

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

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First Edition published in 2016

Impression: 1

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Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015936770

ISBN 978-0-19-967710-8

Printed and bound in
Slovakia by Neografia

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Voice

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60.1 Introduction

In Romance four types of strategies encode the relationship between verbs and the core arguments of the clause (S, A, O; cf. Dixon 1994), rearranging, backgrounding, and defocusing them according to syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors: (i) active voice (also in non-fully active—middle/passive/impersonal—function); (ii) reflexive constructions (§60.4.1); (iii) various aspectual, passive(-like) and impersonal periphrases (§§60.5, 60.6); and (iv) different types of indefinite markers (§60.7). Three semantic parameters govern the encoding of the categories within the transitivity continuum: control (Lehmann 1988a; Comrie 1989), (lexical and compositional) aspect, and animacy. In the following sections I illustrate the synchronic and diachronic relevance of these notions for Romance voice systems.

60.2 Voice and transitivity

Voice can be defined as a system of correlations among syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors (Shibatani 1985). Reflexives denote coreference between (a highly agentive, animate, most typically human) A and O arguments or between A and the Recipient/Beneficiary of a trivalent verb, signalled in Romance by a formative derived from Latin *SE* 'self' (e.g. Fr. *Jean se lave*, lit. 'Jean _{REFL=} washes'). With middles A [\pm human] is affected by the verbal process, and *SE* is a mere intransitivizer (Kemmer 1993; Cennamo 2011b), e.g. Cat. *s'irriten* '_{REFL=} they irritate'.

Anticausatives involve intransitive patterns with an inanimate subject derived from a transitive verb with suppression of A (Schäfer 2008; Koontz-Garboden 2009), marked either with *SE* (Sp. *el río se secó* 'the river _{REFL=} dried.up'; Mendikoetxea 1999a:1591) or through active morphology (Sp. *el paro aumenta por la crisis económica* 'unemployment increases due to the economic crisis'; Moreno Cabrera 1984:31; Kailuweit 2011). This category also includes 'middles', where the verb is of the activity/active accomplishment class, occurs with a manner adverbial, and the

sentence is non-eventive (Fagan 1992:146-54; Bentley 2006:169-73; Mendikoetxea 2008:291; Cyrino 2013:298f.); *SE* marking in this case is subject to variation in Portuguese and Italian with some verbs (cf. It. *il libro (si) vende bene* 'the book (self=) sells well').

Passives and impersonals both involve Agent-defocusing, differing in the extent to which the Agent is realized and syntactically expressed. They comprise a number of parameters along a continuum of detransitivization: Agent-defocusing (e.g. Agent suppression) > stativization (perfective-resultative perspective on the event/marked verbal morphology) > subjectization of non-Agent (Patient/Benefactive/Recipient) > topicalization of non-Agent > affectedness of surface subject (Cennamo 1997a:145). In Romance, passives with overt expression of the Agent are rare or absent depending on the variety, and are often characteristic of formal registers, being typically replaced by the active with left-dislocation of the object or the indefinite third person plural active (§60.5.1). This state of affairs is in line with a cross-linguistic tendency (Siewierska 1984:35) reflecting the fact that passives with overt expression of the Agent merely reorganize the encoding of A and O, whilst the propositional content of the clause remains constant.

60.3 Voice and argument linking in the transition to Romance

60.3.1 Voice distinctions in late Latin

The demise of the Latin imperfective synthetic passive in *-R* in the transition to Romance is well known (Green 1991; Cennamo 1998a; Adams 2013:ch. 26). Already by the end of the imperial age there are clear signs of this change in sub-literary registers presumably closest to spoken usage (e.g. technical texts) leading to the temporary loss of voice distinctions and the abandonment of the passive as a strategy in favour of the active (Cennamo 1998a; 2001a; 2005; 2006; Herman 2002; Svennung 1935:460f.; for a different view, see

Adams 2013:711-24). In particular, the notion of control, which in early and Classical Latin often determines a preference for the reflexive pattern over the -R form with animate subjects (e.g. *DELECTOR* 'I find enjoyment' vs *ME DELECTO* 'I enjoy myself'; Ronconi 1968:20-23; Cennamo 1998a:83-5), no longer plays a role in the voice alternation. Thus *SE* also occurs with non-canonical middles, patterns where A and O have identical reference, A is animate (typically human, non-agentive), and affected by the verbal process, at times alternating with the canonical -R form, as in (1) (Cennamo 1998a:88):

- (1) cum male sibi senserint, ustulant se
 when ill REFL.DAT they.felt.SBJV they.burn self
 foco in stomacho quomodo caballi
 fire.ABL in stomach.ABL like horses
 furiosi ustulantur. (*Anthimus* 3.6-8)
 mad they.burn.PASS
 'when they fall ill, they burn with fire in their stomach
 like mad horses.'

During the imperial age *SE* is also found in anticausative function with verbs that in early and Classical Latin only admitted the -R form and/or the active intransitive, e.g. *minuente se morbo* (Plin. *N.H.* 23.50) 'decrease.PTCP.ABL REFL disease.ABL (= when the disease is on the decline)' (Feltenius 1977; Cennamo et al. 2015).

SE is also attested in passive function, initially only with inanimate subjects (2), although passives continue to be marked with the -R form in the *infectum*, even in late (e.g. eighth-ninth centuries) texts (Muller 1924; Wright 1995; Cennamo 1998a; Herman 2002; Adams 2013:683 for a different interpretation of (2)):

- (2) stercora si se post ex aggravatione
 excrements if REFL afterwards from weight.ABL
 stercoris prouocauerint (*Mul. Ch.* 230)
 excrement.GEN cause.PRF.SBJV.3PL
 'excrements, if afterwards they are induced from their
 weight'

Also the active intransitive increasingly marks anticausatives (e.g. *aut marmur si ei citauerit* (*Mul. Ch.* 606) 'or cancer if it.DAT CAUSE.PRF.SBJV.3SG (= or if it develops cancer)') and reflexives/non-canonical middles, often alternating with the reflexive pattern (Pirson 1906; Feltenius 1977; Cennamo 1998a).

Albeit rarely, the active intransitive may occur in passive function, with (in)animate subjects and (optional) expression of A. This clearly shows how 'opaque' and 'arbitrary' verb morphology had become (Svennung 1935:568, also with reference to an early second-century AD example; Bonnet 1890:628-30; Cennamo 1998a; 2001a; 2006):

- (3) item si a rota uexauerit (*Pelagonius Ars veterinaria* 233)
 then if by wheel.ABL trouble.PRV.FUT.3SG
 'if it (sc. the horse) will be oppressed by the wheel'

Often ambiguity arises between an anticausative and a passive reading of the reflexive and active patterns which can only be resolved by the context (cf. *mala...sine cura...seruare se possunt* (*Palladius* 3.25.18, Schmitt 1898) 'apples without care keep.INF REFL can (= the apples may keep/be kept without care)' (Svennung 1935:462; Cennamo 1998a).

The ambiguity of interpretation of voice forms stems from the aspectual classes of verbs entering this type of intransitivization (Feltenius 1977), no longer confined, as in early and Classical Latin, to accomplishments/achievements (Cennamo 2001b), although *SE+active* is attested with all verb classes when the inanimate subject has control over the verbal process if personified, e.g. abstract noun/natural force/process (Hatcher 1942:71-4; Wistrand 1941; Ronconi 1968). In late Latin intransitivization occurs also with activity/active accomplishments that in early and Classical Latin only allowed the -R form, under a passive interpretation: ***bella se prouocant* 'battles REFL cause.ACT.3PL' vs *bella prouocantur* 'battles cause.PASS.3PL (= battles are caused)' (Pirson 1906:395f; Cennamo 2001b; 2006).

Therefore, the dividing lines among voice forms are no longer clear-cut: the reflexive and the active intransitive may replace the -R form in its non-canonical middle (cf. 1), anticausative (*tumores (se) faciunt* 'swellings (REFL) make. ACT.3PL (= swellings appear)'), and passive function (*si uexauerit* 'if oppress.FUT.PRF.3SG (= if it will be oppressed)').

By this period the passive in active function is also found with intransitive and transitive verbs (cf. *et sabbato non ieiunantur* (*Per. Aeth.* 27.1) 'and Saturday not fast.PASS.3PL (= and they do not fast on Saturdays)'). The use of the -R ending in active function (deponentization), attested throughout the history of the language, increases in late Latin, and is sometimes regarded as a sign of its vitality even at a late stage (Flobert 1975). In line with other scholars (Bonnet 1890; Herman 2002), I argue that deponentization is a further sign of the slow erosion of the functional domains of the -R form (Cennamo 1998a).

In some late texts the passive as a strategy may be abandoned in favour of the active, as in the eighth-century *Liber Historiae Francorum*, whose anonymous author sometimes replaces the synthetic passive of the original passages taken from Gregory of Tours (sixth century AD) with an active pattern (Herman 2002; see also Svennung 1935:460; recently Adams 2013:718, n.6 for a critical discussion of the issue).

The uncertainties in the use of voice forms reflect a radical restructuring in the encoding of voice in the spoken language, with the functions of the -R ending only

occasionally replaced by passive verbal periphrases and *se* + active even at a late stage (e.g. eighth–ninth centuries AD), since the new voice system(s) are not yet organized into coherent paradigms (Cennamo 2001b; 2005; 2006; for a detailed discussion, see also Herman 2002). Whereas the active for passive is subsequently lost and only testifies to the temporary loss of grammatical voice, the reflexive in passive function will evolve into a new voice system in the transition to Romance.

As for impersonals, although continuing to be expressed by the *-R* form in the *infectum* and by the third person singular of *esse* ‘be’ + neuter participle/gerundive in the *perfectum*, in several fourth–sixth century texts the default third person singular is also found, alternating with the *-R* form (Väänänen 1987:70f.). By this time also the pronominal indefinite *homo* ‘person, human being’ appears, probably prompted by Christian Latin works, and apparently characteristic of particular registers (sermons, homilies, acts of synodes/concilia, vulgar/popularizing works). Latin *homo*, however, only occurs with a non-referential indefinite (i.e. generic) function (e.g. *ubi homo desiderium suum complerit uidet* (Per. Aeth. 13.1) ‘where man.NOM wish.N.ACC his.N.ACC.SG fulfil.INF.PASS sees (= where one sees one’s wish fulfilled)’), never with a referential indefinite (i.e. existential) value, unlike its continuator *on* in contemporary French (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2011:13–20; §60.7).

60.3.2 Marking and linking of core arguments

Concurrent with the changes in voice marking outlined in §60.3.1 is the active and neutral realignment of grammatical relations exemplified by accusative subjects, the so-called extended accusative (Plank 1985), well-attested by the second half of the fourth century AD with unaccusative verbs/patterns and increasingly so subsequently with unergatives and transitives (Löfstedt 1933:329–34; Norberg 1943:95f.; 1944:21–32). The patient/theme subjects (i.e. the inactive participants) of relational clauses, passives, and some intransitives are marked accusative, thereby aligning with the patient/theme participant of canonical transitive verbs/patterns (Norberg 1944:21–32; La Fauci 1994; 1997; Rovai 2005:81; Cennamo 2001a; 2009; Ledgeway 2012a:328–33), e.g. *nascitur ... contractionem* (Mul. Ch. 516) ‘arises spasm.ACC (= a spasm arises)’, *fontem colorem mutat* (Per. Aeth., Nachträge VIII) ‘spring.ACC colour.ACC changes (= the colour of the spring-water changes)’. This phenomenon—indicative of the elimination of the case system and the emergence of accusative as the only case form in some areas of the Romània (Löfstedt 1933:329–34; Herman 1997; Zamboni 1998)—develops already existing patterns of active syntax in early Latin, such as accusative arguments with

impersonal verbs/patterns (Leumann et al. 1965:§221), e.g. *agitandum est uigilias* (Pl. Trin. 869) ‘do.GER.N is sentinels.F.ACC (= one must be on guard)’, *tui [...] me dolet* (Pl. Asin. 933.6) ‘you.GEN me.ACC shames (= I am ashamed of you)’, as well as the alternation between the masculine and neuter form of some second declension nouns (e.g. *corius/corium* ‘skin’), with the neuter form occurring in unaccusative contexts (Rovai 2012b; see also Cennamo 2009 for a recent discussion and Adams 2013 for a different perspective).

The interplay of the active and neutral realignment of grammatical relations illustrated above with the reorganization of voice distinctions discussed in §60.3.1 gives rise to a deep restructuring in the encoding of the argument structure of the clause in late Latin. The exchange in function of voice morphology (i.e. passive for active and active for passive), in fact, signals a violation of the canonical rules linking arguments to their grammatical functions in early and Classical Latin, with a reversing of the markedness relationship between clauses marked by ‘passive’ and ‘active’ morphology: passive morphology no longer consistently signals an O argument as subject (except for deponents) and, vice versa, the active no longer unequivocally signals an A argument as subject. Once case marking (and at some point agreement) may pattern on an active/neutral basis, as testified by accusative subjects with unaccusative/transitive structures, it is difficult to assign a grammatical function to the arguments of verbs and to detect their A/O status (Cennamo 2001a; 2009). In fact, the ambiguity of voice morphology in the passive, e.g. *laudor* lit. ‘praise.1sg.PASS’ = *laudo*, lit. ‘praise.1sg.ACT (= I am praised/I praise)’, *laudatus sum*, lit. ‘praised.PTCP I.am’ = *laudaui* ‘praised.1sg.PRS.PRF.ACT (= I was praised/I have been praised/I have praised)’, no longer involves only tense/aspectual distinctions (confined to the perfect), as in Classical Latin, but also affects argument marking and linking.

The system is overloaded, and new strategies are pressed into service in order to convey the different tense/aspectual nuances along the imperfective–perfective spectrum: the reflexive pattern, *esse* ‘be’ + participle in imperfective function, and various verbal periphrases based on the auxiliarization of lexical verbs of motion, change of state, state, and activity (Leumann et al. 1965:§211; Pinkster 1987:215–19; Cennamo 2003b; 2005), are partially discussed in §60.3.3 for their Latin antecedents and in §60.5 for their Romance continuators.

60.3.3 Passive auxiliaries in the transition to Romance

The extension of originally perfective *esse* ‘be’ + participle to imperfective passive function and thereby the rise of

passive verbal periphrases in Romance may be viewed as one of the outcomes of the interaction of the restructuring of voice distinctions and argument structure with the already existing tense/aspectual morphological split in the Latin verbal system. It is in this light that the shift of tenses taking place in the coding of analytic passives is to be viewed, whereby *ESSE* + participle acquires imperfective meaning, with all aspectual classes of verbs. The change is initially confined to the present indicative/subjunctive, denoting coincidence/proximity between the time of the event and the time of utterance (*LAUDATUS EST* 'praised.PTCP he. is (= he is (being) praised)') or an event subsequent to the utterance time (*LAUDATUS SIT* 'praised.PTCP he.be.SBJV (= that he be praised)') (Herzog 1910:102-6; Winters 1985; De Melo 2012 for a recent perceptive study). Thus, perfectivity is no longer marked by the construction as a whole, but by the past participle of the lexical verb, whilst the forms of *ESSE* 'be' are mere tense-aspect-mood (and person) markers (Winters 1985; Vincent 1998b:56). *ESSE* + participle, however, continues to convey a perfective-resultative meaning, both in late Latin and in the early stages of the Romance languages, and is only gradually replaced in this function by double compound forms (which did not exist in Latin), supplied by *STARE* 'stand' in Italian, French, and Catalan, *SEDERE* 'sit' in Spanish and Portuguese (Pountain 1982:147, 151). Alongside *ESSE* + participle in imperfective passive function, in fourth-/fifth-century texts there also occur several instances of *FIERI* 'become' + participle (4a) and, more rarely, *UENIRE* 'come' + participle (7b), and, subsequently (second half of the eighth century AD), *PERUENIRE* 'come up', *EUENIRE* 'befall' + participle with (in)animate subjects, and A optionally expressed, e.g. *si ab eis aliquis interfectus euenerit* (*Capitulare Saxonicum* 7) 'if by them.ABL somebody.NOM kill.PTCP.NOM happen.PRF.SBJV (= if somebody is killed by them)' (Ernout 1909; Muller 1924:79f.; Leumann et al. 1965:§211; Michaelis 1998:73-6; Cennamo 2005; Adams 2013:721-4 for a discussion of the origin and chronology of these patterns):

- (4) a. *interpositae orationes fiunt* (*Per. Aeth.*35.6)
 intersperse.PTCP.FPL prayers become
 'prayers are being/get interspersed (lit. become interspersed)'
 b. *quem conceptum uenire oportet* (*Mul. Ch.* 266)
 that.ACC take.PTCP.ACC.M come.INF is.necessary
 '(food) that ought to be taken'

There also occur sporadic cases of the equivalence of *FACERE* 'do' and *FIERI* 'become' in a copular-like use (5a), leading to further developments such as the auxiliary function of *fakere* 'do/make' in perfective passive function (mainly with human subjects) in old Logudorese (eleventh-thirteenth centuries) (5b) (Meyer-Lübke 1902; Herzog

1910:154; Blasco Ferrer 1995b; Cennamo 2003b; 2006), and the copular use of *IRE* 'go', *STARE* 'stand' (Reichenkron 1933:41; Löfstedt 1938-9:185; Pinkster 1987:215-19):

- (5) a. *sed in olla fictile meliorem saporem*
 but in pan.ABL clay.ABL better.ACC taste.ACC
facit (*Anthimus* 5.15)
 does
 'but it tastes better in a clay pan'
 b. *Mariane de Maroniu binkitu nonde*
 Mariane of Maroniu defeat.PTCP.MSG not.thereof
fekit (*OLog., CSPA* 365, 12-13)
 did
 'Mariane of Maroniu was not defeated'

The grammaticalization of these lexical verbs as passive and passive-like auxiliaries involves three main stages: (i) the initial equivalence to the copula *ESSE* 'be' (already attested in Classical Latin for *UENIRE* 'come' (cf. *seu tristis ueniam seu...laetus* (*Propertius* 1.12.25) 'whether sad.NOM come.PRS.SBJV.1SG whether...happy.NOM (= whether I am downcast or joyful)' (Löfstedt 1938-9:181-4) and, in late Latin, for *FIERI* 'become', *DEUENIRE* 'become', *STARE* 'stand' (Löfstedt 1938-9; Pinkster 1987:215-19; Cennamo 2005); (ii) a subsequent change in the complement of the verb from noun/adjective/prepositional phrase (according to verb) to (adjectival-verbal) past participle, and ambiguity of the construction (biclausal > monoclausal), depending on the aspectual class of verbs occurring in the pattern (e.g. accomplishments/achievements) (cf. *iussit ut aeno coctus fieret* (*Petr. Sat.* 74, 4) 'he.ordered that brazen.vessel.ABL cook.PTCP.NOM.MSG become.IPFV.SBJV.3SG (= he ordered that it (the hen) cooked/be cooked in a bronze cauldron)' (i.e. copula expansion; Dik 1987); (iii) a shift in the aspectual classes of verbs in the participial form, from accomplishments/achievements to activities with which the past participle only has a verbal function, attested initially with inanimate subjects (4a,b), later with animate ones, e.g. *et fiat battutus et missus in carcere* (*Lex Cur. Addit.* VIII, 42) 'become.PRS.SBJV.3SG beat.PTCP.NOM.MSG and put.PTCP.NOM.MSG in jail (= and that he be beaten and imprisoned)' (Cennamo 2005; 2006; 2007).

60.4 Voice systems in Romance: synchronic and diachronic issues

60.4.1 Reflexive constructions

60.4.1.1 Reflexives and middles/anticausatives

SE (instantiated by the first plural reflexive pronoun in some central-southern Italian dialects; Cennamo 1997a:158)

occurs in reflexive/middle patterns (6a) and with inherent reflexives (6b), where it is devoid of any function or content:

- (6) a. Le prisonnier s' est tué. (Fr.)
 the prisoner REFL= is kill.PTCP
 'The prisoner killed himself.'
- b. Carolina se arrependeu. (Pt.)
 Carolina REFL= repented
 'Carolina repented.'
- c. Ion își cumpără țigări. (Ro.)
 Ion REFL.DAT= buys cigarettes
 'Ion is buying himself cigarettes.'

In Romanian indirect reflexives assume the dative form *își* (6c). There are also two subclasses of inherent reflexive verbs, a larger class with the accusative reflexive, and a small class with a dative reflexive (e.g. *se gândi* lit. 'REFL.ACC= think.INF', vs *își imagina* 'REFL.DAT= imagine.INF'; Vasilescu 2013a:178).

In Spanish (Martín Zorraquino 1979:27, n.15; Mendikoetxea 1999a), insular (Madeira and Porto Santo) and central-southern continental European Portuguese, Romanian, and some southern Italo-Romance varieties (Cennamo 1998b:83), *SE* may also mark lack of control of the subject with divalent (7a) and monovalent (7b) verbs:

- (7) a. I se face de plimbare.
 him.DAT REFL= makes of walk.INF
 (Ro., Pană Dindelegan 2013a:110)
 'He feels like walking.'
- b. Já se aconteceu. (dial. EuPt., Martins 2009:196)
 already REFL= happened
 'It has already happened.'

This construction reflects late Latin use of the dative reflexive *SIBI* as an unaccusative marker (Cennamo 1999a), occurring mainly with verbs of change of state/location and stative verbs.

SE is also widely used with anticausatives, signalling a suppressed causer and telicity. In Italian the presence of *SE* interacts with auxiliary selection in compound tenses, whereby three subclasses of anticausatives can be identified: (i) inherently telic verbs (e.g. *rompere* 'break') always taking *si* in the anticausative pattern and selecting *BE*; (ii) degree achievements (e.g. *aumentare* 'increase') and accomplishments (e.g. *affondare* 'sink'), only occurring as active intransitives with auxiliary *BE*; (iii) activity verbs (e.g. *bruciar*(*si*) 'burn(=REFL)', *congelar*(*si*) 'freeze(=REFL)'), alternating between the two patterns, albeit with a different aspectual

value (activity vs accomplishment), and auxiliaries *HAVE* and *BE* (Folli 2002; Cennamo and Jezek 2011). A similar tripartite distinction obtains in French, where, however, the distribution among the three patterns cannot be readily accounted for in aspectual terms, since in all three subclasses there occur both telic and atelic verbs (Labelle 1992; Legendre and Smolensky 2009). In European Portuguese the presence or otherwise of *SE* with anticausatives follows the aspectual distribution observed in Italian (e.g. *rasgarse* 'tear(=REFL)', *aumentar* 'increase', *queimar*(*se*) 'burn(=REFL)'; Duarte 2003a; Carvalho 2006), unlike Brazilian Portuguese, where *SE* is receding and replaced by the bare intransitive (e.g. BrPt. *a janela fechou* 'the window closed'; Carvalho 2014:1) which also has passive function (e.g. *o carro está pintando*, lit. 'the car is painting (= is being painted)'; Cyrino 2013:287). This loss of *SE* also affects the reflexive/middle domain (Cyrino 2013:300). A similar but less pervasive phenomenon involving the absence of the reflexive in reflexive/middle function (e.g. *vestir* vs *vestirse* 'dress(=REFL)') occurs in some American and western peninsular Spanish varieties and in Galician (e.g. Sp. (*me*) *voy*, lit. '(myself=) I.go (= I leave)'; Martín Zorraquino 1979:287-90).

60.4.1.2 Passive and impersonal/indefinite reflexives

60.4.1.2.1 Passive vs impersonal/indefinite reflexives: morphosyntactic and pragmatic constraints

Some varieties distinguish morphologically and/or syntactically O-oriented patterns (passive) from A/S-oriented patterns (impersonal). In Italian the distinction is conveyed by word order, whereby preverbal *S* favours the passive reading (e.g. *i libri si acquistano*, lit. 'the books REFL= buy.3PL'), and postverbal *S* the impersonal interpretation (*si acquistano i libri*, lit. 'REFL= buy.3PL the books'). The *S* *si* *V* order is ungrammatical if *S* is animate and indefinite (Cennamo 1995; 2014):

- (8) (***Persone fidate*) *Si scelgono persone fidate.* (It.)
 people reliable REFL= choose.3PL people reliable
 'One chooses reliable people/reliable people are chosen.'

In Romanian the subject tends to occur in postverbal position (Dragomirescu 2013b:172) in this context. In European Portuguese the subject may be preverbal if topical and definite but is typically postverbal (Posio and Vilkuna 2013). In French, passive *se* occurs in the sequence *S se V* (9a), but if *S* conveys new information, an impersonal pattern is employed with the subject pronoun *il* 'he' filling the subject slot, since French is not a null subject language (9b):

- (9) a. Beaucoup de livres se vendent dans
a.lot of books REFL= sell.3PL in
cette ville. (Fr.)
this city
'A lot of books are (being) sold in this city.'

- b. Il se vend beaucoup de livres dans
EXPL REFL= sell.3SG a.lot of books in
cette ville. (Fr.)
this city
'One sells many books in this city.'

In most northern Italian dialects the pragmatic given/new distinction is grammaticalized with *S si V* order banned whenever *S* conveys new information. The pattern thus becomes impersonal: the verb loses the agreeing subject clitic and reverts to the unmarked third person singular (e.g. Gen. *se leze i libri* 'REFL= reads the books'; Battye 1990; Cennamo 1997a:153-5). In other northern dialects (e.g. Cairnese, Turinese) the personal (with postverbal *S*) and impersonal patterns may alternate, the former (less dialectal, reflecting Italian influence) with an agreeing subject clitic (*i* in 10a), the latter with a non-agreeing impersonal clitic (*u* in 10b), and ambiguity between a passive and an impersonal interpretation (Parry 1995):

- (10) a. *is bətu i pjat au so poft* (Cai.)
SCL.3PL.REFL= put.3PL the plates at their place
'The plates are put away.'
- b. *us bət i pjat au so poft* (Cai.)
SCL.REFL= put.3SG the plates at their place
'The plates are put away/one puts the plates away.'

In Spanish, by contrast, the pattern with agreement can have either a passive or an impersonal interpretation (11a) and is preferred to the impersonal form (11b) (Maldonado de Guevara 1977:119; Martínez 1999:2772):

- (11) a. *Se venden (los) libros.* (Sp.)
REFL= sell.3PL the books
- b. *Se vende (los) libros.* (Sp.)
REFL= sell.3SG the books
'The books are sold/one sells (the) books.'

In compound tenses agreement normally obtains regardless of the definiteness and animacy of the verbal argument (12a), although lack of agreement can be found (12b) (Maldonado de Guevara 1977:117):

- (12) a. *Se han buscado (los) nuevos empleados.* (Sp.)
REFL= have.3PL searched the new employees
'One has looked for new employees.'

- b. *No se habría engañado a tantas*
not REFL= would.have.3SG cheated ACC.MRK so.many
personas. (Sp.)
people
'One would not have cheated so many people.'

In European Portuguese, although agreement distinguishes between passive and impersonal *se* (13a,b) (Naro 1976; Mateus et al. 2003), some scholars also include among the impersonal the pattern where agreement obtains, regardless of subject position (Raposo and Uriagereka 1996; Martins 2005b):

- (13) a. *Descobriu-se três falhas no teste.*
discovered.3SG=REFL three errors in.the text
(EuPt., Cyrino 2013:298)
'One discovered three errors in the text.'
- b. *Descobriram-se três falhas no teste.* (EuPt.)
discovered.3PL=REFL three errors in.the text
'Three errors were discovered in the text.'

Alongside the agreeing and the non-agreeing *se* patterns illustrated above, in some insular dialects (Madeira and Porto Santo) and in central and southern continental varieties of European Portuguese a double *se* subject construction occurs in which impersonal *se* is doubled by either a null/overt pronoun or the indefinite pronominal expression *a gente* (lit. 'the people')—now grammaticalized as a first plural pronoun—with variable word order, agreement patterns (third singular, first plural, third plural), and exclusive/inclusive interpretations of *se* in accordance with the nature of the doubling subject (Martins 2005b; 2009). This pattern is also marginally possible in Brazilian Portuguese but remains uninvestigated (S. Cyrino, p.c.):

- (14) *Não sabem o que a gente*
not know.3PL the what the people
se passámos aí. (EuPt.)
REFL= went.through.1PL there
'You do not know what we have been through.'

In urban dialects, agreement may also occur with oblique arguments in conjunction with impersonal *se* (Martins 2005b:153):

- (15) *Se avancem com as reformas*
REFL= go.ahead.3PL with the reforms
institucionais. (EuPt.)
institutional
'One must go ahead with the institutional reforms.'

Brazilian Portuguese, on the other hand, has lost passive *SE*, only marginally preserving impersonal/indefinite *SE* (Cyrino 2007; 2013), especially among elderly and educated speakers, with other strategies being preferred: *você* ‘you’, a null subject, the third person plural, and *a gente* ‘the people/ > we’ (Duarte et al. 2003).

In Italian (past participle) agreement with the underlying unexpressed argument differentiates impersonal/indefinite active *SE* (16a), with which the finite verb occurs in the third singular and the past participle in the masculine singular, from impersonal passive *SE* with divalent verbs (16b), which show split agreement (the past participle agreeing with the underlying S/O, the finite verb in the default third singular), and singles out impersonal/indefinite *SE* from unergatives/transitives (16a) from unaccusatives (16c) in compound tenses and equative structures (Bentley 2006:121-86; Cennamo 2014):

- (16) a. Si è pagato. (It.)
REFL= is paid.MSG
‘One has paid.’
- b. Si è pagati/e dallo stato. (It.)
REFL= is paid.MPL/FPL by.the government
‘One is paid by the government.’
- c. Si è partiti/-e. (It.)
REFL= is left.MPL/FPL
‘One has left.’

Plural agreement with the predicative element in equative patterns also occurs in dialectal European Portuguese (Martins 2009:192). However, in Spanish, Catalan, and European Portuguese (Naro 1976:784; Badia i Margarit 1995; Mendikoetxea 1999b), the past participle with impersonal passive reflexives and impersonal/indefinite reflexives in compound tenses, as well as the predicative complement in equative clauses, is always in the default masculine singular, e.g. Sp. *se es perseguido* (por los policías), lit. ‘REFL is pursued.MSG (by the police)’.

60.4.1.3 Grammatical domains

There is great variation in the functional domains covered by *SE*. Among the Romance languages Italian and even more so some Venetan varieties have most exploited the possibilities of the reanalysis of the reflexive as a voice marker (Cennamo 2014), since here *SE* occurs in all transitivity domains including impersonals of reflexives (17a,b):

- (17) a. Ci si è pentiti/-e. (It.)
1SPL.SCL= REFL= is repented.MPL/FPL

- b. Se se ga pentio. (Pad.)
REFL= REFL= has repented.MSG
‘One has repented.’

For these domains other strategies are employed in other Romance varieties: the indefinite (weak) subject pronoun *MAN* (e.g. Fr. *on*, Cat. *(un) hom*, Abr. *nome*), the collective NP *THE PEOPLE* (It. *la gente*), and the indefinite third person plural (§60.7).

In Romanian *SE* passives A may, although rarely, be overtly expressed (Dragomirescu 2013b:171). A similar picture obtains in Canadian French (Authier and Reed 1996:514f.) and Spanish (Mendikoetxea 1999b), where the agent can also be expressed with reflexive impersonal passives (§60.4.1.2.1) and, marginally, in Catalan (Wheeler et al. 1999:514). In Romanian and Italian the agent phrase can be found as late as the early nineteenth and twentieth century, respectively (Cennamo 1993:80; Cornilescu and Nicolae 2014:2); in Portuguese and French such patterns are attested in older stages of the languages (Reichenkron 1933:64f.; Stefanini 1962:639; Naro 1976).

Impersonal/indefinite *SE* is not attested in contemporary French and some Italian dialects, unlike in old French, where it occurs with a null O, e.g. *or se cante* ‘now REFL= sing.3SG (now it is sung)’ (Aucassin et Nicolette, Stefanini 1962:472); in some early Italian vernaculars (e.g. old Neapolitan) it also occurs with monovalent verbs, unlike in contemporary dialects (Cennamo 2000a; Ledgeway 2009a:672f.). In Brazilian Portuguese the nominal expression *a gente*, lit. ‘the people > we’ is used instead, e.g. *a gente partiu* ‘one (lit. the people) left’ (cf. EuPt. *partiu-se* lit. ‘left=REFL’).

60.4.1.4 Nature of the subject

Animacy/individuation play an important role in the distribution of impersonal/indefinite and passive *SE*. The latter is impossible with animate subjects in some northern (e.g. Trentino, Piedmontese) and southern (e.g. Molisan, Neapolitan) Italo-Romance varieties (Cennamo 1997a:156). This constraint also applies in French, where passive *SE* with animates occurs until the fifteenth century (Stefanini 1962:639), European Portuguese with indefinite human subjects (Posio and Vilckuna 2013), and contemporary Romanian, where proper names and personal pronouns are excluded from this pattern (cf. ***s-a adus Ion/el la judecată* ‘REFL=has brought Ion/him to trial’), unlike in old (sixteenth- to nineteenth-century) Romanian (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2014:2). Passive *SE* in contemporary Romanian only occurs in the third person, unlike in earlier stages, where it could be used for all persons (Dragomirescu 2013b:172; Cornilescu and Nicolae 2014:4).

60.4.1.5 Temporal-aspectual constraints

Different temporal-aspectual restrictions determine the use of passive and impersonal/indefinite *se*, in turn influencing its existential inclusive/exclusive interpretation (§60.4.1.6). In several Italian dialects *se* in impersonal patterns does not occur in perfective tenses, and other strategies are employed, namely, indefinite third plural or first person plural active pattern (Cennamo 1997a:156f.). By contrast, in Spanish and some northern Italian dialects impersonal *se* does not occur with unaccusatives in temporally bounded contexts (18a,b) vs (18c):

- (18) a. ??*Se ha ido al alba.* (Sp.)
 REFL= has gone.PTCP.MSG at.the dawn
 'One left at dawn.'
- b. ??*Se ze/gera partii ale kwatro.* (Pad.)
 REFL= is/was leave.PTCP.MPL at.the four
 'One has/had left at four.'
- c. *Se ha ido siempre a pie a la iglesia.* (Sp.)
 REFL= has go.PTCP.MSG always on foot at the church
 'One has always walked to the church.'

In Spanish, non-agreeing impersonal/indefinite *se* with bivalent verbs favours imperfective aspect (Mendikoetxea 1999b:1668), although it may occur also in perfective contexts (cf. 12b; §60.4.1.2.1). In perfective contexts, alongside the canonical active impersonal/indefinite *se* with auxiliary *have* and lack of past participle agreement (19), there occurs, especially in Latin American Spanish, an impersonal passive pattern with *se*, with no difference in meaning but with an obligatory dative clitic (cf. 19 vs 20b), attested already in sixteenth-century texts (e.g. Cervantes, *Persiles*) (Martín Zorraquino 1979:252; Ordóñez and Treviño 2011:314):

- (19) *Se me ha denegado la visa.* (Sp.)
 REFL= me.DAT= has denied.MSG the.FSG visa.F
 'I was denied the visa.'
- (20) a. ***Se fue /fueron castigado(s)* (a) los niños con dureza. (Sp.)
 REFL= was/ were punished.MSG(PL) ACC.MRK the children with harshness
 'The children were punished harshly.' (Ordóñez and Treviño 2011:313)
- b. *Se me fue denegada la visa.* ((LAM)Sp.)
 REFL= me.DAT= was denied.FSG the.FSG visa.F
 'I was denied the visa.'

60.4.1.6 Interpretation of impersonal *se*

In Spanish (Mendikoetxea 1999b), European Portuguese (Martins 2005b; 2009), Italian (Cinque 1988; D'Alessandro 2007), and Romanian (Dragomirescu 2013b) *se* may have a generic-existential inclusive/inclusive interpretation (21a, b), with a preference for the third person plural in European Portuguese for speaker-exclusive reference (Posio and Vilkuna 2013):

- (21) a. *Nu se bea vin în această casă.* (Ro., generic)
 not REFL= drink wine in this house
 'One doesn't drink wine in this house.'
- b. *Ieri s- a studiat până târziu.* (Ro., existential-exclusive/inclusive)
 late
 'Yesterday they/we (INDF) studied until late.'

In Italian and marginally in Spanish (but the issue needs further investigation; cf. 18a vs 18c), the generic and existential (inclusive/exclusive) interpretation of *se* reflects the boundedness of the event (D'Alessandro 2007:141-59). Specific time reference and perfective aspect, in fact, trigger the inclusive interpretation of the reflexive morpheme, which can be suspended if the predicate is temporally unbounded, as happens in irrealis modal paradigms (Cinque 1988:150; D'Alessandro 2007:160). This rule does not apply in Romanian, where the inclusive interpretation in generic contexts licenses the first person plural rather than the reflexive (e.g. *plecăm în zori* 'we (everybody, including us) leave at dawn'; A. Nicolae, p.c.). In some central Italian dialects impersonal *se* + third singular active has replaced the traditional first plural synthetic verb forms (cf. §§14.1.3.3.1.3, 14.3.2.2).

60.5 Passive and impersonal periphrases

60.5.1 Constraints and variation

BE + past participle is the canonical passive strategy, widely used in almost all Romance languages, occurring both with dynamic (22a) and resultative-stative (22b) passives:

- (22) a. *Ela era admirada pelas outras alunas.* (Pt.)
 she was admired.FSG by.the other students
 'She was admired by the other students.'

- b. Legea a fost votată de (către)
 law has be.PTCP.MSG vote.PTCP.FSG by
 parlamentari. (Ro.)
 parliament.members
 'The law was voted for by the members of
 parliament.'

The passive is often characteristic of formal registers, and passivization generally reflects the transitivity of the clause. It occurs with transitive accomplishments/achievements (highly telic verbs), most typically with a definite O. Its acceptability decreases with the decrease in the aspectual specification of the predicate, in accordance with a cross-linguistic semantic tendency (Tsunoda 1994; Van Valin and La Polla 1997:657). For instance, it is impossible with some statives in Catalan, e.g. the psych verb *irritar* under its stative reading, for which the active is used (Wheeler et al. 1999:511), or reflexes of *CONTINERE* 'contain, include' in Romanian, Italian, and the other Romance languages. Passivization of transitive activity verbs with a null O is not allowed in Romance (e.g. Ro. ***este mâncat bine aici* '(it) is eaten well here'; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:157; Dragomirescu 2013b:170), the reflexive pattern being used instead (e.g. Ro. *se mănâncă bine aici* 'REFL= eats well here').

Several southern Italian dialects also allow passivization of oblique/dative arguments (Loporcaro 1988a:§235; Leone 1995:50; Ledgeway 2000:30), e.g. Cos. *è stata parrata puru mmenz'a ra via* '(she) was spoken (to) even in the middle of the street'.

Animacy too plays a role in the availability of passivization and its syntactic encoding. In some northern and southern Italian varieties, *BE* passivization tends to be avoided with animate subjects, the active being used instead with left-dislocation of the object if both A and O are expressed (Bernini 1987:95; Cennamo 1997a:146-53; Ledgeway 2000:30).

The overt realization and encoding of A may reflect animacy, individuation and/or lexico-aspectual constraints. In some Italian dialects, for instance, the agent cannot be syntactically expressed if the subject is animate (Cennamo 1997a:148). In Catalan and Italian A cannot be overtly expressed if it is a personal pronoun and the subject is animate, e.g. Cat. *?era envejada per mi* 'she was envied by me' vs *jo l'envejava* 'I envied her' (Wheeler et al. 1999:510f.). In Romanian, A is headed by the preposition *de către*, lit. 'of towards' (characteristic of formal registers) only if human (cf. 22b), but is otherwise typically introduced by *de* 'of' with (in)animate cause(r)s (Dragomirescu 2013b:170f.). In Catalan and Spanish, too, the *by*-phrase is headed by two different prepositions, respectively *per/por* 'by' and *de* 'of, from', but their selection appears to reflect the lexico-aspectual properties of verbs, inasmuch as *de* optionally

occurs with some stative and activity verbs (e.g. FEAR, LOVE, ACCOMPANY; cf. also 25a) but is fairly widespread in Balearic with almost all verbs (Wheeler et al. 1999:506f.; RAE 2009:§27.8p).

In several southern Italian dialects the canonical resultative passive auxiliary *BE* (marginally also the dynamic passive in some varieties) alternates with *HAVE* + participle, although only with animate subjects, most typically the indirect object of the corresponding active transitive pattern (Loporcaro 1988a:296-9; Cennamo 1997a:150; Ledgeway 2000:238f.), e.g. Nap.-It. *Marco ha avuto regalato/a una bicicletta*, lit. 'Marco has had given.M/FSG a bicycle'. In the Pugliese dialect of Altamura, *HAVE* functions as a passive auxiliary in free alternation with *BE* (Loporcaro 1988a:254-7) for dynamic and resultative stative passives, although only with a human O and A optionally expressed; it also occurs with inanimate subjects in the present where *BE* is excluded.

- (23) *dʒω'wann e stət vist / a a'wɔot vist.* (Alt.)
 Giovanni is been seen has had seen
 'Giovanni has been seen.'

The *HAVE* passive with divalent verbs and subjectization of (in)animate O is a further extension of passive-like *HAVE* patterns formed on trivalent verbs with subjectization of the indirect object (cf. Neapolitan Italian examples discussed above). Typically the participle agrees with the O, but in some varieties (e.g. Sicilian, Neapolitan) agreement may be lacking, with the participle appearing in the unmarked masculine singular form (Leone 1995:50; Ledgeway 2000:29-31).

Double compound passives are attested in several north-eastern Italian dialects (albeit only in those subsets allowing the corresponding 'bicomposed' active forms), e.g. Frl. *o sin budis stadis vjodudis*, lit. 'we are had.MPL been.MPL seen.MPL' (Benincà 1989:578).

Other passive auxiliaries include *COME* (24), generally used for dynamic passives (Green 1982:118f., 133, n.25; Giacalone Ramat 2000; Dragomirescu 2013b:169), but also with a deontic function in southern, especially Istro-Romanian, varieties (Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2014):

- (24) *Celălalt bec vine slăbit.* (Ro.)
 the.other bulb comes loosened
 'The other bulb gets loosened.'

In Raeto-Romance non-compound tenses (i.e. with dynamic passives) *COME* is the canonical passive auxiliary (Haiman 1988:364), alternating with *BE* in compound tenses in the Engadine dialects (e.g. *ε sun ny/stat klam-a*, lit. 'I am come.PTCP/been.PTCP called'). In Ladin *BE* occurs with a

resultative stative meaning, and COME when the action is in progress (Haiman and Benincà 1992:108).

In compound tenses of the passive the alternation between COME and BE may also mark the distinction between a recent vs remote past respectively, as in the Pugliese dialect Volturinese (Cennamo 1997a:149).

GO too is found as a passive auxiliary. It is well attested in Spanish (25a), although only in non-compound tenses (Green 1982:114, 123; Yllera 1999:3432), and Italian (25b) and the dialects (Cennamo 1997a:151; Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2014), also with a deontic value (25c). Unlike the auxiliary COME, which can occur with all aspectual classes, in Italian GO is confined to a few accomplishments (mainly verbs of loss/destruction) and activity verbs (Giacalone Ramat 2000:129), and may occur in all tenses. In its deontic passive function, on the other hand, Italian GO occurs with all aspectual verb classes, but is restricted to the present, future, past imperfect, and conditional (25c) (Giacalone Ramat 2000:133):

- (25) a. El monarca iba acompañado de
the monarch went accompanied.MSG by
dos secretarios. (Sp.)
two secretaries
'The monarch was accompanied by two secretaries.'
- b. Il palazzo è andato distrutto. (It.)
the building is go.PTCP.MSG destroy.PTCP.MSG
'The building has been destroyed.'
- c. La casa va abbattuta. (It.)
the house goes demolish.PTCP.FSG
'The house must be demolished.'

Unlike Spanish (25a), Italian only marginally allows expression of A (through the prepositional phrase *a causa di* 'owing to'), but only with generic, inanimate cause(r)s (26) (Giacalone Ramat 2000; Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2014):

- (26) La chiesa andò distrutta a causa del
the church went destroyed.FSG to cause of.the
temporale / ?dal temporale / **da
thunder by.the thunder by
Marco. (It.)
Marco
'The church was destroyed by the thunder/by Marco.'

60.5.2 Other passive-like/impersonal constructions

Resultative stative passives are marked in Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, and some southern Italian varieties by means of

a reflex of the verb STARE 'stay' + participle; overt expression of the agent, debarred in Italian dialects, Catalan, and Portuguese, is grammatical in Spanish with activity verbs (Yllera 1999:3419f.):

- (27) La asociación está dirigida por un grupo
the association is managed by a group
de amigos. (Sp.)
of friends
'The association is run by a group of friends.'

In varieties with two participial forms—a morphologically regular one with verbal function and an irregular variant with adjectival/result-state reading—generally the latter occurs in the resultative passive with STARE (31),¹ although there is variation both synchronically and diachronically (Rohlf 1968:§§621-9; Pountain 1982:139f.; Loporcaro 1998a:157, n.167, 237, n.12; Ledgeway 2000:228-35, 303, nn.26, 27, 29; 2009a:582-5, 662f.; Loporcaro et al. 2004; Bentley and Ledgeway 2014; Panã Dindelegan 2013a:223-5):

- (28) 'E fiche stevano spase / **spannute
the figs stayed laid.out.IRREG laid.out.REG
ô sole. (Nap.)
to.the sun
'The figs were laid out (to dry) in the sun.'

In Spanish this pattern cannot occur with stative psych-verbs, e.g. ***está temido/amado/odiado* 'he is feared/loved/hated' (Yllera 1999:3430).

Thus Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, and some southern Italian dialects overtly mark the aspectual distinction between dynamic/eventive and resultative-stative passives (Badia i Margarit 1962:156):

- (29) Las proposiciones fueron clavadas a la
the proposals were nailed to the
puerta (por Lutero)/ estaban
door by Luther were
clavadas ... (**por Lutero). (Sp.)
nailed by Luther
'The proposals were nailed to the door (by Luther).'

Other passive-like constructions involve the auxiliaries REMAIN (It. *rimanere/restare*, Sp. *quedar*; Mendikoetxea 1999b:1625; Giacalone Ramat 2000), serial/light verb uses of BECOME/COME (Pt. *ficar* 'be(come), remain' (< *figi'kare 'fix';

¹ In Brazilian Portuguese, with some verbs the difference between the regular and irregular forms may reflect the existence/lack of an implicit agent: *ter sido elegido* [+agent]/*eleito* [-agent] *foi bom* 'it was good to have been elected' (Lobato 2000:115).

Parkinson 1988:162; Whitlam 2011:127), It. *venire* 'come' (Rosen 1997; La Fauci 2000; Cennamo 2007):

- (30) a. Cinco pessoas ficaram feridas. (Pt.)
 five people became injure.PTCP.FPL
 'Five people were injured.'
- b. Il pavimento viene / è venuto
 the floor comes is come.PTCP.MSG
 pulito con quel
 cleaned.PTCP.MSG with that
 detergente (**da Marco). (It.)
 cleaning.product by Marco
 'The floor is/was cleaned with that cleaning product
 (by Marco).'

The modal auxiliaries *MUST* and *WANT* may also head non-canonical passives in Romanian and several southern Italian dialects/regional varieties of Italian (and more marginally in standard Italian; cf. §16.4.2.2) and Sardinian (cf. §17.4.3.2), respectively. Romanian *trebui* 'be necessary' may occur in the default third person singular impersonal form followed either by a past participle (31a) or by what is conventionally considered to be a supine (31b) (Maiden 2013c:511-18) in a deontic function only (Neamțu 1986:155f.):

- (31) a. Trebuie căutată altă explicație. (Ro.)
 must.PRS.3SG searched.FPL other.FSG explanation.F
 'We have to look for another explanation.'
- b. Trebuie reacționat cu calm. (Ro.)
 must.PRS.3SG react.SUP with calm
 'We must react calmly.'

The impersonal structure is the earlier form, later followed by the agreeing pattern in the third person plural, the imperfect, the compound past, and the future (Dragomirescu 2013b:198):

- (32) Articolele trebuiau citite. (Ro.)
 articles.DEF.NOM.FPL must.PST.IPFV.3PL read.FPL
 'The articles had to be read/should have been read.'

A similar construction occurs in several southern Italo-Romance dialects, regional varieties of Italian, and Sardinian with the modal auxiliary 'want' with deontic function (Rohlf 1969a:§738; Loporcaro 1988a:305; Jones 1993:125; Ledgeway 2000:236-81; 2009a:669-71):

- (33) Lu pisce ulia mangiatu stammane. (Sal.)
 the fish wanted.3SG eaten this.morning
 'The fish should have been eaten this morning.'

Another pattern with several focal passive-like properties, attested in Nuorese and Sicilian, is the resultative construction *BE + WITHOUT + past participle*, which shows agreement with the subject and lack of an overt Agent, e.g. Nuo. *sa petha est kene mandicata* (***dae sos pitzinnos*) 'this.F meat.F is without eaten.FSG by the children (= the meat has not been eaten (by the children))' (Jones 1993:125; Leone 1995:46).

60.5.3 Impersonal passives

Romance impersonal passives, variously attested in French, Raeto-Romance, and several Italian dialects, share passive morphology (*BE/COME + past participle*), defocusing of *S/A* (optionally expressed as a *by*-phrase), lack of subject or optional/obligatory dummy pivot holder, and default third person singular verb morphology. They exhibit varying definiteness effects and agreement options (to be further investigated) in relation to the postverbal nominal of a transitive verb, typically indefinite as in Surselvan (Haiman and Benincà 1992:184), and differ in their distribution with intransitive verbs. In standard French—where the expletive (unstressed, masculine third person singular) subject pronoun *il* is obligatory (Grevisse 1980:§§1043-7)—impersonal passives are possible with unergatives even with an agent phrase (34), but prove ill-formed with unaccusatives with only marginally accepted examples such as *?il lui a été venu en aide*, lit. 'it to.him= has been come in aid (= he was rescued)' (Legendre 1990:87, n.6; see also Loporcaro 1988a:299 on Altamurano). With unergatives, however, the construction is only marginally acceptable if the verb occurs with an adjunct (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:129), e.g. *??il a été appareillé à 4h du matin*, lit. 'it has been cast.off at 4 a.m.', rather than with a complement (34):

- (34) Il sera parlé de vous
 EXPL will.be spoken of you
 (par tout le monde). (Fr., Kayne 1975:247)
 (by all the world)
 'You will spoken of (by everyone).'

The pattern is characteristic of formal registers (e.g. newspaper prose, administrative texts, formal discourse), typically occurring with transitives (35), albeit with aspectual constraints such as its inability to refer to habitual events (cf. Fr. *?chaque année il est publié beaucoup de livres*, lit. 'every year it is published a lot of books' vs *l'an dernier il a été publié beaucoup de livres* 'last year it has been published a lot of books'), unlike impersonal reflexives (Fr. *chaque année il se publie beaucoup de livres*, lit. 'each year it _{REFL} publishes a lot of books') (D. Creissels, p.c.; cf. §60.4.1.4.2):

- (35) Il a été arrêté beaucoup d'
 EXPL has been.MSG arrested.MSG lots of
 étrangers (par la police). (Fr.)
 foreigners by the police
 'Lots of foreigners were arrested (by the police).'

Although most typically the postverbal nominal is indefinite, as in (35), formally definite nominals are marginally possible if they convey partially new information, e.g. Fr. *il a été pris la décision que tout le monde attendait*, lit. 'it has been taken the decision that everyone expected' vs ***il a été prise la décision* 'it has been taken the decision' (D. Creissels, p.c.).

With a null O (the (impersonal) passivization of transitive verbs appears to be possible only under an event-oriented interpretation, unlike in participant-oriented structures, as in (36), where the locative (*ici* 'here') and temporal (*récemment* 'recently') adverbials bind the event to a specific realization of the process as involving a participant (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:138):

- (36) Il a été mangé et bu jusqu'
 EXPL has been.MSG eaten.MSG and drunk.MSG until
 à minuit/ ??ici récemment. (Fr.)
 to midnight here recently
 'There was eating and drinking until midnight/here recently.'

In other Romance languages impersonal passives are only possible with sentential complements as in Italian *fu deciso che...* '(it) was decided that...' (for Romanian, see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:157-61; Dragomirescu 2013b:170), albeit with tense and lexical aspectual constraints since the pattern is only well-formed in the perfect and with activity verbs, but not with statives (***fu creduto che la questione fosse risolta* '(it) was believed that the issue was solved').

60.5.4 Impersonal actives

The lack of a subject or optional/obligatory dummy pivot holder and default third singular verb agreement also characterize impersonal actives with monovalent verbs, most typically involving unaccusatives, although also possible with unergatives. Like impersonal passives, in some varieties they may show definiteness effects in relation to the postverbal nominal, which may be (in)definite as in French (37), as well as variation in finite number agreement (e.g. Raeto-Romance and several Italian dialects),² reflecting semantic and pragmatic factors such as topic-worthiness

² In Sardinian perfective tenses auxiliary HAVE and lack of finite verb agreement occur if the postverbal nominal is indefinite, whilst definite

and specificity (Legendre 1990; Haiman and Benincà 1992:181-7; Parry 2000; 2013a; Bentley 2004b; 2013:688; Manzini and Savoia 2005, 1:45-54; Remberger 2009; Creissels 2010; see also §34.3.2).

- (37) La soupe ... n' est pas complètement froide. Il
 the soup not= is not totally cold it
 y nage la côte d' un chou. (Fr.)
 there swims the stem of a cabbage
 'The soup ... is not totally cold. There's a cabbage stalk swimming in it.'

60.6 Other impersonal constructions

The default third person singular is also used for maximal agent defocusing to denote the taking place of an event when no participant is involved, as with meteorological verbs and lexico-semantic impersonals (Creissels 2007:17); monovalent/divalent verbs which do not allow a canonical subject do not inflect for person and often take a sentential complement (cf. Fr. *manquer* 'lack', *falloir* 'be necessary', Ro. *trebui* + subjunctive 'must' (38a), BrPt. *precisar* 'need, must', It. *bisognare* 'need' (deontic modal), Occ. *caler* 'be necessary' (38b), Sp. *caber* 'be possible' (Cornillie et al. 2009:118; Whitlam 2011:175; Pană Dindelegan 2013a:108f.):

- (38) a. Trebuie să citești. (Ro.)
 must.3SG MRK.SBJV read.PRS.2SG
 'You must read.'
- b. Li cal de bonas cambas per
 DAT.3= needs of good legs for
 pujar tan naut. (Occ.)
 climb.INF so high
 'He needs good legs to climb so high.'

In French and other non-null subject languages/varieties (e.g. Romansh and northern Italian dialects) there occurs an expletive pivot holder (a pronoun and/or demonstrative) (39) and an optional reflexive marker in Italian and Romanian in some patterns (Ro. *a se înnora* 'get cloudy'; Scurtu 2010:14):

- (39) Il me faut ces livres. (Fr.)
 EXPL me.DAT is.necessary these books
 'I need these books.'

nominals trigger verb agreement and BE selection (Bentley 2004b:62f.; Remberger 2009:236-40).

The distribution of expletive pronouns in these patterns, however, is not clear-cut and reflects the non-null subject/split pro-drop status of a language only for standard languages. In colloquial French, for instance, *il* can be omitted with modals (cf. (*il faut qu'il vienne*, lit. '(it) is.necessary that he come.SBJV') and other impersonal patterns (e.g. (*il n'empêche que ...*, lit. '(it) not impedes that (= nevertheless)'), but not with weather verbs (**(*il pleut* 'it rains'), the prototypical expletive construction (Hinzelin and Kaiser 2007:181, n.7; Culbertson and Legendre 2014). On the other hand, in non-standard varieties of null subject languages such as Ibero-Romance (colloquial/regional European Portuguese, Galician, Dominican Spanish, and Balearic Catalan) and some Italian dialects (e.g. Neapolitan/Campanian) there occur seemingly expletive subject pronouns (neuter personal pronouns/demonstratives)—Glc. *el*, DomSp. *ello/aquello*, Bal.Cat. *ell/això*, EuPt. *ele/isto*, Nap. *chello*, and their variants—in various types of impersonal construction, e.g. weather verbs (Glc. *el chove* 'it is raining'), indefinite/impersonal *se* (Nap. *chello nun se pò campà*, lit. 'that REFL= cannot live'), copular/existential patterns (EuPt. *isto serà tarde* 'that will be late'). However, such constructions appear to display a different morphosyntactic behaviour and distribution and are best treated as discourse markers, rather than as true expletives (Sornicola 1996; Hinzelin and Kaiser 2007; Carrilho 2008; Hinzelin 2009; Ledgeway 2009a:294, 821f.; 2011b:287, n.30).

60.7 Indefinite markers

Alongside previously noted impersonal strategies such as third/first person plural active verb forms and first person plural pronouns (§60.4.1.6), other (colloquial) impersonal devices include reflexes of UNUS 'one' (cf. §12.4.3), PEOPLE (Cat. *la gent*, Abr. *la gende*) (see also Meyer-Lübke 1890-1902, III:§95-7; Reichenkron 1933:67), and the second person singular pronoun, widely used also in formal contexts in Romanian with a generic (exclusive/inclusive) interpretation (Pană Dindelegan 2013a:109). In Brazilian Portuguese this strategy, namely *voçê* 'you' (< *vossa mercê* 'your mercy') + third person singular verb, is the most common indefinite marker (Duarte et al. 2003), unlike in European Portuguese, where *se* is the most common indefinite strategy, doubled by the first person plural pronoun *a gente* in dialectal varieties (Martins 2009; see also §60.4.1.2.1).

Another widespread impersonal pattern involves the reflex of HOMO 'man(kind)' + third singular verb form. This is attested in French (Grevisse 1980:§§1287-91), but also in Catalan (Badia i Margarit 1995; Wheeler et al. 1999:518f.) and

in some central (e.g. Marchigiano) and upper southern Italo-Romance varieties (e.g. Abruzzese; Giammarco 1968:1344; Hastings 1994:16-31; D'Alessandro and Alexiadou 2003; Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2011; D'Alessandro 2014), and Sardinian (D'Alessandro and Alexiadou 2003:188). Its functions range from a generic (40a) and/or existential/arbitrary interpretation (40b), a first person plural pronoun as in French (40c), to a verbal plural affix (the *-um/om* first person plural endings in some NIDs (Lombard-modern Bergamasco) (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007a) and *nome* (< UNUS HOMO) and its variants *homme/lome/dome* (40d) in modern Abruzzese (Hastings 1994:17));³

- (40) a. Nome va a Marte ma nen z'
one goes to Mars but not REFL=
ambare a cambà. (generic; Abr.)
learns to live.INF
'People can go to Mars but they haven't learnt how to live yet.'
- b. On a déjà répondu. (existential/arbitrary; Fr.)
one has already answered
- c. On part en voyage (1PL; Fr.)
one leaves in trip
'We are leaving on a trip.'
- d. Allore le tre ggiuvunette homme
then the three girls one
penzètte (affix; Abr.)
thought
'Then the three girls thought.'

The Romance data support the generally assumed diachronic grammaticalization path: (a) lexical DP > impersonal generic pronoun > impersonal arbitrary pronoun > referential pronoun (van Gelderen 1997; Welton-Lair 1999; Egerland 2003; 2010); (b) species-generic > human non-referential indefinite > (i) human referential indefinite, optionally (ii) first person singular/plural (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007b:106). At the same time the Romance data show two unusual paths of development that continue neither trajectory of change proposed in the literature, suggesting a non-linear path. First, Abruzzese *nome* does not acquire referential status before turning into a plural affix, but was previously always either arbitrary or generic (D'Alessandro 2013:12). Second, there also occurs a reverse pattern of change, a degammaticalization whereby,

³ In Catalan the form *hom* alternates with *un hom*, with the indefinite article, the former being characteristic of formal registers, the latter limited to the impersonal of pronominal verbs in normative grammar (Wheeler et al. 1999:519). The form with the definite article is also attested in old French (Weerenbeck 1942; Grevisse 1980:§1290).

alongside an impersonal pronoun becoming a verbal affix as with *nome*, a third person plural auxiliary form *anne* 'they. have' (largely attested in the eastern Abruzzese dialects of Lanciano and Pescara, probably under the influence of Italian) is evolving into a non-referential, arbitrary pronoun (41a), after an intermediate stage as a plural marker (41b) (Hastings 1994:28, n.12; D'Alessandro 2013:14):

- (41) a. Anne 've fitte. (Abr.)
 Anne had done
 'Someone had done.'

- b. Marje e Pasquale z' anne magne
 Maria and Pasquale REFL= anne eat.3
 le sagne. (Abr.)
 the lasagna
 'Mary and Pasquale eat lasagna.'

This HOMO type is also well attested as an impersonal/indefinite strategy in old Italian (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007a), as well as in old Catalan (De Borja Moll 1952:283), old Spanish (Barrett Brown 1931), old Portuguese (Said Ali 1964:116), and old Provençal (Weerenbeck 1942).

