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Reflexive, Impersonal, and Passive in Italian and Florentine
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Reflexive, Impersonal, and Passive are three verbal categories which have always been in close relationship to each other in the Italian linguistic area, from the Latin desinence -tur to the modern Italian pronoun si.

It is not an easy task to follow and distinguish these functions in the interplay of their diachronic development, especially because these changes had already occurred by the time a continuous written documentation began (after the start of the 13th century). Such an analysis is nonetheless a very interesting exercise, from a theoretical point of view as well, since it reveals a state of affairs which is not logical, not economical, and not even "healthy" (one might indeed label it pathologique, extending a well-known concept applied by J. Gilliéron and his school to homophony as a disease of the lexicon). The fact remains, however, that speakers have always seemed perfectly at ease with this situation.

The broad trajectory of this Romance morpheme (se/si) begins to develop in classical and post-classical Latin and clearly has its origin in the proper and literal Reflexive: Marcus se lavat, i.e. "Marcus washes (himself)" (Tekavčić, 1978, 1120).¹ The proper (or semantic) Reflexive was already inclined to extend itself to an improper (or morphological) Reflexive through a process of metaphorical and analogical generalization, which kept producing phrases that were more and more grammaticalized, i.e. no longer perceived in terms of their syntactic and semantic etymology (Marco si lava → il cielo si oscura ["the sky gets cloudy"] → il malato si lamenta ["the sick man complains"]).² Such a process of spontaneous grammaticalization was also furthered in Latin by the constant presence of the Greek Middle, not only on the literary level but also in the speech of the numerous bilingual communities. The Greek Middle was in fact rendered into Latin either by the Passive or by the Reflexive (movetur/se movet ["it moves"], urbs vocatur/se vocat ["the city is called"]).³ One should immediately note, on the other hand, that a process of this kind permits the coexistence of successive phases or "generations," whose age and genealogy remain, on the surface, perfectly hidden. Thus, not only do misunderstandings or puns of the following type become possible ("Come ti chiami?" "Io non mi chiamo, mi chiamano gli altri"),⁴ but many reflexive forms preserve quite a wide range of applications, so that even when they appear specialized in a role that one would not hesitate to call purely grammatical (Reflexive deponent), they can be brought back to a previous level of meaning by nothing more than a particular syntactic context or a mere shift in style, which is enough to reactivate their transitivity and restore to them a more analytical and etymological meaning (Reflexive proper). The cases that are truly irreversible, including

the Reflexives that were intransitive from the beginning (see above, note 2), are by contrast quite few.⁵ The majority of Reflexives are in fact verbs like alzarsi ("to get up") vs. alzare ("to lift"--something or someone or even oneself), spaventarsi ("to get frightened") vs. spaventare ("to frighten"--someone or even oneself), etc., down to those instances in which a reflexive object is as fortuitous as any other (pronoun) (vendersi ["to sell oneself"], coprirsi ["to cover oneself"] etc.), and do not entail any semantic specialization.⁶

Italian did not seize the opportunity, which for a time was available to it, of separating once and for all the Impersonal from the Reflexive by means of the active construction based on an indefinite subject pronoun: on/(u)om(o), Lat. homo (Fr. on; cf. Ger. man), or uno (cf. Eng. one). In the language of the 13th and 14th centuries we have numerous examples of this alternative, doubtless backed by French literary and linguistic influence;⁷ but the experiment was unsuccessful, and the reflexive morpheme (si) was eventually fully reaffirmed in its impersonal function as well.⁸ This was, after all, a primary capacity of Lat. -tur, and its proto-Romance substitute (si) could hardly refuse this legacy. In some old reflexive phrases--already recorded in Latin (esp. Late or Vulgar Latin)--as urbs se vocat for urbs vocatur), se rumpere (for rupi ["to be/get broken"]), or mela servare se possunt (instead of servari possunt "they can be preserved"), a (medio-)passive meaning seems to have developed (by analogy) through direct contact with the original (medio-) reflexive value (Marcus se lavat/lavatur; see above, note 3), but the "passivizing" si, so common and so vital in contemporary Italian, derives (by transformation and not merely by analogy) from the intermediate impersonal function, and hence goes back only indirectly to the initial reflexive meaning. In spite of its vitality, however, the passive of impersonal (and ultimately reflexive) origin could not be extended to the entire paradigm; it remains limited, in fact, to the third person, preferably non-animate, precisely in order not to interfere with the reflexive use and interpretation of this syntactic pattern (coexistence of successive phases and functions; see above), and it often needs, again in order to be safely distinguished from the Reflexive, to be supported and confirmed by word order or by sentence intonation.⁹ The passive meaning of the si-phrase can be subjected to all these restrictions of morphological, syntactic and semantic nature, because in Italian the Passive of reflexive origin is a secondary Passive, at least with respect to the legitimate passive conjugation, even if, in the third person, it is now used much more than the corresponding legitimate passive forms, especially in the compound tenses.¹⁰

In our attempt to establish the elusive boundary between impersonal value and passive function, we shall keep in mind both standard Italian and Florentine dialect, whose constructions are particularly well developed and revealing in this domain. First of all we must note that in Florentine the use of the Impersonal appears to be expanded and also stylistically lowered;

in fact, it substitutes for the first person plural in every mood and tense, in the Active as well as the Reflexive and Passive.¹¹ Remnants of the first person plural exist in a few basic verbs, limited however to the present subjunctive in its hortative function (Engl. let's...).¹² Only sèmo or sèmo (It. siamo, "we are") continues to serve as the first person plural of the present indicative, in addition to those rare cases where it can be used as the hortative subjunctive (let's be + predicate).¹³

When the Impersonal is limited to intransitive verbs (It. si corre, si mangia ["one runs," "one eats"]; Flor. a Roma e' si mangia bene ["in Rome one eats well"], [noi] e' si va ["we go"], etc.), everything is in order and no pressure for change is exerted. When, however, we want the impersonal form of a transitive verb governing a direct object, the situation is bound to change. First, the deletion of the subject underscores by necessity the relationship between transitive action and the object acted upon, thereby giving the impersonal construction a passive shade. In standard Italian, this shift in meaning is indicated and at the same time enhanced on the morpho-syntactic level by means of a change of considerable consequence, i.e. the verb tends to agree with the following object: si è evitato una tragedia (standard It. as spoken in Florence; "a tragedy was avoided") → si è evitata una tragedia (standard Italian); qui e' si legge troppi libri (Florentine) → qui si leggono troppi libri (standard Italian), etc. Yielding to this logical or ad sensum agreement, the verb belies both its impersonal and transitive roles and tries to derive the passive subject it now needs from its direct object. The picture widens if we go on to consider those phrases whose direct object is represented by a clitic personal pronoun. In standard Italian, ci si accusa ("people [they] accuse us") is a rhetorical and literary utterance, in which the Impersonal (si accusa) is preceded by a pronominal object (ci, "us"),¹⁴ cf. also mi/ti/vi si accusa ("people/they accuse me/you [all]"). In Florentine, however, this same expression ([e'] ci s'accusa) can only mean "we accuse ourselves" (Reflexive, first person plural), and is stylistically unmarked; cf. also e' ti/vi s'accusa "we (are going to) accuse you (all)".¹⁵ Mutual translations from Italian to Florentine and vice versa would lead to Fl. e' ci/v'accusano (for It. ci/vi si accusa) and It. ci/vi accusiamo (for Fl. e' ci/vi s'accusa). With the third person, the clitic pronominal forms suddenly multiply, in order to provide the required distinctions of number, gender and case (direct vs. indirect object). So Italian has, again in its formal style, lo/la/li/le si mangia/vede ("one eats/sees it/them" [m. or f.]); here the pronoun object precedes, and there is no agreement of the verb with the plural object pronouns li and le. In Florentine, the corresponding phrases have taken firm root in the (personal) verbal paradigm: the Impersonal is used for first person plural.¹⁶ The Florentine examples appear quite surprising in comparison with Italian: (noi) e' si mangia (noi)

("we eat it" [m. sing.] vs. It. lo si mangia), (noi) e' si mangian (noi) ("we eat them" [m. pl.] vs. It. li si mangia), (noi) la si mangia (noi) ("we eat it" [f. sing.] vs. It. la si mangia), (noi) le si mangian (noi) ("we eat them" [f. pl.] vs. It. le si mangia).¹⁷ The basic difference between the two sets (Italian vs. Florentine) lies in the fact that the clitic pronouns of the Italian phrases are still direct objects (i.e. complement pronouns), while in the Florentine sequence they are undoubtedly subject pronouns: e' "he/it," "they" (m. pl.); la "she" (also "her"); le "they" (f. pl.; also "them" [f. pl.]). In Florentine, as we have seen, a following plural object is not sufficient reason to change an impersonal verb from singular to plural, and in this Florentine differs from standard Italian (Flor. e' si mangia le pesche vs. It. si mangiano le pesche ["one eats the peaches"]). On the other hand, as soon as a plural object precedes--be it only a clitic pronoun--Florentine, in contrast with the immobility of Standard, transforms the preceding object into a subject and the active Impersonal into a personal (medio-)Passive (e' si mangiano vs. It. li si mangia), even if the Impersonal was itself a substitute for an active first person plural form.¹⁸ With (noi) e' ci/vi s'accusa (It. [noi] ci/vi accusiamo "we [are going to] accuse ourselves/you [all]"), nothing changes (cf. instead, [noi] e'/le s'accusano, It. [noi] li/le accusiamo "we [are going to] accuse them") precisely because ci and vi are not real plural forms (in spite of the conventional terminology, we is not a real plural of I, nor is ye a real plural of thou).¹⁹ Structurally, as well as diachronically, we have to postulate an intermediate stage between the archaic situation represented by the standard language and the modern Florentine data (see above). This intermediate pattern must have been the following: lo si mangia/la si mangia; e' si mangiano/le si mangiano. The shift from the transitive Impersonal to the personal Passive, in fact, took place in the plural only, i.e. where the impersonal verb was preceded by a plural object pronoun. Remember, however, that, in the singular, the Florentine feminine form la is the clitic object and the clitic subject as well. Thus, in the presence of le si mangiano/e' si mangiano, the object la was easily reinterpreted as a subject; lo, on the other hand, being exclusively a clitic object, was exposed to the combined pressure of the other three forms and had to yield to its corresponding subject form (e'/gli).²⁰ The impersonal lo si vede and la si vede, in a less formal style, tend to lose the initial pronouns, turning into passive forms whose singular subject remains understood (Italian does not possess a set of proclitic subject-pronouns), i.e. easily suggested by the context. Li si vede/le si vede may show an initial move toward the passive reinterpretation by means of plural agreement of the verb (li si vedono/le si vedono)--which, from a grammatical point of view, is a rather odd compromise, since li and le remain irremediably "accusative"--but then the situation is rectified by the dropping of the object pronouns: si vedono (again, a personal passive form with subject understood). We may conclude our inquiry

with the following statement: in modern Florentine, active Impersonal and personal Passive behave as two morpho-syntactic byforms, whose distribution totally depends on the position taken by the (pro)noun in the direct case (subject or direct object): does it precede or follow the verb?

The inescapable dichotomy is, therefore:

(PRO)NOUN + VERB → Personal PASSIVE

VERB + (PRO)NOUN → Transitive IMPERSONAL^{21,22}

Standard Italian, which is based on the literary Florentine of the 14th century, understandably shows a more wavering and eclectic behavior, determined in part by verb agreement and interpretations of a "logical" nature.

APPENDIX

As an aid to the reader, we shall provide two Florentine paradigms here with the corresponding Italian ones, according to this English model: "I (am) eat(ing)" and "I am eating them." In the Florentine forms we have found it necessary to indicate the syntactic doubling of the consonants and the typical spirantization of the intervocalic t in the segment -àte (second person plural; cf. Rohlfs, 195, 196, 200).

(Io) (e)' (<u>arch.</u> i')	mangio	(Io)	mangio
(Té t)tu	mmangi	(Tu)	mangi
(Lu') (e)' } (Lè') (l)la }	mangia	(Lui, égli) } (Lei, élla) }	mangia
(Nó') (e)'	si mangia	(Noi)	mangiamo
(Vó' v)vu	mmangiahe	(Voi)	mangiate
(Lóro) (e)'/ (l)le	màngiano	(Loro, éssi/e)	màngiano
(Io) (e)'	gli/le mangio	(Io)	li/le mangio
(Te t)tu	gli/lle mangi	(Tu)	li/le mangi
(Lu') (e)' } (Le') (l)la }	gli/le mangia	(Lui, egli) } (Lei, ella) }	li/le mangia
(No') (e)'/ (l)le	si mangiano	(Noi)	li/le mangiamo
(Vo' v)vu	gli/lle mangiahe	(Voi)	li/le mangiate
(Loro) (e)'/ (l)le	gli/le mangiano	(Loro, essi/e)	li/le mangiano

As a general reference, the reader should carefully consult the historical grammars of G. Rohlfs (Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti, 3 vols., Torino: Einaudi, 1966-1969--the Italian translation of the German original [Bern: Francke, 1949-1954] revised and brought up to date by the author himself) and of P. Tekavčić (Grammatica storica dell'italiano, 3 vols., Bologna: il Mulino, 1972).

NOTES

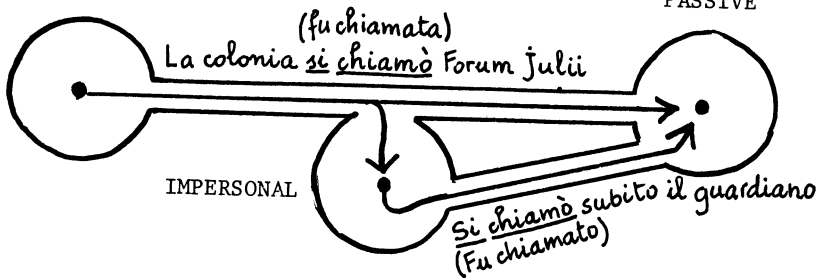
¹The indirect Reflexive (Marcus sibi lavat pedes, It. Marco si lava i piedi ["Marco washes his feet"], productive down to Marco si è mangiato una bella bistecca ["Marco ate a good steak" (and really enjoyed it)]) does not have any particular significance for our inquiry, so we shall leave it out of consideration for the sake of clarity.

²Proceeding in this direction, we realize that, from a certain point on, the reflexive form serves only to nullify the transitivity of the verb (ingrassare [tr.] "to fatten" vs. ingrassare/ingrassarsi [intr.] "to get fat," cuocere [tr.] "to cook" vs. cuocere/cuocersi [intr.] "to cook," etc.) and that ultimately it preserves some fossilized transitives, which no longer exist as simplex active verbs, at least in the same meaning accorgersi "to become aware," but never (or no longer) *accorgere ("to make aware"); riguardarsi "to take care" vs. riguardare, which only means "to look again" or "to pertain." These last reflexives--etymologically transitive, but by now "synthesized" and completely irreversible--inevitably come to merge with some Reflexives that were intransitive from the very beginning (andarsene "to go away," vs. andare "to go"; svenirsi and svenire "to faint"; morirsi archaic or regional for morire "to die"; arrampicarsi "to climb" [cf. its Florentine frequentative arrampucchiare], etc.). In these intransitives the reflexive voice represents an analogical and hypercharacterizing extension (again, in a "Middle" or anti-transitive sense) and goes back, at least as regards its diachronic model, not to an object construction (acc: se, te, me) but rather to a dative of relationship (sibi, tibi, mihi).

³These alternatives allow for an immediate passage of the reflexive voice into a passive sense (Fr. il s'appelle/est appelé, It. si chiama/è chiamato, Sp. se llama/es llamado), even if, as we shall see further on, it will be through the impersonal function that the Romance Reflexive will return even more decisively to a passive value:

REFLEXIVE

PASSIVE



Eng.: "The colony was called Forum Julii"; "The warden was called immediately."

4 "What is your name?" (literally "How do you call yourself?") "I do not call myself; others call me" (a morphological Reflexive is jokingly turned back to its "etymological" meaning).

5 The surest way to identify them is to "re-write in the transitive." Contrary to the simple correspondence io mi spavento/ io lo spavento ("I am frightened/I frighten him"), etc., one has to resort here, as in the case of non-reflexive Intransitives, to causative constructions like fallo arrampicare ("make him/it climb", not *arrampicalo), tienlo riguardato ("have him take care"), fa' che se ne vada ("see that he goes"), etc. The ambiguous position of other Reflexives (already moving from reversibility to irreversibility) is revealed by the fact that they permit both possibilities: fallo alzare alle sette ("make him get up at seven"), but also alzalo, especially if the person referred to is a child whose will is of little account.

6 The auxiliary serves, however, to unite Reflexives of every variety and origin. In both Florentine and standard Italian, in fact, the reflexive auxiliary must be, as in French, exclusively essere ("to be"): mi son venduto ("I have sold myself"), mi son lavato ("I have gotten washed"), mi sono accorto ("I have found out"), mi sono lavato i piedi ("I washed my feet"), ci siamo detti che non valeva la pena ("we told ourselves that it wasn't worth it"), ci siamo detti tante cose ("we said so much to each other"), etc. On the contrary, Rumanian and Spanish use the one auxiliary they have at their disposal for active conjugation ("to have", Lat. habere), even for Reflexives. Moreover, Reflexives with the auxiliary avere ("to have") can be found in the dialects and in the sub-standard languages of various Italian regions (cf. Rohlfs, 731).

7 This construction is heard today in many Italian dialects (an extensive list of examples, ancient and modern, is provided

by Rohlf, 516-517). Amongst neo-Latin languages only French and Retho-Romance, both supported by German (man), have irreversibly grammaticalized it.

⁸This led to a complication. When the Impersonal of the Reflexive had to be expressed, there was only one morpheme available (si), while two distinctive marks were needed. It was then necessary to grammaticalize a clitic place adverb, ci ("there"), which had been semantically emptied (ciò ch'uom si toglie [Dante] "that of which one divests himself"; ciò che ci si toglie, in modern Italian). This expedient turned out to be both: 1) a linguistic luxury (Spanish and Rumanian have both simply renounced the Impersonal of the Reflexive, instead making use of generic and collective subjects ["we," "people," etc.]); 2) a rather arbitrary and asymmetrical device in which foreigners learning Italian are fatally trapped, all the more since the sequence ci si is also susceptible to other meanings and interpretations (see below, note 14).

⁹Cf. Questo ragazzo si loda troppo or Si loda troppo, questo ragazzo... (Refl.: "This boy praises himself too much") vs. Si loda troppo questo ragazzo (Impers. → Pass.: "This boy is praised too much"); Questo libro si legge molto (Pass.: "This book is read a great deal"). The latter example is less equivocal because, while a boy can praise himself, a book certainly cannot read itself. The restriction of the passive value to the third person (sg. and pl.) is balanced by the fact that, in terms of occurrence, the third person, especially in the passive voice, is overwhelmingly more frequent than the other two.

¹⁰In the legends of the fresco of Nardo di Cione (Cappella Strozzi, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, mid 14th century), a pictorial reproduction of Dante's Inferno, the form of the passive conjugation Qui sono puniti... ("Here are punished...") is occasionally replaced by the Impersonal, already with a clear passive function: Qui si punisce la setta dei cattivi ("Here is punished the sect of evil-doers"); Qui si punisce coloro che dettero consiglio fraudolento ("Here are punished those who gave fraudulent counsel").

¹¹In the following examples, with the exception of the elision of si (s'), we will not try to render the phonetic features or the lexical preferences of Florentine, since our discussion can easily do without them. E' s'apre (It. apriamo) "we open," e' s'era andati (It. eravamo andati) "we had gone," e' s'è mangiato (It. abbiamo mangiato) "we have eaten," e' si fosse detto (It. avessimo detto) "we had said (subjunctive)," e' si sarebbe anche cantato (It. avremmo anche cantato) "we would have also sung," e' ci s'alza sempre alle sei (It. ci alziamo...) "we get up at six," e' ci s'era bell' (e) alzati (It. ci eravamo già alzati) "we had already gotten up," e' ci se n'accorgerebbe subito (It. ce ne accorgeremmo...) "we

would be immediately aware of it," e' ci se n'era bell' (e) accorti (It. ce ne eravamo già accorti) "we were already aware of it"; e' s'era stati bell' (e) avvisati (It. eravamo già stati avvisati) "we had already been notified," e' si fu subito interrogati (It. fummo subito interrogati) "we were immediately questioned," etc. The passive voice is not used much in the spoken language, and hence not in Florentine either; the last two examples given, for instance, though spontaneous, would probably be replaced in the performance of many speakers by e' ci avean bell' (e) avvisato ("they had already notified us") and e' ci'interrogònnò subito ("they immediately questioned us").

The initial e' (originally ei; before a vowel we would have gli instead) is the clitic subject pronoun, masculine (sing. and pl.) and neuter/impersonal; standard Italian does not possess this set of pronouns (Eng. it is raining, Flor. e' piove, but It. has simply piove). E' is often elided in the pronunciation of the verbal phrase but the phonosyntactic analysis of the segment proves that this pronoun always remains present: (e)'. All the preceding examples could, moreover, begin with noi ("we"), whenever one feels the need to emphasize the pronominal subject, and in this Florentine and Italian coincide: (noi) e' s'era andati, It. (noi) eravamo andati "we had gone." It should not be forgotten at this point that these same examples could easily appear in Standard as well, but only as Impersonals; one need only make a slight phonetic change and suppress the clitic subject (in questa casa ci si alza alle sei "in this house one gets up at six"). As a result of this transfer, however, the stylistic level of these forms would be raised, and their frequency index would decrease. The active impersonal construct based on Lat. homo, too, can replace the first person plural; cf. colloquial French nous on va and Lombard noter um canta ("we sing"; Rohlfs 516, 530).

12. We can list the following forms: damo ("let's give"), dicàmo ("let's say"), famo ("let's do"), stamo ("let's stay"), and the very common (a)gnàmo ("let's go," from andiamo [It.], through *anjamo).

13. In Florentine, semo (first pers. pl. pres. ind. of "to be") survives also as an auxiliary; thus we have (noi) e' s'era andati vs. It. (noi) eravamo andati, "we had gone," but (noi) e' semo andati ("it" is maintained, by analogy, before this residual personal form) vs. It. (noi) siamo andati ("we have gone"). In the present subjunctive, except for the rare hortative use, we must have the impersonal form as in every other tense: (noi) e' si sia ("we be"). Siamo, formed in the vulgar Latin of Tuscany (as first pers. pl., pres. tense--subjunctive first and indicative later) on the analogical mode of habeamus (Rohlfs, 540), asserted itself in the literary language (and therefore also in standard Italian) but in the dialects it has not succeeded in uprooting the Indicative semo/

simo ("we are"). Siamo has undoubtedly played a major role in the analogical levelling of the first person plural of the present, both indicative and subjunctive, in all four conjugations (amiamo "we love," abbiamo "we have," crediamo "we believe," sentiamo "we feel, hear"). To this standardization, which is characteristic of Italian today, we must oppose the more differentiated and conservative data of the dialects, Tuscan included (Rohlfs, p 530).

¹⁴In the segment ci si, the first morpheme can have different meanings: 1) ci si accusa (ci = "us"); 2) ci si scorgeva [qualcosa] (ci = "there"; "one saw there [something]"); 3) in quando (ci) si ha la febbre ("when one has a fever"; cf. also non (ci) vedo/sento più "I can't see/hear anymore"--the presence of ci merely gives these utterances a more colloquial tone), ci is a place adverb ("there"), whose semantic content is almost completely lost (cf. also c'è, Eng. "there is"); 4) in ci si diverte ("one has a good time") the empty morpheme of example (3) is grammaticalized to obtain the Impersonal of the Reflexive (see note 8). Similarly, the Florentine segment e'/le si also admits of diverse interpretations: le si mangian per Pasqua (i.e. le uova benedette "the blessed eggs") ("they are eaten/ we eat them for Easter"); e' si mangian fra di sè ("they eat each other"); le si son alzate ora ("they [f. pl.] have gotten up now"); e' si son mangiati du' belle bistecche ("they have eaten two good steaks"); le si son versate il latte sul vestito ("they [f. pl.] spilled milk on their clothes").

¹⁵e' mi s'accusa cannot function as the first person plural, given the impossibility of having "we" as subject and "me" as object in the same sentence. This phrase can exist only as a hybrid utterance, i.e. It. mi si accusa ("I am accused," "one accuses me") as pronounced by a Florentine speaker.

¹⁶This does not mean that impersonal forms of standard Italian, independent from the first person plural, cannot be rendered in Florentine as well. However, as we shall see, a preceding object pronoun changes the It. Impersonal into a Fl. personal Passive: It. lo si poteva vedere ogni sera ("he could be seen every evening") = Flor. e' si potea vedé' tutte le sere; It. lo si mangia a Natale (i.e. il cappone "capon") ("it is eaten at Christmas") = Flor. e' si mangia a Natale; etc.

¹⁷The meaning of the Florentine expressions is, again, "we (are going to) eat it/them," stylistically unmarked. The absence vs. the presence of noi, as well as its position at the beginning or at the end of the phrase, are all of course significant features, as one can judge by looking at the syntactic context provided in the following examples: "Of what use are walnut husks?" Noi e' si mangiano ("we eat them"); "What shall we do with all this bread?" E' si mangia ("we can eat it"); "Shall we throw these leftovers away?" No! e' si mangian noi ("No! we'll eat them").

18. The presence of noi (in either position: noi e' /le si mangiano or e' /le si mangian noi; see above, note 17) represents a dramatic challenge for any analysis and interpretation. The anacoluthon has definitively penetrated the morpho-syntactic structure, to the extent that a PASSIVE CLAUSE (e' si mangiano) is recycled as an ACTIVE VERBAL FORM and inserted as such in a new and more expanded clause, the logical object of which is furnished by the grammatical subject of the original clause (cf. the paradigms in the Appendix).

19. See on this problem I. Iordan-M. Manoliu Manea, Linguistica Romanza, Padova: Liviana Ed., 1974, § 5.1.3, pp. 291ff.

20. The three stages of development are presented schematically in the following table:

Original:	<u>lo/la</u> si mangia; OBJ	<u>li/le</u> si mangia OBJ
Intermediate:	<u>lo/la</u> si mangia; OBJ	<u>e' /le</u> si mangiano SUBJ
Final:	<u>e' /la</u> si mangia; SUBJ	<u>e' /le</u> si mangiano SUBJ

21. Intransitives which are followed by their own subjects also behave in the same manner. Florentine transforms them into, or at least equates them to, transitive Impersonals, such as those occurring in certain Indo-European languages (cf. Latin piget, puget, etc.):

Italian

Florentine

c'erano due fratelli → e' c'era du' fratelli
vennero le mie figlie → e' venne le mi' figliole
parlarono due avvocati → e' parlò du' avvocati
entrarono due monache → gli entrò du' monache

English: "there were two brothers," "my daughters came," "two lawyers spoke," "two nuns entered."

22. We have seen numerous examples of the syntagms PRONOUN + VERB and VERB + NOUN, constructions which occur more frequently than their counterparts (NOUN + VERB and VERB + PRONOUN) precisely because they are not emphatic. In emphatic use, however, we can have: (1) Questi paletti e' si rompan tutti ("These sticks are all breaking"), vs. A far così, e' si rompe tutt' e' paletti ("If you do that, all the sticks will break"); (2) Ora e' si mangia quelle/le mia ("Now we are going to eat those/mine [f.pl.]"), vs. (Quelle) le si mangian senza sale ("These/they [f.pl.] should be eaten without salt"). Note that the clitic subject pronoun is compulsory even after an explicit subject represented by a noun or by a possessive or demonstrative pronoun. Recall also that a preceding clitic object is sufficient in itself to change the verb construction according to the pattern given in the text (li si mangia → e' si mangiano).
 OBJ SUBJ