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# The actualization of new voice patterns in Romance

## Persistence in diversity

*For Romano Lazzeroni*

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This article discusses some aspects of the reorganization of voice distinctions in the transition from Latin to Romance, namely the grammaticalization of activity (DO / MAKE) and change of state (BECOME) verbs as markers of the passive voice, and the reanalysis of the reflexive morpheme SE as a voice modulator, focussing on patterns of invariance (i.e., persistence) of Latin inheritance and principled differences (i.e., divergence) in the type and extent of variation and further developments in this area of Romance morphosyntax.

**Keywords:** voice, passive, reflexive, light verb, auxiliary

### 1. Introduction

This article addresses the actualization of a number of new structures which became available for the encoding of voice in the transition from Latin to (Italo-)Romance, exploring the various stages in their development and implementation, in relation to (i) the role played by the parameters of animacy, aspect, the continuum of control,<sup>1</sup> and the person hierarchy in the reorganization of the voice domain and the rise of different passive and impersonal strategies, including passive auxiliaries (e.g., DO / MAKE, BECOME), the reflexive passive, and the impersonal / indefinite SE, (ii) the direction(ality) of the changes investigated.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses the major changes affecting the encoding of voice and of the argument structure of the clause in the passage from Latin to Romance. Section 3 focuses on the Latin antecedents of

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1. The term refers to the degree of ‘primary responsibility’ (Lakoff, 1977) of a core argument of the clause over the verbal process, involving various transitivity parameters, such as agency, volitionality, and the aspectual nature of the predicate (Lehmann, 1988: 56–61; Comrie, 1989: 61–62).

nascent auxiliaries *fieri* ‘become’ and *facere* ‘do / make’, while Section 4 tracks the early Italo-Romance outcomes of these developments, witnessing the persistence of constructions and parameters of Latin inheritance and principled differences in the distribution of *fieri* and *facere* as imperfective and perfective passive markers, respectively. Section 5 explores the Italo-Romance developments of the reflexive as a voice marker, showing that its impersonal / indefinite usage reflects the widening of its referential scope and its degree of grammaticalization. Finally, Section 6 draws the conclusions.

## 2. Voice in the transition to Romance

Four major changes take place in the voice system in the transition from Latin to Romance:

1. the demise of the synthetic passive (i.e., the *-R* form);
2. the spread of the analytic passive, consisting of a form of *esse* ‘be’ + the P(ast) P(articiple) of the lexical verb, from perfective to imperfective function, typically attested in the present indicative / subjunctive (Winters, 1984, int. al.), with rare and controversial early examples (Herzog, 1910: 102–106; Bassols de Climent, 1948: § 40; Adams, 2013: 719–2). This structure ultimately replaces the synthetic passive, the *-R* form, that disappears in Romance (e.g., *laud-a-tur* praise.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG ‘he is praised’ > *laud-a-tus est* praise.PP.M.SG.NOM be.PRS.IND.3SG ‘he is praised’).<sup>2</sup>
3. the grammaticalization of lexical verbs denoting activity (e.g., *facere* ‘do, make’), change of state (e.g., *fieri* ‘become’, *evenire* ‘befall’), and change of location (e.g., *venire* ‘come’) as passive markers (auxiliaries) / light verbs (Reichenkron, 1933; Green, 1982; Michaelis, 1998: 73–76; Adams, 2013: 721–724; Cennamo, 2019);
4. the proliferation of the reflexive morpheme in all voice domains, the rise of the reflexive passive and changes in the referential domain of SE (Cennamo, 1991b, 1993b, 1998, 1999).

The present study focuses on some aspects of the latter two of these changes, the development of the passive periphrases *fieri* ‘become’/ *facere* ‘do/make’ + past participle (§ 3–4) and the passive and impersonal/indefinite patterns with SE (§ 5). These

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2. The perfective-resultative meaning of the sequence *esse*+PP, conversely, comes to be conveyed in Romance by double compound forms which did not exist in Latin (\**sum status laudatus*, lit. ‘(I) am been praised’), supplied by the verb *stare* ‘stand’ in Italian, French, and Catalan, *sedere* ‘sit’ in Spanish and Portuguese (Green, 1982; Pountain, 1982: 147; 151; De Melo, 2012; Cennamo, 2016, 2020; Danckaert 2016, further references therein and § 2.1).

constructions will be investigated in light of the *temporary loss of the grammatical dimension of voice* resulting from the reorganization of the marking of voice distinctions in the passage to Romance (§ 2.1) and in relation to *the restructuring of argument linking and marking* in the transition between Late Latin and Early Romance (§ 2.2). The two phenomena came to intersect with the aspectually-determined cleavage existing in the Latin verbal system (both in the active and the passive voice) between forms expressing imperfective aspect (denoting ongoing, continuous, repetitive actions) and forms expressing perfective aspect (referring to a completed action), so-called *infectum* and *perfectum* in Latin grammars (Vincent, 1988; Pinkster, 2015: 231–305, int.al.), their interplay causing a reshuffling leading to the rise of new constructions for the encoding of voice, aspect, and the argument structure of the clause (Cennamo, 2005, 2008, 2009 and discussion below).

In the passive voice in Early and Classical Latin the aspectual split is instantiated by the use of an inflectional ending, the *-R* form – added to the verb stem – for the tenses of the *infectum* (e.g., *laud-a-tur* ‘he is (being) praised’), and by a syntactic construction – consisting of a form of *esse* ‘be’ + PP – for the tenses of the *perfectum*, as shown in Table 1 for the present/imperfect and the perfect/pluperfect indicative, respectively.

Table 1.

SYNTHETIC ( <i>infectum</i> )	ANALYTIC ( <i>perfectum</i> )
<i>amatur</i> (present) ‘he is (being) loved’	<i>amatus est</i> (perfect) ‘he was loved/ ‘he is beloved (adj.)’/‘he has been loved’
<i>amabatur</i> (imperfect) ‘he was (being) loved’	<i>amatus erat</i> (pluperfect) ‘he had been loved/ he was beloved (adj.)’

Thus, a perfect passive pattern such as *amatus est* love.PP.M.SG.NOM be.PRS.IND.3SG could refer both to a past event (‘he was loved’, past perfective reading) and to the current relevance of a past event (‘he has been loved’, perfective-resultative meaning), as well as having a stative-adjectival reading (‘he is a loved man’). As illustrated in Table 1, in the analytic tenses, the present auxiliary is used for the perfect, the imperfect for the pluperfect, the tense of the pattern being marked by the construction as a whole (the past participle signalling anteriority), unlike in Romance, where the tense of the structure is conveyed by the auxiliary (Woodcock, 1959: 79; Winters, 1984: 446; 451 and more recent discussion in De Melo, 2012; Burton, 2016; Dankaert, 2016, 2017, among others).

As shown in the next sections, in Late Latin and early Italo-Romance the voice system is radically restructured, but the aspectual distinctions originally shaping its encoding at earlier stages in the language – both compositional, reflecting the

divide between imperfective and perfective aspect, and lexical, with the inherent temporal properties of verbs (i.e., *Aktionsart*) determining the distribution of voice forms in the anticausative alternation<sup>3</sup> – continue to play a crucial role (together with the notions of control and animacy) in molding the use and distribution of the new strategies which become available, among which the reflexive pattern and various periphrases conveying different tense-aspectual nuances within the aspectual spectrum originally covered by the *esse* + PP construction. In addition, a new parameter, the person hierarchy, comes to impinge on the coding of voice alternations (e.g., the reflexive/middle construction) (§ 5) (Cennamo, 2005, 2009, 2016).

### 2.1 Restructuring of the voice system and changes in the referential domain of SE in Late Latin

By the end of the fourth century AD, the uncertainties in the use of voice forms, already existing in Early and Classical Latin, gradually spread, affecting not only the periphery of voice categories, where there had always been areas of fluctuation among voice forms (active / reflexive / -R form / *esse* ‘be’ + PP), but also their core (Cennamo, 1998). In later centuries, additional constructions began to emerge, alternating with the canonical markers of voice (Cennamo, 1998, 2006; Herman, 2002 and references therein). The following sections will explore the nature of this restructuring, beginning with the extension of the reflexive and the active into the realm of the passive (§§ 2.1.1–2.1.2), the passive into that of the active (§ 2.1.3), the concomitant re-organization of argument structure (§ 2.2), as well as non-voice related changes involving the referential domain of the reflexive. As we shall see in subsequent discussion (§§ 3–5), the cluster of phenomena investigated all conspire, in the course of time, towards co-opting new tools for the marking of voice, such as the verbs *fieri* and *facio* as new auxiliaries in passive constructions (§ 3–4) and the reflexive as a passive and impersonal(/indefinite) marker (§ 5).

#### 2.1.1 Reflexives

In late Latin, the continuum of control, affecting the distribution of voice forms in Early and Classical Latin (Ronconi, 1968: 20; Cennamo, 1998; Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2015), no longer differentiated the use of the -R form vs. the reflexive pattern with animate subjects, as shown in (1a-b) from Classical Latin. *Se* + the active voice, therefore, could now also occur with inactive / non-agentive

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3. The term “anticausative” refers to intransitive patterns derived from corresponding transitive structures, with the original inanimate object occurring as subject and the verbal process presented as taking place spontaneously (Haspelmath, 1987: 7; Koontz-Garboden, 2009, int.al.).

subjects, in non-canonical middle / endo-reflexive patterns, structures where the verb's core arguments have identical reference and the action 'remains' within the actor (the A argument)<sup>4</sup> (Haspelmath, 1987: 27), undergoing the verbal activity, rather than performing it. This new flexibility is illustrated in (2), where the reflexive structure, *ustulant se* (lit. 'burn themselves'), co-occurs with the canonical -R form, *ustulantur* (lit. 'burn/get burnt') (Cennamo, 1998: 79; 88–89; Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2015: 699).

- (1) a. *interea nos delectabimus*  
 meantime we.ACC enjoy-ourselves.MPASS.PRS.IND.1PL  
 'Meantime we shall organize our own pleasure'  
 (Cic. De Finibus I, 3 (+ Control))
- b. *si delectamur cum scribimus*  
 if enjoy-ourselves.MPASS.PRS.IND.1PL when write.PRS.IND.1PL  
 'If we like writing (lit. we find enjoyment when we write)'  
 (Cic. Ad Attic. II, 4, 2) (– Control)
- (2) *cum male sibi senserint, ustulant se foco in*  
 when ill RFL feel.PRF.SBJV.3PL burn.PRS.IND.3PL RFL fire.ABL in  
*stomacho quomodo caballi furiosi ustulantur*  
 stomach.ABL like horses.NOM mad.PL.NOM burn.MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL  
 'When they fall ill, they burn with fire in their stomach like mad horses burn'  
 (Anthim. 3, 6–8)

By this time, with early examples in texts from the Imperial age (first to early second century AD), the reflexive pattern (*se* + active verb) is also found in anticausative function with verbs that in Classical Latin only admitted the -R form and/or the active intransitive, such as degree achievements (Hay et al. 1999) / gradual completion verbs (Bertinetto & Squartini 1995), verbs denoting the gradual approximation to a telos that may not be achieved, characterized by a lower degree of telicity (e.g., *minuere* 'decrease', *ampliare* 'enlarge', *lenire* 'soothe', *sedare* 'calm down') (3a) vs. (3b) (Feltenius, 1977; Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2015). By contrast, achievements (e.g., *scindere* 'crack', *frangere* 'break') admitted instead both the -R form and the reflexive strategy, as shown in (3c–d) (see Feltenius, 1977; Adams, 2013 686–692; Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2015: 685–687 for further discussion and data).

- (3) a. *minuente se morbo* (Plin. Nat. 23, 50) (I AD)  
 decrease.PRS.PTCP.ABL RFL disease.ABL  
 'When the disease is on the decline'

4. S, A, O are syntactico-semantic primitives, referring to the sentence core arguments, following a well established terminology (Haspelmath, 2011 and references therein).

- b. *memoria minuitur* (Cic. *Sen.* 7, 21) (Classical Latin)  
 memory.NOM decrease.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘Memory is impaired’
- c. *frangitur aestus* (Lucret. *De Rer. Nat.* 6, 121)  
 break.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG tide.NOM  
 ‘The rolling tide breaks’
- d. *dum se calor frangat* (Cic. *De Or.*, 1, 62, 265)  
 until RFL heat.NOM break.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘Until the heat abates’ (lit. ‘breaks’)

The reflexive pattern also occurs, albeit rarely and late, in passive function, initially attested with inanimate subjects, as in (4a), from the second half of the fourth century AD, subsequently with animate ones, as in (4b), from the sixth century AD.

- (4) a. *stercora si se post ex aggravatione stercoris*  
 faeces.PL if RFL afterwards from.ABL oppression.abl faeces.GEN  
*provocaverint* (Mull. *Ch.* 230)  
 cause-3PL-PRF.SBJV.3PL  
 ‘Faeces, if afterwards they are induced from their weight’
- b. *per ista sunnis ...homo ...excusare se poterit*  
 for this amount man excuse-INF RFL can-FUT.3SG  
 ‘For this amount of money a man can be discharged’ (lit. ‘excused / justified’)  
 (Child. *reg. cap.* 8, 32–33)

The trigger of the passive reinterpretation of the sequence *se*+active verb lies in a change in the aspectual classes of verbs allowing the *se*+active V in the anticausative alternation, which spread from achievements and accomplishments, i.e., inherently telic and / or punctual verbs denoting change of state (i.e., situations that can be brought about spontaneously) (e.g., *mutare* ‘change’, *frangere* ‘break’, *scindere* ‘crack’), to activity verbs, i.e., atelic verbs (e.g., *vocare* ‘call’, *excusare* ‘excuse’) (4b), with and without a telic alternant (e.g., active accomplishments<sup>5</sup> such as *vendere* ‘sell’, *provocare* ‘cause’). With these verb classes in Classical Latin the reflexive pattern could only occur in a truly reflexive function (*se vendere* ‘sell oneself’, *se vocare* = ‘call oneself’) (see full discussion in Cennamo, 1998, 2001b, 2001c). Thus, *se* + active becomes a marker of induced actions / processes, in which the agent argument is unexpressed (see, however, Adams, 2013: 683 for the anticausative interpretation of (4a).

5. The term, adopted from the Role and Reference Grammar classification of predicates (Van Valin, 2005: 31–50), refers to the telic use of activity verbs with definite, referential objects (e.g., Lat. *tres epistulas scripsit* three letters write.PRF.3SG ‘He wrote three letters’). Unlike accomplishments (e.g., *mutare* ‘change’), they denote the sequence of two events rather than a relationship of causation between two events.

### 2.1.2 *The extension of the active voice into the realm of the passive*

The blurring of voice distinctions, owing to the functional opacity of their morphological and syntactic exponents can also be clearly seen in the gradual extension of the use of the active voice to structures where most typically either the *-R* form or the reflexive occurred in early and Classical Latin, such as the anticausative alternation. Thus, in Late Latin the active intransitive may be found with verbs lexically encoding a final state, like achievements (e.g., *rumpere* ‘break’) (5a) and accomplishments (e.g., *citare* ‘cause’) (5b) (Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2015: 695). The active is also found with non-canonical middles (5c), patterns with an animate, affected subject. These structures may alternate with the corresponding reflexive forms, often in the same text, as in (6a–b). At times a construction is ambiguous between an anticausative and a passive interpretation, which is only resolved by the context, as in (5d–e) and (6c) (Svennung, 1935: 462; Hofmann, Leumann & Szantyr, 1965: 296; Feltenius, 1977; Cennamo, 1998):

- (5) a. *collectiones... quae rumpunt* (Mul. Chir. 42)  
 abscesses that break.PRS.IND.3PL  
 ‘Abscesses that break’
- b. *aut marmor si ei citaverit* (Mul. Chir. 606)  
 or cancer if it.DAT cause.PRF.SBJV.3SG  
 ‘Or if it developed cancer of the joints’
- c. *cum ... non potest sustinere* (id. 910)  
 when ... not can.PRS.3SG stand-up.INF  
 ‘When ... it cannot stand up’
- d. *si vulnus elimpidaverit* (id. 645)  
 if wound cleanse-PRF.SBJV.3SG  
 ‘If the wound cleansed / was cleansed’
- e. *equa... si non purgavit* (id. 764)  
 mare-NOM if not purge-PRF.IND.3SG  
 ‘The mare, if it didn’t purge itself / get purged’
- (6) a. *si iumento genua marmora se citaverint*  
 if beast-of-burden.DAT knee.PL cancer-PL RFL cause.PRF.SBJV.3PL  
 ‘If the donkey develops cancer of the joints’ (Mul. Chir. 592)
- b. *si (sc. iumentum) se sustinere potuerit* (Mul. Chir. 986)  
 if beast-of-burden RFL stand-up.INF can.PERF.SBJV.3SG  
 ‘If it (sc. the beast of burden) can stand up’
- c. *mala... toto anno servare se possunt* (Pall. 3, 25, 18)  
 apples whole.ABL year-ABL keep-PRS.INF RFL may.PRS.IND.3PL  
 ‘The apples may keep / be kept for the whole year’



In late, 6th–8th century texts the active is also found in passive function, as in (7a–b), with an early second-century AD Example (7c) (Bonnet, 1890: 628–30; Haag, 1898: 57; Svennung, 1935: 568).

- (7) a. *petens ut per eius auxilium liberaret (=liberaretur)*  
 ask.PRS.PTCP that by of-him help set-free-IMPFSBJV.3SG  
 (Chron. Fred. IVc, 183, 17; VII AD)  
 ‘Asking to be set free with his help’ (lit. ‘to set free’)
- b. *consummatio dabit (= dabitur) super desolationem*  
 report.NOM give.FUT.3SG (= give.PASS.FUT.3SG) over desert.ACC  
 ‘A report will be given (lit. will give) over the desert’  
 (Chron. Fred. I 56.16)
- c. *quomodo aliis facitis, sic et faciet (=fiet) vobis*  
 how to-others do-PRES.IND.2PL so also do-3S-FUT you-2PL.DAT  
 ‘What you do to others will be done / will happen to you (lit. the same way you do to others so it will do (= it will be done / happen) to you’  
 (Clem. Epist. Ad Cor. 13, 2; Svennung, 1935: 568) (early II AD)

Thus, in some Late Latin texts, although continuing to occur in their canonical functions, voice forms may be used interchangeably, as shown in (7c) for the verb *facere* ‘do / make’ and its lexical passive *feri* ‘be done/be made’ and in the examples in (8), where the verb *feri*, in its expression of indefinite change ‘become, arise’ (8a), *tumor fit* ‘a swelling arises’, can be replaced by the reflexive *tumor facit se* (lit ‘a swelling makes itself’) (8b) and by the active transitive form *tumor facit* (lit. ‘a swelling makes’) (8c), under the same meaning ‘a swelling arises’, while also functioning as the pro-passive of *facere*, as in (8d) (cf. Pirson, 1906; Cennamo, 1998; 2001; 2005: 178–179; Herman, 2002):

- (8) a. *feri* ‘become / be done / made’ = b. *facere se* ‘become’ =  
*tumor fit* = *tumor facit se* =  
 swelling-NOM become.PRS.IND.3SG make.PRS.IND.3SG RFL
- c. *facere* ‘do / make’  
*tumor facit*  
 make. PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘A swelling occurs’
- d. *sarda ita fit* (Apic. 80, 3–5)  
 pilchard.NOM thus make.PASS.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘The pilchard is prepared in this way’

In Late Latin, therefore, the dividing lines among the active, the reflexive, and the passive voice are no longer clearcut: the reflexive pattern and the active intransitive may replace the passive form in its non-canonical middle (*iumentum se exulcerat* ‘the donkey exulcerates’ / *non potest sustinere* ‘the donkey cannot stand up’), anticausative

(*tumores se faciunt / faciunt* ‘swellings appear’), and passive function (*faciet vobis* ‘will be done to you’ / *ut liberaret* ‘(so that) he was set free’) (Cennamo, 1998).

### 2.1.3 Passivization and deponentization

In the same period and often in the same texts displaying ‘quirky’ uses of the reflexive and active patterns, the passive voice is attested in active function, both in the *infectum* and the *perfectum*, a phenomenon known as “deponentization” (Flobert, 1975, int. al.). This phenomenon is attested with both transitive and intransitive verbs throughout the history of the language, as seen in Classical usage in (9a–b), increasing in Late Latin (10a–c).

- (9) a. *qui punitur (= punit) aliquem*  
 who punish.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG someone.ACC  
 ‘He who punishes someone’ (Cic. *off.* 1, 25, 88) (Classical Latin)
- b. *epistulam quam eram elucubratus*  
 letter.ACC that.ACC BE.IMPF.IND.3SG write with great labour.PP.M.SG  
 ‘The letter that I had carefully written (lit. ‘that I was written’)  
 (= *elucubraveram*) (id. *Att.* 7, 19)
- (10) a. *et sabbato non ieunantur (= ieunant)*  
 and Saturday not fast-MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL  
 ‘And they do not fast on Saturdays’ (lit. ‘they are not fasted’)  
 (*Per. Aeth.* 27, 1) (Late Latin)
- b. *iste (servus) postulatus est (= postulavit) vestram clementiam*  
 he.NOM (servant) ask.PP.M.SG be-PRS.IND.3SG your.ACC mercy.ACC  
 ‘He (the servant) asked for your mercy’ (lit. ‘he is asked for your mercy’)  
 (*Agnell.* 165)
- c. *ille eam ducatur (= ducat) uxorem*  
 he.NOM she.ACC take.MPASS.PRS.IND.3SG spouse.ACC  
 ‘He will marry her’ (lit. ‘he is taken her as his spouse’)  
 (*Codex Vercell.* Cap. 192)

In some late texts the passive as a strategy at times may be abandoned in favour of the active (Svennung, 1935: 460; Herman, 2002; Hageman, 2006), as witnessed in the *Liber Historia Francorum* (eighth century AD), a chronicle whose anonymous author in some passages replaces the synthetic passive of the original passages taken from Gregory of Tours (sixth century AD). Thus, the passive *celebrari* ‘be celebrated’ in the original passage from Gregory of Tours (11) is changed into the active *celebrare* ‘celebrate’ (12) with overt expression of the Agent (*sanctus Mamertus*), which is provided in the text even though it is missing in the original passage (Herman, 2002; also Svennung, 1935: 460; recently Adams, 2013: 718, n. 6 for a critical discussion of the issue and Cennamo, 2016: 968).

- (11) (original passage with passive)  
*dum missarum celebrantur sollemnia* (Greg., II, 34 (98, 2))  
 while Mass.GEN.PL celebrate.IMPF.PASS.3PL solemnity.PL.NEUT  
 ‘While Masses were celebrated’ (lit. ‘While the (customary) liturgy of the Mass was celebrated’)
- (12) (new passage with active and overt Agent)  
*dum missarum sacrificia ....celebraret* (sc. *sanctus Mamertus*)  
 while Mass.GEN.PL sacrifice.PL.NEUT celebrate.IMPF.ACT.SUBJ.3SG  
 ‘While he (sc. saint Mamertus) celebrated Masses’  
 (LHF 16 (266, 20)) (Herman, 2002)

The Late Latin data, therefore, point to the functional disruption of voice forms (Cennamo, 1998, 2001a, 2001b; Herman, 2002), with uncertainties in their use revealing a deep restructuring in the encoding of voice in the spoken language. However, the functions of the passive forms are only occasionally replaced by passive verbal periphrases and the *se*+active pattern, since the new voice systems are not yet organized into coherent paradigms. Whereas the active-as-passive is subsequently lost and only testifies to the temporary loss of the grammatical dimension of voice, the reflexive-as-passive function will evolve into a new voice system in the transition to Romance (§ 5).

## 2.2 Equivalences among voice forms and changes in argument linking / marking

Thus, as a result of the equivalences and interchangeability among voice forms, formally (i.e., morphologically / syntactically), passive structures came to have an ambiguous interpretation, both in the *infectum* and in the *perfectum*, being susceptible to a canonical passive reading as well as to an active reading. Conversely, formally active structures came to occur with a passive function in some texts.

The use of the *passive-as-active* function and of the *active-as-passive* function indeed signals a violation of the canonical rules for the assignment of grammatical functions to the arguments of a verb, so-called linking rules: the active morphology no longer consistently signals an A argument in subject function, and, vice versa, the passive morphology no longer always signals an O argument in subject function, as in canonical active and passive sentences, respectively (Cennamo 2001a, 2001b).

In Late Latin, the ambiguity of interpretation of a passive form (e.g., *amatus est* ‘he was loved / he has been loved/ he is a loved man’), therefore, was no longer confined to the *perfectum*, and it no longer involved only temporal-aspectual

distinctions, as in Early and Classical Latin. Since also the active may be found in passive function, ambiguity now also came to concern the assignment of grammatical functions to the arguments of verbs (O in subject function with active morphology, as in (7a) *petens ut ... liberaret* (= *liberaretur*) ‘asking to be set free’, and A/S in subject function with passive morphology, as illustrated in (10c) *ille eam dugatur* (= *ducat*)... *uxorem* ‘he will take her as his spouse’. When the coding of verbal arguments began to follow an active-inactive and subsequently ‘neutral’ alignment, as witnessed by the use of the accusative in ‘subject’ function (to mark initially So (13a), subsequently and more rarely, A participants (13b) (Plank, 1985; Cennamo 2001a, 2001b, int. al.), the ambiguity of the constructions came to affect the identification of the role of verbal arguments (A / O status) (Cennamo 2001a, 2001b, 2009), as witnessed in (13c), from a sixth century Gallic inscription (see Pirson, 1901: 189; and discussion in Cennamo 2011a: 185; 2011b: 304).

- (13) a. *crepitavit panem in furno* (Agnell. 175)  
 crackle.PRF.IND.3SG bread.ACC in oven.ABL  
 ‘Bread crackled in the oven’
- b. *fontem vero ... quater in anno colorem*  
 spring.ACC in-fact four-times in year.ABL colour.ACC  
*mutat*  
 change.PRES.IND.3SG  
 ‘The colour of the spring-water changes in fact ... four times a year’  
 (Per. Arth. Excerpta; Rovai 2005: 81)
- c. *Theodovaldo lapide(m) non*  
 Theodovaldus.DAT / ACC / ABL the-gravestone.ACC not  
*revolvatur* (Pirson, 1901: 189)  
 turn-over.MPASS.SUBJV.3SG  
 ‘One should not turn Theodovaldus’ gravestone (O) over / ‘Theodovaldus’ gravestone (S<sub>O</sub>) should not be turned over’

### 2.3 Changes in the referential domain of SE

In Late and Medieval Latin, with attestations from as early as the second century AD, the reflexive morpheme was no longer restricted to third person sg./pl. participants only, but it was also found with first person (14a) and second person plural (more rarely also the second person singular) reference, sometimes owing to Greek influence, as in (14b). It was even extended to first person singular reference (14c), with earlier (third to fourth century AD) examples from the inscriptions for this use (Svennung, 1935: 315ff; Cennamo 1993b: 58).

- (14) a. *inter se singuli dissimiles invenimur*  
 between themselves each different find.MPASS.PRS.IND.1PL  
 ‘We find ourselves different from each other’  
 (Min. Fel. 18.15; II AD) (*se = nos*)
- b. *Attendite se ipsis*  
 pay-attention.IMPER.2PL RFL yourselves.DAT.PL  
 ‘Pay attention to yourselves’ (Itala, act. 20, 28 [cod. e])
- c. *Ego ... Adhalarodus ... recogitans se*  
 I Adhalarodus think.PRS.PTCP RFL  
 ‘I Adhalarodus ... thinking ...’  
 (Tardif, N: R. 59; VIII AD, France) (*se = me*)

Thus, in Late Latin *SE* comes to refer to the Speech Act Participants (SAPs) which appear to be part of its referential domain already by the third to fourth century AD, as witnessed by the above examples (see Cennamo, 1991b: 16–17 and 1993b for the early Italo-Romance continuants of these structures).

In the same period, *SE* is also found in non-reflexive, (anaphoric) pronominal function (15), whereby it becomes equivalent to the third person anaphoric-deictic pronoun *is* ‘he’ (Cennamo, 1991b: 17; 1993b: 60).

- (15) ... *Maura coniux Bonifaci ... quae ... fui (= fuit) secum*  
 Maura wife Bonifacius.GEN who be.PST RFL.with  
 (= cum eo) annos XX  
 years twenty  
 ‘... Maura ... who lived with him for twenty years’ (lit. ‘was with him’)  
 (ILCV 1326)

The above innovations, involving the widening and lexicalization of the referential domain of the reflexive morpheme as well as its pronominal function, will pave the way for the acquisition of the impersonal / indefinite function of the continuators of Latin *SE* in Italo-Romance, with *SE* becoming an indefinite pronoun in some varieties (Cennamo 1993a, 1993b; 2014), a change that is not attested in Late Latin and that does not fall under the domain of voice and the parameters affecting it (see also Cennamo, 2014). I intend to explore this issue from a diachronic pan-Romance perspective in future work (see Cennamo, 2016 for a synchronic overview).

### 3. Steps in the auxiliarization of lexical verbs in the transition to Romance: *Fieri* and *facere*

One of the outcomes of the deep restructuring in the encoding of voice distinctions and its interaction with the rise of active-inactive / neutral alignment patterns, illustrated in § 2, is the development of new constructions to convey the different temporal-aspectual nuances within the imperfective-perfective spectrum, especially *fieri* ‘become’+PP (in imperfective passive function), and *facere* ‘do / make’+PP (in perfective passive function) (Cennamo, 2006, 2018). The former is a Late Latin phenomenon, the latter witnesses instead a Romance innovation, only attested in eleventh to thirteenth-century Logudorese Sardinian texts and disappearing in subsequent centuries (Cennamo, 2003, 2018). Both periphrases exemplify the different outcomes of the persistence of the semantic parameters of animacy and aspect, both compositional and lexical, in shaping the voice domain in the passage to Romance.

#### 3.1 *Fieri* ‘become’ as a voice marker

The passive function of the verb *fieri* ‘become’ (also used as the lexical passive of the verb *facere* ‘do, make’ in early and Classical Latin) + the past participle of a lexical verb is well attested in late Latin in fourth-century texts. It is found only in imperfective tenses (present indicative / subjunctive) (16a), alternating with the canonical synthetic (imperfective) passive, the –R form. (16b). The analytic passive BE (*esse*) + PP is also occasionally found in imperfective function (16c), apparently confined to the present indicative / subjunctive (Svennung, 1935: 457–58; Winters, 1984 and recent discussion in Danckaert 2016, int. al.), sometimes in one and the same text, as shown in (16a–c), from the *Peregrinatio Aetherae* (second half of the fourth century AD). *Fieri* ‘become’ as a passive auxiliary is found initially with [–An] subjects (16a), later also with [+An] ones (16d) (ninth century AD) (Svennung, 1935: 459; Hofmann, Leumann & Szantyr, 1965: § 211; Cennamo, 2005, 2006).

- (16) a. *interpositae*                      *orationes*                      *fiunt*                      (*Per. Aeth.* 35, 6)  
 intersperse.PP.F.PL.NOM prayer.PL.NOM become.PRS.IND.3PL  
 ‘Prayers are being / get interspersed’ (lit. become interspersed)
- b. *interponuntur*                      *orationes*                      (*Per. Aeth.* 37, 6)  
 intersperse-MPASS.PRS.IND.3PL prayer.PL.NOM  
 ‘Prayers are being / get interspersed’

- c. *ut forsitan... gemitus populi omnis auditus*  
 that perhaps the-moan crowd.GEN all.GEN hear.PP.M.SG  
*sit* (Per. Aeth. 36, 3)  
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG  
 ‘That perhaps the moan of the whole crowd is heard’
- d. *fiat recompensatus.* (Lex Cur. 442, 31)  
 become.PRS.SBJV.3SG reward.PP.M.SG.NOM  
 ‘That he be rewarded’

In the auxiliarization process of the verb *feri* the structure of the clause changes and the two predicates, originally two different constituents, merge into one: the lexical verb becomes a tense-aspect marker, and the original complement (e.g., a non-finite verbal complement) becomes the main verb (i.e., the lexical verb), as illustrated in (17) (Heine, 1993: 53; Harris & Campbell, 1995: 172–173).

- (17) *carnes [coctae] [fiunt] > [coctae fiunt]*  
 meat-PL cook.PP.PL.F become.3PL cook.PP.PL.F become.3PL  
 [complement] [lexical verb] > [lexical verb aux]  
 ‘Meat becomes / is / gets cooked’

Two different and at some point converging paths or ‘chains’ can be identified: an initial stage in which the verb *feri* and the copula *esse* can be used interchangeably (Svennung, 1935: 460), with *feri* coming to denote a quality that is not the outcome of a process, as shown in (18), and a subsequent step, where the copula *feri* gets integrated into the verbal paradigm, a process referred to in the literature as ‘extension’ (Andersen, 2001: 230) or ‘expansion’ (Heine & Reh 1982: 38–39), becoming a TAM marker, with O orientation (i.e., a passive auxiliary), so-called *copula auxiliarization* (Dik, 1987: 57; Cennamo, 2019 for a recent discussion).

The change is well attested in fourth-century texts (e.g., *Mulomedicina Chironis*) and even more so in later texts, as shown in (18), from the tenth century AD (Cennamo, 2005, 2006), continuing in early Romance vernaculars (Cennamo, 2005, 2006 and § 4):

- (18) *fiat ei fermum et stabilem* (Cod. Cajet. 906)  
 become-PRS.SBJV.3SG he.DAT firm-ACC and stable-ACC  
 ‘That it be firm and stable to him (De Bartholomaeis, 1902: § 73)

At a subsequent stage, a change occurs in the nature of the complement, from adjective / noun (19a) to verbal adjective (19b) and then verbal participle (19c):

- (19) a. *tumor durus fit* (‘the swelling becomes hard’) > b. *caro cocta fit* (‘meat becomes / is / gets cooked’) > c. *provincia gubernata fit* ‘the territory gets governed’

Stage (b), where the past participle is formed from an accomplishment verb (e.g., *coquere* ‘cook’) is ambiguous between a two-constituent and a one-constituent analysis, owing to the possible ambiguity of the past participle (adjectival vs verbal). This ambiguity arises from the aspectual nature of the lexical verb from which the past participle is formed (e.g., accomplishment *coquere* ‘cook’), and is resolved by the syntactic context. In contrast, no ambiguity arises when the past participle is formed from an activity verb (e.g., *gubernare* ‘control, govern’, which only has a verbal function) (see also Cennamo, 2005, 2019).

### 3.2 Latin antecedents of *facere* ‘do, make’ passive

In late Latin the verb *facere* ‘do, make’ also occurs in copular function, as shown in (20a–b):

- (20) a. *remedium optime facit... si*  
 remedy.NEUT excellent.NEUT make.PRS.IND.3SG if  
 ‘It makes (=is) an excellent remedy if...’ (Colum.60,15,1) (I AD)
- b. *bonum aerem facit*  
 good.M.ACC weather.M.ACC make.PRS.IND.3SG  
 (*Vitae Patrum* 5, 11, 51; Hofmann, Leumann & Szantyr, 1965: § 416)  
 ‘It is good weather’ (lit. ‘(it) makes good weather’)

*Facere* is also found in patterns where it is equivalent to the verb *feri*, in all its uses, as illustrated in (21a–b), exemplifying, respectively, the fientive and intransitive usage (see also Meyer-Lübke, 1902: 51–52).

- (21) a. *lacrimosum oculum faciet... (= fiet) et*  
 tearful.ACC eye.ACC make.FUT.3SG become.FUT.3SG and  
*extumidior (fientive) fit*  
 swollen.COMP.NOM become.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Its eye will become (lit. will-make) tearful... and becomes more swollen’  
 (*Mul. Ch.* 70)
- b. *tumores in capite faciunt (= fiunt)*  
 swelling.NOM.PL on head.ABL make.PRS.3PL become/arise.PRS.3PL  
 ‘Swellings appear (lit. make) on its head’

An analogous equivalence *feri/facere* can also be hypothesized for the auxiliary use of *feri* in anticausative / passive function (22a), with *facere* replacing *feri* in a pattern such as *coctus fit* ‘it cooks/is cooked’, as shown in (22b) *coctus fiet*, (already found in texts from the Imperial age, e.g., Petronius, *Satyricon*, first century AD), and the corresponding intransitive form of the type *facere* + predicative past





cleavage in the Latin verbal system between imperfective and perfective verbal forms (see also Cennamo, 2006).

Both changes involve a stage where *fieri* and *facere* became functionally equivalent to the canonical copula, *esse*. A later, subsequent step, where the copula acquired further grammatical meanings, becoming fully integrated into the tense-aspect-mood and person marking system of the language, the so-called *copula auxiliarization* (Dik, 1987: 57; Cennamo, 2005, 2006, 2019 for late Latin), is well documented for *fieri*, and involves a change in the complement of the verb, from noun / adjective to past participle. The passive interpretation of the pattern was triggered by a change in the aspectual classes of verbs in the participial form, from accomplishments to activities. Unlike *fieri*, the verb *facere* does not occur as a passive auxiliary in Late Latin, but shows desemanticized uses in which *fieri* is equivalent to the copula *esse* 'be' and to the corresponding lexical passive / intransitive *fieri* 'be done/become, arise'.

#### 4. Auxiliaries and voice in Old Italo-Romance

Continuators of late Latin *fieri* 'become' and *facere* 'do / make' in early Italo-Romance (e.g., Old Venetian (*fir*), Old Lombard (*fi*), Old Tuscan (*fir*)) and in Old Logudorese Sardinian (*facere*), exhibit the persistence of the parameters affecting the use of these verbs as voice markers and / or copulas from late Latin.

##### 4.1 \**Fire* 'become' + PP

The construction \**fire* + PP (and its variants) in several northern Italo-Romance vernaculars displays the same function as its late Latin antecedent *fieri* + PP, with the verb \**fire* occurring as a marker of imperfective passive, attested only as a subjunctive / future in Old Florentine (23a) and a present / imperfect indicative in Old Venetian (23b). In Old Lombard, on the other hand, \**fire* is the most common passive auxiliary, alternating with *essere*-passives, and it occurs in all tenses except the past perfect and the gerundive (23c) (Cennamo, 2003).

- (23) a. *non ne fia mai nessuno ingannato*  
 not of-them become.PRS.FUT.3SG ever nobody deceive.PP.M.SG  
 'None of them will ever be deceived' (Old Florentine)  
 (Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle*, XIV, Pernicone, 1946: LXVII. 85)
- b. *el qual fi dito esser stado santo homo*  
 the which become.PRS.3SG say.PP.M.SG be.INF be.PP.M.SG holy man  
 'Who is said to have been a holy man' (Old Venetian)  
 (*Cronica*, XIV, Ceruti, 1878: 228. 58b)

- c. *Tu fi' metua sot pei e fi'*  
 you become.PRS.2SG put.PP.F.SG under feet and become.PRS.2SG  
*fagia morir* (Old Lombard)  
 make.PP.F.SG die.INF  
 'You are trampled upon and are made to die'  
 (Bonvesin, *Disp.*, XIII, Contini, 1937: 32. 98)

\**Fire* is also found in copular function in Old Venetian, Old Lombard (17a), Old Tuscan (17b), and other early Italo-Romance varieties.

- (24) a. *plu\_tost firav fastidio*  
 rather be.PRS.FUT.3SG bother  
 (Bonvesin, XIII, *De quinq. Curial.*, XIII, Contini, 1937: 59, 123)  
 'It will rather bother him' (lit. 'rather it will be a nuisance')
- b. *le genti fiano ora tutte nuove*  
 the people be.PRS.3PL now all new  
 (Novellino, XIII, Conte, 2001: XX1. 28)  
 'The people are now different' (lit. 'the people are now all new')

#### 4.2 *Faker* 'make / do'+PP

In eleventh to thirteenth-century Logudorese Sardinian texts (but not at a later time) the verb *faker* 'make / do' also appears as a passive auxiliary, although only in the third person singular / plural, the perfect (*fekit*: 3rd singular -*fekerun*: 3rd plural) (25a), and the pluperfect (*fekerat*: 3rd singular) (25b). It only marks a perfective passive, occurring, most typically, with human subjects. This construction dies out in later centuries, replaced by BE+PP in its double compound participial, *stato*-form) (25c). It shows a type of grammaticalization involving the desemanticization and decategorialization of the lexical verb *faker*, as it turns into an auxiliary (i.e., a TAM marker) (Blasco Ferrer, 1995; Cennamo, 2003, 2007, 2018).

- (25) a. *ki fekerun datos a Mariane de Capathennor*  
 that do.PRF.3PL give.PP.PL.M to Marianus of Capathennor  
 'that were given to Marianus of Capathennor' (CSNT 270, 1)
- b. *ca non fekerat pettita s'ankilla de scu. Petru*  
 that not had-done ask.for.PP.S.F. the-servant of saint Peter  
 'Because S. Peter's servant had not been asked for' (CSPS 33, 5–6)
- c. *est istadu dadu cumandamentu* (RSPS 3, 2)  
 be.PRS.IND.3SG be.PP.M.SG give.PP.M.SG order  
 'It has been ordered' (lit.'is been given order')

The verb *faker* also occurs as a copula, as in (26a), a function that is also attested in other early vernaculars, such as Old Campidanese (26b).

- (26) a. (Gosantine de Thori) ... *fegi malabitu* (CSNT 218, 2)  
 Gosantine of Thori do.PRF.3SG ill.SG.M  
 “Gosantine of Thori was ill”
- b. *Jurgia Cucu* ... *aligando muniaria non fegit* (CV 13, 10)  
 Jurgia Cucu never servant not do.PRF.3SG  
 “Jurgia Cucu was never a servant”

Two stages can be identified for the auxiliarization of the continuants of the Latin verb *facere*: (i) the establishment of equivalence between *facere* and the copula *esse*, as seen in other Late Latin passive periphrases (e.g., *fieri* / *venire* +PP) (Cennamo, 2005, 2019), (ii) the auxiliarization of this copula, becoming a TAM marker with O-orientation, its passive function stemming from a change in the nature of the verbal complement, from noun / adjective (as in its copular / fientive function) to past participle, as illustrated in (27):

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| (27) a. <i>tumor maturus facit</i> /<br><i>equus sanus facit</i><br>(= <i>fit=est</i> ) ‘the swell-<br>ing becomes / is soft<br>/ the horse heals’ | b. * <i>carnes coctae faciunt</i><br>(= <i>fiunt</i> ) (=coquuntur)<br>‘meat becomes / is / gets<br>cooked’ (* <i>carnes coctae</i><br><i>fecerunt</i> (= <i>coctae sunt</i> )) > | c. <i>ancilla fekit pettita</i><br>‘the servant was<br>asked for’ (lit. ‘the<br>servant did / made<br>asked for’) (O.<br>Logudorese) |
|--|---|--|

Stage (a) results from the equivalence *facere* / *esse* / *fieri* and exemplifies the copular and fientive uses of *facere*; at stage (b) (hypothesized) (cf. § 3.2) the pattern would be ambiguous between an anticausative and a passive interpretation (i.e., between a spontaneous and an externally caused reading). The trigger of *faker* as a passive (stage c) appears to be a change in the classes of verbs occurring in the construction, initially confined to telic verbs denoting change of state (e.g., Latin *coquere* ‘cook’) (i.e., accomplishments) (stage b), with which the pattern may be interpreted either as a spontaneous or as an induced process, depending on the context. Finally, it extends to atelic / non-inherently telic verbs (e.g., activities / active accomplishments), where the spontaneous interpretation (i.e., anticausative function) is impossible, and an external human causer is implied (passive function), as in (27c).

Thus, although similar in their steps and paths of development, the continuators of Latin *fieri* and *facere* end up covering two opposite poles along the temporal-aspectual spectrum, the imperfective and perfective ones, respectively, showing how an original aspectual split continues to operate in Romance, conveyed by different structures, but performing the same functions.

## 5. The reanalysis of SE as a voice modulator in early (Italo-)Romance and Old Logudorese Sardinian

Just as the renovated analytic passive structures of late Latin develop into new passive constructions in Romance by means of a process of persistence-through-divergence, so also does the extension of the reflexive morpheme SE to passive function occur in early Italo-Romance; by contrast, its impersonal / indefinite function represents innovative invigoration of ancient categories and developments.

Animacy and aspect, which model the encoding of voice in early Italo-Romance and Old Logudorese Sardinian passive auxiliary formation (§§ 3–4), also play an essential role in the employment of the reflexive strategy in passive and impersonal / indefinite function alongside a new reliance on the person hierarchy, a semantic parameter emerging in some Late Latin uses of the reflexive/middle patterns (§ 2.3), where SE occurs with first and second person reference, thereby coming to include both speaker and hearer (i.e., the Speech Act Participants) in its referential domain. The degree of grammaticalization of this feature manifests itself in the different distribution of impersonal / indefinite SE, as revealed by the investigation of eleventh to fifteenth-century texts from different geographical areas (see Cennamo, 2014 for a thorough discussion and further references). Evidence for this innovation from the early Italo-Romance varieties and from Old Logudorese Sardinian is presented in the following sections.

### 5.1 Old Venetian

In Old Venetian the reflexive-as-passive function is well attested most typically with inanimate subjects and the order S(ubject) *se* V(erb) (28a), which favours the passive, O-oriented interpretation. This is the only sequence attested in texts such as *Testi Veneziani* of the thirteenth to fourteenth century. Very few examples with animate S are found. The *se* V S sequence favours the impersonal interpretation (28b), the different distribution of S generally reflecting its given vs. new informational status. The use of impersonal/indefinite SE has a low occurrence and is confined to bivalent verbs with a latent object (28c) (see Cennamo, 2000, 2014: 84–85 for a full discussion).

- (28) a. *voio che le dite chase se*  
 want.PRS.IND.1SG that the afore.mentioned houses RFL  
*afita<sup>6</sup> tute*  
 rent.PRS.IND.3 ALL  
 ‘I want all the aforementioned houses to be let’ (lit. ‘that they rent themselves’)  
 (*Testi Ven.* 29,v)

6. Already in Old Venetian texts the third person singular / plural have identical endings, a phenomenon characteristic of contemporary Venetian and several Venetan dialects.

- b. *avanti che se paga sta dota*  
 before that RFL pay.PRS.IND.3 this dowry  
 (*Cedola di Marco Michel*, 112.22; Cennamo, 2014: 85)  
 ‘Before this dowry is paid/one pays/they pay this dowry’ (lit. ‘this dowry pays itself’)
- c. ... *chom se leze in la ecclesiastica ystoria*  
 CONJ RFL read.PRS.3SG/ PL in the ecclesiastical history  
 ‘... As one reads in the ecclesiastical history’ (lit. ‘as it reads itself’)  
 (*Cronica* 234, 64)

In early texts, on the other hand, there are no examples of impersonal *se* with monovalent verbs. Such uses appear to be confined to fixed phrases, as with the verbs *convenire* ‘be advisable’, *contenere* ‘contain, state’, *deser* ‘become’, sometimes preceded by expletive *el* ‘it’ and its variants in Old Venetian as well as in Old Lombard and Old Florentine, often alternating with non-reflexive forms. In these patterns the reflexive has a pleonastic function, as in (29) (Cennamo, 2014: 84).

- (29) *eno se coviene a celar senpre mai lo*  
 and-not RFL be-advisable.PRS.3SG/PL to hide.INF always ever the  
*secreto amor*  
 secret love  
 ‘And it is never advisable to hide one’s secret love’ (*Panfilo* 229, 753)

SE in impersonal/indefinite function only occurs in simplex tenses, in imperfective verb forms (present, imperfect indicative / subjunctive / future). It is not attested with monovalent verbs until the mid- to late- fourteenth century, as shown in (30), and it always refers to an indefinite human participant which does not include the speaker (cf. also Wehr, 1995: 106).

- (30) *la calle che se va in Riolto Novo*  
 the street that RFL goes to Riolto new  
 ‘The small street through which one goes / people go to Riolto Novo’  
 (*Capitolare* 124, 58.18–19)

## 5.2 Old Lombard

Also in Old Lombard SE is well attested in passive/impersonal function, with [ $\pm$  An] subjects and both word orders, S *se* V/*se* V S (albeit the S *se* V structure with [–An] subject is the most frequent one), with varying distribution, according to the area. The reflexive morpheme may signal an indefinite participant, which may comprise the speaker, as in (31), from Old Comasco. SE is also found with monovalent verbs, both unergatives and unaccusatives, in simple (imperfective) tenses only, as in (32), from an Old Pavese text:

- (31) *anchor quando nu voloma provar una vigna... guarderemo nu*  
 furthermore when we want.PRS.1PL assess a vineyard see.FUT.1PL we  
*s'el' a longhi filagni... Per lo semegliante se contempla*  
 if-it have.PRS.3SG long rows for the resembling RFL contemplates  
*e guarda l'oliva e g'altri arbori fruteveli*  
 and see.PRS.3SG the-olive-tree and the-others fruit-trees  
 'Furthermore when we want to assess a vineyard ... we shall see whether it  
 has long rows (of vines)... Similarly, one looks at the olive trees and the other  
 fruit-trees' (Passione 5, 37)
- (32) *ma per le citae se çeva pur peçorando*  
 but through the city RFL go.IMPF.3SG also get-worse.GER  
 'But in the town things were also getting worse' (Grisostomo 40, 30)

### 5.3 Old Florentine

In Old Florentine passive/impersonal *SE*, occurring with [ $\pm$  An] subjects and in both *S si V/si V S* orders, with a preference for the sequence *si V S* (favouring an impersonal interpretation) with [+An] *S*) (Cennamo, 2014: 87), is also found in structures with the overt expression of the Agent, through a prepositional phrase (33), a construction unknown to Latin:

- (33) *venne al porto ... lo quale si tenea per lo*  
 come.PST.3SG to.the harbour the which RFL keep.IMPF.IND.3SG by the  
*re Carlo*  
 king Charles  
 'He arrived at the harbour that had been conquered by King Charles'  
 (Cronica fior., 146. rr.10–11)

*SE* in impersonal/indefinite function is well attested with bivalent verbs (34a), also with examples with the verb in the 3rd person singular and a non-agreeing post-verbal nominal, as in (34b):

- (34) a. *e cchosi s' ordinò e fece*  
 and thus RFL order.PST.3SG and do.PST.3SG  
 'And so they (indef.) ordered and did'  
 (Distruzione di Troia 157, rr. 24–25)
- b. *si dea soldi xl (40) a' poveri*  
 RFL give.SBJV.PRS.3SG denarius 40 to the-poor  
 'They (indef.) / one should give forty denarius to the poor'  
 (Compagnia di S. M. del Carmine, 65, rr. 31–32)

In early thirteenth century Florentine texts, there are no examples of impersonal *si* with monovalent verbs; these become well attested, however, by the end of that century (e.g., Dante) and in the next century (e.g., Boccaccio), with both unaccusatives and unergatives, also with overt expression of the agent, as in (35):

- (35) *non vuol che'n sua città per me si vegna*  
 not want.PRS.3SG that-in his town by me RFL come.PRS.SUBJV.3SG  
 'He does not want me to come to his town' (lit. 'by me one comes to his town')  
 (Dante, *Inf.* I, vv. 125ss)

In Old Tuscan, e.g., in the *Milione* (end of the thirteenth-early fourteenth century), impersonal/indefinite *si* also occurs in compound tenses, alternating with the MAN strategy, *l'uomo* 'the man' (36 a,b) (Wehr, 1995: 156):

- (36) a. *quando si è ito uno die e una notte, si*  
 when RFL be.PRS.3SG go.PP.M.SG one day and one night RFL  
*truova acqua*  
 find.PRS.IND.3SG water  
 'When one has gone for one day and night, one finds water' (*Milione*, 62)  
 b. *quando l'uomo è ito tre giorni* (id. 168)  
 when the-man be.PRS.3SG go.PP.M.SG three days  
 'When one has gone for three days'

As for the interpretation of impersonal *si*, it has both a generic and an indeterminate / existential (both exclusive and inclusive) reading and it may refer to both speaker and hearer / interlocutor (37).

- (37) *Demoli ... a Iacopo Lanberti, ke lisi*  
 give.PST.IND-they.ACC to Iacopo Lanberti that they.ACC-RFL  
*scontò de' denari che ci dee dare*  
 deduct.PST.IND.3SG of-the denarius that we.DAT must.PRS.IND.3SG give.INF  
 'We gave them (sc. the money) to Iacopo Lanberti, money that was deducted  
 from the denarius that he owes us' (Ricordi: 33 p. 223)

#### 5.4 Old Neapolitan

In Old Neapolitan SE frequently occurs in passive/impersonal function with [ $\pm$  An] subjects and both word orders, S *se* V/*se* V S. It also appears with the overt expression of the agent, introduced by the prepositions *da/per* 'by' (38a), with a prevalence of simple tenses and imperfective verb forms, and a higher frequency with a preverbal S (Cennamo, 2014: 89).



- (38) a. *azò che da tuti li Troyani se potessero (sc. li corpi)*  
 so.that that by all the Trojans RFL can.SBJV.3PL the bodies  
*resguardare* (Destructione de Troya 230, r. 2)  
 watch.INF  
 ‘So that their bodies could be seen by all the Trojans’

In impersonal function, with monovalent verbs *SE* is mainly found with unaccusatives denoting telic change of location (e.g., *gire* ‘go’, *andare* ‘go’, *scendere* ‘go down’) and, less frequently, unergatives (e.g., *parlare* ‘talk’).

- (38) b. *a quista insula non se nce poteva gire se non per mare*  
 to this isle not RFL there can.PST.3SG go.INF if not by sea  
 ‘One could only reach this island by sea’ (Destructione de Troya 51, r.2)

Impersonal / indefinite *SE* only occurs in imperfective tenses. As regards its reference, it refers to an unspecified human participant who is not the speaker / narrator; it never alternates with the 1st plural, but only with the 3rd plural, at times the 2nd person singular, displaying either a generic or an indeterminate/existential non-inclusive interpretation (Ledgeway, 2009: 672–674; Cennamo, 2014: 92).

## 5.5 Old Logudorese Sardinian

There are no examples of impersonal / indefinite reflexives with monovalent verbs in the eleventh to fourteenth-century texts of Old Logudorese Sardinian; these forms are only attested in fourteenth to fifteenth-century texts. There, passive / impersonal *si* also occurs with animate subjects (39a), occasionally in perfective tenses (39b), albeit only with bivalent verbs. With monovalent verbs impersonal / indefinite *si* occurs mainly with unaccusatives like *andare* ‘go’, in imperfective tenses, and always with a non-referential, non-inclusive interpretation (39c).

- (39) a. *qui non si podiat hobligare senza licentia desu*  
 who not RFL can.PRS.SBJV.3SG force.INF without permission of.the  
*p[re]ladu* (RSPS 81, 5)  
 priest?  
 ‘Who cannot be force/one cannot force without his priest’s permission’
- b. *qui pius non si li siat dadu termen ...*  
 that ever not RFL he.DAT be.SBJV.3SG give.PP.M.SG temporal.limit  
 ‘That one has never given him the temporal limit ...’ (id. 305, 5)
- c. *fina assa uia per issa quale se uat ad Osilo*  
 as.far.as to.the path through it which RFL go.PRS.IND.3SG to Osilo  
 ‘As far as the path through which one goes to Osilo’ (SRS, 8, r.5)

In Old Logudorese Sardinian, therefore, impersonal / indefinite *si* only has a generic, non-inclusive interpretation.

## 5.6 Summary

Whereas passive / impersonal *SE* is well attested in all the early varieties investigated – most typically with [–An] subjects, more rarely and at a later stage with [+An] ones, with both *S SE V* and *SE V S* order, (according to the given vs new status of *S*) – impersonal / indefinite *SE* shows an uneven distribution within and across the varieties, which appears to reflect the gradual acquisition of the existential / indefinite inclusive interpretation of *SE* in some early Italo-Romance vernaculars, with different degrees of grammaticalization. This process was more advanced in Old Florentine and Old Lombard, where impersonal / indefinite *SE* could have both a generic and indeterminate/existential (inclusive/ exclusive) reading. By contrast, *SE* had only a non-inclusive interpretation in Old Neapolitan (both generic and existential) and Old Logudorese Sardinian (where impersonal / indefinite *SE*, in fact, has only a generic reference). In Old Venetian, on the other hand, the inclusive interpretation of the impersonal / indefinite use of the reflexive morpheme was a subsequent development.

## 5.7 The origin of impersonal / indefinite *SE* in Italo-Romance

The existence of a correlation between the use of the reflexive in impersonal / indefinite function and its (inclusive / non-inclusive) interpretation suggests that the spread of the reflexive morpheme in impersonal / indefinite patterns reflects the presence / absence of the 1st person plural participant in its referential domain and its degree of grammaticalization, a hypothesis also confirmed by the synchronic distribution of impersonal/indefinite *SE* in Italo-Romance. Florentine (and Tuscan dialects) used a different strategy, the third person plural, rather than impersonal *si*+active<sub>3SG</sub> – nowadays functioning as the first person plural ending (e.g., Fl. *si va RFL go.PRS.IND.3SG* = *andiamo go.PRS.IND.1PL* ‘we go’) – if the speaker was excluded from the universe of discourse (Cennamo, 2014: 82 and references therein).

We can identify at least two possible sources of the impersonal / indefinite reflexive in Italo-Romance, which led to its subsequent reanalysis as an indefinite pronoun with a variable referential status and generic / existential reference: (i) the gradual widening of its referential scope in reflexive / middle function, attested in Latin by the second to third century AD, whereby *SE* comes to include the first and second person participants (*se* = *nos* ‘we’) (40a), (ii) its anaphoric pronominal use (*se* = *is* ‘he, it’) (40b) (Cennamo 1991a; 1991b, 1993a: 81; 2014: 93–94 and § 2.3).

- (40) a. (= 14a) *inter se (= nos) singuli dissimiles invenimur*  
 between RFL (we.ACC) each different find.MPASS.PRS.1PL  
 ‘We find ourselves different from each other’ (Min. Fel. 18,15) (II AD)
- b. *ipsi... sibi (= ei) crediderunt*  
 they RFL.DAT (he.DAT) believe.PST.IND.3PL  
 ‘They trusted him’ (Trad. Frising. 553; Cennamo 1991b: 8)

Thus, the impersonal / indefinite use of the reflexive morpheme with one-argument verbs and the various types of impersonal patterns in which *SE* occurs in the diachronic data investigated appear to be related to a series of changes where the Person hierarchy is one of the features involved.

## 6. Conclusions

The analysis of the paths and patterns of actualization of some aspects of the new systems of voice arising in the transition from Latin to Romance reveals the persistence of the semantic parameters of aspect and animacy in the encoding of voice as well as a divergence with respect to Latin. With the rise of a new semantic parameter, the person hierarchy, signalled by the widening of the referential domain of *SE*, the reflexive morpheme came to refer to the SAPs in late Latin, also occurring in (anaphoric) pronominal function. These changes paved the way for future Romance developments and their differentiation as regards the use of *SE* as an impersonal / indefinite strategy, an innovation that appears to reflect the presence / lack of the SAPs in its referential domain. This trend will be investigated in future work for its wider Romance implications.

The persistence of the notions of animacy and aspect is apparent in the rise and distribution of passive constructions, analysed for the changes affecting the lexical verbs *BECOME*, *MAKE* and for the use of the reflexive as a voice marker in the passage to from Latin to Romance. Indeed, the data investigated point to the existence of a multifaceted semantic and syntactic space in the voice domains investigated, characterized by different types and degrees of desemanticization and decategorialization, molded by the animacy of the verbal core arguments and by the internal temporal constituency of eventualities, i.e., lexical aspect, interacting with the completion / perfectivity of the situation described by the verb in a clause.

More specifically, evidence has been provided for the following claims:

1. The grammaticalization of change of state verbs such as *feri* ‘become’ and activity verbs such as *facere* ‘do / make’, involves a stage where they equal the copula *esse* ‘be’;

2. The passive function of the constructions *feri / facere* + PP appears to be a subsequent stage, involving copula auxiliarization, and triggered by a change of the aspectual classes of the lexical verbs occurring in participial forms in these periphrases. When they no longer belong to achievements / accomplishments, but are activity verbs, the pattern has a passive interpretation, signalling an externally-caused eventuality. When the main verb (i.e., the past participle) is an achievement / accomplishment, the structure is ambiguous, varying between an anticausative (i.e., spontaneous, internally-caused) and passive (i.e., induced, externally caused) reading of the past participle.
3. The reanalysis of the reflexive morpheme as a voice modulator, from anticausative to passive, reflects the parameters of animacy and aspect, whilst its impersonal / indefinite function is related to the non-reflexive, pronominal value of SE, the widening of its referential domain, and its degree of grammaticalization, as witnessed by the early Italo-Romance and Old Logudorese Sardinian data investigated.

Although the issue needs further investigation, with a detailed analysis of variational and diachronic data from other Romance varieties, a preliminary study of the diachronic distribution of the morpheme SE as a voice marker in early Italo-Romance and Old Logudorese Sardinian confirms the role played by the interplay of animacy, aspect, and the person hierarchy in this transitivity domain (Cennamo 1993a), revealing interesting recurrent patterns, throwing a light on the possible factors involved in the rise of impersonal / indefinite SE. Whereas reflexive / middle / anticausative and passive SE are attested in most Romance languages, impersonal / indefinite SE is not equally attested and not in the same range of constructions, depending on its referential scope and its degree of grammaticalization. The languages / varieties where SE does not have an existential / inclusive interpretation either lack impersonal / indefinite SE or show a more limited use of this morpheme in this function, with other strategies being preferred, as discussed above. The data also confirm the hypothesis that passive and impersonal SE result from different diachronic paths that at some point merge: whereas passive SE continues a Late Latin pattern, expanding it with the possibility of overtly expressing the agent (albeit with a different chronology), impersonal / indefinite SE is a Romance phenomenon, not equally attested in the Romance languages and appearing at a later stage.

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## Abbreviations

ABL	ABLATIVE (CASE)	NEUT	neuter
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative (case)
ACT	active	PASS	passive
AGR	agreement	PL/pl.	plural
AN	animate	PLUPF	pluperfect
DAT	dative	PP	past participle
F	feminine	PRF	perfect
FUT	future	PRS	present
GEN	genitive	PST	past
GER	gerundive	PTCP	participle
IMPF	imperfect	RFL	reflexive
IMPER	imperative	SG/sg.	singular
IMPRS	impersonal	SBJV	subjunctive
IND	indicative	trans.	transitive
INF	infinitive	1	first person
intr.	intransitive	2	second person
Lat	Latin	3	third person
M	masculine		
MPASS	medio-passive marker – R (in middle, passive or impersonal function)		

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