

THE TWO *SI*'S OF ITALIAN

An Analysis of Reflexive, Inchoative,
and Indefinite Subject Sentences
in Modern Standard Italian

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ABSTRACT

Italian has two clitic *si*'s: one generated by the transformational rule REFLEXIVE, the other generated by the transformational rule *si*-INSERTION. Reflexive *si* arises in constructions with two coreferential NP's present in the same simplex sentence. One of these NP's may be transformationally generated by a copy rule, as is the case with the middle voice constructions. One middle voice construction, inchoative, is examined in detail and shown to have an empty deep subject node and to have the surface subject originating in deep object position.

si-INSERTION occurs in constructions with a first person plural definite subject or a third person plural indefinite (generic or specific) subject. I call sentences with this *si* "indefinite *si* sentences." At a certain point in the derivation of an indefinite *si* sentence such a sentence may be superficially identical to a sentence with reflexive *si*. At this point rules of analogy allow the indefinite *si* sentence to be treated as a reflexive *si* sentence with respect to several syntactic rules.

The two *si*'s of Italian, while perhaps diachronically related, are no longer related in modern Italian. Only analogy bridges the gap between them.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Almost any book published in the twentieth century dealing with linguistic problems of the Italian language devotes at least a brief note and often a prolonged explanation to describing exactly which language it intends to discuss. Certainly in one sense of the word Italian is the language spoken by Italians. However, numerous volumes have been written about the great variety of *parlate* of the Italian people. And it has been noted by many that Italians, when speaking the daily language indigenous to their town (or larger geographic-political area) may not understand other Italians speaking their own particular and distinct daily language.

The phenomenon of a variety of daily languages which share certain features but differ in others is by no means strictly Italian. Any language with a large enough body of speakers, particularly if those speakers are spread out over a fairly large geographic area, is bound to exhibit what is usually referred to as "dialectal differences." The exact definition of LANGUAGE, DIALECT, DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES are not easily circumscribed. André Martinet (1954) in his article "Dialect" attempts to define the notion *dialecte* with respect to the notion *langue*. Many dialectologists have written extensively on this theme, among them Manlio Cortelazzo (1969), who spends a whole volume describing the sociological, geographical, and cultural aspects of Italian dialects as well as the more frequently discussed structural ones. The conclusion of most of these works is that while many aspects of the dialect/language distinction are easily noted, the border between the two is not a clear line but rather a gradual passage from one to the other, like the passage from blue to green on the color spectrum.

Italy, with her long history of foreign invasions, internal struggles and relatively late political unification, has evidenced multiple dialects which are spoken even today. To be sure, the political unification of Italy brought with it a national educational system, military system, and bureaucracy; industrialization led to great migrations into the large cities from the outlying small towns; the increase in the number of newspapers as well as the growth and spread of radio, television, and cinema brought standard Italian into the common man's home from Sicily to Valle d'Aosta. Tullio De Mauro explains how all these factors contributed to a gradual reduction in the use of the dialects accompanied by a complementary increase in the use of standard Italian (1970; 25) "...il continuo e progressivo indebolimento del dialetto tradizionale si è combinato con la diffusione della conoscenza e dell'uso dell'italiano." Today the standard language is widespread, and many regional varieties bridging the gap between standard Italian and the dialects can be heard in any market place. Yet

the dialects continue to exist, if not thrive. And a recent renewed interest in the dialects as reservoir of cultural values is helping to insure their continued use.

Still, today it is possible to talk about standard Italian and mean a language that most Italian people, except perhaps the old and/or those with a minimum of education, have a command of. The origins of the standard language have been faithfully and accurately recorded by Bruno Migliorini in his *Storia della lingua italiana* (1960) which traces the thread of Italian from its Latin origins to its present state. Briefly, one might describe the standard tongue of Italy as Hall does (1948:2-3)

Standard Italian is based in its historical origin and in its phonological and morphological correspondences, on archaic (thirteenth and fourteenth century) Tuscan, more specifically Florentine, with a considerable admixture of non-Tuscan features and not showing certain features of the modern Tuscan vernacular.

For reasons of political and cultural tradition, the Tuscan language in its very old form has been preserved, only slightly modified by the changes usually brought to language with the passing of so many centuries. As Migliorini notes (1958:7), "... l'italiano ha subito, dalle origini a oggi, ben pochi cambiamenti: è cioè, in confronto con le altre grandi lingue europee, una lingua molto conservatrice."

The same traditions that led Italy to choose Tuscan as its national tongue, worked to keep written Tuscan as true to the language of Dante as possible. The differences between written language and spoken language increased in number and importance, and the famous *questione della lingua* was debated among scholars through the centuries. Even today there is a significant difference between what some speakers accept in speech and what they accept in writing.

The language which is discussed in this thesis is daily spoken standard Italian. As Hall says (1971:13)

La lingua che si descrive è quella della conversazione quotidiana e della prosa non letteristica (stampa, titoli, pubblicità) dei primi due terzi del secolo ventesimo. Trattati puramente letterari o arcaici si menzionano solo per inciso e senza pretese di completezza.

The introductory remark to Hall's work serves well the reader of this thesis (with the change of "*due terzi*" to *tre quarti*). My informants are native Italians coming from as far south as Mazara del Vallo in Sicily and as far north as Merano in the Alto Adige of the Trentino. All of them have attended school until at least

age sixteen, and their economic and social status are varied. It is their judgment of the acceptability of various constructions in spoken language that I have relied on.

Let me add that at times my information may seem particularly "dialectal" to an Italian. However, as Žarko Muljačić warns his reader (1971:14), "Neanche con l'opposizione lingua comune ~ dialetti 'verticali' (sociali) si può sempre fare un taglio netto entro il materiale da classificare." And to the reader who finds acceptable more than one variation of a particular construction, one might point out that such variation is a common property of spoken language. In fact, Migliorini has written an entire book, *La lingua italiana d'oggi* (1958) on choices of language usage that arise doubts and confusion in the minds of many Italians.

The linguistic technique employed here is that of the modern school of descriptive linguistics. Rather than trying to determine what people should say, this work is concerned with what people do say and offering an analysis for the linguistic mechanism which produces the constructions discussed here. The method of analysis is more or less that of generative grammarians. While most of the evidence presented comes from modern standard Italian, I do not hesitate to refer to historical and dialectal material when it sheds light on a particular point which is otherwise quite opaque.

CHAPTER 1

Other Work Done On *Si*

A. The Problem

Si is employed in the speech of Italians in many ways. Any native Italian speaker "intuits" a difference among the uses of *si* in the following sentences:

- 1) a. *Giorgio si lava di mattina.*
'George washes himself in the morning.'
- b. *Maria si ammala facilmente.*
'Mary gets sick easily.'
- c. *Le pellicce si vendono bene d'autunno.*
'Furs sell well in the fall.'
- d. *Si dice che Carlo è stupido.*
'It's said that Charles is stupid.'
- e. *Quando si è felici, si canta.*
'When one is happy, one sings.'

These uses have been called reflexive (1a), inchoative¹ (1b), passive (1c) and (1d), and indefinite subject (1e).

This thesis is a study of the various types of constructions *si* may appear in. Chapter 2 presents a detailed catalogue of reflexive sentences, dividing them into structures which allow both clitic and non-clitic reflexive pronouns and structures which allow only clitic reflexive pronouns. A list of their syntactic properties is offered for reference in later chapters. The transformation REFLEXIVE is discussed, as is the theory that certain lexical items are marked as "absolute" reflexives in the lexicon.

In Chapter 3 I discuss the inchoative construction, deriving the reflexive morpheme by way of REFLEXIVE operating on two coreferential NP, the second of which is not present in deep structure but arises by way of a copy rule which moves the deep object into subject position and leaves behind a copy. Inchoatives are shown to be subjectless in deep structure and to be a special case of the larger construction traditionally referred to as "middle voice".

Chapter 4 presents examples of sentences usually called passives. I show that such sentences are neither passive nor subjectless and that the *si* of these sentences must be introduced

transformationally by the rule *si*-INSERTION. *si*-INSERTION is a distinct rule from REFLEXIVE. Accordingly, the *si* produced by *si*-INSERTION displays different syntactic and semantic properties from the *si* generated by REFLEXIVE which we studied in Chapters 2 and 3.

In Chapter 5 the construction employing *si*-INSERTION, the indefinite subject construction, is analyzed. The term "indefinite" is preferred to "impersonal" which might better be applied to sentences such as *Piove* ('It's raining'), *Fa bello* ('It's nice out'), *Sono le 10* ('It's 10 o'clock'). This construction is distinct from all others employing the morpheme *si* in that it does not involve the application of REFLEXIVE, but rather of *si*-INSERTION. I show that *si* replaces a third person plural human indefinite Pro subject or a first person plural human definite subject.

Finally, in Chapter 6 I propose that a theory of analogy in syntax may account for various syntactic properties of the indefinite *si* construction. I give several examples of analogical rules involving pronominalization, Subject Pronoun Drop, substitution of one morpheme for another, order of constituents in surface structure, clitic placement, and agreement rules.

While the analysis offered here is at variance with much traditional and contemporary work done on these constructions in the various Romance languages, I am nevertheless deeply indebted to such scholarship. In this chapter I present a sketch of some of the work which has influenced me most.

B. A Brief History

(i) Usages in Latin

The use of the third person reflexive morpheme for constructions not involving a reflexive meaning goes back in Romance linguistic history at least as far as Latin. Bourciez calls such uses passives (1923:113):

La forme réfléchie a pu de bonne heure servir d'équivalent au passif, et déjà chez Virgil, *Aen.* 11, 455: '*Clamor se tollit in auras*'. Ce procédé fit de grands progrès dans l'usage populaire: '*Myrina quae Sebastopolim se vocat*' (*Plin.* 5, 30); '*ne medici se inveniunt*' (*Petr.* 47); '*moribus se abscondit*' (*Mulom.* 174).

Bourciez goes on to say that such usage is found in all the Latin and neo-Latin tongues in varying degrees. He suggests that the spread of this construction may have been influenced by a similar

construction in the Slavic tongues (1923:261).

Grandgent does not mention external influences, but discusses this same usage with respect to internally motivated language change (1927:122)

From early times, Latin speakers appear to have felt a certain inadequacy in their passive, originally a deponent inflection and never, it would seem, completely attuned to its theoretical classic use: ultimately Romance emphasized passivity; while the reflexive idea received an analytical expression of its own: *amatur* > *amatus est*, *dicitur* > *se dicit*.

As Grandgent says in his descriptive work on Vulgar Latin (1907:52), "When *littera scribitur* seemed archaic, and *littera scripta est* vulgar, people said *littera se scribit* and *litteram scribunt* or *litteram scribit homo*..."

This last point of Grandgent's brings out an important aspect of the Latin passive verb: it could be used with an indefinite sense, as the possibilities *litteram scribunt* and *litteram scribit homo*, which are clearly indefinite subject constructions, underscore. Ernout and Thomas, in fact, translate the following Latin sentence with precisely an indefinite subject sense (1953:327), "*dicitur Gallos in Italiam transisse 'il est dit (on dit) que les Gaulois ont passé en Italie'*". These uses of the Latin passive are indefinite in that the agent is not specified. Likewise, the alternative with *se* (*littera se scribit*) does not have a definite agent. And looking back to Bourciez's examples, we find that these also are characterized by the indefinite logical agent.

That the Latin passive used without an agent phrase is the historical source of the indefinite subject construction in modern Romance languages is not proved by these examples. Yet it would appear that this is a possible source, particularly since Latin allowed passive forms of intransitive verbs -- forms which had no meaning other than that of an indefinite logical agent performing the action involved. Woodcock offers an extensive description of such forms. While the syntactic analysis implicit in his description is neither denied nor supported here, the interpretation he assigns the forms is of direct relevance to the hypothesis that these are indefinite agent constructions (1959:43)

As an active intransitive verb has no direct object to become the subject of the passive form, it follows that intransitive verbs, including those which take the dative, cannot be used 'personally' in the passive, i.e. they cannot have first- and second-person, or plural forms. But the third person singular passive of intransitive verbs is very common in Latin. The

explanation of this form (which is, in fact, the earliest passive form) is that an intransitive verb can have a cognate or internal object...and this, whether expressed or understood, can become the subject of the 'impersonal' passive. Hence *curritur* means 'running is taking place', i.e. 'people run'; *cursum est*, 'running took place', *currendum est*, 'running is to take place'.

In very recent work of contemporary Latin scholars we find that the Latin passive is claimed to have been the ancestor of the modern indefinite construction. For example, Tekavčić asserts (1972:499-500)

In accordo con la diffusione generale del costrutto riflessivo nel tardo latino, anche il costrutto impersonale, che in latino aveva la forma passiva, è stato sostituito dal verbo accompagnato dal sostituto riflessivo, non solo in italiano ma anche in altre lingue: al latino *LEGITUR* corrisponde 'si legge'...

Thus, these scholars seem to be suggesting that the third person reflexive pronoun became the means of expressing indefinite subject constructions which had previously been handled by passive verbal forms.

(ii) Usages in Italian as Viewed by Traditional Grammarians

The affinity of the passive and reflexive syntactic constructions with indefinite agent semantic features continued from Latin into the various Romance languages as they developed. Any good comprehensive traditional grammar book of Spanish, French, Portuguese, or Rumanian discusses these facts. Here I will give an account of some of the relevant Italian grammar books.

The use of *si* exemplified in (1a) is recorded in all grammar books of Italian. Goidanich describes such usages in one sentence (1962:28), "Verbi riflessivi si dicono i Verbi in cui il complemento rappresentato da un pronome personale è la stessa Persona del soggetto". With such reflexives are often mentioned reciprocal reflexives, as in:

- 2) *Essi/Loro si battono (l'un l'altro).*
'They hit each other.'

Another commonly noted use of the reflexive is with "pronominal verbs" or "absolute reflexives". Fornaciari distinguishes them thus (1897:144), "...verbi, in cui l'azione fatta dal soggetto ritorna sul soggetto stesso, quali sono i riflessivi

assoluti; *accorgersi* ['realize'], *vergognarsi* ['be ashamed'], *astenersi* ['abstain']..." These verbs only rarely appear in non-reflexive forms. A fourth use of the reflexive is said by Bosco and Lolli (1967:230) to add "a note of emphasis". Among their list of examples one finds:

- 3) a. *Mi comprerò una Fiat.*
 'I'm going to buy myself a Fiat.'
- b. *Mi sono mangiato tre etti di carne.*
 'I ate 300 grams of meat.'

Unfortunately, they do not discuss the fact that the reflexive in (3a) is understood as a dative object (since you cannot say **Mi comprerò una Fiat per Paolo*), while that of (3b) is not. Fornaciari seems to describe exactly the kind of reflexive given by Bosco and Lolli in (3b). As he explains (1897:222)

La forma attiva dei verbi transitivi si rafforza non di rado colle particelle pronominali corrispondenti a ciascuna persona (*mi ti si, ci vi si*), per significare che l'azione è come concentrata nel soggetto, il quale la opera più intensamente.

Fornaciari continues by noting that (1897:223) "nel parlar poetico od elegante" intransitive verbs as well may have this "rafforzante" particle. One of his examples from Dante is, "Io *mi* son un che quando Amore spira, noto". However, today in common language this usage is not found with intransitive verbs; thus, Fornaciari's examples of these verbs do not directly pertain to this study.

Many grammarians classify examples such as (1b) above with regular reflexives. However, a few of them have noted critical differences between this use of the reflexive and that in (1a). Trabalza and Allodoli warn (1935:184)

Da questi riflessivi bisogna distinguere i verbi intransitivi o transitivi di valore intransitivo, con *si, mi, ti, vi, ci*, pleonastici, che non danno significato riflessivo al verbo e che sono tanto frequenti nel linguaggio popolare, e d'uso comunissimo nella lingua antica e letteraria, anzi rappresentano un modo distintivo dell'antico linguaggio. 'Ed ella si sedea/ Umile in tanta gloria' (Petrarca); 'apri Faenza quando si dormia' (*Inf*, 32); 'una terra lontana è che si giace' (Petrarca)...

While Trabalza and Allodoli do not go on to discuss exactly how these usages differ from the regular "significato riflessivo", Fornaciari does attempt to explain the distinction (1897:224)

Nell'uso dei verbi riflessivi bisogna distinguere quei casi, in cui il soggetto è causa efficiente dell'azione significata dal verbo, da quei casi, in cui il soggetto soffre l'azione, piuttostochè farla propriamente. Nei primi il pronome personale è vero oggetto del verbo, nè più nè meno che sarebbe un nome; nei secondi il pronome è soggetto e oggetto insieme, o piuttosto è una cosa di mezzo fra l'uno e l'altro.

Under the first category Fornaciari puts sentences using *battersi* ('hit each other/oneself'), *ferirsi* ('wound oneself'), and others. Under the second category he places *spaventarsi* ('restare spaventato, non già mettersi paura a bella posta, come si farebbe ad altri'), *smarrirsi* ('restare smarrito, non già perder veramente sè stesso, come si perderebbe qualche cosa'), *dormentarsi*² ('restare addormentati, mentre si dice 'addormentare alcuno' per 'farlo dormire') and others. In an earlier work, Fornaciari characterizes this second category of uses of the reflexive morpheme as pertaining particularly to emotional states (1882:198-199)

Molti verbi transitivi, specialmente quelli che esprimono sensazioni ed affetti, diventando riflessivi ammorzano o perdono il loro significato attivo, cioè a dire, invece di azione esprimono piuttosto passione...

As early as 1949 Rohlf's (1949:189) called this use of the reflexive morpheme "la funzione d'esprimere l'aspetto verbale incoativo". Regula and Jernej say (1965:194), "La maggior parte di questi verbi ha un senso ingressivo (incoativo)". Goidanich offers the following explanation of the term *inchoative* (1962:153), "I verbi che esprimono cominciamento dell'azione come *Rinverdire* ['turn green again'], *Inaridire* ['dry up'] si dicono *Incoativi* (dal lat. *Incohare* cominciare)..."

All these observations taken together give one a reasonable idea of the meaning of "inchoative"³. The inchoative usually expresses a change of state, physical or psychological, which is experienced by the surface subject without necessarily being precipitated by or originating from within that subject. The inchoative construction employs the reflexive morpheme under precise conditions (described in Chapter 3) and often focuses on the beginning of the change of state entailed in the verb. I propose that the inchoative is structurally distinct from the (regular) reflexive just as it is semantically distinct. Chapter 3 develops this proposal.

A third use of the reflexive morpheme is exemplified in (1c). As far as I know traditional grammarians have grouped such usages together with ones like that of (1d) into a construction often re-

ferred to as "passive". Battaglia and Pernicone explain (1960: 316)

Per dare forma passiva alle voci della 3^a persona singolare e plurale di tutti i tempi semplici di forma attiva, basta premettere la particella *si*: 'Questo è un libro che *si* legge (è letto) volentieri da tutti'; 'le pecore *si* tosavano (erano tosate) con grande rapidità'.

In the first of their examples an agent phrase, "da tutti" occurs. Fornaciari (1897:233) also gives an example of *si* used with an agent phrase; "'la bestia *si* batte dal padrone'". However, in common speech today agent phrases only rarely appear in these constructions, and then, only indefinite agents such as *da tutti*⁴. Fornaciari goes on to note that if this use of *si* appears with a plural noun phrase, the verb usually agrees in number with the noun phrase, resulting in a surface structure similar to that of regular reflexive constructions. At this point the speaker is liable to be misunderstood as using the reflexive meaning, especially when the NP is [+human]. Fornaciari explains that in order to avoid such confusion one may say (1882:205), "'*si* lodano i buoni', invece di 'i buoni *si* lodano', che potrebbe intendersi in altro senso". He goes on to warn the reader that the following forms are "erronee" even if "deturpano spesso le odierne gazzette"

<i>mi si loda</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I am} \\ \text{you are} \\ \text{he/she/they are} \\ \text{we are} \\ \text{you (all) are} \end{array} \right\} \text{praised.}^1$
<i>ti si loda</i>	
<i>lo o la o li si loda</i>	
<i>ci si loda</i>	
<i>vi si loda</i>	

Today most of the above forms, rejected by Fornaciari, are accepted by Italians with a significant degree of variation.⁵

The grammarians cited above have astutely noted a semantic distinction between the uses of *si* noted immediately above and its reflexive and inchoative uses. While I ultimately reject the hypothesis of a *si*-passive, their classification points out an area of confusion in the grammar: the distinction between middle voice and indefinite subject constructions. This distinction is a major topic of Chapter 4.

The fourth and final use of *si* often noted by traditional grammarians is exemplified in (1e) and is usually called the im-

personal or indefinite subject construction. As I noted above, *indefinite* is the preferred term in this thesis. Battaglia and Pernicone explain this use thus (1960:326)

Qualunque verbo può essere usato impersonalmente e si adopera a tal fine la terza persona singolare di ogni tempo, preceduta dalla particella pronominale *si* che ha il significato del pronome indefinito *uno*: 'si racconta', 'si dice', 'si parla', 'si vive', 'si muore', 'si camminava', 'si partì', ecc.

At this point the reader may question what distinctions Battaglia and Pernicone offer between their two categories of passive and indefinite *si*. In fact, they appear to offer none. Fornaciari also maintains the position that there are two categories: passive and indefinite subject. However, he offers examples for the indefinite *si* construction that look suspiciously similar to his "passive" constructions (1882:209)

I verbi transitivi così usati possono talvolta accompagnarsi con un oggetto in plurale preceduto quasi sempre da *dei*, *degli*, *delle*: P. es. 'si vende de' libri'; 'si taglia legne'. Ma per lo più si preferisce costruire il verbo personalmente, dicendo 'si vendono libri' o 'de'libri', 'si tagliano legne' o 'delle legne', ecc...

There is at least one traditional grammarian who assumes the position that all the examples previously termed "passive" are cases of the indefinite construction. This is Lausberg, who explains the indefinite *si* by noting that all passives have agents, but (1971:226) "Se non è noto l'agente, lo si esprime mediante un 'si' impersonale".

This last idea of Lausberg's, that of the lack of a definite agent, is closely related to the notion of "uninvolvement" or "detachment", and at the same time to that of "generality" and extension to all humankind. Fornaciari claims that the reason one finds sentences in which the first person plural (having a personal and specific referent) and the indefinite *si* (having a more generalized and indefinite referent) alternate is that the speaker wishes to create a more "universale" atmosphere by this alternation. Some of his examples are (1898:242-243)

La tanta propinquità (vicinanza) non *ci* lascerebbe mettere in battaglia, chè dalla loro archibuseria *si* sarebbe offesi. (Varchi)

Se invece *fossimo* riusciti ad annojarvi, credete che non *si* è fatto apposta. (Manzoni)

Si par di carne, e *siamo* Costole e stinchi ritti. (Giusti)

Quando *siamo* stracchi *si* dorme tutto un sonno. (Franceschi)

Trabalza and Allodoli note that the indefinite *si* often replaces a first person plural subject, but they give a morphophonemic rather than semantic explanation for it (1935:176)

Ugualmente *si* è diffusa sempre più, anche presso scrittori riputatissimi per la loro attenzione alla lingua, la terza persona singolare preceduta da *si*, invece delle forme terminanti in *iamo*, *anno*, *emmo*, fenomeno comune ad altre lingue (si veda il bisogno di evitare il lungo imperfetto congiuntivo in francese): 'la 1^a persona plurale del verbo indicativo al tempo presente o dell'imperfetto è così lunga, lenta e incomoda' (Bonghi)...

Goidanich notes that often *noi* and *si* appear together. His explanation is one of style, involving both morphophonemics and semantics. Goidanich (1962:134) says that the repeated use of simple first person plural has a certain "monotonia" which is nicely broken by a combination of *noi* and *si*. At the same time this combination is "più disinvolto". Migliorini and Chiapelli also point out the stylistic value of a *si* in place of a *noi* in imperative-type sentences (1955:77-78)

Diversi altri procedimenti indiretti servono ad esprimere l'idea dell'imperativo senza impiegare il modo grammaticale dell'imperativo; come per es.: 'Allora *si* va?' che mantiene l'imperativo 'Andiamo!' nel tono moderato della proposta...

And Battaglia and Pernicone refer to the *noi si* combination already noted by Goidanich as "un misto di forma personale e impersonale insieme". They note as early as 1943, when their first edition came out, that (1960:328), "L'espressione è viva ed efficace nell'uso parlato, ma è bene non abusarne nello scritto". Today this combination is common in many varieties of Italian.⁶

The indefinite *si* construction has traditionally presented two puzzling facts to Italian grammarians: 1) when employed with an already reflexive construction, instead of *si si* appearing, we find *ci si*, 2) when past participle or predicative adjective or NP agreement is made in an indefinite *si* sentence, the ending employed is always plural and usually masculine. On the first point Fornaciari says (1882:210), "...non *si* può fare '*si si* batte', nè '*si si* vergogna', ma conviene '*uno si* batte'; ovvero '*ci* battiamo'; '*alcuno si* vergogna' e sim.". In his 1897 book, he does not mention the construction at all. Perhaps the *ci si* clitic combination was not yet thriving. But by 1918, when the first edition of Goidanich's

grammar came out, *ci si* must have been widespread since he says (1962:134), "Coi riflessivi si usa *ci si*: '*Ci si vergogna*'; '*Ci si inquieta*'; '*Non ci si parla*'". And all following grammarians mention this fact. An explanation for the appearance of *ci*, however, seems to be lacking until 1949, with the first edition of Rohlfs' grammar (1968: vol. II, par. 519)

Questo *ci* è dovuto al fatto che '*si canta*' ha anche la funzione di '*cantiamo*'..., cfr. il toscano '*noi ci si vede tutti i giorni*', vernacolo toscano '*no' ci s'affaccia*' '*noi ci affacciamo*' (Nerucci, Saggio, 30). Troviamo *se se* in parte dell'Italia settentrionale, dove però *ci* vien reso con *se*..., cfr. il veneto '*se se lava*', padovano '*se se pètena*', trentino '*se se imbarca*'.

It would appear that Rohlfs is offering a beautiful explanation for *ci si* as a natural extension of the *noi si* construction. While this is similar to the explanation I adopt in Chapters 5 and 6, I must stress that I adopt this explanation as a synchronic rather than a diachronic analysis. If Rohlfs' data were unquestionable and clear on this point, he would have presented strong diachronic support for my synchronic analysis. However, this is not the case. Rohlfs discards the possibility that the first *se* of *se se* cited above derives from *ce*, the source of Tuscan (and, now, standard Italian) *ci* ('*us*'), since this *se* occurs in texts as early as 1662, before such a historical change could have taken place (according to Rohlfs; vol. III, par. 460). Rather he appears to propose a process of blending of the definite first person plural clitic pronoun and the indefinite *si* to yield *se se* in reflexive indefinite constructions. His explanation becomes more confused and confusing as he elaborates. Yet, regardless of the history of the construction, Rohlfs' remarks, whether intentionally or not, lead one to draw the extension from *noi si* to *ci si* in contemporary speech. Subsequent grammarians, however, do not seem to have profited from Rohlfs' remarks, since no scholar I have read has followed up on this line of investigation.

As for the second puzzle, grammarians from Fornaciari on note that the masculine plural ending is assigned whenever agreement takes place in an indefinite *si* construction. Examples from Fornaciari are (1897:241), "'Non si diventa già filosofi per aver professato la filosofia' (Ganganelli); '*Quando si è ragazzi, si fa presto a correrla*' (Frossi)". The rule everyone cites is that when the construction is one that would have taken the auxiliary *essere* in composite tenses if it were not indefinite, such as (regular) reflexive constructions and (regular) passive constructions, agreement is made. If the construction would have taken *avere* but for the presence of this indefinite *si*, no agreement is made.⁷ Thus Battaglia and Pernicone give the fol-

Following three examples (1960:327)

Quando si è lodati non bisogna inorgogliersi.

Quando si è studiato ci si merita la promozione.

Quando si è camminato molto, ci si sente stanchi.

In the first case, we find a passive indefinite *si* construction. Because of the auxiliary *essere* of the passive verb, agreement is made on the past participle. In the second a composite tense of a transitive active predicate is involved, so no agreement is made. In the third case a composite tense of *camminare*, which takes *avere*, is used without agreement, and a predicative adjective with *sentirsi*, a reflexive form, is used with agreement.

None of the traditional grammarians offer an explanation for the incongruity of (masculine) plural agreement on these participles, adjectives and nouns when the finite verb is singular. Casagrande (1967:493) in a descriptive article on *si* suggests that the masculine plural offers the greatest sense of generality and hence is employed in this very construction which aims at a tone of generality. But this explanation ignores the fact that it is masculine singular, not plural, which is the unmarked ending in Italian, and makes no attempt to connect this fact of agreement with other syntactic facts of the indefinite construction. This agreement is discussed fully in Chapter 5.

Thus while the traditional grammarians have offered very little analysis, they have quite fully described the problems to be investigated.

C. Recent Work on the Problem

In light of recent developments in modern linguistics, particularly those of the generative school, many problems which had been debated for years with very few conclusive results are now being viewed from a new perspective, often quite fruitfully. The nature of the interrelationship of reflexive, inchoative, passive and indefinite constructions has been one of the problems brought to the attention of modern scholars, particularly Romance linguists. At present Ruwet (1972), Stefanini (1971), Gross (1969) and others are exploring this problem in French; Parisi and Castelfranchi are working on it in Italian; several scholars of Spanish, including Otero (1972), Contreras (1972), Babcock (1970), Schrotten (1972) are discussing it; a history of the problem in Portuguese was recently completed by Naro (1968); and a comparative work on English, French, Italian, and German has been written by Weizsäcker (1968). Undoubtedly there are others. It seems at this point that a number

of tentative solutions are being offered and a consensus has yet to be reached.

(i) Work Published on Spanish

Perhaps the most extensive research to be published on this problem in Romance is that of the Spanish scholars. Here I will give an account of only a few of the most recent works and only of those works which I do not discuss in detail in later chapters.

Babcock's 1965 dissertation, revised and published in 1970 as *The Syntax of Spanish Reflexive Verbs*, is one of the more probing and ambitious works on the topic. Babcock's main concern is to describe what she designates as the "middle voice" and to show that it is marked in surface structure by the middle affix (in Spanish, *se*) which is phonologically and morphologically identical to the third person reflexive pronoun. She says (1970: 69-70)

The middle affix marks the subject as a participant in the Predicate Phrase. The only features that all middles have in common, as we have seen, is this incorporation of the subject in the predicate. Incorporation is literal in sentences with repeated constituents; that is, in reflexives, reciprocals, and reflexive causatives. In middle actives and deponent constructions, incorporation is a function of an inherent subject-verb relationship. In these sentences the subject is both the originator of the activity and the Source or Destination, even though it is not necessarily repeated as a predicate constituent...The affix simply functions as an overt marker of this relationship. All marked middles are intransitive; that is, they cannot be passivized.

Babcock's distinction of middle verbs as having incorporation of the subject in the predicate and being non-passivizable would classify inchoatives as middles as long as we understand "subject" to mean "surface subject". In Chapter 3 I analyze inchoatives as a special case of the middle construction, and describe both in terms of syntactic properties. However, the "middleness" of reflexives and indefinite *si* constructions in Italian, at least, is not obvious to me. While a reflexive does usually⁸ involve coreferentiality between the subject and some NP in the predicate at some point in the derivation, reflexives can appear in certain passive constructions. To use an English example which works just as well for Italian, one might say with sentence final contrastive stress:

4) *Napoleon was crowned emperor by himself!*⁹

Without contrastive stress (4) is not grammatical. However, Postal (1971) has given ample evidence that the exclusion of the unstressed sentence from the grammar is due to the Cross-Over Constraint which, in brief, blocks the application of a movement T that will cross a pronominal virgin NP over another coreferential NP in the same clause. It is not clear that this constraint has anything to do with the middle constructions discussed by Babcock above. To accept Babcock's explanation over Postal's would be to ignore the compelling data for a generalization of the nature of Cross-Over as well as to claim that reflexives are intransitives, and thus *John killed himself* would have an entirely distinct syntactic structure from the clearly transitive *John killed Paul*. The similarities of these two sentences cannot be easily dismissed. Thus, I reject Babcock's analysis and assert that reflexive constructions are transitive.

Indefinites, likewise, do not seem to fit Babcock's definition of middle verbs. The indefinite *si* may appear in passive sentences in both Italian and Spanish:

- 5) *Si è sempre giudicati dai preti.*
'One is always judged by priests.'

(Spanish) *Hoy en dia se es perseguido sin piedad por los esbirros.*
'Nowadays one is mercilessly persecuted by the myrmidons.'

(The above Spanish example is from Otero (1972:234).)

Thus the indefinite construction cannot be "middle", by Babcock's own criteria.

Lozano, also in 1970, published an article on Spanish favoring an analysis which assigns "entirely separate syntactic patterns" to the reflexive and the indefinite constructions. One of Lozano's basic points is that the features [+animate] and [+human] are relevant to any study of this problem. He presents a chart showing that the reflexive naturally occurs only with [+animate] subjects, while the indefinite *se* of Spanish can occur with [\pm animate] NP that "cannot be considered as a true deep-structure-subject although it is realized as a pseudo-subject in the surface structure". As evidence that the indefinite *se* itself is not the true subject in deep structure, Lozano gives examples of such sentences with agent phrases. One of his examples, taken from Marathon M. Ramsey's *A Textbook of Modern Spanish* is: "*las pirámides se edificaron por esclavos*". Lozano explains that such *por*-phrases in Spanish *se* constructions can occur only when the relevant NP (in this example *pirámides*) is [-animate] and [-human]. What Lozano does not point out is that *se* constructions with agent phrases are only marginally acceptable in standard Spanish. In

Italian such sentences are out (as I mentioned above in Section B). Lozano further claims that every indefinite *se* sentence has a corresponding indefinite *se* sentence, and concludes that regular passives cannot be expressed in a *se* (in Italian, *si*) sentence. If both the agentive and objective case NP are [+definite] and [+animate], for example, there is no corresponding *si/se* sentence to the regular passive. Thus the Italian sentence and its corresponding Spanish sentence

- 6) *Maria era baciata da Giovanni.*
'Mary was kissed by John.'

cannot be expressed by a *si* construction. However, when Lozano claims that every indefinite *se* has a corresponding regular passive sentence, one must note that this claim is completely false for Italian (and for Spanish, as well). For example, what passive sentence corresponds to (7)?

- 7) *In Italia si mangia bene.*
'In Italy one eats well.'

Still, Lozano's study is useful toward an understanding of the Italian situation since the features of [\pm animate] and [\pm human] are important factors of the *si* constructions, as will be shown throughout this thesis.

Probably the most thorough study of the inchoative construction in Romance is that done by Roldán on Spanish in 1971. Her approach is basically that of Lakoff (1965), and I discuss both Lakoff's proposals and Roldán's applications of these proposals in Chapter 3. Roldán places all uses of the reflexive morpheme that are neither reflexives nor inchoatives into the category of "impersonal *se*". The impersonal *se* appears in three types of sentences: transitive ones with [-human] objective NP, transitive ones with [+human] objective NP, and intransitive ones. These are exemplified in (8a), (8b), and (8c), respectively (Roldán:1971:28-29):

- 8) a. *Se compran botellas.*
'Bottles bought here.'
- b. *Se saluda a los generales.*
'The generals get saluted.'
- c. *Se come para vivir.*
'Eating is done to stay alive.'

In the underlying structure, Roldán has a deep subject which is [+noun], [+human], and [+Pro]. In this analysis of the agent's features she is following the basic outlines of Perlmutter (1970).

While I agree with Roldán's division into three major cate-

gories of uses of *si*, two of which are reflexive and indefinite, I find her third category, inchoative, insufficient to account for certain appearances of *si* in Italian which could not possibly fall into either of the other two categories. For example, how would Roldán classify the following sentence?

- 9) *I palloni si rotolano più facilmente nel prato che nella sabbia.*
'Balls roll more easily on the ground than on sand.'

Clearly (9) is not a case of REFLEXIVE acting upon two coreferential NP both of which were present in deep structure, since an underlying (10) makes no sense:

- 10) *I palloni_i rotolano i palloni_i più facilmente nel prato che nella sabbia.*

Nor is (9) a case of the indefinite *si*, since not only is there no evidence to show that an agent was present at some point in the derivation but also there is syntactic evidence that (9) does not employ the indefinite construction. One major such syntactic fact is that under pronominalization *i palloni* is replaced by the nominative pronouns *essi* or *loro* but not by the accusative pronoun *li*. In indefinite constructions many restrictions on such nominative pronouns are observed¹⁰, while accusative pronouns are always allowed. (Descriptions of the differences between sentences such as (9) and indefinite constructions form the major part of Chapter 4.)

The only possibility left is for Roldán to classify (9) as an inchoative. However, Roldán's analysis of inchoative involves an embedded stative sentence and it is difficult to guess what stative sentence would be embedded in (9). Also (9), while perfectly acceptable in the present tense, is not acceptable for many in the preterite:

- 11) **I palloni si rotolarono più facilmente nel prato che nella sabbia.*

((11) is to be read without an agentive meaning, since with an agentive meaning (11) is a case of the indefinite construction and is then acceptable.)

Such restrictions on tense are not typical of inchoatives, but they are typical of certain uses of the middle voice. Hence, (9) appears to defy classification under Roldán's system. Instead, I adopt the three categories of reflexive, indefinite, and middle, with inchoative being a special case of the middle construction. In this system (9) falls into the category of middles both semantically and syntactically.

In a recent issue of *Linguistic Inquiry*, Otero approached the problem of Spanish *se* from a basically descriptive point of view.

Besides giving a particularly rich list of examples of the various uses of *se*, Otero suggests that the variation between (12a) and (12b) is the result of confusion on the part of the speaker.

- 12) a. *SE* { *alquila* } *los apartamentos.*
 b. { *alquilan* }
 'Pro rents (the) apartments.'

And he concludes that (1972:240) "although acceptable for many speakers, (11b) [my (12b)] is in fact ungrammatical and cannot be directly generated by the grammar of Spanish". Otero, like Roldán, insists upon the idea that the *se* constructions such as that in (12) have an underlying [+human] agent. As evidence that *se* represents a human agent, Otero points out the inadmissibility of sentences in which the verb excludes the possibility of a human subject (1972: 235):

- 13) a. **SE cuesta dos dólares.*
 'Pro costs two dollars.'
 b. **SE rebuzna más de la cuenta.*
 'Pro brays too much.'¹¹

Otero, like many others, does not note the distinction of middle versus indefinite constructions. His remarks are relevant to indefinite constructions (though even there they are not without fault), but entirely false for middle constructions. Looking back to (12), I agree that people did the renting of those apartments. Still, this fact does not prove that every sentence dealing with the renting of apartments entails an agentive NP in its deep structure. Compare (14a) with (14b);

- 14) a. *Si affittano appartamenti in questa zona della città.*
 'Apartments are rented in this area of town.'
 b. *Gli appartamenti in questa zona della città si affittano facilmente.*
 'Apartments in this area of town rent easily.'

In (14a) people ACTIVELY (in at least one reading) rent apartments. This is the indefinite construction. In (14b), there is a particular quality of the apartments (that they are in a desirable zone to live in, for example) which makes them rent easily. The person who rents them is less responsible for their being rented than the qualities of the apartments themselves. One might say that, metaphorically speaking, the apartments rent themselves. However, rather than rely on the term *metaphor*, usually used to describe figures of speech, I prefer to analyze (14b) as a case of the middle construction, which exhibits the very precise syntactic features outlined in Chapter 3. One of these features is the lack of an agent

in deep structure. Nonetheless, Otero's observations are helpful because of his insistence upon the grammaticality of the singular number of the finite verb in indefinite constructions. While I disagree with the claim that (12b) is "ungrammatical", I show in Chapter 5 that the rule assigning number to the finite verb applies very late and is very complex, differing significantly according to the regional variety (or dialect) of the language, whether it be Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese. In some versions of this rule agreement may be made (as a GRAMMATICAL process) with accusative NP under certain conditions. Thus, (12b) is a grammatical sentence (as a matter of fact, in Italian, it is the preferred sentence). However, the agreement in (12b) is not between the logical subject and the verb, as usually expected in active sentences, but between the logical object and the verb.

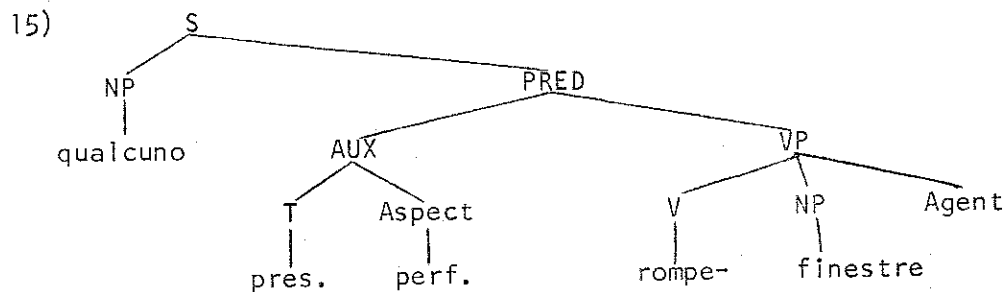
The above is by no means an exhaustive account of the work done on Spanish, but I believe it is fairly representative of such work. In later chapters extensive reference is made to other studies on Spanish (particularly that of Contreras) as well as to studies on French and Portuguese.

(ii) Work Published on Italian

Nowhere near the volume or extensiveness of work done on Spanish has been published on Italian. However, two studies have come to my attention. One brief analysis of the non-reflexive Italian constructions using *si* is found in Puglielli's study of the Italian predicate (1970:67-78). Puglielli proposes that underlying a sentence such as:

14) *Le finestre si sono rotte.*

are two deep structures, accounting for its ambiguity. In one, an indefinite subject performs the action of breaking the windows. A "passiva" transformation moves this indefinite subject into an agent phrase in the predicate which is consequently deleted, and moves the deep object into the subject node, inserting a *si* before the verb. This deep structure has a tree of the following type:



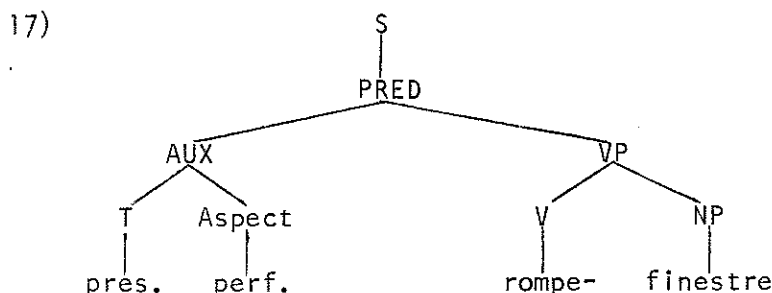
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From the deep structure (15), Puglielli derives both the regular passive,

- 16) *Le finestre sono state rotte.*
'The windows have been broken.'

and (14), with the same reading as (16).

Her second deep structure is quite distinct:



Since there is no NP subject node and since Italian is a language which usually¹² requires a surface subject, the NP object, *finestre*, moves into subject position creating a subject node and a *si* is inserted before the verb. This explains the following possible reading of (14):

- 18) *The windows got broken.*

(The other possible reading, according to Puglielli, is that of (16).)

which does not presuppose a human agent. Puglielli also suggests that a sentence such as:

- 19) *Mario si ammala facilmente.* (cf. (1b))
'Mario gets sick easily.'

has its origin in either (15) or (17).

While Puglielli's analysis observes the basic distinction that some non-reflexive *si* sentences have an underlying indefinite agent and others lack an agent, there are some difficulties with her proposals. First, it is not clear how Puglielli would handle intransitive indefinite *si* sentences such as *Si canta*, *Si mangia bene qui*, *Si è felici qui* since she relies on a "passive" T to move the indefinite subject in (15) into agent position and this passive T requires the presence of an object. In this way Puglielli appears to have made the same false assertion Lozano made above: that every indefinite *si* sentence has a passive counterpart.

Second, Puglielli derives (14) with its inchoative reading (seen in (18)) by way of a *si* insertion rule. She notes that (19) will have to be derived either by way of (15) or by way of (17). Certainly there is an inchoative reading of (19) that involves no human agent. For example, if Mario gets sick every time the weather changes, there is no question of a human agent being responsible for his illness. Thus, there is a reading of (19) under which it must have (17) as its deep structure by Puglielli's analysis. But if the *si* of this inchoative reading arises by way of a *si* insertion rule, why is there a *mi* instead of a *si* in (20)?

- 20) *Io mi ammalo facilmente.*
'I get sick easily.'

(Again, (20) is to be read as an inchoative, not as a reflexive, which would be a possible, though bizarre, reading.)

Puglielli now needs a *mi* insertion rule, a *ti* insertion rule, etc., or else a *si* agreement rule changing *si* to *mi* (*ti*, etc.) in the presence of a first (second, etc.) person surface subject. Such rules insert precisely the reflexive pronouns. Clearly, a generalization is being missed when reflexive pronouns are derived in two separate ways. Puglielli's insertion or agreement rules are unnecessary if REFLEXIVE is shown to operate on inchoatives. Thus, I prefer the copy analysis discussed in Chapter 3, which analysis employs REFLEXIVE.

An even briefer handling of this problem in Italian was published by Casagrande in 1967. His basic claim is that any *si* which is not a reflexive is indefinite. The meaning this indefinite *si* assumes depends on the particular structure it occurs in: with transitive active verbs it has a passive meaning; with intransitive (or intransitively used) and reflexive verbs it "has the force of an indefinite subject", and with any verb it can replace the pronoun *noi* "when the speaker does not want to use the first person plural of the verb". Casagrande does not mention the problem of inchoatives, nor does he explain how the indefinite *si* of a syntactically passive sentence such as (5) above fits into his schema. Casagrande seems to be asserting that the meaning of a sentence using *si* is uniquely determined by surface structure. Thus, he would not recognize the ambiguity of sentences such as (14), which can be understood as either inchoative or indefinite. It will be shown in Chapters 4 and 5 that indefinite *si* is indeed a result of underlying structure configurations (in contrast to Casagrande's assumption) and that the constraints on its distribution cannot be completely stated with only surface structure information.

Above I have shown that while previous analyses of the uses

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of the reflexive morpheme *si* in Romance languages have pointed out the relevant problems, no scholar has yet offered an analysis which adequately accounts for all such uses. The rest of this thesis is a proposal of just such an analysis. While a mere outline of the various reflexive uses of *si* is offered, and an all too brief mention of the middle construction is made, the inchoative is investigated more deeply and the indefinite is analyzed in detail.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1

- ¹ Unlike the other three terms listed here, *inchoative* is not traditional. Basically I employ the term for constructions describing changes of state, as Lakoff (1965) has so employed it. However, in Chapter 3 inchoative sentences are circumscribed by their syntactic rather than semantic features and are shown to be a special case of the middle voice construction.
- ² Today the verb *dormentarsi* is archaic. The modern form is *addormentarsi*.
- ³ It should be mentioned that many Latin scholars use the term *inchoative* to refer to the verbal ending *-sco* (see Grandgent (1907:173)). Meyer-Luebke (1927:172) applies the term to the Italian verbs of the *-ire* conjugation that are conjugated with *-isc-*. However, in this thesis *inchoative* is used with the meaning discussed above.
- ⁴ In Chapter 4 it is shown that this fact does not support the hypothesis that such uses of *si* are special passive constructions.
- ⁵ The most important point here is that *ci si loda* today can be understood in most varieties of Italian only as "we praise each other" or "one praises himself" and not as "we are praised" or "one praises us". This gap in the paradigm is discussed in Chapter 5 where an explanation based on semantic properties of the indefinite construction is offered.
- ⁶ For a discussion of *noi si* the reader is referred to Chapter 5. Also, at this point the reader who is familiar with French might benefit from comparing similar constructions with *nous* and *on*.
- ⁷ Transitive verbs in Italian take *avere* as their auxiliary, unless the auxiliary is converted to *essere* by the presence of a clitic reflexive pronoun or the indefinite *si*. Many intransitive verbs take *avere*, as well, while others take *essere*.
- ⁸ I say "usually" here because in Chapter 2 I discuss certain infrequent cases of reflexive constructions which have coreferential NP, neither of which is the subject of the sentence.
- ⁹ Postal (1971: chapter 19) has argued that the source for sentences such as (4) is not a simple structure such as

Napoleon_i crowned Napoleon_i emperor.

but a complex structure similar to:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} [The\ one_i [one_i\ crowned\ Napoleon_j\ emperor] \text{ was } Napoleon_j] \\ S_1 \qquad S_2 \qquad S_2 \\ (himself)] \\ S_1 \end{array}$$

Whether Postal's analysis is adequate for contrastive stress sentences is not within the scope of this thesis to determine. However, (4) is not my major evidence against Babcock's analysis. Thus, if it is ultimately shown not to be a counterexample, my argument below still remains intact.

- 10 Two points should be made here. First, there is one nominative pronoun that often occurs with *si* constructions; that is *noi*, mentioned above in Section B(ii). However, other nominative pronouns are highly restricted in such sentences. Second, for the reader who is unfamiliar with Italian it may be instructive to see the sentences which have undergone pronominalization:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Essi \\ *Li \end{array} \right\} \text{ si rotolano più facilmente nel prato.}$$

It is true that with a singular verb, as in:

Li si rotola più facilmente nel prato.

the accusative pronoun is more likely to be acceptable. But with *li* in either sentence we no longer have a middle voice construction, but an indefinite subject construction. The two sentences:

Essi si rotolano...

and

Li si rotola...

are not alternative surface forms of one deep structure. Rather the first comes from an underlying middle construction and the second from an underlying indefinite subject construction. The reader can find extensive justification for this claim in Chapters 3 and 4.

- 11 David Nasjleti (personal communication) informed me that (13b) "is semantically odd, but perfectly grammatical. Just a metaphor!" Nasjleti's observation supports Otero's point, since the semantic oddity of the construction is exactly what he means to demonstrate. For precision, Otero could have used the symbol

('semantically ill-formed') instead of * ('syntactically ill-formed') for both (13a) and (13b). In this thesis a distinction is observed between the two symbols.

- ¹² Normally subject pronouns may be deleted late in the derivation of Italian sentences, being recoverable for person and number by the ending on the finite verb and (possibly) for gender by adjectives or quantifiers remaining in surface structure. There is ample evidence for the appearance of the subject pronouns at an earlier stage in the derivation. However, some exceptions may exist to the statement that all Italian sentences have surface subjects; among them are the "weather" sentences such as *Piove*, *Nevica*, *Tuona* which offer no evidence for an underlying pronoun.

CHAPTER 2

On Reflexives

A. Purpose

The syntactic and semantic nature of pronominalization in English has been studied by many linguists. Some have assumed the position that pronouns are the result of transformational rules which insert them into a derived phrase marker by deleting one NP under "identity" with another (Lees and Klima (1963), Langacker (1969), Postal (1966)); others (notably Jackendoff (1968) and Dougherty (1969)) have argued that pronouns and reflexives should be inserted into the base phrase marker and interpreted for reference at some stage in the derivation by semantic rules. Ross (1967b) has offered evidence for a cyclic rule of pronominalization; Lakoff (1968a) has refuted such evidence asserting that well-formedness conditions on possible surface structures determine the choice of pronouns. Many linguists have assumed that reflexivization is a special case of pronominalization: reflexivization acting on coreferential NP within the same clause (or simplex sentence) and pronominalization applying across clause boundaries. Others have argued that reflexivization is a distinct rule from pronominalization (Harada and Saito (1971), Postal (1971)).

While the work cited above concentrates on English, much of it is relevant to Romance languages. In this chapter I assume that reflexivization in Italian (and in English, for that matter) is a distinct process from pronominalization. For justification of this assumption I call the reader's attention to the following facts. Reflexivization is forward only; pronominalization is forward or backward (under the conditions noted by Langacker (1969) and Ross (1967b)). Reflexivization and pronominalization are ordered differently with respect to other rules (notably movement rules studied by Postal (1971)). Reflexivization is obligatory; pronominalization is usually optional. Reflexivization is cyclic; pronominalization is not (Jackendoff (1968), Postal (1971)). I assume also that reflexive pronouns are the result of the transformational rule given by Lees and Klima (1963), although I will point out below certain instances in which a strictly transformational analysis is inadequate. Again for justification I call the reader's attention to the works cited above. (For an alternative analysis of reflexives in English which derives them from the restrictive possessive noun *self* introduced by P. S. rules, see Helke (1969).)

At this point the reader may well wonder what I intend to show in this chapter if I am assuming all the above without proof.

Let me clarify the purpose of this chapter. In this chapter one finds a catalogue of various uses and features of reflexive pronouns. My purpose is to show that the cases noted below may be accounted for by REFLEXIVE (REF) operating on two coreferential NP present in deep structure or by the interaction of REF with a copy rule which copies the subject into object (accusative or dative) position. Verbs undergoing this copy rule are listed in the lexicon ("absolute reflexives"). The cases catalogued here serve this thesis insofar as they may be compared and contrasted with inchoative and other middle constructions as well as with indefinite *si* sentences. I do not presume to give an in depth study of reflexives, which study could well be and has been matter for separate monographs. One aspect I have entirely ignored is the contrast in meaning often found between non-reflexive and reflexive uses of the same verb (see Jespersen (1933:111-112) for such a discussion).

In Italian reflexive pronouns are not morphologically or phonologically distinguishable from non-reflexive ones in the first and second persons. However, in the third person such a distinction is observed, with *si* (strong form *sé*) acting as the reflexive pronoun regardless of number. Most of the examples in this chapter will be given in first and third person: first person for the purpose of showing that the constructions discussed here are not restricted to *si* alone¹, and third person because the presence of *si* is evidence that the construction has undergone REF. Section B deals with cases of reflexive pronouns which can be accounted for by the transformational rule REF; Section C discusses other such cases as well as cases which may call for a lexical explanation.

B. Some Uses of REFLEXIVE

Lees and Klima (1963) give the following rule for reflexivization in English:

$X\text{-Nom-Y-Nom}'\text{-Z} \rightarrow X\text{-Nom-Y-Nom}'\text{+self-Z}$ where $\text{Nom}=\text{Nom}'=\text{a nominal}$, and where Nom and Nom' are within the same simplex sentence.

Implicit in this rule is the fact that it is always the second occurrence of an NP which reflexivizes in English². Also implicit is the assumption that the reader understands the symbol = to mean "coreferential". The notions of reference and coreference have been discussed by many (Lakoff (1968), Karttunen (1968), Postal (1971)) but remain rather obscure. Still, a definition of coreferentiality, in brief, can be stated thus: two elements are coreferential if they refer to the same entity (object, action, state, etc.). Lees and Klima's rule, which from here on is re-

ferred to as REF, applies to Italian as well as English, and is exemplified below.

(i) Cases Adequately Described by the Rule

- 1) a. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Mi vedo} \\ \text{Si vede} \end{Bmatrix}$ *allo specchio.*

' $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I see myself} \\ \text{He sees himself} \end{Bmatrix}$ in the mirror.'

(identity of subject and accusative object)

- b. *Quando* $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{sono} \\ \text{è} \end{Bmatrix}$ *disperato,* $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{mi domando} \\ \text{si domanda} \end{Bmatrix}$ *se valga la*

pena vivere.

'When $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I am} \\ \text{he is} \end{Bmatrix}$ desperate, $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I ask myself} \\ \text{he asks himself} \end{Bmatrix}$ if it's

worth this.'

(identity of subject and dative object)

- c. *Lo psichiatra presentò* $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{me a me stesso.} \\ \text{Gino}_i \text{ a sé}_i \text{ (stesso).} \end{Bmatrix}$ ³

'The psychiatrist introduced $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{me to myself.} \\ \text{Gino}_i \text{ to himself}_i. \end{Bmatrix}$ '

(identity of accusative and dative object)

When the identity relationship is between the subject and an object, the reflexive pronoun cliticizes unless it is assigned the strong form for emphasis or contrast⁴. The strong forms for cases like (1a) and (1b) are seen in (1d) and (1e), respectively.

- 1) d. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{vedo me} \\ \text{vedo se} \end{Bmatrix}$ *non té!*

' $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I see myself} \\ \text{He sees himself} \end{Bmatrix}$ not you!'

- e. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Domandavo a me stesso} \\ \text{Domandava a sé stesso} \end{Bmatrix}$ *non a te!*

' $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I was asking myself} \\ \text{He was asking himself} \end{Bmatrix}$ not you!'

However, when the identity is between two surface objects, as in (1c), the reflexive pronoun may not cliticize. In Italian any sentence having identity between two surface objects is automatically marked as an "unusual" sentence, most often having an element of surprise or contrast. Given this fact, the non-cliticizability of the reflexive pronoun in (1c) is predicted by the rule just mentioned above, which assigns the strong form to stressed pronouns. Another explanation, which is syntactic, also explains the impossibility of the reflexive pronoun's being cliticized in (1c). This explanation follows directly from Constraint A.

Constraint A: No reflexive pronoun may cliticize to a verb which has a subject not coreferential with the reflexive pronoun at the time of clitic placement.⁵

Constraint A describes patterns such as that seen in (2). The following verbs allow clitics of an embedded verb to "hop" up, except when that clitic is a reflexive pronoun not coreferential with the subject of the verb:

- 2) a.

{	Permetto
	Proibisco
	Comando
	Dico
	Ordino
	Chiedo
	Consento
	Impedisco

 a Carlo di farlo.

{	permit prohibit command tell order request allow impede	Carlo	{	to do it. from doing it. to do it. " " " " " " " " " " " " from doing it.
---	--	-------	---	--

- b. *Gli permetto di farlo.*
 'I permit him to do it.'

- c. *Glielo permetto di fare.*
 'Him-it-I permit to do.'

- but: d. *Permetto a Carlo di uccidersi.*
 'I permit Carlo to kill himself.'

- e. *Gli permetto di uccidersi.*
 'I permit him to kill himself.'

f. **Gli si permetto di uccidere.*

Thus the reflexive pronouns of (1c) are blocked from cliticizing by Constraint A.

Another very common use of the reflexive is seen in (3a):

- 3) a. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Mi lavo} \\ \text{Si lava} \end{Bmatrix} i \text{ capelli.}$

'I wash my hair.'

'He washes his hair.'

When used contrastively, these pronouns appear as objects of the preposition *a*:

- 3) b. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Lavo} \\ \text{Lava} \end{Bmatrix} i \text{ capelli a } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{me} \\ \text{sé} \end{Bmatrix} \text{ non a Carlo!}$

' $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I wash my own} \\ \text{He washes his own} \end{Bmatrix}$ hair, not Charlie's!'

This construction is not limited to reflexive usages:

- 4) *Lavo i capelli a Maria.*

Le lavo i capelli.

(cf. **Si lavo i capelli.*)

Lavo i capelli a lei, non a lui!

'I wash $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Mary's} \\ \text{her} \\ \text{her} \end{Bmatrix}$ hair $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{' } \\ \text{' } \\ \text{, not his!'} \end{Bmatrix}$

Fillmore (1968) presents an extensive analysis of such constructions, calling them examples of the adnominal (possessive) use of datives. He argues that, while the relationship of alienable possession is a sentential one, that of inalienable possession is not. Instead, by adding to the grammar the rewrite rule:

$NP \rightarrow N(D)$

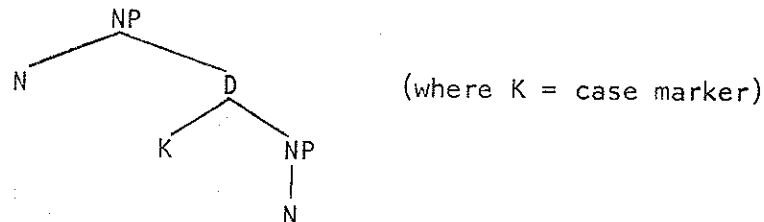
we can account for the dative-like appearance of the possessives in (3) and (4) as well as that in the less common cases of alienable possession of:

- 5) a. *secretary to the president.*

b. *the president's secretary.*

(In Italian only *la segretaria del presidente* is possible.)

The underlying structure he offers for such datives is:



As Fillmore notes, the D may at times remain within the NP, as in (3b), or, more typically, is changed to a genitive form, as in (5b). While in Latin this dative could remain as a dative in surface structure with the copula *esse*, in modern Italian⁶ the D must become a possessive adjective or a genitive with the copula *essere*:

6) *I miei capelli sono sporchi.*

**Mi sono sporchi i capelli.*

'My hair is dirty.'

Fillmore refers to Bally to note that in some languages, such as French, inalienable possession may not be expressed by means of the possessive adjective. Thus, in (7a) *jambe* belongs to a person, while in (7b) *jambe* is an object such as the leg of a piece of furniture.

7) a. *Je me suis cassé la jambe.*

b. *J'ai cassé ma jambe.*

'I broke my leg.'

However, this data is not accurate. While the surface dative seems to be most frequently used for inalienable possession, it is possible, though highly stylized, to use the possessive adjective for inalienable possession in both French and Italian in sentences such as (7b). Also, when the subject of the sentence does not possess the leg, but the leg is an inalienable part of some other person, the possessive adjective is common:

8) *Mi interessano specialmente le sue gambe.*

'Her legs are of special interest to me.'

Other linguists have called the datives of (3) through (7) the

ethic(al) dative or dative of interest. Roldán (1972) gives a strong argument for Spanish that the dative of interest is not a possessive. For example, given the bizarre situation of a surgeon's operating on a patient whose eye begins to lacrimate, one might say

- 9) *En lo mejor de la operación al cirujano se le llenaron de lágrimas los ojos del paciente.*

'In the middle of the operation, the patient's eyes filled with tears on the surgeon (to the surgeon's detriment).'

However, many of Roldán's examples do not have counterparts in Italian. For example, (10) might be considered a dative of interest (a non-reflexive one) with the meaning that the dative is affected in an adverse way:

- 10) *Mi si è perso il libro.*
'The book got lost on me.'

But notice that (10) becomes ungrammatical if a possessor other than first person singular (that is, a possessor not identical to the dative) is added:

- **Mi si è perso il libro di Paolo.*
'Paul's book got lost on me.'

Giulio Lepschy (personal communication) has pointed out to me that there are some cases in Italian similar to that in (9) in Spanish, as in:

- Mi cominciano a tremare le gambe dei pazienti.*
'The patients' legs begin to tremble on me.'

Undoubtedly there are many other datives of interest in Italian which do not entail possession, as in *Mi occorre la lettera di Riccardo* ('Richard's letter is necessary to me'), *Mi piacciono i film di Fellini* ('Fellini's films please me'), *Mi hanno rubato i gioielli di mia moglie* ('They stole my wife's jewels from/on me').

Whether Fillmore or Roldán's analysis or a combination of the two is correct for Italian need not be determined here. It suffices for our purposes merely to note these cases as dative sources of the reflexive pronoun. Syntactic evidence that they are datives is offered by three facts: 1) they are preceded by a when non-clitic (as in (3b)); 2) they pattern as datives as to the order of clitic pronouns, that is, they precede accusative clitics as all dative reflexives do:

11) a. *Me li lavo.* (cf. regular dative: *Me lo dico.*

Se li lava.

Se lo dice.

'I wash them.'

'I say it to myself.'

'He washes them.'

'He says it to himself.'

and 3) they pattern as other datives as to agreement of past participles, that is, past participles do not make agreement with them:

11) b. *Me li sono* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lavati.} \\ * \text{lavato.} \end{array} \right\}$ (cf. regular datives:

Se li è $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lavati.} \\ * \text{lavato.} \end{array} \right\}$

Me le sono $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ripetute.} \\ * \text{ripetuto.} \end{array} \right\}$

'I repeated them to myself.'

(ii) Cases Not Accounted for by the Rule

Reflexive pronouns are found in sentences having coreferentiality between the object of a preposition and the surface subject of the same clause. For example,

12) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mi tiro} \\ \text{Si tira} \end{array} \right\}$ *dietro la carrozzina.*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'I pull} \\ \text{He pulls} \end{array} \right\}$ the buggy behind $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{myself.} \\ \text{himself.} \end{array} \right\}$

or, with contrastive stress on the final syllable:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Tiro} \\ \text{Tira} \end{array} \right\}$ *la carrozzina dietro di* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{me.} \\ \text{sé.} \end{array} \right\}$

In English an NP acting as the object of a preposition which is coreferential with any other preceding NP in the same simplex sentence may usually⁷ undergo REF. However, in Italian such a pronoun (other than a dative object preceded by *a* as in (1c)) can undergo REF only if it is coreferential with the surface subject of its clause. Thus (13a) is not acceptable in Italian, and (13b), while ambiguous in English, has only one possible meaning in Italian:

13) a. **Ho parlato a Giovanni_i di sé_i.*
'I talked to John about himself.'

b. *Carlo_i ha parlato a Giovanni_j di sé_i.*
'Charles talked to John about himself (Charles).'

While in most cases involving identity between the object of a preposition and the subject, REF applies, there appear to be exceptions. Sentences with certain prepositions, particularly prepositions expressing the physical position of some object, may not employ REF. Lees and Klima (1963) claim that such cases are really only apparent exceptions, and, on deeper analysis, are actually accounted for by their rule. They cite as examples:

14) a. $John_i$ smeared the oil on $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{himself}_i. \\ *him_i. \end{matrix} \right\}$

b. $John_i$ ignored the oil on him_i .

They bracket (14a) thus in deep structure:

$\left[\begin{matrix} [John_i] \\ S_1 \end{matrix} \left[\begin{matrix} [smeared [the\ oil] [on\ John_i]] \\ VP \end{matrix} \right] \right] VP\ S_1$

Since only one simplex sentence is involved, REF applies. (14b), however, is bracketed in a different way:

$\left[\begin{matrix} [John_i] \\ S_1 \end{matrix} \left[\begin{matrix} [ignored\ the\ oil\ [the\ oil\ is\ on\ John_i]] \\ VP \end{matrix} \right] \right] S_2\ VP\ S_1$

Since the second occurrence of *John* is in a separate sentence, REF does not apply. Instead regular pronominalization yields (14b).

This explanation, while it may be adequate to explain (14) for Lees and Klima's dialects of English, fails to explain why some speakers accept $John_i$ smeared the oil on him_i . Likewise, it does not explain the following English examples of Jespersen (1933:112):

15) Shut the door behind you!

I have no change about me.

She_i stood looking straight in front of her_i .

$They_i$ had the whole afternoon before $them_i$.

Nor can it account for the variation noted by Dwight Bolinger (private communication) in sentences such as:

(Spanish) $Levantò_i$ el paraguas sobre $\left\{ \begin{matrix} si_i. \\ él_i. \end{matrix} \right\}$
'He raised the umbrella over him(self).'

(Italian) *Carlo_i ha parlato a Giovanni_j di {sé_i.⁸
lui_i.}*
'Charles talked to John about him(self).'

(English) *Mary_i clasped the child_j to {herself_i.
her_i.}*

In many of these examples both the regular pronoun and the reflexive are acceptable. However, a difference in meaning may often be noted, although it may be slight. In the very first example of (15) the meaning difference is more easily discerned. *Shut the door behing you!* means "after you have gone through the door, shut it", while *Shut the door behind yourself* means "shut the door which is behind you" and does not imply anything about whether YOU have gone through the door, in my dialect. Thus, it would appear that Lees and Klima's rule fails to explain the above cases without reflexive pronouns precisely because their rule is not sensitive to semantic constraints. (This conclusion is consistent with footnote 7 above.)

Furthermore, in some instances objects of prepositions may undergo REF across simplex sentence boundaries in both Italian and English, yielding another variation not predicted by Lees and Klima:

- 16) a. *La donna_i lascia che io giaccia presso di {sé_i.
lei_i.}*
'The woman_i allows that I lie beside her(self)_i.'
- b. *Who_i would want such wrath brought down upon
him(self)_i?*

In sentences such as (16a) the variation between the regular and reflexive pronouns is by no means free. The choice of the matrix verb, and perhaps even of the lower verb and the preposition, may affect this variation. There is also a great amount of variation between dialect areas and even between individual speakers from the same dialect area. For example, while all my informants accepted both the reflexive and non-reflexive pronoun in (16a), a few felt uncomfortable with the reflexive pronoun when the matrix verb was *permettere* ('permit'), *consentire* ('consent'), *tollerare* ('tolerate'), *dire* ('tell'), *sperare* ('hope'), *negare* ('deny'), *dimenticare* ('forget'), *persuadere* ('persuade'), *impedire* ('impede'), or *invitare* ('invite'). Others accepted these verbs readily while still others rejected them. The explanation for this variation lies, I believe, in the genetic background of Romance reflexivization. However, first I will present synchronic analyses which attempt to explain the application of REF across clause boundaries.

One such analysis has been offered by Ross (1970) with regard to sentences such as (17):

- 17) *Tom believed that the paper had been written by Ann and (him) himself.*

Ross calls the reflexive pronoun which follows an anaphoric pronoun an "Emphatic reflexive". Such "emphatic" reflexives are common to Italian and English as well as to many other languages, and can occur with full NP as well as with pronouns:

- 18) *Ho visto {il presidente} stesso al cinema.*
 'I saw the {lui} himself at the movies.'
 {president}
 {him}

Ross derives (17) without *him* by way of deletion from *him himself* and describes this deletion with the following rule:

- 19) If an anaphoric pronoun precedes an emphatic reflexive, the former may be deleted, if it is commanded by the NP with which it stands in an anaphoric relationship.

This rule correctly predicts the non-grammaticality of (20a) in which the pronoun is not anaphoric, and of (20b), in which the anaphoric pronoun is not commanded by the NP with which it is co-referential:

- 20) a. **I saw himself at the movies. (from: I saw him himself at the movies.)*

**Tom was not present, and many of the girls believed that the paper had been written by Ann and himself. (from: Tom...by Ann and him himself.)*

Ross adds the observation that while the rule as stated in (19) governs most cases of emphatic reflexives, "there are others, which have to do with the internal structure of the sentence to which the reflexive pronoun belongs". He then proceeds to list sentences of varying degrees of acceptability and notes that "such reflexives are more acceptable as agent phrases than as subjects or direct objects". Instead of narrowing down the description thus, one might generalize from the structural configurations that objects of prepositions are more likely to yield acceptable sentences after undergoing rule (19) than subjects or objects. Stated thus, the more "susceptible" positions are precisely those observed in (16a) and (16b). Still, Ross's explanation does not adequately explain the English sentence (16b), since the full NP *him himself* is not admissible in this sentence:

- 21) *Who would want such wrath brought down upon him
himself?⁹

In fact, Ross's emphatic reflexive is only permissible in English when the NP to which it is anaphoric is definite.¹⁰

In order to judge whether Ross's explanation accounts for the Italian sentences like (16a), one must first understand the use of *stesso* (see (18)). Italian differs from English with regard to emphatic reflexives in that *stesso* does not occur alone. Hence we do not find sentences such as:

- 22) *Tommaso credeva che il saggio fosse stato scritto da
Anna e stesso.¹¹
'Tom believed the paper had been written by Ann and
himself.'

Also, the same form *stesso* can be used as an adjective to mean "same". As an adjective it precedes the NP it modifies in surface structure. However, when *stesso* has the value of the emphatic reflexive, it can precede or follow its head if that NP be full, but must follow its head if that NP be pronominal:

- 23) a. È al governo {lo stesso presidente } dell'anno scorso.
 {*il presidente stesso}
 'The same president as last year is in power.'
 b. {Lo stesso presidente} è intervenuto in suo favore.
 {Il presidente stesso}
 'The president himself intervened in his behalf.'

Finally, *stesso* can occur with both non-reflexive and reflexive non-clitic pronouns:

- 24) Ho visto lui stesso al cinema.
 'I saw him himself at the movies.'
 Ha visto sé stesso alla televisione.
 'He saw himself himself on television.'

Given these facts, one must reject the idea that *stesso* is a pronoun and even that *stesso* has reflexive value. Instead *stesso* appears to be an element marking emphasis which may have as its head a full NP or the strong form of a pronoun.

If Ross's explanation for the presence of the reflexive pronoun in (17) had a counterpart in Italian, we would expect *stesso* to be present at some underlying stage in the derivation of sentences such as (16a). However, we find that *stesso* is rejected from this sentence:

- 25) **La donna_i lascia che io giaccia presso (di) se_i stessa.
lei_i stessa.*

Thus, Ross's explanation does not suffice for Italian sentences such as (16a) nor for English sentences such as (16b).¹²

Examining sentences like (16a) more closely, we find certain conditions prevailing. First, reflexivization cannot occur if the pronoun is the accusative or dative object of the lower verb (not even if the dative object is preceded by a):

- 26) a. *La donna lascia che io* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} la \\ *si \\ \emptyset \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ *baci* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset. \\ \emptyset. \\ lei. \\ *se. \end{array} \right\}$
'The woman allows that I kiss her (the woman).'
- b. *La donna lascia che io* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} le \\ *si \\ \emptyset \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ *telefoni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset. \\ \emptyset. \\ a lei. \\ *a se. \end{array} \right\}$
'The woman_i allows that I telephone her_i.'

The sentences of (26) with clitic reflexives are ruled out by Constraint A above. And all of (26) behaves as Lees and Klima's rule would predict.

Second, REF cannot apply if there is present some intermediary agent which could possibly be the referent of the pronoun, thus causing ambiguity. Since one cannot "lie beside oneself", no ambiguity arises in a sentence such as:

- 27) a. *La donna_i lascia che Maria_j giaccia presso di se'_i.*

The *se'* can refer only to *la donna*. But in:

- 27) b. *La donna_i lascia che Maria_j tiri la carrozzina dietro*
di $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} se_{j.} \\ *se_{i.} \end{array} \right\}$
'The woman_i allows that Mary_j pull the buggy behind
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} herself_{j.} \\ *herself_{i.} \end{array} \right\}$

the *se'* can refer only to Maria, since Maria can pull the wagon behind herself. In order to express the idea of Maria's pulling the wagon behind the woman, one must employ the non-reflexive pronoun *lei*. This constraint is very similar to Grinder's (1970) "Intervention Constraint" for Super Equi which Neubauer (1972) aptly rephrases as:

Super Equi cannot take place if there is another potential controller in the way as in:

Morton_i was concerned that it would bother Sheila_j for

{him_i} to perjure {himself_i.}
{her_j} {herself_j.}

Morton_i was concerned that it would bother Sheila_j to

*perjure {*himself_i.}*
{herself_j.}

Third, in contrast to Ross's rule (19) above, it is not enough that the NP command the pronoun; the NP must also be the surface subject of the sentence in which it occurs in Italian:

28) *Giovanni permette alla donna_i che io giaccia presso*
di {lei_i.}
*{*se_i.}*

'John allows the woman that I lie near her.'

But this very restriction, that the object of a preposition can become a reflexive pronoun only under identity with a preceding surface subject, is basically the same restriction seen in (13) and (14), where only simple sentences were involved. The only difference between the two cases is that the object of the preposition is identical to the subject of some higher sentence in (16a) but it is identical to the subject of its own sentence in (14). This evidence strongly suggests that, rather than calling (16a) and (13)/(14) separate exceptions to REF, we need to modify the rule in Italian to account for cases like those in (1) as well as cases of reflexivization of objects of prepositions which are not accusative or dative objects of the verb.

That reflexivization is cyclically ordered has been convincingly argued by many (Langacker (1969), Ross (1967b), Postal (1971), Jackendoff (1968)). A basic assumption of most discussions of REF is that if a sentence node is pruned or otherwise deleted during derivation, the reflexive rule (whether it be transformational or interpretive) may then be applied across the "missing" node. In other words, REF is not a global rule; it does not refer to information not available at the time it occurs. For example, Harada and Saito (1971) give a detailed derivation of the following sentence:

29) *John_i believes himself_i to be hard for Bill to understand.*

The derivation they give is thus:

- (a) Underlying (given some device for specifying coreference relations. Whether this device operates cyclically is immaterial to this discussion.)

[John_i believes [[Bill_j understand him_j] is hard]]
_{S₁} _{S₂S₃} _{S₃} _{S₂S₁}

(b) First Cycle - No rule applicable.

(c) Second Cycle - Tough Movement

[John_i believes [he_i is hard [for Bill_j to understand]]]
_{S₁} _{S₂} _{S₃} _{S₃S₂S₁}

(d) Last Cycle - Subject Raising

[John_i believes him_i [to be hard [for Bill to understand]]]
_{S₁} VP _{S₃} _{S₃NP S₁}

Last Cycle - Reflexivization

[John believes himself [to be hard [for Bill to understand]]]
_{S₁} VP _{S₃} _{S₃VP S₁}

Thus, as the pronoun *he_i* is raised on the last cycle Harada and Saito claim that the *S₂* node is deleted or otherwise pruned. Perhaps it is not necessary to assume the loss of the *S₂* node. It is sufficient to note that the raising transformation moves *he_i* from *S₂* to *S₁*, so that REF can apply in *S₁* yielding *himself*.

Harada and Saito's explanation accounts for similar occurrences of reflexives in Romance languages. For example:

30) (Italian) *Giorgio si è fatto fare un cappotto.*
 'George had a coat made for himself.'

(Spanish) *Juan hizo traerse el auto.*
 'John had the car brought to himself.'

(French) *Paul s'est laissé pincer par Michel.*
 'Paul let Michael pinch him (Paul).'

In each of the sentences of (30) the non-reflexive pronoun, *gli*, *le*, and *le*, respectively, is rejected. Thus the sentences of (30) have somehow lost the embedded sentence node and thus not only allow, but require REF to apply across the "missing" node. (For a possible explanation of the derivation of the sentences in (30) see Aissen (1972).)

The Italian situation, however, still seems to be left unexplained since no constituent of the *che* clause in (16a) has been raised and the very presence of the *che* is a surface manifestation of the embedded sentence node. Yet Harada and Saito's

analysis does suggest a hypothesis: perhaps the nodes between *la donna* and *sé* in (16a) are not the kind of nodes that block REF from applying to objects of prepositions.

As I mentioned above, the explanation for the application of REF across clause boundaries in Italian may lie in the genetic background of Romance reflexivization. Consider the following description of REF in Classical Latin (Hale-Buck: 1903:145):

Sē and *suus* are used mainly in two ways: 1. To refer to the Subject of the clause in which they stand. ("Direct Reflexive")... 2. To refer to the Subject of the MAIN CLAUSE, though themselves standing in a subordinate clause. ("Indirect Reflexive"). This is possible only where the subordinate clause expresses the thought of the Subject of the main clause: *hīs mandāvit ut quae dīceret Ariovistus ad sē referrent* 'he charged them to repeat to him what A. should say'.

Paolo Valesio (personal communication) has suggested that the great amount of variation in acceptability of REF's applying across clause boundaries in modern Italian may be due to the fact that Italian still observes the Classical Latin rule, but dialects vary as to which sentences are considered to express "the thought of the Subject of the main clause". In fact, in Valesio's variety of Italian (16a) with the reflexive pronoun is "more intimate" and "subjective" than the version with the non-reflexive pronoun. He proposes that the difference between the two versions may be the result of the structural distinction that the reflexive form comes from an underlying sentence with "direct speech", while the non-reflexive form does not. The idea that "direct speech" or "direct discourse" may be involved in the deep structure of (16a) with the reflexive seems sound. I propose¹³ the following deep structure for the reflexive sentence:

- 31) *La donna lascia* : 'Tu giaci presso di me'.
'The lady allows, 'You lie near me'.'

while for (16a) without the reflexive pronoun I propose an underlying:

- 32) *La donna_i lascia che io giaccia presso della donna_i*.

(This analysis is consistent with recent studies by Kuno (1972) on reflexivization in complex sentences whose matrix verbs take direct discourse in deep structure.¹⁴)

This analysis not only serves to explain Hale and Buck's example cited above and other Classical Latin examples such as (Plautus: *Miles Gloriosus*: 123-124):

*Ubi contra aspexit me, oculis mihi signum dedit Ne se
appellarem;*

'As soon as she saw me in front of her, she winked at me
so that I would not call her by name;'

but also explains the appearance of reflexives in other Romance
languages, such as in the following example from Old Provençal
(Cercamon: "Per fin' Amor m'esjauzira";53-55):

*E si·m fezes tant de plazer
Que·m laisses pres de si jazer,
Ja d'aquest mal non morira.*

'And if she would make me such a pleasure
as to let me lie near herself
I would not die of this malady.'

Examples of other Italian sentences allowing REF to apply across
clause boundaries to objects of prepositions include: *Pietro
volle che io andassi con sé* ('Peter wanted me to go with him');
Mi ordinò che andassi con sé ('He ordered me to go with him');
Ha fatto in modo che entrassi dopo di sé ('He arranged it so that
I entered after him').¹⁵

(iii) Conclusion to Section B

All the occurrences of *si* discussed above are derived by way
of REF acting upon the second of two coreferential NP to yield
a reflexive pronoun. In these cases both coreferential NP are
present in deep structure. When the second NP is reflexivized,
it may remain in nonclitic position if it is assigned stress for
reasons of contrast or emphasis, or it may cliticize to the verb
of its clause. Reflexive pronouns may not cliticize to a verb
whose subject is not coreferential with the reflexive pronoun at
the time of clitic placement (see Constraint A). REF applies ob-
ligatorily within clauses and may not apply across clause boundaries.
However, there are exceptions to both conditions. REF is not ob-
ligatory with certain prepositions, often those referring to spatial
position. The constraints here may well be semantic. REF applies
across clause boundaries when the deep structure is one of direct
discourse. In such cases only objects of prepositions (other than
datives preceded by *a*) in the embedded sentence may undergo REF.

The cases of reflexivization and exceptions to the rule
studied in this section are catalogued below with a proposed
underlying structure at the time REF occurs (only those features
relevant to REF are detailed¹⁶). The numbering of these examples
matches their numbering above.

- 1) a. *Si vede allo specchio.*
Lui_i vede lui_i allo specchio.
(identity of subject and acc. obj.)

- 1) b. *Quando è disperato, si domanda se...*
Quando lui_i è disperato, lui_i domanda a lui_i se...
 (identity of subject and dat. obj.)
- 1) c. *Lo psichiatra presentò Giovanni_i a sé_i.*
Lo psichiatra presentò Giovanni_i a Giovanni_i.
 (identity of acc. obj. and dat. obj.)
- 3) a. *Si lava i capelli.*
Lui_i lava i capelli a lui_i.
 (identity of subj. and dat. of interest)
- 12) a. *Giorgio si tira dietro la carrozzina.*
Giorgio₁ tira dietro di Giorgio₁ la carrozzina.
 (identity of subj. and obj. of prep.)
- 15) *Carlo_i ha parlato a Giovanni di sé_i.*
 (identity of subj. and obj. of prep.)
- 16) a. *La donna lascia che io giaccia presso di sé.*
La donna lascia: 'Tu giaci presso di me'.
La donna lascia che io giaccia presso di lei.
La donna_i lascia che io giaccia presso della donna_i.
 (identity of subj. of matrix and obj. of prep. of
 embedded clause)

C. Reflexives Found Only in Clitic Position

In Section B all the cases of *si* discussed had their origin in an NP coreferential with some preceding NP in the sentence (usually in the same simplex sentence). All those cases had non-clitic reflexive forms as well as clitics. The three cases discussed in this section allow only clitic pronouns, hence there is no non-clitic option which would mark for us the position of an underlying NP coreferential with some other NP in the sentence. It is argued here that the first case, that of reciprocals, is accounted for by REF; the second, that of certain datives of interest also lends itself to a transformational solution; and the third, that of "absolute" reflexives, may require a lexical solution. However, all the solutions offered in this section have certain weaknesses discussed below. Thus they must be considered tentative at best. Also, while reciprocity relationships need not employ reflexive pronouns, the other two cases studied in this section do require reflexives. In this way they are distinct from the cases of Section B above, which all had parallels in non-reflexive constructions.

(i) Reciprocals

A frequent use of reflexive pronouns is in constructions expressing a reciprocal relationship, like the following:¹⁷

- 33) a. *Noi ci scriviamo.*
 'We write to each other.'
- b. *Noi ci incontriamo ogni giorno alle tre.*
 'We meet (each other) every day at three.'
- a' *I ragazzi si scrivono.*
 'The boys write to each other.'
- b' *I ragazzi si incontrano ogni giorno alle tre.*
 'The boys meet (each other) every day at three.'

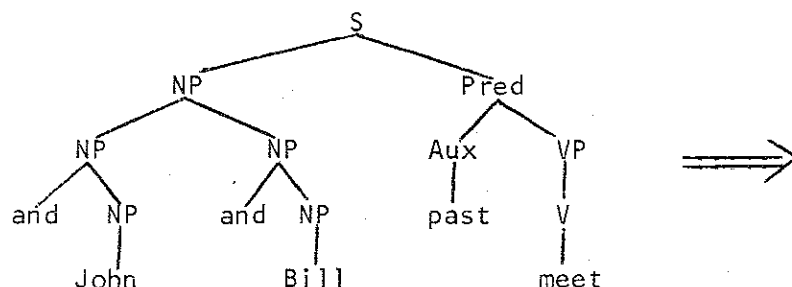
Sentences somewhat similar to those in (33) have been widely used as examples in arguments concerning the distinctions between sentence conjunction and phrasal conjunction. Lakoff and Peters (1966) have argued that verbs such as *meet*, which have identical selectional restrictions on the superficial subject and object (of the preposition, where one appears) must have phrasal conjunction in their subjects because of the following pattern:

- 34) a. *John and Bill met.*
 b. *John met Bill.*
 c. **John met.*

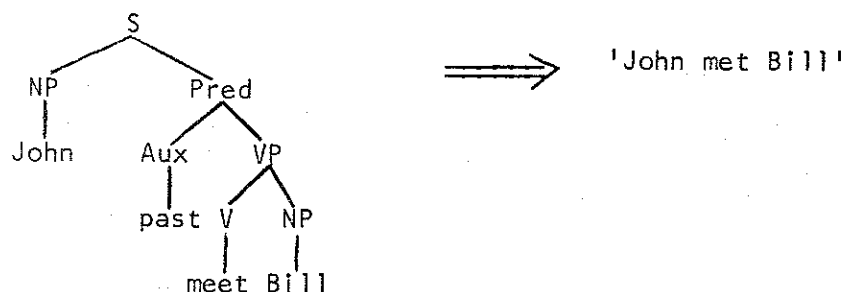
(Other verbs in this class include *confer* (with), *differ* (from), *leave* (with), etc.)

They derive (34b) from (34a) in roughly the following manner:

Deep structure of 'John and Bill met'



The Conjunct Movement rule takes the second of the two conjoined NP and moves it to the end of the following VP¹⁸:



The Italian situation, however, presents different data:

- 35) a. *Gianni e Memo si incontrarono.*
 'John and Bill met.'
- b. **Gianni si incontrò Memo.*
 'John met Bill.'
- c. **Gianni si incontrò.*
 'John met.'

Instead of the ungrammatical (35b), we find acceptable:

- 36) *Gianni incontrò Memo.*

but not:

- 37) **Gianni incontrò.*

It appears that *incontrare* requires an object, thus the underlying structure offered by Lakoff and Peters for the corresponding English sentence (34a) cannot be correct for the Italian sentence; and, in fact, (38) is unacceptable in Italian:

- 38) **Gianni e Memo incontrarono.*
 'John and Bill met.'

Looking back to the English case, we find that (39a) and (39b) are semantically equivalent:

- 39) a. *John and Bill met yesterday.*
 b. *John and Bill met each other yesterday.*

Sentences using the Each-Other Pronominalization rule have been studied by several people including Tai (1971), who derives *each other* by way of coordination reduction. Thus he claims that (40a) has the underlying form (40b), which goes through the following derivation to arrive at (40a):

- 40) a. *John and Bill hit each other.*
 b. *John hit Bill and Bill hit John.*

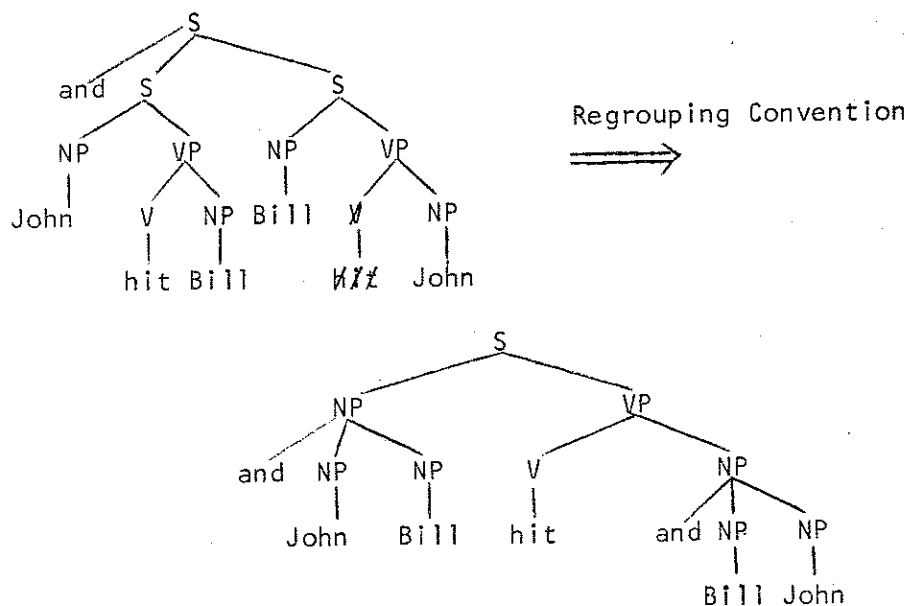
Derivation: Apply Identity Deletion to (40b), deleting the second occurrence of the identical verb:

- 40) c. *John hit Bill and Bill John.*

Apply the Regrouping Convention, stated informally as the following (Tai:1971:269):

Chomsky-adjoin the remaining highest constituent (or constituents) of each reduced conjunct onto the corresponding constituent (or constituents) of the unreduced conjunct. This process is optional, if the reduced conjuncts are still branching; it is obligatory, if the reduced conjuncts are no longer branching. Furthermore, the morpheme "respectively" is introduced, if this process applies to branching reduced conjuncts.

(To be more precise, let me specify in Tai's words that the morpheme "respectively" is introduced "when we Chomsky-adjoin more than one node of each of the reduced conjuncts to those corresponding ones of the unreduced conjunct".)



stand only that each of the five boys was touching, and was being touched by, at least one of the others; furthermore, the one who a particular boy was touching doesn't have to have been the one who was touching him.

Benefiting by the analysis of Tai and Shopen, we can now look at Italian reciprocal structures. Consider (33) for which I offer the following derivation. (I use the third person sentence of (33a') as an example.):

- 44) a. *I ragazzi si scrivono.*
Underlying structure: (Let the number of boys be n .)²¹

- 44) b. *Ragazzo₁ scrive a ragazzo_i, ragazzo_j, ...ragazzo_k,
e ragazzo₂ scrive a ragazzo_m, ragazzo_n, ...ragazzo_q,
.
.
.
e ragazzo_n scrive a ragazzo_r, ragazzo_s, ...ragazzo_t.*

Identity Deletion deletes all but the first occurrence of *scrive*. Regrouping yields:

- 44) c. *Ragazzo₁, ragazzo₂, ...ragazzo_n scrivono a ragazzo_i,
ragazzo_j, ...ragazzo_t.*

At this point the subject is a series of conjoined NP which includes precisely ALL the boys. Since we know that each boy is not only writing to at least one other boy, but is also being written to by at least one other boy, the dative object as well consists of precisely all the boys, that is: *ragazzo₁, ragazzo₂, ...ragazzo_n*. Thus at this point in the derivation the subject and dative object consist of strings of NP which, though they may be listed in differing linear orders, are coreferential in a one-to-one correspondence. I am assuming that Regrouping deletes all occurrences except the first of multiple identical NP. This assumption accounts for (45a) yielding (45b) instead of (45c):

- 45) a. *Giovanni scrive a Paolo_i e Sara scrive a Paolo_i e
Riccardo.*
'John writes to Paul and Sarah writes to Paul and
Richard.'
- b. *Giovanni e Sara scrivono a Paolo e Riccardo.*
'John and Sarah write to Paul and Richard.'
- c. **Giovanni e Sara scrivono a Paolo_i e Paolo_i e
Riccardo.*

Given this analysis REF must apply to (44c) yielding:

44) d. *Ragazzo₁, ragazzo₂, ..., ragazzo_n si scrivono.*

which then becomes (44a)²².

Looking back to (44c) we find that another option is available. Instead of REF, Each-Other may apply yielding²³:

46) a. *Ragazzo₁, ragazzo₂, ..., ragazzo_n scrivono l'uno all'altro.*

which then becomes:

46) b. *I ragazzi scrivono l'uno all'altro.*

If we order REF before Each-Other, the former rule destroys the structural description for the latter. And since REF is an obligatory rule, (46b) can never be generated. However, if we order Each-Other before REF, and if Each-Other is optional in Italian, then the two rules should be mutually exclusive given that *l'uno all'altro* is not proper input to REF (if it were, again (46b) would never be generated). In fact, we find that this is precisely the case:

47) **I ragazzi si scrivono l'uno all'altro.*

Thusfar, we have explained the following pattern:

44) a. *I ragazzi si scrivono.* (result of REF)

46) b. *I ragazzi scrivono l'uno all'altro.* (result of Each-Other)

47) **I ragazzi si scrivono l'uno all'altro.*

There are still two other sentences remaining to be explained. If Each-Other and REF are mutually exclusive, how does one generate the emphatic sentence (48)?

48) *I ragazzi si scrivono l'un l'altro.*

And if (48) is grammatical, why not (49)?

49) **I ragazzi scrivono l'un l'altro.*²⁴

If *scrivere* has a [+human] object, that object must be dative. Thus (49) is unacceptable since *l'un l'altro* is not the dative form. Likewise, in (48) we find *l'un l'altro* which cannot be the dative object, but here we also find *si*, which is dative, as

witnessed by the fact that a distinct accusative object may also appear: *I ragazzi se le scrivono (l'un l'altro)* where *le* is the feminine plural accusative clitic, replacing *le lettere* ('the letters'). Where then does the *l'un l'altro* in (48) come from? It seems that Each-Other in Italian may apply to either the subject or the object. Thus, we can find literary sentences like (50) where the subject becomes *l'un l'altro*:

- 50) *L'un l'altro si rode.*
'They're biting each other.'

I propose that in (48) the *l'un l'altro* is the result of Each-Other applying to a repetition of the subject, which is then extraposed to the end of the VP. We note that when *l'un l'altro* replaces the subject, as in (50) (as compared to replacing an intensive repetition of the subject, as in (48)), the finite verb is singular. In all other cases except one, the verb of a reciprocal sentence is plural. The one exception is a reciprocal indefinite *si* sentence, where the verb is always singular (see Chapter 5). (For an alternative analysis of reciprocals in French see Kayne (1969). Kayne generates *se* and *l'un l'autre* in the same derivation and then optionally deletes *l'un l'autre*.)

There are two major objections which might be posed to the analysis of reciprocals offered here. One is that REF is employed in a construction which does not necessarily entail the semantic notion of reflexivity. In fact, in Chapter 3 I show that REF in Italian often applies to structures not entailing reflexivity, specifically those of the middle voice. REF appears to act upon coreferential NP regardless of the structural history of those NP.

While it is not a frequent occurrence, there are cases of reciprocal sentences which employ REF in English. Dwight Bolinger (personal communication) has proposed that reflexive pronouns used in reciprocal constructions in English are indifferent to reflexivity versus reciprocity. He offers the following examples in which reciprocity is the most likely reading, but reflexivity is not ruled out:

(words spoken by a compassionate person looking out across a battlefield)

Look at those poor boys out there killing themselves.

(words of an employee about his many employers)

I know all of them but they don't know themselves.

The chimpanzees are grooming themselves.

With that attitude, you Americans are only hurting yourselves.

The second major objection is that there is no non-clitic form of the reflexive pronoun when it is used to express reciprocity. I have no convincing explanation for this. However, Bolinger's idea that reflexives may be used in English to express reciprocity in "blurred" situations may offer a clue. Any reciprocal sentence using reflexive pronouns and not Each-Other is ambiguous: it may express reflexivity and/or reciprocity (although sometimes one of the readings may be bizarre, as in (44a) with reflexive). Given this fact, REF would be employed in exactly those reciprocal sentences where the reciprocity was not emphasized. Thus the conditions for a non-clitic pronoun would not be met. On the other hand, if the reciprocity is a point of emphasis or contrast, Each-Other must be employed resulting in the non-clitic *l'un l'altro* or *l'uno 'prep' l'altro*. If this is so, Each-Other and REF should have complementary distribution. And indeed they do, except in the case of (48) which I have argued is really a distinct application of Each-Other to the subject and thus would not be expected to be complementary with REF which operates on objects.

(ii) The "Colloquial" Dative of Interest

Reflexive pronouns often appear in sentences such as:

51) *Mi mangio la colazione.*

Si mangia

'I eat breakfast.'

He eats

Mi ti mangio.

Se la mangia.

'I eat you up.'

'He eats her up.'

The first interesting point about this use of the reflexive is that its absence never results in an ungrammatical sentence: (52) without the reflexive pronoun means approximately the same thing as (51) and is just as acceptable:

52) *Mangio la colazione.*

Mangia

Ti mangio.

La mangia.

(cf. the differences of grammaticality in *Mi lavo le mani* and **Lavo le mani* when *le mani* are those of the subject)

However, the presence of this reflexive pronoun does dis-

tinguish (51) from (52) in much the same way as an adverb of manner might. The reflexive pronoun acts as an intensifying element suggesting that the action was done with speed or particular gusto, and is very common in colloquial speech especially among younger Italians. Thus a sentence such as *?Mi sono mangiato la colazione molto lentamente* sounds very odd, due to its self-contradictory nature.

Babcock (1970:65) has translated this construction in Spanish very aptly:

Juan se lo comió todo (Italian: *Gianni se lo mangiò tutto.*)
'John ate it all up.'

Juan se bebió toda la cerveza. (Italian: *Gianni se bevve tutta la birra.*)
'John drank up all the beer.'

The morpheme *up* in English used as an intensifier appears to have similar distribution to this reflexive in Romance.

Michael Freeman (personal communication) has brought to my attention the following sentence in French, which typifies a construction widely accepted in the southern areas:

Je me la prends et je me la bouffe. (Italian: *Me la prendo e me la divoro.*)
'I take it and gobble it up.'

Likewise, Janet Dean Fodor (personal communication) has pointed out the following use of an optional reflexive in English sentences with *have*:

53) *I had myself a ball.*

And in my own dialect (or perhaps idiolect) of English, I find this kind of reflexive acceptable not only with *have*, but with certain other transitive verbs; for example, *I ate myself a huge dish of spaghetti*. In fact, many speakers of English allow a non-reflexive dative of interest in sentences such as *I'm going to eat me a sandwich*. This dative may well have been much more common at an earlier stage of English; witness the King James Bible sentence *He got him a son*. In these cases the pronoun is semantically reflexive (that is, it is coreferential with some preceding NP in the sentence) but morphologically non-reflexive. (Such cases were pointed out to me by Dwight Bolinger.)

Going back to Italian, we note a number of idiomatic phrases formed with a reflexive pronoun and the accusative clitic pronoun *la*. Among them are:

54) a. *Quel ragazzo se la prende con tutti.*
'That boy quarrels with everybody.'

- 54) b. *Ce la godiamo sempre quando andiamo al mare.*
'We always enjoy ourselves when we go to the
seaside.'

Such idiomatic phrases seem to share all the properties of the reflexives found in (51).

The exact properties of the construction seen in (51) are fairly precise. For one thing, such reflexives do not occur with verbs used intransitively²⁵, whether or not those verbs may have had an accusative object in deep structure (which may be the case in 55b)).

- 55) a. **Mi cado.*
**Si cade.*
'I fall.'
'He falls.'
- *Mi mangio.*²⁶
**Si mangia.*
'I eat.'
'He eats.'

In fact this reflexive only appears when an accusative object is also present, and may not appear with verbs which normally allow dative objects whether or not some distinct dative object is actually present.

- 56) **Mi do il regalo (a Carla).*
'I give the gift (to Carla).'
- *Si parla di tutto (a Giorgio).*
'He speaks about everything (to George).'

Second, it is very strange for this use of the reflexive pronoun to appear with predicates which involve actions or states of mind or perception affecting the subject but not controlled by that subject. (Such predicates have been described by Fillmore (1968) as taking Dative subjects and by Valesio (1971) as having the feature "passive".) For example, **Mi vedo la macchina* ('I see the car') is bad when *vedere* is used to refer to the perceptual sense of sight. But *Ma tu te la vedi quella macchina, dipinta di viola?* ('But that car, could you imagine it painted purple?') is fine since *vedere* is used here to mean the action of imagining, which the subject does control. Other such contrasting pairs are:

- 57) *Mi *penso che Maria sia bella.*
figuro
'I think that Mary is pretty.'
'I consider Mary to be pretty.'

- **Mi credo che Giorgio sia bravo.*
Che ti credi, che Giorgio sia bravo?
 'I believe that George is bright.'
 'What are you thinking, that George is bright?'

(The above contrasting pairs were pointed out to me by Paolo Valesio.)

This constraint appears to be common to the English construction exemplified in (53). Witness: ??*I had myself a nightmare*, ??*I had myself a headache*, which both sound very odd out of context. But if a specific context implying cause or control of the subject over the predicate is introduced and if an adjective modifying the object NP is added, the sentences become more acceptable: ?*After eating a spicy pizza at midnight, I had myself a good old nightmare*; ?*After spending four hours trying to convince her, I had myself a whopping headache*.

Third, there is the selectional restriction on the subject of a sentence having this reflexive construction that it be [+animate]:

- 58) a. *Il gatto si mangia il topo.*
 'The cat eats (up) the mouse.'
 b. **La roccia si rompe la finestra.*
 'The rock breaks (up) the window.'

Also, this reflexive does not occur with the verb *avere* ('have') in any of its uses as a main verb:

- 59) **Mi ho* { *un libro.*
 paura di Carlo.
 cinque anni. }
 'I have a book.'
 'I am afraid of Charles.'
 'I am five years old.'

That this particular dative of interest is not a regular dative is shown both by the fact that it never occurs in a non-clitic position (which the regular dative may do) and by the fact that it does not occur with verbs that normally take datives (cf. (55)). It is also clear that it is not a dative of possession dominated by the accusative NP, since sentences like the following are found in which the possessor is obviously not the same person as the surface subject:

- 60) *Mi mangio la colazione di vostro padre.*
 Si mangia
 'I eat your father's breakfast.'
 He eats

That it is a dative of some sort is supported by the fact that it positions as a dative with respect to accusative clitics (that is, reflexive dative clitics precede accusative clitics):

- 61) *Me la mangio.*
 Se la mangia.
 'I eat it up.'
 'He eats it up.'

Exactly what underlying construction is involved in (51) is not clear. It seems likely that this dative is dominated by the accusative NP object node at some point in the derivation since its presence depends directly upon the presence of an accusative object (cf. (55)). If this were so and if the optional deletion of indefinite accusative objects²⁷ took place while this dative was still dominated by the accusative NP node, the admissibility of (51) but the inadmissibility of (55b) would be explained. That this dative is really a reflexive is shown not only by its morphological and phonological forms, but also by the fact that it patterns as a reflexive pronoun in all its syntactic features (ordering with respect to other clitics, ordering of its appearance in the cycle with respect to other cyclic rules such as Passive, triggering of any past tense auxiliary to become *essere*, etc., see Section D below), except for the fact that it does not have a non-clitic form.

As in the case of reciprocals, the lack of a non-clitic form may be an objection to any analysis which derives these reflexive pronouns by way of REF, unless some explanation for this lack is presented. The syntactic parallels with reflexive pronouns generated by REF are too numerous to consider any other derivation preferable. I argue that REF generates this appearance of the reflexive pronoun and offer a syntactic explanation for the non-occurrence of non-clitic reflexives here. The fact that this dative of interest is always reflexive (you cannot say **Ti mangio la colazione* unless you mean 'I eat your breakfast', or 'I eat the breakfast TO PLEASE YOU', in which case the dative is that of Section B(i) above) means that no grammatical sentence with contrast on this dative can be generated (thus **Mangio la colazione a me non a te* is not grammatical with this dative's reading: 'I eat up the breakfast, YOU don't', but only with the reading, 'I eat my breakfast not yours', which again is the dative of Section B(i)). There are various ways to generate pronouns which are only reflexive. Perhaps the best derivation for this dative to insure reflexivity is some sort of copy mechanism optionally copying the subject into the accusative NP as a dative. The copy then becomes the proper reflexive clitic by REF. (See Helke (1969) for a description of such a copy mechanism.) Assuming that features such as contrast and emphasis are present in deep structure, the lack of a non-clitic emphatic or contrastive dative in these sentences

A very restricted use of *si* that has no non-clitic form is found in sentences such as:

- The governing factor as to the appearance of the reflexive pronoun in such sentences is the choice of the verb. Certain verbs in Italian can appear only with a reflexive clitic, that is, they are "absolute" reflexives. In this class fall *accorgersi* ('realize'), *astenersi* ('abstain'), *avvedersi* ('realize'), *impadronirsi* ('take possession of'), *impadronirsi* ('take command of'), *incapricciarsi* ('take a fancy to'), *infischarsi* ('not to care'), *lagnarsi* ('complain'), *pentirsi* ('repent'), *suicidarsi* ('commit suicide'), and a few others; the class is small. As evidence that these verbs cannot appear without the reflexive, one may note the inadmissibility of (63):

- As past participles and as infinitives these verbs take encliticized reflexive pronouns:

- There are occurrences of the past participle used without the reflexive pronoun:

- 65) *Io sono molto molto pentito.* (cf. *Pentitomi del peccato, ho scoppiato a piangere.*)
 'I am very very repentant.' (cf. 'Having repented the sin, I burst out crying.')

Lui è molto molto accorto.
 'He is very very aware.'

These cases, however, seem to be uses of past participles which fall closer to the Adjective end of the continuum between the lexical categories Adjective and Verb (witness the admissibility of the adverb *molto* preceding *pentito* just as it would precede an adjective), and as such they do not necessarily suggest anything about the structural constraints of these lexical items in their uses as verbs.²⁸

The existence of verbs which require the use of a reflexive pronoun is not a strictly Romance phenomenon. For example, the verbs *pride* and *absent* in English, must be reflexive:

- 66) *I pride myself on my skiing ability.*
 *him his

He absented himself from the meeting.
 *Mary

To these examples may be added verbs which pattern like *assert* in (67), which, when used with [+animate] objects (note that they do not require [+animate] objects), require identity between the subject and accusative object:

- 67) *I asserted myself.*
 *John.

Verbs in this class include *collect* (except in the sense of physically gathering), *compose*, *contain*, *devote* (which also requires a to phrase), *express*, *realize* (in the sense of "fulfill ones potential"), and several others. These verbs all seem to require [+animate] (and usually [+human]) subjects and seem to form a semantic class, roughly involving psychological states. However, there are many verbs which are very similar in semantic entailment that do not follow pattern (67), such as *control* and *calm*.

Besides the above cases there is at least one construction in English (which has no counterpart in Italian) with which certain verbs require the reflexive. However, other verbs do not require the reflexive in this same (surface) structure:

- 68) a. *He drank himself to death.*
 *Mary

but: b. *He worked himself to death.*
 Mary

(Sentences similar to those of (68) are studied in Green (1969).)

69) a. *Giorgio si mangia le parole.*
 **mi*
 'George eats his words.' (= 'George mumbles.')

b. Mi sono rimangiato le mie parole.
 *Gli ho *sue
 'I ate my words.' (= 'I took back what I said.')
 *his

Sentences such as (69c) are similar to the restricted possessives (cf. *The poor girl lost her mind, I nodded my head, He blinked his eyes*) of English discussed by Helke (1969).

Finally, there are certain verbs in both Italian and English which, when they appear with accusative complement sentence objects, require identity between the subject of the complement verb and the subject of the matrix verb. This syntactic feature has been called the Like-Subject Constraint (Perlmutter (1970)). While not all the English semantic counterparts to the Italian verbs in this class also fall into this same class, and vice-versa, still the correspondence between the two languages is very high. This correspondence seems to extend to many languages including all the Romance languages, thus giving support to the idea that the constraint is basically a semantic one. Such verbs are exemplified in (70):

- 70) *Ho cominciato a studiare.*
 **che Gianni studi.*
 'I began to study.
 *that John study.

The verbs in this class include *andare* ('go' with a sense of purpose), *ardire* ('dare'), *arrivare* ('arrive'), *cercare* ('try'), *cessare* ('cease'), *cominciare* ('begin'), *esitare* ('hesitate'), *finire* ('finish'), *lasciare* ('quit'), *osare* ('dare'), *provare* ('try'), *riuscire* ('succeed'), *smettere* ('quit'), *solere* ('to be accustomed'), *stentare* ('have difficulty'), *tentare* ('try'), *(ri)tornare* ('return'), *usare*²⁹ ('be accustomed'), *venire* ('come'), and others. The verbs above are for the most part semi-modals and/or aspectual in nature. It has been argued (Bresnan (1972)) that such verbs really don't observe the Like-Subject Constraint at all, but rather that these matrix verbs have empty delta subject nodes into which the embedded subject is moved. Presumably with this second analysis the modals *potere* ('can') and *dovere* ('must') as well as the verbs *sembrare* ('seem') and *parere* ('appear') would be included in this class. Whether this analysis or the first is correct is immaterial to our discussion. The basic point for us is that the subjects of the matrix verb and the complement verb cannot be distinct persons³⁰.

Constraints such as those exemplified in (62) through (70), as I have suggested above, appear to be semantically motivated. After all, how could anyone repent for the sins of any other person?³¹ Thus we find unacceptable sentence (71):

- 71) *#Mi pento dei vostri peccati.*
 'I repent (for) your sins.'

The question now remains of exactly what role in the sentence the reflexive pronouns in (62) and other absolute reflexives play. Since dative and accusative reflexive pronouns are homophonous, we must explore both possibilities.

First, let us consider the possibility that this pronoun is a dative. It could be either a regular dative or one of the datives of interest. The possibility of its being a dative of interest involving possession is quickly ruled out by (72) in which it would be impossible to figure out with what NP the pronoun could be in a possessor relationship:

- 72) *Mi accorgo del vostro pericolo.*
 Si accorge
 'I realize your danger.'
 He realizes

Likewise, it cannot be the colloquial dative of interest (see Section C(ii)) because it does not observe the syntactic constraints of that dative. For example, it can appear without any

separate accusative object, unlike the colloquial dative of interest:

- 73) *Mi pento.*
Si pente.
 'I repent.'
 'He repents.'

Similarly, there is no conclusive evidence as to whether these reflexive pronouns are other kinds of datives of interest.

As for these pronouns' being regular datives (cf. (1b)), that possibility is difficult to determine since very few of the absolute reflexive verbs can logically take such datives (if there is a logical basis for the category "dative"). One logical possibility is *lagnarsi*. However, we find that this verb does not allow a dative preceded by *a*, but only a prepositional phrase with *con*:

- 74) *Mi lagno del voto col professore.*
 **al*
 'I complain about the grade with the professor.'
 *to

Thus we cannot rule out the possibility that the *si* of *lagnarsi* is dative.

Finally, definite accusative objects can never appear with these verbs. Thus, there is no convincing syntactic evidence that these pronouns are or are not datives. However, their logical semantic value seems to be closer to that of an accusative object (especially with verbs like *suicidarsi*) than a dative. But, again, clear syntactic evidence is lacking.

Although we cannot answer conclusively what case the reflexive pronouns (if indeed they are "pronouns") have in these sentences, we can analyze other features of the construction. An initial problem is to determine the syntactic nature of the *di* (or *da* in the case of *astenersi*) phrases which often follow these verbs (with the exception of *suicidarsi*). There are several uses of *di* phrases in Italian. For example:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 75) a. genitive | <i>Vedo il padre di Carlo.</i>
'I see Charles' father.' |
| b. agentive or
causative | <i>Mi piace quel libro di Calvino.</i>
'I like that book by Calvino.' |
| c. partitive | <i>Vorrei delle mele.</i>
'I would like some apples.' |

d. locative

Sono di Roma.

'I am from Rome.'

The only uses of a *di*-phrase that can be called accusative are the partitive ones, which have the value of an indefinite accusative object. If the *di* phrases in (62) were partitives, then it would be difficult to justify any analysis of the reflexive pronouns as accusative since the *di* phrases might also be accusative³², and accusative NP do not come in multiples (unless they are conjoined) in Italian.³³ However, this problem can quickly be laid aside since it can be shown that the *di* phrases of (62) are not partitives. The very meaning of a partitive involves an unspecified quantity of some NP. For example:

76) a. *Voglio del latte.*
'I want some milk.'

b. *Voglio delle caramelle.*
'I want some candy (or candies).'

When the partitive is used with a singular N, that N is usually a mass noun. If the N is a count noun instead, as in (77),

77) *Voglio della mela.*
'I want some of the apple.' (for example, some of the apple you are eating)

the partitive marks the singular N as a divisible object of which some part may be separated. Looking back to (62b), we find:

62) b. *Io mi pento del peccato.*
Lui si pente

As Paolo Valesio (personal communication) has pointed out, "del peccato" in (62b) does not mean "some of the sin", but rather "the sin". For example:

78) *Di quel peccato, te ne penti?*
'About that sin, are you repenting?'

Hence this cannot be a use of the partitive by the very definition of what a partitive is.

Another use of *di* phrases exemplified in (75), the genitive use, may also be rejected as a possibility in (62) since such genitives cannot appear without the NP that they possess. In (79) the *di* phrase is ungrammatical as a genitive (although it may be acceptable with other readings) due to the lack of any possible NP that the genitive possesses.

- 79) **Mi accorgo di Maria.*
'I realize OF Mary.'

The two remaining possibilities in (75), agentive and locative, may quite possibly be the same case, with locative being understood if the NP object of the *di* is a place or position, and agentive being understood with all other NP. The meaning of the *di* phrases in (62) seems to fall into this case without much difficulty. Repenting, for example, may be thought of in relation to something which precipitates the repenting, such as a sin. Thus, in (62b) the *di* phrase may be agentive or causative. With this analysis many other appearances of the reflexive pronoun in conjunction with *di* phrases and with verbs that are not always used reflexively may be understood. For example:

- 80) *Mi stanco di questa vita.*
Si stanca
'I'm tired of this life.'
He's tired

In (80) it is "this life" which has caused the feeling of tiredness of the subject. Paolo Valesio (personal communication) has brought to my attention some revealing diachronic evidence which suggests that the locative and agentive or causative uses of *di* phrases in modern Italian may be genetically related. In the *canzone* "Madonna, Dir Vi Voglio", by Giacomo da Lentini (active c. 1200-1250) are found these lines:

- 81) 1. *Poi c'a me solo, lasso*
2. *Cotal ventura è data,*
3. *Perché non mi nde lasso?*

Valesio translates thus:

'Since to me alone, wretched that I am
This sort [fate] is reserved
Why don't I get tired of it?'

The *nde* of line three in (81) comes from Latin *inde*, which marked a locative usage of Latin. However, the logical meaning of the *nde* here is not locative but causative. Thus it appears that by this stage in the development of Italian the locative and causative had already assumed the same syntactic form.³⁴

Finally, one might ask if it is really true that sentences such as those in (62) cannot take definite accusative objects when

we find sentences like the following which have complement clauses that appear to be acting as precisely that kind of object:

- 82) a. *Mi accorgo che Carlo non vuol venire.*
Si accorge
 'I realize that Charles does not want to come.'
 He realizes

But upon pronominalization, we find that the *che* clause is replaced by *ne*, the clitic which replaces *di* phrases:

- 82) b. *Me ne accorgo.*
Se ne accorge.

Thus, there is evidence that a *di* (parallel to the *di* in (62)) introduces the *che* clause in deep structure, and that this *di* is deleted by a rule (ordered after pronominalization) similar to that in English which deletes prepositions before complementizers (cf. *I'm aware that John's a fool, I'm aware of the fact that John's a fool, I'm aware of it.*).

A second case of reflexive pronouns which is similar to the absolute reflexives above is seen in (83):

- 83) *Me ne vado.*
Se ne va.
 'I go away.'
 'He goes away.'

Such structures are similar to absolute reflexives in that it is difficult to determine the case of the reflexive pronoun and the only other clitic that can occur besides this reflexive is *ne*. In fact, with some of these verbs *ne* must appear.

With certain verbs *da* is used instead of *di* as the preposition denoting direction 'out of' some position or place:

- 84) *Vengo da Roma.*
 'I come from Rome.' or 'I'm coming from Rome.'

Both *da* and *di* with this locative meaning are pronominalized by the clitic *ne* when pronominalization takes place.³⁵ I claim that the *ne* of (83) is derived from such a locative phrase. It is clear that the verbs which can appear in (83) are verbs usually used intransitively and referring to motion (*partire, uscire*³⁶) or the lack of motion (*stare, rimanere*) and thus often appear non-reflexively with locatives. As evidence that the *ne* in (83) is a locative, we note that a *da* phrase may occur with such sentences:

- 85) *Me ne vado da qui.*
Se ne va

'I'm getting out of here.'
He's

Like absolute reflexives, the verbs in (83) cannot be used with the particular meaning given there without a reflexive pronoun in any of their verbal forms. Thus we find:

- 86) a. *Andatamene prima della conferenze, non ho capito niente.*
'Having gone off before the lecture, I didn't understand anything.'
- b. *Vuole partirsene presto domani.*
'He wants to up and leave early tomorrow.'

Given that the above cases of reflexive pronouns seem to be absolute in that these verbs either cannot occur without the reflexive pronoun (cf. *accorgersi*) or have a slightly different meaning without the reflexive pronoun (cf. *andare*), one might argue that these verbs are listed in the lexicon as reflexive verbs. If this were so, the lack of a non-clitic form to these reflexives would be explained by the fact that the reflexive pronoun arises in clitic position in the lexicon. (Just such a proposal is offered by Kayne (1969).)

There is, however, one important fact that makes the lexical theory dubious. When I said the reflexive pronoun must occur in these cases, I was not being entirely accurate. There is at least one instance in which the reflexive pronoun cannot occur:

- 87) *Ho fatto pentire Gianni.*
**pentirsi* (a)
**Si ho fatto pentire* (a) *Gianni.*
'I made John repent.'
- Ho fatto andare Gianni.*
**andarsene* (a)
**Si ho fatto andarne* (a) *Gianni.*
**Se ne ho fatto andare* (a) *Gianni.*
'I made John go away.'

Aissen (1972) has offered considerable evidence that cause constructions in Turkish and French involve a pre-cyclic rule of Predicate Raising. The rule in French takes a verb embedded under *faire* and raises it into the matrix thereby wiping out the lower cycle so that no cyclic rules may subsequently apply on that cycle. In specific, REF, which is a cyclic rule, may not apply. Aissen's analysis works even better for Italian than it does for French, in that Italian appears to present no exceptions to the rule, while French does.³⁷ If this analysis is correct, then the lack of re-

flexive pronouns under *fare* is explained by the fact that REF is cyclic in Italian. But if the reflexive pronouns of absolute reflexive verbs are not generated by way of REF, but rather present in the lexicon, there is no obvious way to explain why they cannot occur in (87). Even if Aissen's analysis is ultimately shown to be incorrect for Romance, we would like to find an analysis which marks unacceptable the sentences of (87) which have reflexive clitics with the same process which marks unacceptable reflexive pronouns in other reflexive sentences embedded under *fare* (cf. *Ho fatto lavar(*si) le mani a Giorgio*, 'I made George wash his hands').³⁸

Likewise, the transformational analysis has its difficulties, since these verbs are absolute reflexives. However, one might propose a combination of the two. It may be that these verbs are marked in the lexicon as undergoing an obligatory cyclic rule which copies the subject into object position. Then in the cycle the transformational rule REF actually produces the reflexive pronoun. (This is a parallel solution to that suggested above for the colloquial dative of interest.) Such a solution offers the advantage that we can maintain the rule REF as a productive rule of the grammar without restricting it with regard to particular lexical items. Instead we have marked the absolute reflexive verbs in the lexicon, in accord with their lack of predictability (why *accorgersi* but not **capirsi*? Why *andarsene* but not **corrersene*?) and at the same time in accord with their semantic entailments. Thus the fact that we do not find non-clitic reflexives in such sentences is due to the fact that object pronouns must cliticize unless they are assigned contrast or emphasis, but there are no possible conditions under which the object with these verbs could be contrastive or emphatic, since it does not appear in the deep structure where contrast and emphasis are assigned, but rather arises by a transformational rule.

(iv) Conclusion to Section C

All the reflexive pronouns discussed in this section lack non-clitic forms. For reciprocals, the explanation for this lack is the presence of the complementary T Each-Other, which takes place whenever the reciprocity is the object of contrast, emphasis, or particular interest. The reason offered for datives of interest and absolute reflexives was that the features of contrast or emphasis are present in deep structure, but the NP from which these reflexives arise are not present in deep structure but rather transformationally generated, by a copy mechanism. Thus the non-clitic forms are never generated. The reflexive pronouns, like those of Section B, are generated by REF. Below are catalogued the various cases studied in this section with proposed underlying structures at the time REF occurs.

- 33) a. *I ragazzi si scrivono.*

*Ragazzo₁, ragazzo₂...ragazzo_n scrivono a
ragazzo_i, ragazzo_j...ragazzo_t. (cf. (44c) and
following)*

- 51) *Si mangia la colazione.*

Lui_i mangia [la colazione [a lui_i]]
NP₁ NP₂ NP₂NP₁

- 62) a. *Lui si accorge della verità.*

Lui_i accorge (?a) lui_i della verità.

- 83) *Se ne va.*

*Lui_i va (?a) lui_i da X. (where X = some place or
position)*

D. Some Syntactic Properties of Reflexives

The rule REF operates upon NP of any person, number, or gender. Once the rule has applied, if the reflexive pronoun is cliticized, the composite tenses of the verb conjugate with the auxiliary verb *essere*. But if the pronoun is not cliticized, the verb conjugates with whatever auxiliary it would have used if REF had not applied. This is seen in (88):

- 88) a. *Ci siamo visti allo specchio.*
Si sono
'We saw ourselves in the mirror.'
They saw themselves

Abbiamo visto noi non te.
Hanno sé
'We saw ourselves, not you.'
'They saw themselves, not you.'

In composite tenses, the past participle agrees with a preceding accusative object pronoun in number and gender:

- 89) *Me la sono data.*
Se è
'I gave it (feminine) to myself.'
He himself.'

If there is no preceding accusative object, but there is a cliticized dative reflexive pronoun, the past participle agrees with

the subject:

- 90) *Mi sono domandata se valesse la pena vivere.*
'I (fem.) asked myself if it's worth it to live.'

If the reflexive pronoun is not cliticized, the past participle may agree with the accusative object, as in:

- 91) *Abbiamo visti noi non te.* (rather rare)

Or, more frequently, it may assume the unmarked masculine singular ending seen in (88b).

Most cases of reflexivization involve [+animate] NP. However, there are some cases where [-animate] NP may be reflexivized:

- 92) *Il libro si contraddice.*
'The book contradicts itself.'

It is possible to analyze such cases as (92) as metaphorical, attributing animate qualities to the NP in question (that is, employing personification).

Clitic reflexive pronouns precede accusative non-reflexive clitics and *ne*:

- 93) *Se lo dice.*
'He says it to himself.'
- Se ne compra.*
'He buys some for himself.'

and follow all other clitics (although they rarely occur with other clitics):

- 94) *Gli si dà.*
'She gives herself to him.'
- Vi ci siamo incontrati.*
'We met each other there.'

Besides these features, we have already noted in Sections B and C above many syntactic and semantic features of reflexives. Let me offer a brief summary.

Reflexive pronouns are generated by the rule REF which converts the second of two coreferential NP into a reflexive pronoun. REF is obligatory (for exceptions see B(ii)) and operates within clauses (for exceptions see B(ii)). Exceptions to REF always involve objects of prepositions, and probably require semantic ex-

planations. Reflexive pronouns may not cliticize to verbs which have a subject not coreferential with the pronoun (see Constraint A). Reflexive pronouns cliticize unless assigned emphatic or contrastive value in deep structure. REF is a cyclic rule. REF is ordered after Each-Other. Most of the cases discussed in this chapter involve REF's applications to coreferential NP present in deep structure. I call the cases discussed in this chapter regular reflexives. The rule REF was not restricted in any way to be sensitive to the genetic history of the NP to which it applies. In fact, we suggested that REF applies to coreferential NP the second of which is transformationally introduced in sentences with certain colloquial datives of interest and absolute reflexive verbs.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 2

- 1 The inchoative construction, like the reflexive, also allows any person as surface subject, and accordingly allows any reflexive pronoun. The indefinite subject, however, must employ *si* and have third person endings on the finite verb. The person of indefinite *si* sentences is discussed in Chapter 5 Section B.
- 2 When I say "the second occurrence", I am referring to the order of the NP at the point in the derivation at which REF takes place. Dwight Bolinger (personal communication) has pointed out that topicalization may result in the reflexive pronoun's preceding the full NP with which it is coreferential, as in *For himself, John expected nothing*. As long as REF precedes Topicalization, no problem arises. And since REF is a cyclic rule while Topicalization is last or post cyclic, REF must precede Topicalization.
- 3 In this particular example if the first of the two coreferential NP is reflexive, the sentence is marginally acceptable:

i) ??Lo psichiatra presentò me stessa a me.
sé; stesso a Gianni;.

However, it may well be that (i) is not entirely rejected because of its similarity to perfectly acceptable sentences like:

ii) Lo psichiatra_i presentò il suo nuovo sé_j stesso a Giovanni_j.

Looking at (ii) we note that this is not a case of REF having applied, since the presence of a second coreferential NP is not necessary: *Lo psichiatra_i presentò il suo nuovo sé_j stesso alla mamma (i≠j)*. Thus (i) above is not convincing evidence of backwards reflexivization.

- 4 There are cases of non-clitic pronouns which are not emphatic or contrastive. These cases do not, however, affect our remarks about reflexives. (See Wanner (1972).) (cf. *Mio padre mi presentò a te*, 'My father introduced me to you')
- 5 We do not offer an explanation for Constraint A. However, we note that it may possibly serve as evidence for the hypothesis that reflexivization and pronominalization are distinct processes.
- 6 However, in modern French the copula *être* may appear with

surface datives of possession: *Ces livres sont à moi.*

- 7 The conditions on the English reflexive in such cases may well be semantic. Dwight Bolinger (personal communication) has suggested to me that the reason why *I talked to John about himself* is acceptable in English is that it is open to the interpretation "my talking made John understand something about himself". In other words, John is at some underlying level an actor upon himself. When such possibilities of interpretation are removed, the reflexive pronoun may not appear: **I got at John through himself*. Likewise, I might add that the contrast between *I placed the child at his own desk* and **I looked at Mary through her own eyes* could be explained similarly, since in the former the child winds up at his own desk while in the latter, Mary has not used her eyes at all (*I* may have, figuratively speaking. That is, I viewed her from her perspective.).
- 8 This sentence with *lui* instead of *se* is ambiguous. *Lui* could refer to Carlo or to Giovanni.
- 9 Postal (MIT Lecture Series - fall 1971) has discussed the conditions under which "emphatic reflexives" can float. He points out sentences such as *Melvin himself should call Lucy*, *Melvin should call Lucy himself*, *Melvin should himself call Lucy*. However, (16b) cannot be merely a case in which *himself* has floated away from *who* since **Who himself would want such wrath brought down upon?* and **Upon (who) himself would (who) want such wrath brought down?* (Note that Italian *stesso* does not float in this way.)
- 10 The Italian sentence (16a) with *stesso* is also out with an indefinite subject: **Qualcuno_i lascia che io giaccia presso (di) sé_i stesso*. This is due to the fact that *qualcuno* is *lui_i* indefinite and therefore cannot take the intensifier *stesso* (see fn. ¹² below).
- 11 Here I am contrasting Italian NP *stesso* with English NP *himself* (or NP *myself*, etc.). Thus the parallel is between *stesso* and *himself*. However, if one were to compare *stesso* with *-self*, (22) would be bad for English as well as Italian: **Tom believed the paper had been written by Ann and self*. (This fact was pointed out to me by Paolo Valesio.) For an analysis of French *même* as a corresponding element to English *-self*, see Kayne (1969).
- 12 Still the fact that *stesso* is used in Italian to get across the same semantic value as the English "emphatic" reflexive suggests that the two uses may occur under similar conditions. Above we saw that *stesso* does not have a reflexive value, but "inten-

sifier" value. In fact, the same is true for the English construction. "Emphatic reflexive" is a deceptive term, since the construction does not involve any semantic notions of reflexivity. Dwight Bolinger (personal communication) has suggested that English may use reduplication for purposes of intensification, and that the second of two coreferential NP undergoes REF regardless of whether its semantic source is "reflexive" or "intensive". Thus *You you couldn't do that!* would become *You yourself couldn't do that!* This explanation clarifies the following paradigm:

- i) a. *If John did that himself...*
- b. *If John himself did that...*
- c. *If one did that oneself...*
- d. **If one oneself did that...*

The indefinites in (id) cannot be juxtaposed. In (i) the placement of the *-self* word points out a difference in meaning. In (ia) and (ic) the *-self* word is understood as contrastive; that is, "John and not someone else...", "oneself and not someone else...". The source of the *-self* word is truly reflexive. However, (ib) is distinct in meaning from (ia), though the distinction is slight. Consider:

- ii) *If John does it himself, we won't have to pay anyone else.*

??If John himself does it, we won't have to pay anyone else.

To me, the second sentence is definitely questionable. When the *-self* word of (i) is juxtaposed to the NP with which it is coreferential, the interpretation is one of simple intensification. Thus **one oneself* in (id) is unacceptable since there is no motivation for merely intensifying an indefinite (just as there is no motivation for intensifying John in (ii)), although there may be good reason to contrast an indefinite, as in (ic). (The above argument was suggested to me in a modified form by Dwight Bolinger.)

¹³ I say "I propose" rather than "Valesio proposes" since my analysis differs from Valesio's in significant ways.

¹⁴ It may be helpful for the reader to see an outline of Kuno's analysis. I do not include this in the main body of this thesis, however, since the arguments below rest upon studies of pronom-

inalization which deal with non-reflexive pronouns and it is not within the scope of this thesis to support or refute these studies.

Kuno refers to Langacker's (1969) rule for pronominalization:

- NP^a may pronominalize NPP unless (1) NPP precedes NP^a ; and
(2) NPP commands NP^a .

Under these conditions forward pronominalization may always occur, but backward pronominalization is restricted by the command constraint. In this way Langacker has explained the following pattern for both English and Italian:

- i) a. *Se Pietro non se la sentirà di venire, non verrà.*
'If Peter doesn't feel like coming, he won't come.'
b. *Pietro non verrà se non la sentirà di venire.*
'Peter won't come if he doesn't feel like coming.'
c. *Se non se la sentirà di venire, Pietro non verrà.*
'If he doesn't feel like coming, Peter won't come.'
d. **Non verrà se Pietro non se la sentirà di venire.*
'*He won't come if Peter doesn't feel like coming.'

(The subjects of both clauses are to be read as coreferential.) The a and b sentences involve forward pronominalization; the c and d ones, backward. In d the pronoun precedes and commands its referent, so these sentences are unacceptable for both English and Italian.

There are, however, some sentences which break Langacker's rule. Kuno notes patterns of the following sort:

- ii) a. $John_i \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expects} \\ \text{claims} \\ \text{denies} \end{array} \right\} \text{that } he_i \text{ will be elected.}$
b. $\text{That } he_i \text{ will be elected is } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expected} \\ \text{claimed} \\ \text{denied} \end{array} \right\} \text{by } John_i.$
c. $*\text{That } John_i \text{ will be elected is } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expected} \\ \text{claimed} \\ \text{denied} \end{array} \right\} \text{by } him_i.$
*
?

With the rules mentioned thusfar, there is no explanation for the unacceptability of (iic) unless pronominalization is ordered

before passive, so that the conditions blocking backward pronominalization are met at that earlier stage. But this is impossible. Ross (1967) has argued that the rule of pronominalization is cyclic and is obligatory in most circumstances. Langacker (1969) has argued that Passive must be ordered before pronominalization. Thus, with passive before pronominalization, (iic) presents two cases of forward pronominalization which should work but don't. Kuno explains these cases by analyzing verbs such as *expect* and *claim* as taking direct discourse in deep structure. Thus underlying (iic) he gives:

- iii) a. $John_i \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expects} \\ \text{claims} \end{array} \right\}, "I \text{ will be elected}."$
 b. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expects} \\ \text{claims} \end{array} \right\} John_i, "I \text{ will be elected}."$
 c. $John_i \text{ denies it (the rumor/saying) } John_i \text{ will be elected.}$

Since (iiia) and (iiib) have a pronoun in deep structure, by the indirect discourse transformation, they can only be realized as having a pronoun in surface structure. The *I* becomes *he*, but cannot be realized as the full NP *John*. (iiic), however, has *John* twice in the deep structure, thus it may rise to surface structure with the full NP intact. Italian may be analyzed as having the same kind of direct discourse construction in deep structure. However, *negare* ('deny') behaves like *dichiarare* ('declare') in Italian:

- iv) * $Che \text{ Franco}_i \text{ sar\`a eletto \`e dichiarato da lui}_i.$
 * *negato*

or the alternative construction:

- * $Che \text{ Franco}_i \text{ sar\`a eletto, lui}_i \text{ lo dichiara.}$
 * *nega.*

Looking now to the verbs which are permissible in (16a) above, we find that the direct discourse analysis explains their behavior in both pattern (16a) and (iv) here.

- 15 It may be that the direct discourse structure discussed above is linked to another fact of Italian syntax: that is, which matrix verbs require subjunctive mood in their embedded clauses. There is evidence that the verbs taking direct discourse in deep structure may require subjunctive in the embedded clause, while those taking indirect discourse may not. For example, *vedere* in the sense of "understand" does not require subjunctive, while *permettere* does:

- i) *Vedo che tu lo fai.*
'I see that you're doing it.'

Permetto che tu lo faccia.
'I allow you to do it.'

Correspondingly, *vedere* does not allow REF to apply across clauses, but *permettere* does:

- ii) ?**La donna vede che io giaccio presso di sé.*

La donna permette che io giaccia presso di sé.

A more minimal pair is *dire* in its two senses: "say" and "tell". The first sense does not take subjunctive, the second does:

- iii) *Ho detto che l'ha fatto.*
'I said that he did it.'

Ho detto che la facesse.
'I told him to do it.'

Likewise, the first sense does not allow REF to apply across clauses, but the second does:

- iv) ?**La donna dice che io giaccio presso di sé.*

La donna dice che io giaccia presso di sé.

(Note that the second sentences of (ii) and (iv) are good only in certain dialects.) I have not done extensive research on this correlation. I mention it here for interest's sake only.

Since *lasciare* requires subjunctive regardless of whether REF crosses the clause boundary or not, it may be that (32) above is not necessary. Rather *lasciare* may always take the direct discourse structure seen in (31) and REF optionally applies across the clause boundary to yield (16a).

- 16 Pronouns are used in these structural descriptions for shorthand. I am not making any claim as to the presence of pronouns at the deepest level. This is not the deepest level, nor is it relevant to this discussion whether pronouns are present in deep structure. Instead of pronouns I could have used symbols such as S, T, W.
- 17 In the discussion below *l'un l'altro* is analyzed in a similar manner to *each other* in English. Kayne (1969) suggests that instead of *each other*, *one another* may be the real corresponding English construction. Knowing of no study of *one another* and of

no immediate syntactic distinctions which make the following analysis invalid for *one another*, I offer the analysis below, regardless of whether *l'un l'altro* corresponds to *each other* or *one another*.

- 18 I have left out the steps transforming the second *and* into *with* and the later rules deleting both the first *and* and the newly formed *with*, since they have no direct bearing on the problem discussed here.
- 19 I do not understand why element 5 (*and*) is not deleted by Tail's Each-Other. However, I will assume that this *and* deletes somehow in order to yield (40a).
- 20 Shopen writes *other's* in his sentences, and I have done the same. However, *others'* seems better to me, especially in (43a).
- 21 In this indexing I do not specify whether a boy may be writing to himself (or in Shopen's example, scratching his own back). The possibility is empirically determined. In my speech, no boy may be writing to himself in the English counterpart of (44a). My Italian informants report the same constraint in Italian. However, the reflexive reading does not appear to be blocked by any syntactic constraint, hence, it is conceivable that it might occur in some varieties of both English and Italian. Since writing to oneself is rather bizarre, but scratching ones own back is not, we might expect to find in these varieties of speech reciprocal sentences which allow reflexive readings for the latter predicate (*scratch back*) more readily than for the former (*write*). For examples of sentences which are indifferent to reflexivity versus reciprocity, see below.
- 22 The process by which *ragazzo₁, ragazzo₂, ... ragazzo_n* becomes *i ragazzi* is not described here, but it is clear that some such process must exist in both English and Italian.
- 23 Paolo Valesio (personal communication) has pointed out to me the systematic phonological pattern of *l'un l'altro* (rare *l'uno l'altro*) and *l'uno* $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{al-} \\ \text{con} \\ \text{per} \\ \text{del-} \end{array} \right\}$ *l'altro* (rare *l'un* $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{al-} \\ \text{con} \\ \text{per} \\ \text{del-} \end{array} \right\}$ *l'altro*).

Without an intervening preposition the apocopated form, *l'un*, is the normal one, while with such a preposition the only normal form is the full one, *l'uno*. Furthermore, it seems that this is the only situation in which the pronoun *uno* is apocopated.

Rather than refer to a *L'un(o) (prep) l'altro* rule, I will just call this rule by the name of the corresponding English one, Each-Other.

- 24 The corresponding pattern for verbs taking an accusative object is:

- i) *I ragazzi si battono.* (cf. (44a))
- ii) *I ragazzi battono l'un l'altro.* (cf. (46b))
- iii) *I ragazzi si battono l'un l'altro.* (cf. (48))

Any of the above sentences with *l'uno all'altro* is unacceptable.

- 25 Datives of interest may appear with intransitive verbs, though very rarely. Paolo Valesio (personal communication) reports the sentence *Mi cadi molto* with the meaning "You fall in a low place in my consideration of you", which to him was "slightly unusual, but intelligible, and indeed elegantly expressive". However, the colloquial datives of interest discussed above are always reflexive and do not appear with intransitive verbs.
- 26 Of course (55b) is acceptable if the reflexive is understood as an accusative object, yielding the macabre sentences: "I eat myself", "He eats himself".
- 27 The rule called Unspecified NP deletion is discussed in Chapter 3 Section C (ii-d).
- 28 Bach (1968) has proposed that instead of three major lexical categories of Noun, Adjective, and Verb, there is really only one, which he calls Contentives, and claims it a linguistic universal. Lakoff (1965) presents the more limited proposal that Adjective and Verb are really one lexical category. The merits and faults of such proposals could be (and undoubtedly have been) argued at length. I will not discuss these proposals, since their bearing on this thesis is marginal. Rather I will just state that the analysis of hypothesizing a continuum between all three lexical categories seems to me to be a very reasonable and useful alternative to both strict categorization and the proposals of Bach and Lakoff. Evidence of such a continuum might be the contrast between *alert*, an adjective, *awakened*, a verb form (past participle), and *alarmed*, which seems to fall midway. Notice the patterns:

- i) *I am very much* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{alert.} \\ \text{alarmed.} \\ \text{*awakened.} \end{array} \right\}$
- ii) *I was* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*alert} \\ \text{alarmed} \\ \text{awakened} \end{array} \right\}$ *by it.*

In (i) *alarmed* falls together with adjectives. In (ii) *alarmed* behaves as a verb form. (Naturally the problem is more complex than these examples would have one believe, since the distinction of participles arising by way of Passive as opposed to those

arising by way of Psych-Movement (Postal:1971) or Flip (Lakoff:1965) may be essential to any discussion of this sort.) Of course the above is merely a proposal. I have not done any extensive research on the validity of hypothesizing such a continuum.

- 29 *Usare* is very old-fashioned and literary in modern Italian with the sense given above.
- 30 It appears that the "syntactic" constraint here is really motivated by the semantic incongruency that would result if such verbs appeared with a subject in their embedded clause which was distinct from the matrix subject. This fact points out the weaknesses of a theory of reflexivization which is purely syntactic without any semantic background. Also, the fact that the modals and others of these verbs (such as *cominciare*) have at least two fundamental meanings, epistemic and root, (Ross (1967), Perlmutter (1970)) has not been considered here. However, each of the verbs above have at least one reading for which the analyses discussed above were proposed.
- 31 There are contexts in which a person could repent for the sins of another person if he felt himself responsible for the actions of that person, such as a mother's repenting for her son's sins. However, here it seems to me that the extension of responsibility from the son to the mother entails a parallel extension of the sin itself. Thus in some culturally bound contexts, a son's sins may be his mother's also, which would then not be an exception to my statement after all. Still, exceptions of this sort may exist for which my explanation does not hold. The implications of philosophy and sociology upon language cannot be denied. Yet I would hope to be allowed to leave aside such extenuating considerations in this very simplified account of the most common usages of these verbs.
- 32 I am not claiming that all partitives act as accusative objects (although such a claim may well be true). Rather I am noting the fact that at least in some sentences partitives act as indefinite accusative objects. Therefore the possibility that the *di* phrases of (62) are accusatives must be discussed.
- 33 Fillmore (1968:21) claims as a universal that "although there can be compound instances of a single case (through noun phrase conjunction) each case relationship occurs only once in a simple sentence". However, Roldán (1972) has given some cases of multiple datives in Spanish which would tend to disprove Fillmore's claim. Whether multiple occurrences of any case can occur need not be determined for our purposes. It suffices to note that there are no cases of multiple accusatives (other than conjoined ones) in Italian. For example:

- i) *Abbiamo fatto Giovanni re.*
'We made John king.'

appears to have two accusatives in surface structure. But it is clear that *Giovanni* and *re* stand in some sort of identity relationship with each other; precisely the relationship noted between the subject and predicate noun in (ii):

- ii) *Dopo la morte di Enrico, Giovanni era re.*
'After Henry's death, John was king.'

(Note: it cannot be argued that (ii) has two nominatives, since *re* must be replaced by the non-nominative pronoun *lo* under pronominalization: *Dopo la morte di Enrico, Giovanni lo era.*) Thus there is a good case for deriving (i) from a complex structure. (Green (1969) discusses similar cases.) Also, although pronominalization of both *Giovanni* and *re* would be strange in (i), if it does occur, the only possibility is for the two NP to be replaced by a dative and an accusative (which becomes which, is not clear): *Glielo abbiamo fatto.* (Michael Freeman brought to my attention examples like (i).)

- 34 The example in (81) is not an isolated one by any means. Paolo Valesio (personal communication) has brought to my attention the following examples (with his own translations):

- i) *[E] credo, per avviso-che da viso/già mai meno pos(s)'*
essere diviso/che l'uomo vi nde possa divisare.
'[And] I believe, thinking about it, -that one cannot be so cut off (*diviso*) from the view (*viso*) [of you] that he could not picture (*divisare*) you (*vi*) on the basis of it (*nde*)'
(Giacomo da Lentini, "Eo-viso-e son divisoda la viso", l.12-14)
- ii) *Che nd'agio avuto tanto valimento.*
'that I gained such a great prize of valour out of it'
(Guido delle Colonne, "La mia gran pena e lo gravoso affanno, l.32)
- iii) *Che per voi erra- e gran travaglio nd'avi*
'[my heart] that wanders because of you- and experiences great grief because of this'
(Guido delle Colonne, "Amor che lungiamente m'ai menato", l.17)

All the texts quoted above are according to Bruno Panvini, ed., *Le rime della scuola siciliana*, Firenze: Olschki, 1962.

- 35 When an accusative object is present, it is very literary and

perhaps archaizing to pronominalize the *da* phrase to *ne*. For example: *Porto Paolo dalla stazione* is fine, but *Ne porto Paolo* is literary.

36 *Uscirsene* is obsolescent today.

37 One might argue that Aissen's analysis is unnecessary for our purposes since clitic pronouns must hop with *fare* (*La faccio cantare a Maria* ('I have Mary sing it')) but **Faccio cantarla a Maria*) and thus Constraint A would block the ungrammatical sentences of (87). However, such an objection does not hold, since it appears that there is optional Predicate Raising in Italian with verbs of perception. These verbs do not have obligatory clitic hopping when Predicate Raising does not occur (*Sento Maria cantarla* ('I hear Mary sing(ing) it')) and in such cases they allow REF to apply to the embedded sentence (*Ho visto uccidersi a forza di bere* ('I saw George kill himself by drinking')). However, when Predicate Raising does occur the clitics still need not hop (*Sento cantarla da* (or *a*) *Maria* or *La sento cantare da* (or *a*) *Maria*), yet REF cannot apply to the embedded sentence (**Ho visto uccidersi a forza di bere* (a or da) *Giorgio*). Thus, the fact that clitics must hop with *fare*, while it would explain (87), is insufficient to explain the sentences noted here with verbs of perception. For this reason, I claim that the ungrammatical sentences of (87) are due to the illegal application of REF rather than to a violation of Constraint A.

38 There are many problems presented by this construction with *fare*, *lasciare*, *vedere*, *sentire*, *guardare*, etc. For example, why are "absolute" reflexives and dative reflexives omitted from the complement but understood semantically as if present:

i) *Ho fatto pentire Giorgio.*
'I made George repent.'

Ho fatto lavare le mani a Giorgio.
'I made George wash his hands.'

while accusative non-absolute reflexives are not only omitted, but cannot be understood semantically as present?

ii) *Ho fatto uccidere Giorgio.*
'I made someone kill George.' (≠ 'I made George kill himself.')

(ii) cannot be read as a reflexive, even if the preposition appears before *Giorgio*. An analysis of this construction must be left for future study.

CHAPTER 3

On Inchoatives

A. The Problem

Many instances of clitic reflexive pronouns which do not involve reflexivity occur in various languages, among them Italian. The particular use of such pronouns studied in this chapter is exemplified below:

- 1) *Io mi ammalai.*
'I got sick.'

Roberto si ammalò
'Robert got sick.'

Reflexivity is discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to two types of linguistic structures: one in which two coreferential NP's are present in deep structure and one in which the subject NP is copied into some other position, thereby transformationally generating two coreferential NP's. In both instances these coreferential NP's are in the same simplex sentence at some point in the derivation (specifically, at the point in which REF occurs), with certain exceptions. The only source of a clitic reflexive pronoun in a reflexive sentence with an overt surface subject and one verb (that is, without embedding) is an NP coreferential with that subject (see Constraint A of Chapter 2). However, when we propose an underlying source for (1) based on the idea that (1) has two coreferential NP's present in deep structure, we find such a source to be unrelated to the semantic features of the surface sentence:

- 2) *#Io ammalai me.*

#Roberto ammalò Roberto.

Likewise, if we assume that a copy rule copies the subject into object position, we are at a loss to explain the fact that the deep structure subject of a sentence such as (2b) violates the selectional restrictions imposed on the deep structure subject of that verb in sentences without reflexive pronouns.

- 2) b. *Il fieno si infiammò.¹*
'The hay caught fire.'

(cf. *#Il fieno infiammò la carta.*
'The hay ignited the paper.')

Furthermore, no notions of reflexivity are suggested in (1) or (2b).

That is, they do not mean "Robert sickened Robert" and "The hay ignited the hay," respectively. Thus we cannot account for the reflexive pronouns in (1) and (2b) with either of the analyses discussed in Chapter 2.

The kind of sentences found in (1) has long been recognized as a non-reflexive use of reflexive pronouns. Various names have been assigned to such sentences, the most dominant of which is "inchoatives." As we saw in Chapter 1, the meaning of "inchoative" has not been clearly circumscribed. Attempts at definitions have referred to "changes of state" (both physical and psychological), "inceptiveness," and predicates which are "experienced" by the subject but not "emanating" from the subject. All these definitions are semantic and all present difficulties when one tries to use them as standards for judging whether a given structure is inchoative. For example, is *esplodere* ('explode') any less a change of state verb than *congelare* ('freeze')? Is *cominciare* ('begin') any less a verb of inceptiveness than *iniziare* ('initiate')? Is the predicate *cadere* ('fall') any less experienced by the subject rather than emanating from it than *raffreddare* ('chill')? Yet in all these cases the former does not appear with reflexive pronouns, but the latter verb employs the reflexive pronouns in inchoative sentences.

While the above semantic criteria have their source in truth (that is, many verbs found in inchoative structures exhibit the semantic features mentioned above), syntactic criteria prove to be more useful in describing inchoatives. In this chapter I argue that the reflexive pronoun of inchoatives is not introduced into the base phrase structure rules, but is transformationally derived by way of a copy rule and REF. Inchoatives are analyzed as having deep structures in which the subject node is empty and the surface subject appears in direct object position. A movement rule fills the subject node with the object, leaving behind a copy. Since the structural description for REF is then met, it applies yielding surface structures such as (1) and (2b). This analysis adequately accounts for the appearance of reflexive pronouns in inchoative sentences and for the fact that these reflexive pronouns are syntactically identical to accusative ones derived by way of REF studied in Chapter 2. It also explains the distribution of selectional restrictions between constituents of active transitive sentences and those of the corresponding inchoative ones. And it correctly predicts that the logical object of the sentence will have nominative case in surface structure.

At the end of this chapter I briefly offer the suggestion that inchoatives are a special case of a larger phenomenon, the middle voice construction. This suggestion is not developed thoroughly since such a development would undoubtedly require a study of many semantic and syntactic aspects of the middle voice not directly relevant to the distribution of *si*. However, I offer this suggestion

with the conviction that my analysis can be verified by a point by point comparison with inchoatives.

B. Facts

(i) Phrase Structure Rules versus REF

The phenomenon seen in (1) has a complete paradigm for person and number:

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 3) <i>Io mi ammalaì.</i> | <i>Noi ci ammalammo.</i> |
| <i>Tu ti ammalasti.</i> | <i>Voi vi ammalaste.</i> |
| <i>Lui si ammalò.</i> | <i>Loro si ammalarono.</i> |

The surface subject of these sentences may be either gender. In composite tenses the verb conjugates with *essere*, even though in non-inchoative sentences the same verb would use *avere*:

- 4) a. *Mi sono svegliata.*
 'I woke up.'
- b. *Mamma mi ha svegliata.*
 'Mamma woke me up.'

The clitic morpheme in inchoative sentences is superficially identical to the reflexive pronoun: it agrees with the surface subject in person and number. The clitic of inchoatives is accusative (see Section C below). As with reflexive accusative clitics, the past participle agrees with it in number and gender:

- 5) *Ci siamo svegliate.*
 'We (fem.) woke up.'

This clitic is syntactically essential to the sentence (for exceptions see Section C (ii)): thus, its absence results in an ungrammatical sentence:

- 6) **Maria svegliò.*
 'Mary woke.'

However, when inchoative occurs in clauses which have undergone Predicate Raising (see Section C (iii) of Chapter 2), the clitic may not appear:

- 7) a. *Ho visto* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{svegliare Maria.}^2 \\ *svegliarsi (a) Maria. \end{array} \right\}$
 b. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{svegliare Maria.}^2 \\ *svegliarsi (a) Maria. \end{array} \right\}$

- c. **Si ho vista svegliare (a) Maria.*
'I saw Mary wake up.'

(cf. the sentence which has not undergone Predicate Raising: *Ho visto Maria svegliarsi.*)

The clitic of inchoatives, if introduced transformationally must be introduced by a cyclic rule. Let us consider the following sentences in which the subject of the embedded clause has been deleted by Equi-NP Del:

- 8) a. *Mi ha pregato di ammalarmi prima del matrimonio.*³
'He begged me to get sick before the wedding.'

In order to account for the person and number of the inchoative clitic in examples (3) through (5), we must say that the inchoative clitic agrees with the subject of its own clause at the time it is formed. Thus, the *mi* of (8a) must have been introduced at the point when the embedded sentence still had a subject: that is, before Equi-NP. Since Equi-NP is a cyclic rule (see Rosenbaum, 1965), the rule producing the clitic of an inchoative sentence must be either cyclic or pre-cyclic. However, we find that inchoative clitics must be introduced (if introduced by transformational means) after the pre-cyclic rule of Predicate Raising to account for (7) as well as the grammaticality of (8b) but not (8c) or (8d):

- 8) b. *Giorgio; si; fa addormentare tramite i calmanti.*
'George puts himself to sleep by means of drugs.'
c. **Giorgio; lo; fa addormentare tramite i calmanti.*
d. **Giorgio; lo; fa addormentarsi tramite i calmanti.*

Since very few pre-cyclic rules are known (the only other that I know of is Sentence-Pronominalization, proposed by Lakoff (1968b), which has been seriously questioned by Aissen (1972)) and since no theory has speculated about whether pre-cyclic rules are ordered with respect to each other, it would be rather surprising if the rule producing the clitics in inchoatives were pre-cyclic as well as ordered after Predicate Raising. What is more, such a speculation would offer no explanation for the syntactic similarities of these clitics with those derived by way of REF. Such a hypothesis has all the faults pointed out below with respect to the Phrase Structure theory. Thus, I reject the idea that these clitics are introduced pre-cyclically, and assert that, if these clitics are transformationally introduced, it is by a cyclic rule.

The above facts follow immediately from the hypothesis that the clitic in question is a reflexive pronoun produced by way of

REF⁴ (for a summary of the syntactic properties of reflexives, see Chapter 2, Section D). If a phrase structure rule, instead, produces this clitic, the rule would have the form of the VP expansion in (9a):

9) a. $S \rightarrow NP \text{ VP}^5$

$VP \rightarrow \text{clitic } V \text{ (NP) (NP) (ADV) etc.}$

But the clitic is not free: It must match the subject for person, number, and gender:

9) b. $S \rightarrow NP \begin{bmatrix} \alpha_{\text{person}} \\ \beta_{\text{number}} \\ \delta_{\text{gender}} \end{bmatrix} VP$

$VP \rightarrow \text{clitic} \begin{bmatrix} \alpha_{\text{person}} \\ \beta_{\text{number}} \\ \delta_{\text{gender}} \end{bmatrix} V \text{ (NP) (NP) (ADV) etc.}$

Now if the subject NP happens to be masculine third person singular, we have three possibilities for the clitic: *lo* (non-reflexive accusative), *gli* (non-reflexive dative), and *si* (reflexive). But only one of them, *si*, can appear in inchoatives. Thus we need:

9) c. $S \rightarrow NP_i \text{ VP}$

$VP \rightarrow \text{reflexive pronoun}_i V \text{ (NP) (NP) (ADV) etc.}$

But now we have two mechanisms for producing reflexive pronouns: REF and the PS rule seen in (9c). The reflexive pronouns produced by these two mechanisms seem to be identical syntactically, as the properties above show. The only major difference is that the reflexive pronoun of inchoatives is always clitic (thus we do not find for (1) the contrastive or emphatic counterpart **Roberto annalò sé*) -- a fact which the REF theory must explain, but which follows automatically from the PS rule. Since any grammar having two mechanisms for producing the same syntactic structure is costly, we would like to eliminate one of these mechanisms. In specific, we would like to eliminate the PS rule since its usefulness is limited to inchoative structures while REF applies to both reflexive and inchoative structures. What is more, the PS rule is unable to predict which verbs can appear with this phrase structure. For example, it cannot explain why we do not find reflexive clitics with intransitive verbs: **Roberto si va*, **Roberto si sbadiglia*. But the REF theory correctly predicts that only verbs which can occur in transitive sentences can also appear in inchoative ones. Thus, we will eliminate the PS rule in (9c) as a possibility and proceed to offer an analysis using REF which adequately accounts for the obligatory cliticization of these pronouns.

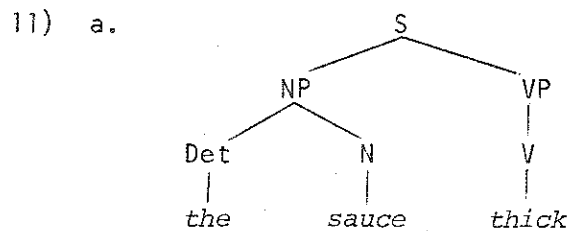
(ii) The Embedded S Proposal

Once we have assumed the position that an inchoative sentence has some non-trivial transformational derivation, we are left with several possibilities as to what this derivation might be. Lakoff (1965) offers an analysis of inchoatives which calls for an embedding structure. We find such a structure unwarranted and choose instead a simplex S source for inchoatives. But first, let us here examine the Lakoff proposal.

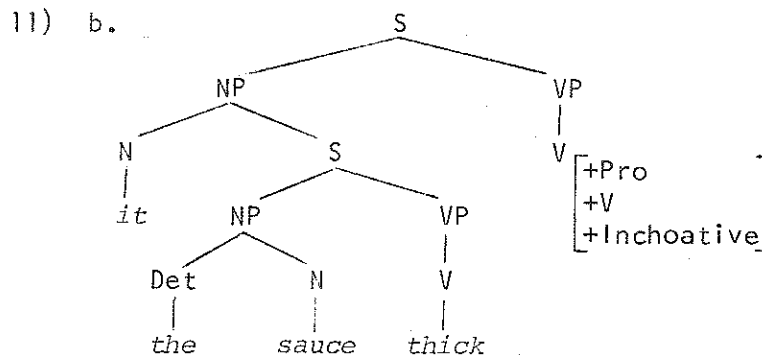
Lakoff's analysis relates sentences of the following three types:

- 10) a. *The sauce is thick.*
 b. *The sauce thickened.*
 c. *John thickened the sauce.*

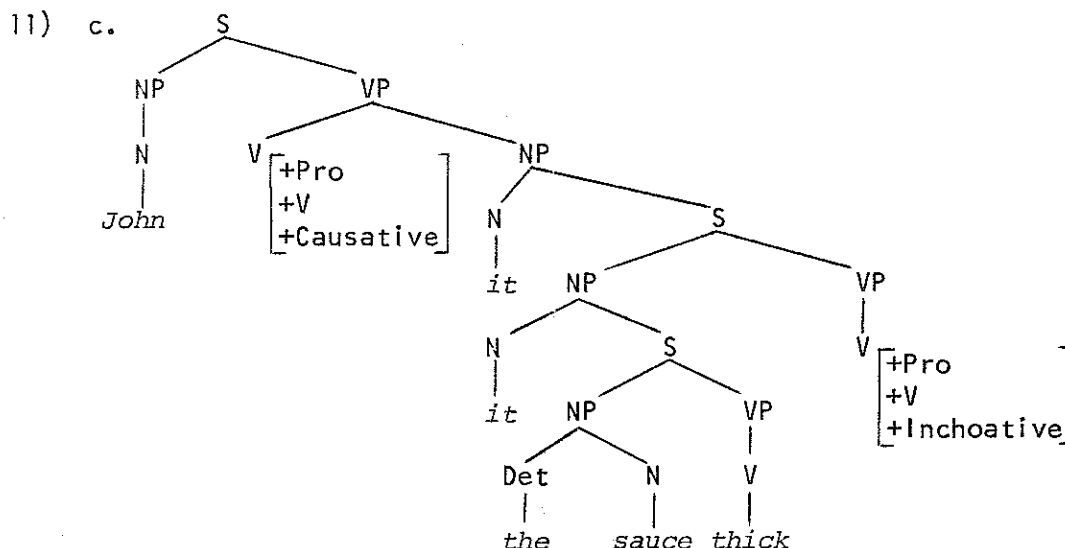
((10b) is an example of what we have called inchoative.) For (10a) Lakoff proposes the following structure, assuming the validity of his own argument that VERB and ADJECTIVE are members of the same lexical category (Lakoff, 1965: Appendix A):



He then derives (10b) from an underlying structure containing (11a) thus:



Then he argues that (10c) involves all the semantic information of (10b) and therefore of (10a), plus the additional information of John's causing (10b) to occur:



In (11b) and (11c) the [+Pro] verbs are not lexical items. They are abstract verbs denoting semantic features which are to be added on to the lowest verb (in these cases the verb *thick*) as it rises through the cycles. The added feature of inchoatives gives the verb the meaning of "becoming" or "coming to be." The added feature of causative, which can be added only to inchoative verbs, gives the verb the meaning of "causing."

Lakoff does not offer any syntactic arguments for assuming that (10a), (10b), and (10c) are transformationally related. He simply states that this is so, seemingly basing such a claim upon the assumption that the semantic information of (10a) forms a proper subset of that of (10b) which in turn is a proper subset of that of (10c).

That Lakoff's analysis can be applied to the inchoative structure in Romance has been argued by Roldán (1971) with respect to Spanish. Roldán gives a most comprehensive account of the semantic constraints and projections of inchoatives. She notes that while most inchoatives involve an involuntary state, "Non voluntary is not, however, a necessary feature of inchoativity." Thus:

12) (Spanish) *Juan se casó.*

(Italian) *Giovanni si sposò.*

'John was married.'

does not necessarily imply that John had no choice in the matter. Roldán also agrees with Lakoff that "every inchoative sentence contains an implicit stative sentence." Like Lakoff's analysis, Roldán's analysis assumes the presence of this embedded stative sentence without presenting syntactic data to this effect. As examples of incho-

atives and their corresponding stative sentences, she cites Spanish pairs such as:

13) (Spanish) *Juan se divorció.*

Juan está divorciado.

(Italian) *Giovanni si divorziò.*

Giovanni è divorziato.

'John got divorced.'

'John is divorced.'

Roldán notes that inchoatives have no 'now' tense, but rather the present tense is used to express 'habitual, future, iteration, historical present; any reading associated with the present tense except the meaning 'now' (inchoation is over with as soon as it is begun.' For example:

14) (Sp) *En este momento se despierta Juan.*

(It) *In questo momento Giovanni si sveglia.*

'John has woken up this minute.'

(The tense of the Romance verbs in (14) is present, but the action referred to is perfected at the time of speech.) While inchoative involves an embedded stative sentence according to Lakoff and Roldán, once the inchoative rule has been applied the result is a non-stative sentence.

Finally, Roldán analyzes the verbs which Lakoff claims undergo the transformation FLIP, and concludes that these are really cases of inchoatives. For example:

15) (Sp) *Me sorprendí.*

(It) *Mi sorpresi.*

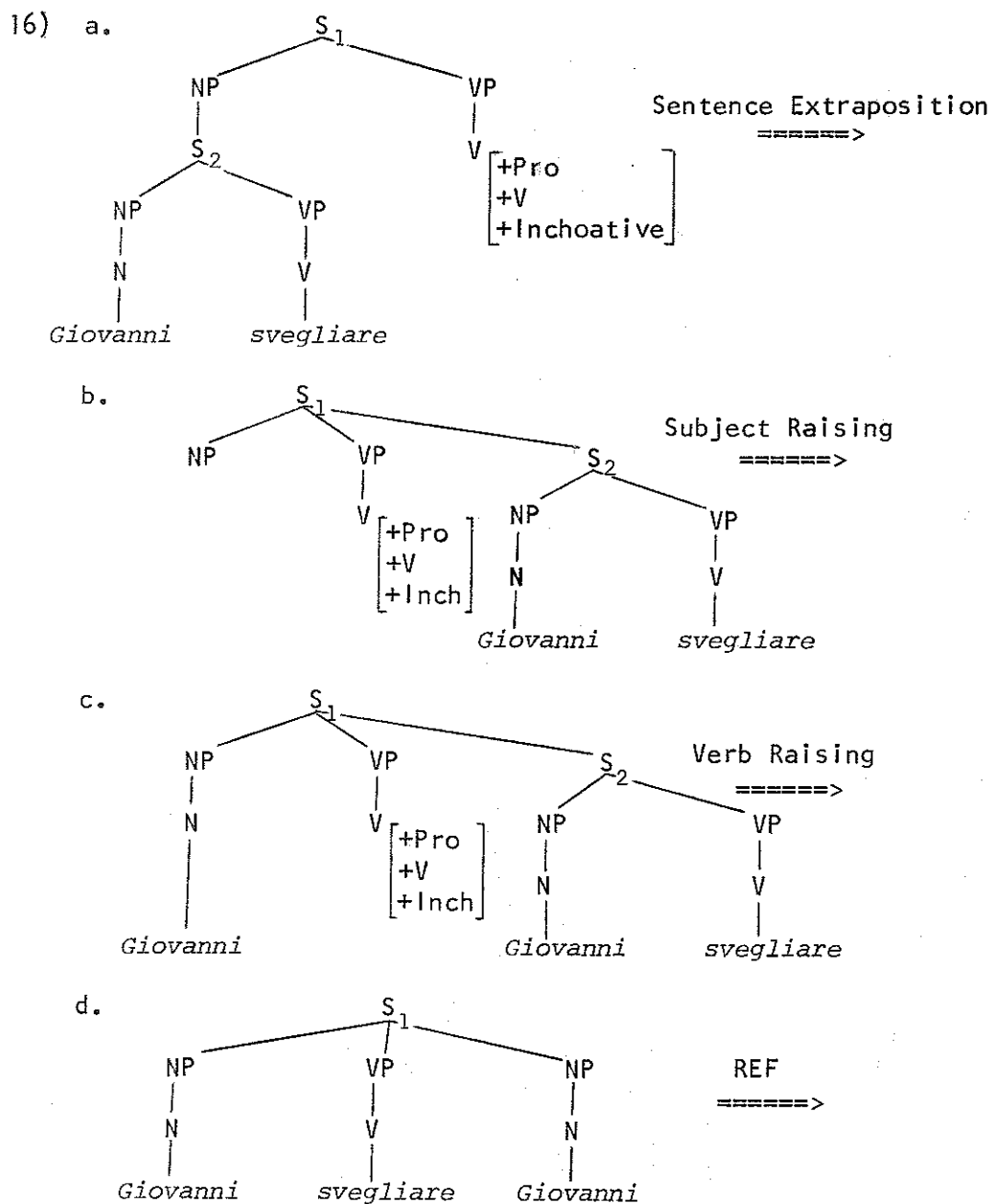
'I was surprised.'

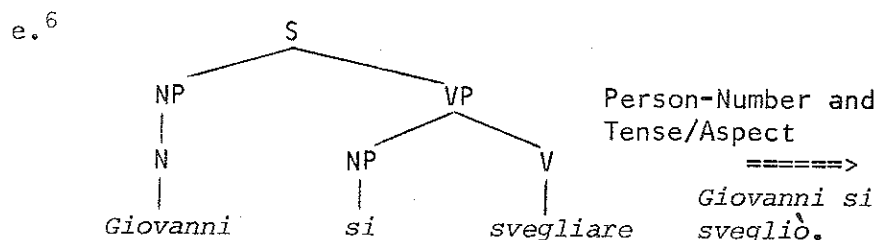
Robert Wall (1968) comes to this same conclusion about the corresponding English verbs. Thus, the necessity of FLIP has been removed from the grammars of both Spanish and English, and by parallel arguments from Italian, by way of an extension of the inchoative rule.

Roldán's observations point out interesting semantic features of the inchoative. And I have catalogued her observations above for this

reason. However, they do not offer evidence in support of the syntactic structure she assigns them. She appears to have accepted Lakoff's analysis without seeing any necessity of justifying it.

For the sake of clarity, it is useful to show a complete derivation of an inchoative sentence according to Roldán (who follows Lakoff closely):





If contrast and/or emphasis can be assigned only in deep structure, Roldán's (and Lakoff's) analysis does solve the problem of the non-occurrence of non-clitic reflexives in Italian and Spanish inchoative constructions, since the features of contrast or emphasis could not be assigned to the second NP in (16c) and (16d) if this NP arises as a copy by a transformational rule. However, problems with this analysis remain.

A major problem of this analysis of inchoatives is its lack of syntactic motivation. A structure containing an embedded sentence is assumed for inchoatives, yet no evidence of such embedding has been offered. And there are at least two pieces of evidence that cast doubt upon the syntactic validity of such an embedding. First, no transformations apply on the putatively embedded S (that is, S in (16)). This could be explained if Verb Raising were a pre-cyclic rule which destroyed the S_2 node and thus the S_2 cycle. However, Lakoff and Roldán order Sentence Extraposition and Subject Raising, both cyclic rules, before Verb Raising. Thus, they cannot account for the inadmissibility of T's on the embedded S. (This argument was suggested to me by Judith Aissen.)

Second, Fodor (1970) in arguing against Lakoff's theory of an abstract CAUSE verb, has pointed out that when a complex S has two verbs both of which allow time adverbs, two time adverbs may appear:

- 17) *John caused Bill to die on Sunday by stabbing him on Saturday.*

In (17) the "causing" occurred on Saturday, but the "dying" occurred on Sunday. However, in the corresponding sentence with *kill* instead of *cause to die* only one time adverb is allowed -- the one associated with "dying":

- 17) b. *John killed Bill on Sunday (*by stabbing him on Saturday).*

Fodor concludes that (17b) allows only one time adverb since there is only one verb in deep structure. The same argument refutes the proposal that inchoatives are complex structures. Lakoff offers *become* or *come to be* (p. 33) as close approximations of his abstract INCHOATIVE verb. We see that the complex sentence (18) with *come to be* allows two time adverbials:

- 18) *On that momentous Easter morning John came to be known as "crazy legs" for the rest of his life.*

The change of state occurred on the momentous Easter morn, but the state lasted for the rest of his life. However, in an inchoative sentence only one time adverbial may appear:

- 19) *Alle otto il ghiaccio si è fuso (*per due ore).*
'At 8 o'clock the ice melted (*for 2 hours).'

If (19) really included an embedded stative sentence, then the durative time adverbial, *per due ore*, should have been at least marginally acceptable. Since it is not, I conclude that (19) (and therefore inchoatives in general) does not involve embedding, but instead has only one verb in deep structure.

(iii) The Simplex S Proposal

Since the embedding theory above has been shown to be syntactically unfounded and given that inchoative sentences are superficially simplex, we conclude that the most obvious source for inchoatives, a simplex S, is the proper source. The problem now is to determine the underlying syntactic roles of the superficial elements of the sentence.

We can immediately eliminate the possibility that inchoatives have a deep structure with coreferential subject and object not only because of the meaninglessness of a sentence such as (2) above, but also because a deep structure such as *Il fieno infiammò il fieno* for (2b) breaks the selectional restrictions on the deep subject of *infiammare*. To say that NP_i V NP_j may break selectional restrictions on NP precisely when *i=j* is to give an ad hoc rule which explains nothing. Also, such an ad hoc rule will run into problems with reflexive structures like those catalogued in Chapter 2. For example, if this proposal is correct, why is a sentence such as (20) unacceptable?

- 20) **Il sasso si è visto*
'The rock saw itself.'

Clearly (20) is bad because of the violation of selectional restrictions. Instead, we propose an analysis with an empty deep subject node and with the surface subject in deep object position.

(iii-a) The Surface Subject: The Deep Object

That the surface subject originates in underlying object position can be argued on three counts: 1) the surface subject is the logical

object, 2) most verbs found in inchoative sentences when used actively and non-inchoatively require objects, and 3) the selectional restrictions placed upon the surface subject of inchoative sentences and upon the surface object of non-inchoative sentences with the same verb exhibit a nearly one-to-one correspondence.

First, when one speaks of a "logical" object as opposed to a syntactic object, one is applying basically semantic criteria and appealing to the notions that underlie case grammars (Fillmore (1968), among others⁷). I do not wish to imply any precise criteria for deciding what the logical object of a sentence is, since I know of no such criteria. However, it seems clear to me that in (21a) and (21b) the logical object (the recipient or goal of the action in this particular example) is *Maria*. Yet in (21a) *Maria* is syntactically accusative while in (21b) *Maria* is nominative.

- 21) a. *Carlo ha sbaciucchiato Maria.*
'Carlo smooched Mary.'
- b. *Maria è stata sbaciucchiata da Carlo.*
'Mary was smooched by Carlo.'

The most common way of explaining the fact that *Maria* is surface subject but logical object in (21b) is to say that (21b) has undergone the rule Passive which, among other functions, moves the underlying object into subject position. (For an alternative explanation, see Hasegawa (1968).)

Looking to inchoative sentences, we find that the logical object is the surface subject just as in passive sentences:

- 22) *Il fieno si infiammò.*
'The hay caught fire.'

(22) means that something or someone caused the hay to catch fire; the hay was the "object" of the action. *Il fieno* has the same logical status in (22) as it has in (23):

- 23) *Il fiammifero infiammò il fieno.*
'The match ignited the hay.'

This data suggests that the underlying syntactic role of *il fieno* in (22) may be the same as its underlying role in (23); and this role appears to be that of deep object, if we accept the standard analysis of active transitive sentences.

I am not asserting that "logical" object = "deep" object always. Rather I am asserting that transformational analyses, whether explicitly or implicitly, rely upon just such criteria as "logical" object, subject, oblique object, etc. A basic tenet of TG has been that if

two sentences are synonymous and employ the same lexical items with variations such as order (as in subject-aux inversion for questions), insertion (as of *be* with Passive), deletion (as in Equi-NP Deletion), and substitution (as with REF), the sentences are transformationally related. Whether two sentences are synonymous can be difficult to determine, and, in fact, it may well be that no two nonidentical sentences are perfectly synonymous. Still, within a reasonably elastic definition of synonymy, (21a) and (21b) may be said to be synonymous and thus, presumably transformationally related. The relationship between (22) and (23) is more distant, since (23) refers not only to the hay's catching fire, but to a specific instrument's causing this result. Still, our grammar would seem to be missing a significant generalization if it did not account for the logical relationship between the NP *il fieno* and the V *infiammare* in (22) and (23) in the same way, since it is precisely the same logical relationship in both sentences. A theory deriving surface subjects of inchoatives from underlying object position does capture this generalization.

Second, we notice that most verbs which can appear in inchoative sentences require accusative objects when used in active non-inchoative sentences (for exceptions see Section C (ii)):

- 24) a. *Ho aperto la porta.*
'I opened the door.'

**Ho aperto.*⁸
'I opened.'

- b. (inchoative) *La porta si è aperta.*
'The door opened.'

One way to account for such a fact is to subcategorize these verbs in the lexicon as obligatorily taking accusative objects (that is, as requiring the frame [...__+NP...]). Now if the verb *aprire* in (24a) is the same lexical item as *aprire* in (24b), they should both require the same subcategorization frame. And since *aprire* in (24) does have one consistent semantic value, that is, changing the physical position of some object (in this instance, *la porta*) from closed to open, we conclude that the same lexical item appears in (24a) and (24b). Therefore, *aprire* in both sentences of (24) requires an object in deep structure. The only candidates for this object in (24b) are *la porta* and *si*. But we have already argued that *si* is not introduced by a Phrase Structure rule, but rather transformationally by way of REF. Since REF operates on the second of two coreferential NP's, the NP underlying *si* must be coreferential with some other NP in the sentence. The only other NP in the sentence is *la porta*. Thus, the only possible deep object for *aprire* in (24) is *la porta*. (The same argument may be made for the sentences *Mamma mi ha svegliata* and *Io mi sono svegliata*, in which case the source of the reflexive pronoun *mi* in the inchoative sentence

is more obviously an NP coreferential with the surface subject *io*.) Again we are led to posit that the subject of inchoatives originates in underlying object position.⁹

Third, there is a high correlation between the selectional restrictions of the subject of an inchoative and of the accusative object of the corresponding active transitive sentence:

- 25) a. *#Sveglio il rumore*
'I wake the noise.'
- b. *Il rumore mi sveglia.*
'The noise wakes me.'
- c. *#Il rumore si sveglia.*
'The noise wakes up.'
- d. *Apro la porta.*
'I open the door.'
- e. *#La porta apre la scatola.*
'The door opens the box.'
- f. *La porta si apre.*
'The door opens.'

Svegliare in (25a) rejects an inanimate object, but in (25b) it accepts an inanimate subject; but when used in an inchoative in (25c) it rejects inanimate subjects. *Aprire* in (25d) accepts an inanimate non-instrumental object, but in (25e) it rejects such a subject; however, in the inchoative (25f) it accepts precisely such a subject. Thus the selectional restrictions on inchoatives' subjects are the same as on non-inchoatives' objects. While selectional restrictions do not establish which sentence or structure is derived from which (for example an analysis based on selectional restrictions alone could as well derive active sentences from passive ones and vice versa), they do support the hypothesis that sentences are transformationally related. Hence, any theory which derives the surface subjects of inchoative sentences from the same source as the surface objects of the corresponding active non-inchoative sentences is consistent with the data above on the distribution of selectional restrictions.

From these three arguments we conclude that the surface subject of inchoatives originates in object position in deep structure.

(iii-b) The Deep Subject

If the surface subject of an inchoative comes from underlying object position, the question then presents itself of what is the underlying subject. In a sentence such as:

- 26) *Roberto si sveglia tardi d'inverno.*
'Robert wakes up late in winter.'

we do not know what force wakes Robert. Even if we add the phrase *da sè* ("by himself") as in :

- 27) *Roberto si sveglia da sè alle sei in punto.*
'Robert wakes up by himself at 6 o'clock on the dot.'

we still do not know what actually wakes Robert; it could be an alarm clock he sets or a sort of automatic clock-in-his-brain or the sunlight through his window. All we know is that some external person does not come into his room and shake him awake. We are a little "less vague" about the unmentioned force in (27) than in (26). We can be even more specific if we add an adverbial clause:

- 28) *Roberto si svegliò subito quando la mamma lo scosse.*
'Robert woke up immediately when his mamma shook him.'

In (28) we understand the *quando* clause as the cause of Roberto's waking. From these last three sentences, we can see that the most simple surface structure of inchoatives, (NP) reflexive pronoun V, does not contain any information about the force that precipitates the verbing. In order to say anything about this force, we need to add more information, as in (27) and (28).

I claim that the deep structure subject node of inchoative sentences, if there is such a node, is empty. Since inchoatives do have subject nodes in surface structure, as witnessed by the fact that the surface subject is pronominalized as a nominative (*Lui si sveglia*) and acts as a subject in movement T's such as question formation (*Quando si è svegliata Carla?* "When did Carla wake up?"), there is the possibility that a subject node is present in deep structure, and I have no information to remove this possibility. Also, as far as I know, in the present theory of generative grammar there are many transformations which decrease structure, but none which have the power to increase structure by generating a subject node. But even if such a node is present, there is substantial evidence that this node must be empty. In Chapter 4 we present several arguments which show that inchoatives and other middle voice sentences do not have deep structure subjects while indefinite *si* sentences do. We refer the reader to Chapter 4 Section D for these arguments, which involve sentences of the following types, among others:

- 29) a. *La porta si chiude col vento. (Essa si...)*
'The door closes with the wind.'
- b. *#La porta si chiude deliberatamente (#Essa si...)*
'The door closes deliberately.'
- c. *#La porta si chiuse per irritare la mamma. (#Essa si...)*
'The door closed in order to annoy Mamma.'

(Note that the acceptability markings on (29) are based on these sentences' having the pronominalized counterparts shown in parenthesis above. If, instead, *la porta* pronominalizes as an accusative, we have indefinite *si* sentences and the above acceptability markings no longer hold.)

In (29a) we have an instrumental *con*-phrase which cannot co-occur in a sentence with an agentive NP. Thus (30) is unacceptable:

- 30) #*Sizzo ha chiuso la porta col vento.*
'Sizzo closed the door with the wind.'

Either Sizzo or the wind closed the door, but neither of them could have reasonably used the other to close the door, nor could they have joined forces to close the door. However, in (29a) *col vento* is perfectly acceptable, implying that there is no agentive NP present in the deep structure to conflict with this instrumental phrase.¹⁰

In (29b) we have a manner adverb that requires an animate agentive NP. Thus, we can say (31a) but not (31b):

- 31) a. *Franca chiude la porta deliberatamente.*
'Franca closes the door deliberately.'
b. #*Il vento chiude la porta deliberatamente.*
'The wind closes the door deliberately.'

(29b) like (31b) appears to be unacceptable because a suitable animate NP for *deliberatamente* does not occur¹¹ in deep structure.

And, finally, (29c) is parallel to (29b), except that instead of a manner adverb we have an *in order to* purpose clause. Such purpose clauses require an animate agentive NP; witness the contrast between (32a) and (32b):

- 32) a. *Franca chiuse la porta per irritare la mamma.*
'Franca closed the door to annoy her mother.'
b. #*Il vento chiuse la porta per irritare la mamma.*
'The wind closed the door to annoy Mamma.'

(29c) is out for the same reason (32b) is out: there is no suitable animate NP to be the subject of the purpose clause in deep structure (which subject is deleted by Equi-NP Deletion under identity with *Franca* in (32a)).

(29) through (32) show that inchoatives do not take agentives in deep structure. The possibility still remains that a non-agentive subject may be present. However, I have found no evidence to show

the existence of such a deep subject, thus I reject such a possibility. Since the semantic and syntactic properties of (26) through (29) follow from the theory that inchoatives have empty subject nodes in deep structure, I assert that such a theory is correct.

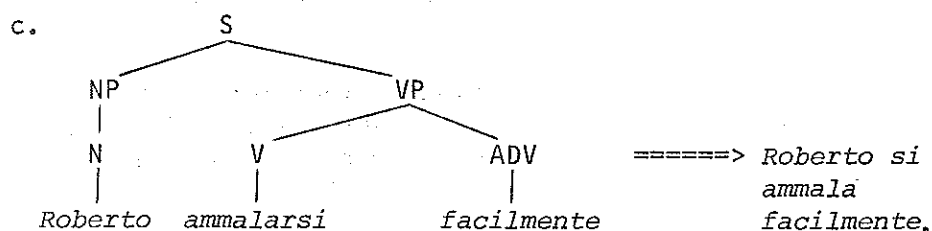
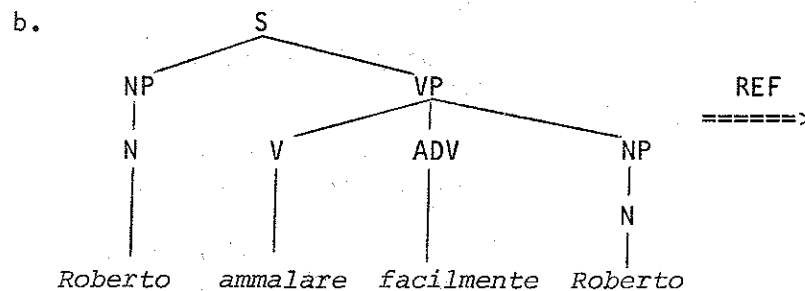
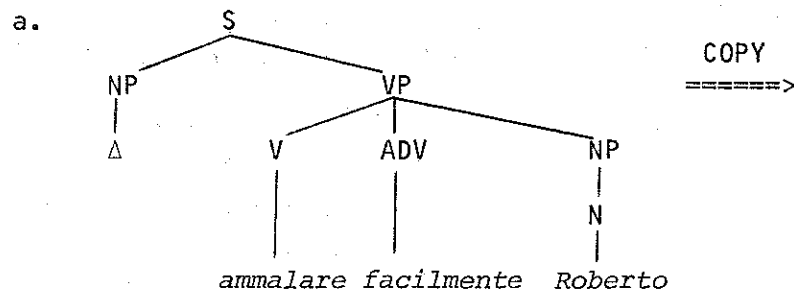
C. Analysis

Thus far we have argued that the reflexive pronoun of inchoatives is introduced by way of REF but that this rule must operate on coreferential NP's one of which is not present in deep structure (since *il fieno infiammò il fieno* makes no sense). Second, inchoatives involve simplex sentences. Third, the surface subject originates in object position. Fourth, the deep structure subject node is empty. We need an analysis which will move the deep object into surface subject position and create the proper structural description for REF.

I propose the following derivation for inchoatives:

- 33) Surface Structure: *Roberto si ammala facilmente.*
'Robert gets sick easily.'

Deep Structure: Δ *ammalare facilmente Roberto.*



The VP in (33a) is a viable VP in other deep structures, since for every inchoative sentence there exists a non-inchoative active transitive sentence using the same verb whose object is the same as the surface subject of the inchoative sentence.

The deep structure seen in (33a) has already been justified. And the transition from (33b) to (33c) to surface structure involves nothing new. The major point of the above derivation which stands in need of clarification is the transition from (33a) to (33b), the step called COPY.

(i) COPY

There are two logical possibilities for the internal mechanism of COPY: either it merely copies the object into subject position or it moves the object into subject position leaving behind a copy which consists of at least all those features relevant to REF (person, number, gender, case, referent index). Langacker (1970:178) asserts the first alternative, "A copy of an inanimate Objective may be substituted for an unspecified Agent or Dative in subject position." Neither Lakoff (1965) nor Roldán (1971) specify whether copies are involved in their Subject Raising step. And Fillmore (1968:41), when talking about derived subjects in general, states, "Sometimes subjects are created not by moving one of the case elements into the 'subject' position, but by COPYING a particular element into that position." Fillmore, unfortunately, fails to give general conditions under which movement or copying takes place. And no one offers any evidence one way or the other.

I assert that COPY is a two part rule although both parts may be simultaneous: the object is moved into subject position and a copy is left behind. There are two reasons for preferring this analysis over a simple copy-into-subject-position analysis: the first involves English, the second, Italian.

First, the inchoative in English does NOT exhibit reflexive pronouns. Lakoff (1965) claims, to the contrary, that English inchoatives may appear (though rarely) with reflexive pronouns, as in:

- 34) a. *John hurt himself when he fell down.*
b. *John dirtied himself.*

He notes, "Such reflexive constructions are the normal way of forming the inchoative in Spanish, French, and Russian." However, the appearance of a reflexive pronoun in (34) above does not correspond exactly to the situation in Spanish, French, and (what is more relevant to us)

Italian. For example, when active participation, intent, or control of the surface subject is excluded, the reflexive cannot appear in the English sentences:

- 34) c. *#John hurt himself when a tree fell on him.*
 (cf. *John got hurt when a tree fell on him.*)
- d. *#John dirtied himself when Mary poured coffee on him.*
 (cf. *John got dirty when Mary poured coffee on him.*)

This restriction, however, does not apply to Romance:

- 35) a. *Giovanni si fece male quando un albero cadde su di lui.* (same as (34c))
- b. *Giovanni si sporcò quando Maria versò del caffè su di lui.* (same as (34d))

(The above contrast between English and Romance was pointed out to me by Dwight Bolinger.)

Thus, while the appearance of the reflexive in English sentences like (34) suggests that these constructions involve the extra semantic entailment of causative (in which case the reflexive pronoun is the result of REF acting upon the two coreferential NP's present in deep structure), the Italian sentences have no such extra semantic entailment. In other words, (34) is NOT a case of inchoative after all. Whether John hurt himself accidentally or on purpose, *John_i hurt John_i*, and this fact distinguishes the English sentences of (34) from all inchoatives we have discussed thus far. It would require a novel and seemingly impossible-to-justify theory in order to state that John's hurting himself by accident (which is the reading Lakoff calls inchoative) is less of a transitive reflexive action than John's hurting himself on purpose. And if one is to argue that, then do we say that *John killed Bill* has at least two different deep structures: one in which John intended to kill Bill and the other in which the killing was an accident? And further that *John murdered Bill* has only one deep structure, which must parallel to the "intention" one of *John killed Bill*? Such reasoning leads us far astray.

Given now that in English inchoatives do not employ reflexive pronouns and given that the verbs which are found in inchoative structures in different languages seem to form a (very) rough semantic class, I would like to offer a derivation which accounts for inchoatives in English as well as in Italian with as few differences as possible. Since there is no evidence in English that a copy was ever present at any level (and consequently deleted), it would seem that in English a simple movement rule preposes the object into subject position (this is the position assumed by Fillmore (1968)). If

in Romance the object was copied into subject position, the Romance derivation and the English derivation would be entirely distinct. However, if in Romance the object moves into subject position leaving behind a copy, the derivation is the same as that for English with one added step: the formation of the copy.

Second, copying is not limited to inchoatives in Italian (nor in the other Romance languages). And all the other cases of copying in Italian occur in coordination with a movement T.¹² For example, Left Dislocation leaves behind a copy (in these examples we underline the word which receives the highest intonation peak):

- 36) *Tua sorella, lei è andata in cerca di guai.*
'Your sister, she went looking for trouble.'

and so does Right Dislocation:

- 37) *L'ho vista proprio qui, tua sorella.*
'I saw her right here, your sister.'

Likewise there are at least three instances in which an object may be topicalized to the front of the sentence.¹³ Two of these are when that object is a point of contrast and when the verb is focussed. These two instances are exemplified in (38a) and (38b), respectively:

- 38) a. *Il cane sento (, non il gatto).*
'The dog I hear (, not the cat).'
b. *Il cane lo sento (, ma non lo vedo).*
'The dog it I hear (, but I don't see it).'

As we see above, when the verb is focussed as in (38b) the object leaves a copy behind. However, this statement must be qualified, since the pronominal copy does not occur when the object is indefinite:

- 39) a. *Libri non voglio! Ne ho già troppi!*
'Books I don't want! I already have too many!'
b. **Libri non li voglio! Ne ho già troppi!*
'Books I don't want them! I already have too many!'

((39b) is to be read without a pause after *libri*.)

A third instance of topicalizing of the object is when the object is emphasized for reasons other than contrast. In these cases a copy is left or not depending upon the definiteness or lack of definiteness of the object:

- 40) a. *Tutto ho in mente.*
'I have everything in mind.'

- 40) b. *Tutto lo ho in mente.*
 'I have all of it (some specific it) in mind.'
 'I remember all of it.'

While all the above cases of copies involve copies within a simplex S, there is at least one instance in substandard Italian of copies left behind when the movement T raises an object from one S to a higher one. This is exemplified in (41):

- 41) *È un ragazzo da ammirarlo.*
 'He's a boy to admire him.'
 (cf. standard Italian: *È un ragazzo da ammirare.*)

The problems presented by examples (36) through (41) are many and complex. A most immediate one is why we find non-reflexive rather than reflexive copies here. I suspect the answer to this lies in case assignment. A reflexive pronoun is yielded when the two co-referential NP's are assigned different cases, as in inchoatives and reflexives. But a non-reflexive pronoun is yielded when both these NP's have the same case, as in (36) through (41). Another is which of these allow pauses and what significance a pause has. A third might be to explore the various degrees of definiteness in relation to copies. A fourth is to determine why contrastiveness does not call for a copy but verb focussing and emphasis do. Clearly these problems cannot be answered here. The significant point for our study is that copies in Italian, when they occur, are coordinated with movement T's. Thus our rule COPY in the derivation of inchoatives is consistent with the facts we know about other copies in Italian as long as we describe COPY as a movement rule which leaves behind a copy.

(ii) The Explanatory Power of this Analysis

In the opening of this chapter I contrasted verb pairs such as *espoldere/congelare*, *cominciare/iniziare*, and *cadere/raffreddare*, where the first of each pair cannot appear in an inchoative structure, but the second can. I can now offer some explanations for these facts.

(ii-a) Intransitive versus Transitive

Looking at *cadere* and *raffreddare*, we find one immediate syntactic difference which excludes the first from the deep structure configuration of inchoatives shown in (33a) but allows the second: that is that *cadere* can never appear with an accusative object but *raffreddare* can. For example:

- 42) a. *Maria cade.*
 'Mary falls.'

**Maria cade il fazzoletto.*
'Mary falls the handkerchief.'

**Il fazzoletto si cade*
'The handkerchief falls.'

b. **Il ghiaccio raffredda.*
'The ice cools down.'

Il ghiaccio raffredda l'acqua.
'The ice cools the water.'

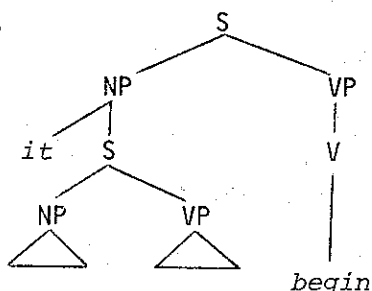
L'acqua si raffredda.
'The water cools down.'

(Note that *il ghiaccio raffredda* may have a grammatical reading if *il ghiaccio* has an instrumental sense, in which case we assume that Unspecified NP Deletion has removed the object. However, it has no grammatical non-transitive reading.)

(ii-b) Complex versus Simplex

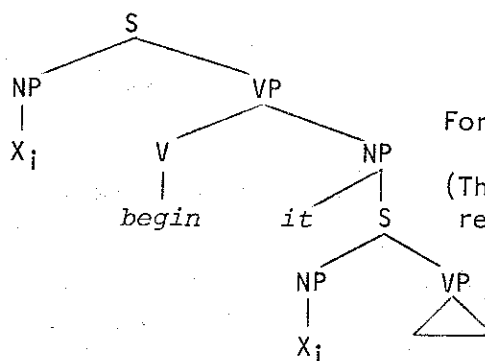
With *cominciare* and *iniziare* the contrast is again one of deep structures. *Cominciare* never occurs in a simplex S in deep structure; it must take embedding of some sort. Perlmutter (1967) argues that verbs like *begin* (or *cominciare*) occur in three deep structures, outlined below:

43) a.

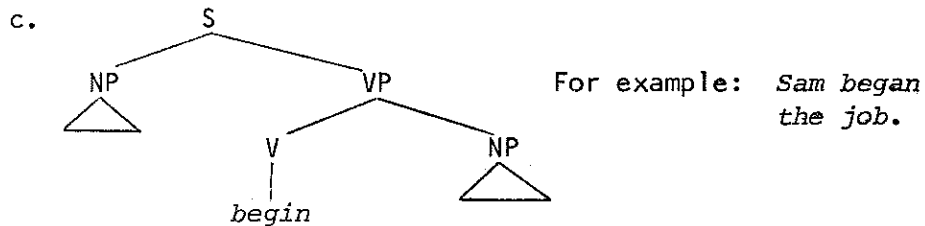


For example: *It began to rain.*

b.

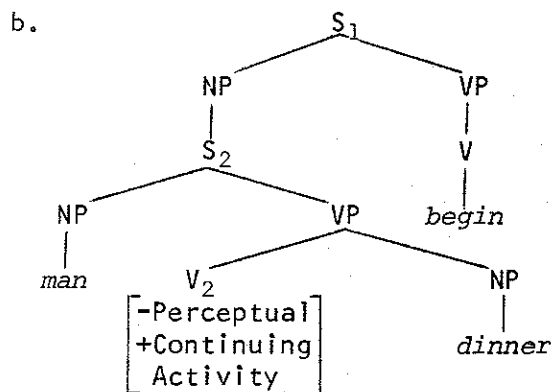


For example: *Zeke began to work.*
(This sentence may be the result of (43a) as well)



He notes with regard to (43c), "It might be argued that there are restrictions on the class of NP's that can be the objects of *begin* of a sort that make it necessary to derive these objects from more abstract underlying structures."¹³ Newmeyer (1970) argues precisely this point: that the deep structure of (43c) is really more abstract than shown there and, in fact, is (43a). Thus he would derive (44a) from (44b):

44) a. *The man began dinner.*



V₂ in this structure might be *cook, eat, prepare, serve*, or any activity verb excluding all perceptual verbs (**smell, *taste, *appreciate*). The derivation of (44a) from (44b) is the following:

- 45) a. [the man] [(to verb) dinner] [begin]
 NP VP VP
 Sentence Extraposition and Subject Raising
- b. [the man] [begin] [(to verb) dinner]
 NP VP VP
 Sense Deletion
- c. [the man] [begin dinner]
 NP VP

In the step of Sense-Deletion (from (45b) to (45c)) V₂ is deleted and the VP node dominating it is pruned. Newmeyer's analysis is not isolated. Ross (to appear) argues for similar types of V deletion in embedded structures. For example, he postulates a rule of

Have Deletion which derives (46a) from (46b):

- 46) a. *I wanted a scarab by tomorrow.*
 b. *I wanted to {have
 {get } a scarab by tomorrow.*

And Karttunen (1968) also gives an argument for such V deletion.

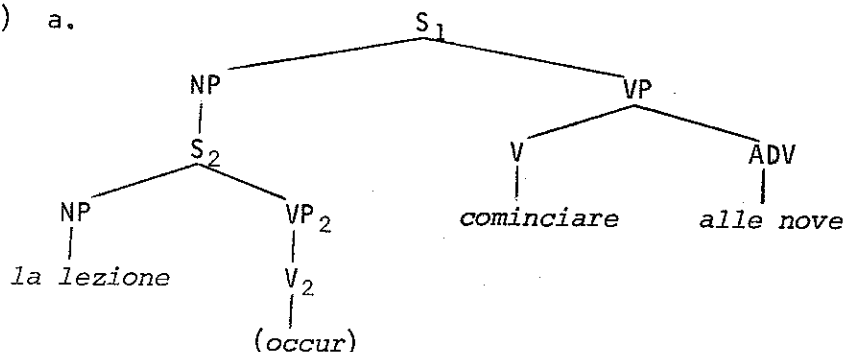
Turning now to *cominciare*, the Italian semantic and syntactic counterpart of English *begin*, we can now examine this verb's behavior with respect to that of *iniziare* ('initiate') regarding inchoatives. We find the following pattern:

- 47) a. *Il professore comincia ad insegnare la lezione alle nove.*
 'The professor begins to teach the lesson at 9.'
 Il professore comincia la lezione alle nove.
 'The professor begins the lesson at 9.'
 La lezione comincia alle nove.
 'The lesson begins at 9.'
 **La lezione si comincia alle nove. (*Essa si ...)*
 'The lesson begins at 9.'
- b. **Il professore inizia ad insegnare la lezione alle nove.*
 Il professore inizia la lezione alle nove.
 **La lezione inizia alle nove.*¹⁵
 La lezione si inizia alle nove.

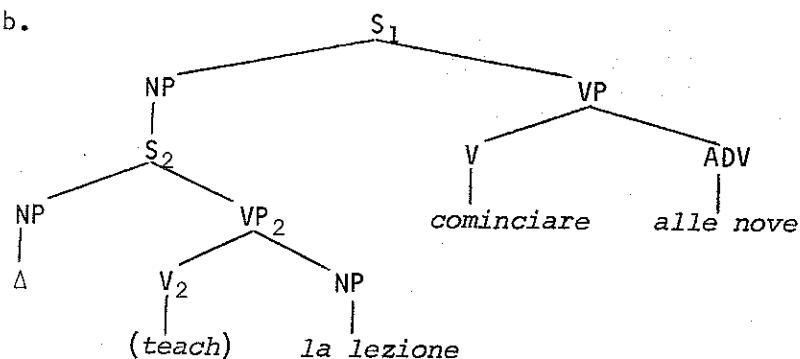
Cominciare requires embedding and may delete the embedded V: *iniziare* does not allow embedding and accepts only simple NP objects. *Cominciare* does not appear with the reflexive pronoun: *iniziare* does. *Iniziare*'s syntactic behavior is straightforward: its appearance in inchoatives follows the derivation seen in (33). *Cominciare*, because of its required embedding, behaves differently. We have two possible structures from which *La lezione comincia alle nove* may come: one with a sentential subject, the other with a sentential object. Perlmutter (1967:111-114) has argued that active *begin* sentences with inanimate NP's as subjects cannot have an underlying sentential object.¹⁶ Thus, our sentence, being both active and composed with an inanimate surface subject, must have an underlying complex subject. Within this structure there are two possible roles for *la lezione*: subject or

object of the embedded S:

48) a.



b.



(V₂ in both of these structures could be filled by various lexical items. The lexical items in parentheses are merely one possible choice for V₂.)

If (48a) is the correct underlying structure, Sentence Extraposition, Subject Raising, and V Del (as in (45)) will yield the proper result. Nowhere in this derivation is the structural description for COPY met, thus we do not find a reflexive pronoun in surface structure.

If (48b) is the correct underlying structure, COPY and REF will take place on S₂, then Sentence Extraposition, Subject Raising, and V₂ Deletion will again yield the same sentence. The reflexive pronoun generated on the S₂ cycle, since it is clitic, will be deleted along with V on the S₂ cycle. However, while this derivation yields the proper results, I doubt that (48b) is the correct deep structure for *La lezione comincia alle nove*, since not only is there no way to verify syntactically the presence of a transitive structure in S₂ in this particular example, but the semantic features of a transitive V₂ acting upon the object *lezione* are not implicit in the surface structure. We know only that the lesson begins at nine; we do not know whether someone or something does something to the lesson. It may be that the professor does not enter the room until 9:10, but the lesson begins at 9:00 officially (by the school regulations) or unofficially (by the students' personal discussions). Whichever is

correct, (48a) or (48b), no reflexive pronoun will appear in surface structure with *cominciare*.

(ii-c) No Copy

Finally, the differing behaviors of *esplodere* and *congelare* must be explained. Let us observe their patterns:

- 49) a. *Esplodo la bomba.*
 'I explode the bomb.'

**La bomba si esplode. (*Essa si ...)*
 'The bomb explodes.'

La bomba esplode.
 'The bomb explodes.'

 b. *Il vento mi ha congelata.*
 'The wind chilled me.'

Io mi sono congelata.
 'I froze.'

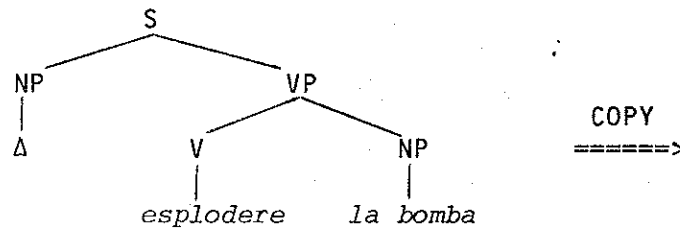
**Io ho congelato.*
 'I froze.'

(In (49a) the unacceptable S is to be read with *la bomba* as subject, not as object (in which case the S would be an indefinite *si* construction and, thus, acceptable).)

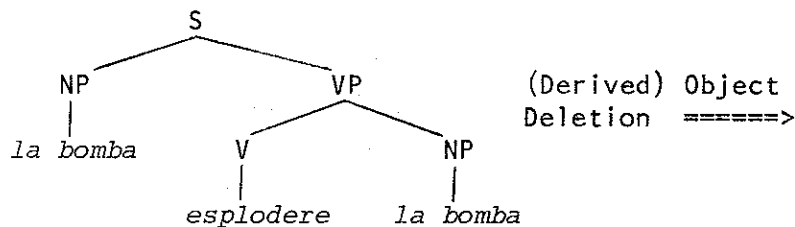
It would appear that *esplodere* is a verb which can be used transitively or intransitively, while *congelare* is basically a transitive verb which can appear in inchoatives with the derivation outlined in (33). *Esplodere* is most frequently used as an intransitive verb; in fact, there are dictionaries (Ragazzini (1967)) which only list its intransitive uses. Thus one may be tempted to discount the transitive use as an exception or as some sort of a causative (i.e. *I cause the bomb to explode.*). However, there are other verbs such as *aumentare* ('increase'), *diminuire* ('decrease'), *cambiare* ('change') which are used frequently in both intransitive and transitive sentences without reflexive pronouns. For these verbs deriving the transitive from a causative structure is not satisfactory: *Lo stato aumenta le tasse* has a simple transitive reading ('The state increases taxes.') not a causative reading ('The state causes taxes to increase.'). Clearly such examples are not isolated. At the same time it is also clear that the formation of inchoatives discussed in this chapter is a productive process of the grammar of Italian. Thus, the grammar we are describing generates transitive verbs and intransitive verbs, with some overlap. It might be possible that verbs are subcategorized

in the lexicon as taking deep objects (like *congelare*) or not (like *cadere*) or optionally (like *esplodere*). However, if *esplodere* is marked in the lexicon as optionally taking a deep object, and if *Esplodo la bomba* is an example of its having taken an object while *La bomba esplode* is an example of its not having taken an object, the grammar is failing to predict the fact that the relationship of *la bomba* to *esplodere* is the same in both sentences (witness logical relations as well as selectional restrictions). Two possible ways to handle this problem present themselves. There might be a general redundancy rule which says that the selectional restrictions on the objects of a verb used transitively and the subjects of that same verb used intransitively are identical. Or, instead, we might account for the behavior of verbs such as *esplodere* by saying it is transitive and undergoes COPY, with subsequent deletion of its derived object. Thus, we would have the following derivation:

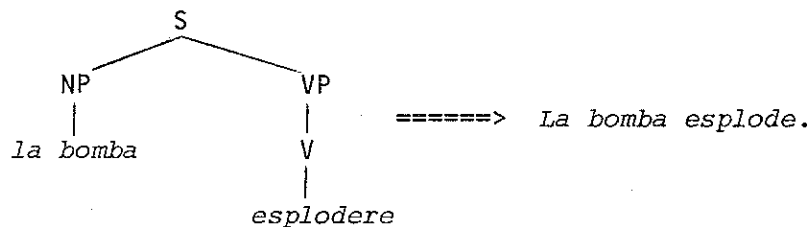
50) a.



b.



c.



The conditions under which (Derived) Object Del would apply are not clear. There does not seem to be any obvious feature or bundle of features, either syntactic or semantic, which distinguishes those verbs which obligatorily keep the copy from those verbs which obligatorily delete it.

An alternative to the (Derived) Object Deletion rule would be to account for *La bomba esplode* just as we account for its English counterpart, *The bomb explodes*. That is, we could just have a movement T which places the object into subject position, forming no

copy. However, we are left with the same problem of how to distinguish those verbs which form a copy from those verbs which do not. The only alternative is to mark verbs in the lexicon as to whether they undergo (Derived) Object Del or, alternatively, mark them as to whether they do not leave a copy. Which analysis is to be preferred, that which marks *esplodere* in the lexicon as optionally taking an object and appeals to a redundancy rule to explain selectional restriction distribution, or that which marks *esplodere* in the lexicon as obligatorily taking an object as well as marking it as having exceptional behavior with respect to COPY, cannot be determined without a complete discussion of "transitive" and "intransitive" constructions. Such a discussion falls outside the scope of this thesis. Thus, the derivation shown in (50) must be considered tentative at best.

(ii-d) Variations

There are some variations as to the appearance or not of the reflexive pronoun in inchoative sentences, and these variations seem to be systematic. I mention these variations here as a point of interest for the reader. However, let me stress that the analysis here is speculative and may not hold up under further examination.

There are instances in which the presence of the reflexive pronoun in an inchoative sentence is optional:

- 51) a. *La gelateria (si) chiude troppo presto.*
 'The ice cream store closes too early.'
 b. *La lezione (si) inizia alle nove.*
 'The lesson starts at nine.'

In (51a) the reflexive pronoun is optional for all varieties of standard Italian, as far as I know. In (51b) the reflexive pronoun is optional in some varieties and obligatory in others. The crucial factor in both cases seems to be whether the verb allows Unspecified NP Deletion (UNPD).

UNPD refers to the deletion of the direct object in a sentence such as *I read*. Chomsky (1965:87) argues that whether a verb allows UNPD or not is an idiosyncratic feature of the verb and should be handled in the lexicon. Thus we would mark *read* as [+UNPD] and *keep* as [-UNPD] (cf. **I keep*). Katz and Postal (1964:79-84) specify that the NP which is so deleted cannot be just any NP, but must be "Pro," a universal constituent which allows any grammar with a rule such as UNPD to meet the condition of unique recoverability placed on all deletion and substitution rules of the syntactic component.

Looking now to *chiudere*, we find that it is marked [-UNPD]:

- 52) **Chiudiamo molto lentamente.*
'We close very slowly.'

(cf. *Mangiamo molto lentamente.*
'We eat very slowly.')

However, there is one lexical entry for *chiudere* which is marked [+UNPD], and that is "close" in the sense of "close a store or business":

- 53) *Chiudiamo (il negozio) alle sei.*
'We close (the store) at six.'

Now we find that *chiudere* in inchoative sentences requires the reflexive pronoun:

- 54) *La porta si chiude con un lieve cigolio.*
'The door closes with a slight squeak.'

**La porta chiude con un lieve cigolio.*

But again there is one lexical entry for *chiudere* which may optionally appear with the reflexive pronoun in inchoative sentences: "close a store," the same meaning that is marked [+UNPD]. This fact is exemplified in (51a) above.

Likewise *iniziare* in many varieties of Italian is marked [-UNPD]:

- 55) **Iniziamo con piacere.*
'We initiate with pleasure.'

and requires the reflexive pronoun in inchoative sentences:

- 56) a. *La lezione si inizia alle nove.*
'The lesson starts at nine.'

b. **La lezione inizia alle nove.*

However, some speakers can employ UNPD with *iniziare* and those same speakers can optionally allow the reflexive pronoun in inchoatives with *iniziare*:

- 56) c. *Iniziamo con piacere.*
d. *La lezione (si) inizia alle nove.*

These facts suggest that after COPY there is an optional rule which deletes the derived objects with precisely those verbs which

are marked [+UNPD]. Whether this rule is the same rule as UNPD is not clear. However, UNPD cannot be the rule deleting the copy with verbs such as *esplodere* (studied in (ii-c) immediately above), since these verbs are marked [-UNPD] (cf. **Esplodiamo*, which has no acceptable transitive (or agentive) reading, but only an intransitive one¹⁷). Also, deletion with *esplodere* is obligatory, whereas deletion in (51) is optional.

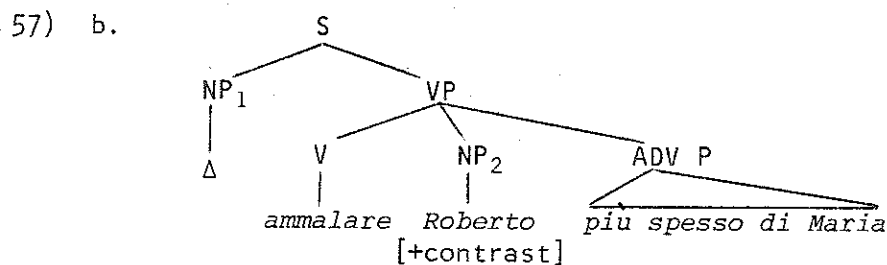
Please note that the correlation between optional reflexive pronouns and UNPD mentioned here holds only for inchoatives (if it does indeed hold for inchoatives) and does not hold for other middle voice constructions discussed in Section D below.

(ii-e) No Non-Clitic Form

The derivation outlined in (33) also explains the lack of a non-clitic form to the reflexive pronouns of inchoatives. Given that contrast or emphasis is of primary importance to the meaning of a sentence, we assume that such features are present in the deepest level of any linguistic structure.¹⁸ Thus, if such a feature is assigned to the object of an inchoative structure, the feature will stay with that object as it moves into subject position. Support for this claim is offered by (38a), where the object NP was topicalized and took its feature of contrast with it. For example, for

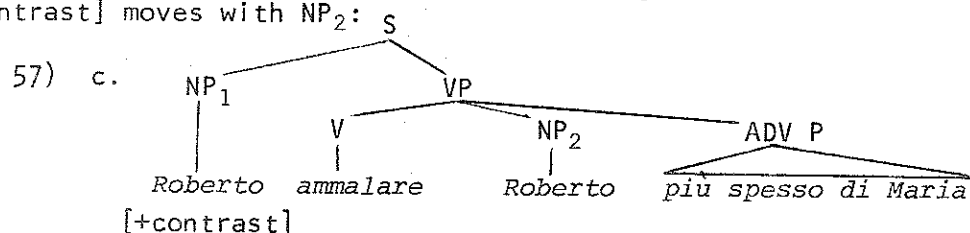
- 57) a. *Roberto si ammala più spesso di Maria*
'Robert gets sich more often than Mary.'

we have the following deep structure:



(The complexities of comparative structures are not of interest to us here, thus (57b) does not outline the structure under the node ADV P.)

Now COPY applies moving NP₂ into the NP₁ node. The feature [+contrast] moves with NP₂:



REF applies, changing the second occurrence of *Roberto* to a CLITIC reflexive pronoun. Thus, non-clitic reflexive pronouns will never be generated in inchoatives.¹⁸

(iii) Inventory

A list of verbs which can occur in inchoatives following the derivation outlined in (33) would include the following, but certainly would not be limited to the following:

58) a. <i>accorciare</i>	b. <i>agitare</i>	c. <i>illanguidire</i>
<i>accumulare</i>	<i>alterare</i>	<i>impadronire</i>
<i>addormentare</i>	<i>amareggiare</i>	<i>impaurire</i>
<i>adirare</i>	<i>commuovere</i>	<i>impazientire</i>
<i>allungare</i>	<i>disgustare</i>	<i>imperialire</i>
<i>ammalare</i>	<i>disinteressare</i>	<i>impoverire</i>
<i>ammansare</i>	<i>divertire</i>	<i>incollerire</i>
<i>ammorbidire</i>	<i>emozionare</i>	<i>inerpicare</i>
<i>annebbiare</i>	<i>gonfiare</i>	<i>infiammare</i>
<i>annoiare</i>	<i>guarire</i>	<i>ingrassare</i>
<i>annuolare</i>	<i>maravigliare</i>	<i>innamorare</i>
<i>arrabbiare</i>	<i>offendere</i>	<i>intiepidire</i>
<i>arricchire</i>	<i>rafforzare</i>	<i>invogliare</i>
<i>assopire</i>	<i>rattristare</i>	<i>irritare</i>
<i>atterrire</i>	<i>spaventare</i>	<i>istupidire</i>

Column (a) consists of verbs made up of a prefix with *aC*; column (c), with *iC*; column (b), with no prefix or various prefixes (such as *con-*, *dis-*, *raC*). The roots of the verbs in (58) are predominantly adjectives. A parallel phenomenon occurs in English with morphologic element *-en* appearing as a suffix of many verbs whose roots are adjectives (*soft/soften*, *rough/roughen*, *red/redden*). This morphological pattern is a manifestation of the semantic feature of change of state (the state described by the adjective) common to many of the verbs which appear in inchoatives.

D. The Middle Voice

The inchoatives studied in this chapter are a particular case of a larger phenomenon, the middle voice. Let us briefly examine the following pairs of sentences:

- 59) a. *Ho venduto il libro.*
'I sold the book.'

Il libro si è venduto a causa della copertina molto sexy.
'The book sold because of its sexy cover.'

- b. *Ho affittato gli appartamenti.*
'I rented the apartments.'

Gli appartamenti in quella zona della città si sono affittati molto facilmente.
'The apartments in that area of town rented very easily.'

- c. *Ho letto i tuoi nuovi capitoli.*
'I read your new chapters.'

I tuoi nuovi capitoli si leggono bene ora che sai scrivere meglio.
'Your new chapters read well now that you know how to write better.'

In the first sentence of each pair someone performs an action upon the object. In the second we know as a fact of the real world that a person is performing some action upon the object. Yet there is a distinct difference between the two sentences. That difference is due to the degree of activeness of participation of the logical subject and the logical object with respect to the verb. In the clearly active transitive sentence (the first of each pair) the logical subject actively "verbs" the logical object and the logical object does not participate in any active way. In the second sentence of each pair the situation is almost reversed: the logical object is in some way responsible for the performance of the verb (i.e. "Whether I wanted it to or not, the book sold in a flash because it attracted people with its cover") and the logical subject, which does not appear in the S at all, is merely affected by the performance of the verb. We no longer have the active voice, nor do we find the marker of the passive voice, the auxiliary *essere*. Rather, we are in the realm of the middle voice.¹⁹

The *si* in the second sentence of each pair in (59) behaves exactly as the third person accusative reflexive pronoun with the restriction that it must be clitic. With parallel arguments to those presented in Section B above, we can argue that this *si* should be introduced by way of REF rather than by P.S. rules. Likewise it may be argued that the source of these sentences is an underlying simplex S whose deep object is the surface subject and whose deep subject node is empty. (I leave the verification of these claims to the reader.) Finally, I propose that (33) is the proper derivation not only for inchoatives but for other middle voice constructions as well.

Not every transitive verb can appear in middle voice constructions. For example, *mangiare* and its English counterpart *eat* do not have middle voice readings:

- 60) **Quelle pizze si mangiano bene.* (*Esse si...)
'Those pizzas eat well.'

Whether the possibility of a middle voice construction is conditioned by semantic and/or syntactic criteria or is an idiosyncratic fact of particular verbs remains to be determined elsewhere.

The uses of the middle voice are many. Two very frequent ones are to focus attention on the "process" described by the verb and the deep object, and to yield a generic interpretation. Lyons (1968: 366) calls a middle voice sentence such as *The books sold quickly* "process-oriented." The major point of interest is that the books sold, regardless of who sold them. The agent is of complete indifference to the information of the sentence, and in fact does not appear. This use of the middle voice is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Section D (ii) where it is contrasted with uses of the indefinite *si* construction. Sentences such as those in (61), where the matrix S of the first is a middle voice construction and the matrix S of the second is an indefinite *si* construction, are compared:

- 61) *Quando si ha un atteggiamento simpatico, le pellicce si vendono facilmente.*
'When one has a pleasing manner, furs sell easily.'

Quando si ha un atteggiamento simpatico, si vendono facilmente le pellicce.
'When one has a pleasing manner, one sells furs easily.'

(*Le pellicce* in the first sentence pronominalizes as *esse* or *loro*, in the second sentence, as *le*.)

The second major use of the middle voice, to yield generic interpretations, is exemplified in (62):

- 62) *I palloni si rotolano più facilmente nel prato che nella sabbia.*
'Balls roll more easily on fields than on sand.'

Here we are describing no particular instance of rolling balls, but rather the fact of physics that fields are better surfaces for rolling balls on than sand. In accord with this fact, the unmarked tense, present, is used. *Rotolare* is a verb which can appear in both transitive and intransitive sentences. If we wish to describe a particular instance in which particular balls rolled more easily on a particular field than on a particular area of sand, we employ the regular intransitive:

- 63) *I palloni (*si) rotolarono più facilmente nel prato che nella sabbia.*
'The balls rolled more easily on the field than on the sand.'

(The question of whether a *si* has been deleted from (63) is open: see the discussion about intransitive verbs in Section C (ii-c) above.)

In Chapter 1 Section C(i) we briefly mentioned that sentences such as *Gli appartamenti in quella zona della città si affittano facilmente* ('The apartments in that part of town rent easily') in a "metaphorical" way mean that the apartments, because of their desirable quality of being located in a nice section of the city, rent themselves. In other words, there is a reflexive reading to these middle voice sentences. Since these constructions appear with reflexive pronouns in surface structure, the question must be answered, why not just derive them from reflexive deep structures? There are several reasons why we do not derive such sentences from a deep structure with, for example, *gli appartamenti* as both subject and object. We note first that inchoatives do not have this "metaphorical" reflexive reading, thus derivation (33) is necessary for independent reasons. Now, looking to reflexive and inchoative structures, we find that these middle voice constructions exhibit all the syntactic characteristics of inchoatives but not all those of reflexives. For example, if these middle voice sentences have reflexive deep structures (that is, two coreferential NP's in deep structure), how do we explain that, for example, *gli appartamenti* can be the subject of an active sentence with the V *affittare* only when it is precisely the object as well? The only other time we have come across such a constraint is with the absolute reflexive (such as *pentirsi* of Chapter 2 Section C(iii)), but clearly these sentences are not examples of absolute reflexives (cf. the first sentence of each pair in (59) above). And how do we explain the fact that *gli appartamenti* seems to be "agentive enough" to "sell themselves" but not to do it for some purpose (*#Gli appartamenti si affittano presto per sembrare più eleganti*, 'The apartments rent quickly to seem more elegant'), when the subject of reflexives are not so restricted (*Carla si guarda allo specchio per rassicurarsi*, 'Carla looks at herself in the mirror to reassure herself')? What is more, the metaphorical reflexive reading is not found with many middle voice sentences (*I tuoi nuovi capitoli si leggono bene*, 'Your new chapters read (???themselves) well'). We are led to the conclusion that middle voice sentences such as these are not reflexive regardless of any "metaphorical" reflexive reading they may exhibit, but rather have the derivation outlined in (33) for inchoatives.

Clearly the various aspects of the middle voice could serve as material for separate monographs. Why and exactly which verbs having both transitive and intransitive surface forms use the middle voice construction when they are expressing generic meanings is a fascinating problem, as is the problem of classifying which verbs allow middle voice constructions at all. And the question of how middle voice constructions relate to middle verbs (such as *costare* ('cost'), *pesare* ('weigh')) needs to be explored. Thus, I end this chapter with many

unanswered questions. Yet, our major point of interest, the generation of the reflexive pronouns in these constructions, has been adequately discussed, using inchoatives as an example for all middle voice sentences.

E. Conclusion

In this chapter we have studied inchoatives as an example of middle voice constructions. It has been argued that REF is employed in inchoatives to turn a derived NP coreferential with the subject (at the time of REF) into the proper clitic reflexive pronoun. All the features of acc. clitic reflexives listed in Chapter 2 Section D are true for the reflexive clitics found in inchoatives. The major distinctions between inchoative and reflexive constructions are: in the former REF applies to coreferential NP's, the first of which (the subject) was not present in deep structure, but in the latter either both NP's were present in deep structure, or the first NP was present in deep structure; in the former inanimate NP's freely appear as surface subject since the subject originates in deep object position, but in the latter only rarely do inanimate NP's appear as surface subject; in the former non-clitic reflexive pronouns are always ruled out for syntactic reasons, in the latter some sentences allow non-clitic contrastive or emphatic pronouns.

At this point the catalogue of the various applications of the transformational rule REF in Italian is completed. Chapters 4 and 5 proceed to contrast *si* of indef. subject sentences with *si* generated by REF.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 3

¹All speakers find (2b) grammatical, however, some speakers prefer to use *infiammare* only for psychological or technical sentences. Thus, this example may appear "dramatic" to those speakers.

²(7a) is ambiguous; it can be either inchoative or an indef. *si* sentence.

³While someone may beg another to "get sick," I am not asserting that "getting sick" is within one's control. For example, in *John begged Susan to make all his problems disappear forever*, neither John nor Susan (nor you nor I) believe that Susan can do it, yet the sentence is perfectly grammatical.

⁴The only fact that does not follow immediately from the REF theory is that shown in (6), that the clitic is syntactically essential to the S. However, we saw in Chapter 2 other instances where the reflexive clitic was syntactically necessary, that is, with the absolute reflexives. This fact followed immediately from the proposal of an obligatory copy mechanism, copying the subject into object position. Since REF is an obligatory rule, the reflexive clitic will always appear with absolute reflexives. Likewise, if inchoatives are analyzed as involving an obligatory copy rule creating the proper structural description for REF, the necessity of the reflexive clitics is explained. This is precisely the analysis I offer in this chapter.

⁵That the reflexive pronoun is cliticized to the verb may easily be verified by the reader. See Chapter 4 Section B(i) for some properties of clitics.

⁶From (d) to (e) it may seem that a step placing the second NP under the VP node is missing. In all the applications of REF in Chapter 2, REF converted an NP dominated by VP into a reflexive pronoun. However, it is not explicitly stated in Lees and Klima's rule that this NP must be dominated by VP. Thus, unless evidence can be produced to show that REF converts only NP's that are dominated by VP, I accept Roldán's steps without any intermediary ones.

⁷Note that when I refer to "logical" object I am not using Fillmore's criteria for Objective case. In fact, what I call the logical object of inchoatives is often Dative and sometimes Objective according to Fillmore, since his analysis relies heavily upon the feature [\pm animate].

⁸*Ho aperto* is grammatical in response to a command or question, where an anaphoric pronoun is understood. However, it is not acceptable out of context, in contrast to *Ho mangiato*.

⁹This argument is consistent with an underlying *La porta apre la porta* at the deepest level. However, we argued above that such a deep structure is untenable. Hence, we conclude from this argument that *La porta* originates only in object position, not in both subject and object position.

¹⁰Lakoff (1968c) has argued that selectional restrictions between agents and instrumental phrases are not valid. Instead he proposes that the constraints on purpose instrumentals can only be understood if we derive instrumentals from complex sentences. Thus he would say that (i):

i) *#Sizzo ha chiuso la porta col vento.*

is out because (ii)

ii) *#Sizzo ha usato il vento per chiudere la porta.*

is out. In other words, no one can use the wind, therefore the wind cannot appear in the instrumental phrase of (i). While I agree that (i) is just as strange as (ii) and for the same reason, I do not accept the analysis that (i) is derived by way of (ii). For a rebuttal of Lakoff's analysis, I refer the reader to Bresnan (1969), who argues that (i) is embedded in (ii), but that (ii) is not the source of (i). Thus, I assert that there are constraints which operate between agentive NP and instrumental phrases.

¹¹Lakoff (1965) uses precisely such facts to argue exactly the opposite position: that subjectless causatives cannot be the underlying structures for inchoatives. He claims:

If they [inchoatives, DJN] could be so derived [by way of subjectless causatives, DJN], then any adverbial that could occur with a causative sentence could also occur with its corresponding inchoative. This is not true, particularly in the case of manner adverbials. For example:

1. John broke the window cleverly.
2. *The window broke cleverly.

This argument does not follow. The fact that *cleverly* cannot occur in Lakoff's (2) does not disprove the theory that this sentence is derived from a subjectless causative. Rather it shows only that sentence (2) does not have any possible NP for the adjective *clever* (underlying the adverb *cleverly*) to modify. A causative (using Lakoff's definition) may also reject such an adverb if a possible NP head is missing:

(i) *#The rock broke the window cleverly.*

¹²Note that not all movement transformations call for copies (cf. *Maria vedo, non Carla, *Maria la vedo, non Carla*). However, all copies result from movement transformations.

¹³I am not considering Question Formation or Relative Clause Formation as involving topicalization, but rather as involving some distinct kind of movement rule(s). In neither of these cases is a copy left behind.

¹⁴Perlmutter does not exemplify this point, but I would assume he is referring to patterns such as:

I began { *the book.*
 the lesson.
 #*the photograph.* }

¹⁵This sentence is acceptable in some varieties of Italian. I discuss this fact below in (ii-d).

¹⁶Perlmutter here is considering only those *begin* sentences which are complex in surface structure. However, since we are assuming Newmeyer's position that even a simplex surface S with *begin* has a complex deep structure, we must account for sentences such as *The lesson was begun at nine* (*La lezione era cominciata alle nove*). In this case we propose that there is an underlying complex object thus:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{[Someone;]} & \text{[began} & \text{[someone;]} & \text{[verb the lesson at 9]} & \text{]} \\ \text{NP} & \text{VP}_1 & \text{NP} & \text{VP}_2 & \text{VP}_1 \end{array}$$

Equi-NP Deletion and V_2 Deletion yields: *Someone began the lesson at 9*. Passive then applies on the highest cycle followed by Indefinite Agent deletion: *The lesson was begun at 9*. However, when there is no Passive on the cycle whose main verb is *begin*, we cannot have an inanimate NP subject unless there is an underlying complex subject.

¹⁷This sentence is grammatical with the bizarre intransitive reading *We are exploding*, but not with the transitive reading which results if the subject is agentive.

¹⁸See footnote 4 of Chapter 2. The cases mentioned there do not affect our remarks about inchoatives, just as they did not do so for reflexives.

¹⁹The distinction middle voice versus active voice has its counterpart in some adjective pairs in English such as *readable/legible* in

His poems are { *readable* } *enough.*
 legible }

²⁰It seems that middle voice structures are often restricted to third person. Thus, if one has a "pet" fur, one cannot say, **Non ti vendi bene* 'You're not selling well' (except with a regular reflexive meaning). Instead, one might employ the indefinite *si*: *?Non ti si vende bene*. However, this sentence is at best strange and does NOT have the middle voice reading; it is an agentive.

CHAPTER 4

Indefinite *si*: What it is not

A. The Proposals

Thus far reflexive and middle voice constructions have been discussed, in both of which the clitic *si* may appear. There is a third construction in which a clitic *si* appears:

- 1) a. *Quando si è tristi, si beve.*
'When one is sad, one drinks.'
- b. *Si mangiano aragoste in primavera.*
'One eats lobsters in spring.'

The *si* of (1) has been called passive, impersonal, and indefinite by various linguists. Some have made a distinction between (1a) and (1b), calling the former an impersonal and the latter a passive construction. Some have assigned indefinite *si* sentences an underlying subjectless structure. And many have derived the *si* of (1) by way of the rule REF (Contreras (1972), Langacker (1970), among others).

In this chapter I show that the *si* of (1) is not introduced by P.S. rules, but rather transformationally. REF is shown to be an inadequate means of introducing this *si*: and accordingly, (1) is neither reflexive nor middle voice. The proposal of a passive *si* is examined and rejected as syntactically unfounded. The subjectless theory is disproved. It is asserted that underlying the indefinite *si* is an NP with the feature [+human] and that indefinite *si* is introduced transformationally by *si*-INSERTION.

B. P.S. Rules versus Transformational Rules

(i) P.S. Rules

Within the theory of transformational grammar I will consider two ways an element may be introduced into a sentence, by P.S. rules and by transformational rules. Looking to (1) one notes that unlike the reflexive and inchoative constructions, the indefinite subject¹ constructions always appear with *si*, never with other clitics (cf. **Quando ti sei triste, ti bevi*). Thus, if a P.S. rule were to introduce the clitic of (1a), it might have the form:

- 2) $VP \rightarrow siV(NP)(NP)(ADV)etc.^2$

But such a rule has a major drawback. Consider the sentence:

- 3) *Si è giudicati da tutti.*
'One is judged by everyone.'

(3) has undergone the rule Passive, as one sees 1) by the auxiliary *essere*, which is used in (3) with present tense and not as a composite tense marker, 2) by the participle *giudicati*, and 3) by the agent phrase *da tutti*. The meaning of the sentence tells us that *si*, the indefinite person, is the logical object of the verb. If we assume the traditional analysis of Passive as involving movement of the deep object into subject position and of the deep subject into an agent phrase, then *si* of (3) should be generated in deep object position. With a P.S. rule such as (2) this is impossible. The only way to derive (3) from (2) is by allowing the passive auxiliary and the passive agent phrase to be generated in the P.S. rules as expansions of VP. There are many problems with this analysis of Passive: two of them being 1) the fact that the selectional restrictions on the surface subject and object of active sentences are the same as those on the agent and surface subject, respectively, of the corresponding passive sentences fails to be predicted by such an analysis, and 2) the fact that NP in fixed phrases, such as *heed* in *pay heed (to)*, can appear only as the object of one particular verb (in this case, *pay*) in active sentences and only as the subject of that same verb in passive sentences is accidental by this analysis:

- 4) a. *The mayor paid heed to urban problems.*
b. **I like heed.*
c. **Heed is nice.*
d. *Heed was paid to urban problems.*

(The above argument is due to Perlmutter (1967).) Thus, I assert that the traditional analysis of Passive is (more nearly) correct, and therefore that (2) is inadequate to describe the surface distribution of the indefinite *si*.

Instead of having *si* be in the expansion of VP, then, one might propose the P.S. rule:

- 5) $NP \rightarrow si$

where *si* is treated as an NP for all transformations, in particular for Passive. However, such a PS rule creates more problems than it solves. I leave the proof that this PS rule is inadequate until Chapter 5 Section C (i). For now let us assume this rule is bad.

For (1b), a transitive indefinite *si* sentence, no parallel argument to the one against (2) can be raised, since there are no acceptable passive sentences with *si* of this type. In Chapter 5 I show that T's such as Passive may apply to the deep structure of (1b), and that the resulting structure will appear without *si* due to the formulation of the rule *Si*-INSERTION (*Si*-I). Since (1a) and (1b) both have the meaning of an indefinite subject and since both employ *si*, it is natural to consider similar derivations for them. We will see in Chapter 5 that transitive and intransitive indefinite *si* sentences have all syntactic properties in common, except those properties that are a direct result of transitivity. Thus, if (1a) cannot be derived by PS rules, one would be asserting that the similarities between (1a) and (1b) are not a result of similar transformational histories if one were to derive (1b) by PS rules.

From the above observations, I conclude that the *si* of (1) is not introduced by PS rules. Thus it must be introduced transformationally.

(ii) REF versus *Si*-I

Since there is already one rule, REF, which generates *si*, it is logical to question whether the *si* of (1) is generated by this same rule. Several properties of constructions which employ REF were presented in Chapters 2 and 3. Of these, I would like to examine four: the type of structure to which REF may apply, the order of reflexive clitics with respect to other clitics, the number and gender of past participles and the person and number of finite verbs, and the types of surface subject pronouns allowed.

Thus far we have seen REF apply to reflexive and middle voice constructions. In (6) and (7) are shown the deep structure, derived structure at the time REF applies, and surface structure of a reflexive and inchoative sentence, respectively:

- 6) (deep) a. *Roberto_i vedere Roberto_i allo specchio.*
 (der.) b. " " " " "
 (sur) c. *Roberto si vede allo specchio.*
 'Robert sees himself in the mirror.'
- 7) (deep) a. Δ *ammalare Roberto_i facilmente.*
 (der.) b. *Roberto_i ammalare Roberto_i facilmente.*
 (sur) c. *Roberto si ammala facilmente.*
 'Robert gets sick easily.'

One thing common to both examples above is a VP structure with an object (accusative, in the sentences above) at all levels in the derivation. The only verbs not taking some kind of object which can appear with reflexive clitics are a few verbs of motion noted in Chapter 2 Section C (iii), such as:

- 8) a. *Me ne vado.*
'I go away.'

Se ne va.
'He goes away.'

However, even with some verbs that allow objects, the structural description for REF may never be met:

- 8) b. (accusative) **Mi scrivo a Maria*
'I write myself to Mary.'

c. (dative) **Si parla.* (cf. *Parla fra sé e sé.*)
'He speaks to himself.'

d. (inchoative) **La folla si aumenta.*
'The crowd increases.'

As we see, sometimes the constraint is a semantic one, as in (8b), sometimes an idiosyncrasy of a particular verb, as in (8c), and sometimes a syntactic one, as in (8d) (see Chapter 3 Section C (ii-c)).

The *si* of indefinite constructions, however, exhibits none of these restrictions; it occurs freely with any verb that allows human surface subjects³:

- 9) a. (verbs which never take objects)

Si va a teatro.
'One goes to the theater.'

Si trema dal freddo.
'One trembles 'cause of the cold.'

Si è calmi.
'One is calm.'

- b. (middle verbs)

Si pesa troppo dopo una tale cena.
'One weighs a lot after such a dinner.'

Si ha venti anni quando si entra nell'università.
'One is 20 years old when one enters the university.'

9) c. (verbs which allow objects)

Si scrive a Maria.
'One writes to Mary.'

Si parla.
'One talks.'

Si aumentano le tasse.
'One raises the taxes.'

d. (passive sentences)

Si è giudicati dal re.
'One is judged by the king.'

Thus indefinite *si* has a distinct distribution from the *si* generated by REF; indefinite *si* can appear with any finite predicate allowing a human surface subject.

Second, it was shown in Chapter 2 Section D that accusative non-reflexive clitics follow reflexive clitics:

10) *Me lo compro.*
'I buy it for myself.'

Se lo dice.
'He says it to himself.'⁴

However, with indefinite *si*, all other clitics⁵ precede it except *ne*:

11) *Lo si compra*
'One buys it.'

Lo si dice.
'One says it.'

Se ne parla.
'One speaks of it.' (≠ 'He speaks of it to himself.')

If indefinite *si* were syntactically identical to a *si* derived by way of REF, the facts shown in (10) and (11) would have to be handled by some ad hoc reordering rule, such as "Order *lo/la/li/le* before *si* in just those cases where *si*=indefinite pronoun".⁶ However, if the *si* of indefinite constructions is not derived by way of REF, its distinct order with respect to other clitics can be considered a result of its distinct linguistic properties.⁷

Third, the *si* resulting from REF occurs with a pattern of

number/gender agreement (N/G) of the past participle and of person/number agreement (P/N) of the finite verb distinct from the pattern found with indefinite *si*, as in:

- 12) a. (ref) *Si sono visti allo specchio.*
'They saw themselves/each other in the mirror.'
- Maria si è comprata un libro.*
'Mary bought herself a book.'
- Maria se lo è comprato.*
'Mary bought it for herself.'
- b. (inch) *Si è svegliato.*
'He woke up.'
- Si sono ammalati.*
'They got sick.'
- c. (indef) *Si è camminato tutta la giornata.*
'One walked all day long.'
- Si è partiti.*
'One left.'
- Si è comprata una scatola.*
'One bought a box.'
- Si sono comprate due scatole.*
'One bought two boxes.'

The person and number of the finite verb in reflexive and inchoative sentences agrees with the P/N of the surface subject. In indefinite *si* sentences the finite verb is always third person and is singular if no accusative object is present, otherwise it agrees in number with a non-pronominal accusative object.⁸

The agreement rule for N/G of past participles in Italian is very complex. An approximation of this rule is as follows:

N/G Agreement - The past participle (pp) optionally agrees in N/G with a preceding accusative non-clitic object. Such agreement is obligatory with a third person accusative clitic pronoun, and optional with other acc. clitics. If the verb is conjugated with *avere* in composite tenses at the time of N/G, optional agreement may take place between the pp and a following acc. object. If the verb is conjugated with *essere* and no agreement has taken place with an acc. object, agreement is made with the subject. If no agreement with subject or acc. object is made, the pp assumes the unmarked masculine singular ending -o.

First remember that any sentence with a reflexive clitic is conjugated with *essere*. Now some examples will help to clarify how the N/G Ag rule works.

- 13) a. *Maria, ti ho {visto} ieri.*
 'Mary, I saw you yesterday.'
 L'ho {vista} ieri.
 *{*visto}*
 'I saw her yesterday.'

(optional agreement with non-third person acc. clitic --
obligatory agreement with third p. acc. clitic)

- b. La donna che ho {visto} è alta.
 {vista}
'The woman I saw is tall.'

(optional agreement with non-clitic preceding acc. object -- here, a relative pronoun)

- c. *Ho* { *visto* } *Maria*.
 { *vista* }
- Maria ho* { *visto.* }
 { *vista.* }

(optional agreement with following or preceding non-clitic acc. object)

- d. *Noi ce lo siamo regalato.*
'We gave it to ourselves as a gift.'

(agreement with acc. clitic has precedence over all others)

- e. *Noi siamo andati al cinema.*
'We went to the theater.'

(agreement with subject when aux. is *essere*)

- f. Noi abbiamo comprato due gatti.
'We bought two cats.'

(unmarked masculine singular ending on pp)

Looking back to (12), one sees that *si* arising by way of REF (in (12a) and (12b)) occurs in structures where the regular N/G ag. rule takes place. However, the *si* of indefinite *si* sentences (seen

in (12c)) occurs in sentences where N/G ag is not that predicted by the rule. One particular divergence from the N/G ag rule is that found in (14) below. This example shows us that with indefinite *si*, if the verb normally takes *avere* in its composite tenses, the pp is the unmarked masc. sg. -o as seen in (14a); if the verb normally takes *essere*, the pp is always plural and usually⁹ masc. as seen in (14b):

- 14) a. *Si è camminato tutta la giornata.*
 'One walked all day long.' (cf. *Ho camminato.*)
- b. *Si è andati al cinema.*
 'One went to the movies.' (cf. *Sono andato.*)

There appears to be a late rule in Italian which changes the composite tense auxiliary *avere* to *essere* in constructions involving any clitic reflexive morpheme or involving indefinite *si*¹⁰. If pp ag follows the rule which spells out any aux as *essere* in the presence of such a clitic, (let us call this rule ESSERE), the regular N/G ag rule explains why there is agreement between the subject and the pp in (15):

- 15) (reflexive) *Noi ci siamo comprati un cane.*
 'We bought ourselves a dog.'
- | | |
|----------|---|
| Deep St. | <i>Noi_i avere comprat- un cane per noi_i</i> |
| REF | <i>Noi ci avere comprat- un cane</i> |
| ESSERE | <i>Noi ci essere comprat- un cane</i> |
| N/G AG | <i>Noi ci essere comprati un cane</i> |
| Surface | <i>Noi ci siamo comprati un cane.</i> |

(N/G ag is with the subject due to the use of *essere*)

But this ordering of the rules for (14a) and (14b) presents problems: (14a) acts as though its subject is masc. sg., while (14b) acts "schizophrenic" in that its finite verbal aux seems to be agreeing with a sg. subject while its pp seems to supply evidence that the subject is plural. This evidence would suggest that the surface subject of (14b) is distinct from that of (14a), a clearly counter-intuitive suggestion. All other factors of semantics, syntax, and native speakers' intuition suggest that the surface and deep subjects of (14a) and (14b) are identical. Hence the order:

REF
 ESSERE
 N/G ag

seen in the derivation of (15) must be questioned. If instead these three rules have the order:

N/G ag
REF
ESSERE

the difference in the pp of (14a) and (14b) can be explained since at the time of N/G ag (14a) would have the aux *avere*, and thus not undergo pp agreement with the subject, while (14b) would have *essere*, causing masc. pl. ag. to be made provided the subject is masc. pl.¹¹ However, the schizophrenic property of (14b), that is, the contrast between sg. number in the finite V and pl. number in the pp, would still remain unexplained. And given this revised order, N/G ag in sentences not having the indefinite *si* construction cannot be explained. In particular (15) would result in the unacceptable (16) by this new ordering:

16) **Noi ci siamo comprato un cane.*

Deep st. *Noi_i avere comprat- un cane per noi_i.*

N/G ag *Noi_i avere comprato un cane per noi_i.*

REF *Noi ci avere comprato un cane.*

ESSERE *Noi ci essere comprato un cane.*

Surface **Noi ci siamo comprato un cane.*

We are left with an ordering paradox which seems unresolvable. However, if the *si* of indefinite *si* sentences does not arise by way of REF, but rather by some later rule, call it *Si-INSERTION* (*Si-I*), the order:

REF
ESSERE
N/G ag
Si-I

would allow reflexive and inchoative sentences to have the proper surface structures, as well as allowing indefinite *si* sentences with differing pp endings, as in (14a) and (14b), to be generated. There are two stipulations which must be made here. First, this ordering is explanatory only if the subject of indefinite *si* sentences is masc. pl., a claim which is supported in Chapter 5 Section B (iv). Second, in order to explain the use of *essere* with indefinite *si* sentences, either *Si-I* will have to not only insert *si*, but also spell out the aux as *essere*, or ESSERE will have to apply in two places, once after REF and once after *Si-I* (note,

however, that ESSERE will never have to apply more than once in a single derivation). The ordering of these rules is discussed in Chapter 5 Section C (i).

Thus it has been shown that the *si* of indefinite *si* occurs in structures which differ as to finite verb P/N ag and pp N/G ag from structures involving clitics generated by REF.

Fourth, in Italian there is a very late rule deleting unstressed unambiguous nominative pronouns (Subject Pronoun Drop). However, any matrix sentence with a pronominal subject may occur with a nominative pronoun given the proper context.

17) *(Io) voglio andare.*
'I want to go.'

(reflexive) *(Lui) si vede allo specchio.*
'He sees himself in the mirror.'

(inchoative) *(Tu) ti arrabbi facilmente.*
'You get angry easily.'

(middle voice) *(Esse) si vendono bene d'autunno.*
'They sell well in fall.'

(passive) *(Lei) è stata vista da Giorgio.*
'She was seen by George.'

any sentence, that is, except indefinite *si* sentences, which do not co-occur with [+animate] nominative pronouns¹²:

18) **Quando lui si è tristi, lui si beve.* (from (1a))

**Loro si mangiano aragoste in primavera.*¹³ (from (1b))

{**Lui*
**Loro*} *si è giudicati da tutti.* (from (3))

**Lui si va a teatro.* (from (9a))

**Lui lo si dice.* (from (11))

If the *si* of (18) is generated by way of REF, there is no explanation for its not occurring with [+animate] pronouns. However, if indefinite *si* can be shown to be a true subject pronoun, these facts are explained since one would not expect to find two subject pronouns in the same simplex sentence. In Chapter 5 Section B (ii) I argue exactly this position.

We have seen four ways in which generating indefinite *si* by

way of REF leads to an inability to explain various syntactic properties of indefinite constructions: 1) indefinite *si* occurs with any verb allowing human surface subjects while reflexive and inchoative *si* occur only with particular verbs, 2) indefinite *si* follows all clitics except *ne* while reflexive and inchoative *si* precede *lo/la/li/le* and *ne*, 3) indefinite *si* and the *si* of REF display distinct behavior as to P/N and N/G ag, and 4) indefinite *si* does not allow animate nominative pronouns while reflexive and middle *si* freely occur with nominative pronouns. My conclusion is that indefinite *si* is not generated by REF, but rather by the T *Si-I* which remains to be detailed.

This conclusion, while based on syntax alone, is supported by semantic facts. Looking at an intransitive indefinite *si* sentence, there is no way one could propose a deep structure resembling that of reflexive or inchoative constructions which adequately describes the meaning of such a sentence:

19) indefinite *si* *Quando si è tristi, si beve.*

deep ref. **Quando Pro_i¹⁴ è Pro_i tristi, Pro_i
 beve Pro_i.*

deep incho. **Quando Δ essere Pro tristi,
 Δ bere Pro.*

The reflexive deep structure is out since the selectional restrictions on the deep subject and object of *bere* require one to be animate and the other inanimate; thus *pro*, which cannot be both + and - animate at the same time, cannot be the deep subject and object of *bere*. Also, the meaning of (19) is clearly not reflexive. The inchoative deep structure is out since *Pro* is human, and thus it cannot be the deep object of *bere*.

In accord with all the facts presented in this section there is at least one more fact that is incompatible with the hypothesis that indefinite *si* is generated by REF, for both syntactic and semantic reasons. In Italian we find reflexive indefinite as well as inchoative indefinite *si* sentences, such as:

20) a. *Ci si guarda allo specchio.*
 'One looks at oneself in the mirror.'

b. *Ci si sveglia di buon'ora.*
 'One wakes up early.'

A "reflexive reflexive" or an "inchoative inchoative" or a "reflexive inchoative" construction is semantically conceivable. However, if indefinite *si* is generated by way of REF, (20) requires

two applications of REF to the same NP within one simple sentence. The semantics of such an application are not clear. Also, since REF is a cyclic rule, such a double application violates the convention hitherto assumed that cyclic rules apply only once in a given cycle. (See Chapter 5 Section B (vii) for cases of simple sentences where REF has applied twice to DIFFERENT NP; hence, presumably, the two applications were simultaneous.) However, if these two rules, REF and *Si-I*, are involved in the derivation of (20), no such problem arises. And the semantic notions of "reflexive indefinite" and "inchoative indefinite" are perfectly understandable. Thus I conclude that indefinite *si* is generated by *Si-I* and not by REF.

C. Passive

Many linguists have referred to sentences such as (1b) as passives (L. Contreras (1966), Weizsäcker (1968), among others). R. Lakoff (1971) briefly refers to "Romance reflexive passives," offering as an example the Spanish sentence:

- 21) *Aquí se habla inglés.*
'Here English is spoken.'

She does not present any reason for calling such a sentence passive, nor do any of the other scholars. Presumably some semantic definition of "passive" is the basis of these claims. (Historical information may also be working here. See Chapter 6 Section C for a discussion of this point.) Rather than define "passive" in semantic terms, we here examine the syntactic properties of passive constructions. (22b) is a typical example of the passive in Italian:

- 22) a. (active) *Gianni ha baciato Maria.*
'John kissed Mary.'
- b. (passive) *Maria è stato baciata da Gianni.*
'Mary has been kissed by John.'

There are four syntactic markers of the regular passive: 1) the verb *essere* is inserted before the main verb with the result that all composite tenses are conjugated with the aux of *essere* (which is *essere*) rather than with the regular aux of the main verb (which for all transitive verbs is *avere*), 2) the main verb always assumes past participle form, 3) the deep subject shows up in an agent *da* phrase to the right of the main verb, and 4) the deep acc.¹⁶ object shows up as the surface subject.

In sentences such as (1b) or (21), however, the first three properties do not hold. There is no aux *essere* inserted:

- 23) **Si sono state mangiate aragoste in primavera.*
 (cf. *Si sono mangiate aragoste in primavera.*)
 'Lobsters were been eaten in the spring.'

The main verb does not assume past participle form in non-composite tenses:

- 24) *Si mangiano aragoste in primavera.*
 **Si sono mangiate aragoste in primavera.*
 'Lobsters are eaten in spring.'

(The starred sentence of (24) is grammatical, but not with a present tense reading.)

No agent *da* phrase is allowed:

- 25) **Si mangiano aragoste dalla gente di questo paese.*¹⁷
 'Lobsters are eaten by the people of this town.'

The only property these *si* sentences may have in common with passives is the fourth: the deep accusative object shows up as the surface subject. Still, even this property does not hold in all indefinite *si* sentences. One property of surface subject in Italian is that when they are pronominalized, they assume the nominative pronoun, as in:

- 26) { *Lei* } *e stata baciata da Giovanni.* (from (22b))
 **La* }
 (cf. *Giovanni l'ha baciata.* (from (22a)))

However, an indefinite *si* sentence such as (27a) does not appear with a nominative pronoun:

- 27) a. *Si notano subito le belle donne.*
 'One immediately notes beautiful women.'
 b. **Loro si notano subito.*
 c. *Le si* { *notano* } *subito.*¹⁸
 nota }

Only when the deep object is [-animate] can either nominative or accusative pronoun be used:

- 28) a. *Si prendono i libri gialli.*
 'One takes the mystery books.'
 b. { *Essi* } *si prendono.*
 Loro }
 c. *Li si* { *prendono.* }
 prende. }

However, (28b) is unusual since the forms *essi/esse* are in decline in Italian, and since in many varieties of Italian *loro* can be used to replace only animate NP. On the other hand, (28c) is very common. In any case, the fact that (27c) and (28c) are grammatical is totally unexplained if the NP which have been pronominalized are analyzed as the surface subjects.

Also, if we are to analyze indefinite *si* sentences as passives, where the deep acc. object becomes the surface subject, how do we account for indefinite *si* sentences which have no deep accusative object?

- 29) a. *Dopo la lezione, si va a casa.*
'After the lesson, one goes home.'
- b. *Si è calmi.*
'One is calm.'
- c. *Si telefona a Maria per sapere tutto.*
'One telephones Mary to find out everything.'

Some linguists (Bello (1916) and Babcock (1970)) have proposed that underlying sentences like (29) are sentences having cognate objects of the verb which become the subject of the verb and are then deleted. Thus underlying (29c), they would propose a sentence such as:

- 30) *Si telefona una telefonata a Maria.*

However, other linguists have pointed out that sentences with cognate objects are not synonymous with sentences without them (Roldán (1972a)) nor do all intransitive verbs have suitable cognate objects (Beukenkamp (1972)). Thus, this proposal must fail, and any analysis of transitive indefinite *si* sentences as passives will have to account for intransitive indefinite *si* sentences by entirely separate syntactic processes¹⁹, thus failing to explain the fact that all indefinite *si* sentences are understood in basically the same ways: as sentences with indefinite or first person surface subjects.¹⁹ What's more, it is possible to account for indefinite *si* sentences like those of (29) with an analysis which will work just as well for transitive indefinite *si* sentences. Thus, any theory calling for a passive *si* construction is unnecessarily costly.

It is shown above that indefinite *si* sentences do not display any of the syntactic properties of passive sentences. I conclude that indefinite *si* is not a passive construction.²⁰

D. The subjectless Theory

Since indefinite *si* rarely occurs with nominative pronouns and never with agentive NP, either in subject position (cf. **Giorgio si vende latte*) or in an agent *da* phrase (cf. **Si vende latte da Giorgio*), one might raise the question as to whether indefinite *si* sentences have subjects at any level. It is shown here that indefinite *si* has a subject in deep structure and that this subject is present at various stages in the derivation, such as the point when Equi NP Del takes place and when Adjective Agreement takes place. The contrast between indefinite *si* and middle voice constructions is pointed out throughout this section.

(i) Syntactic Facts

If indefinite *si* sentences have no deep subject, then it would appear that their deep structure would be identical to that of middle voice constructions studied in Chapter 3. Such an assertion would be objectionable on the grounds that certain differences in syntax between inchoatives and indefinite *si* constructions have already been observed in Section B of this chapter. Also, there is evidence to the effect that indefinite *si* does have an underlying subject, while inchoative does not. (The following arguments rely heavily on work done on Portuguese by Naro (1968), and on Spanish by Contreras (1972) and Schroten (1972).) In the following arguments, the test used to distinguish middle voice constructions from indefinite *si* constructions is pronominalization. As mentioned earlier, middle voice constructions can appear with nominative pronouns in surface structure, while indefinite *si* constructions (usually) appear with accusative pronouns.²¹

It was briefly mentioned in Chapter 3 Section B (iii) that inchoatives can occur with instrumental *con* phrases that exclude the possibility of a cooccurring agentive NP in deep structure:

- 31) (inchoative) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{La porta} \\ \text{Essa} \end{array} \right\} \text{si chiude col vento.}$
 'The door closes with the wind.'

Indefinite *si* constructions, on the other hand, reject these instrumental phrases, just as do sentences with overt agentive NP:

- 32) (indef. *si*) #*Si chiude la porta col vento.*
 #*La si chiude col vento.*
 'One closes the door/it with the wind.'
- 33) (overt ag) #*Sizzo chiude la porta col vento.*
 'Sizzo closes the door with the wind.'

This evidence suggests that there is some element present in the deep structure of indefinite *si* sentences which is mutually exclusive with these instrumental phrases. The only element I know of that behaves this way is an agentive NP. Thus, indefinite *si* sentences may have agentive NP present in deep structure.

Likewise, in Chapter 3 Section D (iii) it was noted that adverbs which require the presence of an agentive NP in deep structure cannot occur with inchoatives:

- 34) (inchoative) { *La porta } *si chiude deliberatamente.*
 { *Essa }
 'The door closes deliberately.'

While the lack of such adverbs does not prove that agentive NP can never occur in the deep structure of such sentences, the presence of these adverbs, on the other hand, would offer evidence for the presence of such an agentive NP. Thus while (34) neither supports nor counter-evidences the claim that all inchoatives do not have agentive NP in deep structure, (35) and (36), in which such adverbs are shown to be admissible with indefinite *si* just as with overt agentive NP, do support the claim that indefinite *si* constructions may have agentive NP in deep structure:

- 35) (indef. *si*) *Si chiude deliberatamente la porta.*²²
 'One deliberately shuts the door.'
- 36) (overt ag) *Gianni chiude deliberatamente la porta.*
 'John deliberately closes the door.'
 (cf. **La roccia rompe deliberatamente la finestra.*)

(A context for (35) might be a list of stage instructions for an actor, for example.)

Third, certain infinitive phrases mentioned in Chapter 3 Section B (iii) may occur with indefinite *si* without any subject NP appearing in surface structure:

- 37) (indef. *si*) *Si vendettero le scarpe per guadagnare*
 denaro.
 'One sold shoes to earn money.'

The appearance of such infinitive phrases is not uncommon in Italian. For example:

- 38) a. *L'ho fatto per vedere il quadro.*
 'I did it in order to see the painting.'

However, in all cases of subjectless purpose clauses in surface structure, the sentence is not subjectless in deep structure. The

subject of the infinitive does appear in surface structure in certain contexts, such as for contrast:

- 38) b. *L'ho fatto perché io vedessi il quadro, non tu!*
'I did it in order for me to see the painting,
not you.'

Thus, (38a) is derived by way of Equi-NP Del from (38b), since the subject of the subordinate clause is identical to that of the matrix clause. If the subject of the subordinate clause is not identical to that of the matrix, this subject may not be deleted:

- 39) *L'ho fatto perché (lui) vedesse il quadro.*
'I did it in order that he should see the painting.'

It is true that *lui* in (39) is optional, as the parentheses show. However, the deletion of a nominative personal pronoun (Subject Pronoun Drop) in Italian is not equivalent to the total deletion of a subject (for example, the kind of deletion in *Equi-NP Del*). The subject is still present after Subject Pronoun Drop and manifests itself by way of the ending on the finite verb²³ (as we saw with (17) in Section B above). Thus, (39) without *lui* has the verb *vedesse*, which is third person singular, instead of the distinct *vedessi* of (38b). An infinitive on the other hand, is unmarked for person and number. Thus the infinitives in (40) are the same in surface structure, even though they have different subjects in deep structure:

- 40) *L'ho fatto per vedere il quadro.*
 'I did it in order to see the painting.'

L'ha fatto per vedere il quadro.
'He did it in order to see the painting.'

Looking back now to (37) we find the subjectless infinitive *guadagnare*. In order to be consistent with our knowledge of the similar subjectless infinitives seen in (38a) and (40), we are led to a derivation of (37) by way of Equi-NP Del. Thus, the deep subject of the infinitive *guadagnare* must be identical to some matrix NP present in deep structure. Since no likely NP is present in the matrix in surface structure, we are again drawn to the conclusion that a matrix NP present in deep structure has been deleted during the derivation of (37).

Fourth, adjectives whose head NP is not present in surface structure may appear in indefinite *si* sentences, but not in middle voice sentences:

- 41) (indefinite) Si {cantarono} le canzoni tutti insieme.
 {cantò}
 'One sang the songs all together.'

- (inchoative) **Le ragazze si ammalarono tutti insieme.*
'The girls got sick all (masc. pl.) together.'

Le canzoni and *le ragazze* are feminine plural; *tutti* is masculine plural. Thus the adjectival phrase *tutti insieme* cannot have *le canzoni* nor *le ragazze* as its head NP. There is no NP in the surface structure of (41) which could possibly be the head NP for *tutti insieme*. The inchoative sentence is ungrammatical precisely because there is no head NP for *tutti insieme* present at any level in the derivation. The indefinite *si* sentence, however, is perfectly grammatical, and it means that the people who did the singing sang all together. Thus it semantically refers to the deep subject of the verb. The natural conclusion is that the head NP for *tutti insieme* in the indefinite sentence is present in deep structure, but deleted during derivation.²⁴

A fifth major argument against the subjectless analysis for indefinite *si* involves selectional restrictions. Consider the following pattern:

- 42) *Si guarda la luna.*
'One looks at the moon.'

- 43) #*Si ulula alla luna.*
'One howls at the moon.'

(42) is perfectly grammatical, but (43) is strange for the same reason (44) is strange:

- 44) #*Carlo ulula alla luna.*
'Charles howls at the moon.'

The verb *ululare* normally takes [-human, +animate] subjects. (43) and (44) are acceptable only as metaphorical sentences; in this instance, only when animal characteristics are assigned to humans. Indefinite *si* occurs only with active predicates that allow [+human] subjects or with passive predicates that allow [+human] deep objects. Such a fact is inexplicable if active indefinite *si* sentences have no deep subject.

Contreras (1972) has pointed out that the distribution constraints on indefinite *se* in Spanish require "information not only about the main verb but also about the verb in the embedded clause" (Contreras (1972:18)). Thus, one can say:

- 45) *Se trató de caminar.*
'One tried to walk.'

but not:

- 46) #*Se trató de llover.*
'One tried to rain.'

since one can walk (*caminar*) but one cannot rain (*llover*). We find that the same pattern occurs in Italian:²⁵

- 47) a. *Si vuole studiare.*
'One wants to study.'
b. *Si studia.*
'One studies.'
c. #*Si vuole piovere.* (cf. *Vuole piovere.* 'It wants to rain.')
'One wants to rain.'
d. #*Si piove.*
'One rains.'

If indefinite *si* constructions have no subject in deep structure, how is the appearance of *si* in (47c) and (47d) blocked? It appears that *si* is blocked in (47c) and (47d) for the same reason *Giovanni* is blocked in (48):

- 48) #*Giovanni vuole piovere.*
'John wants to rain.'

#*Giovanni piove.*
'John rains.'

The major point is that *piovere* does not allow [+animate] subjects. Since structures of the type seen in (47), that is matrix verbs with reduced complements (complements whose subject NP does not appear in surface structure) are derived by way of Equi-NP Del (as was argued with respect to (37) through (40) above), the condition of identity between subject of the matrix clause and subject of the complement clause must be met. Clearly this condition cannot be met in (47c), (47d), and (48): *piovere* rejects a [+animate] subject, while *si* and *Giovanni* both are marked [+animate].

Sixth, indefinite *si* sentences can undergo REF:

- 20) a. *Ci si guarda allo specchio.*

REF refers to coreference relations. If there is no deep subject in indefinite *si* sentences, I see no way to explain the application of reflexive. How can a relationship of coreference exist between an NP and an empty node?

The above arguments show that indefinite *si* sentences do have subjects in deep structure. In an active indefinite *si* sentence,

the deep subject is [+human]; in a passive indefinite *si* sentence the deep subject shows up in an agent *da* phrase, and the deep object is [+human]. The above arguments are all based on syntactic properties. There are semantic distinctions, as well, which support the theory that indefinite *si* sentences have deep subjects.

(ii) Semantic Facts

As noted above, a subjectless analysis of indefinite *si* sentences would assign them the same deep structure assigned to middle voice constructions in Chapter 3. Such an analysis is unable to explain the syntactic properties outlined immediately above. If indefinite *si* sentences have a distinct deep structure from middle voice sentences, one would expect to find semantic differences between the two, and, in fact, one does.

Let us examine the following encounter. The boss of a fur store has hired a new salesman who is a bit quiet and therefore seems unfriendly to the customers. The boss wants to tell his employee that if he acts more friendly he'll sell more furs. He could say the perfectly acceptable sentence:

- 49) *Quando si ha un atteggiamento simpatico, si vendono facilmente le pellicce.*
'When one has a friendly manner, one sells furs easily.'

But, instead, he says the more gentle, less syntactically consistent sentence:

- 50) *Quando si ha un atteggiamento simpatico, le pellicce si vendono facilmente.*²⁶
'When one has a friendly manner, the furs sell easily.'

The *quando* clause is unambiguously an indefinite *si* construction in both (49) and (50). The main clause of (49) is understood as an indefinite, giving the overall tone of advice which is not quite an order, but is at least a "prescription." It describes a direct cause and effect relationship. The main clause of (50), on the other hand, is understood as middle voice, making the cause and effect relationship between the *quando* clause and the main clause less direct and therefore ruling out any hint of a commanding tone. (50) means that if a salesman has a friendly manner, all of their own furs will just sell better. Michael Freeman (personal communication) has brought to my attention pairs of sentences which demonstrate a similar contrast in English. Contrast (51a), a typical *if-then* construction, with (51b), a syntactic non-sequitur:

- 51) a. *If you want some coffee, help yourself.*
b. *If you want some coffee, there's a pot on the stove.*

The English sentence pair seems parallel to the Italian one in both the kind of syntactic "tightness or looseness" involved, and the semantic contrasts.

Lyons (1968) distinguishes three sentence types in English relevant to the distinction between (49) and (50) above. He gives the examples:

- 52) a. *The books sold quickly.*
 b. *The books were sold quickly.*
 c. *They sold the books quickly.*

Of these, (52a) (the middle voice sentence according to many analyses), is clearly "process-oriented" (a term Lyons takes from Halliday) in that the selling of books is of major interest. Yet Lyons notes that sentences like (52a) "differ from intransitive 'ergative' sentences (e.g. *The house is moving*, *Grass grows well*, etc. [sentences which I have called inchoatives, DJN]) in that they 'presuppose' an agent." While the agent does not appear in the surface structure of (52a), Lyons notes that it is understood as having precipitated the process upon which we are focusing. Sentences like (52c), on the other hand, are definitely "agent-oriented." The agent *they*, though it is indefinite, appears in surface structure. (52b) falls somewhere between the other two semantically. We can show this with the adverb *quickly*, which may be understood as describing only the process, as in (52d):

- 52) d. *The books were sold quickly because Wolfe is
 such a famous author.*

or as due to the actions of some agent who caused the rapidity of the sales:

- 52) e. *The books were sold quickly in order to make room
 for the new shipment.*

I agree with Lyons' distinctions as to (52a) through (52c). Using his terminology, one can say that the main clause of (49) is "agent-oriented" while the main clause of (50) is "process-oriented." The only point I differ with Lyons on is the relevance of the distinction he notes between (52a) and inchoatives. It is true that our knowledge of the world around us tells us that a human is selling the books in (52a), and that we have no such knowledge in an inchoative sentence such as *The door closed quickly*. However, the fact that selling and buying only occur between humans does not mean there is a human agent present in the deep structure of every sentence involving selling and buying. When we say *Fish swim*, we know from our experience with the world that fish have fins and

swim in water. Yet it would be ridiculous to claim that *fins* or *water* is present in the deep structure of *Fish swim*. Likewise, without syntactic evidence to the contrary, the idea that middles have agents in deep structure must be rejected. My analysis, then, is perfectly consistent with the terminology "process-oriented" for middles (including inchoatives) and "agent-oriented" for indef. *si*.²⁷

The contrast between indef. *si* and middle voice is clearest when the deep object is human. Compare (53) with (54):

- 53) (indef. *si*) *Si* { *guardano* } *le donne.*
'One looks at the women.'
- Le si* { *guarda.* }
'One looks at them.'
- **Loro si* { *guardano.* }²⁸
'One looks at them.'

(The starred sentence is to be read without a pause after *loro*.)

- 54) (inchoative) *Le donne si ammalano.*
'The women get sick.'
- *Le si { ammalano. }*
{ ammalano. }
'They get sick.'
- Loro si ammalano.*
'They get sick.'

The major contrast between (53) and (54) is the different patterns found with respect to pronominalization. However, another difference is noted, the order of the surface constituents. Up to this point all examples of transitive indefinite *si* active sentences have had the order *si* V NP. This order, however, is not fixed in Italian (nor in Spanish or Portuguese). (53) could as well have the order seen in (55a)²⁹, with the same pronominalization facts noted for (53):

- 55) a. *Le donne si guardano.*
'One should look at the women.'

(55a) is an ambiguous sentence; it can be a normative indefinite *si* sentence, or it can be a regular reflexive or reciprocal construction ("The women look at themselves/each other.", which would

have a nominative pronoun after pronominalization.

The distinction between indefinites and middles becomes more difficult to discern when the deep object is [-animate] and the indefinite *si* has the order seen in (55a), NP *si* VP. For example, without knowing the context, it is impossible to judge whether (55b) is indefinite or middle (especially since after pronominalization *le finestra* could be replaced by *esse* or *loro* or *le* with the indefinite construction):

- 55) b. *Le finestra si rompono.*
 'One breaks the windows.' (indefinite)
 'The windows break.' (inchoative)

The ambiguity of an isolated sentence (note that in context, (55b) is not ambiguous) such as (55b) is found not only in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, where the order of the constituents contributes to the ambiguity, but in French, as well, where the only order for both indefinites and middles is NP *se* VP:

- 56) *Une branche comme ça, ça se casse* { *sous son propre poids.*
 d'une seule main.
 à coups de hache. }
 'A branch like that breaks { *under its own weight.*
 with one hand alone.
 at the blow of a hatchet. }

(Example (56) is due to Ruwet (1970).) As the phrases in brackets show, (56) can mean either that the branch breaks of its own accord, or that some person breaks the branch.³⁰

Most probably the ambiguity of surface sentences such as (55) has been one of the sources of the subjectless theory. Since the same surface structure can be understood with (as indefinites) or without (as middles) a deep agent, the speaker could conceivably lose sight of any distinctions between them. However, this has not been the case in Italian; the Italian speaker does not lose sight of the distinction indefinite versus middle. Consider the following sentences:

- 57) a. { *La porta* } *si chiude col vento.*
 b. { *Essa* }
 c. { **La* }

 58) a. { *La porta* } *si chiude deliberatamente.*
 b. { **Essa* }
 c. { *La* }

- 59) a. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Le donne} \\ *Loro \end{array} \right\} \text{ si baciano per divertirsi.}$
 b. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bacia} \\ \text{baciano} \end{array} \right\} \text{ per divertirsi.}$
 c. $\text{Le si } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bacia} \\ \text{baciano} \end{array} \right\} \text{ per divertirsi.}$

((59b) is to be read without a pausa after *loro*.)

In the a. sentences, we have an indef. *si* construction with the order NP *si* VP. We see that after pronominalization, these sentences have the same patterns of acceptability noted for indefinite *si* sentences in Section D (i) above, where the order was *si* V NP. Thus, the distinction of middle versus indefinite is retained, regardless of the order of the surface constituents.³¹

There is another likely source for the subjectless theory. In most indefinite *si* sentences no overt subject appears in surface structure.³² One reason for not specifying a subject in any given sentence may be to enable the speaker to be noncommittal. Bolinger (1968) talks of exactly this type of sentence when he quotes the apt example of a woman talking about retaliation against Blacks, saying, "that's what they get for trying to force their way where they're not wanted." The agent is not just "missing," it is quite purposely left out. And the resulting indeterminacy is an integral part of the semantic value of the sentence. A similar use of indef. *si* is found in Italian:

- 60) *Si dice che Giorgio sia stupido.*
 'It's said that George is stupid.'

(60) may be said when the speaker does not want to pin himself down as to who said that George is stupid, or even as to whether or not he agrees with the judgment.

Baker and Brame (1972) discuss just such a structure in English, arguing that the following pattern is evidence that *be said* is a subjectless passive predicate:

- 61) a. *It is said that John is tall.*
 b. *John was said to be tall (*by Sam).*
 c. **It is said by Bill that John is tall.*
 d. **That John is tall is said.*
 e. *Sam said that John was tall.*
 f. **Sam said (for) John to be tall.*

They argue that the *say* of (61e) (*say*₁) is syntactically distinct from the *say* of (61a) through (61d) (*say*₂) in that *say*₁ has an agentive subject and an object complement, while *say*₂ "occurs only in agentless passives." What's more, *say*₂ must appear with an extra-posed complement and the subject of this complement may be raised into the matrix clause (in fact, into subject position), as in (61b). Such raising cannot occur with *say*₁ (see (61b)). Baker and Brame compare these facts with those of predicates such as *seem*, *happen* (in its epistemic sense of "chance"), and *appear*, which have been analyzed as having object complements and empty subject nodes in deep structure (Emonds (1970), Bresnan (1972)).

The Italian counterparts to the sentences in (61) are seen in the correspondingly lettered sentences of (62):

- 62) a. *Si dice che Gianni è alto.*
 b. **Gianni si diceva di essere alto (da Samuele).*
 c. **Si dice da Guglielmo che Gianni è alto.*
 d. *Che Gianni è alto si dice.*
 e. *Samuele ha detto che Gianni è alto.*
 f. **Samuele ha detto Gianni ((di) essere) alto*³³.

We can see that the semantic content of the verb which Baker and Brame have called *say*₂ has correspondences in Italian with *dire* in the indefinite *si* construction. The Italian sentences of (62) present a significantly different acceptability pattern from the English ones in that raising of the complement's subject is not allowed in most varieties of Italian³⁴ with this construction. Thus, one would not expect Baker and Brame's analysis to apply point by point to these Italian *si* sentences. Still, it seems that the subjectless proposal discussed by Baker, Brame, Emonds, and Bresnan is not entirely without fault even for the English situation shown in (61). Consider the following dialogue:

- 63) Ralph - Agnew is really an intelligent man! Why I read
 he has an IQ of 190!

Louise - Oh, Ralph, you're such a fool! Agnew is just
 SAID to be intelligent in order to contravene
 the impression his speeches give. But really,
 he's a dumb-dumb!

The key point to the acceptability of the sentence:

- 64) *Agnew is just said to be intelligent in order to contravene
 the impression his speeches give.*

65) Ag new is just said to be

The second factor leading one to doubt the subjectless analysis is the semantic effect the stress on *said* has in (65). The speaker is pointing out that she does not share the opinion espoused by those who say Agnew is intelligent. She is placing the unnamed author(s) of this rumor in the position of "the bad guys." The stress on *said* tends to emphasize the very fact that there IS an agent saying these things, but that Louise (our speaker) is at odds with this agent. Without a theory specifying the relation between stress and semantic information; however, I cannot argue this point further, but merely leave it as a suggestion.

Besides these objections to the subjectless analysis of the *say2* sentences of Baker and Brame's, another fundamental objection may be raised: I question the asterisks on sentences (61b), (61c), and (61d). It is true that such sentences sound strange out of context. Yet in Chapter 1 (page 22) of this thesis is found the sentence:

66) A fourth use of the reflexive is said by Bosco and Lolli (1967:230) to add "a note of emphasis."

I have used this sentence in every draft of this thesis and no reader

has questioned it thus far. According to Baker and Brame, (66) should be ungrammatical for the same reason they claim (61b) is.

It seems that the asterisked sentences of (61) are strange not because they lack a deep subject, but for some other reason. Dwight Bolinger (personal communication) suggests that the trouble with a sentence such as (61d) is that its prosody is wrong. A verb relatively empty of information, like *say*, is not usually put in accent position. Other factors, of course, must enter into the strangeness of (61b) and (61c). I have no explanation for the English facts, but I have shown above that Baker and Brame's explanation is inadequate for both English and Italian.

E. Conclusion

In this chapter it has been shown that indefinite *si* is not introduced by P.S. rules nor by REF, but rather by a transformational rule of *si*-I, which has yet to be described. Indefinite *si* was shown to have none of the syntactic properties of regular passives. While the distinction between middles and indefinites is not always clear, indefinite *si* was shown to have a subject in deep structure which is present in the derivation at the time of Equi-NP Del, Adjective Agreement, and REF, thus contrasting with middles which have no deep subject. In Chapter 5 I describe the syntactic properties and semantic uses of Indefinite *si* not yet mentioned.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 4

- ¹ When I call this construction the "indefinite subject" construction am referring to surface subject, not deep subject. This fact is discussed in Chapter 5 and implicitly assumed in the argument immediately below.
- ² It is shown in Chapter 5 Section B (i) that this *si* is a clitic of the V.
- ³ The fact that indefinite *si* occurs only with verbs allowing [+human] surface subjects is discussed in Section D below.
- ⁴ The variation between *si* and *se* in clitic position is phonological. In brief, *i* lowers before nasals and liquids within a clitic group. So *si ne* → *se ne*, *mi la* → *me la*, but *mi ci* remains, as do *mi ti* and *ci vi*.
- ⁵ See fn. 2 above.
- ⁶ Precisely such a rule is offered by Wanner (1972), who (mistakenly) assumes all *si*'s are derived by way of REF.
- ⁷ Exactly which linguistic properties enter into the assignment of clitic placement is difficult to determine, as Wanner (1972) has shown. Still, there is some process by which pronouns are placed in this linear hierarchy, and that process overlooks the phonological differences between *gli* and *le*, for example, assigning them the same "slot," presumably since they are both third person dative clitics, and conversely overlooks the syntactic differences between *ci*, first person plural, and *ci*, locative, assigning them the same position presumably since they are phonologically identical. Somehow within this system, the phonologically identical *si* are assigned different slots according to their semantic and syntactic properties. Exactly how is a problem that must be left for further research.
- ⁸ Agreement here is optional in certain varieties of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. This fact is discussed in Chapter 5, along with a discussion of what happens with pronominal objects and of the fact that agreement is truly with an accusative object and the finite verb.
- ⁹ Special cases of pp ending in *-e*, the feminine plural, are noted in Chapter 5 Section B (iv-b).
- ¹⁰ Exceptions are mentioned in Chapter 5 Section C (i).
- ¹¹ That indefinite *si* sentences may have underlying masculine plural pronouns is argued in Chapter 5 Section B (iv).

- 12 *Noi* can appear with indefinite *si* in some varieties of Italian. See Chapter 5 Section B (vi) for discussion.
- 13 This is a grammatical sentence, but not with the indefinite reading. Instead it means: "They (specific) gobble up..." where the *si* is the colloquial dative of interest discussed in Chapter 2 Section C (i).
- 14 It was argued in Section B (i) above that indefinite *si* is not generated by P.S. rules, thus it is not present in deep structure. Here the NP underlying surface *si* is represented by *Pro*, assuming no properties of *Pro* other than that it is a [+human] NP.
- 15 The appearance of *ci si* instead of *si si* is discussed in Chapter 5 Section B (vii) and Chapter 6 Section B (i).
- 16 Passive applies only to accusative objects, not to dative objects in Italian (cf. **Maria era telefonata da Carlo* because *Carlo telefonava a Maria*).
- 17 In Italian the agent phrase *da tutti* is marginally acceptable (cf. ??*Si dice da tutti che...*) while in Spanish it is even better (cf. ?*Se dice por todo el mundo que...*) (cf. Bolinger (1969) and Green (1972)). Exactly what this implies about the structure is not clear. The fact that the *da* phrase with indefinite *si* is not free, but can only have *tutti*, while the *Pro* underlying indefinite *si* may be either generic (corresponding to *tutti*) or specific (in which case *tutti* cannot be the same as *Pro*), suggests that this *da* phrase may be something other than an agent phrase. Instead it may be an intensifying phrase, essentially repeating the information that the *si* gives us. It is shown in Chapter 5 Section B (iv) that the NP underlying *si* is masc. pl. and refers either to a specific group of people or to humans in general. It is this second reference of the NP that is intensified by the *da tutti* phrase.

Let me call the readers' attention to the phrase *da parte di* ('on the part of') which may appear with *si* sentences:

- i) *Si osservò, da parte di tutti i giornalisti presenti, che il presidente era stanco.*
'It was observed, on the part of all the journalists present, that the president was tired.'

Whatever syntactic construction this phrase may have, it is NOT an agent phrase. Note (ii) in which an intransitive first person verb appears with such a phrase:

- ii) *Vengo da parte di tuo fratello.*
'I'm coming on your brother's behalf.'

Finally, I am purposely leaving aside the fact that *da* phrases with unrestricted agents in *si* sentences were acceptable in earlier stages of Italian (and Spanish, French, and Portuguese) and still are allowed in Rumanian (as I have been informed by Maria Manoliu Manea (personal communication)). The history of the construction is discussed in Naro (1968), where a strong argument for reanalysis is presented. Thus, I believe that the facts from old Italian bear little relevance on this synchronic analysis of the modern construction. (See Chapter 1 for a brief discussion of the history of this construction, and see Chapter 6 Section C for further discussion of the synchronic source of *si*.)

- 18 There is much variation as to whether the finite verb agrees in number with the acc. NP when it is pronominalized as an acc. clitic pronoun, and linguists studying Italian have made contradictory claims (see Wanner (1972) for obligatory agreement and Puglielli (1970) for obligatory non-agreement). Agreement with a clitic object is certainly less frequent than lack of agreement. However, everyone agrees that when the pronoun is *ne*, the finite verb is plural (cf. *Se ne leggono in Italia* from *Si leggono dei giornali giapponesi in Italia* 'One reads some Japanese newspapers in Italy').
- 19 This is not the entire picture. See Chapter 5 Section C (i) for further discussion.
- 19' This claim is justified in Chapter 5 Section B (iv).
- 20 A fact which has been used to question the analysis of the deep object becoming the surface subject in indefinite *si* sentences is brought out by the following three sentences:

- i) a. *Vendo libri.*
'I sell books.'
- b. **Libri sono venduti.*
'Books are sold.'
- c. *Si vendono libri.* (cf. **Libri si vendono.*)
'One sells books.'

It has been said that unmodified common nouns can be surface objects (cf. (ia)) but cannot be surface subjects (cf. (ib)) in Italian (and in Portuguese and Spanish). However, such nouns can occur in indef. *si* sentences to the right of the verb (but not to the left: cf. the parentheses of (ic)). This suggests that the NP *libri* in (ic) is an object in surface structure. (This argument is due to Beukenkamp (1972), Contreras (1972), and Naro (1968).) However, I question whether these facts are

due to the roles of NP or to their order. It seems that unmodified common nouns may not occur in sentence initial position usually. But both subjects and objects which are unmodified may occur in non-sentence initial position. For example:

- ii) *Vengono soldati?*
'Are soldiers coming?'

but: **Soldati vengono.*
'Soldiers are coming.'

Also, it is not impossible to find slogans which begin with unmodified nouns, such as *Divorzio e civiltà* 'Divorce is civilization', which can be heard and seen written all over Italy. And sentence (ib) is perfectly acceptable when part of a longer sentence and not in initial position:

- iii) *Ogni giorno che Dio manda in terra, libri sono scritti, venduti, recensiti; che noia!*

Finally, conjoined sentences with unmodified NP may sometimes appear in sentence initial position:

- iv) *Soldati vengono, soldati vanno, soldati muoiono: e tutto ciò, a che scopo?*
'Soldiers come, soldiers go, soldiers die; and all that, for what purpose?'

Thus, I treat the above argument as tentative, at best.

- ²¹ The indefinite *si* sentences below are given with the surface order *si* V NP, while the middle voice sentences have the order NP *si* VP. I do not claim that the order alone distinguishes one structure from the other. It is shown in Chapter 5 Section C (ii) that indefinite *si* sentences may have the surface structure NP *si* VP when a transformation preposing the object NP applies. Thus, the only test we have for distinguishing middles from indefinites is pronominalization. This fact is elaborated below in the text.
- ²² Not all adverbs implying a human agent are rejected from inchoatives (cf. {*La porta*} *si chiude colla chiave.* {*La porta*}
{*Essa*} {*Essa*}
si chiude senza fatica. Only those adverbs imputing intention or deliberation to the agent cannot appear here. This fact is possibly a result of the deep structure of such adverbials. Perhaps an adverb such as *deliberatamente* is syntactically derived from an underlying adjective whose head NP is the deep agent. (Such a syntactic analysis is consistent with the

morphology of these adverbs.) If this were so, the lack of an agentive NP in the deep structure of inchoatives and other middle voice structures would explain the lack of adverbs like *deliberatamente*. Note that $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{La porta} \\ \text{Essa} \end{array} \right\} \text{ si chiude lentamente}$ is fine since *lenta* would have *la porta* as its head NP, just as the meaning of the inchoative sentence suggests.

- 23 It is true that after Equi-NP Del evidence of the deep subject may appear by way of N/G Ag on pp, or by Adjective Agreement. However, these agreement rules do not involve person concord, and person is an essential factor of the subject of Italian sentences. Hence, N/G Ag and Adj Ag alone are not sufficient evidence for claiming that the subject of a subordinate clause has not been deleted after Equi-NP Del. Also, it has been argued for French that N/G Ag and Adj Ag are cyclic rules (see Fauconnier (1973)), thus they would apply before Equi-NP removed the subject of their clause.
- 24 At this point I call the reader's attention to the masc. plural agreement found on the quantifier *tutti*. We saw above with (1a), (3), and (14b), that when agreement is made with the NP underlying indefinite *si*, it is masc. pl. agreement. This fact is discussed in Chapter 5 Section B (iv).
- 25 I use the matrix verb *volere* instead of *tentare* (the Italian equivalent of Spanish *tratar*), since one cannot say *#Tenta di piovere* in Italian for semantic reasons not directly pertinent to the syntactic point Contreras wishes to make.
- 26 The adverb *facilmente* is in immediate post verbal position, the unmarked position, in both (49) and (50).
- 27 The Italian parallel to (52b) is not discussed here since such a discussion would lead us far astray into an analysis of regular passives.
- 28 The sentence with the plural verb is grammatical, but only with a reflexive or reciprocal meaning, not with an indef. *si* reading.
- 29 The transformation which derives (55a) from (53) is described in Chapter 5 Section C (ii).
- 30 It is interesting to note that while *on* cannot be used for middle voice sentences, *se* can be used for both middle and indefinite constructions. A similar situation is found in German, where *man* parallels *on*, never being used for both middles and indefinites:

(i) (indefinite) *Man kennt die Person, die es entwendet hat.*

On sai quel est l'individu qui l'a volé.

Si conosce l'individuo che l'ha rubato.

'One knows who stole it.'

(ii) (middle) *Es läßt sich nicht lesen.*

Il ne se laisse pas lire.

Non si lascia leggere.

'It does not permit itself to be read.'

(iii) (*sich* used for indefinite or middle)

Eine Ursache des Unglücks fand sich nicht.

'One didn't find a reason for the misfortunes.'

'A reason for the misfortunes didn't come out.'

Examples (i) through (iii) are due to Weizsäcker (1968:34, 33, and 107).

³¹ It is true that (i) is grammatical while (ii) is less so:

(i) *Si cantarono le canzoni tutti insieme.*

(ii) *?Le canzoni si cantarono tutti insieme.*

This fact, however, is not due to (ii) being any less of an indefinite sentence than (i), but rather to certain restrictions on the transformation which preposes the deep object, as is shown in Chapter 5 Section C (ii).

³² Actually, it is argued in Chapter 5 Section B (ii) that *si* may be considered an overt surface subject. But for now it suffices for our purposes to assume there is no overt subject in these sentences.

³³ (62f) is distinct from (i):

(i) *Samuele ha detto a Giovanni di essere alto.*

In (i) *dire* means 'tell' or 'command,' thus (i) is bad for semantic reasons; one cannot order something beyond the control of the addressee. In (62f), however, *dire* means 'say' or 're-late.' Thus (62f) is bad for syntactic reasons; *dire* in this

sense, if it takes a sentential object, takes only *che* complements:

(ii) *Samuele ha detto che Giovanni è alto.*

³⁴ With *sembrare* and *parere*, however, embedded subjects may raise:

(i) { *Sembra* } *che Maria ami Carlo.*
 Pare }

(ii) *Maria* { *sembra* } *amare Carlo.*
 pare }

CHAPTER 5

Indefinite *si*: What it is

A. A Backward and a Forward Look

In chapter 4 I argued against indef. *si* sentences being passive in surface structure and/or subjectless in deep structure and against *si* being derived by way of PS rules or REF. In these arguments many properties of indef. *si* sentences were described. Briefly they were:

- 1) There is a subject in the deep structure of every active indef. *si* sentence.
- 2) The deep subject of active indef. *si* sentences is human.
- 3) Indef. *si* is introduced transformationally by some rule other than REF; I called this rule *si*-1.¹
- 4) *si*-1 is a fully productive rule; any predicate allowing human SURFACE subjects may appear in an indef. *si* sentence.
- 5) The composite tense aux is *essere*, introduced by the T ESSERE.
- 6) ESSERE must precede N/G Ag in order to arrive at the proper ending on the past participle of reflexive and middle voice sentences, but follow N/G Ag in order to yield the proper result for indef. *si* sentences.
- 7) Nominative pronouns do not freely occur in indef. *si* sentences.

In this chapter properties (1) through (7) are assumed. In Section C(i) additional arguments against indef. *si* being generated by PS rules and by REF are offered. This chapter also argues the following points:

- 8) *si* is clitic.
- 9) *si* is the surface subject of an indef. *si* sentence, active or passive, and the NP underlying *si* is human.
- 10) The proper surface distribution of *si* is best described by having *si* replace only subjects.
- 11) The NP underlying *si* is plural, unmarked for gender, and usually indefinite. There are two uses of indefinite *si* a generic third person subject (often normative²) and a specific third person subject.

- 12) Beside indef. *si* there is also a definite *si* which may replace *noi*, the first person definite pronoun, in some varieties of Italian.

The T *Si*-I and the optional T which preposes the acc. object of a transitive active indef. *si* sentence (OBJ-PRP) referred to in Chapter 4 are described in detail, as is the rule for P/N Ag of the finite verb. Finally, a deep structure for indefinite *si* sentences is offered and the derivations of several sentences are given.

B. Facts

(i) *si* is clitic

The *si* of indef. *si* constructions always appears close to the verb. In fact, *si* is a verbal clitic, as shown by the following facts.³

First, the negation morpheme *non* follows non-clitic subject pronouns, but precedes all proclitic pronouns:

- 13) (Lui) *non mangia la trippa*. 'He doesn't eat {tripe.' }
 (Lui) *non la mangia*. { it.' }
 (Lui) *non mangia*. { ∅.' }

Likewise, *non* precedes indef. *si*.

- 14) *Non si mangia la trippa*. (cf. **Si non mangia la trippa*.)
 La trippa non si mangia. (cf. **La trippa si non mangia*.)
 Non la si mangia. (cf. **Si non la mangia*.)
 Non si mangia. (cf. **Si non mangia*.)

Second, one way to form a yes-no question in Italian is to invert a non-clitic subject with the predicate:

- 15) *Mangia la trippa lui?*
 La mangia lui? (cf. **Mangia la lui?*
 **Mangia lui la?*)
 Mangia lui?

Si, like other clitics, cannot undergo this inversion:

16) *Mangia la trippa si?

*La mangia si?

*Mangia si?

Third, non-clitic pronouns may receive intonational stress but clitics may not (the underlined words below are to be read with stress)

17) Lui mangia la trippa.

(Lui) mangia essa.

*(Lui) la mangia.

Again, *si* behaves like clitics in that it cannot receive stress:

18) *Si mangia la trippa.

*La trippa si mangia.

*Si mangia.

Fourth, pseudo-cleft sentences may be formed with non-clitic pronouns, but not with clitic pronouns:

19) *Quello che mangia (la trippa) è lui.*

Quello che vedo è lui.

**Quello che vedo è lo.*

'The one who { eats (tripe) is him. }
{ I see is him. }

Likewise, a pseudo-cleft sentence may not be formed with *si*:⁴

20) **Quello che mangia (la trippa) è si.*

Fifth, non-clitic pronouns may be the head of appositive clauses in Italian; clitic pronouns may not:

21) *Lui che è ghiotto mangia anche la trippa.*

'He who is a glutton eats even tripe.'

Conosco lei che è saggia.

'I know her who is wise.'

**La che è saggia conosco.*

**La conosco che è saggia.*⁵

.....

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- | Trial | Control (n=10) | MCI (n=10) | AD (n=10) |
|-------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| 1 | 85 | 75 | 65 |
| 2 | 80 | 70 | 60 |
| 3 | 78 | 68 | 58 |
| 4 | 76 | 66 | 56 |
| 5 | 75 | 65 | 55 |

(The (a) sentences show adverbs; the (b), parenthetical sentences; the (c), modifiers.)

Seventh, non-clitic pronouns may be conjoined, but clitics may not;⁷ nor may a clitic and a non-clitic be conjoined:

- 24) *Lui e lei mangiano la trippa.*
'He and she eat tripe.'

Vedo lui e lei.
'I see him and her.'

**La e lo mangiamo.*
'We eat it and it.'

**Lei e lo vedo.*

**Vedo lei e lo.*

Likewise, *si* may not be conjoined with any other pronoun:

- 25) **Lui e si mangiano la trippa.*
'He and one eat tripe.'

**La e si mangia.*

Eighth, in Italian proclitics are written as separate words from the verb, just as non-clitic pronouns are. However, enclitics are written as one word with the verb:

- 26) *Lui mangia la trippa.* (cf. **Luimangia la trippa.*)

Vedo lui. (cf. **Vedolui.*)

La mangia (cf. **Lamangia.*)

but *Mangiamolo!* (cf. **Mangiamo lo!*)

(Of course, the stars on the sentences in parentheses mean only that the orthography is incorrect.)

Si usually occurs proclitically in spoken Italian.⁸ However, in written Italian, it may appear enclitically and when it does, it is written as one word with the verb, just as other clitics are. The following sentences may be seen on commercial signs all over Italy.

- 27) *Affittasi* { *appartamento.*
 appartamenti. }
'Apartment(s) for rent.'

Affittansi appartamenti.
'Apartments for rent.'

Cercasi cameriere.
'Waiter wanted.'

Vendesi.
'For sale.'

As far as I know, there are no cases of non-clitic elements being written as one word with an adjacent element in standard Italian. Thus (27) suggests that *si* is a clitic.

Ninth, clitic pronouns may not stand alone, as in response to a question, while non-clitic ones may. Likewise, *si* cannot stand alone.

28) *Chi lo fa? Lui. *Si.*
'Who does it?' 'He.' / 'One.'

*Chi hai visto? Lei. *Si. *La.*
'Who did you see?' 'Her.' / 'One.' / 'Her.'

Finally, non-clitic pronouns may usually occur in free order but clitic pronouns occur in fixed order:

29) a. *Mi si guarda.*
 **Se mi guarda.*
 **Si mi guarda.*

'One looks at me.'

I conclude that indef. *si* is clitic.

(ii) *Si*: A human surface subject

As was noted in Chapter 4 Section B(i), *si* may appear in both active and passive sentences:

30) a. *Si mangia la trippa.*

b. *Si è giudicati dal re.*
'One is judged by the king.'

In (30) *si* is understood semantically as the surface subject of both sentences, and there is no other element present in surface structure which could possibly be the logical surface subject of either sentence. That is, *la trippa* in (30a) is [-animate] while *mangiare* in its active form requires a [+animate] surface subject. Thus, *si* is the only possible candidate for surface subject in (30a). Likewise in (30b) *re*

cannot be taken as the surface subject since it is the object of the preposition *da*;⁹ again *si* is the only possible candidate for surface subject of (30).¹⁰

That a clitic pronoun can be a subject is not uncommon in Romance. Kayne (1969:42 and following) has shown that French has a clitic and non-clitic subject pronoun for each person, with the exception of *on* and *ce* which have no non-clitic counterparts. The difference between (31a) and (31b) is that in (31a) the clitic subject pronoun *il* is used, while in (31b) the non-clitic subject pronoun *lui* is used:

31) a. *Il partira le premier.*

Lui partira le premier.

'He'll leave on the first.'

Looking to Italian, we find that subject pronouns have non-clitic forms. For instance, *io* is non-clitic (like French *moi*) and it has no clitic counterpart (which would correspond to French *je*). Instead, it seems that Italian (and Spanish) has non-clitic pronouns versus Subject Pronoun Drop, while French has non-clitic pronouns versus clitic ones. Such a difference is predictable from the fact that French verbs are often not phonetically differentiated for person and number, hence the pronoun is necessary, while Italian (and Spanish) verbs are so differentiated, hence the pronoun may be superfluous. There are, however, at least two clitics in Italian which may be analyzed as subject clitics and which have no non-clitic counterparts: *si* and *ne*. It is worth noting that *on*, the indefinite human subject pronoun of French, has no non-clitic counterpart, just as Italian *si* does not.

That *ne* may function as a surface subject is not immediately obvious. As noted in Chapter 2 Section C(iii) there are at least four uses of *ne* in Italian: as a pronominal prepositional phrase, replacing a genitive, agentive, partitive, or locative phrase. These uses are exemplified below:

32) (genitive) *Ne ho la chiave.*
'I have the key to it.'

(agentive) *Ne ho letto il libro.*
'I read the book by him.'

(partitive) *Ne vorrei.*
'I would like some.'

(locative) *Ne vengo.*
'I come from there.'

However, *ne* may also be used to replace an indef. NP in subject position:

- 33) a. *Ci sono ancora contadini in Italia*
 'Are there still farmers in Italy?'
 b. *Sì, ce ne sono.*
 'Yes, there are some.'
 c. *Sì, ci sono.*
 'Yes, there are.'
 d. **Sì, loro ci sono.*

The possible responses to (33a) among the above are (33b) and (33c). (33d) is rejected because *loro* ('they') is appropriate only if the subject NP is definite. It is true that definite NP's rarely appear with existential sentences such as those in (33). However, the existential property of (33) is not a necessary factor for subject *ne*:

- 34) *Vengono soldati?*
 'Are soldiers coming?'
 Sì, ne vengono
 Sì, vengono.
 **Sì, loro vengono.*
 'Yes, some are coming.'

Since the various structures *ne* may appear in demand detailed analysis and could well serve as material for a separate monograph, one cannot consider the above data conclusive. Instead, I suggest that *ne* may be another subject clitic like indefinite *si*, and leave the proof (or disproof) for future study.¹¹

If *si* is indeed the surface subject pronoun of indef. *si* sentences at least two previously unexplained properties of *si* noted in Chapter 4 follow. First, we found that nominative pronouns do not occur with *si* (**Lui si mangia la trippa*).¹² There are two exceptions to this statement. The first is the fact that inanimate nominative pronouns are accepted by some speakers:

- 35) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Essi} \\ \text{Loro} \end{array} \right\} \text{ si prendono.}$
 'One takes them.'¹³

(Note that the acc. pronoun *li* is acceptable to all speakers in (35) given the alteration of a singular verb, which most speakers prefer.)

However, when the sentence has elements clearly pointing out the presence of a deep agent, *essi* is unacceptable, as is *loro*:

- 36) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *Essi \\ *Loro \end{array} \right\}$ *si prendono deliberatamente.*
 (cf. *Li si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} prende \\ prendono \end{array} \right\}$ *deliberatamente.*)
 'One takes them deliberately.'
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *Essi \\ *Loro \end{array} \right\}$ *si prendono per far piacere alla mamma.*
 (cf. *Li si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} prende \\ prendono \end{array} \right\}$ *per far piacere alla mamma.*)

Why *essi* and *loro* are acceptable in (35) to many speakers is not clear. As far as I can see, (35) does not have a middle voice reading, thus the nominative pronoun is unexpected. It may be that (35) is acceptable because of a process of syntactic analogy with sentences such as (37), which have both a middle voice and an indef. *si* reading:

- 37) *Si leggono facilmente i romanzi moderni.*
 (indef. *si*) 'One reads with ease modern novels.'
 (middle voice) 'Modern novels read easily.'
- (indef.) *Li si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} legge \\ leggono \end{array} \right\}$ *facilmente.*
- (middle voice) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Essi \\ Loro \end{array} \right\}$ *si leggono facilmente.*

(A proper context for the indefinite reading is seen in *Dopo aver studiato tutti i testi antichi, si leggono facilmente i romanzi moderni*, 'After having studied all the ancient texts, one reads modern novels with no trouble.') Analogy is further discussed in Chapter 6. All one need note at this point, however, is that instead of *essi* or *loro* in (35), in all varieties of Italian *li* is acceptable and found more frequently. In other words, the nominative pronoun is an aberration from the norm. I propose in Chapter 6 that such an aberration is the result of a grammatical process, analogy.

The second exception is the fact that *noi* can appear with *si* in many varieties of Italian. This fact is discussed in detail in Section B(vi) below, where it is shown that *noi* occurs only with a definite referent.

Given these two exceptions, one of which may be the result of analogy, and the other of which is the presence of two coreferential

definite pronouns fulfilling the same semantic role (*noi* and definite *si*), I conclude that subject pronouns may not occur with indefinite *si* precisely because *si* itself is a subject pronoun.

Second, it has been noted that *si* may appear in any active sentence whose predicate allows a human deep (and therefore surface) subject. Thus, the following sentences with predicates which do not allow human subjects are ungrammatical with *si*:

38) #*Si* {*costa* } 100 lire. (cf. #*Io* *costo* 100 lire.
 {*costano* } *Il libro* *costa* 100 lire.)
 'One costs 100 lire.'

#*Si* è {*spazioso*. } (cf. #*Io* *sono* *spaziosa*.
 {*spaziosi*. } *La sala* è *spaziosa*.)
 'One is spacious.'

#*Si* *latra*. (cf. #*La ragazza* *latra*.
 'One barks.' *Il cane* *latra*.)

Likewise, *si* may appear in any passive sentence whose predicate allows a human deep acc. object, but is rejected from passive sentences whose predicate rejects human deep acc. objects:

39) #*Si* è *respirati* dalla gente. (cf. #*Una persona* è ...
 'One is breathed by people.' *L'aria* è)

#*Si* è *costruiti* di legno. (cf. #*Una persona* è ...
 'One is constructed of wood.' *Una casa* è ...)

#*Si* è *scritti* a macchina. (cf. #*Una persona* è ...
 'One is typed.' *Una lettera* è ...)

Finally, property (2) above stated: the deep subject of active indef. *si* sentences is human. We may now add the statement: the deep object of passive indef. *si* sentences is human. Since the deep subject of an active sentence and the deep object of a passive sentence are the NP's that underlie the surface subject and since *si* is the surface subject of indefinite *si* sentences, both active and passive, these properties taken together show that the NP underlying *si* is human.

It is clear that property (4), the fact that *si* may appear in any sentence that allows a human surface subject, is fully explained by the analysis of *si* as a human surface subject. (38) and (39) above show that the constraints on the distribution of *si* are correlated with the constraints on the surface subject of the predicate. This correlation seems entirely arbitrary if *si* has no relation to the surface subject, the correlation follows immediately.¹⁴

(iii) Constraint on *Si*-I or Surface Structure?

Recall the sentences of (30):

- 30) a. *Si mangia la trippa.*
 b. *Si è giudicati dal re.*

(30a) is a transitive active sentence, structurally parallel to (40):

- 40) *Giorgio mangia la trippa.*

Yet (40) can undergo Passive, but (30a) cannot:

- 41) a. *La trippa è mangiata da Giorgio.*
 b. **La trippa è mangiata da si.*

Similarly, (30b) is a passive sentence, structurally parallel to (42):

- 42) *Il prigioniero è giudicato dal re.*
 'The prisoner is judged by the king.'

Yet (42) has a corresponding active sentence, but (30b) does not:

- 43) a. *Il re giudica il prigioniero.*
 b. **Il re giudica {si. / sé.}*¹⁵

In both (41b) and (43b) indef. *si* appears in non-clitic position with respect to the verb. It would seem that the constraint operating here blocks any surface sentence which has indef. *si* in non-clitic position. However, this formulation of the constraint must be modified somewhat because of sentences like the following:

- 44) a. *Non si vota per sé stessi.*
 'One doesn't vote for himself.'
 b. **Non voto per sé (stessi).*
 'I don't vote for one(self).'
 c. *Quando si vendono i propri libri, si prova dispiacere.*
 'When one sells one's books, one feels displeasure.'
 **Quando vendo i propri libri, si prova dispiacere.*
 'When I sell one's books, one feel displeasure.'

In (44a) *si*, the non-clitic reflexive pronoun for indef. *si* (and for third person NP) may appear only when the surface subject of the

clause it appears in is indef. *si* (or third person).¹⁶

There are at least three ways to describe the above facts. Let us refer to the NP underlying *si* as Pro. Assuming that deep structures are marked as to whether or not they undergo Passive, one could propose the following deep structure constraint:

- 45) Mark ungrammatical any deep structure marked [-Passive] which has 1) Pro in some position other than subject and 2) Pro not in subject position.

Mark ungrammatical any deep structure marked [+Passive] which has 1) Pro in some position other than acc. object and 2) Pro not in acc. object position.

Alternatively, we could describe the above facts with the following surface structure constraint:

- 46) Mark ungrammatical any surface sentence which has 1) indef. *si* in some position other than subject and 2) indef. *si* not in subject position.

The advantage of (46) over (45) is that (46) does not have to refer to any specific T. Thus the rule can be stated as one case rather than two. Clearly (46) is explicitly stating a generalization that is implicit in (45): that it is the surface position of indef. *si* that determines the sentence's acceptability, not the deep position. Thus (46) is preferable to (45).

A third possibility is to write the rule of *Si-I* to insert *si* only for those Pro in subject position. Then a convention deleting all unspecified elements in surface structure will delete all instances of Pro that reach surface structure (that is, all Pro not in subject position at the time of *Si-I*). Thus:

- 30) b. *Si è giudicati dal re.*

would have an underlying *Il re giudica Pro* which if Passive does not apply, will have Pro deleted yielding *Il re giudica*. The convention by which Pro deletes is needed independently in the grammar. We have already seen a special rule similar to this convention which accounts for the deletion of the unspecified object in sentences such as *Giorgio mangia* (UNPD -- see Chapter 3 Section C (ii-d)). UNPD is optional while the convention deleting Pro in non-subject position is obligatory. Thus, the two processes, while they may be related, are not identical.

The second solution, that of using the surface structure constraint, and the third solution, that of writing *Si-I* to replace only those Pro in subject position, give equivalent output. The arguments

for choosing between the two solutions are not particularly strong. Still, one may prefer the third solution since this one involves only one new rule, *Si-I*, while the other solution involves not only *Si-I* but a surface structure constraint like (46). I will assume the third solution, although none of my arguments below rest upon this assumption. Thus if the second is ultimately shown to be superior, the rest of this thesis remains intact.

(iv) The Features of Pro

(iv-a) Pro--Plural

Naro (1968:12) has argued for Portuguese that indef. *se* constructions can appear only with predicates which "admit group-interpretation subjects." In support of this claim he offers the examples:

- 47) a. *Eles são amigos.*
'They are friends.'

but: b. **É-se (or *são-se) amigos.*
'People are friends.'

He goes on to say that the semantic choices for the deep subject of an active impersonal sentence (as he calls the construction) are *alguém* ('someone') and *a gente* ('people'). *Alguém* is rejected because of the following pattern:

- 48) a. *Alguém fala muitas linguas e alguém as fala bem*
'Somebody; speaks many languages and somebody; speaks them well.' (i≠j)

b. *Falam-se (or fala-se) muitas linguas e falam-se (or fala-se) bem.*
'Many languages are spoken and they are spoken well.'
(same person in both clauses)

In (48a) the first and second occurrences of *alguém* are not coreferential, and if they were, the sentence would be ungrammatical. However, in (48b) the agents of both clauses are coreferential. A *gente*, like *se*, allows a coreferential reading in a sentence such as (48). Naro concludes that the proper underlying NP for a surface *se* cannot be *alguém*, therefore it must be *a gente*.

There are at least two problems with Naro's proposal in relation to Italian. First, example (47b) may be misleading. In Italian, as in Portuguese, (47b) makes no sense as an isolated sentence:

- 49) *#Si è amici.*
'One is friends.'

However, in context in Italian it is perfectly acceptable:

- 50) *Quando ci si è scritti per molto tempo, si è molto amici.*
 'When one has written to another for a long time, one is
 a good friend.'

If (50) has no grammatical counterpart in Portuguese, Naro's argument holds for Portuguese. However, for Italian this argument fails.

Second, the proposal that the NP underlying *se* is a *gente* raises the question as to why a *gente* sometimes appears as a *gente* and sometimes as *se*. Naro does not offer any explanation for this variation. Also, in Italian indef. *si* does not have the same syntactic behavior as *la gente*:

- 51) a. *La gente si nutrisce quando mangia.*
 **Ci si nutrisce quando mangia.*
 (cf. *Ci si nutrisce quando si mangia.*)
 'People nourish themselves when they eat.'
- b. *La gente è alta.*
 **Si è {alta.}* (cf. *Si è alti*)
 {alto.}
 'People are tall.'

In (51a) it is shown that when *la gente* is pronominalized it may undergo Subject Pronoun Drop. However, indef. *si* cannot undergo Subject Pronoun Drop. In (51b) it is shown that predicate adjectives with *la gente* are fem. sg., but those with indef. *si* are masc. pl. For Portuguese (51a) presents the same problem: *se* cannot undergo Subject Pronoun Drop. While many varieties of Portuguese do not allow sentences comparable to Italian *Si è alti* of (51b), in those dialects where predicate adjectives may appear with indef. *se* the agreement of the adjective is masc. sg., even though a *gente* is feminine singular. Thus *se* and a *gente* (and *si* and *la gente*) behave differently in at least two ways. Thus, I reject the proposal that the NP underlying the indef. *se* is a *gente*, for both Portuguese and Italian.

Naro's argument for a "group-interpretation" of *se*, however, is related to an important feature of the Pro which underlies the Italian indef. *si*: Pro is syntactically and semantically plural. Examine the following pattern:¹⁷

- 52) a. *Una volta che si è morti, non si vede più la luce.*
 'Once you're dead, you don't see the light anymore.'
- b. *Si sarebbe arrivati presto se il treno non fosse stato in ritardo.*
 'We would have arrived early if the train had not been late.'

- c. *Se non si fosse stanchi, si camminerebbe di più.*
'If we hadn't been tired, we would have walked longer.'
- d. *Quando si è medici, bisogna fare spesso dei sacrificio.*
'When one is a doctor, it's necessary to make sacrifices often.'
- e. *Si cantò la canzone tutti insieme.*
'The song was sung all together.'

All the underlined words in (52) are masc. pl. and none of them can possibly be making agreement with any NP present in the surface structure of their sentence. If a situation involves only women, such as the departure of nuns from a convent, one finds plural agreement, but this time it is feminine:

- 53) *Si è partite presto.*
'One left quickly.'

This evidence is inexplicable if Pro is not plural, but follows immediately if Pro is plural, as long as N/G Ag and Adj Ag take place before Pro is replaced by *si*. (For a more detailed account of this argument, see Chapter 4 Section B (ii)).

Another fact that strongly supports the claim that Pro is syntactically and semantically plural is demonstrated in the following sentences:

- 54) a. *I ragazzi sono uguali.*
'The boys are equal.'
- b. **Il ragazzo è uguale.*
'The boy is equal.'
- c. **La gente è uguale.*
'People are equal.'
- d. **Le forbici sono uguali.¹⁸*
'The scissors are equal.'
- e. *Qui si è (tutti) uguali.*
'Here everyone is equal.'

As McCawley (1968:148 and following) has pointed out, certain predicates allow only those subjects which are syntactically and semantically plural. Among such predicates are *essere simile* and *essere uguale*. Thus, (54a) is acceptable because *i ragazzi* is plural syntactically and semantically, while (54b) is unacceptable because *il ragazzo* is singular. Only as the result of ellipsis is (54b) grammatical:

- 55) *Giovanni è sciocco; quel ragazzo è simile (a Giovanni).*
'John is foolish; that boy is similar (to John).'

(54c) is rejected since *la gente* is semantically plural but syntactically singular. And (54d) is rejected since *le forbici* is syntactically plural but semantically singular. However, *si* is an acceptable subject of *uguale* in (54e). The conclusion is that Pro, underlying *si* is syntactically and semantically plural.¹⁹ This particular point has a very nice parallel in French with *on*. Note the French counterpart to Italian (54e):

- 56) *Ici on est tous égaux.*

This adjective *égaux* is plural and it is a plural that one can hear in spoken language since *égaux* contrasts phonetically with *égal* (the singular form). Likewise, liaison is made between *tous* and *égaux*, so that the plurality of *tous*, shown by the *s*, is clear. Thus, *on*, like Italian *si*, replaces an underlying plural NP. (These facts were brought to my attention by Jean Roger Vergnaud and Michael Freeman.)

(iv-b) Pro -- Either gender

As (52) shows, when N/G Agreement or Adj Ag is made with Pro the gender marking is usually masculine. However, as (53) shows, if one is referring specifically to a group of women, the gender marking is feminine. Thus, Pro has no intrinsic gender of its own. All nouns in Italian are marked for gender, either masculine or feminine. It is only pronouns that may be morphologically unmarked for gender. For example, *loro* may refer to a group of men (in which case, masculine agreement is made where appropriate) or to a group of women (triggering feminine agreement) or to a group that is either mixed or unspecified as to gender. In this last instance, masculine agreement, the unmarked gender agreement, is made. In this way Pro behaves not like a noun, but like a pronoun, such as *loro*.

(iv-c) Pro -- Indefinite

Up to this point I have referred to the surface replacement of Pro, that is *si*, as "indefinite" without further comment. It is difficult to describe exactly what the distinction definite/indefinite is. With nouns the distinction is often superficially clear due to the choice of article: a noun with a definite article (cf. *la ragazza*) is usually definite, while a noun with an indefinite article (cf. *una ragazza*) is usually indefinite. *Si*, however, is a clitic pronoun and, as such, has no accompanying article. Still we can find frames which accept definite pronouns but reject indefinite ones (for such frames in English see Postal (1966)) just as they accept definite nouns but reject indefinite ones. For example:

- 57) a. *(Lui) è tanto intelligente, eppure non può farlo.*
'As intelligent as he is, he cannot do it.'

- b. **Si è tanto intelligente, eppure non si può farlo.*
'As intelligent as one is, one just can't do it.'
- c. *(Tu) sei tanto intelligente, eppure non puoi farlo.*
'As intelligent as you (specific) are, you still can't do it.'
- d. **Sei tanto intelligente, eppure non puoi farlo.*
'As intelligent as you (non-specific) are, you still can't do it.'
- e. *La ragazza è tanto intelligente, eppure non può farlo.*
'The girl is....'
- f. **Una ragazza è tanto intelligente, eppure non può farlo.*
'A girl is so'

(For a frame which accepts indefinites but rejects definites, see (61) and (62) below.)

(57a) and (57c) are understood as having specific definite referents for the subject pronouns: him and you (the listener), respectively. (57b) and (57d) are understood as having indefinite and, in these cases, non-specific referents for the subject pronoun, and are therefore rejected. As (57e) and (57f) show, the pattern found with the pronouns is exactly the same as that found with the nouns. Thus, *si* is an indefinite pronoun.

Indefinite NP's may be specific or non-specific (see Karttunen (1968) and Pope (1972)). One particular kind of non-specific indefinite NP is the generic NP seen in (58):

- 58) *Una tigre è feroce.*
'A tiger is ferocious.'

(For a discussion of such generics, see Heringer (1969)) Generic NP's usually appear in general statements about a class of individuals. One use of *si* is as a generic pronoun; it is understood as "the typical human" in a given situation. For example:

- 59) *In Italia, quando si incontra un amico, si va a prendere un caffè.*
'In Italy when one meets a friend, one goes out for coffee.'

(59) can be understood either as descriptive, telling what the "typical" Italian does when he meets a friend, or as normative, giving instructions to the listener as to what people, including the listener, should do when they are in Italy and happen upon a friend.

There are several ways of expressing a generic subject in Italian. For example:

- 60) a. *In Italia* { *vanno* } *in chiesa ogni domenica.*
 b. { *uno va* }
 c. { *andiamo* }
 d. { *vai* }
 e. { *si va* }

'In Italy { they go } to church every Sunday.'
 { one goes }
 { we go }
 { you go }
 { people go }

In (60a) the third person plural ending on the finite verb with no personal pronoun present is used to describe an action done by human beings, but in which action neither the speaker nor the listener participates. We can call this the "exclusive" generic. In this way Italian is similar to both Spanish²⁰ and English.

In (60b) the personal pronoun *uno* yields the same generic effect with the difference that now the speaker is most probably included among those who perform the action and it is possible that the listener is included as well. These observations are true for Spanish *uno*, as well.

The use of the first person plural ending with no personal pronoun seen in (60c) has the same range of inclusion for the speaker as *uno*. Perhaps the only difference between (60b) and (60c) is that in (60b) the possibility that the listener is included, as well as the speaker, is stronger than in (60c). Let us call *uno* and the first person plural the "inclusive" generic.

(60d) and (60e) offer a third logical possibility, that of being unmarked as to the inclusion or exclusion of the speaker and of the listener. It can, in fact, be used either when the speaker is clearly included, as with the first person plural, or when the inclusion of the speaker is unknown.

Thus, there are three distinct alternatives in generic subjects: exclusive, inclusive, and unmarked. These three types of generic subjects pattern differently. For example, in the following paradigm only the inclusive and unmarked generic subjects are permitted:

- 61) a. *Quando* { **sono* } *al 25 dicembre, ormai e Natale.*
 b. { *uno è* }
 c. { *siamo* }
 d. { *sei* }
 e. { *si è* }

'When { they are } at the 25th of December, it's
 { one is } already Christmas.
 { we are }
 { you are }
 { people are }

The pattern seen in (61) is predictable from the fact that a sentence like (61) does not make sense if it excludes anyone. In other words, (61) states a truth about the real world: that the 25th of Dec. is Christmas, regardless of you or me or anyone else. In (61) the usually unmarked generic subjects are used with an inclusive sense. Predicatably, all specific persons, which are understood to exclude other persons, are rejected from this frame:

- 62) a. **Quando* { *(io) sono* } *al 25 dicembre, ormai e Natale.*
 b. * { *(tu) sei* }
 c. * { *(lui) è* }
 d. * { *(noi) siamo* }
 e. * { *(voi) siete* }
 f. * { *(loro) sono* }

(Note that (62b) and (62d) are to be read with specific subjects)

Another difference in patterning of the three types of generic subjects is with regard to a normative meaning. For example:

- 63) a. *Per evitare un incidente, { devono } guidare con*
 b. { *uno deve* } *attenzione.*

- 63) c. Per evitare un incidente, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dobbiamo} \\ \text{devi} \\ \text{si deve} \end{array} \right\}$ guidare con attenzione.

'In order to avoid an accident, they must drive carefully.

one

we

you

one

The exclusive generic seen in (63a) quite naturally cannot have a normative meaning for the addressee, since one cannot direct another to behave in a fashion from which he is simultaneously being excluded. Both (63b) and (63c), the inclusive generics, are more readily understood as referring to a particular instance of driving. For example, before a group of people set out on a long car trip a member of the group might warn everyone in the above fashion. Thus, (63b) and (63c) are not immediately understood as generic normative sentences, but rather as warnings for a particular case of driving with respect to a particular group of people. Of the two, the first person plural is more likely to have a "didactic" meaning than *uno*. (63d) is perhaps first understood as a simple descriptive statement, and then secondarily as a warning of a normative sort. (63e), finally, is a clear case of a normative sentence. In fact, upon opening directions for any new device, one is likely to come upon a series of indefinite *si* sentences. For example, on a bottle of medicated liquid soap, one finds the directions:

- 64) Si usa diluito in acqua come uno shampooing o come un sapone liquido.

'This is used diluted in water like shampoo or like liquid soap.'

In a well-known cookbook, one finds directions such as:

- 65) Al momento di andare a tavola, si fa infuocare la gratella e su di essa si dispone una bistecca; appena cotta da un lato--occorrono brevi minuti--si rivolta a sulla parte arrostita si spolverizza una piccola presina di sale.²¹

'At the moment of going to the table, one lights up the grate and on it places a beefsteak; when it is barely

cooked on one side--it only takes a few minutes--one flips it over and on the cooked side one sprinkles a pinch of salt.'

It is not entirely convincing to quote examples of written directions which use *si* as evidence that *si* is the most common generic subject for normative sentences since, in fact, at least two others of these generic subjects, *uno* and the third person plural, are automatically excluded by the fact that such directions are written. Neither *uno* nor the third person plural usually appears in writing.²² However, it is true that spoken directions, as well, employ the indefinite *si*.²³

A second use of indefinite *si* is as a specific subject pronoun. Consider the following sentence:

- 66) *L'unico Van Gogh si è venduto un'ora fa.*
'Someone sold the only Van Gogh an hour ago.'

Here *si* does not refer to the "typical human," but rather to some particular individual who sold the painting. Contreras (1972) offers evidence that this use of *si* as a specific indefinite subject does not occur in Spanish. He presents the following examples:

- 67) a. *Los hijos no se eligen.*
'Children are not chosen.'
b. **Tus hijos no se eligieron*
'Your children were not chosen.'
c. *Las casas se saquean en la madrugada.*
'Houses are ransacked at dawn.'
d. **La casa se saqueó en la madrugada.*
'The house was ransacked at dawn.'

(67a) and (67c) are understood as having generic agents; that is, the typical "chooser" does not choose children and the typical "ransacker of houses" ransacks at dawn. However, sentences (67b) and (67d) cannot be understood generically, presumably because of the possessive adjective in (67b) and the singular definite NP *la casa* in (67d). Rather, a particular individual or group of individuals did not choose your children in (67b) and just such a specific subject ransacked the house in (67d). Spanish *se* cannot be used in this non-generic sense, according to Contreras; thus the ungrammaticality of (67b) and (67d) is explained.

One might raise the question as to whether the preterite tense used in (67b) and (67d) plays a role in the unacceptability of these sentences.²⁴ Apparently the answer is no, since Contreras offers

examples of generic *se* with the preterite tense:

- 68) *Los reglamentos se violaron abiertamente.*
'The regulations were openly violated.'

French, like Italian, has a specific use of indefinite *se*; witness the following sentence from Stefanini (1971:121):

- 69) *Ce livre s'est vendu hier soir à quatre heures.*
'That book was sold last night at 4 o'clock.'

Why Italian and French have a specific indefinite *si/se*, but Spanish does not, is not clear. It is possible that Contreras' facts are not complete and that (67b) and (67d) are unacceptable due to some factor external to the specificity of *se*, some factor which we do not understand. In fact, Dwight Bolinger (personal communication) suggests that Spanish does have a specific *se*. He offers the example:

- 70) *La ciudad se atacó.*
'The city was attacked.'

where a specific individual or group of individuals attacked the city.

Thus we have seen that indefinite *si* has two uses: that of a generic subject and that of a specific subject.

(iv-d) Pro--Third person

There are at least two facts that show the person of Pro. First, REF replaces Pro by *se(stessi)* in non-clitic position (for a discussion of the clitic reflexive pronoun of indefinite *si*, see Section B(vii) below):

- 44) a. *Non si vota per sé stessi.*

Second, there are 3 possessive adjectives for the third person: *suo*, *loro*, and *proprio*. *Suo* refers to a singular possessor; *loro* to a plural possessor; and *proprio* to either number with the added restriction that the possessor be the subject of the clause. *Suo* and *loro* may or may not refer to the subject of the clause. With indefinite *si* the possessive adjective is *proprio*:

- 44) b. *Quando si vendono i propri libri, si prova dispiacere.*

(Why *loro* is unacceptable in (44b) with reference to the subject of its clause is not clear to me.) All other possessive adjectives are rejected from (44b).²⁵

A third fact that may be correlated to the person of Pro is that the finite verb of an indefinite *si* sentence is always third person. However, we show below that by the time the finite verb makes person agreement Pro has been deleted and *si* inserted. And we do not have any evidence that *si* is marked at all for person. Thus we do not consider the person of the finite verb as evidence for the person of Pro.

(v) P/N Agreement

Indefinite *si* sentences always have third person finite verbs: thus we don't find:

- 71) **Si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vado} \\ \text{vai} \\ \text{andiamo} \\ \text{andate} \end{array} \right\}$ a teatro.
- 'One $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I go} \\ \text{you go} \\ \text{we go} \\ \text{you go} \end{array} \right\}$ to the theater.'

With intransitive predicates, the verb is always singular:

- 72) *Si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{va} \\ \text{*vanno} \end{array} \right\}$ a teatro.
- 'One $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{goes} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\}$ to the theater.'

With transitive predicates the verb obligatorily agrees in number with a preceding accusative full NP and either obligatorily or optionally (depending on the dialect) agrees in number with a following accusative full NP:

- 73) a. *Le aragoste si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mangiano} \\ \text{*mangia} \end{array} \right\}$ d'estate.
- b. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mangiano} \\ \text{*mangia} \end{array} \right\}$
- c. *Si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mangiano} \\ \text{mangia} \end{array} \right\}$ le aragoste d'estate.
- d. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mangiano} \\ \text{mangia} \end{array} \right\}$

'One eats lobster in summer.'

When the direct object is pronominalized a few varieties of Italian make number agreement between it and the verb, but most varieties do not:

- 74) a. *Le si* { *mangiano* } *d'estate.*
 b. { *mangia* }
 c. *Si* { *mangiano* } *esse d'estate.*
 d. { *mangia* }

(In (74c) and (74d) *esse* receives intonational stress.)

Let us call the dialect which produces only (73c) and not (73d) A and that which produces both (73c) and (73d) B. We find that a subject of A, call it A', produces (74a), while the rest of A produces (74b). As far as I know, all speakers of A produce (74c) and none produce (74d). Speakers of B produce (74b) and not (74a), as well as (74c) and (74d). Schematically these relations may be represented as in (75):²⁶

75)

A		B	
(74b)		(73a)	(74b)
A'		(73c)	(74c)
(73a)	(74a)	(73d)	(74d)
(73c)	(74c)		

Verbs with indef. *si* never agree in person with the direct object, whether it be a full NP or a pronoun:

- 76) *In Italia si* { *considera* } *me ricca (ma lui povero).*
 { **considero* }

'In Italy I am considered rich, (but he, poor).'

Mi si { *giudica* } *colpevole*
 { **giudico* }

'I am judged guilty.'

From the above data we see that the person and number of the finite verb in an indef. *si* sentence are not determined by the same factors. The person is always third. And we saw in Section B(iv-d) above that *Pro* is third person. Finite verbs in Italian usually agree in person with their surface subject by a late rule which must be last cyclic or post cyclic, since it occurs after all applications of the cyclic rule *Equi-NP Del*:

77) *Penso di voler andare a vederlo.*

**Penso di voglio vado a lo vedo.*

'I think I want to go see it.'

In Section B(vi) below it is shown that both person and number agreement follow *Si-I*. Thus if *si* is marked third person (just as *Pro* is), it is possible that the finite verb is making person agreement with its surface subject. If *si* has no person marking, the finite verb may be assuming the unmarked person, which is third.²⁷ Since there seems to be no evidence that indef. *si* has its own person, I assume that *si* has no person marking and that the finite verb is third person because that is the unmarked person. However, none of the arguments below rest upon this assumption.

The number of the finite verb, however, cannot be making agreement with the number of *Pro* nor of *si*,²⁸ since the number of the verb varies according to the presence and number of a direct object. If there is no direct object or if the direct object is sg., the finite verb is singular. If there is a plural direct object, full in post verbal position or pronominal in any position, the verb may be singular or plural depending on the regional variety of Italian, as shown in (74) and (75). If the plural direct object is a full NP and precedes the verb, the verb must be plural.

One can describe person number (P/N) ag. thus:

- 78) The finite verb: 1) agrees in person and number with a full NP subject or with a non-clitic nominative pronoun in its same S, or 2) assumes the third person and a) agrees in number with a morphologically not marked as to case full third person NP to its left in the same S, b) agrees in number with a morphologically not marked as to case full third person NP to its right in the same S or in a reduced S, c) agrees in number with an acc. pronoun in the same S, d) assumes the singular number.

This rule is to be read with case (1) applying for all sentences which have a non-clitic surface subject, and case (2) applying to sentences which have indef. *si* or lack a surface subject²⁹ (cf. the weather verbs). Within case (2), (a) is obligatory, (b) is obligatory in some dialects and optional in others, (c) is very rare, and

(d) is obligatory. (a) through (d) are disjunctively ordered, with most dialects skipping (c). When I refer to a "morphologically not marked as to case" NP I mean an NP which is dominated by S (a nominative NP) or by VP (an acc. NP). In this way I exclude agreement with objects of prepositions, adverbial NP, etc. (cf. **Si vanno a ristoranti*. **Si tornano ogni tre settimane*. The NP mentioned in (b) need not be juxtaposed to the verb nor even in the same S (cf. *Si tornano a distruggere le mura*, 'One returns to destroy the city walls,' but *Si torna a distruggere la città*, 'One returns to destroy the city.'). The complicated number agreement described in (78) may be summed up as: verbs agree in number with the NP that "looks like" their subject.³⁰

(vi) *Si* as *Noi* = Definite *Si*

There is one use of *si* that is not indefinite: that is *si* used with the meaning of the first person plural. Such a use of *si* is specific and definite. Dialect B of examples (74) and (75) above exhibit this use; dialects A and A' do not. Let us examine the syntactic behavior of this use of *si*.

First, *noi* optionally appears in sentence initial position followed by a pause. No other pronoun³¹ may appear in this position with *si*:

79) a. *Si va?*

Noi, si va?

**Io, si va?*

**Voi, si va?*

**Tu, si va?*

**Loro, si va?*

**Lei, si va?*

'Shall $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{we} \\ \text{you} \\ \text{they} \end{array} \right\}$ go?

'Shall $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{I} \\ \text{you} \\ \text{she} \end{array} \right\}$ go?

At times *noi* may be accompanied by an N:

79) b. *Noi ragazzi non si deve essere costretti dalle autorità a sgomberare l'aula.*

'We boys must not be forced by the authorities to empty the classroom.'

(Example (79b) is from LoCascio (1972).)

It seems that *noi*, (*ragazzi*) in (79) is dangling semantically in

a position of apposition to the subject *si*, but syntactically *noi*, (*ragazzi*), seems to be dangling from the whole S. It is perhaps best translated by *as for us (boys)*. As with indef. *si*, with definite *si* the finite verb is always third person.

Second, when *noi* occurs, the finite verb must be singular regardless of any other NP present, and accusative full NP's must follow the finite verb in most dialects (that is, must come in the favorite direct object position). Also acc. NP's may pronominalize only as accusatives (not as nominatives, as is sometimes allowed for inanimate acc. NP's with indef. *si*):

80) *Noi, si* { *va?*
 **vanno?* }

Noi, si { *compra*
 **comprano* } *le mele?*

'Shall we buy the apples?'

??*Noi, le mele si* { *comprano.*³²
 compra. }

??

**Le mele noi si* { *comprano.*
 compra. }

*

Noi, le si { *compra.*
 **comprano.* }

**Noi, esse si* { *compra.*
 comprano. }

*

Third, it seems that in deep structure the subject is really *noi*, since REF produces *noi stessi* not *sé stessi* in (81a):

81) a. *Noi, non si vota per* { *noi stessi.*
 **sé stessi.* }

And the proper possessive adjective is *nostro* not *proprio*:

81) b. *Noi, si bada alla* { *nostra*
 **propria* } *roba.*

'We pay attention to our belongings.'

The above phenomenon has a perfect parallel in French with *nous* and *on* (see Gross:1968 and Spitzer:1940, who discusses *nous* and *vous* with respect to *on*):

- 82) *Nous, on va à Paris?*
'Shall we go to Paris?'

In order to account for the fact that there are third person endings on the finite verb (cf. **Noi, si andiamo?*) P/N Ag must be ordered after *Si-I*. In this way, the first person plural NP in deep structure will be replaced by *si* (which is either third person and has no number or has neither person nor number, as noted in Section B(v) above) with the result that P/N Ag will follow case (2) of the rule as stated in (78). Alternatively, there may be a rule changing the relevant features of *noi* to match those of *Pro* so that *Si-I* will then apply to the result of this feature changing rule. Again, case (2) of rule (78) will be applied, since the subject will be *si*.

(vii) Reflexive and Inchoative Indef. *Si* Constructions

Both indef. (*Pro*) and definite (*noi*) *si* can appear in reflexive and inchoative sentences. Let us first consider the definite use of *si*:

- 83) (reciprocal) *Noi, ci si vede ogni tanto.*
'We see each other now and then.'

(inchoative) *Noi, ci si sveglia di buon'ora.*
'We wake up early.'

Since REF precedes *Si-I* (see Chapter 4 Section B (ii)) the first person plural clitic *ci* is produced by REF. As we saw in (81), if the pronoun is not cliticized, it is the expected *noi*:

- 81) *Noi, non si vota per noi stessi.*

Let us now look at a reflexive indef. *si* sentence:³³

- 84) *Quando ci si è scritti per molto tempo, si è molto amici.*
'When one has written to another for a long time, one is a good friend.'

One might question whether (84) is a true reflexive indef. *si* sentence, since we find *ci si* instead of *si si*. That this is really understood as a reflexive is asserted by any Italian whose dialect allows such constructions.³⁴ One can also show syntactically that REF has applied in (84). The reflexive involved here is the reciprocal reflexive, studied in Chapter 2 Section C(i). It is the same reflexive found in (85):

- 85) *I ragazzi si sono scritti per molto tempo.*
 'The boys have written to each other for a long time.'

With clitic reflexive pronouns, the composite tense auxiliary changes to *essere* (by the rule ESSERE) before N/G Ag takes place. Thus we have the following derivation for (85):

- 86) (starting from the underlying level before ESSERE and before N/G Ag, but after REF and Clitic Placement):

- a. underlying *I ragazzi si avere scritt- per...*
- b. ESSERE *I ragazzi si essere scritt- per...*
- c. N/G Ag. *I ragazzi si essere scritti per...*
- d. P/N Ag. *I ragazzi si sono scritti per...*

(The past participle agrees in N and G with the subject across *essere* in (86).)

Now, looking back to the indef. *si* sentence (84), we find that like (85), the past participle has undergone N/G Ag with the subject, which is Pro. But we must note that the indef. *si* sentence without a reciprocal construction does not make this N/G Ag:

- 87) *Quando si è scritto a qualcuno per molto tempo, si...*
 'When one has written to someone for a long time, one...'

Thus, the N/G Ag in (84) must be triggered by some factor not found in (87). That factor is precisely the application of REF in (84), which when followed by Clitic Placement, causes ESSERE to apply, so that N/G Ag subsequently assigns the past participle the plural masculine ending in agreement with Pro. The only other possible explanation for the pl. ending on the past participle would be if Ag had taken place with a preceding acc. object: but since the verb *scrivere* has a dative object in (84) and no acc. object, such a possibility must be discarded.³⁵

A second piece of evidence in support of saying that the *ci si* seen in (84) is the result of REF applying on an indef. *si* construction is offered in the two sentences:

- 88) a. *Si può abituarsi a tutto.*
 b. *Ci si può abituare a tutto.*

'One can adjust to anything.'

(88a) and (88b) are synonymous, and (88b) is derived by way of (88a) by the same rule of Clitic Hopping seen in:

88) c. *Si può dirlo.*³⁶

Lo si può dire.

'One can say it.'

d. *Posso dirlo.*

Lo posso dire.

'I can say it.'

It is true that (88a) is substandard for many Italians. However, all Italians understand (88a). And the fact that it is substandard for some, implies only that Clitic Hopping is obligatory in this instance for such speakers (although I cannot explain why Clitic Hopping is obligatory here).

Finally, *ci si* occurs along with the non-clitic reflexive pronoun *sé stessi* and the possessive adjective *proprio* in indef. *si* sentences that are syntactically and semantically parallel to sentences with reflexive pronouns.

89) a. *Mi* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ricordo} \\ \text{accorgo} \end{array} \right\}$ *si me stessa.*

b. *Ti* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ricordi} \\ \text{accorgi} \end{array} \right\}$ *di te stessa.*

c. *Si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ricorda} \\ \text{accorge} \end{array} \right\}$ *di sé stessa.*

d. *Ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ricorda} \\ \text{accorge} \end{array} \right\}$ *di sé stessi.*

e. *(Noi,) ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ricorda} \\ \text{accorge} \end{array} \right\}$ *di noi stessi.*

'I/You/She/One/We remember(s) myself/yourselves/herself/oneself/ourselves.'

'I/You/She/One/We realize(s) myself/yourselves/herself/oneself/ourselves.'

f. *Mi ricordo della mia roba.*

- g. *Ti ricordi della tua roba.*
- h. *Si ricorda della sua roba.*
- i. *Ci si ricorda della propria roba.*
- j. *(Noi,) ci si ricorda della nostra roba.*

'I/You/He/One/We remember(s) my/your/his/ones/
our belongings.'

(89a), (89b), and (89c) are cases of first, second, and third person subjects with an absolute reflexive verb. Not all speakers felt comfortable with these sentences. But all speakers who do, also get (89d) and, if they belong to Dialect B, where *ci si* appears as the clitic combination for reflexive indef. (89d) and definite (89e) *si* sentences. Similarly, (89f), (89g), and (89h) are sentences with reflexive pronouns and possessive adjectives. (89i) and (89j) are the indefinite and definite *si* counterparts to this paradigm. (The relevance of the facts in (89) was brought to my attention by Richie Kayne (personal communication).)

I conclude that the *ci si* clitic combination is the surface manifestation of a reflexive indef. *si* construction, just as it is of a reflexive definite *si* construction. Likewise, *ci si* appears in inchoative indef. *si* constructions:

- 90) *Ci si sveglia di buon'ora quando si ha molto da fare.*
'One wakes up early when one has a lot to do.'

The immediate questions that present themselves are what is the source of this *ci*, and why one finds *ci si* and not *si si*.

In order to see if the *ci* of *ci si* is related to other *ci*'s of Italian, let us first look at the other *ci*'s. There are at least two distinct classes of clitic *ci*'s in Italian: *ci* which is locative or existential, as in:

- 91) a. (locative) *Andiamo alla stazione! → Andiamoci!*

'Let's go to the station.' 'Let's go there.'

- b. (existential) *Ci sono molte varietà dell'italiano.*

'There are many varieties of Italian.'

and *ci* which is the first person plural clitic for both dative and acc. objects:

- 92) a. (dative) *Giorgio ci ha dato delle caramelle.*

'George gave us some candies.'

- b. (acc.) *Giorgio ci ha visti in chiesa.*
'Giorgio saw us in church.'

That the *ci* of *ci si* is not locative seems semantically clear. However, there is syntactic evidence as well that this *ci* is neither locative nor existential. Examine the following reflexive sentences:

- 93) a. *Mi pento.*
'I repent.'
b. *Giorgio si pente.*
'George repents.'

In neither of these sentences may a locative or existential *ci* appear:³⁷

- 94) a. **Mi ci pento.* (from: *Mi pento in chiesa.*
'I repent there.' 'I repent in church.)
b. **Giorgio ci si pente.* (from: *Giorgio si pente in*
'George repents there.' *chiesa.*)

Yet the indef. *si* sentence (95):

- 95) *Ci si pente.*
'One repents.'

is perfectly acceptable. Thus the *ci* of (95) cannot be a locative or existential *si*, otherwise it would be rejected from (95) just as it is from (94). Also, if the *ci* of *ci si* were locative or existential, it would be difficult to account for certain syntactic features of *ci si* sentences, such as the plural past participle in (84) above.

The other possibility is that the *ci* of *ci si* is related to the first person plural pronoun *ci*, seen in (92). The likelihood of such a possibility is supported by at least three pieces of evidence from the many dialects of Italian. First, in various dialects which do not allow reflexive indef. *si* sentences (including several Sicilian dialects), the speaker will employ instead a simple first person plural reflexive construction when speaking standard Italian:

- 96) *Quando siamo disperati, ci uccidiamo.*
'When we are desperate, we kill ourselves.'

(cf. standard Italian: *Quando si è disperati, ci si uccide.*)

As was stated in fn. 33 above, the first person plural here is the generic use, not the definite one. These dialects belong to variety A, not B of (75). Thus they do not allow *Noi, si va?*

Second, Rohlfs (1949) has noted that on the Tuscan island of Giglio the form *ci* can be found instead of indef. *si*. The examples he gives are:

97) *Ci parte.* (cf. Italian: *Si parte.*)
'One leaves.'

Ci mangia. (cf. Italian: *Si mangia.*)
'One eats.'

However, this evidence must be considered very tentative, since in several dialects of the Abruzzi and Puglia the pronoun *ce* or *ze* has both the reflexive function and the indef. function assigned to *si* in standard Italian. While the only examples Rohlfs gives for the Giglio dialect involve indef. *si*, it is quite possible that *ci* serves as the third person reflexive pronoun in this dialect, as well. Unfortunately I have no informants to settle this matter.

Third, some dialects of Italian allow sequences of phonetically identical clitics. (Standard Italian does not, as is shown below.) Thus in many parts of northern Italy one may hear the combination *se se* in sentences such as the following noted by Rohlfs (1949:234):

98) (Venetian) *Se se lava.* (cf. *Ci si lava.*)
'One washes himself.'

(Paduan) *Se se petena.* (cf. *Ci si pettina.*)
'One combs his hair.'

(Trentino) *Se se 'mbarca.* (cf. *Ci si imbarca.*)
'One sails.'

Rohlfs is careful to add, however, that this *se se* combination occurs "dove però *ci* vien reso con *se*" ('where, however, *ci* is rendered by *se*'). Thus, one of the *se*'s of the *se se* above may possibly be the first person plural clitic. Here again, the correlation between the indef. clitic and the first person plural clitic seems insistent.

If indeed the *ci* of *ci si* is the first person plural clitic, it still must be answered why we find *ci si* instead of *si si*.

In Italian one sees that the clitic combination *si si* seems to be unacceptable for morphological reasons. *Si si* may occur when the first *si* means "yes," as in,

99) *Sì, si mangia bene in Italia.*
'Yes, one eats well in Italy.'

But in (99) there is a pause between the two *si* segments as well as a morpheme boundary. However, *si si* can also occur without an intervening pause, as in:

- 100) *Si sistemerà senza problemi.*
 'He'll find a job ("systematize himself") without problems.'

Thus it appears that the sequence of phonetic segments *si si* is rejected as a clitic combination not for phonetic reasons, but for morphological reasons involving the fact that these segments are clitics. In fact, there seems to be no sequence of phonetically identical clitics in Italian. For example, when the locative clitic *ci* cooccurs with acc. clitics, we have the following pattern:

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 101) <i>Mi ci porta.</i> | <i>*Ci ci porta.</i> |
| <i>Ti ci porta.</i> | <i>Vi ci porta.</i> |
| <i>Ce lo porta.</i> | <i>Ce li porta.</i> |
- 'He brings me/you/him/us/you/them there.'

Instead of *ci ci* for "us there," Italian substitutes *vi* (another locative clitic equivalent to *ci* semantically but much less common in colloquial speech) for *ci* to yield either:

- 102) a. *Ci vi porta.*
 or: b. *Vi ci porta.*

(Whether speakers produce (102a) or (102b) is dependent on dialectal variation. Perhaps (102b) is the more frequent order, although (102a) is the expected order given that the locative pronoun appears to precede first and second person acc. clitics in the rest of the paradigm.)

Given the pattern shown in (101) and (102), we might expect *si* to appear with one of the *si*'s replaced by some other morpheme which shares relevant semantic features. Since *ci* is the morpheme which substitutes for *si*, one naturally questions whether there is a semantic tie between the first person plural clitic pronoun (if this *ci* is that pronoun) and the indef. *si*. Certainly the Sicilian varieties of Italian which produce (96) are drawing a semantic parallel between generic indef. *si* and generic first person plural. It is possible that the speakers of Italian who produce *ci si* are drawing just such a parallel, also.³⁸ There is a second possibility, however.

103) a. *Ci si vede ogni tanto.*

Ci si sveglia di buon'ora.

Given the grammatical derivation of *ci* in (103a), it is possible that on analogy with (103a) Italians change *si si* to *ci ci* in (103b) which has the same surface structure as (103a) but is understood with the indef. *si* meaning:

103) b. *Ci si vede ogni tanto.*

'People see each other now and then.'

Ci si sveglia di buon'ora.

'People wake up early.'

(As mentioned above, the processes of syntactic analogy suggested here are discussed fully in Chapter 6.)

One fact which supports this proposal of analogy is that these sentences with *ci si* require a singular verb in most³⁹ varieties of Italian, regardless of the number of any acc. NP present, just as sentences with *noi, si* in Section B(vi) above do:

104) a. *Ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dava} \\ *davano \end{array} \right\}$ *i soliti baci.*

'People exchange the usual kisses.'

(cf. *Noi, ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dava} \\ *davano \end{array} \right\}$ *i soliti baci.*

Likewise, in most varieties of Italian, the acc. NP may not be preposed to sentence initial position with *ci si*, just as it cannot with *noi, si*:

104) b. **I soliti baci ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dava.} \\ \text{davano.} \end{array} \right\}$
 *
**I capelli ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pettina.} \\ \text{pettinano.} \end{array} \right\}$
 *

((104b) is to be read without a pause after the initial NP.)

(viii) Points of Confusion

When the acc. object of an indef. *si* sentence is a clitic personal pronoun, we find the following pattern in many varieties of Italian:

105)	a.	<i>Mi</i>	} <i>si giudica</i> {	<i>colpevole.</i>
	b.	<i>Ti</i>		"
	c.	<i>Lo/la</i>		"
	d.	<i>??Ci</i>		<i>colpevoli.</i>
	e.	<i>Vi</i>		"
	f.	<i>Li/le</i>		"

'One judges me/you/him/her/us/you/them guilty.'

All acc. clitic pronouns are acceptable with indef. *si* except the first person plural clitic *ci*. Casagrande (1967:494) claims that a sentence such as (105d) is acceptable with the reading given above. Thus there must be some varieties of Italian which accept (105d) with the reading of some outside agent judging "us" guilty. However, none of my informants are comfortable with that reading. Rather, the only readings that will make (105d) fully acceptable for them are that of a reflexive construction, either definite (*noi*) or indefinite:

- 106) a. (definite) *We judge ourselves guilty.*
 b. (indef.) *One judges himself guilty.*

Casagrande does not, however, discount the readings shown in (106). In fact, when he gives the following example from Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's (1968:16) short narrative, "Il Viaggio":

- 107) *Ci si caricava in due landaus chiusi; nel primo mio padre, mia madre, la governante ed io.*

'We used to load ourselves into two landaus; in the first my father, my mother, the governess and me.'

he is very careful to point out that the *ci si* is not to be read as some outside generic agent loading "us" into the vehicle, but rather as a first person plural reflexive:

...[(107) DJN] could be misinterpreted as the impersonal active form (with passive meaning, of course) of *caricare*

(i.e. *venivamo caricati*), whereas it is meant to be the impersonal reflexive form of *caricarsi* (i.e. *ci caricavamo*). In the example in question, the meaning is inferred--more than made clear--by the rest of the sentence, 'nel primo mio padre...'

However, my informants insist that (107), even if broken off after *chiusi* without the following listing of NP's, has only two meanings: that of a definite referent first person plural reflexive or reciprocal and that of an indef. *si* reflexive or reciprocal. But it cannot be readily understood as an indef. *si* sentence with *ci* being a first person acc.

The resistance to the clitic combination *ci si* with the reading of *us one* (rather than *us we* or *one one*) may be a resistance to overloading the function of *ci si*: that is, *ci si* already has two uses, thus one resists allowing it a third. If *ci si* is allowed all three functions, then (105d) becomes three ways ambiguous. It may be that this ambiguity is unacceptable in the speech of my informants.⁴⁰

When the acc. object of an indef. *si* sentence is a non-clitic personal pronoun, we find the following pattern:

- 108) a. *In Italia si considera(no)* { *noi } *ricchi.*
 b. { *voi }
 c. { loro }
 d. *In Italia si considera* { me } *ricca.*
 e. { te }
 f. { lei }

(In (108) the underlined words receive intonational stresses.)

Noi and *voi* are rejected above. However, after a preposition a pronoun of any person may occur with indef. *si*, including *noi* and *voi*:

- 109) *In Italia si pensa a* { *noi* } *come persone ricche.*
 { *voi* }

'In Italy one thinks of { *us* } as rich people.'
 { *you* }

It may be that the asterisks in (108) are related to the fact that *noi* and *voi* in these sentences are superficially not marked as to case, whereas in (109) the preposition preceding them marks them as oblique. Thus in (108) *noi* and *voi* could be considered as "looking like" the subject, in the sense discussed in Section B(v) above. (Note that *me* and *te* in (108) do not "look like" the subject since the nominative forms, *io* and *tu*, differ morphologically from the non-clitic acc. forms.) Thus the superficial incongruency of *noi* and *voi* with a third person verb in the absence of any clear subject may be causing the unacceptability of (108a) and (108b).⁴¹ (This argument was suggested to me by Judith Aissen.)

C. Transformations

(i) *Si*-Insertion¹

It was shown in Chapter 4 Section B(i) that if a PS rule generates *si*, it does so treating *si* as any other NP. At that point I claimed that a PS rule rewriting NP as *si* was unable to explain the syntactic behavior of *si* sentences. I will now support this claim. Also, in Chapter 4 Section B(ii) it was argued that indef. *si* does not arise by way of REF. I give here one more argument against the derivation of *si* by way of REF. Finally, I describe the rule *Si*-I.

First, if *si* were generated in deep structure by PS rules it has already been noted that *si* could not be generated in the verbal clitic position it assumed in surface structure. Rather, underlying the sentence:

30) b. *Si è giudicati dal re.*

we would have:

110) *Il re giudica si.*

(which is ungrammatical as a surface sentence) and Passive would apply, moving *si* into subject position just as it would move any other NP. However, *si* does not behave like any other NP with respect to syntactic manifestations of its person and number. We have seen that *si* sometimes occurs with first person reflexive pronouns and sometimes with third person ones:

81) *Noi, non si vota per noi stessi.*

44) a. *Non si vota per sé stessi.*

It appears that at the time REF takes place the person of *si* can be either first or third. However, we note that the finite

verb in both (81) and (44a) is third person. Thus at the time of P/N ag *si* can be only third person or have no person. The same person incongruency occurs with possessive adjectives (cf. *nostro* versus *proprio*). No other NP in Italian behaves in this manner. Likewise, *si* appears to be plural with respect to N/G ag (cf. *giudicati* of (30b)) but singular with respect to P/N ag (cf. *è* of (30b)). I do not see how a PS rule generating *si* as an expansion of NP can account for such facts. A transformation, however, which replaces *noi* by *si* after REF and N/G ag but before P/N ag can account for these facts in the following way. (Alternatively, a transformation changing the relevant features of *noi* to match those of Pro after REF and N/G ag so that *Si-I* will then apply, can account for these facts in the same way.) REF will yield *sé stessi* or *noi stessi* according to whether the subject at the time of REF is Pro or *noi*, and N/G ag will make plural ag, since both Pro and *noi* are plural. Then *Si-I* will insert *si*, which has no person or number. Thus the finite verb will make number ag according to the presence or lack of an acc. object, according to the P/N ag rule above (see Section B(v), (78)).

Second, in Chapter 4 Section B(ii) I argued against *si* arising by way of REF for five reasons: 1) indef. *si* may occur with any predicate allowing human surface subjects while reflexive *si* observes many constraints, 2) indef. *si* is ordered after the clitic acc. pronouns *lo/la/li/le* while reflexive *si* precedes them, 3) indef. *si* displays a distinct pattern of P/N and N/G ag from that of reflexive *si*, 4) indef. *si* does not occur with nominative third person animate pronouns, while reflexive *si* does, and 5) indef. *si* can appear in reflexive and inchoative simple sentences, while the cyclic rule of REF must be limited to one application per cycle per given NP or to simultaneous applications to different NP's. At the time these arguments were presented I said that any theory deriving indef. *si* by way of REF would have to account for *si* sentences with no deep object by an entirely different process from *si* sentences with an acc. or dative object. Here, however, I discuss a theory proposed by Langacker (1968) which derives the *si* of both transitive and intransitive sentences by way of REF.

Langacker (1968:182) takes the Spanish sentence:

- 111) *Se trabajó.*
'One worked.'

and proposes that it has an unspecified Agent in deep structure thus:

- 112) *trabajó* AGENT

He places the deep subject to the right of the verb in (112) because he is following Fillmore's (1968) proposal of a verb followed by a string of case-marked NP. Then he says the deep

Agent moves into subject position leaving behind a copy, thus:

113) AGENT *trabajó* AGENT

At this point the structural description for REF is met, so we get:

114) AGENT *se trabajó*

And, finally, unspecified elements delete, yielding (111). Transitive *se* sentences are handled by a similar process:

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 115) a. surface | <i>Se ven las fotos.</i>
'One sees the photos.' |
| b. deep | <i>ve DATIVE las fotos.</i> |
| c. Subject Choice | <i>DATIVE ve las fotos.</i> |
| d. Object | <i>Las fotos ven las fotos.</i> |
| Substitution | |
| e. REF | <i>Las fotos se ven.</i> |

(115b) has an unspecified DATIVE which becomes the subject of (115c). The specified acc. object *las fotos* replaces the unspecified DATIVE. Finally, REF applies, yielding (115e) which becomes (115a) by some optional rule⁴² inverting the initial NP and the predicate.

Given that the copy-REF analysis outlined above derives the *si* of all active indef. subject structures in the same way, I wish to show that such an analysis is still inadequate for Italian⁴³. Let us consider the following example in which the object NP is a first person singular acc. pronoun:

- 116) a. *Mi si guarda dalla mattina alla sera.*
'I am watched from morning to evening.'

If *si* of (116a) arose by way of REF acting upon a copy left behind when the acc. *mi* is moved into subject position, why do we get *si* instead of the expected first person singular *mi*?

- 116) b. **Me mi* {*guardo*} *dalla mattina alla sera.*
* {*guarda*}

One way to rescue the copy-REF theory is to presume that there is a transformation which changes *mi*, *ti*, *ci*, *vi* to *si* after *mi*, *ti*, *ci*, *vi*. Such a rule could be compared to the case of "spurious *se*" in Spanish, discussed in detail by Perlmutter (1970:189 and following). This is the rule involved in the following pattern:

117) *Lo recomendé a él.*

**Le lo recomendé.*

Se lo recomendé.

'I recommended it to him.'

The spurious *se* rule changes any clitic dative third person pronoun to *se* when it precedes a clitic acc. third person pronoun.

We find an unexpected *se* in Italian, as well. For example in some dialects of Lombardy *se* appears in reflexive constructions with all persons, as in the following examples from Milanese:

118) *Mi se acòrgi.* (standard It: *Io mi accorgo.*

Ti te se acòrget. *Tu ti accorgi.*

Lu el se acòrg. *Lui si accorge.*

Nün se acòrgem. *Noi ci accorgiamo.*

Vialter se acòrgi. *Voi (altri) vi accorgete.*

Lor se acòrgen. *Loro si accorgono.*

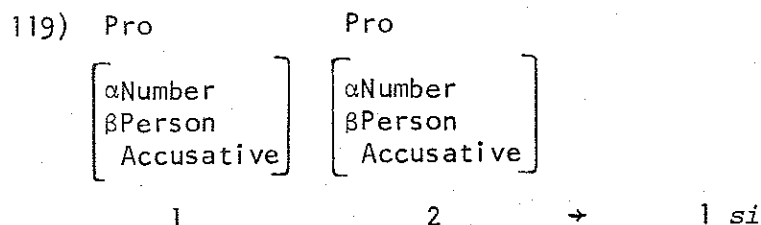
'I/you/he/we/you/they realize(s).'

(The above data is from Rholf's (1949:185).)

And in standard Italian it would appear that a similar process to Spanish spurious *se* occurs when *ci ci* becomes *ci vi* (or *vi ci*) (see (101) of Section B(vii) above) and when *si si* becomes *ci si* (see Section B(vii) above).

However, while the Milanese examples above appear to be a rather arbitrary substitution, the Spanish and standard Italian cases mentioned above pose certain regularity in their substitution processes. In Spanish a third person dative pronoun is replaced by a third person reflexive pronoun. In Italian *ci ci* goes to *ci vi* or *vi ci* under a rule which substitutes a locative pronoun for another locative pronoun. When Italian *si si* goes to *ci si*, we find that there are a number of other semantic and syntactic factors which would lead one to believe that the substitution of *si* by *ci* is not arbitrary, but motivated by the principle of substituting one element with another element of similar properties. However, a rule changing *mi*, *ti*, *ci*, *vi* to *si* is not so motivated.

Looking to the problem presented in (116), we find ourselves needing a rule such as:



(119) would change *mi*, *ti*, *ci*, *vi* to *si* when they follow *mi*, *ti*, *ci*, *vi* respectively. Note that (119) will not convert *lo*, *la*, *li*, *le* to *si* after *lo*, *la*, *li*, *le* since the clitic combinations *lo lo*, *la la*, etc. will not be generated. Rather, REF acts on the copy directly to produce *lo si*, *la si*, etc.

The question now is whether proposing such a rule as (119) will really gain us anything. A major flaw of the copy-REF theory even with (119) is that such a theory is entirely mechanical and ad hoc. Not only does it not account for the five objections listed at the opening of this discussion to deriving indef. *si* by way of REF, it actually obscures what is really going on. The copy-REF theory in no way explains why the *si* of (120a) is understood as parallel to *Giorgio* in (120b):

- 120) a. *Quando si mangiano aragoste, ci si sente felici.*
 'When one eats lobsters, one feels happy.'
- b. *Quando Giorgio mangia aragoste, si sente felice.*
 'When George eats lobsters, he feels happy.'

If the copy-REF theory is correct, why doesn't *Giorgio* leave behind a copy when Subject Choice moves it into subject position? Is it only unspecified agents that leave copies? Or, alternatively, if *Giorgio* leaves a copy, why is that copy deleted? Is it only unspecified agents that keep their copies? Why? The copy-REF theory misses a very basic point: indef. *si* is understood as the surface subject of its sentence, just as any other NP subject is. It shows up not because unspecified elements are deleted from surface structure, thus some phonological manifestation must be assigned to Pro in order to generate any surface sentences.

From the arguments above, I conclude that neither PS rules nor REF generate indef. *si*. Thus the need for *Si-I* has been demonstrated. This rule obligatorily deletes Pro in subject position and substitutes *si*. In some dialects, it may optionally delete *noi*, replacing it, also, by *si*. Or, alternatively, in those dialects it may optionally change the features of *noi* to match those of Pro, so that *Si-I* will then apply obligatorily.

As was shown in Chapter 4 Section B(ii), *Si-I* must be ordered thus:

121) REF

ESSERE

N/G ag

Si-

ESSERE

It appears that ESSERE is an anywhere rule; that is, it applies anywhere and whenever its structural description is met. While ESSERE obligatory applies to structures with clitic reflexive pronouns there are instances in which ESSERE may or may not apply to structures with indef. *si*. (123) illustrates the optional application of ESSERE found in some varieties of Italian:

122) *Si è avuto fame.*123) *Si ha avuto fame.*

((122) is unacceptable to those speakers who make obligatory N/G ag between the past participle and the acc. object.)

The variation between (122) and (123) is conditioned by factors I have not been able to isolate (cf. **Si ha camminato*, **Si ha veduto il film*). We find that when P/N Ag is made according to (78) with a direct object, ESSERE must apply (cf. (124a)) but when such P/N ag is not made, there are cases where ESSERE cannot apply.

124) a. *Si devono* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{essere} \\ *aver \end{array} \right\}$ *già* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dati} \\ \text{dato} \end{array} \right\}$ *gli esami prima di entrare.*

b. *Si deve* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *essere \\ aver \end{array} \right\}$ *già* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dati} \\ \text{dato} \end{array} \right\}$ *gli esami prima di entrare.*

'One must have already taken the exams before entering.'

Again, I have not been able to isolate the factors causing unacceptability in (124b), since in most cases where P/N ag is not made, ESSERE must apply:

125) *Si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{è} \\ *ha \end{array} \right\}$ *letto tutti i romanzi di Calvino.*

'One has read all the novels of Calvino.'

(Again (125) is not grammatical in either form for those speakers

who make obligatory N/G ag between the past participle and the acc. object.)

This data suggests that P/N ag is ordered before ESSERE in order to account for (124a). Also, we have noted that P/N ag must follow *Si-I* in order to account for (126):

126) *Noi, si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *andiamo? \\ va? \end{array} \right\}$

Si $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *vanno \\ va \end{array} \right\}$ *a teatro ogni sera.*

'One goes to the theater every evening.'

Since *si* occurs in structures which had *noi* or Pro in subject position before *Si-I*, if P/N preceded *Si-I*, we would expect to find plural first or third person endings on the verbs in (126). However, we do not. Therefore, I propose the following ordering.

127) *Si-I*

P/N ag

ESSERE

This ordering automatically requires that N/G precede P/N. In fact, such an ordering must be true for independent reasons. See Fauconnier (1973) for an argument that N/G is cyclic, and note that P/N must follow all applications of the cyclic rule Equi-NP Del., thus P/N is a last or post cyclic rule. Therefore P/N must follow N/G.

Finally, it appears that *Si-I* is either a last cyclic or post cyclic rule, but not a cyclic rule. It cannot be cyclic since it must follow all applications of the cyclic rule Equi-NP Del. Consider the following sentences:

128) a. *Permetto a Carlo di baciare la mia sorellina.*

b. *Permetto di* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} baciare \\ *baciarsi \end{array} \right\}$ *la mia sorellina.*

c.

'I allow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Carlo} \\ \text{people} \end{array} \right\}$ to kiss my little sister.'

In (128a) the subject of the embedded clause is deleted under identity with the dative object of the matrix clause, *Carlo*. Likewise, in (128b) the subject of the embedded clause is identical to the dative object of the matrix, but here both are Pro:

129) *Permetto a Pro (COMP) Pro baciare la mia sorellina.*

((COMP) stands for "complementizer.")

If *Si-I* were cyclic we would get:

130) *Permetto a Pro COMP si baciare la mia sorellina.*

After the unspecified Pro deletes⁴⁴ we would get:

131) *Permetto che si baci la mia sorellina.*

'I allow that people kiss my little sister.'

which is a grammatical sentence. However, the meaning of (131) is distinct from that of (128b) in exactly the same way the meaning of (132) is distinct from that of (128a)⁴⁵:

132) *Permetto che Carlo baci la mia sorellina.*

'I allow that Carlo kiss my little sister.'

In (132) and (131) the subject may be giving his permission to Carlo or Pro via some third party. But in (128a) and (128b) the subject is giving his permission directly to Carlo and Pro, respectively. Thus the proper deep structure for (131) is not (129) but (133):

133) *Permetto COMP Pro baciare la mia sorellina.*

If *Si-I* were cyclic, it would be impossible to generate (128b).

However, if *Si-I* applies after all applications of Equi-NP Del, we have the following derivation for (128b):

134) underlying *Permetto a Pro COMP Pro baciare la...*

Equi-NP *Permetto a Pro di baciare la ...*

Si-I DNA

Unspec. *Permetto di baciare la mia sorellina.*

element Del.

Thus, I conclude that *Si-I* is last or post cyclic.

(ii) Object Preposing (OBJ-PRP)

There are two basic orders the surface constituents of a transitive indef. *si* sentence may have:

si V NP and NP *si* V:

135) *Si sono notate subito le donne.*

Le donne si sono notate subito.

Up to now both orders have been treated identically and, in fact, both orders share most linguistic properties discussed above in this chapter. However, there are some differences between the two, both semantic and syntactic.

Babcock (1970:56) notes the following semantic difference between the two Spanish sentences:

136) (1) *Se ven las montañas desde aquí.*

'The mountains can be seen from here.'

(2) *Las montañas se ven desde aquí.*

'The mountains are visible from here..'

She explains, "Sentence (1) assumes a potential viewer. Sentence (2), on the other hand, focuses on the visibility of the mountains, independently of whether anyone sees them or not." Dwight Bolinger (personal communication) points out that such a semantic difference is a direct result of the different orders of the surface constituents. In (1) *montañas* comes under the main accent, thus the information high point of the sentence is 'mountains,' not what is done with respect to the mountains. In (2) *ven* comes under the main accent so that visibility is of primary informational importance. He compares the distinction between (1) and (2) to that between (137a) and (137b) where the surface order is the same but the intonation peaks differ:

137) a. *The MOUNTains can be seen from here.*

(=You can see the mountains from here.)

b. *The mountains can be SEEN from here.*

(=The mountains are visible from here.)

Exactly this type of semantic difference, a shift of informational focus, is noted in all sentence pairs like (135) and (136). Since such a difference is a result of the surface order of the constituents, a theory transformationally relating the two sentences can account for this semantic distinction, just as Topicalization account for the focus differences between (138a) and (138b):

138) a. *I like Mary.*

b. *Mary, I like.*

(Note that OBJ-PRP is not the same as Topicalization. The point of (138) is to demonstrate that semantic changes do result from transformations, sometimes.)

There are, however, syntactic differences as well between such sentence pairs. Consider the following pattern:

- 139) a. *Si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sono notate} \\ \text{è notato} \end{array} \right\}$ *subito le donne.*
- b. *Le donne si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sono notate} \\ \text{*è notato} \end{array} \right\}$ *subito.*
- c. *Noi, si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*comprano} \\ \text{compra} \end{array} \right\}$ *le mele rosse.*
- d. ??*Noi, le mele rosse si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{compra.} \\ \text{comprano.} \end{array} \right\}$ ³²
- *Le mele rosse noi si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{comprano.} \\ \text{compra.} \end{array} \right\}$ ⁴⁶
- **
- 'We buy red apples.'
- e. *Si cantarono le canzoni tutti insieme.*
- f. ??*Le canzoni si cantarono tutti insieme.*
- 'The songs were sung all together.'
- g. *Ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pettina} \\ \text{*pettinano} \end{array} \right\}$ *i capelli.* ³⁹
- h. **I capelli ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pettina.} \\ \text{pettinano.} \end{array} \right\}$
- **
- 'One combs his hair.'

(The second sentence of (139b), (139d), (139f), and (139h) is to be read without a pause after the initial NP.)

With the order *si* V NP, N/G and finite verb number ag are optional, as seen in (139a). In Spanish and Portuguese finite verb number agreement is optional in these instances as well:

- 140) (Spanish) *Se* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{venden} \\ \text{vende} \end{array} \right\}$ *las casas.*
- (Portuguese) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Vendem-se} \\ \text{Vende-se} \end{array} \right\}$ *as casas.*
- 'One sells houses.'

(Of course, the optional number ag is present only in certain dialects. Many dialects allow only the first of these sentence pairs.)

Contreras (1972) explains pattern (140) in Spanish by saying Subject Verb Agreement and Pro Deletion (as he calls the rules) are not ordered with respect to each other. Thus if we have Subject Verb Agreement followed by Pro Deletion the finite verb will be singular, in accord with the singular Pro. But if we have Pro Deletion followed by Subject Verb Agreement, the verb will match the acc. object in number. We have already seen why Contreras' solution does not work for Italian. Look to (126) above for evidence that *Si-I* precedes P/N. Thus, for Italian no simple ordering solution will explain the variation in P/N and N/G ag in (139a).

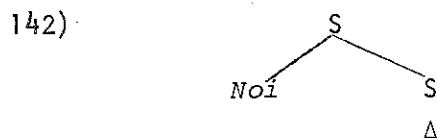
When we look to (139b), we find that the finite verb obligatorily agrees in number with a full NP acc. object when that object precedes the verb. In order to be consistent with the facts presented in Section B(v) above with regard to P/N, one must assume the following order:

141) OBJ - PRP

P/N Ag

With this order P/N ag works as stated in (78), and the verb obligatorily agrees in number with a preposed object, but optionally or obligatorily (depending on the dialect) with a following object. Thus this difference between (139a) and (139b) has been accounted for.

Looking to (139c) and (139d) we see that when *noi* appears, number ag with the following acc. object is blocked. *Noi* appears to be loosely coordinated to the rest of the sentence, perhaps appearing in the configuration:



The arguments for such a structure are based on the fact that *noi* is followed by a pause and the finite verb does not treat *noi* as its subject in that it does not make P/N ag with it. However, the presence of *noi* is enough in most dialects to stop the acc. object from "looking like" the subject. Thus it appears that a final formulation of P/N ag will have to differ from (78) in that the notion of "look like" will have to be formalized and incorporated. From (139d) we see that OBJ-PRP is often blocked by the presence of *noi*. Thus, if OBJ-PRP is ordered before *Si-I* and if OBJ-PRP is written to apply only in the presence of Pro, OBJ-PRP will never occur with *noi*.

143) OBJ - PRP

Si-I

There is a problem with this analysis, however. We saw in fn. 31 above that some speakers do allow OBJ-PRP with *si*:

144) *Noi, il cervello si avrà piccino, ma lo sappiamo adoperare.*

'As for us, the brain we may have small, but we know how to use it.'

While most speakers find (144) acceptable, my informants reject (139d). Thus, it appears that the unacceptability of (139d) is not simply a violation of the ordering seen in (143). Rather it would appear that OBJ-PRP can occur with both *noi* and Pro, the ordering seen in (143) is not justified. The ordering might rather be:

145) *Si-I*

OBJ - PRP

I will assume the ordering of (145) and we will see in Chapter 6 that this ordering is necessary if the process of analogy proposed there is correct.

The constraint on OBJ-PRP that rules out (139d) but allows (144) may well be another instance of analogy in syntax. (139d) is a simple S with *noi* dangling as a sister to the whole S. (144), however, may better be analyzed as a *si* sentence "parenthetically" inserted inside the larger sentence. Notice that (146) is more questionable than (144):

146) *?Noi, il cervello si avrà piccino.*

144) *Noi, il cervello si avrà piccino, ma lo sappiamo adoperare.*

If the *si* sentence is replaced by an appropriate non-*si* sentence, (146) is totally bad, while (144) remains acceptable:

147) a. **Noi, il cervello può essere piccino.*

'As for us, the brain may be small.'

b. *Noi, il cervello può essere piccino, ma lo sappiamo adoperare.*

'As for us, the brain may be small, but we know how to use it.'

Thus the *si* sentence in (144) is as parenthetical as the non-*si* sentence embedded in (147b). It would appear that the *noi* in (146) can be associated with nothing but the *si* sentence (hence its marginal acceptability) while the *noi* in (144) can be associated with the verb *sapere* that follows the *si* sentence. Still, the *si* sentence of (144) has the meaning of a definite first person *si* sentence, not of an indef. third person. Given these facts, one must consider the syntactic association of *noi* with the *si* sentence of (144) as crucial to the ordering argument presented in favor of (143). Hence, I reject (143).

It appears that the acc. object, when it is preposed, looks even more like the subject than it did in its original position. In fact, it looks so much like the subject, that inanimate accusative NP are sometimes replaced by nominative pronouns just as easily as by acc. pronouns, as was shown in Section B(ii) above. The presence of a *noi*, which can be associated only with *si*, on the other hand, removes any possibility of the acc. object's looking like the subject. Accordingly, the acc. object may not be preposed into the usual subject position when *noi*'s presence is dominant (as in (139d)), and the acc. object may pronominalize only as an acc. with *noi* present:

148) *Noi, la si è presa.* (from: *Noi, si è presa la macchina.*)

**Noi, essa si è presa.*

'We took it (the car).'

The explanation for the third pair of sentences, (139e) and (139f) may lie in the notion of "look like" again. Here we see that OBJ-PRP does not freely apply if Pro is modified, even though the modifier, in this case the quantifier *tutti*, has floated to the right away from the subject position⁴⁷. The presence of Pro's modifier keeps the acc. object from looking like the subject, hence in many dialects OBJ-PRP in these instances is very strange.

Finally, the last pair of sentences, (139g) and (139h), lends itself to exactly the kind of analysis I have proposed for (139c) through (139f). That is, the presence of *ci si* keeps the acc. object from looking like the subject, so in many dialects OBJ-PRP cannot move this object into subject position.

One more point to note about agreement is that sentences which have undergone OBJ-PRP make N/G ag between the preposed object and the past participle obligatorily:

149) a. *Le donne si sono* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{notate} \\ \text{*notato} \end{array} \right\}$ *subito.*

Likewise, if the finite verb makes number agreement with a following accusative object, the past participle also must make such N/G agreement:

- 149) b. *Si sono* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{notate} \\ *notato \end{array} \right\}$ *subito le donne.*

And if the finite verb does not agree in number with the object, the past participle does not make N/G ag:

- 149) c. *Si è* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} notato \\ *notate \end{array} \right\}$ *subito le donne.*

In other words, only if N/G ag occurs between the past participle and the following direct object is that direct object free to undergo OBJ-PRP. And only if N/G ag occurs between the past participle and the following direct object does number ag take place between that object and the finite verb. What seems to be happening is that when the direct object "looks like" the subject to a given speaker, he makes both the past participle and the finite verb agree in N/G and number, respectively. I do not here propose a formal mechanism for describing these facts. Instead I appeal to syntactic analogy and leave further discussion for Chapter 6.

Finally, *si* is the one clitic that can appear split apart from other clitics when two verbs come together:⁴⁸

- 150) a. **Ti devo dirlo.* (cf. *Te lo devo dire.*)

'I must tell you it.'

- b. *Si deve dirlo.* (cf. *Lo si deve dire.*)

'One must say it.'

We see that regardless of where Pro is in deep structure in (150b), if *Si-I* applies after all cyclic rules, as was argued above, we will never generate the ungrammatical sentence:

- 150) c. **Deve dirlosi.*

Si will cliticize directly to the matrix verb *dovere* in accord with the fact that Pro will be the subject of *dovere* by the time we reach the last cycle. Thus (150b) is not a case of Clitic Hopping applying to *si* but not to *lo*; rather it is a case where Clitic Hopping has not applied at all. *Si* attaches directly to *dovere*; it does not hop up from *dire*. Given this analysis, one must explain the following pattern which seems to contradict it:

- 151) a. *Si deve intendere la frase così.*

- b. *La frase si deve intendere così.*
- c. *La frase deve intendersi così.*
- d. *Deve intendersi così, la frase.*
- e. **Deve intendersi {così la frase.
la frase così.}*

'The sentence must be understood thus.'

(151a) is generated by way of *Si-1*. (151b) is generated by OBJ-PRP applying to (151a). In (151c) we find OBJ-PRP having applied and *si* cliticized to the lower verb, contrary to what our analysis would predict. In (151d) we find *si* cliticized to the lower verb again, and now the acc. object has undergone Right Dislocation. In (151e) we find that *si* cannot be cliticized to the lower verb without OBJ-PRP or Right Dislocation having applied. Since the analysis given thus far suggests that *si* should cliticize to *dovere* in (151), a *si* lowering rule seems to be working here. It appears that *si* can be lowered just in those cases in which the acc. object has been displaced (i.e. (151c), (151d), but not (151e)). Notice that there is no other evidence for any rules of clitic lowering in Italian:

- 152) *Ti prometto di farlo. ≠ Prometto di fartelo.*

'I promise you I'll do it.' ≠ 'I promise to do it to/for you.'

Also, notice that *si* never lowers with intransitive embedded verbs:

- 153) **Continua ad andarsi al cinema. (cf. Si continua...)*

'One continues to go to the movies.'

Thus, *si* only lowers in sentences where there is an acc. object and that object has been moved out of object position. In (151c) the acc. object "looks like" the subject in that it has assumed the subject position by way of OBJ-PRP; in (151d) the acc. object has been displaced, but not from object position -- since Right Dislocation from object position leaves behind a copy:

- 154) a. *L'ho vista oggi, Maria.*

**Ho visto oggi, Maria.*

'I saw her today, Mary.'

but in (151d) no copy appears. In fact, the presence of a copy makes (151d) unacceptable:

- 154) b. **Deve intenderlasi così, la frase.*

*La deve intendersi così, la frase.

Only Right Dislocation from subject position may leave no surface trace of a copy due to Subject Pronoun Drop:

155) Ha dato l'esame, la sorellina di Paolo.

'She took the exam, Paul's little sister.'

Thus, the lack of a copy in (151d) is explained if Right Dislocation from subject position has occurred. I claim that this is precisely the case.

First, note that normally acc. pronouns may not be dropped in Italian. Thus to the question:

156) *Mangi gli spaghetti alle vongole?*

'Do you eat spaghetti with clams?

one could respond (157a) but not (157b):

157) a. *Sì, li mangio.*

'Yes, I eat them.'

b. *Sī, mangio.

'Yes, I eat.'

((157b) is grammatical, but it is not a proper response to (156).) However, with indef. *si* sentences in which number *ag* is made between the acc. object and the finite verb, the pronoun replacing the acc. object may be dropped. Thus, to (158) one might respond either (159a) or (159b):

158) *Si mangiano gli spaghetti alle vongole a Napoli?*

'Does one eat spaghetti with clams in Naples?'

159) a. Si, si $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mangiano.} \\ *mangia. \end{array} \right\}$

b. *Sì, li si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mangia.} \\ \text{mangiano.} \end{array} \right\}$

In (159) when number *ag* occurs, the pronoun may drop. When number *ag* does not occur, the pronoun may not drop.⁴⁹ In other words, when the acc. object "looks like" the subject to a speaker, the speaker may apply Subject Pronoun Drop to that object, regardless of whether or not it is a nominative pronoun.

Returning now to (151d) one can explain the lack of a copy if Right Dislocation has occurred from (151c), that is, from subject position. As evidence that this is the case, consider the pattern:

- 160) a. $Si \begin{Bmatrix} \text{deve} \\ \text{devono} \end{Bmatrix} intendere le frasi così.$
- b. *Le frasi si devono intendere così.*
- c. *Le frasi devono intendersi così.*
- d. **Deve intendersi così, le frasi.*
- e. $\begin{Bmatrix} *Deve \\ *Devono \end{Bmatrix} intendersi le frasi così/così le frasi.$
- f. *Devono intendersi così, le frasi.*

Here the acc. object is plural. (160e) is parallel to (151e), and ungrammatical for the same reason; that is, *si* cannot be lowered unless the acc. object has been displaced into subject position. In (160c) OBJ-PRP has applied with obligatory number *ag* on the finite verb and *si* has lowered. In (160d) *le frasi* has undergone Right Dislocation from object position (since the finite verb is singular) but has failed to leave behind a copy. However, even with a copy (160d) is ungrammatical:

161) **Deve intenderlesi così, le frasi.*

**Le deve intendersi così, le frasi.*

From (161) and (154b) we see that *si* may not lower when the acc. dislocates from object position. However, in (160f) the plural number of the verb plus the lack of a copy suggests that *le frasi* has undergone Right Dislocation from subject position.

To summarize, indef. *si* may lower when the acc. object has undergone OBJ-PRP. Subsequently, that acc. object may optionally undergo Right (or Left) Dislocation. (For Left Dislocation note: *Le frasi, devono intendersi così.*) If this is a proper statement of the constraint, it would predict that *si* cannot lower when *noi* is present since OBJ-PRP is highly restricted with *noi*. And, in fact, it cannot:

162) a. **Noi, la frase deve intendersi così.*

b. **Noi, deve intendersi così, la frase.*

(162a) is out since OBJ-PRP cannot apply freely in the presence of *noi* (cf. (145)). (162b) is out for the same reason, according to

my analysis.

I do not here write the rule for *si* lowering. However, let me point out an interesting fact about this rule. *Si* lowering applies only in those cases where *si* does not look like⁵⁰ the matrix subject. And when *si* is generated by REF as a clitic on embedded verbs, it never looks like the matrix subject:

163) *Giorgio vuole presentarsi al comitato.*

'George wants to present himself to the committee.'

It seems that *si* in (151c) and (151d) can lower because of surface syntactic similarity with sentences such as (163). Once more we find the need for rules of analogy in syntax.

(iii) Derivations

At this point it is useful to see derivations of the following indef. *si* sentences:

164) *Si è camminato molto.* (cf. (12) of Chapter 4)

165) *Si è partiti presto.* (cf. (52))

166) *Si è avuto fame.* (cf. (122))

167) *Si è notato subito le donne.* (cf. (139))

168) *Si sono notate subito le donne.* (cf. (139))

169) *Le donne si sono notate.* (cf. (139))

170) *Noi, si compra le mele.* (cf. (80))

171) *Noi, ci si vede ogni tanto.* (cf. (83))

172) *Ci si pettina.* (cf. (104))

In these derivations the following rules are ordered thus:

REF

ESSERE

N/G ag

Si-I

OBJ-PRP

P/N Ag

ESSERE

(Actually, ESSERE is not an ordered rule, but an anywhere rule. Above are shown the points at which the structural description for ESSERE may possibly be filled. Also, Clitic Placement is not written in each derivation. However, it is assumed that reflexive pronouns without stress or contrast cliticize immediately after REF.) The derivations below start from an underlying structure which has already undergone various transformations irrelevant to this study.

164) underlying Pro *avere camminat-* molto

REF	DNA
ESSERE	DNA
N/G	Pro <i>avere camminato molto</i>
Si-I	<i>Si avere camminato molto</i>
O-P	DNA
P/N	<i>Si ha camminato molto</i>
ESSERE	<i>Si è camminato molto</i>

165) underlying Pro *essere partiti-* presto

REF	DNA
ESS	DNA
N/G	Pro <i>essere partiti presto</i>
Si-I	<i>Si essere partiti presto</i>
O-P	DNA
P/N	<i>Si è partiti presto</i>
ESS	DNA

166) underlying Pro *avere avuto-* fame

REF	DNA
ESS	DNA
N/G	Pro <i>avere avuto fame</i>
Si-I	<i>Si avere avuto fame</i>

O-P	DNA
P/N	<i>Si ha avuto fame</i>
ESS	<i>Si è avuto fame</i>

(Recall that (166) is not grammatical in those varieties of Italian which make obligatory N/G ag between the past participle and the acc. object.)

167) underlying Pro *avere notat- le donne*

REF	DNA
ESS	DNA
N/G	<i>Pro avere notato le donne</i>
Si-I	<i>Si avere notato le donne</i>
O-P	DNA
P/N	<i>Si ha notato le donne</i>
ESS	<i>Si è notato le donne</i>

(The note above for (166) is also true for (167).)

168) underlying Pro *avere notate le donne*

REF	DNA
ESS	DNA
N/G	<i>Pro avere notate le donne</i>
Si-I	<i>Si avere notate le donne</i>
O-P	DNA
P/N	<i>Si hanno notate le donne</i>
ESS	<i>Si sono notate le donne</i>

169) underlying Pro *avere notat- le donne*

REF	DNA
ESS	DNA
N/G	<i>Pro avere notate le donne</i>
Si-I	<i>Si avere notate le donne</i>

- | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|
| O-P | <i>Le donne si avere notate</i> |
| P/N | <i>Le donne si hanno notate</i> |
| ESS | <i>Le donne si sone notate</i> |
- 170) underlying *Noi, noi comprare le mele*
- | | |
|------|---------------------------------|
| REF | DNA |
| ESS | DNA |
| N/G | DNA |
| Si-I | <i>Noi, si comprare le mele</i> |
| O-P | DNA |
| P/N | <i>Noi, si compra le mele</i> |
| ESS | DNA |
- 171) underlying *Noi, noi vedere noi ogni tanto*
- | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| REF | <i>Noi, noi ci vedere ogni tanto</i> |
| ESS | DNA |
| N/G | DNA |
| Si-I | <i>Noi, ci si vedere ogni tanto</i> |
| O-P | DNA |
| P/N | <i>Noi, ci si vede ogni tanto</i> |
| ESS | DNA |
- 172) underlying *Pro pettinare i capelli a Pro*
- | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| REF | <i>Pro si pettinare i capelli</i> |
| ESS | DNA |
| N/G | DNA |
| Si-I | <i>Si si pettinare i capelli</i> |
| O-P | DNA |
| P/N | <i>Ci si pettina i capelli</i> |
| ESS | DNA |

(The process by which *si si* goes to *ci si* is not detailed here. See Chapter 6 for the rule of *Ci-ANAL.*)

D) Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that indef. *si* obligatorily replaces an underlying indef. (generic or specific -- depending on the context) plural human Pro in subject position. In many dialects indef. *si* also appears in place of *noi*, optionally. There are many structures which indef. *si* appears in whose syntactic properties do not lend themselves to adequate descriptions without rules of analogy. These properties are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 5

¹Perhaps this rule could better be considered a "spelling out" rule or a "second lexical look up" rule. (See Stockwell, et al., p. 793 for discussion.) I will treat it as a T rule, but either of the other two handlings might work just as well.

²"Normative", as I use it, is defined on p. 321.

³Several of the following facts have been pointed out for Spanish *se* constructions by Contreras (1972) and Schroten (1972). Also, many of these facts have been pointed out for French, although not with regard to indef. constructions, by Kayne (1969) and Perlmutter (1972). I present here this evidence of the clitic nature of *si* since this fact will be referred to in later sections of this chapter.

⁴It is true that pseudo-cleft structures may not be formed with indef. pronouns in general (cf. **Quello che mangia la trippa è qualcuno*. 'He who is eating the tripe is someone.').

Since *si* is usually indef., it may be its indefiniteness rather than its clitic nature which explains (20). However, there is one definite use of *si* (that of *si* used in first person plural constructions) discussed in Section B(vi) below, and that use cannot appear with pseudo-clefting either.

⁵It might seem that the following are counter-examples:

i) *La sento che canta nella doccia.*

'I hear her singing in the shower.'

La vedo che cammina per la strada.

'I see her walking down the street.'

L'ho trovata che lavorava.

'I found her working.'

However, the constructions seen in (i) differ from those seen in (21) above in many ways, one of them being the following:

ii) *La sento cantare nella doccia.*

La vedo camminare per la strada.

**L'ho trovata lavorare.*

**La conosco essere saggia.* (from (21))

Perlmutter (in a course at MIT, spring, 1972) has shown that the *che* of (i) is not a relative pronoun, but a complementizer. His arguments, while based on data from French and Spanish, are valid for Italian. They involve restrictions on tenses, negation, role that the clitic has in the deep structure, conjunction with real relative clauses, pseudo-cleft structures, and several other syntactic properties.

Another apparent counterexample is seen in (iii):

iii) *Eccolo che viene.*

'Here he comes.'

Again this construction does not seem to be one with a relative clause. It may well be similar to the construction of the sentences with verbs of perception in (i). (Examples of this type were brought to my attention by Michael Freeman.)

⁶*Vedo stessa lei* is bad, but not because *stessa* intervenes between the verb and the pronoun. Rather it is out because *stesso* always follows pronouns (cf. **Stesso lui viene*).

⁷*Glielo do* may appear to be a counterexample. However, the *e* here is not a conjunction but a result of morphological rules. Thus the source of *Glielo do* is *Do qualcosa a qualcuno* not **Do qualcosa e a qualcuno*. When one or both of the pronouns is not third person, the *e* does not appear: *Mi ti presentò. Me lo dà.*

⁸Examples of cases of enclitic indef. *si* are discussed in Section C(ii) below.

⁹In Italian surface subjects do not show up with the prepositions *da*, *con*, *a*, *per*, *dopo*, etc. (34) below in the text shows that some subjects are the object of the preposition *di*. However, regardless of what analysis one gives to (34), it is a fact that there are no cases of surface subjects with *da* in Italian. Thus in (30b) *re* cannot be the surface subject.

¹⁰Alternatively I could say that *si* is a clitic inserted when the NP underlying it (the subject *Pro* at the time of *Si-I*) deletes. In this case *si* would be the "marker" for the loss of the subject. I see no relevant differences between saying *si* is a "marker" and *si* is the subject. Thus, instead of introducing the new notion of "marker", I choose to call *si* a clitic subject.

¹¹The parallel between *ne* and *si* fails on at least two major counts. First *ne* may undergo Subject Pronoun Drop (cf. (33c) and (34c)) while *si* may not (cf. *Si mangia* ≠ *Mangia*). Second, *ne* may

appear with a left dislocated subject (cf. *Di contadini, ce ne sono*), while indef. (but not def. *noi*) *si* may not appear with any such phrases (cf. **La gente, si fa così*). (For a discussion of sentences such as *Noi, si fa così*, see Section B(vi) below.)

¹²One could object that **Lui si mangia (la trippa)* is not the proper test. Rather, one might expect *lui* not to appear, but some new indef. nonclitic nominative pronoun. However, there is no such pronoun. Alternatively, one might propose that there is such a pronoun and it is a nonclitic *se* or *si*. Then *si si* or *se si* may be unacceptable since two morphologically identical pronouns may be illegal, thus the first *si/se* would obligatorily undergo Subject Pronoun Drop. Such an adhoc solution is not supported by the other facts of the grammar, however. If *si si* or *se si* is illegal where the first *si/se* is nonclitic, why isn't *Tu ti* of *Tu ti senti bene?* illegal? (Note that there is a constraint against the juxtaposition of two phonologically identical clitics. See Section B(vii) above for a discussion of this constraint. This is not the constraint at issue here, however.) Also, it is shown in Section B(vii) that when *ci ci* comes together, one of the *ci*'s becomes *vi*, but it does not drop. Thus to say Subject Pronoun Drop applies obligatorily to *si si* or *se si* regardless of emphasis, contrast, etc., is adhoc. It would be just as likely that one of the *si*'s would undergo some (morpho)phonological change. Given these facts, I reject the theory that there is a nominative pronoun which has been deleted from indef. *si* sentences for morphophonological reasons.

¹³*Esso* and all its forms are unpopular in Italian today, and *loro* in many varieties of Italian is restricted to animate NP, as was noted in Chapter 4. Thus (35) is strange in many dialects.

¹⁴There is a major objection one might raise to the analysis of *si* as the surface subject, and that is the fact that in all varieties of Italian the finite verb may agree with the full NP in (i) and in some varieties of Italian this agreement is obligatory, regardless of the number of *si*:

i) *Si vende l'ultimo libro di Calvino.*

Si vendono i libri di Calvino.

L'ultimo libro di Calvino si vende qui.

I libri di Calvino si vendono qui.

The facts are discussed in Section C(i), where it is shown that the finite verb in Italian gets its number not from its subject, but from an NP marked for number. How that NP is determined is shown there. *Si* never gives the finite verb its number since *si* has no number. (*Si* is not an NP. It is a clitic subject.)

¹⁵*Il re giudica sé* is grammatical only with a reflexive reading.

¹⁶*Se* and *proprio* are the reflexive nonclitic pronoun and possessive adjective, respectively, for third person in general. These facts are discussed in Section B (iv-d) below. For now, it is important to notice only that (44) gives sentences in which the NP underlying indef. *si* originated in more than one position in the same clause.

¹⁷Examples (52) and (53) are from Casagrande (1967).

¹⁸(54e) does have a grammatical reading; that of referring to more than one pair of scissors. This is not the reading under consideration here.

¹⁹If there were a predicate which allowed only singular subjects and if *si* were not allowed with this predicate, the above argument would be even stronger. I have not yet found such a predicate, however.

²⁰The exclusiveness of (60a), inclusiveness of (60b), and unmarkedness of (60e) have been noted in Spanish by Contreras (1972:47) and Schroten (1972:19).

²¹ *Il Talismano della Felicità*, p. 486.

²²This fact was brought to my attention by Paolo Valesio.

²³There are other differences between these generic subjects which are not directly relevant to this study. However, let me point out one of the more interesting of these. In Italian one uses the first person plural generic to ask and respond to questions about the date:

i) Quanti ne abbiamo? Ne abbiamo quattro.

'What's the date?' 'It's the fourth.'

No other generic subject can be used in these instances, nor can any specific person be used. Thus, in particular, the indef. *si* is not permitted:

ii) **Quanti se ne* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ha?} \\ \text{hanno?} \end{array} \right\}$ **Se ne* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ha} \\ \text{hanno} \end{array} \right\}$ *quattro.*

In French, likewise, one may ask about the date with the first person plural generic (which, unlike Italian, does have the personal pronoun *nous* present since there is no Subject Pronoun Drop in French):

iii) *Quel jour du mois sommes-nous aujourd'hui?*

Nous sommes le huit (août).

As in Italian no specific person may appear in this pattern, thus we don't find:

iv) **Je suis le huit août.*

However, the indefinite *on* may appear as an answer to (iii) and it may also appear in certain formulations of the question:

v) *On est quel jour aujourd'hui?*

On est le huit août.

Nous and *on* are the only human pronoun that can appear in this pattern. (Note that the non-human *ce* can appear: *C'est le huit août.*) Such evidence suggests that indef. *si* of Italian may not share exactly the same semantic range as French *on*. However, this interchangeability of *nous* and *on* in French does have its parallel in Italian, as we see below in Section B(v). (These observations on French are due to Jean Roger Vergnaud and Michael Freeman (both personal communication).)

²⁴Obenauer (1970:45) claims that indef. *se* sentences in French cannot have a "ponctuel" tense. However, Stefanini's (1971) example, (69) below in the text, is a counterexample to Obenauer's claim.

²⁵In substandard Italian one may hear *suo* with indef. *si* (*Si bada alla sua roba*). Why *suo* is heard rather than *loro* when *Pro* is plural is not clear to me. Note that the possessive *loro* is not restricted to definite referents: *A soldati piacciono i loro fucili* ('Soldiers like their guns'). Thus the indefiniteness of *Pro* is not the factor ruling out *loro*.

Also, *proprio* has other uses besides the simple possessive adjective. It may be used with any other possessive adjective for intensifying the fact that the possessor is identical to the subject: *il mio proprio libro* ('my own book'). It may also appear as an intensifier with adjectives: *Il micio è proprio bello* ('The kitten is really beautiful'). These uses are not considered here.

²⁶Note that (75) is just an approximation, showing a pattern I have observed among the various Italians I have questioned. (75) is not to be taken as definitive, since my sampling is not large enough for these claims to be assumed without further research.

²⁷Greenberg (1963) presents evidence that third person singular is the universally unmarked person/number for verbs. In Italian one can defend this position with many facts, one of which is that weather verbs, which offer no evidence of having a subject at any point in the derivation, assume third person singular endings (*Priove, Fa caldo, Nevica*).

²⁸While it was shown in Section B(iv-a) above that *Pro* is plural, I do not assume that *si* has number. It may well be that *si* has no person or number.

²⁹Sentences whose surface subject is clitic *ne* fall into case (2) as to person (cf. **Ce ne siamo due* but *Ce ne sono due di noi*). However, rule (78) may not account for the number of the finite verb with *ne*. I do not propose a rule to handle finite verb number with *ne* since the syntactic behavior of *ne* has not been analyzed so far as I know and cannot be so analyzed within this thesis (see Section B(ii) above). (Note that the presence of *ci* in the example in parentheses above does not affect the person of the verb. If we have *ci* without *ne*, the person of the verb need not be third: *Ci siamo noi* ('There's us').)

³⁰(78) may become simpler if Italian is analyzed as a VSO language (as McCawley (1970) does for English) or as an SOV language (as Ross (1972) does English). That is, cases (1) and (2) fall together under either of these analyses. For example, if we have VSO, then let the verb agree with the first unmarked as to case NP to its right. If a subject is there, we have case (1). If an object is there, we have case (2) (a) or (b). However, the advantage of this analysis is only apparent. We see that such an analysis cannot explain why agreement is obligatory if an acc. NP in an indef. *si* sentence winds up to the left of the verb in surface structure, but optional in many dialects if it winds up to the right, without referring to the "case" or to the deep order of the constituents, which is equivalent to having two cases, as in (78). Also, neither SOV nor VSO can explain why non-third person acc. objects in indef. *si* sentences do not cause person agreement on the finite verb.

³¹This is not entirely accurate. For example, *io e te*, *io e lui*, etc. may in certain instances occur with *si*. Note that in these instances the reference is first person plural. Thus, in non-*si* sentences, a subject including *io* requires a first person plural finite verb (*Io e te ci andiamo spesso*, 'I and you go there often'). The difference between *noi* and *io e te*, for example, is that in the second the members of the set making up *noi* are listed and thus explicit as to the inclusion of the listener, while in the first the members of the set are not listed. Also, these pronouns are not rigidly placed in sentence initial position. There are cases where Subject-Verb Inversion has applied. An example showing both these exceptions simultaneously is:

- i) *Si stava io e lui dietro l'angolo della cabina.*

'We stood I and he behind the corner of the cabin.'

(This is from Moravia's *Agostino* (1955:35). Similar examples in French with *on* were brought to my attention by Michael Freeman.)

³²I have found the sentence *Noi, il cervello si avrà piccino, ma lo sappiamo adoperare* ('As for us, we may have tiny brains, but we know how to use them') in a ditto by Lo Cascio (1972). My informants, while they find this sentence acceptable, do not usually make OBJ-PRP with *noi*. For speakers who do make such preposing with *noi*, I note only that the constraint proposed on OBJ-PRP in Section C(ii) does not hold for them.

³³I have not defended the implicit claim that generic NP may have reference. However, if REF requires reference (as any formulation of this rule that I have ever seen does) then (i) proves that generic NP may have reference:

- i) *A dog doesn't bite himself!*

³⁴My informants from Sicily said that instead of (84) they would say: *Quando ci siamo scritti per molto tempo, siamo molto amici*. Here they are using the generic meaning of the first person plural. They do not, however, belong to variety B; thus they do not allow *si* to be used with the first person plural definite meaning.

³⁵Unlike Spanish, Italian keeps a very clear line between accusatives and datives. As far as I know, N/G *ag* never occurs with dative objects (cf. **Le ho telefonata*).

³⁶While indef. *si* is most often cliticized to the matrix verb, there are cases where it need not be:

- i) *La frase dovrà intendersi così.*

or

- ii) *La frase si dovrà intendere così.*

Such sentences are discussed in Section C(ii).

³⁷It seems to be an idiosyncrasy of *pentirsi* that no locative or existential clitic may appear with it.

³⁸Mario Saltarelli (personal communication) has told me that in his variety of Italian (that spoken in Rome) indef. *si* is unmarked as to inclusion of the speaker (as I argued in Section B(iv-c) above) but *ci si* is strange unless the speaker is included. Thus he, as an Italian, can say:

i) *In Cina si lavora alle fabbriche.*

'In China one works at the factories.'

but he finds strange (ii):

ii) *?In Cina ci si sveglia troppo presto.*

'In China one wakes up too early.'

(ii) would be acceptable to him if spoken by a Chinese person. It may be that there are varieties of Italian which do not allow the combination indef. *si* and clitic reflexive pronoun, although they do allow other third person indef. *si* sentences. Thus for a speaker such as Saltarelli it may be that *ci si* can arise only when *ci* comes from *noi*. What's more, the *noi* his *ci* comes from is the indef. generic first person, since he does not find natural the *noi, si* of definite *si* sentences. (That is, he belongs to Dialect A.)

³⁹Lepschy (1973) has given examples of plural finite verbs with *ci si*. He also gives examples of varying types of N/G ag with *ci si*. None of the Italians I have questioned, however, get the examples of his which are not discussed in this thesis. Thus, I do not know the restrictions operating in these instances.

⁴⁰Hankamer (1973) argues that there are cases of unacceptable ambiguity in language.

⁴¹One may object on the grounds that Italian tolerates the surface inconsistency of number in:

i) *Si e partiti presto.*

where the finite verb is singular and the past participle is plural. Emily Norwood Pope (personal communication) has pointed out that such tolerance is found in English as well:

ii) *When someone raises $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{his} \\ \text{their} \end{array} \right\}$ hand in class, I get so upset!*

However, like Italian, English does not tolerate inconsistency of person:

iii) **When someone raises your hand in class...*

(Note that I do not consider *Everybody raise your hand!* a counterexample, since I accept the usual analysis of imperatives as having second person subjects. Thus *everybody* here is in opposition to *you*.) It appears that person consistency is a more strictly adhered to convention than number consistency, a conclusion

which seems intuitively expected. And the violation of person consistency leads to a lower degree of acceptability than the violation of number consistency.

⁴²While I have credited Langacker with this solution, he is certainly not the only one to fall into the trap of mechanical solutions with respect to indef. *si*. Naro (1968), Contreras (1972) and many others propose similar, if less explicit, hypotheses. (Naro makes a distinction between "passive" and "impersonal". Only for the "passive" does he use such a copy-REF solution.)

⁴³It may, however, more nearly suffice for Portuguese since Italian sentences such as (116a) have no counterpart in Portuguese. No first or second person pronouns may appear in indef. *se* sentences in Portuguese (see Naro (1969)).

⁴⁴After deletion of unspecified *Pro* the *a* of a *Pro* is left stranded. There is a rule which deletes stranded *a* and other stranded prepositions. This rule is needed independently of indef. *si* sentences to account for:

- i) *Do il libro a Maria.* → *Le do il libro a* →
Le do il libro.

⁴⁵The differences between (128a) and (132) can be seen by using the standard test for Equi-NP Del; that is, the effect of Passive on the embedded S. For example, (132):

- (132) *Permetto che Carlo baci la mia sorellina.*

is semantically equivalent to (i):

- i) *Permetto che la mia sorellina sia baciata da Carlo.*

However, (128a):

- (128) a. *Permetto a Carlo di baciare la mia sorellina.*

is not semantically equivalent to (ii):

- ii) *Permetto alla mia sorellina di essere baciata da Carlo.*

The first two sentences, (132) and (i), do not fill the structural description for Equi-NP Del at any point; the second two, (128a) and (ii), do. And (128a) and (ii) do not have the same deep structure.

⁴⁶Note that *Le mele rosse, noi le si compra* is perfectly acceptable. But it arises by way of Left Dislocation from (139c).

Thus it is unrelated to OBJ-PRP.

⁴⁷For an analysis of quantifier floating in French which can be applied to Italian with only minor changes, see Kayne (1969).

⁴⁸I am referring here only to clitics which originate in the same underlying sentence. In (152) below in the text we can see a case of *ti* and *lo* split up. But here they originated in different S's.

⁴⁹From this data one might suspect that the pronoun which is dropping is the nominative one of sentences such as: *Esse si prendono*. However, nominative pronouns cannot occur if the acc. NP is animate, yet the pronoun may still drop in these cases (cf. *Si guardano* from *Le donne si guardano*).

⁵⁰Thus far I have talked about objects "looking like" subjects. By *si* "looking like" the subject, I mean that *si* doesn't look like anything else -- and that no other element in the sentence looks like the subject. For example *si* looks like the matrix subject in (i) just as *Bartolomeo* looks like the matrix subject in (ii). And, according to my analysis, *si* and *Bartolomeo* ARE the subjects of their respective sentences.

i) *Si va a teatro. Si legge/leggono tanti libri.*

ii) *Bartolomeo va a ... Bartolomeo legge tanti libri.*

CHAPTER 6

On Analogy

A. Previous work

Historical linguists have relied upon the notion of analogy to explain grammar changes which were not phonologically based but rather seemed to occur in order to establish (or maintain) paradigmatic regularity. As King (1969:127) says, "Sound change takes place, pattern irregularities may arise; analogy tends to regularize the results."

Few modern linguists, however, have considered seriously the implications of analogy upon syntax. Chomsky (1970:193-194) presents an idea which involves essentially some notion of analogy when he compares the two nominals:

- 1) a. *his criticizing the book before he read it*
b. *his criticism of the book before he read it*

(1a) is "directly generated by the grammar" and is acceptable to all speakers of English. (1b), however, is unacceptable to most speakers (according to Chomsky) and for those speakers who accept (1b) there must be a process in their grammar by which (1b) is "derivatively generated" from (1a). Chomsky does not elaborate upon what this process might be.

Hankamer (1972) picks up where Chomsky leaves off, laying the ground work for a rigorous theory of analogy in syntax. Hankamer's analysis involves data about Turkish time adverbials. He shows that when the sequence DIK + POSS NP arises in a relative clause structure in an environment which, in another derivation, allows certain time adverbials, the sequence may be reanalyzed by analogy as an adverbial suffix for the purpose of all later syntactic rules. He then proceeds to give examples of syntactic phenomena in English, French, and Spanish¹ which may be analyzed fruitfully with his proposed process of analogy.

Building on this work, we arrive at a particular notion of analogy. There seem to be analogical rules in natural languages which allow differing deep structures to produce identical surface structures by one structure "pretending"² to be the other. In this chapter it is shown that several properties of the *indef. si* construction in Italian are best analyzed by such analogical rules.

B) Instances of Analogy in Indef. *Si* Sentences(i) *Ci si* for *Si si*

We have seen that definite *si* sentences, when reflexive or inchoative, appear with *ci si*:

2) (Noi,) *ci si vede ogni tanto.*

(Noi,) *ci si sveglia di buon'ora.*

'We see each other every now and then.'

'We wake up early.'

The *ci* of (2) arises by way of REF as the first person plural clitic reflexive pronoun; the *si* arises by way of *Si-I*.

Likewise, indef. *si* sentences, when reflexive or inchoative appear with *ci si*:

3) *Ci si avvicina al mare.*

'One goes near the sea.'

Ci si sveglia di buon'ora.

'One wakes up early.'

Here again the *si* arises by way of *Si-I*. But the *ci* is unexplained. We expect *si si* instead of *ci si* since REF acting upon Pro should yield *si*, the third person clitic reflexive pronoun. However, we know (see Chapter 5 Section B (vii)) that two phonologically identical clitics cannot appear together in Italian. Thus we expect *si si* to change somehow. In fact, *si si* changes to *ci si*, and it does so in a very similar environment to that in which *ci si* is directly generated by REF and *Si-I* in (2). The change of *si si* to *ci si* may be adequately described by a rule of analogy, let us call it *Ci-ANAL*. Consider the derivations of the second sentences of (2) and (3):

4) underlying: *Noi, Δ svegliare noi di buon'ora*

a. COPY *Noi, noi svegliare noi di buon'ora*

b. REF *Noi, noi ci svegliare di buon'ora*

c. *Si-I* *Noi, ci si svegliare di buon'ora*

d. *Ci-ANAL* DNA

e. P/N *Noi, ci si sveglia di buon'ora*

- underlying: Δ svegliare Pro di buon'ora
- a. COPY Pro svegliare Pro di buon'ora
 - b. REF Pro si svegliare di buon'ora
 - c. Si-I Si si svegliare di buon'ora
 - d. Ci-ANAL Ci si svegliare di buon'ora
 - e. P/N Ci si sveglia di buon'ora.

In (4c) we find that the definite and indef. *si* sentences differ only by the fact that the first has an initial *noi* and the second has the illegal sequence *si si* instead of *ci si*. At this point *Ci-ANAL* takes place converting the illegal *si si* into *ci si* on analogy with the definite *si* sentence.

I see no alternative to *Ci-ANAL* which is not ad hoc.

(ii) Case Assignment of Pronouns

It has been noted that indef. *si* sentences and middle voice sentences often have the same surface form. Thus (5a) and (5b) are ambiguous, as the English glosses indicate:

- 5) a. *Le porte si aprirano.*
(middle) 'The doors opened.'³
- b. *Si aprirano le porte.*
(indef.) 'One opened the doors.'

(5a) out of context is more readily understood as middle voice. However, given the proper circumstances, it can be understood as having the Pro (or *noi*) agent underlying indef. (or definite) *si*. On the other hand, (5b) is most readily understood as an indef. (or def.) *si* sentence. However, given the proper context, it can be read as a middle voice sentence.

The major test used in Chapters 3 and 4 to distinguish middle voice from indef. *si* was pronominalization. Under a middle voice reading *le porte* pronominalizes as *esse* or *loro* and under an indef. *si* reading *le porte* pronominalizes as *le*. *Esse/loro* is nominative; *le* is acc. Accordingly, *le porte* is the surface subject of the middle voice sentence while it is the surface object of the indef. *si* sentence. However, certain speakers allow *esse/loro* to replace *le porte* in both middle voice and indef. *si* sentences when there is no syntactic element present making it clear that the construction must be indef. (such as adverbs and purpose clauses dis-

cussed in Chapter 4 Section D (i)). It seems that when the surface object of a transitive indef. *si* sentence appears in the same environment it would have as the surface subject of a middle voice sentence and when that object is inanimate, it may be treated as the subject of the indef. *si* sentence with regard to pronominalization. Let us examine the derivations of (5a) in both of its meanings:

6) (i) Middle Voice

underlying: Δ *aprire le porte*

a. COPY *Le porte aprire le porte*

b. REF *Le porte si aprire*

c. Pronom. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Esse} \\ \text{Loro} \end{array} \right\}$ *si aprire*

d. P/N *Esse/Loro si aprirono.*

(ii) Indefinite *si*

underlying: *Pro aprire le porte*

a. *Si-l* *Si aprire le porte*

b. OBJ-PRP *Le porte si aprire*

c. Pronom. *Esse/Loro/Le si aprire^h*

d. P/N *Esse/Loro si aprirono.*

(or *Le si {apri. aprirono.}*)

In lines (6b) above, we see that the middle voice and indefinite *si* sentences look exactly the same. At this point *le porte* of the indef. *si* sentence may become reanalyzed upon analogy with *le porte* of the middle voice sentence as the surface subject. Thus *le porte* may be pronominalized as *esse/loro*, even though a continuous derivation, not interrupted by analogical processes, would generate *le*. The fact that all dialects allow *le*, and only some allow *esse/loro* means that the analogy here is an optional rule of the grammar of only those speakers allowing *esse/loro*.

There are two interesting facts to note about this particular analogy rule, let us call it Pro-ANAL. First, Pro-ANAL does not apply when the object of an indef. *si* sentence is animate, as was noted above in Chapters 4 and 5. For example, consider the three-

ways ambiguous sentence:

- 7) *Le donne si svegliano di buon'ora.*
 (reciprocal) 'The women wake each other early.'
 (incho) 'The women wake up early.'
 (indef. *si*) 'One wakes the women up early.'

(To get the indef. *si* reading, one needs a "normative" context, such as orders given to a maid.)

The pronominalized versions of (7) are:

- 8) a. (recip) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Loro} \end{array} \right\} \text{si svegliano di buon'ora.}$
 b. (incho) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Loro} \end{array} \right\}$
 c. (indef) *Le si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sveglia} \\ \text{svegliano} \end{array} \right\} \text{di buon'ora.}$

Why (8c) rejects *loro* while (6(ii)) accepts it is not clear to me.⁵

Second, there are certain indef. *si* sentences which appear to have no middle voice counterparts, such as:

- 9) a. *Le macchine si prendono.*
Si prendono le macchine.
 'One takes cars.'
 b. *Le code non si toccano mai.*
Non si toccano mai le code.
 'One never touches tails (of animals).'

In such sentences, the option of *esse/loro* as well as *le* still appears:

- 10) a. *Esse/Loro si prendono.*
 b. *Esse/Loro non si toccano mai.*

If analogy is to account for (10) it will have to be a two step process. (9) is syntactically parallel to the indefinite *si* reading of (5a). Thus, it has the same derivation shown for the indef. *si* reading in (6(ii)). After OBJ-PRP (9) has the structure:

- 11) *Le macchine si prendere.*
Le code non si toccare mai.

At this point (11), under analogy with (6(ii)), may reinterpret

le macchine and *le code* as surface subjects. Thus, Pro-ANAL may be said to have the property of transitivity. That is, (11) is parallel to (6(ii)) which is parallel to (6(i)) in constituents. Hence, (11) can appear with a nominative pronoun on analogy with (6(ii)), which allows a nominative pronoun on analogy with (6(i)).

There is another possible explanation for the data presented here which does not involve analogy. It may be that the rule of Case Assignment occurs before OBJ-PRP. In fact, since N/G precedes OBJ-PRP and N/G refers to cases (acc. and nominative) we would expect this ordering. Then, in all dialects the object of a transitive active indef. *si* sentence would be assigned acc. case, thus all dialects would yield *le* for (9). However, in some dialects, this object may optionally be assigned nominative case, yielding *esse/loro* for (9).

There are at least two wrinkles in this Case Assignment analysis. When the NP is not third person, it may be pronominalized only as acc., regardless of the dialect:

- 12) $\begin{Bmatrix} Vi \\ *Voi \end{Bmatrix}$ *si guarda dalla finestra.*

**Voi si guardate dalla finestra.*
'One watches you from the window.'

Under the Case Assignment analysis, (12) is an unexplained phenomenon. However, with the rule Pro-ANAL (12) is explained, since *vi/voi* will never appear with *si* in a middle voice sentence, thus no analogy will take place.

Second, *esse/loro* cannot appear in (5) if a purpose clause or a manner adverbial implying the presence of a deep agent (see Chapter 4, Section D (i)) is present. Thus we find:

**Esse/*Loro si aprirono* $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{per spaventare Carla.} \\ \text{deliberatamente.} \end{Bmatrix}$

but: *Le si aprì* $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{per spaventare Carla.} \\ \text{deliberatamente.} \end{Bmatrix}$

Accordingly, with middle voice sentences we don't get such purpose clauses or manner adverbs due to the lack of a deep agent. Therefore analogy cannot take place and *esse/loro* cannot appear in the indef. *si* sentence. The case assignment analysis cannot explain these facts.

(iii) N/G and P/N Agreement

In indefinite *si* sentences we saw in Chapter 5 Section C (ii) that if and only if N/G ag occurs between the past participle and a full NP acc. object, number ag. between the finite verb and the acc. object also takes place. Thus we find the following pattern:

13) N/G implies P/N a. *Si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sono} \\ *e \end{array} \right\}$ *notate le donne.*

P/N implies N/G b. *Si sono* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{notate} \\ *notato \end{array} \right\}$ *le donne.*

No N/G and no P/N c. *Si è notato le donne.*

(Recall that the sentence (13c) is grammatical only in certain dialects.)

And when the acc. object precedes the V due to OBJ-PRP, N/G always occurs. Therefore, P/N does also:

13) d. *Le donne si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sono notate.} \\ *e \quad \text{notate} \\ *e \quad \text{notato} \\ *sono notato} \end{array} \right\}$

There are at least two ways not involving analogy to describe the facts presented in (13): with a global rule or with a rule involving features. The global rules would say that P/N Ag in indef. *si* sentences makes number accord between a full NP acc. object and the finite verb obligatorily whenever N/G ag has previously occurred between that object and the past participle.

Alternatively, the feature conditioned rule would say that P/N makes accord between the V and a full NP acc. object if and only if the past participle and the full NP acc. object are both marked [$\&\text{number}$, $\&\text{gender}$].

Both analyses must say that P/N makes accord optionally or obligatorily (depending on the dialect) in the absence of a past participle. I am not here concerned with the merits of one analysis over the other.

In definite *si* sentences, however, the situation is distinct in ways that make either of the above analyses useless. Number accord between the V and the acc. object never occurs, and N/G agreement between the past participle and a full NP acc. object as in

(14a) occurs rarely, with the same frequency and acceptability as the N/G ag seen in (14b):

- 14) a. *Noi, si è* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{notato} \\ \text{[rarer] notate} \end{array} \right\}$ *le donne.*
 b. *Io ho* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{visto} \\ \text{[rarer] viste} \end{array} \right\}$ *le donne.*

We find, then, that (15) displays a constraint on P/N ag:

- 15) *Noi, si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{è notato} \\ \text{*sono notate} \\ \text{*sono notato} \end{array} \right\}$ *le donne.*

One can describe the facts presented in (14a) and (15) by writing P/N ag in such a way that the presence of a sentence initial *noi*, (that is, *noi* followed by a pause) requires the verb to be singular. Such an ad hoc rule, however, fails both to explain what is actually happening in (14a) and (15) and to relate the P/N facts to the N/G facts. We see in (14) and (15) that N/G applies with definite *si* just as it does with all "regular" subjects, that is, with all subjects other than indef. *si*.

Instead, one can describe all the above facts presented in (13) through (15) by an analogical rule, let us call it N-ANAL. When a full NP acc. object in a sentence having undergone *Si-I* occurs in the same environment it would occur in as the subject of a middle voice sentence, the finite verb agrees with that object in number, just as it would with the subject in the middle voice sentence. N-ANAL adequately explains the lack of number ag between V and object in (14a) and (15) since no middle voice sentence will have initial *noi*, as well as *si*. Likewise, it explains the lack of such number ag in (16), since *ci si* will never occur in a middle voice sentence:

- 16) *Ci si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pettina} \\ \text{*pettinano} \end{array} \right\}$ *i capelli.*

(Recall that the starred sentence of (16) is grammatical for a minority of speakers.⁶⁾

Like Pro-ANAL, N-ANAL is "transitive"; that is, it applies even when a given indef. *si* sentence has no middle voice counterpart:

- 17) *Le aragoste si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mangiano.} \\ \text{*mangia.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'One eats lobsters.'

Along with N-ANAL goes a parallel analogical rule determining N/G ag between the past participle and a full NP acc. object, let us call it N/G-ANAL. When such an object occurs in the same environment it would have as the subject of a middle voice sentence, the past participle makes N/G ag with this object, just as it would with the subject in the middle voice sentence. Notice that the "same environment" here must be loosely enough evaluated that the composite tense auxiliaries *essere* (in the middle voice construction) and *avere* (in the indef. *si* construction at the time of N/G ag) are considered the "same".

Given the two rules N-ANAL and N/G-ANAL one can account for all the data presented here. However, there is one variation remaining to be explained.

- 18) a. *Le si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'è} \\ \text{sono} \end{array} \right\}$ *mangiate.*
 b.

(18a) presents no new problems. If objects pronominalize before N/G (see fn. 4 above), then the past participle in (18a) obligatorily agrees with the preceding accusative object *le*. The verb becomes singular since N-ANAL will not apply (given that no middle voice sentence will have *le si*). (18b), however, is a problem. For the majority of Italian speakers (18b) is ungrammatical. However, for some it is grammatical. It appears that in these dialects, the accusative object of an indefinite *si* sentence either undergoes pronominalization after N/G-ANAL and N-ANAL have applied, or else there is a special rule allowing number agreement between the finite verb and an accusative clitic. The second alternative is very strange and the first is not much better. I note only that (18b) presents problems to any analysis of indefinite *si* structures, not just to the one given in this thesis.

N/G-ANAL and N-ANAL predict that if the accusative object is not third person, agreement of N/G and number, respectively, will not be made with a full NP accusative object. This is precisely the case:

- 19) *Si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{giudica} \\ \text{*guidicano} \\ \text{'è giudicati} \\ \text{*sono giudicati} \end{array} \right\}$ *colpevoli voi operai.*
 'One $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{judges} \\ \text{has judged} \end{array} \right\}$ guilty you workers.'

(Those speakers who have obligatory number agreement between the finite verb and an acc. third person full NP object reject all the sentences of (19)).

Likewise, those dialects for which (18b) is grammatical do not make number agreement between a non-third person accusative clitic and the verb:

- 20) *Vi si* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{giudica} \\ * \text{giudicano} \end{array} \right\}$ *colpevoli.*
 'One judges you guilty.'

(19) and (20) are explained since *vi si* and *si...voi* will never appear in middle voice constructions, thus N/G-ANAL and N-ANAL will never apply.

(iv) Subject Pronoun Drop

We have seen (in Chapter 5 Section C (ii) examples (156) - (159)) that indefinite *si* sentences may undergo Subject Pronoun Drop, dropping the pronoun which replaces the accusative object:

- 21) *Si mangiano aragoste in Italia?*
 'Does one eat lobsters in Italy?'

Sì, si mangiano.
 'Yes, one eats (them).'

Normally only nominative, not accusative, pronouns may be dropped in Italian. However, while (21) may perhaps be explained by claiming *aragoste* is pronominalized as a nominative which is then dropped, such an explanation will not do for (22):

- 22) *Si guardano donne in Italia?*
 'Does one watch women in Italy?'

Sì, si guardano.
 'Yes, one watches (them).'

Donne, being animate, can be pronominalized only as an accusative in (22). Yet it still may drop.

While the rule Subject Pronoun Drop has been mentioned several times in this thesis, I have not presented and do not know of any evidence which shows that the rule must refer to the case of the pronoun that is to be dropped. If the rule drops any pronoun replacing the subject, then (21) and (22) are explained as long as the accusative object is taken to be the subject for this rule. Here again an analogical rule serves us. In exactly the same environment for N/G-ANAL and N-ANAL, SPD-ANAL (Subject Pronoun Drop-ANAL) applies, yielding (21) and (22).

(v) OBJ-PRP

We saw in Chapter 5 Section C (ii) that OBJ-PRP is blocked by the presence of *noi* for many speakers and by adjectives for some speakers:

23) *Noi, si compra le mele.*

**Noi, le mele si comprano.*⁷

**Noi, le mele si compra.*

'As for us, we buy apples.'

24) *Si cantano le canzoni tutti insieme.*

?*Le canzoni si cantano tutti insieme.*

'We sing the songs all together.'

Also, when *ci si* is present, OBJ-PRP is blocked:

25) a. *Ci si pettina i capelli.*

b. **I capelli ci si* { *pettina.*
 pettinano. }

(The acceptability of the first sentence of (25b) is the same as that of *I capelli mi pettino* 'My hair I comb'. That is, it is only acceptable when generated by some rule other than OBJ-PRP.)

Looking at these three environments, we note a common factor: in none of them does the accusative object look like the subject. Another way to say this is to note that none of these accusative objects will appear in the same environments seen in (23) through (25) in middle voice constructions. The *noi, si* and *ci si* combinations are never generated in middle voice sentences. And the lack of N/G concord between *le canzoni* and *tutti* shows that they will never appear together in a middle voice sentence. In fact, if an adjective and the accusative NP agree in N/G then OBJ-PRP is permitted, but the original potentially ambiguous sentence is not likely to be ambiguous after OBJ-PRP:

26) a. *Si cantano gli inni tutti insieme.*

'One sings the hymns all together.'

'Everyone together sings the hymns.'

b. *Gli inni si cantano tutti insieme.*

'One sings the hymns all together.'

(26a) is ambiguous, with *tutti* modifying *inni* or Pro. (26b) has only one immediate grammatical reading, that in which *tutti* modifies *inni*.⁸

Thus, OBJ-PRP itself is an analogical rule. A full NP accusative object of an indefinite *si* sentence may prepose only if there is a corresponding sentence involving REF in which it is the subject.

(vi) *Si*-LOWERING

In Chapter 5 Section C (ii) we saw that indefinite *si* could lower, that is, cliticize to a verb lower than the matrix verb in a reduced⁹ complement, precisely when that *si* structure has undergone OBJ-PRP:

27) *La frase deve intendersi così.*

'The sentence must be understood thus.'

The effect of OBJ-PRP is to make the accusative object look like the subject and the indefinite *si* look like the third person reflexive pronoun. In other words, *Si*-LOWERING may apply whenever *si* appears in an environment in which in another derivation involving REF it may cliticize either to the lower or the higher verb(s). Thus, *Si*-LOWERING is one more analogical rule.

(vii) Summary

(ii) through (vi) are all cases of analogy of indefinite *si* structures to corresponding structures employing REF. Actually, cases (ii) through (v) are so similar that these cases might be collapsed by a rule which says: a full accusative NP appearing in an environment in which, in another derivation involving REF, this same NP is a subject, is treated as a subject for Pronominalization, N/G, P/N, Subject Pronoun Drop, and order of constituents (that is, for all rules moving an NP into subject position, such as OBJ-PRP). The only condition here is that for pronominalization the accusative NP must be inanimate. Thus there would then be only three discrete cases of analogy, (i), (ii) - (v), and (vi).¹⁰

C. The Source of *Si*

Listed above are (at least) three cases which appear to be best described by analogical rules. All these cases involve the indefinite or definite *si* structure. There still remains to be explored the greatest mystery of this structure: the source of *si*.

We saw in Chapter 5 Section C (i) how various linguists have proposed mechanical analyses to derive this *si* by way of REF. All these analyses fail for Italian. Still the fact that *si* is phonolog-

ically identical to the third person reflexive clitic leads one to want to find some common link between indef. *si* sentences and sentences employing REF. There IS such a link. In Chapter 1 we saw that reflexive and passive constructions in early Romance were closely associated. We know that today in dialects of Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and in standard Rumanian agent phrases may appear with the *si* construction. These facts insistently suggest that at some point the *si* construction was an alternative to the regular passive, and that this construction may have involved REF, perhaps because of copies. Still, it is a fact that today in the grammar of any speaker of standard Italian, indef. *si* is distinct from the clitic resulting from REF. Thus a reanalysis of this construction has taken place. The source of modern *si*, then, is as distinct from reflexive *si* as, for example, *chez* in French is from CASA(M) in Latin. The link is there, but the modern speaker no longer has this link built into his grammar.

D. Conclusion

In this thesis I have analyzed the most common structures a clitic *si* appears in. I have proposed two transformational sources for *si*: REFLEXIVE and *si*-INSERTION. REF operates on reflexive, reciprocal, and inchoative and other middle voice constructions; *Si*-I applies to structures which have an underlying *noi* subject or Pro subject.

It has been shown that the two *si*'s of Italian, that generated by REF and that generated by *Si*-I, are syntactically and semantically distinct today, although diachronically they may have the same source. However, there are many instances in which a sentence with indef. *si* may be superficially identical to a sentence with reflexive *si*. In these instances, the speaker may treat the indef. *si* sentence as he would a reflexive *si* sentence. Rules of analogy have been proposed to account for such cases.

It is important to note that proposing rules of analogy is not merely a way of explaining these particular facts of Italian. The theory of analogy claims that at a certain point superficial similarities are more important to the speaker than deeper structural configurations. And this claim is, hopefully, not restricted to Italian. In the search for linguistic universals, the student of language is interested not in particular properties of Italian, Spanish, or any given language, but in principles which can account for these properties in some organized manner. Analogy offers a systematic explanation of otherwise baffling complexities.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 6

- ¹ The Spanish data he presents, if it is correct, may be explained by global rules, as well.
- ² The term "pretend" applied to such analogical processes is due to Postal (1971: MIT Lecture Series) and Perlmutter (forthcoming).
- ³ The sentence *Si aprì le porte* is, of course, acceptable in many dialects, but only as an indef. *si* sentence. Under Pronominalization, in these dialects we find *Le si aprì* and never **Esse/*Loro si aprì*.
- ⁴ Exactly where Pronominalization is ordered is not clear (see the opening of Chapter 2 for references to many works on Pronominalization). It may be that objects pronominalize by a cyclic rule ordered before N/G ag and that subjects pronominalize by a non-cyclic rule ordered after OBJ-PRP but before P/N. However, the rules of pronominalization are by no means understood by me and I do not support these proposals here.
- ⁵ The key here may lie in the fact that regular reflexive sentences usually have animate subjects. Thus an animate third person pronoun with *si* is more likely to be understood as the subject of a reflexive construction, while an inanimate third person pronoun with *si* is more likely to be understood as the "pretend" subject (or the real object) of an indef. *si* construction. It may be, then, that restrictions on ambiguity block animate objects in indef. *si* sentences from being pronominalized as nominals.
- ⁶ See fn. 36¹ of Chapter 5. For the speakers who allow the starred sentence of (16), this constraint on N-ANAL does not hold.
- ⁷ See fn. 29 of Chapter 5.
- ⁸ One way to test the fact that (26a) is ambiguous but (26b), for those speakers who question (24) with OBJ-PRP, is less likely to be ambiguous is with the following frame:

i) *Si cantarono gli inni tutti insieme, di modo che non
potevo distinguere fra le altre la voce di mio fratello.*

*Si cantarono gli inni tutti insieme, di modo che non
potevo distinguere fra gli altri il mio inno favorito*

'They sang the hymns altogether so that I was not able to distinguish the voice of my brother among the others.'

'They sang the hymns all together so that I was not able to distinguish my favorite hymn amid the others.'

ii) ?*Gli inni si cantarono tutti insieme, di modo che non potevo distinguere fra le altre la voce di mio fratello.*

Gli inni si cantarono tutti insieme di modo che non potevo distinguere fra gli altri il mio inno favorito.

In (ii) the questioned sentence is the one where OBJ-PRP has applied and *tutti insieme* refers to the deep agent.

⁹ By "reduced complement" I mean any complement whose subject has been removed, either by Equi-NP DEL or by Raising.

¹⁰ Note that all the rules of analogy discussed here apply after *Si-I*, since it is only after *si* has been inserted that the structure is similar to that of sentences where REF has applied. Also, notice that the rule ESSERE may be applying with indef. *si* on analogy with sentences with clitics arising by way of REF. Thus, one could say there is another analogical rule, ESS-ANAL.

This removes the need of calling ESSERE an anywhere rule.

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