sumus* (Classical Latin)
 praise.PP.M.PL.NOM be.PRES.IND.1PL
 ‘We have been praised’
 b. *ki sun* *fattos* *in* *servu meu* (CSPS 95. 4–5)
 who be.PRES.IND.3PL make.PP.M.PL through servant my
 ‘Who have been procreated by my servant’ (O. Logudorese Sardinian, 11th–13th
 century)
 c. *est* *istadu* *dadu*
 be.PRES.IND.3SG be.PP.M.SG give.PP.M.SG
cumamentu (CSPSO (4r.)15) (15th century)
 order
 ‘It has been ordered’

In the following sections the notions of auxiliation and voice are discussed with reference to the rise of the Romance passive verbal periphrases *feri* and *facere* +pp.

3. Voice, aspect and argument linking in Late Latin/ Early Romance

We now illustrate the changes taking place in the encoding of voice distinctions and grammatical relations in Late Latin, leading to the temporary loss of the voice dimension. We also explore the way these changes interact with the aspectually determined morphological cleavage existing in the Latin voice system, between forms expressing imperfective and perfective aspect, to determine the rise of the passive constructions investigated in the present study.

3.1 Analytic passives and tense-aspectual shifts

The (morphological vs syntactic) expression of the passive voice in Classical Latin reflects the imperfective-perfective nature of the linguistic situation expressed by the verb. Forms expressing imperfective aspect (roughly an ongoing, continuous, repetitive situation), so-called *infectum* (present, imperfect, future) are encoded by means of an inflectional ending, the (medio-passive) *-R* suffix, which is added to the verb stem (e.g., *am-or* ‘I am loved’); forms expressing perfective aspect (denoting a completed event), so-called *perfectum* (perfect, pluperfect, future perfect) are realized by means of a form of the verb ‘to be’, *esse* + the past participle (e.g., *am-a-tus sum* ‘I was loved/I have been loved’). In the perfect a passive form (*esse*+pp) can convey three different functions. It can refer to a past event (dynamic passive-eventive reading) (7a), it can express the current relevance of a past event (resultative-stative interpretation) (7b) or it can mark a copular pattern, with the past participle having an adjectival function (marking a result state) (7c) (see also note 4):⁶

- (7) a. *ianua clausa est* (dynamic passive-eventive interpretation)
 door-NOM close.PP.F.SG.NOM be.PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘The door was closed’
- b. *ianua clausa est* (resultative stative passive-perfective-resultative interpretation)
 door.NOM close-PP.F.SG.NOM
 be-PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘The door has been closed’
- c. *ianua clausa est* (stative reading- past participle=adjectival function, result state)
 door-NOM close.PP.F.SG.NOM
 be.PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘The door is closed’

In the other perfective tenses the ambiguity involves the resultative-stative (7d) and copular (7e) interpretation of the *esse+pp* pattern, the dynamic passive function being conveyed by the synthetic passive form (7f):

- (7) d. *ianua clausa erat* (resultative stative passive)
 door-NOM close-PP.F.SG be-IMPF.IND.3SG
 'The door had been closed'
- e. *ianua clausa erat* (copular sentence) (*clausa*=adjective)
 'The door was closed'
- f. *ianua claudebatur* (synthetic passive)
 door-NOM close-IMPF.IND.MPASS.3SG
 'The door was being/got closed'

A major innovation taking place in the domain of aspect and voice in the transition from Latin to Romance is the use of different patterns to carry the dynamic passive and resultative-stative functions of a passive form. The former value is conveyed by a form of *esse+pp*, not only in the *perfectum*, as in Classical Latin, but in the *infectum* as well. *Esse+pp*, in fact, comes to be used in imperfective function (8a), initially apparently in some tenses only, the present indicative and the present subjunctive (Svennung 1935: 457–58; Winters 1984) – probably developing a rare and marginal use of the pattern already occurring in C(lassical) L(atin) and confined to some tenses (Herzog 1910: §41; Bassols de Climent 1948: §40) – and supplants the morphological passive, which dies out of use (see recent discussion in Herman 2002):

- (8) a. *ianua clausa est* (dynamic passive – imperfective function)
 door-NOM close.PP.F.SG.NOM be.PRES.IND.3SG
 (< a.' *ianua clauditur*)
 door-NOM close-MPASS.PRES.IND.3SG
 'The door is being/gets closed'
- b. *ianua clausa fuit* (dynamic passive- (past) perfective function)
 door-NOM close.PP.F.SG.NOM be.PERF.3SG
 (< b.' *ianua clausa est*)
 'The door was closed'

The resultative-stative interpretation of *esse+pp* comes to be expressed, instead, by a double compound form (8c), which did not exist in Classical Latin (and which indeed seems to be an early Romance pattern, attested to a different extent and at different stages in the Romance languages (see discussion in Cennamo 2003a with reference to early Italian vernaculars):

- (8) c. **ianua est stata clausa* (resultative-stative passive)
 door-NOM be.PRES.IND.3SG be.PP.F.SG.NOM close.PP.F.SG.NOM
 'The door has been closed'

Perfectivity, therefore, is no longer marked by the construction as a whole, but by the past participle, whereas the forms of the verb 'to be', *esse*, are merely tense-aspect-mood and person markers (Winters 1984: 446, int. al.).

The received opinion on the tense-aspectual changes in the voice system illustrated above usually ascribes them to phonological levelling (e.g., the blurring out of the endings of the active infinitive in *-e* and the passive in *-i*, whereby *amare* ‘to love’ = *amari* ‘to be loved’) as well as to the reshaping of an aspectual distinction (the imperfective-perfective contrast) into tense differences (Winters 1984:450; Vincent 1988:58; Hewson & Bubenik 1997:314; Klausenburger 2000:70, int.al. and references therein). The phenomenon is also regarded as the manifestation of a more general trend in the transition from Latin to Romance, the emergence of ‘analytic’ structures in several domains of the grammar (see Herman 2002 for an overview and criticism of this traditional view), whereby grammatical and lexical meanings are no longer strongly intertwined within a word, but come to be conveyed by distinct and originally autonomous words (Maiden 1995, int. al.). In the case of the analytic passive replacing the original synthetic passive, as in (8a), *ianua clausa est*, substituting for (8a’), *ianua clauditur*, the grammatical meaning (e.g., third singular, present indicative, passive) is expressed by a form of the verb ‘to be’ (*est*), whereas the lexical meaning (‘closed’) is expressed by the past participle of the lexical verb (*clausa*).

We argue that the use of the analytic passive *esse*+pp in imperfective function (with the ensuing tense-aspectual shifts) as well as the rise of other passive periphrases in Late Latin, are related instead to the temporary loss of the voice dimension, clearly attested by the end of the 6th–7th century A.D. (see also Cennamo 1998, 2003a, 2003b, 2005).

3.2 Recasting of the voice system and changes in argument marking/linking

Towards the end of the 4th century A.D., confusion and equivalences in the use of voice morphology as well as ‘quirky’ uses of case-forms signal that significant changes had taken place/were taking place in the spoken language in the encoding of Transitivity.

In particular, the active voice increasingly occurs in intransitive, anticausative⁷ function (9) to mark the spontaneous manifestation of a process (mainly denoting change of state/location) – at times alternating with/replacing the reflexive pattern and the -R form, depending on the verb, on the author’s preferences and the type of text – so-called Intransitivization (Feltenius 1977) (see also Cennamo 1998):

- (9) a. *ut confirmet* (sc. *vulnus*) (Chiron 670)
 in-order-to heal.FUT.3SG (wound)
 ‘So as it (sc. the wound) heals’

In some authors the active also occurs with verbs with an ‘Agent-oriented meaning component’ (Haspelmath 1993:93) (thus debarring the spontaneous interpretation of the process) which in Archaic and Classical Latin did not allow the anticausative transformation (cf. (9d) vs (9c), from the end of the 4th century A.D.). In point of fact, a pattern such as (9e) *marmur citatur* in Classical Latin could only have a passive function (Svennung 1935:462; Hofmann-Szantyr 1963:§165; Feltenius 1977; Cennamo 1998):

- (9) b. *in temporibus collections faciunt* (Chiron 184)
 in temples.ABL abscesses-NOM make.PRES.IND.3PL
 'Abscesses appear on their temples (lit. make)'
- c. *aut marmur si ei citaverit* (id. 606)
 or cancer-NOM if he-DAT develop.PERF.FUT.3SG
 'Or if it develops cancer'
- d. **marmur citat* (anticausative)
 cancer-NOM cause-PRES.IND.3SG
 '*Cancer causes'
- e. *marmur citatur* (passive)
 cancer-NOM cause-MPASS.PRES.IND.3SG
 'Cancer is caused'

Verbs such as *citare* 'to cause', *facere* 'to do/make', *vexare* 'to oppress' differ in aspectual terms from the verbs most typically occurring in the anticausative transformation in Archaic and Classical Latin – namely denoting change of state/location, such as *movere* 'to move', *mutare* 'to change', *scindere* 'to crack' and so forth – in that they are atelic/non-inherently telic, depending on the syntactic context in which they occur (i.e., on the boundedness of their object) (see also Note 8).

At some point, therefore, there occurs a change in the aspectual classes of verbs allowing the anticausative transformation (and the active morphology realizing it), namely from telic/punctual verbs denoting change of state/location (i.e., causative accomplishments/achievements) (e.g., *mutare* 'to change', *movere* 'to move', *scindere* 'to break' (trans.)) to non-inherently telic/atelic ones (active accomplishments/⁸ activities) (e.g., *facere* 'to do/make', *citare* 'to cause', *vexare* 'to oppress', *concludere* 'to surround') (see Cennamo 1998, 2001b for a full discussion of this issue).

In some authors the active may even occur in a clearly passive function (10a) (apparently already attested in an isolated example from the 2nd century A.D. (10b)), with the Agent/Causer overtly expressed by means of a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *a* in (10a) (see Bonnet 1890:628–630; Haag 1898:57; Löfstedt 1977:275–276; Cennamo 1998, 2001a):

- (10) a. *item si a rota vexaverit* (*sc. equus*) (Pelagon. 233; Feltenius 1977:137)
 then if by wheel-ABL trouble.PERF.FUT.3SG (horse)
 'If it (=the horse) will be troubled by the wheel'
- b. *quomodo aliis facitis, sic et faciet*
 the-way other.PL.DAT make-PRES.IND.2PL thus and make.FUT.3SG
vobis
 you-PL.DAT
 (= *fiet*) (*Clem. Epist. Ad Cor.* 13.2; Svennung 1935:568)
 'What you do to others will be done to you (lit. the same way you will do to others so will do (=will be done) to you'
- c. *petens ut per eius auxilium liberaret* (=liberaretur)
 ask-PRES.PRT in-order-to by his-GEN help.NEUT free.IMP.F.SUBJ.3SG
 (*Fredeg. Chron.* IVc 183.17; Haag 1989:57)
 'Asking to be set free with his help'

Concomitant with the use of the active in passive function is the appearance of the passive in active function, with intransitive as well as transitive verbs (cf. (11a–b), a phenomenon referred to in the literature as Deponentization, occurring alongside the opposite tendency (attested throughout the history of the language, though to a much lesser extent than in Late/Medieval Latin), whereby deponents become active (Norberg 1943: 153–157; Löfstedt 1977: 274–275; Cennamo 1998):

- (11) a. *si iumentum scabia presum fuerit* (Chiron 613)
 if beast of burden-NEUT scabies-NOM take-PP.M.SG.NEUT be.FUT.PERF.3SG
 ‘If the beast of burden has developed scabies (lit. will be taken scabies)’
- b. *principes ... ad pugnam ire compulsus est*
 prince-PL to fight-ACC go.PRES.INF. force-PP.M.SG.NOM be.PRES.IND.3SG
 (*Hist. Daretis, Mon. Germ. Mer.* II, 195, 21; Norberg 1943: 157)
 ‘He forced the princes to fight (lit. to go to the battle)’
- c. *omnes res suas in integrum recipiatur* (Lex Cur. 24, 24) (ibid.)
 all-PL.NOM thing-PL.NOM his.F.ACC in whole-ACC
 take-back.M.PASS.FUT.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘That he get his property back’

Deponentization should not be thought of as a sign of the vitality of the passive (morphology) even at a very late stage (Flobert 1975). It is, instead, a further sign of the temporary loss of the voice dimension, clearly perceivable in 6th–7th century texts (see further examples in Norberg 1943), leading, at some point, roughly by the first half of the 8th century A.D. (e.g., in Merovingian Latin) to the abandonment of the passive as a strategy, which is generally replaced by the active (cf. (12a) vs (12b), sometimes with overt expression of the agent, also when it is lacking in the original passage reproduced in a text (cf. (12c) vs (12d)). Only occasionally the ‘new’ tools which had become available, *esse* +pp in imperfective function, the reflexive passive and various types of verbal periphrases (e.g., *feri*, *venire* ‘to come’, *manere* ‘to remain’ +pp) are employed (Herman 2002; Cennamo 2003a; see also Svennung 1935:460):

- (12) a. *iussit eum occidere* (LHF 9 (252.27) (Herman 2002)
 order.PERF.3SG he-ACC kill.INF.ACT
 ‘He ordered to kill him’
- b. *eum ... feriri mandavit* (Greg. II.27 (88.12) (ibid.)
 he-ACC wound-INF.MPASS order.PERF.3SG
 ‘He ordered that he be killed’
- c. *dum missarum celebrantur solemnia* (id. II.34 (98.2) (ibid.)
 while Mass-GEN.PL celebrate.MPASS.PRES.IND.3PL
 ceremony-PL.NEUT
 ‘While Masses were celebrated’
- d. *dum missarum sacrificia ... celebraret*
 while Mass-EGEN.PL sacrifice-PL.NEUT celebrate-IMPF.SUBJ.3SG
 (sc. *sanctus Mamertus*) (LHF 16 (260.20) (ibid.)
 (saint Mamertus)
 ‘While he (sc. saint Mamertus) celebrated Masses’

Owing to the equivalences in function among voice forms, and in particular among the active and passive morphology, in Late Latin the ambiguity of a passive pattern in the perfect no longer involves tense-aspectual distinctions (i.e., its eventive vs resultative-stative interpretation) as in Classical Latin. It concerns instead the assignment of grammatical functions to the verbal arguments, the so-called linking rules, which appear to be reversed: the active no longer signals unequivocally an A participant in subject function, and the passive no longer entails an O participant in subject function. The passive, therefore, can also mark an A argument in subject function, as in (13) under the active interpretation of the pattern (a), though it may continue to have a passive meaning (b):

- (13) *puella laudata est*
 girl-NOM praise.PP.F.SG.NOM be.PRES.IND.3SG
 a. 'The girl has praised/praised' (active) *puella* = A
 b. 'The girl has been praised/was praised' (passive) *puella* = O

It is still possible, however, to differentiate the verbal arguments owing to case-marking and agreement, as in (11b) *principes... compulsus est* and (11c) *res suas... recipiatur*. Once case-marking (and to a lesser extent agreement) starts operating on an active-inactive and at a later stage even on a neutral alignment, as testified by the use of the accusative in 'subject' function with intransitive verbs/(unaccusatives) (14a–b) as well as transitives (14c) (the so-called *extended accusative* (Plank 1985), the ambiguity of a passive pattern involves the identification of the verbal arguments, i.e., their A/O status as well (15) (see also Cennamo 2001b):

- (14) a. *crepitavit panem in furno* (Agnell. 391, 26)
 crackle-PERF.3SG bread-ACC in oven-ABL
 'Bread crackled in oven'
 b. *cutem non manducetur* (Anthim. 41)
 skin-ACC not eat-MPASS.PRES.SUBJ.3SG
 'The skin should not be eaten'
 c. *filios et nepotes fecerunt* (ILCV 3052.B)
 son-PL.ACC and nephew-PL.ACC make.PERF.3PL
 'Her sons and nephews made (it) (sc. the tomb)'
- (15) *puellam laudatam est*
 girl.ACC praise.PP.F.SG.ACC be.PRES.IND.3SG
 a. 'The girl was loved/has been loved' (passive)
 b. 'The girl has loved/loved' (active) (*amata est = amavit*) (*puellam* = A)
 c. '(She) has loved/loved the girl' (active –*puellam* = O)

The system is overburdened: new strategies therefore arise to identify verbal arguments as well as to convey the imperfective-perfective distinction, that, as already pointed out (see §3.1), represented a major division in the Classical Latin verb system. In particular, *esse+pp* comes to mark imperfective passives. Since, however, the tense-aspectual functions of *esse+pp* continue to be ambiguous (between the canonical perfective passive reading and the 'new'/emerging imperfective passive one), in the change leading

to the use of *esse*+pp in imperfective passive function, various periphrases are brought into use in order to convey the various nuances within the imperfective-perfective spectrum, among which *fieri*+pp in imperfective passive function and *facere*+ pp in a perfective passive one (see Cennamo 2003a and 2005 for a discussion of the rise of other passive periphrases in Late Latin).

We believe indeed that the loss of the voice dimension and its interaction with changes in argument marking/linking concomitant with and partially related to it are at the nub of the rise of the passive periphrases in the transition from Latin to Romance.

4. *Fieri* and *facere* as TAM and voice markers

We now consider the grammaticalization paths or ‘chains’ of Latin *fieri* and *facere* as passive auxiliaries. They instantiate the different paths of development of two related verbs, the activity verb *facere* ‘to do, to make’ and the accomplishment verb *fieri* ‘to become, to arise’, which also functions as its lexical passive/anticausative throughout the history of the language.

Interestingly, these verbs end up marking the two opposite poles of the imperfective-perfective continuum. *Fieri* comes to be used in imperfective passive function, whereas *facere* occurs as a marker of perfective passive.

The former is attested already in texts from the late imperial age (§ 4.1) and continues in some early Northern Italian varieties (Cennamo 2003a). The latter is not attested in Late Latin, and apparently only shows up in one early Italo-Romance vernacular, Old Logudorese Sardinian, and only for a short period of time (11th–13th century) (§ 4.2).

4.1 *fieri*-passive

By the same time and in the same texts in which the analytic passive *esse*+pp starts appearing in imperfective passive function (16a), that is by the end of the 4th century A.D., the verb *fieri* occurs in auxiliary function, marking imperfective passives only (cf. (16b), (17a)), often in alternation with the synthetic passive (cf. (17a–b)). Initially it is attested only with inanimate subjects (16b); at a later stage (8th–9th century A.D.) it also occurs with animate subjects (16c), sometimes with the overt expression of the agent (introduced by the preposition *per*) (16d), unlike in its early attestations (Muller 1924; Reichenkron 1933; Svennung 1935: 456–458; Winters 1984):

- (16) a. *per biennium ... est stercore et adsidua*
 for two-years-ACC be.PRES.IND.3SG compost-ABL and continuous-ABL
runcatione nutrita (Pall., 4, 9, 10)
 pruning-ABL nourish.PP.F.SG.NOM
 ‘It (=the plant) is nurtured for two years with compost and continuous pruning’

- b. *pilae laterculis constructae fiant* (Pall. I, 39, 2)
pillar-PL.NOM brick-PL.ABL build-PP.F.PL.NOM become-PRES.SUBJ.3PL
'That pillars be built with bricks' (lit. become built)
- c. *et fiat battutus et missus in*
and become.PRES.SUBJ.3SG beat.PP.M.SG.NOM and put.PP.M.SG.NOM in
carcere (Lex Cur. Addit. VIII, 42)
jail
'And that he be beaten and imprisoned'
- d. *per sacerdotes fiant gubernatas* (Cap. Gen. 783; Muller 1924:79)
by priest-PL.NOM become-PRES.SUBJ.3PL govern.PP.F.PL.ACC
'That they be governed by the priests'
- e. *fiat secundum legem nostram condemnatus* (id. Addit. X, 3)
become.PRES.SUBJ.3SG according-to law-ACC our-ACC condemn-PP.M.SG.NOM
'That he be condemned in accordance with our law'
- (17) a. *interpositae orationes fiunt* (*Per. Aeth.* 35, 6)
intersperse.PP.F.PL.NOM prayer.PL.NOM become-PRES.IND.3PL
'Prayers are being/get interspersed' (lit. become interspersed)
- b. *interponuntur orationes* (id. 37, 6)
interperse-MPASS.PRES.IND.3PL prayer.PL.NOM
'Prayers are being/get interspersed'

Whereas in the early occurrences of the pattern the auxiliary follows the past participle (16b) (as in SOV languages), at a later stage the auxiliary may also occur before the past participle, with which it may be discontinuous (16e), probably as a result of the shift from a predominantly SOV language (Latin in some registers) to SVO languages (Romance) (see also Cennamo 2005 and Pinkster 1991 for a critical evaluation of the alleged SOV nature of Latin word order).

The *feri*-passive shows a specialised verbal behaviour, in that it only occurs in some tenses, the present indicative/subjunctive and in some persons, the third person singular/plural (though the issue needs further study), that is, it only occurs in imperfective tenses. It differs from the canonical Latin passive auxiliary, *esse* 'to be' and from the other passive auxiliaries developing in Late Latin (e.g., *venire* 'to come') in that it occurs in participial constructions such as (18), ranging from patterns where *feri* retains its full lexical value, denoting the 'transition to a state', as in (18a), *elixa facti*, 'made boiled' (where *elixa* is the complement of the lexical verb *feri*) to cases where it is devoid of any lexical meaning and appears to be a mere resultative marker, as in (18b), *vaporatas factas* '(that have been) stewed', (18c), *capriati facti* '(that have been) marinated':

- (18) a. *pectenis optima caro elixi facti*
 scallop-GEN excellent-F.NOM meat-NOM boiled (adjective) make.PP.M.PL.NOM
et assati in testo suo (Anthim. 48. 1))
 and roast.PP.M.PL.NOM in shell-ABL its-ABL
 ‘Scallop is excellent if (it has been boiled) and roasted in its shell (lit. boiled made and roasted)’
- b. *vaporatas factas et in sodinga*
 stew-PP.F.PL.ACC make.PP.F.PL and in pan-ABL
coctas (sc. *carnes*) *utendum* (id. 3.1)
 cook.PP.F.PL.ACC (meat-PL.NOM) use-GER.NEUT
 ‘One should use meat that has been stewed and cooked in a pan’
- c. (*Pulli*) *capriati facti melius*
 (chicken.PL.NOM) marinate.PP.M.PL.NOM make.PP.M.PL.NOM better
comeduntur (id. 23)
 eat.MPASS.PRES.IND.3PL
 ‘Chicken tastes nicer if it has been marinated (lit. are eaten better marinated made)’
- d. *lenticla et brassica vis (=bis) cocta*
 lentil.SG.NOM and cabbage.SG.NOM twice cook.PP.F.SG.NOM
facta (Orib. Syn. 4, 30).
 make.PP.F.SG.NOM
 ‘Lentils and and cabbage cooked twice (lit. twice cooked made)’

Although it is difficult to ascertain the difference between the pattern with and without the compound participial form (e.g., between *vaporatas* and *vaporatas factas*), on the basis of the evidence available, one may hypothesize that when the pattern occurs with the compound participle, the past participle of the lexical verb (*vaporatus* ‘stewed’, *coctus* ‘cooked’) has a verbal function, unlike in the simple participial form, where it has an adjectival function instead (see Svennung 1935:459 for a different view). This interpretation is confirmed by the occurrence of the verbal adjective *elixi* in (18a) *elixi facti* (rather than the verbal participle *elixatus*). In point of fact, the latter syntagm in (18a) is coordinated with the verbal participle *assati*, rather than the verbal adjective *assi*, which occurs in the plain form (i.e., without *fieri*). Coordination therefore appears to be a good syntactic test for detecting the difference between the pattern with and without the double participial form (in point of fact, although the coordinated elements may not be of the same form class, they must be alike in their function (Pinkster 1988:30, 124 for Latin). The double participial form therefore appears to single out the verbal from the adjectival function of the past participle when the latter may be ambiguous between either interpretation, most typically with change of state verbs (i.e., causative accomplishments/achievements⁹) (e.g., *coquere* ‘to cook’, *vaporare* ‘to stew’ (trans.)). The past participle of *fieri* in the above examples then functions as a marker of O-orientation and perfective-resultative aspect, highlighting the event giving rise to a result state rather than the (result) state itself.¹⁰ Late Latin, therefore, seems to develop at some stage a resultative participle.

4.1.1 *Origin of fieri-passive*

The auxiliarization of *fieri* seems to be related to two different and at some point converging paths or ‘chains’.

One path of change, probably the initial one, appears to involve the equivalence of *fieri* to the copula *esse*, attested by the end of the 4th century A.D. (19a–b) and even more so in later centuries (see (19c–e), of the 6th century A.D.) and (19f), from early Medieval Latin (10th century A.D.), whereby *fieri*, which in its ‘fientive’¹¹ use marks a result state (19a), may also occur in copular function, to mark a non-result state (18c), at times alternating with the copula *esse* within the same text) (19d–e):

- (19) a. *donec sanum fiat* (sc. *iumentum*) (Chiron 728)=
until fit-NEUT become-PRES.SUBJ.3SG (beast of burden)
‘Until it (the beast of burden) recovers (lit. becomes fit)’
- b. *si sanum non fuerit* (sc. *iumentum*)(id. 723)
if fit-NEUT not be.FUT.3SG
‘If it (the beast of burden) does not recover (lit. if it will not be fit)’
- c. *utilis fiat ita, ut in lactes caprunos*
useful-NOM become.PRES.SUBJ.3SG thus that in milk-PL.ACC goat-PL.ACC
coquat (Anthim. 82.2–3)
cook-PRES.SUBJ.3SG
‘Thus it is useful to cook lamb in milk’
- d. *difficilior fit ad curandum* (Orib. *Syn. La d-a*)=
more-difficult-NOM become.PRES.IND.3SG for cure-GER-NEUT
- e. *difficilis est ad curandum* (id. 8, 7, A)
difficult-NOM be.PRES.IND-3SG for cure-GER-NEUT
‘It is (more) difficult to cure’
- f. *fiat ei fermum et stabilem* (Cod. *Cajet.* 906;
become-PRES.SUBJ.3SG he.DAT firm-ACC and stable-ACC
De Bartholomaeis 1902:§73)
‘That it be firm and stable to him (lit. that it become)’

Also the converse phenomenon is attested, whereby *esse*, that in Classical Latin in predicative structures occurred for inherent states/qualities (20a), may occur for result states as well in Late Latin¹² (cf. (20b) *fungosae sunt* (=fiunt)), sometimes in the same texts where *fieri* substitutes for *esse* (20c), replacing the corresponding lexical anticausative in the -R form (20d) (Svennung 1935:460):

- (20) a. *nix alba est* (inherent quality) (**nix alba fit*)
SNOW-NOM white-F.NOM be.PRES.IND.3SG
‘Snow is white’
- b. *laetamen non est ingerendum, ... quia inde*
manure-NEUT not be.PRES.IND-3SG add-GER-NEUT because from-it
fungosae sunt (=fiunt) (sc. *radices*) (Pall. 9.5.2) (fientive)
spongy-PL.NOM be.PRES.IND-3PL (=become.PRES.IND.3pl) (roots)
‘Manure is not to be added, in that they (=the roots) become spongy (lit. are)’
- c. (= 19b) *si sanum non fuerit* (sc. *iumentum*)

- d. *donec sanetur* (Veg. 2, 88, 7)
 until heal-PRES.SUBJ.MPASS.3SG
 'Until it recovers'

The equivalence involves also the non-fientive use of *feri* (i.e., its non-predicative function):

- (21) *post annum... fuerit* (=facta erit) de
 after year-ACC be-FUT.PERF (=make.PP.SG.F.NOM be.FUT.IND-3SG) from
semine planta (Pall. 10, 14, 2) (indefinite change)
 seed-ABL plant-NOM
 'A plant will grow (lit. 'will have been') from the seed after a year'

Fieri and *esse* therefore at some point (roughly by the end of the 4th–5th century A.D.) become interchangeable, in all their uses.

The equivalence *feri-esse* illustrated in (19)–(21) appears to be the first step towards the auxiliarization of *feri*, whereby the verb becomes a semantically empty copula, a tense-aspect carrier like *esse*. Indeed, the grammaticalization of *feri* may be regarded as a case of 'copula auxiliarization' (Dik 1987:57) or 'expansion' (Heine & Reh 1982 in Dik 1987:58), a change whereby a copula acquires further grammatical meanings, becoming fully integrated into the tense-aspect-mood and person marking system of the language.

The second path involves a change in the complement of the verb, from noun/adjective (22a) or adjectival participle (22b–c) to verbal participle (22d–e). In the early attestations of the pattern the past participle is formed mainly from causative accomplishments/achievements (namely verbs denoting change of state (e.g., *coquere*, *constringere*) and, depending on the context, the construction may be ambiguous between the lexical (i.e., fientive meaning) and auxiliary (i.e., TAM marker) function of *feri*, as in (22b–c):

- (22) a. *Marcus consul fit / tumor durus*
 Mark-NOM consul-NOM become-PRES.IND-3SG/ swelling-NOM hard-NOM
fit
 become.PRES.IND-3SG
 'Mark became a consul/The swelling becomes hard'
- b. *maxillae constrictae fiunt* =
 the-jaws.PL.F.NOM contract.PP.PL.F.NOM become.PRES.IND.3PL =
constringuntur
 contract-MPASS.PRES.IND.3PL
 'The jaws become contracted' = 'The jaws get contracted'
- c. *caro cocta fit* =
 meat-NOM cook-PP.F.SG.NOM become.PRES.IND-3SG =
coquitur
 cook-MPASS.PRES.IND.3SG
 'Meat gets cooked/cooks'
- d. (=17a) *interpositae orationes fiunt*
- e. (=16d) *fiant gubernatas*

Under its fientive interpretation the construction *fieri*+pp is biclausal: the past participle (*constrictae/cocta*) in (22b–c) in fact is a complement of the verb *fieri*, that occurs in its full lexical meaning, denoting the transition to a state and the pattern replaces the corresponding synthetic anticausative form (*constringuntur/coquitur*). Under the auxiliary function of *fieri* (as in the passive interpretation of (22b–c), *fieri* is a TAM marker and the past participle is the main (i.e., the lexical) verb. The pattern is therefore monoclausal. Whereas when the past participle is formed from causative accomplishment/achievement verbs the construction may be both biclausal and monoclausal, when the past participle is formed from either an active accomplishment (e.g., *interponere* in (22c)) or an activity verb (e.g., *gubernare* in (22d)), the pattern can only be monoclausal, with the past participle having a clear verbal function. In point of fact, no spontaneous (i.e., anticausative) interpretation of the pattern is possible, but an external Causer is implied, which at a late stage can also be overtly marked (cf. (16d)).

The change in the different bracketing of the construction, stemming from the different aspectual nature of the participial complement, can be summarized as in (23):

- (23) a. [*fieri*] + [adjectival participle] > b. [*fieri* + verbal participle]

The aspectual nature of the verb therefore appears to play a major role in the passive interpretation of the pattern *fieri*+pp, as with other passive constructions in the transition from Latin to Romance (Michaelis 1998; Cennamo 2003a, 2005).

4.2 *facere*-passive

In late Medieval texts (11th–13th century) from one Italo-Romance variety, Old Logudorese Sardinian,¹³ there occurs an unusual and apparently isolated passive verbal periphrasis, consisting of the verb *fakere* ‘to do/to make’ (a continuation of the Latin verb *facere*) in auxiliary function + the past participle of the lexical verb, in such forms as *fekit pettita* ‘She was asked for’ (lit *she made asked for*), in alternation with *essere* + pp (Cennamo 2003a, 2003b).

This pattern is attested only in the third person singular/plural, in two tenses, the perfect (*fekit* 3rd singular – *fekerun* – 3rd plural) and the pluperfect (*fekerat* – 3rd singular) and marks a perfective passive. It occurs mainly with [+An] [+Hum] subjects (there are only 2 examples of [–An] subjects out of 11 occurrences of the pattern) and dies out in later centuries, replaced by the *essere* periphrasis, with which it alternates in the texts investigated (Cennamo 2003a, 2003b; also Blasco Ferrer 1995). Most typically, the Agent is unexpressed (24a–d). There are only two examples with the agent overtly expressed (24c–d), realized as a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *de* (denoting cause) (24c) or *ave* (= *abe*) (24d):

- (24) a. *ca non fekerat pettita s’ankilla de scu.*
 that not make-PLUPF.IND-3SG ask-PP-SG.F the-servant of saint
Petru (CSPS 33, 5–6)
 Peter
 ‘Because S. Peter’s servant had not been asked for’

- b. *et issara iurait... ca ad Elene de Funtana*¹⁴ *a.llarga*
and then swear-PERF.3SG that to Helene of Funtana away
fekit levata ki non fekit pettita
make-PERF.3SG, take.PP.SG.F that not make.PERF.3SG ask.PP.SG.F
alicando (id. 27, 8–9)
never
'And then ... he swore that Elena de Funtana was taken away (lit. *made taken*),
that she was never asked for (lit. *made asked for*)'
- c. *su seruum uostru ... iectatu... fekit de donnu et de*
the servant your throw-PP.M.SG make-PERF.3SG by master and by
seruos de Trullas (CSNT 311, 4)
servant-PL of Trullas
'Your servant was cast out (lit. *thrown made*) by his master and by the servants of
Trullas'
- d. *ki fekerun datos a Mariane de Capathennor ave iudice*
that make-PERF.3PL give-PP.M.PL to Mariane of Capathennor by judge
Mariane (CSNT 270, 1)
Mariane
'That were given (lit. *made given*) to Mariane of Capathonner by Judge Mariane'

As already pointed out (p. 4), when both verbal arguments (A and O) are expressed, an active pattern with dislocation of the object is preferred (compare (25a) with (25b), which have the same propositional content):

- (25) a. (=24c) *su seruum uostru ... iectatu... fekit de donnu et de seruos de Trullas* (CSNT 311, 4)
- b. *ki ... l'avian ietatu su servum vostru sos*
that him (O).have.IMPV cast out.PP.M.SG the servant (O) your the
servos de Sanctum Nicolas de Trullas (CSNT 332. 3)
servant.PL (A) of Saint Nicolas of Trullas
'Because S. Nicola from Trulla's servants had cast your servant out'(lit. 'him had
thrown away your servant S. Nicolas of Trulla's servants')

The *facere*-passive has an overall low frequency (3 examples in CSNT and 8 examples in CSPA), and only occurs in some Logudorese texts.

Facere is also attested in predicative constructions, in what appears to be a truly copular function, not only in O. Logudorese (26a) but also in other O. Sardinian varieties (e.g., O. Campidanese) where it does not occur as a passive marker (26b):

- (26) a. *(Gosanthine de Thori) ... fegit malabitu de sa*
Gosantine of Thori make.PERF.3SG ill-SG.M of the
plaga (CSNT 218.2) (attributive)
wound
'Gosantine of Thori was ill because of his wound'
- b. *Jurgia Cucu ... aligando muniaria non fegit* (CV 13.10) (identificational)
Jurgia Cucu never servant not make.PERF.3SG.
'Jurgia Cucu was never a servant'

According to some scholars (Merci 1992:110, note to card 218.1), the copular use of *facere* is subsequent to its passive auxiliary function. However, since this use also occurs in texts where *facere* is not attested as a passive auxiliary and continues a well-established copular function of this verb in Late Latin (see discussion in §4.1.1), we argue that it might be the initial stage in the auxiliarization of this verb (cf. also Cennamo 2003a, 2003b).

4.2.1 *Origin of facere-passive*

The auxiliarization of the verb *facere* appears to stem from three different chains interacting at different times.

The initial stage is related to some desemanticized, copular-like uses of the verb developing in Late Latin (attested, to some extent already by the 1st century A.D.), where it equals the verb *valet* ‘It is good, useful’ (27a–b) (J. Herman, p.c.):

- (27) a. *idem remedium optime facit* (Colum. 60, 15, 1)
 same remedy-NEUT excellently make.PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘The same remedy is very good if (lit. does excellently)’
- b. *facit autem ad id vitium absinthium* (Chiron 454)
 make.PRES.IND.3SG then to this disease-NEUT absinth-NEUT
 ‘Then absinth is good for this disease’

Patterns such as (27a–b) indeed appear to be the direct antecedents of the copular function of the verb, well-attested by the 6th century, when it sometimes alternates with the canonical copula *esse* (28):

- (28) a. *si autem et thimum... et absinthium cum fermentum*
 if then and thymus-NEUT and absynth-NEUT with yeast-NEUT.
admisceas optimum facit
 mix.PRES.IND.2SG excellent-NEUT make.PRES.IND.3SG
medicamentum (Orib Syn. 1.26, La; Mörländ 1932:79)
 remedy-NEUT
 ‘If you mix thyme... and absinth, this makes an excellent remedy’
- b. *sed in olla fictile meliorem saporem*
 but in pan-ABL clay-ABL better-ACC taste-ACC
facit (=fit/est?) (fientive/copula?)¹⁵ (6th century A.D.)
 make.PRES.IND.3SG
 ‘But it tastes better in a clay pan (lit. the taste *makes=is* better in a clay pan)’

Also existential uses of the verb in the impersonal form (*facit*) (29a–b), occurring in 5th–6th century texts (e.g., S. Augustin and *Vitae Patrum*) (Salonius 1920:256; Svennung 1935:567–568; Hofmann-Szantyr 1964:§221c) appear to be related to the gradual loss of semantic content of the verb (J. Herman, p.c.):

- (29) a. *numquam fecit tale*
 never make.PERF.3SG this-NEUT
frigus (Aug. *Serm.* 25, 3; Hofmann-Szantyr 1964:§221c)
 cold-NEUT
 ‘It has never been so cold (lit. *made cold*)’

- b. *sed hodie bonum aerem facit* (*Vitae Patrum* 5, 11, 51 (ibid.)
but today good-ACC weather-ACC make.PRES.IND-3SG (impersonal)
'But today it is (lit. (it) makes) good weather'

A second chain in the grammaticalization process of *facere* is related to the equivalence among voice forms, consequent to the loss of the grammatical dimension of voice discussed in § 3.2, whereby at some point the forms of the verb *facere* are used interchangeably with the corresponding forms of its lexical passive *feri*, both in its anticausative (30a) and (marginally) its passive functions (30b) (Svennung 1935: 459–460; Hofmann-Szantyr 1963: §165):

- (30) a. (=9c) *in temporibus collectiones faciunt* (anticausative)
'Swellings appear (lit. *make*) on its head'
b. (=10b) *quomodo alii facitis, sic et faciet vobis* (passive)

The equivalence between the two verbs concerns all their uses, therefore it involves also the fientive (31a–b) and copular functions (31c):

- (31) a. *lacrimosum oculum faciet... et extumidiior fit* (id. 70)
tearful-ACC eye-ACC make.FUT-3SG and swollen-NOM become.PRES.IND-3SG
'Its eye will become (lit. *will-make*) tearful... and becomes swollen'
b. *cataplasma eum (sc. tumorem) donec maturum faciat* (Chiron 91) (fientive)
smear.FUT-2SG it-ACC (sc. swelling) until soft-ACC
make.PRES.SUBJ.3SG
'You will smear it (the swelling) with a poultice till it becomes soft (lit. soft-Acc *makes-subj*)'
c. (=28b) *sed in olla fictile meliorem saporem facit (=fit/est?)* (fientive/copula?)

At some point, therefore, *facere* might have occurred in anticausative/passive-like function, (according to the context), replacing the canonical form *feri*, in the corresponding intransitive form (32) of analytic patterns of the type *facere* + a past participle in predicative function (32'):

- (32) **carnes assatae fecerunt (=factae)*
meat-NOM.PL roast-PP.PL.F.NOM make.PERF.3PL = make.PP.F.PL.NOM
sunt)
be.PRES.IND.3PL
'The meat became/got roasted (lit. 'meat roasted made' (=became)'
(<32' *carnes assatas fecisti = assavisti*)
meat.ACC.PL roast.PP.F.ACC make.PERF-2SG = roast-PER.2SG
'You made the meat roasted=you roasted the meat'

Analytic structures of the type *facere*+pp for the synthetic ones (e.g., *coctum facere* (lit. 'cooked make')=*coquere* ('to cook')) and the corresponding intransitive (anticausative) forms (e.g., *coctus fit* (lit. '(it) cooked becomes' = *coquitur* 'it cooks')) are already attested by the 1st century A.D. (33a–b) and develop the early Latin common use of the past participle in predicative function after transitive (causative) verbs such as *facere*, *curare* (e.g., *aliquem missum facere* 'to let someone go' (lit. 'someone

sent make') (Kühner-Stegmann 1912:765–766; Svennung 1935:439–460; Hofmann-Szantyr 1963:§209c; TLL VI 119. 59):

- (33) a. *mei* *coci* *etiam vitulos* *aeno*
 my.PL.NOM COOK.PL.NOM also veal.PL.ACC bronze-couldron-ABL
coctos *solent* *facere* (=coquere) (Petr. 47.25)
 COOK.PP.PL.M.ACC USE.PRES.IND-3PL make-INF (=COOK-INF)
 'My cooks cook veal (lit. *make veal cooked*) in a bronze cauldron'
- b. *iussit* *ut aeno* *coctus*
 order.PERF.3SG that bronze-couldron-ABL COOK-PP.M.SG.NOM
fieret (sc. *gallus*) (id. 74.4)
 become.IMPF.SUBJ (hen)
 'He ordered that it (=the hen) cooked/was (lit; *became*) cooked in a bronze cauldron'

The last step in the auxiliarization of *facere*, the trigger of its use as a passive marker would involve a change in the aspectual classes of verbs occurring in the participial form. Starting from a construction in which *facere* equals *feri* in anticausative/passive-like function as in (32) (**carnes assatae fecerunt*) above, *facere* might be deemed to acquire a truly auxiliary passive function once the aspectual classes of the verbs occurring in the participial form change and no longer belong to causative accomplishment/achievement verbs (e.g., *assare*, *coquere*), but spread to active accomplishments/activities as well (e.g., *curare*, *munire*). In point of fact, whereas with causative accomplishment and achievement verbs (i.e., telic verbs denoting change of state) the pattern may be ambiguous between a spontaneous (anticausative) and an induced process interpretation (passive function), depending on the context, with active accomplishments/activities the latter interpretation is impossible, and an external human causer is (necessarily) implied (passive function).

The grammaticalization of *facere* would appear to follow therefore the same path as that of *feri* discussed in Section 4.1 and of other passive auxiliaries arising in the transition from Latin to Romance (Cennamo 2005).

In particular, it seems to involve a stage at which *facere* equals *esse*, whereby it too would exemplify a case of "copula auxiliarization" (Dik 1987:57), the process whereby a grammatical element (the copula) receives an extra grammatical function, gradually expanding into the domain of the verbal paradigm.

It also appears to result from a change in the nature of the verbal complement, from noun/adjective (as in its copular/fientive use) and possibly an adjectival participle at some point,¹⁶ to verbal participle.

The *possible stages* in the rise of *facere* as a passive auxiliary (from Latin to O. Logudorese may be summarized as in (34):

- (34) a. *tumor maturus facit/equus sanus facit* (=fit=est) ('the swelling becomes/is soft/the horse recovers') >
 b. **carnes assatae/*coctae faciunt* (=fiunt) (=coquuntur/assantur) 'meat becomes/is/gets roasted/cooked') >
 c. *ancilla fekit pettita* 'the servant was asked for' (O. Logudorese)

Like in other auxiliatation processes, the original complement of the verb (i.e., the past participle) is reinterpreted as the 'main' lexical verb. The construction therefore becomes monoclausal, with the two predicates, originally two different constituents, merging into one:

- (35) *caro* [*cocta*] [*facit*] > *caro* [*cocta facit*]
 [complement] [lexical verb] > [lexical verb auxiliary]

Stage a) results from the equivalence *facere/esse/feri* and exemplifies the copular and fientive uses of *facere*. At stage b) (hypothesized) the pattern would be ambiguous between a two-constituent/one-constituent analysis, owing to the ambiguity of interpretation of the past participle (adjectival~ verbal). At stage c) no ambiguity arises, in that the past participle is formed from an activity verb, so it is clearly verbal in function.

Also in the grammaticalization of the verb *facere* as a passive auxiliary, therefore, the aspectual class of the verbs occurring in the participial form plays a crucial role, triggering the induced process (i.e., passive) interpretation of the construction.

Furthermore the rise of the *facere* passive shows a type of grammaticalization which not only involves the desemantization and decategorialization of a lexical verb into a TAM marker, but also reflects changes in argument linking taking place in Late Latin, related to the restructuring of the voice system and, more generally, of the encoding of the argument structure of the clause (see Cennamo 1998, 2001a, 2001b).

5. Conclusion

The investigation of the auxiliarization process of the Latin verbs *feri* and *facere* as imperfective and perfective passive markers, respectively, has revealed that they involve the same grammaticalization chains:

- A stage at which *feri* and *facere* acquire a copular function, equalling the canonical copula *esse*;
- A change in the nature of the complement of the verbs, from noun/adjective/adjectival participle to a verbal participle;
- A change in the aspectual classes of the verbs occurring in the participial form, from causative accomplishments to active accomplishments/activities.

The equivalence of *feri* and *facere* to the copula appears to be the initial stage in the grammaticalization process, one in which these verbs start to occur as mere tense-aspect carriers.¹⁷ A subsequent stage involves their gradual integration into the verbal paradigm, as testified by their use with past participles in anticausative function (i.e., as anticausative markers), to mark the spontaneous manifestation of a situation (most typically a change of state), well-attested for *feri* (*caro cocta fit = coquitur* 'The meat cooks') but only postulated for *facere* (**oryza cocta facit=fit=coquitur* 'Rice cooks'). The last step in the change of these verbs into markers of the passive voice is related to a change in the verbal classes occurring in the participial form, from telic verbs

denoting change of state (i.e., causative accomplishments and perhaps achievements as well) (e.g., Late Latin *assare* ‘to roast’, *coquere* ‘to cook’, *constringere* ‘to contract’) to non-inherently telic/atelic ones (e.g., active accomplishments/activities) (Latin *battere* ‘to beat up’, *gubernare* ‘to rule/govern’, *mittere* ‘to send for/out’, O. Logudorese *dare* ‘to give’, *iectare* ‘to throw’, *binkere* ‘to defeat’, *petire* ‘to ask for’). With the latter verbs, in fact, the spontaneous interpretation (i.e., anticausative function) is impossible and an external human causer is implied (passive function).

In addition, the rise of these verbal periphrases and generally of periphrastic passives in Romance, appears to be one of the outcomes of radical changes taking place in the domains of voice and transitivity in Late Latin, which at some point cut across the aspectually determined morphological cleavage existing in the Latin verbal system (between forms of the *infectum* and of the *perfectum*), leading to the rise of new tense-aspectual and voice systems in the transition to Romance.

Notes

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1. The following abbreviations are used: ABL = ablative (case); ACC = accusative (case); ACT = active; DAT = dative (case); F = feminine; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; GER = gerundive; IMPF = imperfect (tense); IND = indicative; INF = Infinitive; intr. = intransitive; M = masculine; MPASS = medio-passive marker -R; NEUT = neuter; NOM = nominative (case); PASS = passive; PERF = perfect (tense marker); PL = plural; PRES = present (tense marker); PRES.PRT = present participle; PP = past participle; PLUP = pluperfect (tense marker); SG = singular; trans. = transitive; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

2. Vector verbs, also referred to as serial/light verbs, often represent (optional) intermediate stages in the verb-affix cline. They consist of a sequence of two or more verbs which act syntactically as a single verb (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 108–109, int.al.).

3. S, A, O/P are syntactico-semantic primitives referring to the core arguments of the verb/clause, following a well-established terminology (see recent discussion in Mithun & Chafe 1999 and therein references).

4. Note that in (2a) the analytic passive, *esse+pp*, which in Latin occurs in the perfective only, is ambiguous between a past perfective and a present perfective interpretation. With states, (causative) accomplishments and achievements the past participle may also have an adjectival interpretation, whereby, depending on the context, *amata est* can also mean ‘She is beloved’ (see discussion in § 3).

5. Interestingly, a similar situation obtains in contemporary Italian dialects (see Cennamo 1997).

6. Indeed, as pointed out by W. Abraham (p.c.), the ambiguity between the resultative stative and the adjectival (i.e., result state) reading of the *esse+pp* pattern is not surprising, since they imply one another (see also the discussion in Abraham 1990).

7. The term refers to the intransitive use of transitive structures, in which the original object becomes the subject of the (derived) intransitive pattern. Unlike passives, which imply an external human causer, anticausatives denote the spontaneous manifestation of a process and only actions which can occur without an initiating actor can be anticausativized (Haspelmath 1987:7, 15, int. al).
8. We follow the Role and Reference Grammar classification of predicates, whereby active accomplishments are the telic use of activity verbs with definite, referential objects (e.g., Latin *puer tres epistulas scripsit* child.NOM three-ACC.PL letter-ACC.PL ‘the child wrote three letters’). Like causative accomplishments (e.g., Latin *mutare* ‘to change’ (transitive)), they denote a temporally extended telic change (of state/activity); unlike causative accomplishments, they are not inherently telic and denote the sequence of two events rather than a relationship of causation between two events (Van Valin & La Polla 1997: 101, 111–112; also Levin 2000).
9. Although in the texts scrutinized we only found examples with causative accomplishments, we cannot exclude the occurrence of the double participial form with causative achievements as well (see also Cennamo 2005).
10. It is worth noticing in (17d) the occurrence of the adverb *vis=bis* ‘twice’, which gives the participial form a clearly eventive (i.e., verbal) force, thereby further supporting our interpretation.
11. The term refers to predicative constructions, generally derived from adjectives, denoting the transition from a state to a new state (Haspelmath 1987:33, 1990: 34).
12. Recall, however, that *esse* already had the function of marking result states in the resultative stative interpretation of the perfect passive and in the adjectival value of the past participle (see Cennamo 2005 and §3.2).
13. The texts where the *facere*-passive occurs are so-called *Condaghi* (namely the *Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki* (CSPS) and the *Condaghe di S.Nicola di Trullas*) (CPST), “registers containing the official records of wills, donations, permutations, buys, sells, as well as juridical decisions (acts of law) on the monastery’s patrimony” (Merci 1992: 11, Note 1).
14. Note in this example that the subject of the passive clause retains its original object marking, the preposition *a*, that in O. Logudorese Sardinian generally marks human objects, most typically proper names (see Meyer-Lübke 1902:52; Blasco Ferrer 1995:48, N. 3; Cennamo 2003b)).
15. In (28b), however, *facit* may also be interpreted as equalling *feri* (“The taste becomes better in a clay pan”).
16. Although no such examples as *oryza cocta facit* (rice.NOM cook.PP.F.SG.NOM make.PRES.IND.3SG ‘rice cooks’, lit. ‘rice cooked makes’) as the corresponding anticausative form of *oryzam coctam facit* – rice.ACC cook.PP.F.SG.ACC make.PRES.IND.3SG – ‘He cooks the rice (lit. ‘(He) rice cooked makes = cooks’) are attested, further investigation might reveal the occurrence of the anticausative use of *facere* + a past participle formed from a causative accomplishment (/achievement) verb already in Late and Medieval Latin texts.
17. Interestingly, a similar path of development for verbs of becoming as copulas has been recently pointed out by Dahl (2000) for several Northern European languages.

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