Grammaticalization and changes in argument linking: a case-study from old Logudorese Sardinian[1]

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1. Introduction

This article explores the rise of one of the passive periphrases that became available in the transition from Latin to Romance, the *facer(e)*-passive, consisting of the verb *facer(e)* 'do/make' (and its variants) + the past participle of the lexical verb (e.g., *fekit pettita* make.PRF.3SG request.PTCPF.SG '(she) was asked for/ requested'), attested in eleventh – thirteenth century Logudorese Sardinian texts, occurring with [± An] subjects, only in the third person singular/plural and in some tenses, the perfect (e.g. *fekit*), and the pluperfect (e.g. *fekerat*). This pattern marked perfective passives, and apparently died out in later centuries, replaced by the *es(s)er* 'be' + past participle construction and by the reflexive passive (Blasco Ferrer 1995; Cennamo 2003; 2006).

After discussing the notions of auxiliarization and voice (section 2), I illustrate the use of *facer(e)*-passives in old Logudorese Sardinian (section 3), and investigate the possible steps involved in the grammaticalization of its Latin antecedent, the verb *facere* 'do/make', into a passive auxiliary. I argue (sections 4-5) that the rise of this pattern (originally noted by Meyer-Lübke 1902: 51-52 and subsequently mentioned by Herzog 1910: 154) shows a type of grammaticalization involving not only the desemanticization and decategorialization of a lexical verb (Latin *facere* 'do/make') into an auxiliary (i.e., into a T(ense)-A(spect)-M(odality) marker), but also reflecting changes in argument linking taking place in Late Latin, related to the reorganization of voice distinctions – more specifically, the equivalences among voice forms, whereby the active, passive and anticausative morphology may become interchangeable (e.g., *facere* 'do/make' = *fieri* 'be done/become') – and, more generally, of the encoding of the argument structure of the clause in the transition from Latin to Romance (Cennamo 1998; 2001a; 2001b; 2009; 2012; 2016: 967-70; Vincent 1997b; 1998; Ledgeway 2012 for other aspects).

2. Auxiliaries and Voice

The change under investigation falls within the more general issue of *auxiliarization*, the process whereby a lexical element (namely, a verb) gradually loses its syntactic and semantic properties and acquires a grammatical meaning, becoming a TAM marker. In the case of *facer(e)*-passive, an activity[2] verb becomes a marker of perfective aspect, O-orientation[3] and agent defocussing, so-called passive auxiliary.

Following Givón (1990: 565-72), Shibatani 1994, among others, the passive voice may be viewed as a marked system of correlations among semantic roles, syntactic relations and pragmatic notions, realizing different points along a continuum of detransitivization, characterized by the interplay of a number of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties (which allow one to rank passives along a scale), illustrated below (Fig. 1):

Figure 1 – The passive-impersonal continuum (Cennamo 1997: 145)

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

In many languages (and varieties of languages) *core passive* is characterized by O-orientation, a marked verbal morphology, agent suppression, topicalization and subjectization of a non-agent, perfective aspect (e.g., old Logudorese Sardinian) *furun binkitos* be.PRF.3PL defeat.PTCP.M.PL 'they were defeated'; *sunt fatas* be.PRS.3PL make.PTCP.F.PL 'they have been made').

Passives with overt expression of the agent are *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 (e.g., oL. *furun binkitos parentes ... de piscopu Jorgi Maiule* 'the relatives were defeated by the bishop Jorgi Maiule' - ex. (4b)). In point of fact, passives with overt expression of the agent are rare cross-linguistically (Siewierska 1984: 35, among others).

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2. More specifically, Latin *facere* is an activity verb also allowing a resultative use, as in (i), so-called active accomplishment in R(ole) and R(eference) G(rammar) (Van Valin 2005):

(i) *Quis non faber vasculum ... fecit?* (Quintil. *Inst.* 7,10,9)
    who not potter vessel make.PST.3SG
    'What potter has not made a vessel ...?

3. S, A, O are syntactico-semantic categories referring to the clause nuclear arguments (Mithun & Chafe 1999; Haspelmath 2011, among others).

Dynamic (processual/eventive) passives are O-oriented patterns with a marked verbal morphology (*es(s)er* 'be' / *facer(e)* 'do/make' + past participle in old Logudorese Sardinian) and a "dynamic", eventive interpretation (e.g., oL. *fuit pettita* be.PRF.3SG ask-for.PTCP.F.SG/*fekit pettita* make.PRF.3SG ask-for.PTCP.F.SG 'She was asked for/requested'. *Resultative-stative* passives are O-oriented patterns with a marked verbal morphology (*es(s)er* + past participle in old Logudorese Sardinian) and a perfective-resultative interpretation, denoting the state resulting from a previous action, as affecting the O argument (e.g., oL. *ki sun fattos in servu meu* (ex. 4a) 'who have been procreated by my servant'/ *est istadu dadu cumandamentu* (ex. 6e)/'it has been ordered; lit. 'is been given order').

The issue under examination falls within a more general trend in the transition from Latin to Romance: the emergence of so-called "analytic" structures in several domains of its grammar, whereby "the expressions of grammatical and lexical meanings get unpacked" (Maiden 1995: 93), so that "grammatical and lexical meanings are assigned to separate and originally autonomous words" (Maiden 1995: 21 and recent discussion in Vincent 2016; Ledgeway 2017). In the course of discussion I explore the grammaticalization path(s) of the Latin verb *facere* 'do/make', which gradually loses the characteristics of a semantically and syntactically independent word, becoming a Tense-Aspect-Modality marker in old Logudorese Sardinian, albeit continuing to occur in its full lexical meaning.

3. Passive periphrases in old Logudorese Sardinian

In eleventh – thirteenth century Logudorese Sardinian texts (namely the *Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki* and the *Condaghe di S. Nicola di Trullas*)[4] there alternate two passive periphrases, *facer(e)* 'do/make'+ past participle and *es(s)er* 'be'+ past participle, with partially overlapping functions.

3.1. Facer(e)-*passive*

The *facer(e)*-passive occurs only in the third person singular/plural, and in some tenses, the perfect (*fekit* 3rd singular – *fekerun* 3rd plural) and the pluperfect (*fekerat* – 3rd singular), alternating with the *es(s)er*-passive. It only marks a perfective passive and occurs mainly with [+An] [+Hum] subjects (there are only two examples of [-An] subjects out of twelve occurrences of the pattern)

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4. These texts, so-called *condaghi*, are "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).

(cf. the Appendix). The construction dies out in later centuries, replaced by the *es(s)er* periphrasis (see also Blasco Ferrer 1995: 53). Most typically, the agent is unexpressed (1a-d). There are only two examples with an overt agent (1e-f), expressed as a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *de* 'from, by' and *ave* 'from' (Merci 1992: 167; 199):

(1) a. *iuren* ...   *a*   *gruke*   *ca*   *non*   *fekit*
    swear.SBJV.3PL on   cross   that   not   make.PRF.3SG
    pettita   *alicando* (CSPS 65, 8)
    ask for/request.PTCP.F.SG   never
    'That they swear on the cross that she was never asked for'

    b. ... *ca* *non* *fekerat*   *pettita*
    that not   make.PLUPRF.3SG ask for/request.PTCP.F.SG
    s'ankilla   *de scu. Petru*, ... (CSPS 33, 5-6)
    the-handmaid of saint Peter
    'Because S. Peter's handmaid had not been asked for'

    c. *e* *iurainde*   *a*   *gruke*   *ca*
    and swear.PRF.1SG.from-there on   cross   that
    fekerat   *leuata*   *a llarga* (CSPS 80, 6)
    make.PLUPRF.3SG take.PTCP.F.SG away
    'And I swore on the cross that she had been taken away'

    d. *et*   *issara*   *iurait*   *su* *mandatore*   *de*   *clesia*...
    and   then   swear.PRF.3SG the representative of   church
    ca   *ad*   *Elene de Funtana* *a llarga fekit*
    that to   Helene of Funtana   away   make.PRF.3SG
    levata, ... (CSPS 27, 6-7)
    take.PTCP.F.SG
    '(And then the ... swore) that Elena de Funtana was taken away,...'

    e. *Su*   *servum*   *uostru*... *iectatu'*   *nde*
    the   servant   your   dismiss.PTCP.M.SG-from-there
    fekit   *de donnu et de seruos de Trullas innanti*
    make.PRF.3SG   by master and by servants of Trullas before
    de fakere   *fiiu* (CSNT 331, 5)
    of make.INF   child
    'Your servant was not cast out by his master and by the servants of
    Trullas before he had children'

    f. ..., *ki (sc. saltos)* *fekerun*   *datos*   *a*   *Mariane de*
    which fields   make.PRF.3PL give.PTCP.M.PL to   Mariane of
    Capathennor ave *iudice* *Mariane* (CSNT 270, 1)
    Capathennor by   judge Mariane
    'Which (sc. fields) were given to Mariane of Capathennor by the judge Mariane'

(1d) is extremely interesting, in that it exemplifies an original object (*Elena de Funtana*) subjecticized, but retaining its original object-encoding (the 'case'-marker *ad*)[5] (see also Blasco Ferrer 1995: 48, n. 3).

When both verbal arguments (A and O) are expressed, an active pattern with dislocation of the object is preferred (cf. (2a) vs (2b), which have the same propositional content) (see also Cennamo 2006: 327):

(2) a. (=1e) *Su*   *servum*   *uostru...* *iectatu' nde*
             the   servant   your   dismiss.PTCP.M.SG-from-there
             fekit   *de   donnu et   de   servos   de Trullas*
             make.PRF.3SG   by   master and   by   servants of Trullas
             innanti de fakere   *fiiu* (*CSNT* 331, 5) (*facer(e)*-passive)
             before of make.INF   child
             'Your servant was not cast out by his master and by the servants of Trullas before he had children'

   b. *ki*   *'nde*   *l'*   *avian*   *letatu*   *su*
      that   from-there   him   have.IMPF.3PL cast-out.PTCP.M.SG   the
      servum   *vostru*   *sos*   *servos   de Sanctum Nicolas de Trullas*
      servant   your   the   servants of saint   Nicolas of Trullas
      (*CSNT* 332, 3) (right-dislocation)
      'Because S. Nicola from Trulla's servants had cast out your servant' (lit. 'him had cast out your servant S. Nicolas from Trulla's servants')

The *facer(e)*-passive has an overall low frequency and is only found in two old Logudorese texts, the *Condaghe di San Nicola di Trullas* (*CSNT*, four examples, attested in the oldest cards (1-300), from the first quarter of the twelfth century) (Merci 1992: 17) and the *Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki* (*CSPS*, eight examples, mostly occurring in the oldest cards (21^-89^, from the second half of the eleventh century) (Delogu 1997: 11).

Facer(e) also occurs in predicative constructions, in copular function, both in old Logudorese (3a) and old Campidanese (3b) texts:

5. In old Logudorese Sardinian the object is normally marked with the preposition *a* (*ad* before vowels) (Merci 1992: 165) when it is human and a proper name (i) and when it is human but it does not immediately follow the verb (ii) vs (iii) (Meyer-Lübke 1902: 52-53):

(i) *isse levait   a Gavini et   a   Gosantine* (*CSPS* 21, 5)
     he   take.PRF.3SG to Gavini and to Gosantine
     'He took Gavini and Gosantine'
(ii) *fekerun   itij   fiios* (*CSPS* 21, 4)
     make.PRF.3PL   four   children
     'They had four children'
(iii) *Ego... Petru Iscarpis, ki parthibi   cun   presbiteru Gavini Pithale*
      I   Petru Iscarpis who divide.PRF.1SG with priest   Gavini Pithale
      a   ffiios   de   Istefane   de   Nussas (*CSPS* 24, 1-2)
      to sons   of   Istefane   from Nussas
      I ... Petru Iscarpis who shared the sons of Istefane de Nussas with the priest Gavini Pithale'

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(3) a. ... candu   'nki   *fegi*   *malabitu*
        when   there   make.PRF.3SG ill
    de   sa   plaga (*CSNT* 218, 2)[6]
    of   the   wound
    '... when he was ill because of his wound'

   b. Jurgia Cucu ankilla   peguliari de   padri miu fudi,
      Jurgia Cucu handmaid   special   of   father my   BE.PRF.3SG
      c'   aligando *muniaria* non   *fegit* (*CV* 13, 10)
      because never   servant   not   make.PRF.3SG
      'Jurgia Cucu was one of my father's special handmaids, since she was (lit. 'made')
      never a servant'

3.2. Es(s)er-passive

The *es(s)er*-passive (4) appears to be the canonical passive strategy. It has a
high frequency in *CSPS* (21 occurrences vs 12 examples of *facere*-passive) and is
found in a wider range of tenses, namely the present perfect (4a), the past perfect
(4b-c) and the infinitive (4d). Generally the agent is unexpressed, although it can
surface as a prepositional phrase, introduced by the prepositions *in/de* (denoting
cause/instrument) (4a-b) (1 and 3 occurrences, respectively):

(4) a. *progitteu*   *non*   *minde*   *das,*   *ki*   *sun*
       why   not   I.DAT.of-them   give.PRS.2SG that   be.PRS.3PL
       fattos   *in servu*   *meu,* *in Juste*
       make.PTCP.M.PL   by servant   my   by Juste
       de Lora?   (*CSPS* 272, 2-3)
       of Lora
       'Why don't you give them to me, that *they have been procreated*
       through/by my servant, Juste de Lora?'

   b. *kinke*   *furun*   *binkitos*   *parentes*   *dunde*
      that   be.PRF.3PL   defeat.PTCP.M.PL   relatives   from-where
      naskites   *bois,*   *de piscopu* *Jorgi Maiule* (*CSPS* 79, 8)
      be-born.PRF.2PL   you.2PL   by bishop   Jorgi Maiule
      'That the relatives to whom you were born *were defeated by the*
      bishop Jorgi Maiule'

   c. *levaitila*   *Migali Ape*
      take-away.PRF.3SG.you.DAT.she.ACC Migali Ape
      ad Elene Marras *assu*   *maritu a ken*   *fuit*
      to   Helen Marras   to-the   husband to whom   be.PRF.3SG

6. According to Merci (1992: 110, note to card 218.1) the copular use of *facer(e)* might be
a further development, starting from the use of *facer(e)* as a passive marker. On the basis of the
Late Latin evidence discussed in section 4.2, I argue that the copular function of *facer(e)* might
represent instead an early stage in the auxiliarization of the verb, as also shown by the fact that it
occurs in texts where *facer(e)* is not attested as a passive auxiliary (e.g., old Campidanese) (see
also Cennamo 2003: 110). He also notes the sequence of three Campidanese forms, *candu 'nki*
fegi in (3a) (instead of *cando 'nke fecit*).

placiata (CSPS 298, 1-2)
promise.PTCP.F.SG
'Migali Ape *took away Elena Marras* from her husband to whom *she had been promised*'

d. *inde*   *lu*   *isforait*   *isse (sc. custu tramutu)*
   from-there   him   cancel.PRF.3SG   he (sc. this exchange)
   pro   *non*   *esser*   *fattu* (id. 388.3)
   in-order-to   not   be.INF   make.PTCP.M.SG
   'So that he cancelled it (= the exchange) so that *it was not carried out*'

The passive pattern often alternates with the active patterns with right dislocation of the object (5), that appear to be preferred to the passive when either verbal arguments (A and O) are expressed, as shown in (5a), that can be contrasted with (5b):

(5) a. (=4b) *kinke*   *furun*   *binkitos*   *parentes*
          that   be.PRF.3PL   defeat.PTCP.M.PL   relatives
          dunde   *naskites*   *bois,*   *de piscopu*
          from-where   be-born.PRF.2PL   you.2PL   by bishop
          Jorgi   *Maiule* (CSPS 79, 8)
          Jorgi   Maiule
          "That the relatives to whom you were born *were defeated by the bishop* Jorgi Maiule'

b. *los*   *abeat*   *binkitos*   *piscopu*   *Jorgi*
   them   have.IMPF.3SG   defeat.PP.M.PL   bishop   Jorgi
   Maiule sos   *parentes*   *auunde*   *naskian*
   Maiule the   relatives   from-where   be-born.IMPF.3PL
   ecustos (id. 79, 13)
   these
   'The bishop Iorgi Maiule *had defeated the relatives* to whom they were born (lit. them has defeated the bishop the relatives from where they were born')
   (right dislocation)

The *es(s)er* + past participle pattern only marks a perfective passive. In point of fact, a form such as *est factu* be.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.M.SG never occurs to denote coincidence/proximity between the time of the event and the time of utterance (**est factu* = 'it is being done'). In the present *es(s)er* + past participle usually has a resultative-stative interpretation, that is to say, it denotes a state resulting from an event/action (6a). Depending on the verb and context, sometimes the pattern may be ambiguous between an adjectival and a stative-resultative interpretation (6c):

(6) a. *et*   *ego*   *narailis*   *ca*   << *vinkitos*   *inde*
   and   I   tell.PRF.1SG.they.DAT   that   defeat.PTCP.M.PL   CLT
   sun   *parentes*   *uostros*>>>> (CSPS 195, 4-5)
   be.PRS.3PL   relatives   your
   'And I told them that <<your relatives have been defeated'

b. *kantu(n)*   *che*   *est*   *factu* ...
   which   that   be.PRS.3SG   make.PTCP.M.SG
   in   bita   mea (CSPS 389, 2-3)
   in   life   my
   'That which has been done and will be done in my life'

c. *et   issas   laccanas   sunt   fatas*
   and   these boundaries   be.PRS.3PL   make.PTCP.R.PL
   cun   cruce (CSNT 65, 3)
   with   cross
   'And these boundaries are marked/have been marked with a cross'

No resultative passives expressed by means of double compound forms (which were lacking in Latin), supplied by the past participle of the verb *istari* 'stay, remain' occur, unlike at later stages of the language, as in the fifteenth century Logudorese Sardininan text *Registro di San Pietro di Sorres*, where *es(s) er* + past participle occurs to mark imperfective passives (6d) and resultative passives are marked by double compound forms, as shown in (6e):

(6) d. *syant*   *pagados*   *sos*   *clerigos* (RSPSO 15.2)
       be.PRS.SBJV.3PL   pay.PTCP.M.PL   the   priests
       'That the priests be paid'

   e. *est*   *istadu*   *dadu*
      be.PRS.3SG   be.PTCP.M.SG   give.PTCP.M.SG
      cumandamentu (RSPSO 17.1)
      order
      'It has been ordered'

4. Latin antecedents of old Logudorese Sardinian *facer(e)* as a TAM marker

The unusual use of *facer(e)* + past participle in passive function in old Logudorese Sardinian was first signalled by Meyer-Lübke (1902: 51-52), who pointed out the difficulty in ascertaining whether the pattern was confined to the perfect and the pluperfect, as attested in the texts in which it occurs. He also hypothesized that the rise of *facer(e)* in this function might be related to the equivalence between the verbs *facere* 'do/make' and *fieri* 'become/be done/ made' in Late Latin, whereby the perfect of *facere*, e.g., *feci*, may replace the perfect of *fieri*, e.g., *factus sum*[7].

7. He also puts forward an alternative hypothesis, whereby old Logudorese *fekit* would be an impersonal form, and the verb would retain its causative function. Thus, a pattern such as *fekit pettita* would mean 'One made her be taken away' (Meyer-Lübke 1902: 52). This interpretation, however, would be plausible if *facer(e)* occurred in passive function only in the third person singular, which is not the case. In point of fact, *facer(e)* also occurs in the third person plural (cf. (1f)), so this interpretation is untenable.

Indeed, the grammaticalization of Latin *facere* as a passive auxiliary may be argued to be related to the equivalence between the transitive verb *facere* and its pro-passive *fieri*, and it can be neatly understood if placed within the wider phenomenon of the loss of the voice dimension (i.e., of the grammatical tools and strategies encoding the relationship between verbs and their arguments, a reflex of which is the equivalence *facere/fieri*) and the concomitant changes in the coding of the argument structure of the clause taking place in the transition from Latin to Romance (4.1). It also appears to be related to some desemanticized uses of the verb, such as its copular function (4.2).

4.1. Aspects of the restructuring of the voice system in Late Latin

In Late Latin, with attestations by the end of the fourth century A.D. and even more so in later centuries, the functional domains of voice forms are no longer clear-cut, so that the active voice may be found in non-fully active function (e.g., to mark anticausatives – intransitive patterns with inanimate or animate subjects (agentive anticausatives) (Haspelmath 1987: 29), derived from originally transitive ones, in which the original object occurs as subject, and the verbal process is portrayed as taking place spontaneously (7a-d) – so-called Intransitivization (Feltenius 1977 and, more recently, Gianollo 2014; Cennamo *et al.* 2015). Unlike in Early and Classical Latin, the active intransitive in anticausative function is no longer confined to accomplishments (e.g., telic change of state/location verbs. *movere* 'move', *mutare* 'change'), but also occurs with active accomplishments and activity verbs, denoting situations that necessarily imply a human Causer, having an 'agent-oriented' meaning component (Haspelmath 1993: 93) (e.g., *facere*, 'do', *citare* 'cause', *vexare* 'oppress') (7b-d). In Early and Classical Latin these verbs did not allow the anticausative transformation (7e), the -*R* form only occurring in passive function (7f) (Svennung 1935: 462; Hofmann-Szantyr 1963: §165; Feltenius 1977; Cennamo 1998):

(7) a. *columbus / terra movet*
pigeon.SG.NOM earth.SG.NOM move.PRS.3SG
'The pigeon/earth moves'

b. *in temporibus collectiones faciunt (Mul. Ch. 184)*
in temples.PL.ABL abscesses.PL.NOM make.PRS.3PL
'Abscesses appear on their temples (lit. make)'

c. *aut marmur si ei citaverit (Mul. Ch. 606)*
or cancer.SG.NOM if he.DAT develop.PRF.FUT.3SG
'Or if it develops cancer'

d. *si esuriet... non vexabit (id. 605)*
if starve.FUT.3SG not become-agitated.FUT.3SG
'If it starves, it will not become agitated'

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e. *marmur*   *citat* (anticausative)
    cancer.SG.NOM   cause.PRS.3SG
    '*Cancer causes'

f. *marmur*   *citatur* (passive)
    cancer.SG.NOM   cause.PRS.PASS.3SG
    'Cancer is caused'

By the same period (i.e., the end of the fourth century A.D.), with an apparently isolated example from the second century A.D. (8a) and with more attestations in later centuries, the active may also occur in passive function[8] (8b-d) (Bonnet 1890: 628-630; Haag 1898: 57; Löfstedt 1977: 275-276):

(8) a. *quomodo*   *aliis*   *facitis,*   *sic*   *et*   *faciet* (=*fiet*)
     the way   other.PL.DAT   make.PRS.2PL   thus   and   make.FUT.3SG
     vobis (*Clem. Epist. Ad Cor.* 13.2; Svennung 1935: 568)
     you.PL.DAT
     'That what you will do to other people will be done to you (lit. the same way you will do to others so will do (=will be done) to you'

    b. *item*   *si*   *a*   *rota*   *vexaverit*
     then   if   by   wheel.SG.ABL   trouble.PRF.FUT.3SG
     (*sc. equus*) (Pelagon. 233; Feltenius 1977: 137)[9]
     'If it (= the horse) will be oppressed by the wheel'

    c. *locus*   *ille*   *a*   *montibus*
     place.SG.NOM   that.SG.NOM   by   mountain.PL.ABL
     concluserat (Greg. Tur. *h.F.* 4. 31 (166.21); Bonnet 1980: 627)
     surround.PLUPRF.3SG
     'That place was surrounded by mountains'

    d. *petens*   *ut*   *per*   *eius*   *auxilium*
     ask.PRS.PARTIC   in-order-to   by   his.GEN   help.SG.ACC
     liberaret (=*liberaretur*) (*Fredeg. Chron.* IVc 183.17; Haag 1989: 57)
     free.IMPF.SUBJ.3SG
     'Asking to be set free with his help'

By the same time at which the active occurs in passive function, one also finds the passive in active function, with intransitive as well transitive verbs (Norberg 1943: 153-157; Löfstedt 1977: 274-275). The confusion among voice forms,

8. The active in passive function is fairly widespread in the *Liber Historia Fancorum* (sixth century A.D.). Bonnet (1890: 629) points out that, although in many cases this usage may be accounted for as due either to the dropping of the mark for the passive (whereby, for instance, *emendentur → emendent*), or to the fact that in some manuscripts the same mark is used for the active and the passive ending (i.e., for -*us* and -*ur* respectively), nevertheless, the high rate of occurrence of the active in passive function makes it plausible to claim that in some passages Gregory of Tours used the active for the passive. This clearly shows how "arbitrary" verb morphology had become (Herman 2002).

9. A different interpretation, however, is put forwards by Gianollo (2014: 982), who interprets the pattern as anticausative.

in fact, does not involve only intransitive-like patterns such as anticausatives and passives (see Cennamo 1998; Cennamo et al. 2015: 693-704), but transitive verbs/patterns as well (9):

(9) a. *iste*   *servus*   *postulatus*   *est*
     this   servant.SG.NOM   ask.PTCP.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG
     vestram   *clementiam* (Agnell. 165) (Norberg 1943: 156)
     your.SG.ACC   mercy.SG.ACC
     'This servant asked for your mercy'

   b. *ille*   *eam*   *dugatur* (=*ducat*)
      he.NOM   her.ACC   lead.FUT.3SG
      uxorem (*Codex; Vercell.* Cap; 192) (Löfstedt 1977: 275)
      spouse.SG.ACC
      'He will marry her' (lit. 'he will take her as his spouse')

   c. *per*   *hoc*   *numero*   *dividantur*
      by   this.SG.ABL number.SG.ABL   divide.PRS.PASS.SUBJ.3PL
      patris   *substantia*[10] (id. Cap. 154) (ibid.)
      father.SG.GEN   substance.PL.NOM/ACC
      'That they divide their father's inheritance by this number'

This is the phenomenon referred to in the literature as Deponentization, that is very widespread in Late Latin, together with the opposite tendency, whereby deponents become active, and attested throughout the history of the language, albeit confined to some verbs and/or authors at early stages. Deponentization is sometimes regarded in the literature as a sign of the vitality of the -*R* form even at a late stage (Flobert 1975). I argue, on the other hand, in line with other scholars (Bonnet 1890, Herman 2002, among others), that Deponentization is a further sign of the retrenchment of the functional domains of the -*R* form (see also Cennamo 1998).

At a late stage (eighth century A.D.) in some texts the passive as a strategy is abandoned, the active being preferred, as in the anonymous chronicle *Liber Historia Francorum* (727 A.D), whose author, in copying some passages from the earlier sixth century *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours, tends to eliminate synthetic passives and deponents in favour of the active (Herman 2002: 36-37; see also Svennung 1935: 460), at times introducing an agent, lacking in the original text, revealing how by the first years of the eighth century A.D., illiterate speakers of Merovingian Gaul no longer understood or no longer used the canonical synthetic passive and deponent forms (Herman 2002: 37 and Adams 2013: 718 for a different view) (10):

(10) a. *iussit*   *eum occidere* (*LHF* 9 (252.27)) (Herman 2002)
        order.PRF.3SG   him kill.INF
        'He ordered to kill him'

10. The pattern is ambiguous, out of context, between an active ('They divide their father's inheritance') and a passive interpretation ('Their father's inheritance is divided').

b. *eum*... *feriri* *mandavit* (Greg. II.27 (88.12) (ibid.)
   him   kill.PRS.INF.PASS   command.PRF.3SG
   'He ordered that he be killed'

c. *dum*   *missarum*   *celebrantur*
   while   masses.PL.GEN   celebrate.PRS.PASS.3PL
   solemnia (Greg. II.34 (98.2) (ibid.)
   solemnity.PL.ACC
   'While Masses were celebrated'

d. *dum*   *missarum*   *sacrificia*...
   while   masses.PL.GEN   sacrifice.PL.ACC
   celebraret (sc. *sanctus Mamertus*) (*LHF* 16 (260.20) (ibid.)
   celebrate.IMPF.SUBJ.3SG
   'While he (sc. saint Mamertus) celebrated Masses'

The uncertainties in the use of voice forms exemplified in (7)-(9) are not to be interpreted just as signs of 'ignorance', reflecting the demise of the *-R* form in the spoken language and the replacement of its functions by other strategies (namely the reflexive passive, *esse* + past participle as well as a number of periphrases, such as *fieri* 'become/be done, made'/*venire* 'come'/*pervenire* 'come to, arrive at' + past participle, depending on the areas of the Romània).

As shown by Cennamo 1998; 2001, 2005; Herman 2002, the "wrong" use of voice forms signals the (temporary) loss of the grammatical dimension of voice, that had gradually taken place over time in the spoken language, and that surfaces in the abandonment of the passive as a strategy (as inferable in some Merovingian Latin texts), with its functions occasionally replaced by other strategies such as *esse* + past participle, *fieri* + past participle, *venire* + past participle, and the reflexive passive, that by the eighth century A.D. are not yet organized into clear-cut paradigms (see Herman 2002 for a detailed discussion of this point; Adams 2013: 683 for a different view). Recall, in fact, that up until the eighth-nineth century there occur very few examples of the *esse* + past participle pattern in imperfective function (i.e., with such forms as *laudor* replaced by *laudatus sum*) and very few examples of the reflexive passive and of passive periphrases such as *fieri/venire* + past participle (Muller 1924; Herman 2002, among others).

The interchangeability among voice forms (active/anticausative/passive), illustrated in (7)-(8) above, may be regarded as the surface manifestation of changes in argument linking, and more generally in the encoding of the argument structure of the clause in Late Latin in the transition from Latin to Romance (on which see Vincent 1997b; 1998; Ledgeway also 2012 for other grammatical domains). In particular, the use of the passive in active function and of the active in passive function signals a violation of the canonical rules for the assignment of grammatical functions to the arguments of a verb, so-called linking rules. There occurs in fact an exchange in the markedness relationship between clauses

marked with the active and the passive voice, so that with the active one finds an O participant in subject function, and with the passive one finds an A participant in subject function (Cennamo 2001a; 2012).

Indeed the loss of the voice dimension and its interaction with changes in argument marking/linking related to it appear to be at the nub of the rise of the passive periphrases in the transition from Latin to Romance, one of which is represented by the *facer(e)*-passive (see Cennamo 1998; 2001a; 2001b; 2003; 2006).

Although the passive use of the active verb morphology is subsequently lost, it exemplifies nevertheless the restructuring taking place in Late Latin in the coding of Transitivity. More specifically, owing to the interchangeability of verbal voices, whereby the active may replace the passive morphology, both in the *infectum* and in the *perfectum*, the ambiguity of interpretation of passive forms is no longer confined to the *perfectum*, and no longer involves tense-aspectual distinctions, as in CL. It concerns instead the assignment of grammatical functions to the arguments of verbs, whereby an O participant occurs in subject function with the active morphology, and an A participant occurs in subject function with the passive morphology. When verbal arguments start patterning on an active/inactive and subsequently on a 'neutral' basis, as testified by the use of the accusative in "subject" function (to mark SO as well as A participants) (e.g., *crepitavit panem* 'The bread crackled'; *filios fecerunt* 'Her children made it (*sc.* the tomb)'), the ambiguity involves the identification of the role of verbal arguments (i.e., A/O status) as well (Cennamo 2009). At some point therefore, in Late Latin, a form such as (*puerum*) *laudatus(-um) est/amatus(-um) est* can have either a <u>passive</u> ('The boy was praised/The boy has been praised; the boy was loved/the boy has been loved', – perhaps even marking an imperfective passive ('The boy gets/is being loved') if we accept the received opinion whereby already in Early and Classical Latin *esse* + past participle with an atelic verb may be used with an imperfective meaning, 'I am being loved' (cf. Herzog 1910: § 41) – or an <u>active</u> interpretation ('The boy praised/has praised'; 'The boy loved/has loved'/ He praised/loved the boy) (with *puerum* marking either an A or an O argument). The pattern may also have a predicative function, with the past participle also functioning as an adjective with some verbs (e.g., *foris clausa est* = 'the door is/ stays closed') (Cennamo 2005).

The system is overloaded, therefore new strategies are brought into use in order to convey the tense-aspectual distinctions marked by the *esse* + past participle periphrases in Early and Classical Latin. Two of them are *fieri* + past participle and *facere* + past participle. The former is attested already in texts from the end of the 4th century A.D. (cf. *interpositae orationes fiunt* (*Per. Aeth.* 35.6) 'Prayers are interspersed') (Cennamo 2005). The latter is not attested in Late Latin, and apparently it is only found in eleventh-thirteenth century Logudorese Sardinian texts.

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4.2. Desemanticized uses of facere

The auxiliarization of *facere* might also be related to desemanticized uses of the verb developing in Late Latin (some of which already attested by the first century A.D.) (e.g., in Ovid and Seneca), whereby it has a copular-like function, equalling *valet*, with the meaning 'it does one good, it is good, it is useful' (11a-c)[11]:

(11) a. *nec   caelum...   faciunt*
not   climate.SG.NOM   make.PRS.3PL not
nec terrae... (Ovid. *Trist.* 3, 8, 23)
regions.PL.NOM
'Neither the climate... neither the regions are good for me'

b. *idem   remedium   optime   facit   si* (Colum. 60, 15, 1)
same   remedy.SG.NEUT excellently make.3SG   if
'The same remedy is very good if (lit. does very good)'

c. *facit   autem   ad   id   vitium*
make.PRS.3SG   then   to   this.NEUT.SG   disease.NEUT.SG
absinthium (Mul. Ch. 454)
absinth.NEUT.SG
'Also absinth is good for this disease'

Indeed, examples (11a-c) seem to be the antecedents of a truly copular function of *facere,* in patterns where it is equivalent to the copula *esse,* clearly attested in sixth century texts (e.g., Orïbasius, Anthimus) (11e-f):

(11) e. *si   autem   et   thimum...   et   absenthium cum*
if   then   and thymus.SG.NEUT and   absinth.SG.NEUT
fermentum   admisceas   obtimum   facit
yeast.NEUT   mix.PRS.SUBJ.2SG excellent.NEUT   make.PRS.3SG
medicamentum (Orib *Syn..* 1.26, La) (Mörland 1932: 79)
remedy.NEUT
'If you mix thyme... and absinth, this makes an excellent remedy'

f. *sed   in   olla   fictile   meliorem   saporem*
but   in   pan.ABL clay.ABL better.ACC   taste.ACC
facit (Anthim. 5,15) (= *fit/est?*) (fientive/copula?)[12]
make.PRS.3SG
'But it tastes better in a clay pan'

Also existential uses of the verb in the impersonal form (*facit*) (12a-b), occurring in fifth/sixth century texts (e.g., St. Augustin and *Vitae Patrum*)

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11. The late J. Herman brought examples (11a-b) to my attention.
12. In (11f), however, *facit* may also be interpreted as equivalent to *fit* (i.e., *facere = fieri*) ('The taste becomes better in a clay pan')

(Salonius 1920: 256; Svennung 1935: 567-568; Hofmann-Szantyr 1963: § 416) might have played a role in the gradual change of the verb into a TAM marker (the late J. Herman, p.c; Cennamo 2006: 328-29):

(12) a. *numquam*　*fecit*　　　*tale*
never　　make.PRF.3SG　such.NEUT
frigus (Aug. *Serm.* 25, 3) (Hofmann-Szantyr 1963: § 416)
cold.NEUT
'It has never been so cold (lit. *made cold*)'

　b. *sed*　　*hodie*　　*bonum*　　　*aerem*
but　　　today　　good.ACC　　weather.ACC
facit (*Vitae Patrum* 5, 11, 51; Hofmann-Szantyr 1963: § 416)
make.PRS.3SG
'But today it is (lit. (it) makes) good weather'

5. Steps towards the auxiliarization of *facere*

Two different paths or 'chains', therefore, appear to be at work as possible Latin antecedents of *facere* as a passive auxiliary, interacting with each other in a non-linear way, i.e., not necessarily in a direct, causal relationship:

a) its use in copular function, whereby it becomes equivalent to the copula *esse* at some stage;

b) the equivalence *facere/fieri* in all its functions, as a result of which *facere* may replace *fieri* in its "fientive" use (i.e., in predicative constructions, generally derived from adjectives, in which it denotes the transition to a state) (Haspelmath 1987: 33) (13a-b), as well as in anticausative (13c), passive (13d) and perhaps also in copular function (13e):

(13) a. *cataplasmabis*　　*eum* (sc. *tumorem*)　*donec*
smear.FUT.2SG　　it.ACC　　swelling　　until
maturum　　*faciat* (*Mul. Ch.* 91) (fientive)
soft.ACC　　make.PRS.SUBJ.3SG
'You will smear it (the swelling) with a poultice till it becomes soft'
(lit. soft.ACC make.SBJV.3SG)'

　b. *lacrimosum oculum*　　*faciet*...
tearful.ACC　eye.ACC　　make.FUT.3SG
et　　*extumidior*　　*fit* (*Mul. Ch.* 70)
and　swollen.SG.NOM　become.PRS.3SG
'Its eye will become swollen'(lit. make.FUT.3SG) tearful... and becomes swollen'

　c. (= 7b)　*in*　　*temporibus*　　*collectiones*　　*faciunt* (anticausative)
in　temples.PL.ABL　abscesses.PL.NOM　make.PRS.3PL
'Abscesses appear on their temples (lit. make)'

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d. (= 8a) *quomodo*   *aliis*   *facitis,*   *sic*   *et*
    the way   other.PL.DAT   make.PRS.2PL   thus   and
    faciet   *vobis*   (passive)
    make.FUT.3SG   you.PL.DAT
    'That what you will do to other people will be done to you (lit. the same
    way you will do to others so will do (= will be done) to you'

e. (=11f) *sed* *in* *olla*   *fictile*   *meliorem*   *saporem*
    but   in   pan.ABL   clay.ABL   better.ACC   taste.ACC
    facit (= *fit/est?*) (fientive/copula?) (6ᵗʰ cent. A.D.)
    make.PRS.3SG
    'But it tastes better in a clay pan (lit. *better taste makes*)'

Such forms as (13c) *collectiones faciunt* were ungrammatical in early and Classical Latin (see also Svennung (1935: 568) for other Late Latin examples of the use of *fieri* for *facere* and references therein).

At some point in time, therefore, *facere* might have occurred in anticausative/passive-like function (according to the context) (14a-c), in the corresponding intransitive form of analytic patterns of the type *facere* + a past participle in predicative function (14a'-c'), (15a) – developing a fairly common use of the past participle in predicative function in early Latin – after transitive (causative) verbs such as *facere, curare* 'heal, cure' (e.g., *aliquem missum facere* 'to send someone') (Kühner-Stegmann 1912: 765-766; Hofmann-Szantyr 1975: § 209, c; TLL VI 119. 59), replacing the synthetic form (cf. *curatos facit = curat; munitos facies = munies*) (Svennung 1935: 459-460; Hofmann-Szantyr 1975: §209c; also Cennamo 2006: 330)[13]:

(14) a. **carnes*   *assatae*
    meat.PL.NOM   roast.PTCP.PL.NOM make.PRF.3PL
    fecerunt   (= *factae*   *sunt*)[14]
    make.PRF.3PL   make.PTCP.PL..NOM   be.3PL
    (< a'.   *carnes*   *assatas*   *fecisti* = *assavisti*)
    meat.PL.ACC   roast.PTCP.PL.ACC   make.PRF.2SG
    'The meat became/got roasted'
    (< 'You made the meat roasted = you roasted the meat')

   b. **crures*   *muniti*   *faciunt* (= *fiunt*)
    legs.PL.NOM   protect.PRTC.PL.NOM   make.PRS.3PL
    (< b'. *crures*   *munitos*   *facies* = *munies*)
    legs.PL.NOM   protect.PRTC.PL.ACC   make.FUT.2SG
    (*Mul. Ch.* 390)
    'The legs are/get protected/covered'
    (< 'You make the legs protected/covered=you cover/protect the legs)

13. Patterns such as (13d) and (13f) are indeed regarded by Blasco ferrer (1995: 52-53) as the starting point of the subsequent grammaticalization of Latin *facere* as a passive auxiliary in old Logudorese Sardinian;

14. The asterisk indicates a reconstructed pattern. Further, corpus-based investigation might uncover actual instantiations of these forms.

c. *equi   curati   faciunt (= fiunt)
   horse.PL.NOM   heal.PRTC.PL.NOM   make.PRS.3PL
   (< c'.   equos   curatos   facit = curat (id 224))
   horse.PL.ACC   heal.PRTC.PL.ACC make.3SG
   'Horses are/get cured
   ('It makes the horses healed = It heals the horses)

(15) a. mei   coci   etiam   vitulos
   my.PL.NOM   cook.PL.NOM also   veal.PL.ACC
   aeno   coctos   solent
   bronze-cauldron.ABL   cook.PRTC.PL.ACC   use.PRS.3PL
   facere (=   coquere) (Petr. 47, 25)
   make.INF   cook.INF
   'My cooks cook veal (lit. *make veal cooked*) in a bronze cauldron'

b. iussit   ut   aeno
   order.PRR.3SG   that bronze-cauldron.ABL
   coctus   fieret   (sc. gallus) (id 74.4)
   cook.PRTC.SG.NOM   become.IMPRF.SUBJ.3SG hen
   'He ordered that it (= the hen) cooked/was (lit. *became*) cooked in a bronze
   cauldron'(anticausative/passive)

Whereas such forms as (14a) *carnes assatae fecerunt* are only hypothesized[15], the corresponding structure with *fieri* (e.g., *carnes assatae factae sunt/fiunt*) are attested and already occur in Petronius (first century A.D.) (15b) (cf. also Cennamo 2006: 329-30).

A pattern such as (14c) *equi curati faciunt = curati fiunt*, therefore, might be a possible antecedent of the 11th/13th century Logudorese construction *fekit pettita* (cf (1a)). In old Logudorese Sardinian, however, as already pointed out, the pattern appears to be restricted to some tenses only (the perfect and the pluperfect).[16]

15. In point of fact, unfortunately, no such forms as *cocta facit/assata facit* appear to be attested (although the issue needs further investigation). In the example quoted by Reichenkron (1933: 40), which might look like the direct Late Latin antecedent of *facere*-passive, in fact, *cocta facit* (i) does not form a constituent, equalling *coquitur*. It exemplifies instead the predicative use of the past participle in the above-discussed patterns *facere* + past participle and the copular-like use of *facere* equalling *valet* 'it is good, it does one good', whereby *facit = bene facit*, a pattern that is very widespread in Late Latin technical texts:

(i) *De orizo enim et ipsa bene cocta facit (= bene facit), nam si crudior fuerit, nocet. facit enim oriza et ad desentericos, ut bene coquatur…* (Anthim. 70, 1-2) (sixth century A.D) (Reichenkron 1933: 40)
   'On rice, it does one good if it is cooked well (lit. well cooked makes); in point of fact, it does one harm if it is very raw; as a matter of fact rice is good also for those who suffer from dysentery so long as it cooks/is cooked well'

16. Interestingly, in the *Lex Curiensis* (first half of the eighth century A.D.) there occurs an isolated example of *facere* + a past participle in predicative function, referring to the A argument rather than O. Thus, presumably the replacement of the synthetic form with the analytic sequence

One further step in the auxiliarization of *facere* would involve a change in the aspectual classes of verbs occurring in the participial form in the pattern *facere* + past participle. One might hypothesize, in fact, that, starting from a construction in which *facere* is equivalent to *fieri* in anticausative/passive-like function (according to the context) as in (14a-c), *facere* acquires a truly auxiliary function (occurring as a mere tense-aspect-modality marker) once the aspectual classes of the verbs occurring in the participial form change.

In point of fact, when in the construction *facere* + pp the participle is no longer formed from accomplishment/achievement verbs (e.g., *assare* 'roast', *coquere* 'cook'), with which the pattern may be ambiguous between a spontaneous (i.e., anticausative) and an induced process interpretation (i.e., passive), depending on the context, but spreads to activities/active accomplishments as well (e.g., *curare* 'heal, 'cure', *munire* 'protect'), which lack a change component in their logical structure, unlike achievements and accomplishments, the pattern can only have a passive interpretation, with an external causer being necessarily implied, as illustrated in (16):

(16) a. (=1a) *iuren ...*   a   gruke   *ca*   *non*   *fekit*
              swear.SBJV.3PL on   cross   that   not   make.PRF.3SG
              petkita   *alicando (CSPS* 65, 8)
              ask for/request.PTCP.F.SG   never
              'That they swear on the cross that she was never asked for/requested'

    b. *Mariane   de   Maroniu   binkitu*
       Mariane   of   Maroniu   defeat.PRTC.M.SG
       nonde   fecit (CSPS 365, 12-13)
       not   make.PRF.3SG
       'Mariane de Maroniu was not defeated'

The grammaticalization of *facere* would appear to follow, therefore, the same path as that of other auxiliaries, such as *fieri* and *venire* (Cennamo 2005; Giacalone Ramat 2001; Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2016).

As pointed out above, this change also involves a stage at which *facere* 'do, make' occurs in copular function, being equivalent to *esse* 'be'. Therefore this

facere + past participle must have involved at some stage also A/S-oriented participles) (an issue deserving further investigation):

(i) *si quis alteri criminosum verbum dixerit in rixa, aut ei probet, quod verum dixisset, aut iuratus faciat (=iuret), quod per iram dixisset et verum illum non sciat (Lex Cur. Addit.* XI, 3).
     'If somebody offends someone else (lit. tells somebody else something offensive), he either has to prove it, or he has to swear that he has spoken out of rage, and that it is not true'.

In (i) *iuratus faciat* seems to be the analytic form replacing the synthetic form *iuret*, similarly to the hypothesized *muniti faciunt = fiunt* in anticausative function in (14b).

usage would exemplify a case of "copula auxiliarization" (Dik 1987: 57), i.e., "expansion" (Heine & Reh 1982: 39-40), 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) to a past participle.

The *possible stages* in the rise of *facere* as a passive auxiliary (from Latin to old Logudorese may be summarized as in (17) (see also Cennamo 2006: 330):

(17) a. *tumor*   *maturus*   *facit* (= *fit* = *est*)
       swelling.SG.NOM   soft.SG.NOM   make.PRS.3SG
       equus   *sanus*   *facit* (= *fit* = *est*)
       horse.SG.NOM   healed.SG.NOM   make.PRS.3SG
       ('The swelling becomes/is soft/the horse heals' >

   b. **carnes*   *assatae*   /   *coctae*
       meat.PL.NOM roast.PRTC.PL.NOM   cook.PRTC.PL.NOM
       faciunt   (= *fiunt*)   (= *coquuntur*   / *assantur*)
       make.PRS.3PL   become.PRS.3PL   cook.PRS.3PL   roast.PRS.3PL
       'Meat becomes/is/gets roasted/cooked') >

   c. *ancilla*   *fekit*   *pettita*
       servant   make.PRF.3SG   ask.PRTC.F.SG
       'The servant was asked for' (old Logudorese)

Like in other auxiliarization processes, the original complement of the verb (a non-finite verbal form, e.g., a past participle) becomes the main verb (i.e., the lexical verb), and the original complement is reinterpreted as the "main" (lexical) verb (Heine 1993: 55, Giacalone Ramat 2000, 2001, Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2016, among others). The construction becomes monoclausal, with the two predicates, originally two different constituents, merging into one:

(18) *caro*   [*cocta*]   [*facit*]   >   *caro*   [*cocta*   *facit*]
           [complement]   [lexical verb] >   [lexical verb auxiliary]
     meat cook.PTCP.F.SG   make.PRS.3SG
       'The meat becomes cooked'   'The meat gets cooked'

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

5. Conclusion

In this paper I investigate the rise of an apparently unique passive periphrasis in early Romance, attested in eleventh-thirteenth century Logudorese Sardininan texts (and withering in later centuries), namely *facer(e)* + past participle, occurring as a marker of perfective passive, only in the perfect/pluperfect and in the 3rd person singular/plural.

The rise of *facer(e)*-passive appears to be related to some desemanticized, copular uses of the verb in Latin, as well as to equivalences among voice forms, whereby the verb *facere* may occur as equivalent to its lexical passive *fieri*.

The starting point of the auxiliarization of *facere* as a voice marker might have been its use in fientive (e.g., *tumor maturus facit*), and anticausative function (e.g., *tumores faciunt, *orizo cocta facit*) in Late Latin, whereby the verb is used intransitively and comes to denote the transition to a state/a change of state.

The use of *facere* as a passive auxiliary might have been triggered by a change in the complement of the verb (noun/adjective > past participle) as well as in the classes of verbs occurring in the participial form, from telic verbs denoting change of state (accomplishments) (Late Latin *assare, coquere*) to atelic/non-inherently telic verbs (e.g., activities/active accomplishments) (old Logudorese Sardinian *petire* 'ask for/request', *dare* 'give', *binkere* 'win'), as for other passive periphrases arising in Late Latin (e.g., *fieri/venire* + past participle).

This construction also exemplifies a case of grammaticalization related to changes in argument linking, reflecting in particular the restructuring of the voice system, encroaching at some point on the aspectually determined morphological cleavage existing in the Latin verbal system (between forms of the *infectum* and forms of the *perfectum*). This determined a reshaping of the grammatical tools and strategies encoding voice and aspect, thereby leading to the rise of various periphrastic passives in the transition to Romance.

The appearance of periphrastic passives in Romance, therefore, is not to be ascribed to the emergence of so-called 'analytic' structures in several grammatical domains, as usually assumed in the literature (Vincent 1988; Maiden 1995, among others; Herman 2002 for a critical overview; Vincent 1997a and more recent discussion in Ledgeway 2017). It is, instead, one of the outcomes of deep and pervasive changes affecting the argument structure of the clause in the transition from Latin to Romance.

Appendix

Facer(e)-passives
[+ ANIMATE SUBJECT] (PERFECT)

I. *Su*   *servum*   *vostru...*   *iectatu*   *'nde*
    the   servant   your   dismiss.PTCP.M.SG-from-there
    fekit   *de*   *donnu*   *et*   *de*   *seruos*
    make.PRF.3SG   by   master   and   by   servants
    de   *Trullas*   *innanti*   *de*   *fakere*   *fiiu* (*CSNT* 331, 5)
    of   Trullas   before   of   make.INF   child
    'Your servant was cast out by Trullas' master and servants before he
    had children'

II. ..., *et*   *alicando...*   *Mariane*   *de*   *Maroniu*   *binkitu*
       and   never   Mariane   of   Maroniu   defeat.PTCP.M.SG
    nonde   *fekit...* (*CSPS* 365.12-13)
    not.thereof   make.PRF.3SG
    'And ... Mariane de Maroniu was never defeated'

III. ... *iuren*   *a*   *gruke*   *ca*   *non*   *fekit*
      swear.SBJV.3PL   on   cross   that   not   make.PRF.3SG
    pettita   *alicando.* (*CSPS* 65, 8)
    ask-for/request.PTCP.F.SG   never
    'That they swear on the cross that she was never asked for'

IV. ... *ki*   *non*   *fekit*   *pettita,*   *nen*   *a*
      since   not   make.PRF.3SG   ask-for/request.PTCP.F.SG   neither   to
    donna, nen   *ad*   *armentariu, ...*' (*CSPS* 111, 4-5)
    mistress nor   to   administrator
    '... since she was not requested/asked for, either to the abbess, or to the administrator'

V. ..., *ki*   *non*   *fekit*   *pettita*
      that   not   make.PRF.3SG   ask-for/request.PTCP.F.SG
    (sc.   Elene   *de*   Funtana)   *alicando* (*CSPS* 27, 8)
        Helen   of   Funtana   never
    'That she was never asked for/requested'

VI. ..., *et*   *issara*   *iurait*   *su*   *mandatore*   *de*   *clesia... ca*
       and   then   swear.PST.3SG   the   representative   of   church   that
    ad Elene   *de*   *Funtana*   *a llarga*   *fekit*   *leuata,* (*CSPS* 27, 6-7)
    to   Helen   of   Funtana   away   make.PRF.3SG   take.PTCP.F.SG
    'And then the church representative swore that Elena de Funtana was   taken away,'

VII. ..., *ca*   *non*   *fekerun*   *pettitas...* (*CSPS* 34,12)
       that   not   make.PRF.3PL   ask-for/request.PTCP.F.PL
    'That they had not been asked for/requested'

VIII. ..., *ca*   *nonde*   *fekit*   *nen*
       because   not.from-there   make.PRF.3SG   neither
    iettatu   *e*   *nen*   *battitu...* (*CSPS* 100, 15-16)
    dismiss.PTCP.M.SG   and neither   beat-up.PTCP.M.SG
    'Because he was neither cast out from there nor beaten up'

IX. ... *ca*   *non*   *fekerat*   *pettita*
     that   not   make.PLPRF.3SG   ask for/request.PTCP.F.SG
     s'ankilla   *de scu.*   *Petru,* ... (*CSPS* 33, 5-6)
     the-handmaid   of   saint   Peter
     'Because S. Peter's servant had not been aaked for'

X. ... *e*   *iurainde*   *a*   *gruke*   *ca*   *fekerat*
     and   swear.PRF.1SG.from-there   on   cross   that   make.PLUPRF.3SG
     leuata   *a llarga* (*CSPS* 80, 6)
     take.PTCP.F.SG   away
     'And I swore on the cross that she had been taken away'

[-ANIMATE SUBJECT]

XI. ..., *ki* (sc.   saltos)   *fekerun*   *datos*   *a*   *Mariane de*
     which   fields   make.PRF.3PL   give.PTCP.M.PL   to   Mariane of
     Capathennor   *ave*   *iudice*   *Mariane* (*CSNT* 270, 1)
     Capathennor   by   judge   Mariane
     'Which (sc. fields) were given to Mariane of Capathennor by the judge Mariane'

XII. *Proguteu*   *non*   *isplias*   *su*   *saltu*   *ki*   *fecit*
     why   not   let-off.PRS.2SG   the   field   that   make.PF.3SG
     postu   *assa*   *domu*   *nostra*? (*CSNT* 245, 5)
     assign.PTCP.M.SG   to-the   house   our
     'Why don't you let off the field that was assigned to our rural house?'

Facer(e)-copula

XIV. *Jurgia*   *Cucu*   *ankilla*   *peguliari*   *de*   *padri*   *miu*   *fudi,*
      Jurgia   Cucu   handmaid   special   of   father   my   be.PRF.3SG
      c'   *aligando*   *muniarla*   *non*   *fegit* (*CV* 13.10)
      because   never   servant   not   make.PRF.3SG
      'Jurgia Cucu was one of my father's special handmaid, since she was
      (lit. 'made') never a servant'

XV. ...   *candu*   *'nki*   *fegi*   *malabitu*   *de sa*   *plaga* (*CSNT* 218.2)
     when   there   make.PRF.3SG   ill   of the wound
     'When he was ill because of his wound'

Sources:

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