

Sui dialetti italo-romanzi

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Auxiliaries and serials between late Latin and early Romance*

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1 Introduction

Following the distinction put forward by Rosen (1997) between two types of multi-predicate clauses, and further refined by La Fauci (2000; see also Butt 2003; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006), we explore the diachronic relationship between the notions of auxiliiation and serialization (§2) with reference to the status of the Latin verbs *FIERI* ‘become, arise’ and *VENIRE* ‘come’ in the transition to (Italo-)Romance. In discussing the relevant aspects of the rise of *FIERI* and *VENIRE* as T(ense) A(spect) M(odality) and passive/serial markers in late Latin (§3), and their use in some early Italian vernaculars (§4), we investigate whether the relationship between serial verb and auxiliary is linear (following the path verbal lexeme > serial > auxiliary), and whether the serial verb reflects a process of incomplete grammaticalization (§5) situated at an intermediate stage between the two poles of the grammaticalization continuum, as often assumed in the literature (Giacalone Ramat 2000).

2 Auxiliation and serialization

The structures under investigation fall within the more general notion of complex predicates, which, following Alsina, Bresnan & Butt (1997:1) may be defined as multi-headed predicates, namely, ‘predicates consisting of more than one grammatical element, either word or morpheme, each of which contributes information ordinarily associated with a head’. In more general terms, complex predicates may be defined as a sequence of two or more verbs which act syntactically as a single predicate (Butt 2003). The term therefore includes different phenomena, such as auxiliiation,

serialization, causativization, English resultatives, Italian restructuring verbs, predication with small clause complements, and noun incorporation (Rosen 1997; Alsina, Bresnan & Sells 1997:1-12; Butt 1997; 2003). In our discussion, we consider only two (sub-)types of complex predicates, *auxiliaries* and *serials*, the latter also referred to in the literature as vector verbs (a term due to Hook 1974; see also Hook 1991; Hopper & Traugott 2003:107) or light verbs (Butt 1997; 2003) in accordance with differing theoretical perspectives (see Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006 for an overall typology and comprehensive study).

Following Heine (1993, 2003), we view *auxiliaries* as clines consisting of different points along a grammaticalization chain, spanning from full verbs to grammatical markers of T(ense), A(spect) and M(odality), the so-called TAM chain (Heine 1993:28, 53, 131; see also Harris & Campbell 1995:173). They are singled out through the interplay of four parameters (Heine 1993:55-58, 131):

- *Desemanticization* (loss of lexical content, often referred to as 'semantic bleaching')
- *Decategorialization* (loss of the grammatical behaviour associated with their lexical status, namely, reduced verbal behaviour)
- *Cliticization* (loss of morphosyntactic independence/status as a separate word)
- *Erosion* (loss of phonological substance)

The verb to affix cline most typically involves the stages in (1):

- 1 Full verb > (vector/serial/light verb) > auxiliary > clitic > affix

The parameters relevant to the phenomena under investigation are the notions of *desemanticization* and *decategorialization*. Auxiliary verbs tend to be finite (inasmuch as they carry tense, aspect, or modality meanings/markers) and show 'specialized syntactic behaviour' (Hopper & Traugott 2003:108), occurring most typically only in specific syntactic contexts (see Cennamo 2005 for late Latin). In some languages, lexical verbs denoting change of location (e.g. 'come', 'go'), change of state (e.g., 'become'), state (e.g. 'remain'), as well as activity (e.g. 'do', 'get') become not only TAM, but also voice markers and/or serials. In our discussion, we consider the development of the motion verb *VENIRE* 'come' and the change of state verb *FIERI* 'become, arise' as markers of the passive voice (so-called passive auxiliaries) and as serials, marking O/S-oriented patterns and conveying different temporal and aspectual nuances.

The auxiliiation of a lexical verb determines a change in the structure of the sentence in which it occurs. For instance, in the case of the grammaticalization of the Latin construction *FIERI* + PP (e.g. *CARO FIT ASSATA* 'the meat becomes roasted' > 'the meat is being/gets roasted'), the original lexical verb *FIERI* is reduced to a tense-aspect marker and the original non-finite participial complement *ASSATA* becomes the main verb, with the result that the two originally distinct constituents merge into one (Hopper & Traugott 2003:42, 108; Harris & Campbell 1995:172-73).

Turning now to serial/vector/light verbs, these are often assumed to represent intermediate stages on the verb-affix cline (Hopper & Traugott 2003:107; Butt 1997; 2003; Rosen 1997). They give rise to a so-called 'compound verb', a sequence of two or more verbs functioning as a single predicate, denoting a single event and having only 'one tense, aspect and polarity value' (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006:1). Serial verbs are finite and can occur in isolation, therefore also retaining their original meaning/function. On account of their low degree of specialization, they are often referred to as quasi-auxiliaries (Green 1987:261), occupying an intermediate position along the verb-auxiliary cline (Hopper & Traugott 2003:109; Hook 1991; for a critical evaluation of the above definition of serial verbs, see Newmeyer 2004). In Hindi and other modern Indo-Arian languages, for instance, serial verbs such as 'go', 'give', 'take', 'throw', 'strike', 'sit', and others do not function only as tense-aspect markers, like plain auxiliaries, but contribute to the argument structure of the entire complex predicate, determining the case-marking of the subject. In addition, they can only combine with semantically compatible verbs, unlike auxiliaries, that may occur with any lexical verb (Butt 1997:120; 2003). In Italian, serial verbs include such predicates as *rimanere* 'stay', *diventare* 'become', and *venire* 'come' (in its non-passive and non-motion activity use) which behave differently from true auxiliaries such as *essere* 'be' with respect to two grammatical domains, namely the possibility of occurring in participial absolute constructions and in the causative construction (see Rosen 1997; La Fauci 2000; and discussion in §2.1).

The different morphosyntactic behaviour of serial/light verbs in Hindi and Italian is ascribed by Butt (1997) to the fact that light verbs contribute to the argument structure of the complex predicate, whereas auxiliaries are just tense-aspect markers. Rosen (1997), on the other hand, claims that the difference reflects the different syntactic derivation/structure of the clause in Italian (§2.1). Unlike Rosen (1997) who regards serial/light verbs as intermediate stages in the grammaticalization of full verbs

to auxiliary status, Butt (2003) considers them to belong to a different syntactic category like lexical verbs: though of a different type in that they structure or 'modulate' the event, only one lexical entry is postulated, such that the light verb and full verb meanings are triggered by syntactic context, as illustrated in (2):

- 2 full verb
 | > auxiliary > clitic > affix
 light verb

The cross-linguistic spread of verbs such as 'come', 'go', 'take', 'hit', 'rise', 'fall', 'throw', 'give', 'rise', 'do/make' is therefore accounted for by viewing these verbs as *passepertout* elements. Their meaning is so general that they can occur in multiple contexts, therefore readily 'fitting several constellations' (Butt 2003:18).

In our discussion we argue that the relationship between serial verbs and auxiliaries may be more complex than usually recognized in the literature. In particular, we demonstrate, partially in line with Butt (2003), that serial verbs are not necessarily at an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization process and may not be instances of incomplete grammaticalization, as also argued by La Fauci (2000) for the *venire*-passive in modern Italian. In some cases, in fact, serial verbs appear to behave as tense-aspectual markers, like true auxiliaries, but differ from auxiliaries in structural/syntactic terms in that they affect the argument structure of the complex predicate (see also Bentley 2006:79, 86). They cannot always be regarded, therefore, as intermediate between full verbs and auxiliaries. Like auxiliaries, they can convey tense-aspectual differences, yet they may show a different, more specialized syntactic behaviour by occurring, for example, only in specific tenses, persons, and/or different constructions. Though characterized by maximal desemanticization on a par with auxiliaries, some serials seem therefore to exhibit a different type, rather than a reduced degree, of decategorialization with respect to auxiliaries, but cannot be regarded as a subtype of auxiliaries because they are not merely TAM markers.

2.1 Serial verbs and auxiliaries in Italian

Rosen (1997) puts forward a structural distinction between two types of multi-predicate clauses in Italian, one involving auxiliation and one involving serialization, which can be identified by two syntactic tests (namely, participial absolute formation and causativization). Unlike

auxiliaries such as passive *essere* 'be', *venire* 'come', and deontic *andare* 'go' (cf. 3a-c), serial verbs like *rimanere* 'remain', *diventare* 'become', and *andare* 'go' may occur in participial absolute constructions (cf. 4a-c).¹

- 3 a *Il tetto è stato distrutto* a' ***Stato distrutto il tetto*
 'The roof has been destroyed'
 b *Il tetto venne distrutto* b' ***Venuto distrutto il tetto*
 'The roof was destroyed'
 c *Il tetto va distrutto* c' ***Andato distrutto il tetto*
 'The roof must be destroyed'
- 4 a *M. è rimasto ucciso nell'incidente* a' *Rimasto ucciso M.*
 'M. got killed in the car crash'
 b *M. è diventato preside* b' *Diventato M. preside*
 'M. has become Dean'
 c *Il tetto è andato distrutto* c' *Andato distrutto il tetto*
 'The roof has been destroyed'

Verbs such as *andare* (in simple forms only), *essere*, and *venire* are auxiliaries, whereas verbs such as *andare* (in compound forms only), *rimanere*, and *diventare* are serials.

In Rosen's analysis (cast within a version of Relational Grammar) predicates occurring in a single clause (namely, clause-mate predicates), are described as occurring successively in different strata (Rosen 1997:175).² On the assumption that adjectives, noun predicates, and all other predicates which are not morphologically verbs consistently have an unaccusative valence, then given a predicate P,³ the difference between auxiliation and serialization can be illustrated as in (5a-b; Rosen 1997:179):

- | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 5 a | <i>essere</i> = auxiliary | b | <i>diventare</i> = serial verb |
| 2 | P | 2 | P |
| 1 | P | ----- | |
| ----- | | 2 | P Cho |
| 1 | P Cho | 1 | P Cho |
| <i>Maria è gentile</i> | | <i>Maria diventa gentile</i> | |
| 'Mary is kind' | | 'Maria becomes kind' | |

In (5a) the adjective is an unaccusative initializer: the argument *Maria* is a 2 in the initial stratum of the P-sector that is advanced to 1 in its final stratum. Since in Italian an adjective (and any non-finite P) cannot be the final predicate of a clause, but must be auxiliated, the auxiliary *essere* is

inserted and the original P (the adjective) is put into chômage. Auxiliaries are added therefore to an otherwise complete clause (Rosen 1997:186), and always inherit a 1 which must always be the final 1. In (5b), by contrast, the corresponding clause with the serial verb *diventare* is analysed as consisting of two clause-mate unaccusative predicates (namely, *diventa* and *gentile*), which share the same argument *Maria*, initialized by each P in turn. In (5b), therefore, the nominal is initialized twice, first by the inner adjectival P, and then by a second unaccusative P. Only when this serialization is complete does the advancement $2 \Rightarrow 1$ occur.

As for the different behaviour of auxiliaries and serials with respect to the formation of participial absolutes, this is taken to reflect a structural difference, as illustrated in (6a-b):

6 a <i>stato</i> = auxiliary				6 b <i>diventato</i> = serial verb			
2		P		2		P	
1		P					
-----				-----			
1		P	Cho	2	P	Cho	
				1	P	Cho	
-----				-----			
1	P	Cho	Cho	1	P	Cho	Cho
<i>M. è stato inflessibile</i>				<i>M. è diventato sindaco</i>			
'M. has been inflexible'				'M. has become mayor'			

We can see that auxiliaries inherit a 1 (cf. 6a), whereas serial verbs inherit a 2 (cf. 6b). Now, since the participial absolute rule seeks not just a 2, but the P-initial 2 of the participle (Davies & Rosen 1988; Rosen 1997), the auxiliary *stato* participle proves ill-formed since the accompanying nominal is not the P-initial 2 of the participle. With *diventare*, on the other hand, the participial absolute is possible since *diventare* is an unaccusative serializer that initializes a 2 (Rosen 1997:189). Therefore a multipredicate clause is described as having 'an "early" zone and a "late" zone, each constrained in its own way. Serialization occurs in early strata, and consists of the uninterrupted successive introduction of Ps that perform initialization. Auxiliation, on the other hand, occurs in the last strata' (Rosen 1997:192).

According to Rosen (1997), serial verbs thus represent an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization of a lexical verb into an auxiliary. They are not completely desemanticized, but retain their lexical meaning ((transition to a) state in the case of *andare*, *venire* (in its non-passive use), and *rimanere*). Serialization then is regarded as the syntactic reflex of a structural change

affecting a verb under the process of semantic bleaching (Rosen 1997:200). This can be exemplified in old Italian by the use of *venire* to denote the transition to a new state in predicative structures (the so-called 'fientive' use; Haspelmath 1987; 1993):

- 7 *venuta* *Madonna Modesta contro il suo volere vecchia e canuta*
'So, Madonna Modesta having become against her will an old and white-haired woman' (*Le piacevoli notti*, Lombardy, 1550, Pastore Stocchi 1979:248)

Rosen's (1997) proposal has been further refined by La Fauci (2000:118-19), who differentiates, within the class of such auxiliaries as *essere* and *venire*, between two types of passives in accordance with the nature of the accompanying past participle. The *essere*-passive is the so-called non-verbal passive, characterized by a non-inflectional participle, in that the participle is not part of the verbal inflection, but has an adjectival function on a par with copular constructions (cf. 9a-b). This accounts for its ability to occur in both simple (cf. 8a) and compound (cf. 8b) forms, on a par with adjectives (cf. 9a-b; following examples from La Fauci 2000:131):

- 8 a *Il tappeto è pulito dalla domestica*
'The carpet is (being)/gets cleaned by the cleaner'
b *Il tappeto è stato pulito dalla domestica*
'The carpet has been cleaned by the cleaner'
- 9 a *Il tappeto è pulito*
'The carpet is clean'
b *Il tappeto è stato pulito (ora non lo è più)*
'The carpet was clean (it is no longer so)'

The *venire*-passive (cf. 10a-b), by contrast, is a verbal passive whose past participle is characterized by the feature [+inflection], in that it is part of the verb morphology on a par with the past participle of corresponding active sentences in conjunction with the auxiliaries *essere* (cf. 11a) and *avere* (cf. 11b). Like the latter, it cannot occur in compound tenses (La Fauci 2000):

- 10 a *Il tappeto viene pulito tutti i giorni*
'The carpet gets cleaned every day'
b ***Il tappeto è venuto pulito tutti i giorni*
'The carpet has been cleaned [lit. 'come cleaned'] every day'

- 11 a *Mario è/era/fu partito* (**è/era/fu stato partito)
 'Mario has/had [lit. 'is/was'] left' ('has/had [lit. 'is/was'] been left')
 b *Mario ha/aveva/ebbe strillato* (**ha/aveva/ebbe avuto strillato)
 'Mario has/had screamed' ('has/had had screamed')

Like the *essere* passive (cf. 8a-b), the serial construction with *venire* (cf. 12a-b) is characterized by a [-inflection(al)] past participle, witness its occurrence in both simple and compound tenses (following examples from La Fauci 2000:126-27):

- 12 a *Il tappeto venne pulito* (**dalla domestica/alla domestica/le venne pulito)
 'The carpet came (to be) cleaned (*by the cleaner/it came out clean to her (lit. ['came cleaned'])))'
 b *Il tappeto è venuto pulito alla domestica/le è venuto pulito/ **dalla domestica*
 'The carpet has come out clean to the cleaner/it has come clean to her/*by the cleaner'

As we shall see in the course of the discussion, Rosen's (1997) and La Fauci's (2000) analysis throws light onto the structural difference existing between two subtypes of complex verbs in Italian, while neatly accounting for some uses of the verbs *FIERI* and *VENIRE* in the transition to (Italo-)Romance. Other uses of these verbs, however, suggest that the relationship between serial verbs and auxiliaries is much more complex than usually assumed in the literature. Indeed, despite exhibiting in some constructions the same structural properties as serial verbs, *FIERI* and *VENIRE* appear auxiliary-like in terms of their degree of desemanticization. Furthermore, the diachronic prediction made by Rosen (1997) is only partially borne out: serialization may occur earlier than auxiliation, but the opposite may also be true. Consequently, the relationship is not a linear one and serials may be as grammatical as auxiliaries, differing from the latter only in their morphosyntactic behaviour.

3 Auxiliaries and serials in late Latin

In this section we investigate the interplay between the notions of auxiliary and serial verb in late Latin in relation to the emergence of the verbs *FIERI* (§3.4) and *VENIRE* (§3.5) in serial and auxiliary functions, as well as in their copular uses.

3.1 Passive constructions in late Latin

A much debated issue in the transition between late Latin and early Romance concerns the rise of new strategies to convey the imperfective-perfective distinction, which in the middle and passive voice was no longer expressed by the -R formative in the *infectum* (e.g. *LAUDATUR*) and the analytic *ESSE* + PP in the *perfectum* (e.g. *LAUDATUS EST*). In late Latin, with clear attestations as early as the second half of the 4th century A.D. (Svennung 1935; Winters 1984), various passive verbal periphrases (imperfective *FIERI*/*VENIRE* + PP and perfective *FACERE*/*MANERE* + PP) were pressed into use (Pinkster 1987; Cennamo 2003; 2005; 2006), probably as a consequence of the fact that *ESSE* + PP no longer occurred in perfective function alone, but started to be used with imperfective value, though initially only in specific tenses (present indicative/subjunctive; Winters 1984; Cennamo 2005; 2006). In the present study we consider the grammaticalization path of the change of state verb *FIERI* + PP (cf. §3.4) and the motion verb *VENIRE* + PP (cf. §3.5), as well as the relationship of their continuators with the (passive) auxiliary *essere* + PP in old Italian (cf. §4; see also Cennamo 2005).

3.2 Tense-aspectual and voice changes

Following a deep restructuring in the encoding of voice whereby the functions of voice morphology/syntax no longer consistently matched its forms, the active form in late Latin (4th-6th centuries A.D.) sometimes occurred in passive function (cf. 13a) and the passive form in active function (so-called *deponentization*; cf. 13b-c), both in the tenses of the *infectum* (cf. 13b) and the *perfectum* (cf. 13c; see further Cennamo 2005; 2006):

- 13 a *ITEM SI A ROTA VEXAVERIT* [sc. *EQUUS*] (*Pelag.* 233, Feltenius 1977:137)
 'If it [sc. the horse] will be troubled by the wheel'
 b *OMNES RES SUAS IN INTEGRUM RECIPIATUR* (*Lex Cur.* 24.24, Cennamo 2006:315)
 'That he get his property back'

c SI IUMENTUM SCABIA PRENSUM FUERIT (*Chiron* 61.3, Cennamo 2006:315)

'If the beast of burden has developed scabies [lit. 'will be taken scabies']'

Consequently, analytic passives such as *AMATUS SUM* were no longer ambiguous, as in early and classical Latin, between a past perfective ('I was loved') and a present perfective interpretation ('I have been loved'), or a purely adjectival meaning ('I am (be)loved') in accordance with the aspectual nature of the verb (Cennamo 2005; 2006), but could now also occur in a truly active function as well ('I have loved/I loved'). By the same token, synthetic passive forms could be ambiguous as to an active and a canonical imperfective passive interpretation (e.g. *AMATUR* 'he is loved' or 'he loves'). The ambiguity of a passive construction (roughly by the 5th-6th century A.D.) may also involve the identification of the A/O status of verbal arguments, once accusative case no longer consistently marked O arguments only, but was extended to S (cf. 14a) and A (cf. 14b) functions as well (the so-called extended accusative; Plank 1985; Cennamo 2001; 2006; forthc.):

14 a *NASCITUR CONTRACTIONEM*

'There arises a spasm(acc.)'

b *FILIOS FECRUNT* (sic)

'His children(acc.) made it'

The opacity of a passive pattern therefore comes to involve not only tense-aspectual distinctions, but also the identification of the status of verbal arguments. This might have been one of the triggers for the tense-aspectual restructuring of the verbal system in the passive, as well as for the rise of new strategies replacing the canonical passive forms. The system thereby becomes more transparent, with perfectivity being marked on the past participle and the auxiliary (*ESSE*, *FIERI*, *VENIRE*, *STARE*, *MANERE*) merely conveying different tense-aspect-modality and person values (Cennamo 2005; 2006).

3.3 *Esse* + PP

Concomitant with, and probably related to the restructuring of the tense-aspectual and voice/argument marking systems partially illustrated in §3.2, is the use of the analytic passive *ESSE* + PP with an imperfective value

(Bassols de Climent 1948; Muller 1924; Reichenkron 1933; Svennung 1935:457-58):

15 *UT FORSITAN [...] GEMITUS POPULI OMNIS AUDITUS SIT*
(*Per. Aeth.* 36.3)

'That perhaps the moan of the whole crowd is heard'

Therefore, the original imperfective synthetic passive comes to be replaced by a form of *ESSE* + PP (*LAUDOR* > *LAUDATUS SUM*) and the tenses of the *perfectum* of *ESSE*, most typically used in copular function in early and classical Latin, come to be used in auxiliary function as perfective tense-aspect markers in past perfective function (*LAUDATUS SUM* > *LAUDATUS FUI*). The present perfective meaning therefore comes to be marked by a double participial form (**SUM STATUS AMATUS* 'I have been loved') only attested in early Italo-Romance, though to different degrees in different areas (Cennamo 2003), while the analytic present passive forms continue to be ambiguous between a past perfective and a present perfective interpretation (Cennamo 2003; 2005). The shift of tenses/uses of *ESSE* + PP might be the reflex of the progressive auxiliarization of the copula *ESSE* in late Latin. Indeed, it should be recalled that in classical Latin *ESSE* only occurred in a truly auxiliary function in specific tenses: the present, imperfect, and future. In the other tenses it functioned as a copula, and the past participle had an adjectival function (Woodcock 1959; Cennamo 2005).

3.4 *Fieri* + PP

Already in 4th- and 5th-c. texts (e.g. *Peregrinatio*, *Palladium*), and to a greater degree in texts of subsequent centuries (e.g. *Oribasius*, *Anthimus*), alongside of *ESSE* + PP (most typically in perfective passive function, rarely in the newly emerging imperfective passive function), there also occur examples of the construction *FIERI* + PP with imperfective passive function. This is initially restricted to inanimate subjects (cf. 16a), but subsequently extends to animate subjects (16c-d), often alternating with the canonical *infectum* passive form (cf. 16b; Svennung 1935:459; Hofmann-Szantyr 1965:§211; Cennamo 2005; 2006):

16 a *INTERPOSITAE ORATIONES FIUNT* (*Peregrinatio* 35.6)

'prayers are being/get interspersed'

b *INTERPONUNTUR ORATIONES* (*Peregrinatio* 37.6)

c ET FIAT BATTUTUS ET MISSUS IN CARCERE (*Lex Cur. Addit.* VIII.42)

‘and that he be beaten and imprisoned’

d PER SACERDOTES FIANT GUBERNATAS (*Cap. Gen* 783; Muller 1924:79)

‘that they be governed by the priests’

In non-literary texts of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., *FIERI* often occurs in contexts where it appears to replace copula *ESSE*, not only in patterns denoting a result state/non-inherent quality (cf. 17a), the so-called ‘fientive’ use (Haspelmath 1987:33; 1990:34; Michaelis 1998) – where the sequence *FIERI* + adjective is equivalent to the corresponding synthetic passive form (cf. 17b) in anticausative/passive functions – but also for non-result states (cf. 17c) denoting an inherent quality, sometimes with ambiguity of interpretation resolved only by context:

17 a SANUM FIAT (= SANUM SIT)

b SANETUR

c DIFFICILIOR FIT (= EST) AD CURANDUM

‘It results/is difficult to cure/heal’

The equivalence also concerns the non-predicative (non-fientive) use of *FIERI*, as in (18) where the verb occurs denoting indefinite change (namely, ‘arise, grow’; Cennamo 2006:321):

18 POST ANNUM [...] FUERIT (= FACTA ERIT) DE SEMINE PLANTA (*Pall.* 10.14.2)

‘A plant will grow (lit. will have been) from the seed after a year’

In late Latin *FIERI* therefore becomes equivalent to *ESSE* in all its uses. Indeed, this may be regarded as the initial stage in the grammaticalization of *FIERI* as a passive auxiliary, and may account for its becoming a tense-aspectual marker like *ESSE*. The auxiliarization of the verb *FIERI* exemplifies then a case of copula auxiliarization (Dik 1987:57), whereby a grammatical element ‘expands’ into the syntax to become part of the inflection of a predicate conveying tense and aspectual distinctions (Heine & Reh 1982, cited in Dik 1987:57–58), and ultimately marking O-orientation as a passive auxiliary (Cennamo 2005; 2006).

Consequently, in the grammaticalization process *FIERI* undergoes a process of *desemanticization*, coming to denote either a transition to a new

state, as in its predicative uses (cf. 17a), or an indefinite change (cf. 18)), and a process of *decategorialization*, leading to its specialized syntactic behaviour vis-à-vis copula and auxiliary *ESSE*. Indeed, unlike *ESSE*, it only occurs in specific tenses in late Latin (present indicative/subjunctive), apparently only in the 3rd person, and in so-called conjunct participle constructions where it behaves as a serial verb (Cennamo 2005; 2006). *FIERI* therefore appears to be both a functional and a lexical element. From a syntactic point of view, the desemanticization of *FIERI* determines a change in the syntactic bracketing of the construction: instead of two predicates, there is now only one predicate expressed in a non-finite form, a past participle, whereas the original predicate becomes an auxiliary, devoid of any syntactic function other than that of marking tense, aspect, and modality. The possible stages in the emergence of *FIERI* as a passive auxiliary may be schematized as in (19):

19 a *FIERI* + noun/adjective > b (adjectival participle) > c verbal participle

The starting point of the change would therefore be a pattern such as (cf. 20a) where the verb has its full lexical meaning of transition to a new state and the construction is biclausal. In the intermediate stage between full verb and auxiliary (cf. 20b), we can hypothesize a stage where *FIERI* = *ESSE*, sometimes with ambiguity of interpretation between the result state (adjectival) and verbal interpretation of the past participle. At this stage, the pattern may be both biclausal and monoclausal. In the last stage, where *FIERI* is clearly an auxiliary (cf. 20c), the pattern is monoclausal: the original complement is the main verb and the previous lexical verb constitutes the verbal inflection. The syntactic and semantic ambiguity of patterns at stage (20b) appear to arise from the aspectual nature of the verb in the participial form.⁴ For example, when the past participle is formed on a causative accomplishment/achievement verb (e.g. *CONSTRINGERE*, *MUTARE*, *SCINDERE*), it can have either an adjectival or a verbal reading as in (20b). By contrast, when the participle is formed on either an active accomplishment verb (e.g. *INTERPONERE*) or an activity verb (e.g. *GUBERNARE*) as in (20c), it can only have a verbal function and *FIERI* is reduced to a TAM marker. Indeed, one can argue that what appear to be two different stages along a grammaticalization cline are different interpretations of the same construction arising from the different aspectual classes occurring in the pattern *FIERI* + PP (see discussion in Cennamo 2005; 2006).

- 20 a MARCUS CONSUL FIT/TUMOR DURUS FIT >
 'Mark becomes a consul/'The swelling becomes hard'
 b MAXILLAE CONSTRICTAE FIUNT >
 'The jaws become/get/are shut'
 c ORATIONES INTERPOSITAE FIUNT
 'Prayers are being/get interspersed'

FIERI also behaves as a serial verb in late Latin, as shown by its occurrence in participial absolute constructions in patterns which vary between cases where the past participle seems to retain its original meaning of 'transition to a state/becoming' (cf. 21a where ELIXI 'boiled' functions as a complement of the main verb FIERI in its participial form FACTI), and cases where FIERI appears to be a resultative marker devoid of any lexical meaning (cf. 21b-d; see also Cennamo 2006:318):

- 21 a PECTENIS OPTIMA CARO ELIXI FACTI ET ASSATI IN TESTO SUO
 (*Anthimus* 48.4)
 'Scallop is excellent if boiled and roasted in its shell [lit. '(that have) been boiled and roasted']'
 b VAPORATAS FACTAS ET IN SODINGA COCTAS [SC. CARNES] UTENDUM (*Anthimus* 3)
 'One should use meat that has been stewed and cooked in a pan'
 c CAPRIATI FACTI MELIUS COMEDUNTUR (*Anthimus* 23)
 'Chicken tastes nicer if it has been marinated'
 d LENTICLA ET BRASSICA VIS [= BIS] COCTA FACTA (*Orib. Syn.* 4.30)
 'Lentils and cabbage (that have been) cooked twice [lit. 'twice cooked made']'

The difference between the pattern with and without the double participial form (COCTA FACTA vs COCTA) concerns the nature of the past participle of the lexical verb, namely, verbal when the double participial form occurs (cf. 21d) and adjectival in the simple participial pattern (cf. 21b). This interpretation is supported by the occurrence of the verbal adjective ELIXI in (21a) in conjunction with the past participle FACTI rather than the verbal participle ELIXATI, which cannot occur in the double participle pattern (*ELIXATI FACTI) on account of its verbal nature and the resultative, affix-like function of the participle of FIERI in this construction. It is also worth contrasting in this respect (22), where the noun CASEUM is followed

by the adjective ASSUM, and the whole sequence is coordinated with the adjective ELIXUM, rather than with the verbal participle ELIXATUM. Indeed coordination is a good test for detecting the function of the past participle of FIERI in this type of construction: coordinated elements may not be of the same form/class, but they must be alike in function (Pinkster 1987:30, 124). The coordination of ELIXI FACTI and ASSATI in (21a) therefore highlights that adjective + FACTUS is equivalent to the verbal participle, with FACTUS (and its variants) acting as a resultative marker that turns an adjective/adjectival participle into a verbal participle. This is also confirmed by the cooccurrence restrictions on coordination in (22), where the verbal participle ASSATUM would be impossible in the coordinated clause, if the resultative marker FACTUS were missing in the first coordinated clause (cf. CASEUM ASSUM VEL **ELIXATUM):

- 22 CASEUM VERO ASSUM VEL ELIXUM QUI MANDUCATUR (*Anthimus* 81.14)
 'That which will be eaten with either roasted or boiled cheese'

The double participial form therefore singles out the verbal from the adjectival function of the participle when the latter may prove ambiguous between both interpretations. The past participle FACTUS in this construction then, not only functions as a marker of O-orientation and perfective-resultative aspect, but also stresses the event-like nature of the past participle, as evidenced by the presence of the adverb VIS 'twice' in (21d; see also Cennamo 2006:319). We conclude that in late Latin FIERI variously occurs as a lexical verb, a copula, an auxiliary, and a serial verb, and that these functions may all be attested within one and the same text.

3.5 VENIRE + PP

By the 4th century A.D. there also occurs, albeit rarely, the passive periphrasis VENIRE + PP (cf. 23a-b) in the classical Latin anticausative use of the construction,⁵ where it denotes the transition to a state replacing the canonical -R form (cf. 23b):

- 23 a QUEM [SC. CIBUM] CONCEPTUM VENIRE OPORTET IN DUAS PARTES
 'Food that ought to be taken in two parts' (*Chiron* 266)
 b IRRITATA VENIT [=IRRITATUR], QUANDO CONTEMNITUR ILLA
 'She gets annoyed [lit. '(be)comes annoyed'] when she is looked down upon' (*Prop.* 1.10.25)

Already in classical Latin (e.g. in Propertius) VENIRE occurs in patterns which are ambiguous between a passive ('she gets irritated') and an intransitive, event-like interpretation ('she comes [= 'happens/results/ends up'] (to be) invoked', as in (24):

- 24 QUARE, QUID POSSIT MEA CYNTHIA, DESINE, GALLE, QUEARERE:
NON IMPUNE ILLA ROGATA VENIT
'Wherefore, Gallus, cease asking what my Cynthia is capable of;
not harmlessly is she invoked' (*Prop.* 1.5.32)

Under its 'eventive' interpretation, the pattern would develop a frequent use of the verb, denoting not only an inherently directed change of location (e.g. AD URBEM VENIRE 'to arrive in a city'), but also an indefinite change of state meaning 'arise' (cf. 25a) or 'happen' (cf. 25b):

- 25 a HIC SEGETES, ILLIC VENIUNT FELICIUS UVAE (*Prop.* 1.2.10)
'here corn, there grapes spring up luxurially'
b SATIS ESSE ODIOSUM MALUM OMEN CUM VENISSET (*Cic. Tusc.*
3.32.8)
'(he thinks) that any misfortune is already troublesome enough
when it occurs'

The transition to a state/indefinite change interpretation of the construction VENIRE + PP develops a common use of the verb in phrases with IN + a noun in the accusative, with [$\pm$ animate], [-agentive], [+affected] subjects (e.g. IN CONSUEUDINEM VENIRE 'become habitual', IN ODIUM VENIRE 'come to be hated', IN INVIDIAM VENIRE 'come to be envied'). In these O-oriented patterns with active morphology, the sequence verb + complement (prepositional phrase IN + accusative; cf. 26a) may often be replaced by the synthetic passive (cf. 26b) with a passive/agentive anticausative function (Cennamo 2005:188-89):

- 26 a GAIUS IN INVIDIAM VENIT
'Gaius comes to be hated (lit. 'comes into envy')'
b GAIUS INVIDETUR
'Gaius becomes/is envied'

VENIRE already frequently occurs also as a copula in classical Latin, most typically with nominal complements (cf. 27a), although adjectival complements are also attested (cf. 27b; Löfstedt 1938-39:181-84; Cennamo 2005:189):

- 27 a TU (MUSA) MEDICINA VENIS (*Ovid. Tristia* IV.10.118)
'You are (like) a medicine'
b SEU TRISTIS VENIAM SEU CONTRA LAETUS (*Prop.* 1.12.25)
'Whether I come sad or happy'

The shift from equative and passive-like uses of VENIRE to truly passive uses seems to involve the syntactic aspects of the construction, with the complement of the verb coming to be expressed by a past participle rather than by a prepositional phrase, as in (26), or a noun/adjective as in (27).

When the past participle is formed on a verb which does not denote a change of state/location, but activities or active accomplishments, the spontaneous, event-like interpretation of the pattern is no longer possible: the past participle can no longer be interpreted as a complement of the verb and VENIRE is nothing more than part of the verbal morphology, devoid of any lexical meaning, although maintaining the aspectual meaning of 'dynamic entry to a state' (Maiden 1995:157). Consequently, in late Latin VENIRE begins to emerge as a passive auxiliary, though with inanimate subjects only. Although it never occurs in the so-called fientive function (**GAIUS TRISTIS VENIT 'Gaius becomes sad'), it is already well-attested as a copula by classical times.

4 Auxiliaries and serials in old Italian

We now consider the use of the reflexes of late Latin FIERI, VENIRE, and ESSE in some early Italian vernaculars, namely old Tuscan (*fir, venire, essere*), old Lombard (*fī, vegnir/veni, esse*), and old Venetian (*fir, venir, eser*), in relation to their auxiliary and serial verbs status and development.

4.1 *Fire + PP

The construction *fire + PP (and its variants) occurs in several northern Italian vernaculars in the same function as its antecedent FIERI + PP in late Latin to mark imperfective passives, a usage restricted to specific tenses and/or fixed expressions in some varieties (subjunctive/future in old Florentine, present/imperfect indicative in old Venetian), alternating with *essere*-passives in old Lombard, where *fire is by far the most common passive auxiliary occurring in all tenses except the past perfect and the gerundive (Cennamo 2003):⁶

- 28 a *non ne fia mai nessuno ingannato* (*Trecentonovelle*, Florence, second half 14th c., Pernicone 1946:LXVII.85)
 'None of them will ever be deceived'
 b *el qual [...] fi dito esser stado santhomo* (*Cronica*, Venice, 1301, Ceruti 1878:228.58b)
 'who is said to have been a holy man'
 c *Tu fi' metua sot pei e fi' fagia morir* (Bonvesin de la Riva, *Disuptatio musce cum formica*, Lombardy, second half 13th c., Contini 1937b:32.98)
 'You are trampled upon and are made to die'

In old Lombard the **fire*-passive is also attested in a participial construction (cf. 29a), in examples which appear to be similar to the late Latin sentences illustrated in (21)–(22). **Fire* therefore seems to behave syntactically as a serial verb in Rosen's and La Fauci's terms, with the presence of *facta* in (29a) underlining the verbal nature of the past participle which is otherwise ambiguous between an adjectival and a verbal interpretation; in (29b–c) the adjectival function of *strangossada* 'anguished' is also inferable from the copula *sta*:

- 29 a *el morto desmonta su e va und e la madre strangosada facta quaxe morta* (*La Passione*, Lombardy, 15th c., Salvioni 1886b:16.23)
 'the dead man gets up and goes to his mother, who is in anguish, almost dead'
 b *la madre ste [...] quasi com morta strangossada* (*La Passione* 17.1)
 'his mother is in deep anguish'
 c *e como la madre sta in tanta afflictio[n] e sta strangosada oiando tal imbasata* (*La Passione* 8.19–20)
 'and how his mother is in such despair and anguished in hearing the news'

The verb **fire* is also attested in copular function, both in old Venetian and old Lombard (cf. 30a), as well as in other early Italo-Romance varieties such as old Tuscan (cf. 30b), but apparently does not occur in predicative structures to denote the transition to a new state (the issue, however, needs further investigation; see Kontzi 1958:27):

- 30 a *plu tost firav fastidio* (Bonvesin de la Riva, *De quinquaginta Curialitatibus ad mensam*, Lombardy, second half 13th c., Contini 1937c:59.123)
 'it will rather bother him'
 b *le genti fiano ora tutte nuove* (*Novellino*, Florence, 1281–1300, Conte, 2001:XX1.116)
 'The people are now different'

4.2 *Venire* + PP

In several early northern Italian vernaculars such as Venetian and Lombard, as well as Tuscan, the verb *venire* (and its variants) is well attested as a passive auxiliary (cf. 31), though to different degrees in different areas and only in simple tenses (Filzi 1914:52–53; Cennamo 2003):⁷

- 31 a *segondo che ven ditto* (*Cronica* 224.53b)
 'according to what is [lit. 'comes'] said'
 b *il tradimento non venne fatto* (Villani, *Cronica*, Florence, 1348, Porta 1990/91:II.XII.8)
 'the betrayal was not made'

In old Tuscan texts of the 13th and subsequent centuries, *venire* also occurs in a fientive use, denoting the transition to a new state with the meaning 'become' and replacing, at times, the corresponding synthetic form with a lexical verb (cf. 32):

- 32 a *Lancialotto, quand'elli venne forsennato per amore della reina Ginevra* (*Novellino* 2001:XXVIII.3)
 'Lancelot, when he became mad for falling in love with Queen Ginevra'
 b *e allora li cavalieri tutti vennero smarriti* (*Tavola ritonda*, Florence, 1350, Polidori 1864:XCIII.352)
 'and then all the knights became lost'
 c *disiderosi vennero d'andare a vedere* (*Decameron*, Florence, 1370, Branca 1976:II.1.106)
 'they became eager to go and see'
 d *no creria qe Paul foss vegnu santo* (*Il libro di Ugucione da Lodi*, 13th c., Monaci 1955:62.142)
 'I would not believe that Paul had become a saint'

Under this interpretation the verb behaves as a serial, as shown by its occurrence in participial absolute constructions like (cf. 33; Rosen 1997:200):

- 33 *venuta adunque Madonna Modesta contro'l suo volere vecchia canuta* (*Le piacevoli notti* 248)
 'so, Dame Modesta having become against her will a white-haired, old woman'

Another serial use of the verb, attested only in old Florentine as early as the end of the 13th century, is exemplified by the construction *venire* + PP with the agent in the dative, the past participle optionally agreeing with the surface subject (cf. 34a), and ensuing impersonality when agreement does not obtain (cf. 34b; Kontzi 1958:43-49; Bertuccelli Papi 1980:60-70; Vincent 1987:248-49; Ambrosini 2000; Bentley 2006:117-18):

- 34 a *se veduto le venisse un giovanotto* (*Decameron* V.10.24)
 'if she had happened to see a young man'
 b *gli ne venne schizzato una* [sc. *fava*] *nell'orecchia* (*Trecentonovelle* CLXVIII.5)
 'a broad bean hit his ear'

These constructions have a clearly eventive-impersonal interpretation with backgrounding/defocusing of the agent which occurs in the dative if pronominal (35a-b), the sequence *venire* + PP meaning 'happen' or 'end up' (cf. 35b) and qualifying as an inversion pattern according to Bentley (2006:117-18):

- 35 a *non t'è venuto fatto* (*Trecentonovelle* CVI.237)
 'it has not happened to you'
 b *e sarebbe loro venuto fatto* [sc. 'riacquistare la signoria della loro città di Parma'] *assai tosto coll'aiuto e potenza de' Fiorentini* (Villani, *Cronica* II.XI.66.C148)
 'and they would soon succeed in this (sc. 'regaining control over their city of Parma') with the aid and power of the Florentines'

In several texts the verb most frequently occurring in this construction is *fare*, but other verbs may also occur (including *vedere*, *pensare*, *trovare*; Bertuccelli Papi 1980:61-62). In the serial construction, unlike in the passive one, *venire* may occur in compound tenses, as illustrated in (35a-b). As convincingly demonstrated by La Fauci (2000), this is due to the verbal

nature of the past participle under the serial function (unlike its adjectival function in conjunction with auxiliary *venire* examined in §2.1).

We conclude that both the auxiliary and the serial functions of *venire* are attested in 13th-14th-c Florentine texts, although there is no evidence for the serial use of *venire* as diachronically intermediate category between its full lexical and auxiliary status. There also appears to be more than one serial construction with *venire*, characterized by the same syntactic properties, but with various meanings ranging from the lexical (in the case of the indefinite change reading) to the more grammatical (in the case of the eventive-impersonal reading).

4.3 Essere + PP

In the early vernaculars investigated and in old Italian in general, *essere* is well established as a passive auxiliary in both imperfective (cf. 36a) and perfective (cf. 36b) functions with different degrees of extension of the *stato*-forms, reflecting the gradual spread and consolidation of Latin ESSE as a passive marker (Cennamo 2003; 2005):

- 36 a *voio che la mia chasa sia venduda* (*Cedola di Andre Memmo*, Venice, 14th c., Stussi 1965:99.10)
 'I want my house to be sold'
 b *che chusi son stachi perseguitai i sancti profeti* (*Parafrasi di S. Giovanni*, Lombardy, 14th c., Förster 1880-83:93.17)
 'that the holy prophets have been persecuted in this way'

A characteristic feature of *essere* in 14th-c. Florentine texts (e.g. Boccaccio, Villani, Jacopo Passavanti) is the occurrence of the past participle *stato* in double participial constructions (cf. 37a-e), where it highlights the verbal nature of the past participle of the lexical verb analogously to the function of FACTUS in late Latin and old Lombard. The *stato*-form also occurs in participial absolute constructions (cf. 37f), a syntactic domain regarded in the literature as singling out serial verbs from auxiliaries (Rosen 1997; La Fauci 2000):

- 37 a *udendo egli un dì [...] cantare una canzone già da lui stata fatta* (*Decameron* III.7.220)
 'on hearing one day a song being sung that he had already written'
 b *abbiamo riso molto delle beffe state fatte* (*Decameron* VIII.7.535)

- ‘we have laughed a lot at the jokes that have been made’
- c *e parmi stato morto e sopellito e resuscitato* (*Pistole di Seneca*, Florence, a. 1325?, Bottari 1717:30.67)
 ‘and I thought I had been killed and buried and that I had come back to life again’
- d *per la morte del detto messer Pazzino, stato morto in servizio del popolo* (Villani, *Cronica* III.XIII.44)
 ‘for the death of the aforementioned Lord Passino, (who had been) killed while serving his people’
- e *colui che andò, trovò il familiare stato da messer Amerigo mandato* (*Decameron* V.7.377)
 ‘the person who went there found the relative (who had been) sent by Lord Amerigo’
- f *quivi smontati per rinfrescarsi e riposarsi alcun dì e molto stati onorati da’ nobili uomini di Trapani* (*Decameron* V.7.376)
 ‘having dismounted here to refresh themselves and rest some time those (who had been) honoured by noble men of Trapani’

Such data demonstrate therefore that *essere* in 14th-c. Florentine can behave syntactically as a serial verb.

4.4 Auxiliation, serialization and the TAM chain

The study of the uses of late Latin *FIERI*, *VENIRE*, and *ESSE* and their reflexes in some early Italo-Romance vernaculars (in old Venetian, old Lombard, and old Florentine) has revealed that serial verbs are not always an intermediate stage in the verb-affix cline, as usually assumed in the literature (Heine 1993; 2003; Rosen 1997; Hopper & Traugott 2003). Rather, as illustrated in §§4.1–4.3, both late Latin *FIERI* and old Lombard *fi* behave syntactically as serial verbs, as shown by their more specialized syntactic behaviour with respect to the auxiliary ‘be’ (*ESSE*), and are also fully desemanticized on a par with the auxiliary ‘be’, from which they differ only in exhibiting a different type of decategorialization. However, *essere* in 14th-c. Florentine may also behave syntactically as a serial verb, occurring in participial absolute and conjunct participial constructions. The relationship between auxiliaries and serials is therefore not a linear one: in their diachronic development auxiliaries may turn into serials and vice versa, such that the same lexeme can have both auxiliary and serial behaviour at the same stage.

One further and related point emerging from the analysis of the data concerns the frequent claim that serial verbs, representing an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization path from verbs to auxiliaries, reflect a process of incomplete grammaticalization, witness their inability to occur in the same range of tenses as ‘true’ auxiliaries and their incompatibility with compound tenses (Giacalone Ramat 2000). As we have seen, this assumption does not hold for the use of old Lombard *fi* and old Florentine *venire* + PP in passive function. Both in their serial and auxiliary uses, these verbs appear to be fully grammaticalized as tense-aspect markers on a par with *ESSE/esse(re)*. They differ in the range of tenses used, and Latin *FIERI* and old Lombard *fi* also differ from *VENIRE/venire* and *ESSE*, in that they may occur in participial constructions. Moreover, in all early Italian vernaculars *essere* is not well-attested in compound tenses, but this is to be interpreted, not as a sign of its incomplete grammaticalization, but as a reflex of its different degree of expansion/integration within the verbal system, a phenomenon in turn related to the reorganization of the encoding of the imperfective/perfective distinctions in O-oriented patterns. We conclude that the various uses of these verbs all reach a stage where they are equivalent to the copula *ESSE* and might therefore be regarded as cases of ‘copula expansion’ (Dik 1987; Cennamo 2005; 2006).

Finally, the distinction between serials/auxiliaries and between verbal/adjectival or +inflectional/–inflectional participles has proven to be a useful notion, not only synchronically, but also diachronically, provided we abandon the commonly held views that serial verbs occupy an intermediate position along the TAM chain, and that the relationship between auxiliaries and serials is unidirectional.

5 Conclusions

The investigation of the use of the Latin verbs *FIERI* and *VENIRE* in the transition to Italo-Romance has shown that the serial verb/auxiliary relationship is much more complex than usually recognized. In particular, the following claims have been put forward:

- There are probably many more distinctions to be made along the verb-auxiliary cline than usually recognized, inasmuch as grammatical elements (e.g. late Latin *FIERI*, old Lombard *fi*, old Florentine *essere*) may behave syntactically like serial verbs, though showing full desemanticization and decategorialization just like auxiliaries. They

seem therefore to differ not in their degree of grammaticalization, but, rather, in their type of decategorialization.

- The relationship serial verb-auxiliary is non-linear, insofar as serial verbs are not necessarily always at intermediate stages in the grammaticalization path from full verb to auxiliary: the same lexeme can simultaneously have both auxiliary and serial uses. Serial verbs therefore do not reflect a process of incomplete grammaticalization.
- The grammaticalization of motion verbs (e.g. *VENIRE*), verbs of change of state (e.g. *FIERI*), though following different paths, all seem to involve a stage where they are equivalent to the copula *ESSE*.
- The passive reinterpretation of the verbal periphrases *FIERI/VENIRE* + PP appears to be triggered by a change of the aspectual classes which occurred in these constructions.
- The rise of the Romance passive verbal periphrases is part and parcel of a wider phenomenon, involving the restructuring of the argument structure of the clause in the passage between late Latin and early Romance.

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Notes

* To Nigel, a very generous and inspiring friend and teacher.

¹ Here we do not consider the other syntactic tests differentiating auxiliaries from serials in Italian (e.g. causativization; see Rosen 1997:190-95).

² Within the R(elational) G(rammar) notation, 1 and 2 are so-called term relations, subject and object respectively. Cho is the abbreviation for *chômeur*, the relation held by a nominal that has been ousted from term status (see Rosen 1997:177-78; Blake 1990).

³ Given a predicate P, its P-sector is the set of strata in which P holds this relation, the first of which realizes its P-initial stratum and the last its P-final stratum.

⁴ We adopt the Role and Reference Grammar classification of predicates: causative

accomplishments (e.g. *APERIRE* 'open' (trans.), *MUTARE* (trans.) 'change') denote a temporally extended telic change (of state/activity); causative achievements (e.g. *SCINDERE* 'crack' (trans.)) denote an instantaneous telic change (of state/activity); active accomplishments are the telic use of activity verbs with definite, referential objects (*PUER TRES PLACENTAS EDIT* 'The child ate three cakes'); unlike causative accomplishments, they are not inherently telic and do not denote the causation between two events but, rather, the sequence between two events (Van Valin & La Polla 1997:101, 111-12; Van Valin 2005).

⁵ The term refers to the intransitive use of a transitive verb, where the original object occurs as subject, the pattern denoting spontaneous manifestation of a process/event (e.g. *FORIS APERUIT*

'The door opened' < *PUER FOREM APERUIT* 'The boy opened the door'; see Haspelmath 1987:7, 13). When the subject of the corresponding intransitive pattern is [+animate] the construction instantiates the so-called agentive anticausative or endoreflexive construction (e.g. *ILLA IRRITATUR* 'She gets annoyed' < *PUER ILLAM IRRITAT* 'The boy annoys her'; see Haspelmath 1987:28-29).

⁶ We do not consider here the fientive use of *fire (*fare?*) in the construction (e.g. *è/fu fatto* =

'diventa/divenne'), that is fairly widespread in early Italian vernaculars (e.g., old Lombard *e-l so pare* [...] *fo fachio muto* 'his father was made dumb' (*Parafrasi di S. Giovanni* 55.8).

⁷ Such forms are attested, however, in later Lombard texts such as the 16th-c. short-story writer Ascanio De' Mori (Vincent 1987:249), an issue that needs further study.