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Deontic passives in Romance and the case of Romanian *trebuie făcut*

Passives with AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE: Besides the canonical passive auxiliary verb + past participle (1), in Romance, there are several types of deontic passives where instead of the (more or less) neutral auxiliary we find a movement or modal verb + past participle (2):

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|-----|--------|---------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|---------|-----------------------|
| (1) | a. Sp. | <i>Es hecho.</i> / | It. | <i>È fatto.</i> | (2) | a. It. | <i>Va fatto.</i> |
| | b. Sp. | <i>Está hecho.</i> | | | | b. Srd. | <i>Cheret fattu.</i> |
| | d. It. | <i>Viene fatto.</i> | | | | c. Rom. | <i>Trebuie făcut.</i> |

The passive periphrases in (1) differ in aspectual meaning: (1a), with the auxiliary BE, represents the neutral form of a present tense event passive ('It is actually done by somebody'), whereas (1b), with the auxiliary STAY, encodes a resultant state ('It is ready and done.'). (1c), with the auxiliary COME, from Italian, again is an event passive, however, the auxiliary cannot appear in the compound tense forms for reasons of aspectual incompatibility (cf. Squartini 1999). Spanish (1b) could also be argued to be a copular construction, as could the Italian example (1a), which is ambiguous due to the double role of the auxiliary BE as a copula and passive auxiliary as well as the verbal vs. adjectival status of the participle.

Deontic passives: In (2a) another movement verb appears as an auxiliary, namely GO, but this auxiliary conveys an additional deontic meaning ('It must be done.'). The same meaning is encoded in the auxiliary WANT in Sardinian (cf. 2b) and the (impersonal) verb for MUST in Romanian (cf. 2c). In this talk I will concentrate on the properties of the aux + participle construction encoding deontic passives as in (2), in particular *trebuie făcut* in Romanian (cfr. Neamțu 1980). I will only consider those cases where we have a passive interpretation proper; i.e. where the lexical verb is transitive (with unergatives, but also in other cases, the infinite form of the verb must necessarily be interpreted as a supine, cf. Dragomirescu 2015, who distinguishes between three types for *trebuie făcut* of which I will consider only type 1 and 2). Interestingly, in the Romanian grammars, this construction is often explained as an elliptical structure where a subjunctive passive auxiliary, embedded under *trebuie*, has been elided (e.g. GALR,II: 137, 257; also Dragomirescu's 2015 type 2), cf. (3):

- (3) *Referatele trebuie (să fie) citite și înțelese de toți.*
presentations.DEF must.IMPF.3PL (SUBJ be.SUBJ) read.FPL and understand.FPL by everybody
'The presentations have to be read and understood by everybody.' (GALR,II:264)

Synchronically, however, the construction satisfies all the requirements for a passive structure, in the sense of valency shift, argument reduction and change of syntactic function, but it also has an additional modal meaning. It is thus similar to (2a) from Italian. The agent theta-role suppressed by the passive morphology can be activated (cf. 3), the internal argument of the full verb can raise to a preverbal position (cf. 3, 4), and it can trigger agreement, although *trebuie* usually is an impersonal verb in Mod. Romanian (cf. 3, 4 vs. 5 without agreement); furthermore, the interpretation clearly seems to be eventive and not stative (cf. 6), i.e. the participle cannot be interpreted as an adjective or secondary predicate to *trebuie* (cf. 5 which shows that adjectives are out in this position):

- (4) *Ei trebuiau pedepsiți.* (GALR,II:257)
they must.IMPF.3PL punished.MPL 'They had to be punished.'
(5) *Copiii trebuie lăudați /*frumoși.* (GALR,II:257)
children.DEF must.3SG praised.MPL / nice.MPL 'The children need to be praised/nice.'
(6) *În definitiv, sportul trebuie făcut cu pasiune și bucurie, trebuie făcut din plăcere.* (www)
'Sports must definitively be done with passion and joy, it must be done for pleasure.'

Romanian *a trebui*: The verb *a trebui* is borrowed from Slavonic (v. Tiktin, s.v.). It appears as an auxiliary in a series of modal constructions conveying dynamic objective or deontic necessity, and in Mod. Romanian, in certain constructions, it has also gained epistemic interpretations (cf. GrRo:578ff; the full verb use of *a trebui* NEED will not be considered here):

- (7) a. *Ei trebuiau/trebuia să vină.* 'They had to come.' (GrRo:579)
b. *Trebuie ca fiecare să plătească impozitul.* 'Everyone must pay their taxes.' (GrRo:579)

c. *Trebuie că au greșit ei undeva.* ‘They must have erred somewhere.’ (GrRo:580)

d. *Trebuie (de) spus adevărul.* ‘The truth must be said.’ (non-standard with *de*, GrRo:229)

In (7a) *trebuie* is followed by a subjunctive, the subject has raised, triggering or not agreement; if there is a fronted constituent, as in (7b), *ca* has to be introduced; in (7c) *trebuie că* is an epistemic marker; and in (7d), *trebuie* introduces a supine clause (cf. type 3 in Dragomirescu 2015, not considered here). As for the deontic passive construction, i.e. *trebuie* + participle, there are similar forms in contact varieties e.g. in Greek with *πρέπει* ‘it is necessary’ and *θέλει* ‘(it) wants’ + verbal noun (on the WANT-passives in Southern Italy, cf. Ledgeway 2000).

Analysis of Romanian *trebuie făcut*: Regarding auxiliary constructions in Romance I already assumed that there is no lexical difference to be made between passive BE and copular BE, and also that the interpretation of a participle either as passive or past does not depend on the item itself but on the syntactic context (at least for the Romance languages and varieties where there is no difference between past and passive participles). I will adopt a Minimalist framework and interpret voice phenomena as various flavours of little *v* (cf. Kallulli 2007), or better, of different predication heads *Pr*^o in the sense of Bowers (1993). That means that, depending on the structure, i.e. a transitive, unergative or unaccusative, a reflexive, a reflexive-passive, a passive proper, or a deontic passive, different *Pr*-heads are merged, which are then compatible with different auxiliaries – often these are merged later, in *T*^o, for other reasons. In a canonical passive, I further assume, in line with Baker, Johnson & Roberts (1989) that the suppressed agent is still present in the structure as *PRO*_{arb}, since it can be reactivated, i.e. controlled by an overt agent-PP (as in 3). For the *trebuie*-passive I assume that there is a (morphophonologically empty) unaccusative *Pr*^o with a special modal feature, but this feature is not checked immediately in the *Pr*-phase, but only when the modal itself is merged and moved into a higher modal head (cfr. Cinque 1999) after movement of the *Pr*^o to *T*^o. Note that the participle, i.e. *V*^o, does not necessarily need to move with *Pr*^o, since it could remain in a lower position as is the case in the normal passive in Romanian (cf. 8) and as also shown in (9), where the same adverb *niciodată* (which is not a clitic like e.g. *și*) is inserted between the modal and the participle:

(8) a. *Cartea n-a fost niciodată citită.* ‘The book has never been read.’

b. **N-am niciodată citit cartea.* ‘I have never read the book.’ (Cinque 1999:147)

(9) *și nu trebuie niciodată făcut fără aviz medical* (www)
and not must.3SG never done without consultation medical
‘and it should never be done without medical consultation’

Trebuie, originally merged under a modal head as a pure modal, is now merged under *T*^o in the deontic passive construction in order to satisfy temporal, aspectual (and often also agreement) features; from there it moves to the modal head, satisfying thus two functions, the finiteness of the passive and the modal one.

Selected references: Baker, M. K. Johnson & I. Roberts. 1989. Passive arguments raised. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 219–251. Bowers, J. 1993. The Syntax of Predication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24(4): 591–656. Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads*. Oxford: OUP. Dragomirescu, A. 2015. Utilizări dialectale ale supinului. Dovezi pentru extinderea structurii funcționale, in *Variația lingvistică: probleme actuale. Actele celui de-al 14-lea Colocviu Internațional al Departamentului de Lingvistică* (in prep.). GALR = Gramatica limbii române, vol I, *Cuvântul*, vol II, *Enunțul*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2005, coordinated by Valeria Guțu Romalo (revised edition, 2008). GrRo = Pană Dindelegan, G. 2013. *The Grammar of Romanian*. Oxford: OUP. Kallulli, D. 2007. Rethinking the passive/anticausative distinction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38, 770–780. Ledgeway, A. 2000. *A Comparative Syntax of the Dialects of Southern Italy: A Minimalist Approach*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. Neamțu, G. 1980. Despre construcția “a trebui + participiu”. *Limba română* 29/5, 511–514. Squartini, M. 1999. Voice clashing with aspect: The case of Italian Passives. *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 11(2):341–365. Tiktin = Hariton Tiktin (2000–2005): *Rumänisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 3. edition by Paul Miron & Elsa Lüder, Cluj-Napoca/Wiesbaden [1903–1925].