

### Middle-passive (MP) voice and its externalizations

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**MP pronominal clitics: the facts.** The *se/si* clitic of Romance can be claimed to be a MP voice morphology in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, equivalent to the MP inflection in languages like Greek, on the basis of the fact that they yield the same range of interpretations. Indeed Albanian verbs alternate between MP inflections and the MP pronominal clitic *u* (in all persons), depending on their tense/aspect/mood specifications (Kallulli & Trommer 2011), thus enforcing the link between MP inflections and MP clitics. In (1) we provide Italian (a-c) and Albanian (a'-c') examples (from Manzini, Roussou & Savoia 2016). Examples (a-a') have a passive or reflexive reading; (b-b') have a passive or anticausative reading; (c-c') are formed with an unaccusative verb and have an impersonal reading. All Romance languages have the readings in (a)-(b), but French, Romanian etc. lack the impersonal construal in (c). Similarly, Albanian keeps the impersonal reading (c) also when MP is externalized by inflection, but Greek lacks it.

(1)	a.	Gianni si	lavò	<i>Italian</i>	a'.	(a'i)	u	la-it	<i>Albanian</i>
		G	MP	wash-past.3		he	MP	wash-past.3	
		'G washed himself/was washed'				'He washed himself/was washed'			
	b.	Gianni si	svegliò		b'.	(a'i)	u	zɔ- it	
		G	MP	wake-past.3		he	MP	wake-past.3	
		'G woke up/was woken up'				'He woke up/was woken up'			
	c.	si	uscì	di lì	c'.	nga a'ti	u	dod	
		MP	exit.past-3	from there		from there	MP	exit.past.3	
		'One/we exited from there'							

**MP pronominal clitics: previous analyses.** For Alexiadou and Doron (2012), MP readings are derived by the interaction of the head *v* introducing the external argument with a middle head  $\mu$ . In the anticausative,  $\mu$  causes *v* not to be projected. In the reflexive, both  $\mu$  and *v* project and theta-identification applies between the internal and the external argument; comparable derivations apply for the other readings. Thus the interpretive differences between active, anticausative, reflexive, passive, etc. are encoded by means of  $\mu$ , while different externalizations (clitic, inflection) can be generated by a Distributed Morphology-like morphological component. The objections are those standardly addressed to cartography and to DM, i.e. lack of restrictiveness: a new head can always be added (cartography), and any cluster of features can be realized by any morpheme (via Impoverishment etc.; DM). Furthermore, impersonals, cf (1c-c') are unjustifiedly cut out of this discussion, since they are morphologically identical to anticausatives, passives and reflexives.

Manzini, Roussou & Savoia (2016) argue that *v*-V predicate structure interacting with the inherent properties of the clitic ought to be sufficient to ensure the MP derivation and interpretations. They propose that Romance *se/si* and Albanian *u* are object clitics that have the referential content of free variables (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, where the variable is introduced by clitic movement). These variables are bound from the EPP position, forming chains (anticausatives, passives) or undergo theta-identification with the external argument (reflexives). If they are existentially/generically closed, impersonals are obtained. However, Manzini et al. need an additional statement to account for the fact that existential/generic closure cannot affect internal arguments in the presence of an external argument (i.e. (1a) cannot mean 'he washes somebody generic'). The parameter between languages that do and do not have the impersonal reading is accounted for by assuming that in some languages (French, Greek) the MP morphology only attaches to transitive (and unergative) verbs.

**Present aims.** Here we want to maintain that the properties of MP structures like (1) are actually projected from the inherent lexical properties of the MP clitic. At the same time we reject the idea that MP clitics are generated in the internal argument position, in favour of the idea that MP involves the structural positions *v* and/or Voice (the latter in the sense Harley 2013, Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015). Indeed in recent work, Manzini & Savoia (2017) themselves argue that the position of *se/si* (preceding Acc and often Obl) is consistent with an attachment at *vP* or at VoiceP (see also early proposals by Grimshaw 1982, Marantz 1984).

**Present proposal.** Based on the discussion that precedes, we assume that the MP clitic has the interpretive content of a free variable and merges at *vP* (VoiceP in frameworks differentiating it from *vP*), as shown in (2) for (1a-b') above.

(2)	a.	[ <sub>vP</sub> si [ <sub>vP</sub> lavò Gianni]]	a'.	[ <sub>vP</sub> u [ <sub>vP</sub> lait ai]]
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