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PERIPHRASTIC VOICE WITH 'SEE' IN PORTUGUESE

by

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Abstract

Several European languages have periphrastic constructions involving 'see' as a voice auxiliary, in particular a reflexive construction such as the following from Portuguese.
   a empresa viu-se obrigada a despedir 30 trabalhadores
   'the company found itself forced to lay off 30 workers'
This construction is the 'see' passive. 'See' passives can be derived systematically from non-reflexive constructions involving dependent past participial and infinitival clauses whose subjects are not co-referential with the subject of 'see'. In this perspective, the 'see' passive emerges as an instance of a more general pattern, specialised by use of the reflexive verb form and the past participial clause.
   The object of this study is the Portuguese ver-se *passive. The paradigmatic relations of this construction to active constructions and to other periphrastic voices as well as its semantic constraints are analysed, and its origins in the history of the language are traced. We claim that the construction is well underway to grammaticalisation.*

1. Introduction

Operators of verbal voice are typically grammaticalised from (light) verbs. Verbs meaning 'be', 'become', 'get', 'suffer' and the like, which hint in various ways at the relation that their subject has to the situation (or state of affairs), are cross-linguistically well-known in this function. However, in a couple of west European languages – and doubtless in others, too –, a periphrastic passive involving 'see' as an auxiliary has been evolving. (1) is a typical example from Portuguese:

(1) A empresa viu-se obrigada a despedir 30 trabalhadores.
    'The company found itself forced to lay off 30 workers.'

While this construction involves semantic subtleties to be discussed extensively in §3, it is well on its way to full-fledged grammaticalisation where (1) means little more than 'the company was forced to lay off 30 workers', i.e. it is pretty close to a standard passive ((17) below).
    The literal translation of (1) into other Romance languages like Spanish (2), French (3) and Italian (4), but also into German (5), reveals that the 'see' passive is idiomatic in these languages, too (cf. Willems & Defrancq 2000:12-13, Heine & Kuteva 2002:270, Hanegreefs 2005:161-162 and Soares 2007: 264-267, 280-282).

(2) La empresa se vio obligada a despedir 30 trabajadores.

(3) L'entreprise s'est vue obligée de débaucher 30 travailleurs.

(4) La ditta s'è vista costretta a licenziare 30 lavoratori.

(5) Das Unternehmen sah sich gezwungen, 30 Arbeiter zu entlassen.

(6) The company found itself forced to lay off 30 workers.

In English, the closest equivalent appears in (6). English, thus, does not generally employ the verb *see* here, but mostly *find*, which is, however, semantically highly similar to *see*. And on the other hand, with inanimate subjects, *encontrar-se* 'find oneself' is frequently employed in Portuguese instead of *ver-se*.
    Here, we will forego the cross-linguistic comparison which suggests itself and instead concentrate on Portuguese. The goals of our contribution are the following:
- From corpora of Portuguese, the actual usage of *ver* as an auxiliary is ascertained.
- The paradigmatic relationships, both in terms of regular structural and analogical correspondences and in terms of functional contrast with more basic constructions, are spelt out.
- The conditions under which periphrastic voices based on *ver* are employed are systematized in a diachronic perspective.
- The grammaticalisation of the construction as a whole and of the verb *ver* in particular is traced through the

history of Portuguese, and the process is put in a broader typological perspective.

The paper is structured as follows: In §2, we provide a synchronic analysis, building the *ver-se* passive gradually up from simpler constructions and showing the range of voices employing *ver* as an auxiliary. In §3, we trace the development of the construction in the history of the Portuguese language and verify to what extent it is by now grammaticalised.

2. Periphrastic voices using *ver*

The primary purpose of this section is to provide an analysis of the taxonomic and meronymic relations among the constructions involving *ver* as an auxiliary. At the same time, we will illustrate the use of these constructions with corpus examples which allow us to appreciate its semantic and textual effects. The first line of each construction schema shows categorial structure, in principle regardless of sequential order. The additional lines mention syntactic functions and semantic properties and roles of some relevant components. This information is merely meant to facilitate an intuitive grasp of the construction.

2.1 Basic constructions

We start from some of the simplest clause patterns of Portuguese. The active transitive clause will directly be instantiated with *ver* 'see' in its basic sense as main verb, as symbolized in C1 and illustrated by (7). In what follows, the subject of *ver* and any dependent bearing a paradigmatic relation to it will be represented by the variable letter E, mnemonic for 'empathic' and 'experiencer', although these get irrelevant with grammaticalisation, as we shall see.

C1.   *Basic construction of* ver

$[[E]_{NP}$	$[[ver]_{V.tr.fin}$	$[X]_{NP}$	$]_{VP}]_S$
subject	full verb	direct object	
empathic actor	perceive visually	± empathic undergoer	

(7) A mãe viu o filho. 'The mother saw the son.'

Two semantic properties of this construction are associated with verbs of perception: 1) the actor is empathic; 2) there is no control cline between actor and undergoer, i.e. neither has the actor full control of the situation nor is the undergoer strongly affected by it (cf. Krefeld 1998:160). These properties of the verb *ver* will prove important for its grammaticalisation.

The second prerequisite for voices involving *ver* is the copula clause, formalised in C2.

C2.   *Copula clause*

$[[X]_{NP}$	$[[Y]_{Cop}$	$[P]_{PC}$	$]_{VP}]_S$
subject	copula	predicate complement	
± empathic		situation core	

X may be of any semantic category. Y is any of *ser*, *estar* or *ficar*, all 'be' (cf. Lehmann 2008, §3). PC means 'predicate complement', which is here used as a cover term for the categories that may form the complement of a copula. Exempting the adjectival, the following three are presently of interest, 'adverbial phrase', 'participial phrase' and 'gerundial infinitive phrase' (called that for its syntactic function and in analogy to its Brazilian variant, which has the gerund (*desesperando*) instead of the prepositional infinitive). These are illustrated in (8).

(8) a. O filho estava em desespero com o excesso de trabalho.
        'The son was in despair because of the excess of work.'

     b. O filho estava desesperado com o excesso de trabalho.
        'The son was despaired because of the excess of work.'

     c. O filho estava a desesperar com o excesso de trabalho.
        'The son was despairing because of the excess of work.'

By identifying X of C1 with X of C2, the two constructions combine into a complex construction symbolized as C3.

C3.   *Active* ver + *predicate complement*

[[E]$_{NP}$	[[*ver*]$_{V.tr.fin}$	[[X]$_{NP}$	[P]$_{PC}$	]$_{S1}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S2}$
subject	full verb	direct object	predicate complement	
empathic actor of *ver*	perceive visually	± empathic undergoer of *ver* participant of S	core of situation S	

The predicate complement of *ver* codes the core of an embedded situation S of which X is the primary partici-pant. P is of the same three types as in C2, as illustrated by the parallelism between (8) and (9).

(9) a. A mãe viu o filho em desespero com o excesso de trabalho.
    'The mother saw the son in despair because of the excess of work.'

   b. A mãe viu o filho desesperado com o excesso de trabalho.
    'The mother saw the son despaired because of the excess of work.'

   c. A mãe viu o filho desesperar com o excesso de trabalho.
    'The mother saw the son despairing because of the excess of work.'

In C3, P bears the same predicative relationship to X as it bears to X in C2. A symptom of this is the fact that P agrees with X in gender and number in both constructions. The auxiliary of C2 is suppressed in C3, so that X and P together constitute a small clause (S1) representing the situation S.

Compared with C1, C3 involves an expansion of its direct object, which becomes sentential in nature. This, however, would not necessarily affect the status of E in C3; the experiencer remains a central participant of the overarching situation. If, on the other hand, C3 is compared with C2, then C2 appears as embedded under a higher predicate which introduces an additional empathic actor. In this perspective, C3 shares properties with a causative construction, and E is, to that extent, analogous to a causer. There are, to be sure, essential differences between the two constructions. Most importantly, the causer has most control in a situation, while E in C3 does not control the situation. Anyway, as we shall see in §2.2, it is this argument slot that enables *ver* to function as an auxiliary in voice operations.

Perception verbs typically take on cognition readings. Assume a construction 'E sees P', where P is not a concrete object, but a situation. In many languages, such a construction means not only 'E perceives P visually', but also 'E finds out / realises (that) P'. Next, if P is just a proposition, the construction may come to mean 'E is aware of / considers P'. With further semantic depletion, the relation of E to P reduces to some unspecified men-tal attitude. Finally, the requirement that E be highly empathic is loosened, and what remains is some non-control relation of E to P. Here is a series of examples featuring *ver* in its extended sense. In (10), the PC is a predicate nominal connected by *como* 'as':

(10)   sempre viu o filho como uma pessoa capaz   (www.sbem.com.br/files/ix_enem/)
        'she always saw her son as an able person'

In (11), a corpus example corresponding to (9.a), P is a place adverbial. *Ver* here is semantically vacuous; the sentence means little more than 'association wants that chambers be [summoned] in court'.

(11)   Associação   quer   ver   câmaras   em   tribunal   (http://jn.sapo.pt/PaginaInicial/Nacional/
        Interior.aspx?content_id=1066660, 2009-01-05)
        'association wants to see municipalities in court'

(12) is a corpus example of the same type as (9.b). The passive participle in (12) derives in a regular way from a transitive verb, so that the S1 depending on *ver* bears a diathetic relation to an active version ('somebody unites the Flu group'). Furthermore, (11) and (12) share their modality. Thus, while the relationship of E to S, to the extent that it is coded by *ver*, is all but empty, the construction allows for its enrichment by other, e.g. modal, predicates.

(12)   René Simões quer ver grupo do Flu unido   (http://www.goal.com/br/
        news/210/estaduais2008/2009/01/07/1049123/rene-simoes-quer-ver-grupo-do-flu-unido)
        'René Simões wishes to see the Flu group united'

Finally, (13) is a corpus example featuring the a.c.i. introduced in (9.c).

(13)   Só ele me viu tentar. E só ele me viu falhar. (http://www.fanfiction.net/s/4157237/1/Melodias, consulted
        16/12/2009)
        'Only he saw me try. And only he saw me fail.'

There are variants of the infinitive construction occupying the place of P in C3: it may be the a.c.i. with a plain infinitive, or the infinitive may be inflected, as in (18.b) below. And finally, with certain intransitive verbs such

as those of (20) –(21.b) below, there is also a clause union construction, which has *viu falhar o filho* instead of *viu o filho falhar* 'saw her son fail'.

For any of the subtypes of the predicate complement, X in C3 may be coreferential with E. We then get C4 as the reflexive variant of C3, where the index 'V.refl.fin' categorizes an appropriate finite form of a verb accompanied by reflexive clitic pronouns. (14) is a corpus example showing the same subtype of predicate complement as (11).

C4. *Reflexive* ver *+ predicate complement*

[[E]$_{NP}$	[[*ver*]$_{V.refl.fin}$	[P]$_{PC}$	]$_{VP}$]$_{S2}$
subject	full verb	predicate complement	
empathic actor	perceive visually	core of S	

(14) Rui Lopes viu-se em situações de grande apuro (http://tauromaquia.azoresglobal.com/imprimir.php?id=19548, consulted 31/12/2009)
      'Rui Lopes found himself in situations of tight squeeze'

In this coreferential constellation, an entire constituent of the base construction C3, viz. X, is missing. Semantically, the reflexive clitic represents the subject of the small clause S1. Structurally, however, S1 ceases to be sentential, so that we may delete its brackets from C4. (14) is a simple sentence.

In what follows, we will concentrate on those instances of C3 in which P is verbal in nature, and will come back to nominal and adverbial predicate complements only in §3.1. Examples in which the head of P is a deverbal noun, like (22) and (28) below, will be presented for their analogy to the verbal constructions, but will not be analysed, as we are focussing on the development of a periphrastic conjugation category. The differences among the infinitive constructions mentioned below (13) do not concern the function of *ver* in them and will therefore be neglected, too. What remains is a simple alternation: the head of P is an infinitive if active, and a participle if passive.

However, not only the dependent clause, but also the main clause in *ver*-constructions may take on different voices. (15) illustrates the formation of the so-called *se*-passive, pronominal passive or reflexive passive (Mateus 2003: 531-533).

(15)a. [alguém] vê as casas daqui
        '[somebody] sees the houses from here'

    b.   daqui as casas vêem-se / daqui vêem-se as casas
        'from here the houses may be seen'

(15.a) instantiates C1 with an indeterminate subject. (15.b) is its counterpart in the reflexive passive voice. The argument position of the subject of the active verb (E) is blocked; thus, this is rather a deagentive or anticausative than a passive voice. Formalising this paradigmatic relation, C5 provides the reflexive passive counterpart to C1; X in C5 corresponds to X in C1.

C5. *Reflexive passive construction of* ver

[[X]$_{NP}$	[[*ver*]$_{V.refl.fin}$	(Y)	]$_{VP}$]$_{S}$
subject	full verb	dependent	
± empathic undergoer	perceive visually		

Just like C1, C3 may be transformed into the reflexive passive, yielding C6 as a subtype of C5:

C6. *Reflexive passive construction of* ver *with predicate complement*

[[X]$_{NP}$	[[*ver*]$_{V.refl.fin}$	[P]$_{PC}$	]$_{VP}$]$_{S}$
subject	full verb	predicate complement	
± empathic undergoer		core of S	

Again, the X of C6 is the X of C3, and the head of P in C6 may be an infinitive. (16) is a corpus example.

(16) Jogou sempre simples, e raramente se viu falhar um passe. (http://www.academia-de-talentos.com/juniores-vsc-guimaraes-1-2-sl-benfica, consulted 16/12/2009)
      'He always played simple and was rarely seen to miss a pass.'

As a final prerequisite for the constitution of *ver*-voices, we need the canonical passive, i.e. the one which uses as auxiliary one of the 'be' verbs seen in C2. We will call it the standard passive and formalise it in C7; (17) is an example.

C7.   *Standard passive construction*

[[X]$_{NP}$	[[W]$_{Aux.fin}$	[C]$_{V.part.pass}$	(Z)]$_S$	(*por* [Y]$_{NP}$)]$_{VP}$
subject		full verb	dependent	
± empathic undergoer		situation core		actor

(17)   A empresa foi obrigada a despedir 30 trabalhadores.
        'The company was forced to lay off 30 workers.'

In C7, X may be of any level of empathy, and W is any of *ser*, *estar*, *ficar*. In contradistinction to the reflexive passive of C5, the standard passive involves an optional agent phrase.

2.2 *Ver* as a voice operator
The examples adduced so far have it in common that E bears no semantic relation to S other than whatever is coded by *ver*. However, to the extent that *ver* is depleted and does little more than mark an unidentified relation between E and the rest, it becomes possible for E to be a participant bearing what might be spelt out as some specific semantic role in S. Syntactically, this means that C3 bears a paradigmatic relationship to a simple sentence lacking *ver* in which E figures as some dependent of P (in C2).

Dynamicising this paradigmatic relation, *ver* affords the promotion of dependents with lower syntactic functions to subject (cf. Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot 1987 and 2005 for the corresponding phenomena in French). These comprise the indirect object (§2.2.1), location/time adjuncts (§2.2.2), a modifier of N in the subject or object NP (§2.2.3) and the direct object (§2.2.4) of the corresponding sentence without *ver*. In each pair of examples in the following series, version #b is a corpus example involving a *ver*-voice, while version #a provides its plain counterpart.

2.2.1 Promotion of indirect object
C8 is a simple clause involving an indirect object E. It bears a paradigmatic relationship to a *ver*-voice represented by C9, which features E in subject position.

C8.   *Base construction: active verb with indirect object*

[[X]$_{NP}$	[[C]$_{V.fin}$	*a* [E]$_{NP}$	(Z)	]$_{VP}$]$_S$
subject	full verb	indirect object	dependent	
actor of S	core of S	affected by S empathic		

C9.   *Promotion of indirect object + infinitive*

[[E]$_{NP}$	[[*ver*]$_{Aux.fin}$	[[X]$_{NP}$	[C]$_{V.inf}$	[Y$_E$]$_{pron}$	(Z)]$_{S1}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S2}$
subject			full verb	clitic pronoun	dependent
affected by S empathic	ingressive	direct object actor of S	core of S		

C9 is meant to be an instance of C3. The paradigmatic relation of C8 to C9 may be described thus: E of C8 is promoted to subject of C9 while X is demoted from subject of C8 to direct object of *ver*. See §3.1 for the ingressive character of the construction. As a peculiarity of C9, a clitic pronoun (Y) cross-referencing the promoted E remains in place. (18) is a corpus example.

(18)a.   mas magistrados judiciais … aplicaram-**lhe** a mais pesada das medidas de coacção
      'however, judicial magistrates ... applied the severest of all coercive measures against him'

    b.   Mas viu, pela segunda vez, magistrados judiciais da primeira e da segunda instância aplicarem-**lhe** a mais pesada das medidas de coacção. (PM-CT)
        'However, for the second time, he found first and second instance judicial magistrates applying the severest of all coercive measures against him.'

C10 represents a passive variant of C8:

C10.　　*Base construction: passive verb with indirect object*

[[X]NP	[W]Aux.fin	[[C]V.part.pass	*a* [E]NP	(*por* [Y]NP)	(Z)	]VP]S
subject	passive auxiliary	full verb	indirect object		dependent	
undergoer		core of S	affected	actor		
			empathic			

The corresponding *ver*-construction then takes the shape of C11, illustrated by (19).b.

C11.　　*Promotion of indirect object + passive participle*

[[E]NP	[[*ver*]Aux.fin	[[X]NP	[C]V.part.pass	(*por* [Y]NP)	(Z)	]S1]VP]S2
subject		direct object	full verb		dependent	
affected by S	ingressive	undergoer	core of S	actor		
empathic						

(19)a. a cobertura do pagamento de um 'serviço público de televisão' é assegurada **aos dois canais públicos**
   '(coverage of) payment for a "public TV service" is guaranteed for the two public channels'

　　b. **os dois canais públicos** (…) vêem assegurada a cobertura do pagamento de um 'serviço público de televisão' (PM-CT)
   'the two public channels are assured (coverage of) payment for "a public TV service"'

The passive construction of C10, in turn, bears a paradigmatic relation to an active construction which, in this case, would be like (19.c):

(19)c. [alguém] assegura aos dois canais públicos a cobertura do pagamento de um 'serviço público de televisão'
   '[somebody] assures the two public channels (coverage of) payment for a "public TV service"'

The relationship of a sentence like (19.b) to its active base (19.c) is, thus, a two-step paradigmatic relationship: first, the *ver*-voice of C11 is directly related to the standard passive clause of C10; second, this is based on the active construction of C8.

2.2.2 Promotion of adjunct
The basic counterpart to a *ver*-construction may have the structure of C12.

C12.　　*Base construction: verb with time/place adverbial*

[[X]NP	[C]V.fin	[[Y]Prep [E]NP]PrepP	(Z)	]VP]S
subject	full verb	adjunct	dependent	
	core of S	place / time of S		

Here, too, the *ver*-construction allows the promotion of E to subject function, thus creating a paradigmatic relationship between basic C12 and derived C13, another instance of C3. As usual, the subject of C12 becomes the direct object of C13. Versions #a and #b of the following example series illustrate C12 and C13, respectively.

C13.　　*Promotion of time/place + infinitive*

[[E]NP	[[*ver*]Aux.fin	[X]NP	[[C]V.inf	(Z)	]S1]VP]S2
subject		direct object	full verb	dependent	
place / time of S	ingressive		core of S		

(20)a. … o número de postos de trabalho aumentou em 5%, **nos países da CE**, contra uma taxa de 37% nos EU, Canadá e Japão.
   'the number of jobs in EU countries rose by 5% against 37% in the USA, Canada and Japan.'

　　b. … **os países da Comunidade Europeia** que, entre 1972 e 1992, viram aumentar o número de postos de trabalho em cinco por cento, contra uma taxa de 37 por cento nos Estados Unidos, Canadá e Japão. (PM-CT)
   'the EU countries which, between 1972 and 1992, saw the number of jobs rise by 5% against 37% in the USA, Canada and Japan.'

(21)a. Um novo edifício da estação surgirá, **em Coimbra**, naquele espaço.
   'A new railway station building is going to rise in Coimbra, in that space.'

　　b. **Coimbra** verá surgir naquele espaço um novo edifício da estação … (PM-CT)
   'Coimbra will see a new railway station building rising in that space.'

(22)a.   Dois fenómenos paralelos apareceriam na Etrúria, **no início do século IX a.C.**
          'Two parallel phenomena would appear in Etruria in the beginning of the 9th century b.C.'

    b.   O início do século IX a. C. veria o aparecimento de dois fenómenos paralelos na Etrúria. (PAR)
          'The beginning of the 9th century b.C. would see two parallel phenomena appearing in Etruria.'

In (20.b), the topicalisation of a place has a contrastive function, comparing the development of certain events in different places. Sentences like (22.b) also exhibit a topicalisation mechanism, since in the discourse of historians, periods of time constitute successive topics. It should be noted that (22.b) does not precisely instantiate C13, as that schema neglects the specifics of nominalisation; anyway the NP *o aparecimento de* could be replaced by the infinitive *aparecer*. More importantly, the example series illustrates loosening of the selection restrictions of the full verb *ver*. While (20.b) may be interpreted as imputing an experiencer role to countries, this role is absent in (22), and what remains is the underlying temporal function.

2.2.3 Promotion of possessive modifier
Furthermore, *ver* affords the promotion of a possessive modifier to subject position. There is a basic alternative accordingly as it is a possessive modifier of the underlying subject or of the direct object. We will treat these separately. C14 shows the structure of a simple sentence whose subject is modified by E. To this corresponds the *ver*-construction in C15, where C becomes an active infinitive, its subject X becomes the direct object of *ver*, and E becomes the new subject. This paradigmatic relation is illustrated by (23).

C14.   *Base construction: active verb with possessed subject*

[[[X]$_{NP}$ *de* [E]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$	[C]$_{V.fin}$	(Z)	]$_{S1}$
subject	full verb	dependent	
possessor of X			

C15.   *Promotion of possessor of subject + infinitive*

[[E]$_{NP}$	[[*ver*]$_{Aux.fin}$	[[X]$_{NP}$	[C]$_{V.inf}$ (Z)	]$_{S1}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S2}$
subject		direct object	full verb dependent	
possessor of X	ingressive			

(23)a.   A cotação em bolsa do Banif, pelo contrário, caiu mais de dois por cento.
          'The stock exchange quotation of Banif [a bank], on the contrary, fell by more than two percent.'

    b.   **O Banif**, pelo contrário, viu a cotação em bolsa cair mais de dois por cento. (PAR)
          'Banif, on the contrary, saw its stock exchange quotation fall by more than two percent.'

Observe that C15 is, like C13, simply an instance of C3. This means that the semantic roles shown in the third row of the schemata are conflated in the subject function of the *ver*-voice. In particular, the possessive relation of E is not coded in C15 and must therefore be inferred. This inference is facilitated if X is semantically relational, as it is in (23) and (24). There are, however, homomorphous corpus examples with alienable possessive relationships.

    C16 represents the structure of a simple sentence whose object is modified by E. By passivising it, we get C17, where NP$_X$ becomes the subject and C becomes a passive participle. To this now corresponds the *ver*-construction in C18. Here E is extracted from NP$_X$ and becomes the new subject, while the core of that NP becomes the direct object of *ver*. This paradigmatic relation is illustrated by (24).

C16.   *Base construction: active verb with possessed direct object*

[Y]$_{NP}$	[[C]$_{V.tr.fin}$	[[X]$_{NP}$	*de* [E]$_{NP}$]$_{NPx}$	(Z)	]$_{VP}$]$_{S1}$
subject	full verb	direct object		adjuncts	
actor	core of S	undergoer	possessor of X		

C17.   *Base construction: passive verb with possessed subject*

[[[X]$_{NP}$ *De* [E]$_{NP}$]$_{NPx}$	[W]$_{Aux}$	[C]$_{V.part.pass}$	(Z)	([*por* Y]$_{PP}$)	]$_{VP}$]$_{S1}$
subject		full verb	adjuncts		
undergoer	possessor of X	core of S		actor	

C18.   *Promotion of possessor of object + passive participle*

[[E]$_{NP}$	[[*ver*]$_{Aux.fin}$	[[X]$_{NPx}$	[C]$_{V.part.pass}$ (Z)	(*por* Y)	]$_{S1}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S2}$
subject		direct object	full verb adjuncts		
possessor of X	ingressive	undergoer	core of S	actor	

(24)a. [alguém] reduziu em 12 por cento o preço **do Pentium II** …
   '[someone] reduced the price of the Pentium II by more than 12%'

   b. o preço **do Pentium II** … foi reduzido em 12 por cento
   'the price of the Pentium II was reduced by 12%'

   c. O Pentium II a 400 MHz, lançado em Abril último, viu o seu preço reduzido em 12 por cento (PM-CT)
   'The Pentium II… saw its price reduced by more than 12%'

Certain possessive constructions – particularly those with an empathic possessor and a relational possessum – bear a paradigmatic relationship to the indirect object construction treated in §2.2.1, known as the external possessor construction. While this does point to an affinity between the cases of §§2.2.1 and 2.2.3, which we will come back to in §2.3, the phenomena demonstrated in the present section cannot be subsumed under those of §2.2.1: examples (23) and (24) do not easily yield to an external-possessor transformation, and many others do not allow it at all.

As in various cases seen before, the semantics of the experiencer role of *ver* may transpire in some particular diathetic *ver*-construction like (23.b), while in other examples like (24.c), the selection restrictions of *ver* are simply lost. In each case, however, promotion of the possessor to subject serves topic continuity: in the preceding context of (23.b), banks with their fates on the market are the topic, while for (24.c), the topic are processors.

2.2.4 Promotion of direct object: the *ver-se* passive
From the hierarchy of syntactic functions, the only verbal dependent whose promotion to subject by the *ver*-voice remains to be examined is the direct object. In order to analyse it, we start from (25.a) (a base version constructed for corpus example (25.c) and promote the direct object to subject in a way analogous to the promotion of the indirect object shown in C9 and illustrated by (18).

(25)a. aos vinte anos, uma revolta militar obrigou-o a refugiar-se
   'at 20 years of age, a military revolt forced him to take refuge'

   b. aos vinte anos, viu uma revolta militar obrigá-lo a refugiar-se
   'at 20 years of age, he found a military revolt forcing him to take refuge'

(25.b) may also be thought of as instantiating C3 with intended coreference between E and X. However, the clitic pronoun *lo* in constructions like (25.b) must actually have disjoint reference from the subject. Substituting it by the reflexive pronoun *se* does not yield the intended effect, either, because that would be coreferential with the subject of the infinitive clause, *uma revolta militar*. Instead, the version actually used is (25.c).

(25)c. Aos vinte annos, viu-se obrigado, por uma revolta militar do corpo a que pertencia, a refugiar-se no estrangeiro (Manuel Caldas Cordeiro, *Alexandre Herculano*. 1894; p. 1)
   'At 20 years of age, he found himself forced, by a military revolt of the corps he belonged to, to take refuge abroad'

Thus, passivisation of the non-finite clause depending on *ver* is obligatory. Its subject thereby gets demoted to a passive-agent phrase, while its direct object becomes subject. Given that the latter is, at the same time, the direct object of *ver* and is coreferential with its subject, *ver* becomes reflexive. C19 and C20 are the schemata underlying (25.a) and c, respectively.

C19.   *Base construction: active verb with direct object*

[[Y]$_{NP}$	[[C]$_{V.tr.fin}$	[E]$_{NP}$	(Z)	]$_{VP}$]$_S$
subject	full verb	direct object	dependent	
actor of S	core of S	undergoer of S		

C20.   *Promotion of direct object:* ver-se *passive construction*

[[E]$_{NP}$		[[*ver*]$_{Aux.refl.fin}$	[C]$_{V.part.pass}$	(Z)	(*por* [Y]$_{NP}$)	]$_{VP}$]$_S$
subject			full verb	dependent		
undergoer of S	ingressive		core of S		actor of S	

The constructions that promote some dependent to subject status by means of the auxiliary *ver* are called *ver*-voices. Among these, the one that promotes the direct object, viz. C20, is the only one to feature the auxiliary in reflexive voice. This is the construction called *ver-se* passive. The agent phrase containing Y is optional; most corpus examples are like (1) in lacking it.

Apart from the relation of C20 to its active base C19, the *ver-se* passive bears paradigmatic relations to several of the constructions introduced before:
• C20 is a subtype of C4, the construction of reflexive *ver* + predicate complement, generated by specifying

the predicate complement as a passive participial construction.

- The paradigmatic relationship of C20 to C19 is configured on the model of the relationship of the standard passive C7 to the active. Pending grammaticalization, *ver-se* joins the set of passive auxiliaries symbolized by W in C7.
- The third model for C20 is the reflexive passive construction of *ver* with predicate complement shown in C6. The two constructions are structurally alike, with the following differences: First, the *ver-se* passive has an optional agent phrase while the reflexive passive disallows it. Second, in the reflexive passive construction, the subject has exclusively the role of the undergoer of the finite verb, given that its actor position is eliminated. Contrariwise, in the *ver-se* passive, the subject is the actor of *ver*. Third, the reflexive passive of *ver* conserves the lexical meaning of this verb, while the *ver-se* passive does not. Consequently, the reflexive passive is more a structural than a functional model for the *ver-se* passive.

2.3 Functions of *ver*-voices

The primary effect of the *ver*-voices is to bring a referent into subject function. This, in turn, serves a variety of syntactic, semantic and textual functions: it renders the NP in question accessible to more syntactic operations, it guarantees topic continuity (Givón 1983), and it grants the referent in question more salience.

While the other *ver*-voices complement the standard passive in allowing the promotion of different syntactic components, the *ver-se* passive apparently doubles the standard passive. However, in the schemata of the *ver*-voices, we have not fully spelt out the semantic features involved. There is, in fact, a crucial difference among the *ver*-voices concerning this point: One subset of these promotes an indirect object (§2.2.1) and a possessor (§2.2.3) to subject function. These sentence components are typically occupied by a highly empathic referent. Their promotion to subject of 'see' takes advantage of this property and typically represents the referent in question as the experiencer of the base situation. The complementary subset of the *ver*-voices promote a circumstantial adjunct (§2.2.2) and a direct object (§2.2.4) to subject of *ver*. The referents designated by such adjuncts are [-empathic], those designated by direct objects are [± empathic]. Their promotion to subject function may be interpreted in different ways. One possibility is that these referents are likened to animate beings and thus represented as experiencers of the situation, as may be the case in examples like (20) and (21). Another possibility is that the lexical semantics of *ver* is ignored, as appears to be the case in examples like (22) and (24). Both of these possibilities correspond to increasing grammaticalisation of the construction, as will be shown in more detail in §3.3.

If the subject of *ver* is actually empathic, then it may have a propositional attitude to the situation S. The goal of coding such an attitude then motivates the *ver*-voice. This use of *ver*, too, is prefigured in constructions where its predicate complement is not verbal in nature, of which we saw examples in (11) and (12). (26) illustrates the verbal voice 'promotion of possessor of direct object' (§2.2.3) with a slightly different propositional attitude.

(26)   O ainda presidente, vai levar o assunto à discussão neste congresso e gostaria de ver as suas posições «tomadas em devida conta». (PM-CT)
        'The president in charge will bring the matter before this congress for discussion and would like to see his positions "taken into due account".'

On the other hand, there are purely syntactic and stylistic motivations for a *ver*-voice. In (20.b), the *ver*-voice simplifies relative clause formation, since the function relativized into is not an adjunct (as it would have to be on the basis of (20.a)), but the subject. Another advantage of the *ver*-voice is the avoidance of *que*-clauses (cf. Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot 1984 for French). If the two terms of comparison in a comparative construction are propositions, they would both be represented by *que*-clauses. However, such a construction (27.a) is ungrammatical. (27.b shows the way out chosen in the corpus (it would actually suffice to avoid one of the *que*-clauses).

(27)a. *Tal como os grandes senhores tradicionais que preferem que a sua obra desmorone consigo a que seja subvertida nas mãos de outrem.
        'Like the big traditional lords who prefer that their work falls apart with themselves to its being subverted in the hands of someone else.'

     b. Tal como os grandes senhores tradicionais que preferem ver desmoronar consigo a sua obra a deixá-la subverter nas mãos de outrem (…).(PM-CT)
        'Like the big traditional lords who prefer seeing their work fall apart with themselves to letting it subvert in the hands of someone else.'

If a relative clause contains a complement clause, this leads to repetition of *que*, too, which is stylistically avoided. (28.a) is a clumsy version of corpus example (28.b), which uses *ver*, here with a verbal noun (it could also be an infinitive).

(28)a. Mário Soares, que queria que Cavaco concorresse a Belém, vê a sombra de Ramalho Eanes mais próxima do palácio.
   'M. S., who wanted that C. would run to Belém, sees the shadow of R. E. closer to the palace.'

   b. Mário Soares, que queria ver Cavaco na corrida a Belém, vê a sombra de Ramalho Eanes mais próxima do palácio. (PM-CT)
   'M. S., who wanted to see C. in the run [in the election] to Belém, sees the shadow of R. E. closer to the palace.'

In this perspective, *ver*-voices are a means of introducing propositional content into a sentence while at the same time maintaining structural simplicity. To the extent that this is a purely structural function, it may be seen as a first step towards obligatorification and, thus, testifies to the grammaticalisation of *ver*-voices.

3. Emergence of the *ver-se* passive

Needless to say, the paradigmatic relations of basic and derived constructions described in §2 do not necessarily reflect the chronology of their historical development. In this section, we describe the emergence of the *ver-se* passive in the history of the Portuguese language. By tracking the changes from their beginnings to the present situation in Portuguese, we will ascertain the extent to which a grammaticalisation process has led to a new passive-like construction.

3.1 Early origins

Construction C3 is already current in Old Portuguese. All the subtypes of predicate complement provided for by C3 are attested from the 14th century on: adjectival (29), adverbial (30), passive participial (31) and infinitival (32).

(29) el rey Abetihen, quando vyo o seu poder muy grande e o dos cristããos muy pequeno, começou de os esmar. (14th c., *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, CPMD)
   'king Abetihen, when he saw that his power was huge and the Christians' was small, began estimating them.'

(30) E el rey Teuderigo, quando os vyo ẽ tal pressa, deulhes cento e vynte myl moyos de trigo (14th c., *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, CPMD)
   'And king Theodoric, when he saw them in such an affliction, gave them one hundred and twenty thousand sheaves of wheat'

(31) E os mouros que estavã ẽnas naves, quando virõ seu senhor vencido, foronsse pera Denya. (14th c., *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, CPMD)
   'And the moors who were in the ships, when they saw their lord defeated, left to Denya.'

(32) E entõ vyo o conde vĩir hũũ homẽ apreto donde ele estava (14th c., *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, CPMD)
   'And then the count saw a man coming to where he was'

Likewise, the reflexive variant of this construction, i.e. C4, is attested from the beginning with all the subtypes of predicate complement. (33) shows an adverbial, (34) and (35) a passive participial. We find the variation between an adverbial phrase and a past participle that was anticipated in (9.a and b) to be historically documented in (33) and (34).

(33) e ouverõ con elles grande batalha, de guisa que os cristããos se virõ en grande coita (14th c., *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, CPMD)
   'and they had with them a big battle, so that the Christians found themselves in great affliction'

(34) E, quando se virõ assy coytados, ouverom acordo os homẽẽs bõõs ẽ como poderiã aver amor cõ o Cide (14th c., *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, CPMD)
   'And when they found themselves thus afflicted, the best men agreed on how they could have peace with the Cid'

(35) & quãto se nõ percatarõ virõ se fortemẽte çercados do emperador (15th c., anonymous, *Estoria de muy nobre Vespesiano*, CPMD)
   'and as they didn't take care they found themselves strongly besieged by the emperor'

In most of these examples of the 14th and 15th century, *ver* does not convey visual perception, but rather expresses that E becomes aware of, or comes to understand, the situation S. The verb *ver-se* thus marks the (sudden) beginning of a state of mind (awareness or understanding) of E and consequently has an ingressive character. Let us exemplify with (35): up to a point T, the subject referent is not aware that he is besieged, but from T

on, he is. In slightly more formal terms, the following three semantic features are part of the basic meaning of C4:

1. Consciousness: The subject referent E is highly empathic, i.e. typically a human individual, derivatively a human collective (examples with animal subjects are conceivable). E is thus capable of consciousness, and he is, in fact, aware that he is involved in the situation S.

2. Non-control: As seen in §2.1, C3 and its derivatives contrast minimally with a causative construction. Instead of a causative verb, C3 contains *ver*, a verb one of whose semantic features it is that its actor does not control the situation. Thus, E does not control nor cause S in C3. The inference that E is not the agent or causer of S is reinforced in C20, since there E is also the subject of the passive participle designating the situation core of S. Being thus the undergoer of S, E cannot simultaneously be its agent or causer.

The non-control feature of *ver* in C20 is crucial only if the subject is empathic. Thus, while the active construction of (36.a) sounds natural enough, nothing similar to the passive version in (36.b) may yet be found in the corpus.

(36)a. ele viu o pai motivado para a jardinagem
'he found his father motivated for garden work'

b. o pai viu-se motivado para a jardinagem
intended 'father was motivated for garden work'

Thus, the *ver-se* passive excludes the idea that the subject itself could have any control of the situation.

3. Ingressivity: The involvement of E in S has a starting point in time, and that is focussed on in the construction. In other words, we are not dealing with a static situation of awareness, but with E's getting aware of his involvement in S.

All of these features are inherited from the basic lexical meaning of the verb *ver*: it designates an ingressive situation in which an animate being becomes conscious of an experience that it makes but which – as an experience – it does not control. While ingressiveness may be cancelled in the lexical use of the verb (*a minha avó ainda vê muito bem* 'my grandmother still sees very well'), this does not happen in its first uses as an auxiliary.

3.2 Pragmatic inferences

In many instances of its use, the *ver-se* passive construction pragmatically conveys certain assumptions about the situation S described. These assumptions may be conceived of as pragmatic inferences, and the following two are very frequent:

1. adverseness of S
2. unexpectedness and suddenness of S.

We will deal with them in turn.

3.2.1 Adverseness

Utterances involving C20 often convey that S is against E's will, undesirable and, in general, negative. This can be seen in the meanings of the predicate complements 'in affliction' (33), 'besieged' (35) and many others. The frequent co-occurrence of the *ver-se* passive with such negative predicate complements has remained a constant of its use until present-day Portuguese. We take this tendency of conveying negativity or adverseness to be the symptom of a pragmatic inference relating to the Gricean (1975) first maxim of quantity, in that the information the speaker explicitly codes is less than the amount s/he intends the hearer to infer. Specifically: If E didn't cause S (semantic feature #2 of §3.1), but is nevertheless involved in S, then E is not in S of his own will. Now there is a tendency to interpret the negation of a situation as implicating the presence of the opposite situation. If I say that someone is not rich, I invite the inference that he is poor. This is the principle behind understatement and litotes, which involve a *prima facie* violation of the first maxim of quantity. In this case: if E is not in S of his own will, then probably S is against E's will, i.e. S is negative or adverse to E.

This inference, which we may label 'inference of adverseness', has been made so frequently all along the history of the construction that it has come to function in a way similar to a generalised conversational implicature in Grice's (1975) sense. Indeed, the default interpretation of this construction in most of its uses involves the adverseness inference. It appears even in sentences like (37), where the subject is abstract and most of the other semantic properties are therefore absent:

(37)   Esta enorme prosperidade viu-se comprometida pela decadência do império romano (20th c., encyclopedia, CPMD)
'This enormous prosperity found itself endangered by the decadence of the Roman Empire'

The feature of adverseness also leads to a certain degree of phraseological binding of the *ver-se* passive. Here are some telling figures from the *CETEMPúblico*: total of occurrences of C20: 4,784; past participle = *obrigado* 'constrained': 1,027; *forçado* 'forced': 287; *confrontado* 'faced (with)': 234, *envolvido* 'involved (in)': 152; *privado* 'deprived (of)': 70. These most frequent past participles make up 37% of the total and are all clearly

negative. The next ten most frequent participles are: *impedido* 'inhibited (from)', *afligido* 'afflicted', *afastado* 'excluded', *reduzido* 'reduced', *transformado* 'transformed', *ultrapassado* 'surpassed', *impossibilitado* 'inhibited (from)', *constrangido* 'constrained', *rodeado* 'surrounded', *compelido* 'compelled'. With the possible exception of *transformado* and *rodeado*, all the others are markedly negative.

In spite of this, adverseness of S, being just a pragmatic inference of C20, remains defeasible. (38) is an early example of S being positive for E.

(38)   os Christaãos, nom soomente ficaram salvos, mas com grande estrago dos imygos, se viram assaz vingados. (15th c., Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. Duarte*, CPMD)
'the Christians not only were saved, but with great loss to their enemies, found themselves sufficiently revenged'

3.2.2 Unexpectedness

The other pragmatic inference often arising from C20 is that the situation S is unexpected. This inference emerges from the conjunction of the features of the construction's basic meaning seen in §3.1: if E is not responsible and not even previously aware of a certain ingressive S, then S is unexpected for E. Sentence (35) testifies paradigmatically to this inference of unexpectedness, as do several of the other examples. The *ver-se* passive construction invites this inference frequently. It applies mainly to E, i.e., it is that referent to whom S comes unexpected. However, the inference undergoes abstraction and generalisation: when inanimate subjects come to be admitted with *ver-se* (see §3.3), and because unexpectedness cannot meaningfully apply to them, the inference becomes, in these last stages of pragmatic-semantic change, a general inference of unexpectedness, as we can see in (39):

(39)   Mais tarde, talvez depois da guerra de 14, ... velhas mansões com alpendre de colunas viram-se acrescentadas por uma estranha espécie de vagão com escamas de lousa (20th c., Agustina Bessa Luís, *Os Incuráveis*, CPMD)
'Later, maybe after the 1st world war, ... old mansions with columnar porches found themselves enlarged by a strange kind of wagon covered with slate scales.'

Here the invited inference is that the enlargement of the mansions is to be taken as unexpected for anyone in general – but not, of course, as unexpected to the mansions!

Indeed, to the extent that the *ver-se* passive comes to allow inanimate subjects, the inferences of adverseness and unexpectedness no longer apply to the subject referents but come instead to be applied at a metapropositional level, i.e. at the level of the speech act participants: it is the speaker who finds situation S adverse and/or unexpected. This development is an instance of subjectification in grammaticalisation (Traugott 1989).

3.3 Semantic bleaching

Starting from the basic meaning outlined in §3.1, the *ver-se* passive undergoes a great deal of semantic bleaching. The relevant processes may be subsumed under two general headings:
  1. easing of the selection restrictions of *ver* on the subject,
  2. generalisation of the lexical meaning of *ver*.

Process #1 starts by allowing second order human subjects, e.g., human collectives (40), institutions (41) or activities (42), all of which are metonymical extensions of the concept of a human individual.

(40)   A décima sexta geraçao atenuada se viu, quando pela perda delrei D. Sebastiao, décimo sexto monarca lusitano, passou o reino a domínio estrangeiro (18th c., Rocha Pita, *História da América portuguesa*, CPMD)
'The sixteenth generation found itself weakened when, through the loss of king D. Sebastião, sixteenth Lusitanian monarch, the kingdom passed to foreign rule'

(41)   a fábrica da Protasa viu-se, nos últimos 20 anos, totalmente envolvida pela cidade. (PAR)
'the Protasa factory found itself totally surrounded by the town, in the last 20 years.'

(42)   várias actividades desenvolvidas nas regiões fronteiriças viram-se ameaçadas. (PAR)
'several activities developed in border-line regions found themselves threatened.'

This is a slow process, and even today, non-human subjects are rare and constrained. At the end of the loosening of the selection restriction, we find examples such as (43) and (44).

(43)   Nos anos 40, a temática [do western] viu-se deslocada para as áreas histórica e dos grandes acontecimentos. (20th c., encyclopedia, CPMD)
'In the forties, the subject [of the western] was displaced towards the areas of history and great events.'

(44)   Na década de 80 a sua obra viu-se adaptada para o cinema. (20th c., encyclopedia, CPMD)
'In the decade of the eighties, his work was adapted for the cinema.'

The loss of the selection restriction on the subject, i.e. the loosening of the requirement of its empathy, occurs in "isolating contexts" (Diewald 2006) or "switch contexts" (Heine 2002: 85), i.e. in contexts which require a subject of low empathy, as does the participial of (44). The effect is the isolation of a (relatively desemanticized) target meaning of the grammaticalised verb from its source meaning. Thereby, the new auxiliary *ver-se* gets dissociated from the lexical verb *ver*.

As for process #2, this leads from visual perception via some cognitive attitude to some vague affectedness relation. The first step, generalizing from visual perception to an unspecific conscious experience, is already taken before the origin of the *ver-se* passive. At that point, the *ver-se* passive (C20) contrasts, for primary and secondary human subjects, with the standard passive (C7), as illustrated by the minimal pair (1) vs. (17):

(1)   A empresa viu-se obrigada a despedir 30 trabalhadores.
         'The company found itself forced to lay off 30 workers.'

(17)   A empresa foi obrigada a despedir 30 trabalhadores.
         'The company was forced to lay off 30 workers.'

In the opposition between C20 and C7, the former is the marked member. The meaning of the *ver-se* passive in (1) oscillates between 'E thinks that E is P' and 'E is P, and E is aware of it'. While such readings are, of course, impossible with non-human subjects, this does not entail that they must also be absent with human subjects. Quite to the contrary, given that there is, for empathic subjects, a formal contrast between C20 and C7, it is natural that it be associated with a semantic difference.

Depletion of the meaning of *ver* continues by suspension of the requirement of consciousness (semantic feature #1). Example (45) attests to the waning of this feature: the subject of the sentence with *ver-se– a cidade* 'the city' – is not human and so the category of consciousness cannot apply to it in any direct way.

(45)   mandou a Manuel Teles, Afonso Lopes da Costa e António do Campo estar quási em torno da ilha (...), com que a cidade se viu em grande aperto. (16th c., João de Barros, *Décadas da Asia*, CPMD)
         'he ordered Manuel Teles, Afonso Lopes da Costa and António do Campo to surround the island (...), so that the city found itself in great affliction.'

The other two semantic features of the *ver-se* passive, non-control and ingressivity, are retained in all of the examples. Non-control is a feature of any passive and will therefore survive as long as C20 is used as a passive construction. Ingressivity remains the mark of the *ver-se* passive distinguishing it from the standard passive, as again illustrated by (1) vs. (17).

3.4 Reflexive passive and *ver-se* passive

As we have seen, an important step in the grammaticalisation of C20 is the admittance of non-human subjects. A circumstance that may have facilitated this step is the prior existence, in Portuguese, of the reflexive passive C6. In this construction, the subject corresponds to the direct object of the active form. (46) features the reflexive passive of *ver* twice, once with the modal verb *poder* (*se podesse ver*, 'could be seen') and the other with *ver* in the negative form (*nom se vee*, 'is not seen'):

(46)   philippe creeo que ho padre se podesse veer com os olhos corporaaes como ho filho (...). Demostrãdo que ho padre nom se vee cõ os olhos corporaaes nesta vida mortal ... (15th c., Gonçalo Garcia de Santa Maria, *Euangelhos e epistolas con suas exposições en romãce*, CPMD)
         'Philippe believed that the father could be seen with the bodily eyes as the son [can] (...). Showing that the father is not visible with the bodily eyes in this mortal life …'

This construction has no constraint on the nature of the subject, since it is the undergoer of *ver*. Consequently, subjects low on the empathy hierarchy, as in (47), are quite common.

(47)   a seus rogos convocou o nosso Augusto Libertador uma conjunção máxima de Astros, em que se viram juntas as luzes da sabedoria toda. (18th c., André de Barros, *A vida do P^e António Vieira*, CPMD)
         'at his request our August Liberator summoned a maximal conjunction of the Stars, in which were seen together the lights of all knowledge.'

As observed in §2.1, the *ver-se* passive and the reflexive passive of *ver* are structurally homonymous. Whenever the subject is high in empathy, there is therefore the possibility of structural ambiguity. (48) is a relevant example.

(48)   Viram-se juntas contra ele em um exército Espanha, Alemanha, Itália, Flandres, com toda a flor militar, ciência e valor daquelas belicosas nações. (17th c., Padre António Vieira, *História do Futuro*, CPMD)
         'There were seen / found themselves united against it in one army Spain, Germany, Italy, Flanders with all the military elite, science and valour of those belligerent nations.

The sentence has two readings: (a) if *viram-se* is an instance of the reflexive passive, the sentence means 'Spain, Germany, Italy, Flanders were seen united in an army'; (b) if, again, it is an instance of the *ver-se* passive, then the sentence means 'Spain, Germany, Italy, Flanders found themselves united in an army'. In the latter case, we deal with a personification of the countries, which are construed as experiencers. Semantically, the two readings diverge slightly, but for most purposes and in most contexts they are pragmatically equivalent. The occurrence of sentences of this kind, which admit two pragmatically equivalent readings, one of which has a personified subject, may have led to an increase in the number of subjects of the *ver-se* passive that were, strictly speaking, not animate, such as countries and institutions. As a consequence of this ambiguity, the *ver-se* passive with inanimate subjects gains in acceptability, and the class of subjects of C20 expands. The occurrence of sentences that are ambiguous between a reflexive passive of *ver* and a *ver-se* passive accompanies the grammaticalisation of the latter to this day as a propitious factor.

3.5 Chronology of the development
The following may be said about the chronology of the changes creating the *ver-se* passive:
1. By the beginning of historical documentation of the Portuguese language, the following steps are already achieved:
    a) All of the constructions C3, C4, C6, C7 and C20 are in use.
    b) C3, C4 and C20 occur without visual perception; but all examples show human (individual or collective) subjects with the consciousness feature.
    c) The pragmatic inferences of adverseness and unexpectedness are current.
2. From the 17th cent. on, human institutions may be subject; the feature 'consciousness' gets lost.
3. From the 20th cent. on, concrete inanimate subjects are possible. The inferences of adverseness and unexpectedness can no longer apply to these subjects, so that they are often absent; however, due to subjectification, they may apply at the metapropositional level.
4. From the second half of the 20th cent., abstract subjects are possible.

Although we have not examined all of the parameters of grammaticalisation, we may say that at the beginning of the 21st cent., C20 exhibits an advanced level of grammaticalisation, but is yet less grammaticalized than the standard passive:
*   There are still restrictions on anempathic subjects.
*   For empathic and anempathic subjects alike, C20 is ingressive as opposed to C7.
*   C20 is still restricted, mainly with abstract subjects, to certain registers or genres. Thus, sentences (43) and (44) occur in the context of encyclopaedic, historical writing or, more generally, in formal written style.

Only if these restrictions were lifted could the *ver-se* passive fully replace the standard passive.

4. Conclusion
Since the Latin synthetic passive has been lost, Portuguese has only had periphrastic voices. However, the passive involving *ser* 'be' as an auxiliary is already prefigured in Latin and therefore inherited. It provides a model for more recent voices, such as those involving *ver* as an auxiliary. *Ver* shares with the 'be'-verbs *ser*, *estar* and *ficar* its power of establishing a predicative relationship between an argument and a predicate.

The essential paradigmatic relations of the *ver*-voices in general and the *ver-se* passive in particular may be resumed as follows:
*   The common denominator of the *ver*-voices (C9, C11, C13, C15, C18, C20) is the construction of active *ver* + predicate complement (C3), to which all of them bear the taxonomic relation of instantiation.
*   C3, in turn, is made up of two more basic constructions (thus bearing a meronymic relation to them): the simple transitive clause, which is the basic construction of *ver* (C1), and the copula clause (C2).
*   The *ver-se* passive in particular (C20) instantiates C4, the reflexive variant of C3.
*   Moreover, C20 bears paradigmatic relations to the standard passive (C7) and to the reflexive passive (C6).

Thus, the *ver-se* passive is not added to the language system as foreign matter. Instead, it is part of the syntactic paradigm of the *ver*-voices which, in turn, capitalise on the general syntactic and semantic properties of *ver*. Moreover, it fits into the syntactic paradigm of the pre-existent voice system. Thus, the new auxiliary *ver* finds its place in the paradigm of auxiliaries. The genesis of the *ver-se* passive therefore illustrates, at the same time, paradigmaticisation based on an analogical model.

Given the syntactic type of the languages mentioned in §1, a verb that is to be grammaticalised to a voice auxiliary must have the following semantic and syntactic properties:
1. It takes a subject, for which it should have no selection restrictions.
2. It takes a predicate complement.
3. If it is to become a passive auxiliary, then it is not a control verb (or else it would have to loose this property).

Verbs meaning 'see' come close to fulfilling these conditions, except that they do have selection restrictions on the subject. Grammaticalisation gradually gets rid of these. Furthermore, 'see' is transitive. This is useful for

non-passive voices (C9, C11, C13, C15, C18), since the demoted subject may then be accommodated as the direct object of the auxiliary. If, however, 'see' is recruited for service as a passive auxiliary (C20), it is detransitivized by reflexivisation, whereby its underlying direct object – that actant that the predicate complement applies to – becomes the subject. It is this predicative relationship that is needed in diathetic auxiliation. The lexical meaning of 'see', on the other hand, is not needed in this function and consequently disappears at the end of the grammaticalisation process.

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