
The Dialects of Italy

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Passive and impersonal constructions

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1 TRANSITIVITY

Following the scalar notion of Transitivity of Lakoff (1977), and Hopper and Thompson (1980), a sentence may be scored as more, or less, transitive, in terms of a number of parameters, such as Tense, Aspect, degree of Individuation, Affectiveness, Potency (Control), and Volitionality of the sentence nuclear participants, *S* (sole argument of one-place predicate), *A* (primary nuclear Nominal (implying *P*) of two-place predicate) and *P* (secondary nuclear Nominal (implying *A*, of a two-place predicate) (Comrie (1989: 70; 110f.)).

Following Shibatani (1985), Givón (1990: 565–72), Passive and Impersonal are points along the Detransitivization continuum, sharing the pragmatic notion of Agent-defocusing, but differing in the extent to which Agent is realized and syntactically expressed. Passive is characterized, in its core manifestation, by: P-orientation, marked verb morphology, Agent suppression, Topicalization and subjectization of a non-Agent, and perfective aspect (on which see also La Fauci (1985)). These features can be ranked along a scale of focal or core properties, with Affectiveness and Topicality of the (non-Agent) subject being least important, since they also occur in other passive-like patterns, which lie on the high end of the Transitivity continuum:

Agent-defocusing (e.g., Agent-suppression) > Stativization (perfective-resultative perspective) / Marked verb morphology ('be' + PPart. / 'have' + PPart.) > Subjectization of a non-Agent (Patient / Benefactive / Recipient, an original DO / IO) > Topicalization of non-Agent > Affectiveness of surface subject.

Passives allowing overt expression of Agent are less prototypical, because they appear merely to reorganize the core participants A, P according to discourse perspectives (see also Nocentini (1992)).

Impersonality, too, is gradient: 'core' impersonals realize the least transitive pattern – the occurrence of a state or event. The verb typically occurs in the unmarked 3sg. (Comrie (1977: 54)), sometimes preceded by a dummy pivot holder.

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Core passives and core impersonals exemplify highest Agent-defocusing, through Agent-suppression. Less prototypical impersonals involve monovalent/divalent structures, respectively S or A oriented, with S / A defocused (low in Individuation ([-def.]), but high in Volitionality and Potency. These indefinite (human) Participants (S / A) are expressed by a reflexive pronoun, or as indefinite 'one' / 'man'. Sometimes 3pl. or 2sg. verbs (1pl. if speaker is included), or the collective 'people', appear if the sentence has indefinite, generic meaning.

More peripheral impersonals, so-called *impersonal-passives* (henceforth, *impers.-pass.*), have passive verb morphology (a form of 'be' + PPart.) and defocusing of S / A (depending on whether the verb is monovalent/divalent), S / A can either be suppressed (Alam. [fo kamə'netə] 'it was walked'; Flo. *gl'è stato trovato una borsa* 'a handbag has been found'), or surfaces in a prepositional phrase (Alam. [fo / e 'steta 'fote dɔʒe da dɔʒə'wann] 'Giovanni has already left'). In some dialects *impers.-pass.* may be P-oriented, with P signalled by the reflexive morpheme and the past participle optionally agreeing with the (unexpressed) defocused P (Ven. [ko se se morse'ga(i) se 'sigal] 'when one is (they, we (indef.) are) bitten one screams'), the Agent (A) being sometimes optionally realized in a PP (Veronese ['kwando s e 'stadi sko'tadi da l'akwa 'kaldal] 'when one has been burnt by hot water').

Especially in southern varieties, the reflexive may mark *impersonal / passives* (henceforth, *impers.-or-pass.*), patterns allowing either an A-oriented (impersonal) or a P-oriented (passive) interpretation, according to context, lexical verb or tense (cf. Palmanova Friulian [i 'libris si 'vendin / si 'vendin i 'libris] 'the books are sold / one (they / we (indef.)) sell(s) the books'. See Cennamo (1984: Ch. 2; 1995); Lepšohy (1986: 143–5) for Italian).

To mark an indefinite human participant (S or A), in monovalent and divalent verbs, some dialects employ the 1pl. reflexive pronoun, sometimes occurring also with *impers.-or-pass.* and anticausative value. The latter term refers to another syntactic realization of the semantic-pragmatic continuum illustrated above, namely a pattern where the surface subject [-an.] retains Control over the verbal process (cf. [(t)s a ya'perta la 'porta] 'the door opened' (Tollo)). Anticausatives are usually derived from a transitive structure via subjectization of the original object (Siewierska (1984)).

The Transitivity continuum reflects degree of identification of Causer with Affectum (Halliday (1968)). If they have identical reference the clause is anticausative. If the Causer is external to the process, the pattern is *impers.-or-pass.*, *impers.-pass.* or passive.

Note that, to illustrate the syntactic structure of the examples, very literal translations have sometimes been employed.

2 'BE' AND 'HAVE' PASSIVES

Passives are usually marked by aux. 'be' + PPart., Agent optionally surfacing in a PP. Canonical passives are patterns with ([-an.] P subject, resultative

(perfective) aspect and no overt Agent. In some dialects Agent may be overtly realized, but this structure is generally replaced by active or left-dislocated patterns:

- 1 (a) Pad. [i kol'pevoli ze sta konda'na(i) a 'sigkwe 'anij]
'The guilty were sentenced to five years.'
- (b) Monegiorgio [la 'kasa 'era 'stata av'vjata da 'poku 'tempu]
'The house had been being built only a while.'
- (c) Nioro ['kusta 'domo est is'tada frai'kada (dae un ita'jjanu)]
'This house has been built (by an Italian)'. (Jones (1993: 124))

Not all dialects allow overt realization of A. In Castelpetroso (Molise), the active (2b) must be used if the external Cause(r) is [+an.] (the subject being [-an.]):

- 2 (a) **[ru 'pworkə e 'fate at'fisa da ru pa'trona]
'The pig was killed by his owner.'
- (b) [ru pa'trona e t'fisa ru 'pworkə]
'The owner killed the pig.'

Some Lazio dialects (e.g., Esperia) have an active pattern with left-dislocation of the object (3):

- 3 [la 'kasa l a fabbri'kata ma'ritame]
'The house, my husband built it.'

Non-resultative passives may occur with aux. 'be' or 'come', (with [-an.] subjects), A optionally surfacing as a PP.

- 4 (a) Mil. [la 'porta l e sa'rada sy / la vė sa'rada sy]
'The door is being / comes closed.' (Nicoli (1983: 316))
- (b) Ampezzano [i 'fjampe i vjen lavo'rade dal konta'dino]
'The fields come ploughed by the peasant.' (Apollonio (1987: 54))
- (c) Logudorese [sa 'domo [...] 'benzeit' tramu'dada in d unu kan'tjeri]
'The house comes turned into a building site.' (Biasco Ferrer (1984: 214))

Often the active or left-dislocation is preferred, with indefinite 3pl. subject if Agent is suppressed. In Piedmontese, as in several other dialects, (5a) is preferred to the high register form (5b) (cf. Aly-Belfadel (1933: 206f.)):

- 5 (a) [mi a m 'kardu ka'tiu]
'They think me evil.'
- (b) [i sug kar'dy ka'tiu]
'I am thought evil.'
- (c) Pad. [do 'libri, i 'kompra 'mario]
'Two books, Mario buys them.'
- (d) Montegiorgio [i'mario a 'kompra du 'libri]
'Mario buys two books.'
- (e) Fermo [me 'loda / 'je vasto nɔ / i sar'ra ti'mut]
'He praises me / he beat us / he'll have feared them.'

- (f) Servigliano [sɔ vvi'duro / sɔ vvi'dutu]
'I have seen / I am seen.'
- (g) Cosenza [l'kiri k ar'rivano 'tardi i 'multanu]
'Those who arrive late, they fine them.'
- (h) Sic. [pip'pinu, komu lu 'vittiru, u kja'maru]
'Peppino, as soon as they saw him, they called him.' (Varvaro (1988: 725))
- (i) Nuoro [su tra'vallu lu 'fakene]
'The job they do it.' (Pittau (1972: 90))

Pittau actually denies the existence of 'passive' in Nuorese, arguing that only left-dislocations occur (1972: 5f) (see Corda (1989: 44) for Campidanese). Jones (1993) asserts that canonical passives are attested, although they appear confined to formal, learned registers (see also La Fauci and Loporcaro (1993: 192, n.23)). In Marchigiano dialects such as Montegrotto, non-canonical passives with [+hum.] subject do not normally occur, the active being used (5d). Thus also Ferno, which only has aux. 'be'; probably because of this, non-canonical passives are usually replaced by the active (5e) (see Bonvicini (1961: 60)). In Servigliano – where 'be' is universal aux., and 'have' only occurs for the 3sg./pl. of the perfect – non-resultative (i.e., non-canonical) passives are hardly used. When they are, they are differentiated from the active by subject agreement of the participle (5f) (Camilli (1929: 230)). Some varieties (e.g., Bergamasco) prefer the active or left-dislocation also for canonical, resultative passives, if the subject is [+an., +hum.], regardless of whether the agentive is expressed (see Mora (1966: 63); Bernini (1987: 95)). This is also true of Servigliano, where resultative passives with a [+hum.] subject and overt Agent are rare, an active being used (Camilli (1929: 233)). Campanian appears generally to lack canonical passives with [+hum.] subjects, and only the active exists (see Del Domino (1965: 38); Russo (1989: 66)).

For canonical, resultative passives with [+an.] subject, some southern dialects have effective–resultative periphrases from Latin STARE ('stand') + PPart. (Loporcaro (1988b: 301f.)). Thus Altamura (Puglia) with transitive (6a), unaccusative (6b), reflexive (6c) verbs, and some unergative verbs (6d, e) and the unaccusative 'go' (the Agent optionally surfacing (6f)), to mark impersonality:

- 6 (a) [l'kedda 'vaka ste man'dgɔut]
'That cow's already been milked.'
- (b) [l 'akkwa ste frɔ'wɔut]
'The water's boiled.'
- (c) [s'ɔka pan'diɪ]
'I've repented.'
- (d) [ste talafɔ'netɔ dɔge a dɔgɔ'wann]
'Giovanni has already been phoned.'
- (e) [ste fati'etɔ nd a k'kwɔddɔ tar'rejn]
(lit.) 'It has already been worked in that field.'

- (f) [ste 'fɔɪa (da pap'pɪn) a ppɔg'gje lɔ pwejn]
(lit.) '(It) has been gone out (by Peppino) to get the bread.'
- In Volturino (Puglia), [mma'ni] ('come') + PPart. stresses that the action has just happened:
- 7 (a) [u ssas'sinə je 'stata kundan'netɔ a t'fɪŋk 'anne]
'The killer has been sentenced to five years.'
- (b) [u ssas'sinə e mme'nuta kundan'netɔ a t'fɪŋk 'anne]
'The killer has just been sentenced to five years.'

In several Friulian and some Alto Vicentino rural dialects, there occurs a special resultative 'bicomposed passive' (Benincà (1989: 578)): instead of canonical (8a), one finds a structure with three auxiliaries, the second being obligatorily 'have' (8b):

- 8 (a) [o sin 'stadis vjo'durdis]
(b) [o sin 'budis 'stadis vjo'durdis]
'We have been seen.' (lit. 'We are had been seen')

Some southern dialects have passive and passive-like sentences with aux. 'have' + PPart. (Rohlf's (1969: 131, n.3)). In Lazio, Abruzzo and Molise, where aux. selection depends mainly on Person, 'have' occurs also in passives, exactly in persons where it is usually selected, regardless of transitivity, but only with finite verbs (9a–c):

- 9 (a) Tollo [la 'kasa a 'f'atrɪ 'foetta di 'poka]
'The house has been built recently.'
- (b) [a 'f'ira kia'mita sott a li 'ærma 'tutta li d'gɔvane]
'All young people have been called up.'
- (c) Isernia [la 'kasa 'eva 'f'ata 'fata da 'poka]
'The house had been built recently.'

In Velletri (Lazio), 'have' occurs in perfective forms of canonical passives in 1 / 3sg., 3pl. (Zaccagnini (1992: 141f.)); also Lorenzetti (1992)); other persons take 'be' (found throughout the paradigm of the present). In Altamura 'have', in its stressed form, has been almost fully grammaticalized as passive aux., for all persons, in free variation with 'be' (Loporcaro (1988b: 254–7)) in simple past and compound tenses (Ch. 40 and Loporcaro (1988b: 291–9)); La Fauci and Loporcaro (1989)). Here the passive is very productive, though there also occur left-dislocation and the reflexive-passive. Three auxiliaries are normally used: 'come' for pres., imperf. and PR; 'be' (for PR, PPr. and plupf., but not pres. and imperf.), and 'have' for all tenses but the plupf. (for which 'be' occurs), whence ambiguity between 'active' and 'passive' interpretations in the imperf. Otherwise, the distribution of 'be' and 'have' is related to the use of 'be' as an active aux. in compound tenses (10c):

- 10 (a) [lɔ 'pwena nan e 'steta taɣ'gje:t]
'The bread has not been cut.' (Loporcaro (1988b: 291))
- (b) [l'assas sɪna fo pag'gje:t]
'The killer was caught.' (ibid.)
- (c) [sɔ ppa'jɛta b'bwɛjn]
'I have paid well.' (ibid.)

'Have' occurs with both resultative and non-resultative passives with [+hum,] subjects, the Agent optionally surfacing in a PP (11a–b). With [–hum, –an,] subjects, 'have' is debarred (11c–d) in tenses where it is in free variation with 'be'. In the present, where 'be' cannot occur, 'have' can be used with [–hum, –an,] subjects as well (Loporcaro (1988b: 296–9)):

- 11 (a) [dʒɔ'wann fo /a'vi mɔttɔ'kwɛta do: kejn]
'Giovanni was / had bitten by a dog.' (La Fauci and Loporcaro (1989: 191))
- (b) [dʒɔ'wann e 'steta vɪst / a 'wɔta vɪst]
'Giovanni has been / has had seen.'
- (c) **[l'arv a'vi / a 'wɔta sɔp'pwe:t]
'The tree had / has had eradicated.'
- (d) **[a k'k'ɔddɔ wɔr'jaun a'verna / onn a'wɔta rɪ'letta do ka'vart]
'To that boy had / have had presented two horses.'

Like Neapolitan, Calabrian and Sicilian, Altamuran also has so-called passives of IOs, where a Beneficiary / Recipient is topicalized and promoted to subject (12) (both with unergative and transitive verbs):

- 12 (a) [van'dʒundz e 'steta / a 'wɔta talafɔ'ne:t]
'Vincenzo is been / has had phoned.'
- (b) [ma'ri 'vena / 'jeva talafɔ'netta spɪss]
'Maria comes / is often phoned.'
- (c) [ma'ri a'vi rɪ'letta nɔ 'libbrɪ]
'Maria had given (to her) a book.'
- (d) [ma'ri a 'wɔta mba'reta 'k'ɔssɔ 'ʃɛka da l at'ejn]
'Maria has had taught this game by her father.'

Unlike other dialects with this pattern which take only 'have' (see La Fauci (1984: 124, n.52) for Sic.; Rohlf's (1969: 131, n.3) for Cal.), Altamuran passives of indirect objects take either 'be' or 'have', with compulsory PPart. agreement with the object, the use of 'have' being determined by the restrictions noted above (Loporcaro (1988b: 292–6)). In Sicilian the past participle normally agrees with the object, though agreement may be lacking, the PPart. reverting to the unmarked (Msg.) form (N. La Fauci, p.c.). The parallelism with canonical passives is clear. As in resultative passives, a non-Agent (Beneficiary / Recipient) is topicalized and subjectized, the Agent is defocused (being removed from the core and backgrounded, and optionally surfacing as a PP), there is marked verb

morphology, and stativization occurs. In Altamuran the constraint on the [+hum,] nature of the surface subject is weaker than in canonical passives, though 'be' is preferred (Loporcaro (1988b: 298)).

La Fauci and Loporcaro (1989: 189–92) demonstrate (in a Relational Grammar framework) the passive status of types (12a–b) vs. (12c–d). In (12c–d), surface subject is never a DO at any level in the derivation, unlike (12a–b). The 'have'-passive-like structures in southern dialects await systematic study, relating them (following La Fauci and Loporcaro (1989)) to other patterns marking a P-oriented situation.

An alternative aux. for canonical and non-canonical passives is 'go', e.g., Milanese (Nicoli 1983: 317), romanesco (Fizil (1911: 65), Corsican (Rohlf's (1969: 130)). More often, 'go' conveys deontic value (see Rohlf's *ibid.* n.2); Nicoli (1983: 317)):

- 13 Mil. [el tɔ fʃɔ el va kasti'gari]
'Your son goes (should be) punished.'

Deontic value is characteristic of some 'passive' uses of modal 'want' + PPart. of a transitive verb and a [+an,] subject, in Lazio, Puglia, Salento, Calabria (see Rohlf's (1969: 131); Loporcaro (1988b: 305f)).

- 14 Sal. [lu 'pe'ʃe u'lija man'dgatu stam'mane]
'The fish wanted eaten this morning.'

Loporcaro (also Ch. 40) points out that in Altamuran this structure occurs mainly with deontic value, with transitive, unergative and unaccusative verbs. The 'want' periphrasis may also have merely P-oriented or passive-like reading (Rohlf's (1969: 131); Varvaro (1988: 725) for Sicilian):

- 15 (a) Sic. [vɔggju man'natu um 'pakku]
'I want (to be) sent a parcel.'
- (b) Ascrea [lo 'ranu lo 'ɔʎɔ 'esse pa'yatu adde'ma]
'I want the wheat to be paid for (I want to be paid for the wheat tomorrow.' (Fanti (1939: 133))

Nuorese too has a passive-like modal construction with deontic value: ['kerrere] ('need') + PPart. of transitives (see Jones (1993: 125)). It is similar to 'want' + PPart. though the latter also involves topicalization of a Beneficiary / Recipient:

16 ['kussas fa'inas 'kɛren 'fattas 'prima de nos kor'kare]
'These chores need (to be) done before we go to bed.'

This pattern has several passive properties: topicalization and subjectization of a non-Agent, and Agent-defocusing (deleted / relegated to an inner peripheral status, surfacing as a PPart.) though it lacks a marked verb morphology and the stativization effect. Another passive-like construction of Nuorese is ['kene] ('without') + PPart. (see Jones (1993)) (17), with several focal passive properties: topicalization and subjectization of a non-Agent, most typically [–an,] marked verb morphology and full Agent-defocusing.

Morphologically, the impersonality of the pattern is also signalled by loss of the agreeing subject clitic, as in (23a) and, in dialects having a subject clitic for the 3pers., by an optional, non-agreeing, 'impersonal' subject clitic, often identical to the M3sg., used in all kinds of impersonal sentences ((23b); (24a, b)). Dialects such as Pontremolese and Filatterese (Lunigiana) distinguish the M3sg. subject clitic [j], in canonical transitive, intransitive sentences, from 'neutral' [a], in impersonal patterns (see Maffei Bellucci (1977: 52); Loporcaro (1991a: 104, n.72)). The latter clitic is widespread in Milanese, Bergamasco, Paduan and Rovigo, with a function that may only partially coincide with that of a subject clitic (Benincà (1983)).

24 (a) Forlì [u j 'vend i 'liver / u j ar'vej la 'pworta]

'One sells / they sell the books / one opens / they open the door.'

(b) Grizzano [a s e: rci na 'skrana / a s e: vèst la muni'tapal]

'One has broken a chair / one has seen the mountain.' (Loporcaro (1991a: 93; 98))

Turinese, Cairese (Parry (1995; forthcoming a)), Genoese (Batyè (1990)), allow both structures, with and without subjectization (25), the former being generally regarded as less dialectal, betraying Italian influence. In Cairese (and Piedmontese and Ligurian in general (M. Parry, p.c.)), the impersonality of the pattern does not affect its interpretation, so that (25d) has either impersonal or passive interpretations.

25 (a) Tur. [a s 'taju neq le 'sjule iŋ 'kusta ma'nera]

'Onions should not be cut this way.'

(b) [a s 'taja neŋ le 'sjule iŋ 'kusta ma'nera]

'One does not cut onions this way.'

(c) Cairo [is 'bøtu i pjat aŋ so poft]

'The plates are put away.'

(d) [us böt i pjat aŋ so poft]

'The plates are put away / one puts the plates away.'

Unlike most northern dialects, Bussoleno (Piedmontese) (26) and Friulian, allow free variation of pre- and postverbal subjects, the latter conveying mainly a difference in given vs. new information:

26 [la 'porta as 'dwerťa / as 'dwerťa la 'porta]

'The door is opened / one opens the door.'

This is the norm in central and southern varieties, where both N_i refl. V and V refl. N_i may receive anticausative and impers.-or-pass. interpretation, the different word order reflecting given vs. new information:

27 Neap. [ə 'libbra d'galla se 'vennana faŋil'mental]

'Thrillers are sold (sell) quickly / one sells thrillers quickly.'

Very widespread is impersonal use of the reflexive with monovalent verbs, both unergative and unaccusative (when this distinction holds):

28 (a) Forlì [u j par'teŋ / u j ka'mena]

'One leaves / one walks.'

(b) Bussoleno [a s 'part / a s 'marŋa]

'One leaves / one walks.'

The non-agreement patterns illustrated in examples (23a) and (25b, d) above characterize sentences conveying [+New] information in northern dialects (see Browne and Vatuone (1975); Benincà (1986: 466); Loporcaro (1991a: 101, n.69)). In Paduan, Venetian and Grizzanese, it occurs with all verb classes; in Genoese with transitives and unaccusatives (Vatuone (1975: 368)). In the Ligurian of Sestri Levante and in Turinese, this 'quirky' agreement only occurs with unaccusatives (Batyè (1990); Burzio (1986: 124)). In other Ligurian and Piedmontese dialects, non-agreement is possible with some unergative verbs, though only in simple tense forms (M. Parry, p.c.). The issue, however, needs further investigation.

Virtually all dialects appear to use the reflexive for anticausatives, impersonals, and with either impers.-or-pass. or passive functions: not all use this strategy with equative structures, impers.-pass. or for the impersonal of reflexives; very few allow co-occurrence of impersonal [se / si / se] with a pronominal object.

Other variant parameters are tense-aspect and the nature of the surface subject in the case of impers.-or-pass. reflexives. The differences seem to reflect the degree of grammaticalization of the reflexive, with northern dialects such as Paduan (and to some extent Venetian), showing maximal exploitation of this strategy, while in southern dialects such as Neapolitan, Cosentino and Sicilian, the reflexive does not occur with equative structures, for the impersonal of reflexives or impers.-pass. These have: indefinite 'one', collective 'people', indef. 3pl. (or 1pl.).

29 (a) Pad. [se ze pu'tei / se ze 'zovani / se ze strai 'zovani]

'One is a child / one is young / one has been young.'

(b) [se ze par'ti / se ze 'paga(i) / se ze sta pa'ga(i) / se se pen'tise / se se ga pen'tio]

'One has left / one is paid / one has been paid / one has repented.'

(c) [se se ga kom'pra na 'kaza / se ga konda'na i kol'pevoli a 'singkwe 'ani]

'One has bought oneself a house / one has sentenced the guilty to five years.'

(d) [se li ga konda'na / se ga ven'duo i 'libri / se li ga ven'dui]

'One has sentenced them / one has sold the books / one has sold them.'

30 (a) Neap. [kwann 'una e kkja'tura / una 'po se 'pente / fja pan'tinna / fja 'simma pan'tuta]

'When one is a child / one repents / we repented / we have repented.'

- (b) [pavana 'poka pə k'killa la'vora / f'anna pa'vata 'poka / ku sti
'sorda una s ak'katta na 'Kasə]
'They pay little for that job / they have paid us . . . / with this money one
buys a house.'
- (c) [a stad' d'gone f' ai'tsamma am'bressa a ma'line / a d'genta ts 'ajtsə
am'bressa / una ts 'ajtsə am'bressə]
'In summer we / people / one get(s) up early in the morning.'

In Turinese, some idiolects allow impersonal [se] with equative structures and the impers.-pass. – forms perceived as Italianisms by some speakers (Parry (p.c., and 1995)). In Milanese, although the reflexive may occur in the impersonal of reflexive verbs, in spoken language one [se] is usually omitted (31b) (see Nicoli (1983: 168)):

- 31 (a) [se se 'lava]
'One washes oneself.'
- (b) [se romp l'oss del kol koj salt mor'tal]
'One breaks his neck (lit. 'the neck to oneself') with a double deadly
jump.'

Trentino and Bussoleno debar impers.-or-pass. [se] with [+an.] subjects in compound tenses:

- 32 (a) Trentino **[se a konda'na i kol'pevoli a 'ziŋkwe 'ani]
'One has / they have sentenced the guilty to five years.'
- (b) [i a konda'na i kol'pevoli a 'ziŋkwe 'ani]
'They have sentenced the guilty to five years.'
- (c) Bussoleno **[a l'ag kunda'nasi i 'lader a siŋk 'ani]
'One / they have sentenced the thieves to five years.'
- (d) [a l'ag kunda'na i 'lader a siŋk 'ani]
'They have sentenced the thieves to five years.'

These co-occurrence restrictions on impers.-or-pass. [se] with [+hum.] subjects operate in some Molisan dialects (Agnone, Castelpetroso) and Neapolitan.

Virtually all dialects allow impersonal reflexive in simple tenses (though some do not allow it in the simple past with specific time reference). In compound ones, however, either indefinite 3pl. or the 1pl. appears. This constraint may reflect the development whereby the reflexive is first attested in O. Italian in simple tenses only (Ageo (1965: 211); Cennamo (1991)), or generic vs. specific time reference, interacting, in turn, with differential behaviour of transitive-nergatives vs. unaccusatives.

The range and geographical extent of the asymmetry observed by Cinque (1988b) regarding generic vs. specific interpretations in Italian reflexives with specific time reference, and the extent to which this distinction determines the occurrence of the reflexive in compound tenses, remain to be explored. In dialects such as Paduan the reflexive occurs in simple and compound tenses, with generic

and specific time reference, regardless of verb class. With unaccusatives, however, the reflexive is only marginally acceptable, in some tenses, with specific time reference (33a), but it is perfectly acceptable in the subjunctive and conditional (33b) (P. Benincà, p.c.). In Palmanova Friulian, Cinque's distinction apparently holds: with transitive and unergative verbs, the generic interpretation of the reflexive may be retained with specific time reference, but is lost with unaccusatives, as shown by the occurrence of [si] with transitives and unergatives and of indefinite 1pl. with unaccusatives (33c):

- 33 (a) Pad. ?[se ze / 'dgera par'tii a le 'siŋkwe]
'We left / had left at 5.'
- (b) [se sa'ria par'tii a le 'siŋkwe, ma no ge 'dgera 'psto]
'We'd have left at 5, but there was no room.'
- (c) Palmanova Friul. [si a fi'nut di lavo'tra as sis dopo di miz'di e la 'sera
o sin las al bar]
'We finished working at 6 p.m. and in the evening we went to the bar.'

As already indicated, co-occurrence of impersonal reflexives with pronominal objects is rare. It occurs in Paduan, Friulian, Venetian, Trentino (34a–d), but is ungrammatical in the Friulian of Strassoldo, and several N.E. dialects (Bergamasco, Milanese, Piedmontese, Val Bormida, Ligurian) as well as Romagnol, Florentine and most central and southern varieties (Rossini (1975: 141); Nicoli (1983: 167 n.2); Stefani (1983: 110f.); Benincà and Vanelli (1984: 171); Zaccagnini (1992: 78)), which usually drop the pronoun and use the plain reflexive (34 e–j), or use 1pl. (34j) or 3pl. (34k) or indefinite subject 'one' (34l):

- 34 (a) Pad. [se li 'vende / se li ga ven'dui]
(b) Palmanova [si ju vent / si ju an (son) vin'dus]
(c) Trent. [se i 'vende ben / se i e ven'dudi ben] (preferred: [i e 'stadi
ven'dudi ben])
'One sells them / one has sold them.'
- (d) Ven. [se le 'vede / se la ga 'tota]
'One sees them / one has broken it.'
- (e) Strassoldo [(a) si 'vending]
'One sells them / they are sold.'
- (f) Mil. [se 'legen be]
'One reads them / they read well.'
- (g) Flo. *Le si mangian*
'They are eaten.'
- (h) Velletri [se d'dopra kos'si]
'One uses them / they are used so.'
- (i) Neap. [sa 'vennane / 'sanne ven'nuta]
'One sells them / they are sold.'
- (j) Cos. [i vin'ninu]
'We sell them.'

- (k) Esperia [l'i 'vinnana 'lestəj]
'They sell them easily.'
(l) Turin [ɥŋ a i veŋd]
'One sells them.'

In varieties admitting impersonal [se, si] + pronominal object, the reflexive is mainly sentence-initial, as expected of an 'unspecified' subject (Lepschy (1989b; 1984)).

Usually, aux. 'have' occurs in dialects selecting it for all verb classes (e.g., Venetian, Paduan, Sicilian) and either 'be' or 'have' in varieties where aux. selection depends on Person (some Marchigiano, Lazio, Molisan, Abruzzese dialects). Other varieties, which use 'be' for all verb classes or just for unaccusatives, use 'be' in all the patterns discussed so far. (The issue is apparently related to the development of 'be' / 'have' in Romance, along a path convincingly expounded by La Fauci and Loporcario (1989) for Allamuran and La Fauci (1992) for O. Sicilian).

In Tuscan (Florentine, Siense, Viareggino) (see Giannelli (1976a: 32; 65); Stefanini (1983:107)), Umbrian (Città di Castello, Amelia) (see Moretti (1987: 66,127)) and some Lazio varieties (e.g., Arsoli – Pulcini (1972: 64f.)), impersonal reflexive + the 3sg. active has replaced 1pl. (see *AIS* 1278):

- 35 Flo. *Si va / Viareggio* [si kan'tɔ]
'We go / we sang.'

Consequently, in Flo., (36) has four interpretations (see Stefanini (1983: 111)):

- 36 *E' si mangia*
'One / people eat; we eat; one / people eat it; we eat it.'

In Flo. indef. 3pl. active is preferred to impersonal *si* + active if the speaker is excluded from the Universe of Discourse (Stefanini (1983: 109, n.21)).

In the provinces of L'Aquila (Castel di Sangro) and Campobasso, Isernia (Castelpetroso) (Giammarco (1968: 479f.)), the Gargano peninsula (Melillo (1973: 120f.)), and Salentino (see Rohlf's (1956: 128)) the 1pl. reflexive pronoun is used with reflexive, anticausative, impers.-or-pass. and impersonal values. Similar forms appear in Reggio Calabria province (Rohlf's (1977a: 455)) and Isola del Giglio, Tuscany (Rohlf's (1968: 186)) to mark impersonality:

- 37 (a) Castelpetroso [ʃa par'tetta la ma'tina 'prɛʃtɪ]
'One / they / we left early in the morning.'
(b) [ʃa 'vinnana ru 'libbra]
'The books are sold / one / they / we sell the books.'
(c) Cal. [nʃi 'pari / sta 'sira nʃi 'balla]
'One leaves. / They / we leave. / This evening one / they / we shall dance.'

The range of functional domains covered by this strategy needs investigating. Our preliminary fieldwork on Castelpetroso reveals that [ʃɛ], although used with anticausative, impers.-or-pass. and impersonal patterns, does not occur with equatives or with impers.-pass., for which indef. 3pl. active or 1pl. occur:

- 37 (d) [l'kwira la'vora ru 'payana 'pɔka / 'sema 'ʃata pa'yata 'pɔka]
'They don't pay much for that job / that job isn't paid much / we haven't been paid much.'
(e) [l'sema wa'l'una / 'swonna wa'l'una]
'We're children / they're children.'

For impersonal of reflexives either the 3pl. or the 1pl. [ʃa] and indefinite [una] occur (38):

- 38 [ʃ 'anna pan'tute / ʃa 'sema pan'tuta / 'una ʃa pɔ 'pura pan'ti]
'They've repented / we've repented / one can also repent.'

The geographical extent of this strategy awaits investigation, as does the extent to which [ʃa / ʃi / nʃi] covers functional domains covered by [se / si / se] elsewhere. A first analysis (also E. Tuttle, p.c.), reveals the coexistence and competition, at some point in history, of [se / si / se] and [ʃa / ʃi / nʃi] as reflexive and impers.-or-pass., impersonal markers in some areas, [ʃa / ʃi / nʃi] prevailing in isolated areas.

In some Abruzzese (Finamore (1893: 276)), Molisan and Marchigiano dialects the reflexive also marks spontaneous manifestation of a process involving a human participant without Control over a (usually mental) process (39):

- 39 (a) Abr. [ma s e 'skɔrda la 'kjaɔva sopr a lu ku'mɔ]
'I left (forgot) the key on the sideboard.'
(b) Arcevia [me se 'skɔrda / me s e skor'dato]
'I forget / I've forgotten.' (Crocioni (1906: 55))

This impersonal reflexive, restricted to (monovalent / divalent) verbs denoting either necessity or wishing, is attested in the Istrian dialects of Trieste, Pirano (Ursini (1988: 348)) and Fiume (De Poli (1913: 311)).

Such structures might be related to a construction widespread (with Animate, Human and Inanimate participants) in Abruzzo, Molise, Lazio, Marche, Sardinian, apparently continuing Late Latin use of reflexive dative *si* as unaccusative marker (see Cennamo (forthcoming)), mainly with intransitive verbs denoting change of state and location, to denote S's lack of Control over the process.

4 OTHER IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

An impersonal form widespread in Abruzzese between Teramo–Pescara–Chieti and Vasto is the type 'man' [tama / 'noma / 'toma / 'dome / 'vome / 'anna] + 3sg active verb (Finamore (1893: 23); Giammarco (1968: 1344; 1377; 1970: 184–6); Hastings (1991), also attested in Marchigiano (e.g., Arcevia (Crocioni (1906: 53)). In several dialects it expresses impersonality, particularly with reference to an unspecified set of people excluding the speaker. This once widespread form (Rohlf's (1968: 213)) recurs only in some varieties of N. Puglia and Corsica.

In N.E. Lombardy and in Piedmontese, the 'man' type may have ousted the 1pl. verb ending (see Lurati (1973); *ALS* 660, 1278), but cf. also Ch. 9).

A strategy widespread in Umbria, Lazio, Salento, S. Calabria and Sicily (also attested in Tuscan, Piedmontese, Ligurian and Paduan - Rohlf's (1968: 235); *ALS* 1032)) is indef. 'one' marking indef. A / S (human) participant:

40 (a) Sic. ['kwannu 'unu 'kampa 'sulu]

'When one lives alone.'

(b) Pad. [ko uno ga 'fame, 'maja]

'When one is hungry, one eats.'

Another impersonalizing device is the 3sg. verb, common with meteorological and impersonal verbs, preceded, in several northern dialects, by a non-agreeing subject clitic (Aly-Belfadel (1933: 14); Rohlf's (1968: 144; 146-7)); Pelliciardi (1977: 129-31); Nicoli (1983: 326-8); *ALS* 377, 396). In Nuorese Sardinian, with impersonal verbs such as ['kerrere] ('need'), [mag 'kare] ('lack'), the verb is preceded by the locative particle [bi] (see Jones (1993)). In central and southern dialects preverbal dummy pivot holders are rare, although attested in Sicilian and to some extent Neapolitan, where demonstrative pronouns ['iddu, 'kella / 'killa] occur with meteorological and impersonal expressions (Tropea (1988, Ch. 3: 1); Benincà (1992: 38)); Varvaro (1988: 725) for Sicilian; Bichelli (1974: 144); Sornicola (1996) and Ch. 39 for Neapolitan).

41 (a) Ro. [e pju'veva / e 'bsoṅa des da fer]

'It rained / one must hurry up.' (Pelliciardi (1977: 131))

(b) Neap. ['kella 'kjoval]

'It rains.'

(c) Sard. [bi 'keret tre 'ovos / bi 'maṅkat duos but 'tones]

'Three eggs are necessary / two buttons are missing.' (Jones (1993))

Similar forms are reported (Rohlf's (1968: 144f.)) for Corsican, Calabrian, S. Lazio and Campania; their syntactic domains have not been fully explored. In compound tenses the choice of aux. varies cross-dialectally, reflecting local aux. selection (see *ALS* 397).

The 3sg. device also occurs in existentials and various impersonal and presentative patterns in northern dialects, sometimes preceded by a non-agreeing subject clitic (see Benincà (1986)). There appears to be an implicational scale among northern dialects, whereby a subject clitic occurs with impersonals and existentials only if it occurs also with meteorological verbs (see Renzi and Vanelli (1983: 135f.); on the syntax of subject clitics in northern dialects, see Poletto (1993a)):

42 (a) Mil. [g e do dṅ ke te 'ferka]

'There are two women who look for you.' (Nicoli (1983: 282))

(b) Flo. *Gi'è venuta (M) qualche puieta (F)*

'There have come some girls.' (Suñer (1992: 643))

Romagnol, Trentino, Flo. allow this strategy with all verb classes, unlike Piedmontese and Ligurian. This strategy interacts with relative clauses and interrogatives, determining lack of agreement (cf. 42a) (see Nicoli (1983: 282) for Mil.; Barve (1990) for Gen.), but see Suñer (1992) for the 'matching hypothesis').

5 CONCLUSION

1 Among passive and passive-like patterns, resultatives with suppression of Agent (i.e. canonical passives) occur probably in all dialects; whereas to obtain a P-oriented pattern with a non-Agent participant topicalized and subjectized, left-dislocation operates.

2 Reflexives occur everywhere with anticausative, impersonal, and either impers.-or-pass. or passive (more rarely, impers.-pass.) value, varying along five main parameters: (a) functional domains, (b) tense-aspect, (c) animacy of surface subject in impers.-or-pass. patterns, (d) co-occurrence of impersonal reflexive with pronominal object, (e) aux. selection. (a-d) apparently reflect different degrees of grammaticalization of the reflexive as marker of impersonality; dialects such as Paduan allowing it for all the above-mentioned parameters, and dialects such as Neapolitan tending to use other devices, such as indef. 3pl., 2sg., 1pl. and 'one', 'people'. These latter are available to most dialects, their use often depending on context and speaker's choice.

3 In areas of central and southern Italy the 1pl. reflexive pronoun occurs as an anticausative, impers.-or-pass. and impersonal marker, pointing to a period of competition between two forms (se / si / sa), [ʃa / ʃi / nʃi]) for participants with low degree of individuation.

4 The tendency for [+New, -Def.] to occur postverbally, and [+Given, +Def.] information preverbally, appears grammaticalized in several northern and some Sardinian varieties: [+New, -Def.] information is debarred preverbally, and [+Given, +Def.] information postverbally, unless clause-external (i.e., right- or left-dislocated), the grammaticalization of these pragmatic features (Definiteness and Newness) being also expressed by impersonality of the pattern, and either absence of a subject clitic or occurrence of a non-agreeing one.