

guarantee that the last was not full grade? And certainly forms such as *ante* are agreed to be $*H_a$ with full grade.

The etymon of the 'bear' presents a considerable problem, and I discuss this from another point of view elsewhere. It is sufficient here to remark that Hitt. *hartagga-* is quite obscure semantically and probably does not mean 'bear' in any event. We therefore have no evidence whatever on the value of the initial laryngeal which would lead to assurance even in an hypothesis.

In view of these uncertainties surrounding *ambi* and *ursus* it is then seen that there is as yet really no basis for Greppin's claim (116) regarding the chronology and colorability of the initials of these words. Only *umbilicus* and *unguis* remain as possible evidence at this stage; and their ablaut grade remains too uncertain to provide a sure touchstone for an entire theory.

A.c.i.- and ut-clauses with verba dicendi in Latin

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The following article is part of a more comprehensive study on the syntactic and semantic properties of clauses governed by verba dicendi in Latin.¹⁾ It contains an attempt to clear up a number of points which, to different degrees, are left vague in traditional Latin grammars, regarding the different types of constructions found with verba dicendi.

This article falls apart into two parts which are relatively independent, although the methodological approach remains the same. Part I treats the similarities and differences in behaviour between actual accusative cum infinitive clauses and constructions existing of an object-noun in the accusative caseform and a complementary infinitive; Part II deals with phenomena distinguishing two types of clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ut*, namely

¹⁾ The work for this study was done as part of a research-project financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Pure Research (Z.W.O.), project 31-39 on 'The syntactic and semantic structure of Latin sentences with special attention to the role of case forms', under supervision of Prof. Dr. A. D. Lee-man and Dr. H. Pinkster at the University of Amsterdam.

I would like to thank especially Harm Pinkster for his perseverance in encouraging my work. I have also benefitted from remarks by Simon Dik, Cees Ruijgh and Elseline Vester. For any errors which remain I myself am of course completely responsible.

“free” clauses of purpose and “obligatory” *ut*-clauses, governed by *verba dicendi*.²⁾

Before starting on the first problem, I will first give a short survey of the main theoretical assumptions which underly the argumentation in both parts.

0. General framework

In this study I will make use of the following basic principles and distinctions.

0.1 *Functions, roles and categories*

Firstly, I will distinguish three types of abstract elements of structure, namely (i) SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS, like SUBJECT, OBJECT, INDIRECT OBJECT, COMPLEMENT, ADJUNCT, PREDICATOR. Labels are given in capital letters; (ii) SEMANTIC ROLES like Agent, Patient, Addressee, Purpose, Message etc. These will be indicated with the first letter capitalized; and (iii) SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES like noun, verb, adjective, adverb etc., the names of which are given in small print. Each constituent of a sentence fulfils both a certain syntactic function and a certain semantic role in this sentence and at the same time belongs to one of the syntactic categories. For a simple example consider the following two sentences.

- (0) a) *mater filium laudavit* (“the mother praised her son”).
 b) *filius a matre laudatur* (“the son is being praised by his mother”).³⁾

In sentence (0a), we have to do with three constituents, *mater*, *filium* and *laudavit*. These may be analyzed as fulfilling the syntactic functions SUBJECT, OBJECT and PREDICATOR respectively. Semantically the constituent *mater* is the person undertaking an action, that is fulfils the semantic role Agent in relation to the activity expressed by the verb. The constituent *filium* at the other hand is the person undergoing the event, that is, stands into the semantic role Patient. Both constituents belong to the category of nouns, while *laudavit* is a verb.

In sentence (0b), we also have to do with three constituents on the highest level, *a matre* functioning as one (on a lower level *a* and

²⁾ A study on the semantic subclassification of *verba dicendi* is Bolkestein (1976). In that study I go into the problem of mood and the relation between dependent clauses governed by *verba dicendi* and independent sentences.

³⁾ Exemplified in *te soli ex Sicilia laudant* (‘only they and no one else from S. praise you’ Cic. *Verr.* 5, 58) and *laudatus ab omnibus Siculis* (‘praised by all S.’ Cic. *Verr.* 2, 113).

matre are two distinct constituents). *Filius* is now syntactically SUBJECT, while *a matre* fulfils the function ADJUNCT. *Laudatur* is PREDICATOR. Semantically, however, it is still the case that *filius* is Patient, while the constituent *a matre* refers to the Agent of the action. I will use the term "ROLE-FUNCTION COMPLEX", occasionally shortened to rfc, for the particular combination of syntactic function and semantic role which a constituent fulfils. Thus we can say that in (0a) *mater* fulfils the rfc SUBJECT + Agent, while in (0b) *a matre* is ADJUNCT + Agent; and *filium* in (0a) is OBJECT + Patient, while in (0b) it fulfils the rfc SUBJECT + Patient.⁴⁾

0.2 Obligatory and optional constituents

Secondly, I consider the particular constellation or "pattern" of syntactic functions and roles in each sentence, and also the particular syntactic categories to which the fillers of these rfc's belong, as being dependent on, or determined by the main verb. That is, we can say that the verb *laudare* requires two constituents, one in the semantic role Agent, and another in the semantic role Patient, and that syntactically, when the verb is in the active voice, these two constituents have to be respectively SUBJECT and OBJECT. Furthermore they need to be filled by nouns. However, it is not the case that all constituents of a particular sentence are always required by the main verb. E.G. we may add *heri* ('yesterday') to sentence (0a), and we have a perfectly acceptable sentence. In connection with this we speak of required, or OBLIGATORY, constituents, that is, those which fill rfc's which are determined by the verb, and of non-required or OPTIONAL rfc's, that is, those which are added to the group of obligatory constituents.⁵⁾

⁴⁾ I will not go into a detailed discussion about the criteria by which the different syntactic functions are to be distinguished. See for this Dik (1968). For a discussion of the concept of 'semantic role' and the criteria for determining which role we have to do with I refer to Fillmore (1968a, b; 1970)—the term used there is 'Case'—and Halliday (1967). The view that both abstract elements function at the same time has been advocated by tagmemic grammar, cf. for example Platt (1971).

The criterion for OBJECT is that it becomes SUBJECT when the sentence is passivized. I will call 'COMPLEMENT' all constituents which are required by the verb and which are not SUBJECT, OBJECT, INDIRECT OBJECT or ADJUNCT.

⁵⁾ Cf. Fillmore (1970; 1971 a, b) and Chafe (1970) for such an approach. The view is also dominant in so-called Valenz-Theorie, cf. Helbig (1971). Fillmore and Helbig are both concerned with the question of how to deter-

Because verbs may be differentiated according to the number of rfc's they require to be filled, I will sometimes speak of TWO-PLACE or THREE-PLACE patterns, or of two-place and three-place verbs (e.g. *laudare* is a two-place verb, while *dare* is a three-place verb). However, this is of course a great simplification. For example, many verbs may figure in both a two-place and a three-place pattern, as Engl. 'to say (to someone) that', or in both a one-place and a two-place pattern (intransitively or transitively), as e.g. Engl. 'to eat (an apple)' or 'to walk (home)'. Should we, in those cases consider the larger pattern as 'enlarged' with an optional constituent, or should we, the other way round, consider a semantically required constituent to be left out in the 'reduced' pattern? Whatever the answer, we would still have one 'basic' frame. However, one of the arguments against the 'one basic frame' view, might be that it is not at all always possible to add the 'moveable' constituent just like that, cf. 'he ate for hours' vs. *'he ate an apple for hours', or take it away, cf. 'he walked home in 20 minutes' v.s. *'he walked in 20 minutes'. With other verbs, at the other hand, the addition of a third constituent will not lead to such differences in well-formedness so quickly. It follows, that the decision whether a particular verb has only one frame or perhaps two different ones, has to be taken separately for each verb, and that the answer may vary with each verb. (If we choose for one frame, we are of course still left with the question which of the two possibilities is basic.)

I prefer to leave the question unanswered, and therefore my term 'three-placed verb' is in fact ambiguous between 'a verb which has only one frame, namely a three-place one' and 'a verb one of the possible frames of which consists of three constituents'. However, even in the latter case, the third role-function complex is viewed as semantically required in that frame: this means that the argument that a particular verb may figure in frames without a constituent in such an rfc, will not in general be considered a sufficient reason in itself for calling that rfc necessarily optional in the frames in which it is present. More simply, I will not consider *an apple* to be an optional constituent in *he ate an apple* solely because *he ate for hours* is a wellformed sentence.

mine what factors condition the obligatoriness of rfc's, and what tests there are to measure whether a rfc is required or not. I will pass over the problem that there may be several degrees of required-ness, and take the distinction for granted where it seems to give good results. For an extensive discussion of these topics, see now also Happ (1976) and my review in *Kratylos* (forthcoming).

Another of the factors obscuring the distinction between optional and obligatory constituents, is the fact that obligatory constituents may often be omitted anyway, because of contextual or situational reasons: if the identity of a constituent is supposed to be already known to the hearer or reader, for example because it has just been mentioned in the last sentence, or because the speaker is at that moment pointing at it, there is often no need to repeat the constituent explicitly. Presence of the constituent may be more unnatural than absence in such a case. However, we should be careful not to confuse this type of “contextually determined” omissibility with the optionality of a constituent which is conditioned by its syntactic and semantic relation to the verb.

0.3 *Semantic features*

Thirdly I will occasionally make use of the concept of SEMANTIC FEATURES like [+ human] or [+ abstract]: that is, I consider the meaning carried by verbs, nouns or adjectives not as an unstructured entity, but as consisting of different components or “features”, which together make up the meaning as a whole.⁶⁾

Thus we may note for example, that the SUBJECT- and the OBJECT-constituent of (0a) are both nouns having the semantic feature [+ human]. However, this feature need not be present in the case of the OBJ. + Patient constituent, whereas in the case of the SUBJ. + Agent constituent it must be present for the sentence to be acceptable: e.g. we can say ‘*mater laudat bellum*’, but not ‘*bellum laudat filium*’. That is, there are certain semantic selection restrictions between the verb *laudare* and the nouns it allows as possible SUBJECT-constituents: if we take a noun with the semantic feature [– animate], like *bellum*, this restriction is violated, or in other words, having the semantic feature [– animate], is “incompatible” with being SUBJ. + Ag. of the verb *laudare*.

0.4 *Wellformedness*

The argumentation in this study leans heavily on the distinction between acceptable or “WELLFORMED” sentences and unacceptable, or ungrammatical sentences. Often we will use the fact that some example is not good Latin to prove the existence of some syntactic or semantic rule, as in the above example. The great problem for every linguist working on Latin in this way is, of course: how does one determine what is wrong Latin? In the case of modern

⁶⁾ See for this Katz-Postal (1964).

languages one simply turns to informants who are native speakers and asks for reactions: in our case, the only thing we can do, is plough through the Thesaurus and the lexica and trust our own intuition to decide whether the fact, that some construction is not attested in the texts which have survived, is due to mere chance or to the existence of some rule precluding its occurrence. So that is what I have done. My decisions about acceptability have therefore the status of hypotheses, not of statements about absolute indisputable facts, although I use them as if they are. I am aware of that and will gladly try to incorporate any good counterexamples or—arguments in favour of a different judgment about the acceptability of my examples which may turn up in the future.

0.5 *Material*

As for the material I have used, I have tried to limit myself to those texts where as little deviance from “normal” classical Latin as possible could be expected, that is to say to classical prose, and to the comedies of Plautus and Terence. Only if no instances were available I have turned to postclassical prose (but not later than Seneca) and to poetry.⁷⁾ It should be noted that a number of distinctions made in this study, and of rules which are tentatively formulated, seem to have disappeared in later Latin: although these phenomena are interesting in themselves and might perhaps be relevant in determining the nature of the factors influencing language-change, I have not given attention to them, because my aim is purely to give a synchronic description of certain constructions of classical Latin. An insight into the exact nature of dia-

⁷⁾ Throughout this paper I will use simple self-made examples in the text, and refer to actually attested instances of the pattern under consideration in the notes. My motivation for this is, that often the sentences actually found exhibit not only the phenomenon which is relevant at that point of the argumentation, but various other phenomena at the same time. This could give rise to confusion and obscure the line of reasoning.

I also sometimes use self-made examples for which no *exact* parallel has been found. In these cases I still have felt justified in using them as examples of acceptable patterns, on the basis of the existence of other instances felt by me to be similar in the relevant aspects, e.g. in which some other verb figured as a main verb which belonged to the same class (semantic or syntactic, depending on what the example is used to demonstrate for). Such actually attested parallels are then quoted in the notes as well. In order to keep this paper from getting ‘top-heavy’, I have refrained from giving my reasons for considering an attested sentence to be evidence for the acceptability of a certain pattern in each separate case.

chronic processes must be based on a comparison between different synchronic stages; and the preoccupation with the explanatory force of language-change has in the past all too often led to unsatisfactory results in the way of synchronic analysis.

PART I: A.c.i.-clauses versus OBJECT plus COMPLEMENT patterns

1. Introduction

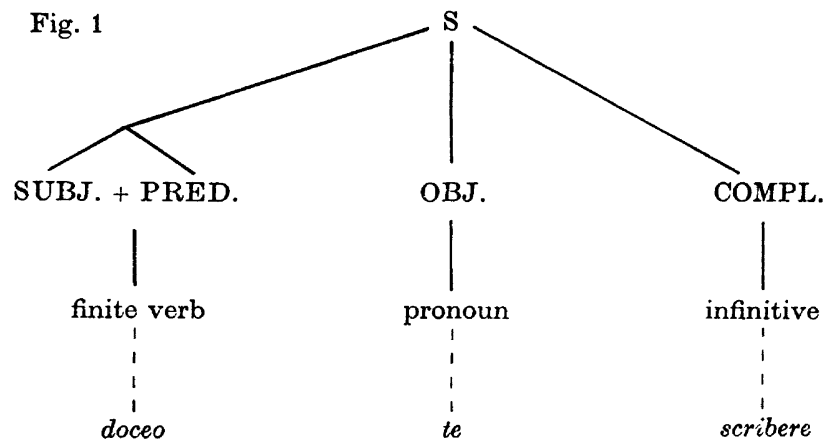
Traditionally, the term accusative-cum-infinitive clause has been used to refer to all constructions in which a noun in the accusative caseform was present together with a verb in the infinitive: Either no distinction was made at all, between the two syntactic patterns which may appear in this form, or the differences remained unspecified. That is, the term a.c.i. as used in traditional grammars is basically a morphological one.

The two syntactic patterns referred to above are the following:

(i) A pattern in which we have to do with a three-place matrix-verb, and in which the two constituents which are not SUBJECT fulfil the syntactic functions of OBJECT and COMPLEMENT. The OBJECT-function is filled by a noun in the accusative case-form, and the COMPLEMENT-function by the infinitive of a verb. This pattern we find e.g. in example (1).

(1) *doceo te scribere* ('I teach you to write')⁸⁾

Graphically this may be represented as fig. 1.

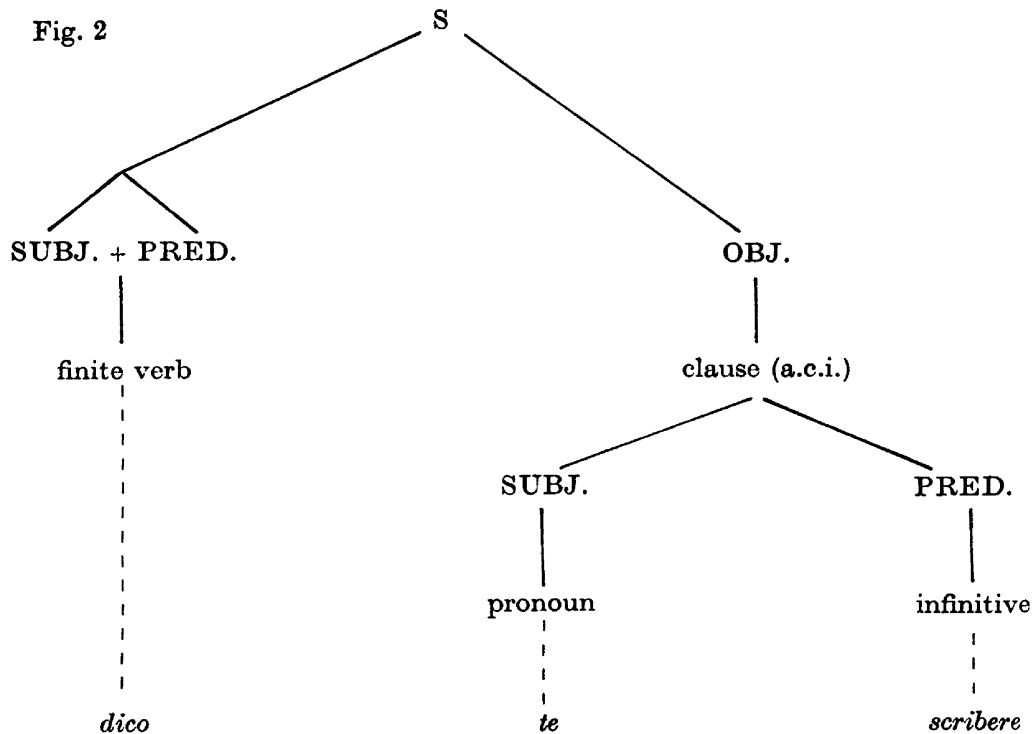


⁸⁾ Cf. *ut doceam Rullum posthac tacere* ('in order to teach R. to keep quiet after this' Cic. *Leg. agr.* 3, 4).

(ii) In the other pattern we have to do with a two-place verb, where the not-SUBJECT function—which may be a COMPLEMENT or an OBJECT-function, more frequently the latter than the former—is filled by a non-finite clause: within this clause the SUBJECT-constituent is a noun in the accusative case-form, and the verb being PREDICATOR is an infinitive. An example is sentence (2):

(2) dico te scribere ('I say that you are writing')⁹⁾

Graphically see fig. 2:



I will use the term a.c.i.-clause exclusively for this second syntactic pattern, since using the same term for both patterns would neglect a number of syntactic and semantic differences in favour of the similarity in form, as I will point out in the following sections.

Even those grammarians who are aware of a syntactic difference between the two patterns on a synchronic level, still explained the real a.c.i. (pattern ii) as being historically related to the first pattern, that is to the OBJECT plus COMPLEMENT pattern: namely as being the result of a development out of this pattern.¹⁰⁾

⁹⁾ As in *non se hostem vereri dicebant* ('they said they did not fear the enemy' *Caes. Gal.* 1, 39).

¹⁰⁾ Cf. K.-St. (: 688–9), Blatt (: 251–3) and Sz. (: 353–4).

The above (diachronic) hypothesis seemed to find support in the existence of two synchronic phenomena: firstly the possibility of a personal passive in the case of real a.c.i.-clauses, (cf. (3b)), and secondly the fact that verbs indicating perception, as e.g. *audire* ('to hear'), could be analyzed as allowing both syntactic patterns.

In this article I will firstly present a number of arguments for differentiating the two patterns systematically and secondly show that the analysis of the patterns allowed by verbs of perception needs some clarification. Since the arguments in favour of the so-called synchronic link between the two constructions will be far outweighed by arguments in favour of analyzing them as two different patterns, the case for the diachronic development hypothesis will thus be considerably weakened.

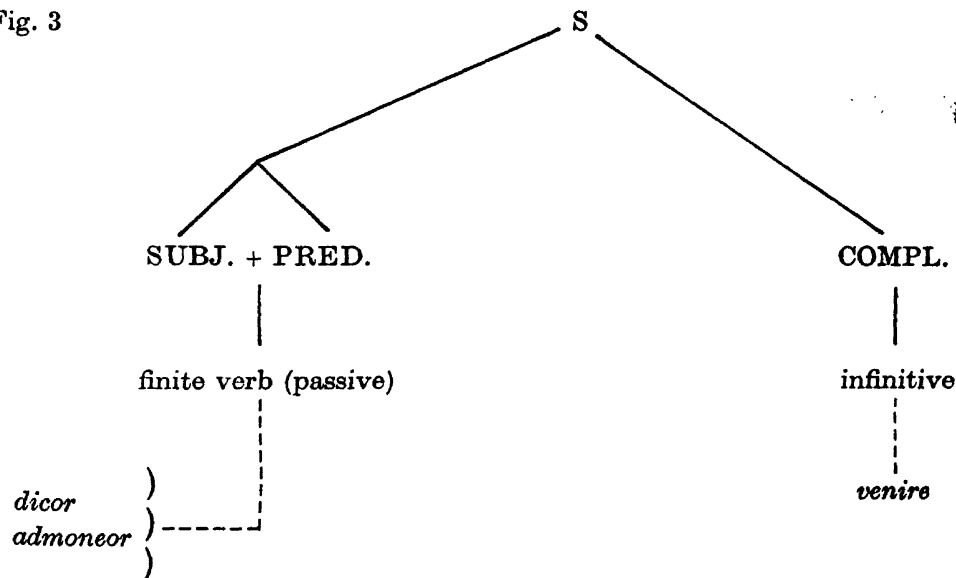
2. Characteristics of the two patterns

2.1 *A common property: The personal passive*

- (3) a) *dicunt me venire* ('they say that I am coming')
- b) *dicor venire* ('I am said to come')
- (4) a) *admonent me venire* ('they admonish me to come')
- b) *admoneor venire* ('I am admonished to come')¹¹⁾

Sentences (3a) and (4a) are active sentences, sentences (3b) and (4b) are their passive equivalents respectively: (4b) is the only possible passive of (4a) and (3b) is the most frequent one of the two possible passives of (3a), (the other is *dicitur me venire*).

Fig. 3



¹¹⁾ For (3 a) see note 9. For (3 b) cf. *qui inventor olei esse dicitur* ('who is said to have discovered the olive' Cic. *Verr.* 4, 128). Sentences (4 a-b) are

Looking exclusively at the passive sentences (3b and 4b), these sentences might both be analyzed as having the syntactic pattern figured above (fig. 3).

Now, does the fact that the passive sentences may be analyzed as having the same syntactic pattern necessarily imply that this must be the case regarding the active sentences as well? This indeed seems to be the conclusion of e.g. Blatt (1957 : 252): he explicitly points out that the relation between *me* and *dicunt* in (3a) must be identical to that between *me* and *admonent* in (4a); since *me* in (4a) fulfills the syntactic function OBJECT, and accordingly becomes SUBJECT when the sentence is passivized, *me* in (3a), which may also become SUBJECT, must there be OBJECT as well.

Though it is indeed the case that (3a and b) superficially resemble (4a and b), there appear to be several points in which the pair (3a and b) behaves quite differently from the pair (4a and b). This means, that, apart from the syntactic similarity between the passive sentences (3b and 4b), there are positive arguments for analyzing not only the active but also the passive sentences as different on some level.

I will first treat the points in which (3a and b) differ from (4a and b), and after that return to the syntactic similarity between (3b and 4b): regarding this similarity I will show that it obscures an important semantic difference.

2.2 Differences in behaviour

(i) The first difference between the examples with *dicere* (3a–b) and those with *admonere* (4a–b) lies in the degree of omissibility of the infinitive: absence of an infinitive leads to unacceptability in the case of *dicere*, whereas it is permitted in the case of *admonere*. This is illustrated by (5a–b) and (6a–b).

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|------------------------------------|
| (5) | *a) dicunt me | (‘they say me’) |
| | *b) dicor | (‘I am said’) |
| (6) | a) admonent me | (‘they admonish me’) |
| | b) admoneor | (‘I am admonished’) ¹²⁾ |

demonstrated by *te aemulam esse admonebat* (‘admonished you to emulate’ Cic. *Cael.* 34) and *nostri admonentur stationes disponere* (‘our men are admonished to put out guards’ Caes. *Gal.* 8, 12) respectively.

¹²⁾ As in *admoneri me satis est. Admonebit autem nemo alius nisi* (‘That I be reminded is enough. But this reminder no other shall address to me but’ Cic. *Pis.* 94).

From the acceptability of (6a–b) we may infer, that in (4a–b) the constituent *me* stands into a close relation to both *admonent* and *venire*. That is, the constituent *me* fulfils a syntactic function on the same level of structure as *admonere*: this function is the function OBJECT.¹³⁾

On the other hand, we would lack an explanation for the unacceptability of (5a–b), if we were to assume that the constituent *me* in (3a–b) filled such an independent syntactic function in relation to *dicunt*. We have such an explanation, however, if we consider the complex construction *me venire* to function as one single constituent in relation to *dicere*.

(ii) A second difference between the patterns exemplified by *dicere* vs. *admonere* is revealed when we try to add certain constituents to the sentences (3a–b) and (4a–b).

For example, we might experiment with the addition of a constituent with the semantic role Addressee in relation to *dicunt* and *admonent*, as in (7a–c); or we might try to add a constituent with the role-function complex SUBJECT + Agent in relation to *venire*, as in (8a–c). I present examples with the verb *hortari* as well, because it exhibits the same syntactic pattern as *admonere*, but is more restricted in the type of fillers allowed in its COMPLEMENT-function.¹⁴⁾

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|---|
| (7) a) | ei dicunt me venire | (‘they tell him that I am coming’) |
| b) | eum admonent ¹ me venire | (‘they warn him that I am coming’) |
| *c) | eum/ei hortantur me venire | (‘they exhort him me to come’) |
| *d) | eum admonent ² me venire | (‘they admonish him me to come’) |
| (8) *a) | dicunt me te venire | (‘they say me that you are coming’) |
| b) | admonent ¹ me te venire | (‘they admonish me that you are coming’) |
| *c) | hortantur me te venire | (‘they exhort me you to come’) |
| *d) | admonent ² me te venire | (‘they admonish me you to come’) ¹⁵⁾ |

¹³⁾ In three place patterns the absence of a filler of one of the three functions often does not lead to unacceptability, especially when it is already implied by the context, cf. section 0.2.

¹⁴⁾ From now on I will stop giving all passive equivalents. Unless noted otherwise, conclusions drawn are valid for both the active and the passive versions.

¹⁵⁾ For (7 a) cf. *Socrates dicens Critoni sibi esse moriendum* (‘S. saying to C. that he had to die’ Cic. *Div.* 1, 52). For (7 b) see *hominem admonent rem esse praeclaram* (‘they remind the man that the thing is wonderful’ Cic. *Verr.* 2, 36). Pattern (8 b) is the same pattern as (7 b).

Since all three verbs may be used to refer to the production of speech by a speaker, we might expect a constituent in the semantic role Addressee to be possible or required with each of them. Since we can have only one constituent filling this semantic role in each sentence, it is to be expected that adding a candidate for this role will lead to an acceptable result, if this role was not yet filled up. This is indeed the case in (7a). Apparently the constituent *me* does not fill the semantic role Addressee in relation to *dicere*: this is not surprising since it was shown above, that *me* syntactically did not function as a separate constituent on the level of *dicere* either. Reversely, if a constituent in this semantic role is already present in the sentence, the result of adding another candidate will be unacceptable: if we assume the constituent *me* in (7c) to fulfil this semantic role in relation to the main verb, we have nicely accounted for the unacceptability of the addition. So far all is clear. *Dicunt me venire* allows the addition of an Addressee-constituent, *hortantur me venire* does not. Therefore the constituent *me* may be taken to fulfil the semantic role Addressee in the latter example, but not in the former. However, if we turn to the examples with *admonere*, a complication arises. With this verb we can add a second noun in the semantic role Addressee, cf. (7b).

Note, however, that, syntactically, the constituent *me* is no longer OBJECT in (7b), as could be demonstrated by passivizing the sentence. It also behaves differently in regard to test (i). In contrast, there is no such change in status of *me* in (7a). We seem to have two acceptable patterns with the verb *admonere*, namely the one exemplified by (7b), and the one exemplified by (4a). These patterns, however, are not synonymous: there is a difference in interpretation between (7b) and (4a), quite apart from the presence or absence of an Addressee-constituent. In contrast, absence vs. presence of an Addressee is the only difference between the examples with *dicere* as a main verb, ((3a) and (7a)). The difference between the sentences with *admonere* is, that in (4a) we are informed that the Addressee-constituent is told to do something, while in (7b) the Addressee-constituent is told that something is the case. In (7b) there is no question of his being wanted to exhibit any particular behaviour. Since the difference in syntactic structure (a.c.i. as a filler vs. a single infinitive as a filler of the COMPL-function) is so clearly connected with this difference in meaning, it seems best to distinguish the two possibilities. In the case of an a.c.i. clause we will speak of *admonere*¹, in the case of a single infinitive of *admonere*².

*Admonere*² has in fact the same restrictions as *hortari*, cf. (7d). We cannot add an Addressee-constituent. If we do, we automatically change the meaning of the entire sentence at the same time. A sentence with *hortari* as the main verb has only one possible interpretation,—the “tell x to do” interpretation—and only one possible semantic structure: the one in which the OBJ.-constituent fulfils the semantic role Addressee and at the same time is to be interpreted as identical to the implied Agent of the infinitive verb. This is also demonstrated by the following test.

In (8a–c) we have tried to add a constituent filling the role-function complex SUBJECT + Agent in relation to the activity expressed by the infinitive *venire*. According to the above line of reasoning, we may ascribe the unacceptability of such an addition in the example with *dicere*, (8a), to the fact that there is already a constituent in this role-function complex present in the sentence. With the verb *admonere*, however, the addition of an extra SUBJECT + Agent constituent, (8b), does not lead to unacceptability. However, again a change of meaning of the whole sentence results. Since (8b) is in fact the same pattern as (7b), again it differs from (4a) in more than the presence versus absence of an Agent-constituent alone. In (8b) we have to do with *admonere*¹: *admonere*² does not allow of the addition of a distinct Agent without affecting the meaning of the entire sentence. In this respect it resembles the verb *hortari*, as we may conclude from the unacceptability of (8c). With *hortari* a difference in identity between the constituent filling the role-function complex Addressee, and a constituent being SUBJECT + Agent in relation to *venire* is unacceptable, as was in fact already suggested by the impossibility of adding an Addressee above (7d). Notice that, although (8a) and (8c) are both wrong because of the addition of an extra candidate for SUBJECT + Agent with *venire*, the reason for their being wrong is different. With (8a) it is because the constituent is already there, with (8c) because there may not be different identity between Addressee and Agent.

(iii) A third difference to be noted between the patterns of *dicere* vs. *admonere*² has to do with the variability in tense of the infinitive in both constructions: there are no restrictions at all on the tenses allowed for the infinitive which is PREDICATOR within a real a.c.i.-clause (cf. (9a–b)), whereas variation in tense seems to be completely impossible in the case of single infinitives functioning as a constituent on a higher level of structure, cf. (9c–d):

- (9) a) *dicunt me venisse/venturum* ('They say I have come/
will come')
- b) *admonent¹ me te venisse/
venturum* ('they admonish me that you have
come/will come')
- *c) *admonent² me venisse/venturum* ('they admonish me to have
come/will come')
- *d) *hortantur me venisse/venturum* ('they exhort me to have come/
will come')¹⁶

Note that *admonere*¹, when the COMPLEMENT-function is not filled by a single infinitive but by a complex constituent, itself consisting of a SUBJECT and a PREDICATOR, that is, by a real a.c.i.-clause, as in (9b), pairs with *dicere*. When it has a single infinitive, as in (9c), it pairs with *hortari*. I am quite aware that there may be a "deeper" explanation of these phenomena regarding tense in semantic terms. I have already pointed out that there is a difference in interpretation between (9b) and (9c). However, I will not go into the question here, but refer to Bolkestein (1976). For the moment it suffices to have shown that there is a considerable difference in behaviour between the infinitive in (9a) and the infinitive in (9c-d), the two patterns to be distinguished. The same goes for the phenomena discussed in the next section.

(iv) Not only is there a difference in variability of tense between infinitives functioning as PREDICATOR within a real a.c.i.-clause, and single infinitives functioning as a constituent on a higher level, but there is a difference in variability of voice as well:

- (10) a) *dicunt me mitti* ('they say I am being sent')
- b) *admonent¹ me te mitti* ('they admonish me that you are being
sent')
- *c) *admonent² me mitti* ('they admonish me to be sent')
- *d) *hortantur me mitti* ('they exhort me to be sent')¹⁷

We see that in (10a-b), where we have to do with a real a.c.i., there are no restrictions as to voice of the infinitive functioning as

¹⁶ The various tense possibilities are demonstrated by: for (9a) *diem nondum venisse dicerent* ('they said the day had not yet come' *Caes. Civ.*, 87) and: *postea se cogniturum esse dixit* ('he said that he would find out later' *B. Alex.* 68). For (9b) see *vos admonebo de eo numquam esse dubitatum* ('I will warn you that there has never been any doubt about him' *Cic. Balb.* 44), and *illud admonemus tamen, ridiculo sic usurum oratorem* ('still we will mention this, that the orator will use ridicule in such a way' *Cic. Orat.* 88). Also cf. *Cic. Lig.* 38.

¹⁷ For (10a) cf. *dicit montem ab hostibus teneri* ('he said that the mountain was held by the enemy' *Caes. Gal.* 1,22). For (10b) cf. *admonuisti dictum aliquod dici potuisse* ('you have warned that some word could have been said' *Cic. Planc.* 85), and also note 16, the ex. ad (9b).

PREDICATOR within the clause. Passive infinitives are perfectly alright. This is not the case with single infinitives: only active infinitives are acceptable. Again the reason for this has to do with semantics. Apparently one cannot tell a person to undergo some activity as a Patient or, in other words, the constituent which is OBJECT + Addressee of the main verb in (10c–d), cannot be identical to the person standing in the relation Patient to the activity expressed by the infinitive. This would be the case, if (10c–d) were wellformed.¹⁸⁾

(v) Another fact differentiating the pattern with *dicere* from the pattern with *admonere*²/*hortari* is quite in agreement with an analysis of *dicere* as a two-place verb and *admonere* as a three-place verb: this is the fact that the use of *admonere*² imposes certain semantic restrictions on the type of nouns which we may find in the accusative case-form, whereas *dicere* does not impose such restrictions on the type of noun which we may find in the accusative case-form. This is demonstrated by examples (11–12):

- (11) a) *dicunt me venire* ('they say I am coming')
 b) *dicunt portam patere* ('they say the door is open')
- (12) a) *admonent*² *me venire* ('they admonish me to come')
 *b) *admonent*² *portam patere* ('they admonish the door to be open')¹⁹⁾

As we see in (11a–b), it does not matter what kind of noun we have in the accusative case-form with *dicere*, as long as it fits as a SUBJECT to the verb in the infinitive. With *admonere*²/*hortari*, however, the noun must have the semantic feature [+human]. If we take a noun with the feature [+inanimate], the sentence is unacceptable, cf. (12b). This requirement for the noun to have the feature [+human] is of course connected with the fact that this noun fulfils the semantic role Addressee to *admonere*². The absence of selection restrictions between *dicere* and the accusative noun is

¹⁸⁾ Similar restrictions on tense and voice have been noticed to exist e.g. in English, and are discussed by several scholars, e.g. by Chomsky (1965), Huddleston (1971), Hudson (1971), Perlmutter (1968), Rosenbaum (1967 b), and Ross (1967). In English, however, a passive in patterns like (10 c) may sometimes be acceptable, as e.g. in *They persuaded me to be examined by a doctor*. As far as I can see this possibility does not exist in Latin. I will give a short survey of the approach to such English sentences and its relevance for my analysis of the Latin examples in an Appendix.

¹⁹⁾ For *dicere* and *admonere*¹ governing an a.c.i.-clause in which the SUBJECT-constituent has the semantic feature [+human], cf. note 16 the ex. ad (9 b), and note 17.

understandable, if we assume that there is no semantic role relation between the two constituents.²⁰⁾

(vi) A final difference, already mentioned in section 2.1, can be found if we compare the possible passive equivalents of *dicunt me venire* and *admonent me venire*. Though they may both be passivized in the way given in (3b) and (4b) above, the constituent *me venire* may also as a whole function as SUBJECT in the case of *dicere*, but not in the case of *admonere*², see examples (13):

- (13) a) *me venire dicitur* ('that I am coming is said')
 *b) *me venire admonetur*² ('me to come is admonished')²¹⁾

The unacceptability of (13b) is due to the fact that *me venire* does not function as one single constituent, but consists of two constituents which in the active version fulfil a function on the same level as the SUBJECT of *admonere*². Only the OBJ.-constituent, (*me*), may become SUBJECT in the passive version. If we accept this explanation for the unacceptability of (13b), we may perhaps also reason that (13a) ought not to be wellformed if *me* and *venire* functioned as two separate constituents on the level of SUBJECT and PREDICATOR in the active version. Otherwise we would have no argument to explain why (13b) is wrong. Cf. also the arguments in (ii) above.

With regard to the possibility of a personal passive like (3b), *dicor venire*, the objection might be made that it cannot be explained in the same way. This is true. I admit that I consider the differences in behaviour to be more significant than the similarities, particularly in conjunction with the arguments presented in (i)–(v). I will return to the problem of the personal passive after summarizing

²⁰⁾ Again these facts are paralleled by the selection restrictions of certain English verbs, as e.g. *to expect* (no restrictions) and *to persuade* (restriction + human). Cf. Rosenbaum (1967 a : 112) and the Appendix.

²¹⁾ It should be noted, that of the two alternatives for passivizing *dicere* the one exemplified in (3 b) is much more frequent. That the pattern exemplified by (13 a) is not unacceptable, appears from *quam partem Gallos obtinere dictum est* ('(about) which part it has been said that the Gauls hold it' Caes. *Gal.* 1, 1), and *dicitur eodem tempore matrem Pausaniae vixisse* ('it is said that at the same time the mother of P. lived' Nepos 4, 5, 3).

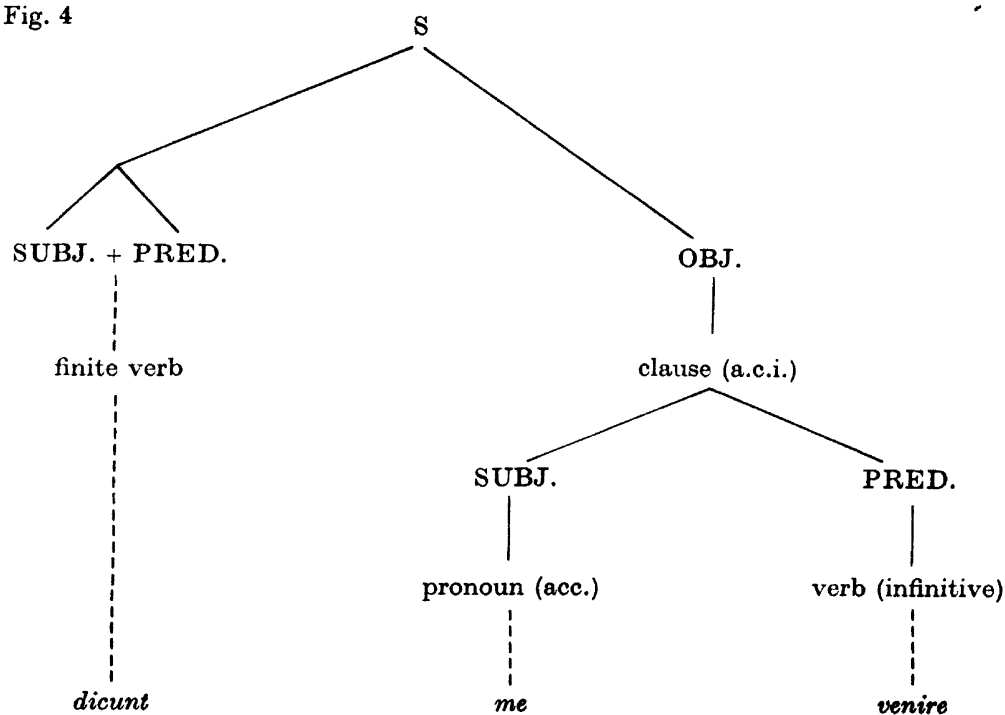
I do not see any objections against the view that there may be more than one syntactic pattern to represent one and the same semantic structure. Both may be well-formed, even if one of the two is usually preferred. We have to do with the same phenomenon in the case of substitution of *ut*-clauses by infinitives under the condition of referential identity between the SUBJECT of the matrix-verb and the SUBJECT of the *ut*-clause as in *statuo ut eam* and *statuo ire*. This is discussed in Part II, section 2.2., under (vii)–(viii).

zing my conclusions based upon the observations made in this section.

2.2 Conclusion

The differences in behaviour pointed out in (i)–(vi) present clear evidence in favour of analyzing the pattern of (3a–b) as different from the pattern of (4a–b). In (3a), *dicunt me venire*, the constituent *me venire* is to be analyzed as one single constituent with the function OBJECT in relation to *dicunt*. The word *me* functions solely as SUBJECT-constituent in relation to *venire*, and has no syntactic nor a semantic role relation to the main verb *dicere*. The structure of the whole sentence is thus simply analyzed as in fig. 4:

Fig. 4



Sentence (4a), *admonet² me venire*, on the other hand, consists of three constituents all functioning on the same level, as SUBJECT + PREDICATOR, OBJECT and COMPLEMENT. The filler of the COMPLEMENT-function is a single infinitive. Fig. 5a shows the structure of (4a):

The structure of (8b), *admonet¹ me te venire*, is shown in fig. 5b. The only syntactic difference with fig. 5a is, that the COMPLEMENT-function is filled by an a.c.i.-clause. This clause has its own internal structure.

Fig. 5a

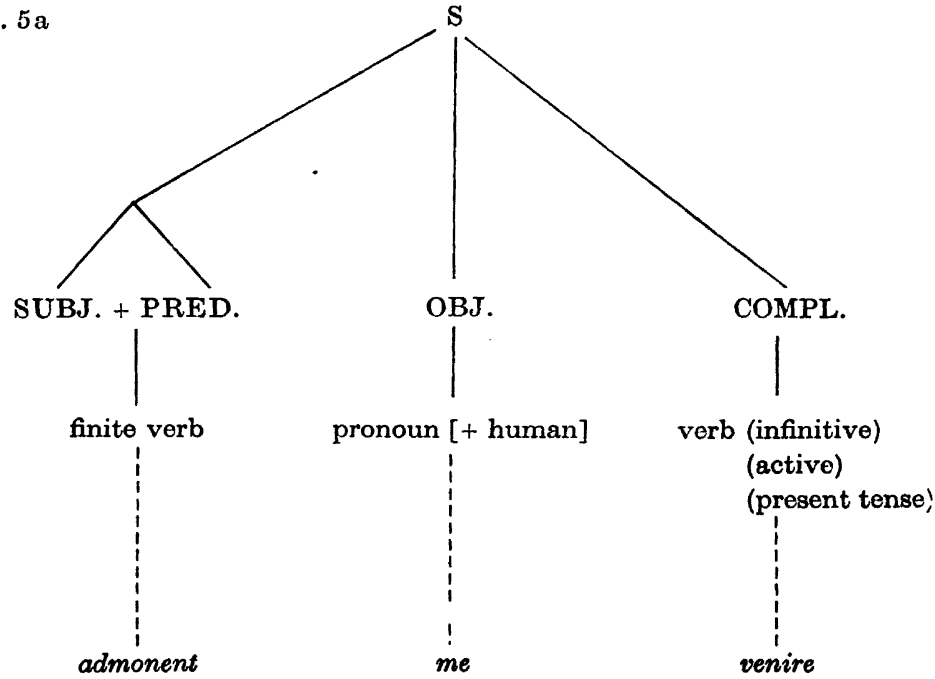
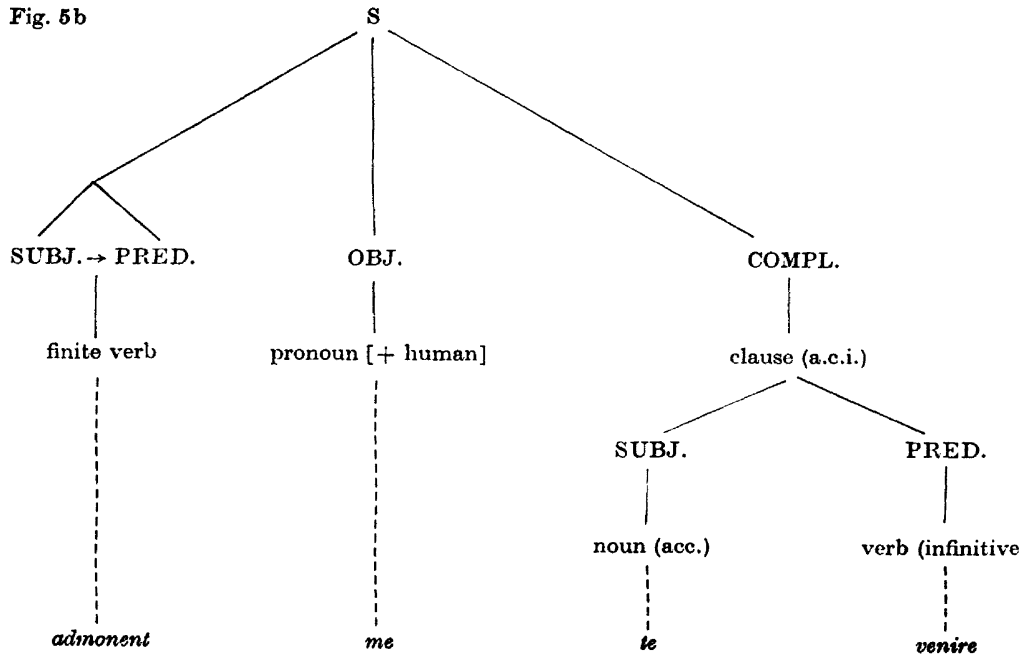


Fig. 5b



2.3 The personal passive

We have shown above that there are important syntactic and semantic differences between the constructions governed by *dicere* on the one hand and by *admonere* on the other. We have seen that

the personal passive of *admonere*² is regular, in that the constituent which stands into the syntactic relation OBJECT to in the active version becomes SUBJECT in the passive version. We have also seen that one of the passivations, namely the personal passive of *dicere* (3b) deviates from the rules for passivation, in that a constituent which does not stand in a syntactic relation OBJECT to the verb in the active version nevertheless becomes SUBJECT in the passive version. It has been argued above, that the OBJECT-constituent of the active version of *admonere*² stands in a semantic role-relation Addressee to the verb, whereas the accusative noun in the sentence with *dicere* does not have such a semantic relation to the verb.

Since semantic structure does not change in passivation the two syntactically similar passives (3b) and (4b) are semantically not equivalent. The SUBJECT of *dicor* has no semantic role-relation to the verb *dicere*, but is semantically still part of the clause, that is, fulfils the semantic role Agent in relation to the activity *venire*. We may therefore say that sentence (3b) has a “raised SUBJECT”. Now, how can we explain the fact that the possibility to passivize in this “irregular” way exists in Latin? ²²⁾

In order to understand why this possibility exists it is necessary to consider the nature of passive sentences in general, and in what ways they differ from active sentences. First of all we must note that in Latin one of the constituents which is obligatorily present—either explicitly or implicitly—in the active sentence, may be (and usually is) wholly left unspecified in the passive. This is the constituent which fulfils the role-function complex SUBJECT + Agent in relation to the verb.

Now in languages with a fixed wordorder like English, Dutch or German this constituent usually also occupies the first place in independent declarative sentences. Therefore it is often said that this constituent is the most prominent element in the message: the starting-point or information-focus or topic of the sentence to which the rest of the information is attached, or about which/whom further information is given. See e.g. Halliday (1967 and 1968) and Chafe (1970) for a more detailed analysis of the information structure of sentences in these terms. ²³⁾

²²⁾ And in other languages, cf. *I am said to come*. See also the discussion in the Appendix.

²³⁾ I neglect here the distinction which Halliday makes between topic and information focus, because it is not relevant here.

When a sentence is passivized, another constituent is chosen to be the starting point of the message ("gets information-focus"). Now Latin has no fixed wordorder the way English has, and the SUBJECT-constituent—if explicitly expressed—of a sentence need not necessarily occupy the first place in the linear order. Still we are perhaps justified in considering the SUBJECT-constituent to be a prominent element in the information structure of Latin sentences as well, if only because the PREDICATOR-verb is congruent with it, and not with some other constituent.²⁴⁾

Now there seems to be evidence, that in many languages information-focus is given preferably to nouns, in preference to verbal constituents or clauses, and particularly to nouns with the semantic feature [+ animate], even when they are syntactically low in the hierarchy, that is, do not fulfil an independent function in the main clause, cf. Lyons (1968 : 392–395) and Halliday (1967 : 218). So, if we choose, in Latin, to state the taking place of an event without mentioning the identity of the Agent involved in it, the frequent choice of personal passives like (3 b) in the case of *dicere* may be due to this apparently widely spread preference for focusing on a concrete being or thing as opposed to focusing on the clause as a whole.²⁵⁾ In passive sentences like (4 b) such a choice was not at stake: the regular SUBJECT-constituent of the passive version of *admonere* will be a noun with the semantic feature [+ human] in any case, since active *admonere* requires a noun with that semantic feature as its OBJECT + Addressee filler, as was shown in section 2.2 under (v).

²⁴⁾ Since we do not know enough about the intonation pattern of Latin declarative sentences, we cannot be sure about how information focus could be distinguished in terms of stress or pitch.

²⁵⁾ In fact, the phenomenon of 'raising' constituents out of the clause to which they semantically belong into the main sentence, is not limited to the existence of personal passives like *dicor venire*. We frequently find constituents, which semantically belong within the clause, as syntactically OBJECT of the governing verb, in Latin particularly when the clause is a so-called 'dependent question'. See for examples Sz. (: 471–2) and Brenous (1895 : 379–89), who cites as a less usual type *deos verisimile est ut alios indulgentius tractent* ('(about) the gods it is probable that they treat some people with more indulgence', Sen. *Benef.* 4, 12). Löfstedt (1911 : 271–2) rightly describes the phenomenon as 'Vorwegnahme des dominierenden Begriffs'.

In Greek as well, as Prof. Ruijgh has pointed out to me (oral communication), the phenomenon is not uncommon. We find sentences like *λέγω τὸν Σωκράτη ὅτι δειπνεῖ* (litt. : 'I say (about) Socrates that he is eating') and, with a dependent question clause, as in Latin, *εἰπέ τὸν Σωκράτη εἰ δειπνεῖ* ('Tell (about) Socrates whether he is eating').

Though my argument may seem somewhat speculative, I would like to stress that the syntactic similarity between *dicor venire* and *admoneor venire* does not indicate a similarity in semantic structure of the two sentences.

I will now turn to an analysis of the patterns found with verbs indicating perception; these are viewed as constituting a synchronic link between the two patterns which I have differentiated above, and therefore as an argument for a historical relation between them.

3. The constructions allowed with verbs of perception

Verbs of perception, like *audire* ('to hear'), *videre* ('to see'), *perspicere* ('to perceive') etc. occur in the following three constructions:

- (14) a) *puerum venire audio* ('I hear that the boy is coming')
 b) *puerum audio* ('I hear the boy')
 c) *puerum venientem audio* ('I hear the boy coming')²⁶⁾

Now the hypothesis that we have to do with a synchronic link between two patterns which are historically related hinges upon the syntactic and semantic status of the two constituents *puerum* and *audire* in (14a). The argument goes as follows: since sentence (14b), where the OBJECT-function is filled by a noun, is a perfectly well-formed sentence, we have in the case of (14a) to do with basically the same construction, to which the infinitive is added as an extra element. Consequently, according to this view, sentence (14a) is—either always or at least originally, which of the two not being made very clear—to be analyzed as having an OBJECT-COMPLEMENT pattern with *puerum* as OBJECT and *venire* as COMPLEMENT, that is, the same pattern as the pattern found with *admonere*.

As we have seen in section 2.2 under (i), omittability of the infinitive could there be used to differentiate between patterns in which we had to do with a real a.c.i.-clause (where the infinitive was not omittable) and OBJECT plus COMPLEMENT patterns (where it was more easily omitted). However, I do not think the same argument could be used here, because of the following reason. Though the infinitive may quite well be omitted in the above

²⁶⁾ Cf. respectively *ut dicere Antiochum audiebas* ('as you used to hear that A. said' Cic. *Fin.* 5, 7), *sive tu vatem audieris* ('whether you have heard the priest' Cic. *Div.* 2, 149), and *velle tamen confitentem audire Torquatium* ('but he wanted to hear T. admit it' Cic. *Fin.* 2, 21).

example (14a), we may (by substituting another noun for *puerum*) make the result of omitting the infinitive completely unacceptable, cf. (15a–b).

- (15) a) *audivit venisse hereditatem* ('he heard that a legacy had come'
Cic. *Verr.* 2, 21)
*b) *audivit hereditatem* ('he heard a legacy')

Apparently, if the OBJECT-function with *audire* is filled by a single noun, there are certain semantic restrictions upon the kind of noun which is allowed as a filler. These restrictions may be expressed in the following way: the noun possible as a filler must denote either a sound (e.g. *clamorem* 'crying'), or some object or being which is able to produce some kind of sound (e.g. *puerum* 'boy', *ventum* 'wind' etc.). This means that *audire* when it governs a noun always refers to direct perception of sound. If the OBJECT function is filled by a noun which cannot be conceived of as a producer of sound, such a pattern is not well-formed, as is the case with (15b). Therefore we have no possible pattern to add an infinitive to in this case. In other words, the fact that there are no such semantic restrictions upon the accusative noun in patterns like (15a), is an argument against considering (15a) to be derived from, or formed upon (15b).

On the other hand, the fact that (15a) is well-formed is indicative of a difference in interpretation between what is expressed in (15a) and (14a) on the one hand and in (14b) on the other. This is the difference between indirect perception and direct perception respectively. With indirect perception I mean, that it is not at all absolutely necessary to interpret the referent of the accusative noun in (14b) to be itself directly responsible for, or to be the producer of the sound that is perceived. It has been already implied above that this is not a possible interpretation anyway in (15a). That we do not always have to interpret *puerum* in (14a) as being the producer of sound himself appears from the fact that we may add a constituent with this semantic relation, which I will call Source, to the verb to (14a) but not to (14b), cf. (16a–b).

- (16) a) *e patre puerum venire audio* ('from my father I hear that the boy is coming')
*b) *e patre puerum audio* ('from my father I hear the boy')²⁷⁾

²⁷⁾ Cf. *saepe ex patre audivi pontificem bonum neminem esse nisi qui* ('Often I heard from my father that noone was a good priest unless he' Cic. *Leg.* 2, 47) and Cic. *Off.* 1, 109. Also: *quam . . . ex litteris cognoscite* ('hear from the letter, how . . . ' Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2, 75).

Now, if on the evidence of the unacceptability of (16 b) we analyze *puerum* in (14 b) as fulfilling the role-function complex OBJECT + Source, and if we treat *puerum* in (14 a) as fulfilling the syntactic function OBJECT in relation to the verb, the most obvious consequence would seem to be to take *puerum* to fulfil the semantic role Source in (14 a) as well. This, however, is proved wrong by the acceptability of (16 a). So, either we have to think of another semantic role of *puerum* to *audire* in (14 a), or we have to accept that *puerum* does not stand in an independent semantic relation to the verb *audire* at all and consequently neither in a syntactic relation.

The latter solution is furthermore supported by the above remarks on the absence of semantic selection restrictions between the verb *audire* and the noun in the accusative caseform *puerum* in (14 a).²⁸⁾

As (15 a) suggested already, neither the referent of the accusative noun within the a.c.i.-clause, nor of the entire a.c.i.-clause, as I will from now on call the accusative noun plus the infinitive, need necessarily refer to a thing, respectively event or state which is itself audible at the time referred to by the verb *audire*. The same goes, mutatis mutandis, for such constructions with verbs indicating perception by the eyes. Further evidence for this is offered by sentences in which the infinitive is not present tense, or, in some other way, denotes an event of state which is not perceivable by the senses as in the following examples.

- | | | |
|---------|---|--|
| (17) a) | multum fluxisse video de
libris nostris sermonem | ('I observe that a great deal of talk has
been current about our books'
Cic. <i>N.D.</i> 1, 6) |
| b) | vides non posse nos Amafinii
similes esse | ('you see that we cannot be like Ama-
finius' Cic. <i>Ac.</i> 1, 5) |
| (18) a) | puerum audio venturum
esse/venisse | ('I hear that the boy will come/
has come') |
| b) | puerum audio mortuum esse | ('I hear the boy is dead') ²⁹⁾ |

²⁸⁾ An exception to the general unacceptability of (16 b) is formed by sentences in which the noun itself denotes sound, like *clamorem*. In that case we may add a constituent in the semantic role Source to indicate the animate being responsible for the production of the sound.

²⁹⁾ For (18 a) cf. *illud quod te dicturum esse audio* ('that which I hear you will be saying' Cic. *Div. Caec.* 59) and *non excessisse Ponto Pharnacem audiebat* ('he heard that P. had not left Pontus' *B. Alex.* 65 b). For (18 b) cf. *audiret cum barbaris foedera percussisse* ('he heard that he had made a treaty with the barbarians' *B. Alex.* 44 a).

The examples (17a–b) are attested instances with *videre* ('to see'): not only is *sermonem* ('talk') in (17a) not something which cannot be perceived by the eyes, but *fluxisse* itself does not refer to an event which is seen to take place at the moment of seeing: it has already taken place in the past. Neither does *posse* ('can, be able') in (17b), or the whole complex *non posse similes esse* ('not being able to be similar'), refer to an event or state which may be conceived of as being visible. Examples (18a–b) are examples with *audire*: one can hardly maintain that a future coming is something audible, cf. (18a) or that being dead makes noise.

The only really unambiguous construction with verbs indicating perception for expressing direct perception of an event taking place at the same time as the perception of it, is the construction exemplified by (14c), that is, with a noun in the accusative case-form plus a present tense participle. The difference with the a.c.i. construction appears from the fact that here there are semantic restrictions on the combination of noun plus verb which may function as a constituent in this construction. These restrictions may be formulated in a way similar to the restrictions resting on the accusative noun in the pattern (14a), that is to say, the combination of noun plus participle must refer to an event or state, which itself may be conceived of as causing sound or being visible to the eyes.

- (19)*a) *diem venientem audio* ('I hear the day coming')
 *b) *sermonem fluentem video* ('I see talk flowing')

From the unacceptability of (19a–b) we see that we cannot use the present participle construction if the event or state is not really audible or visible.³⁰⁾

³⁰⁾ This is only the case with the present participle. The past participle is used as freely as the infinitive in the a.c.i.:

- (a) *nec quemquam senem audivi oblitum* ('and I have never heard that any old man forgot . . .', Cic. *Cato M.* 21)
 (b) **nec quemquam senem obliviscentem audivi* ('and I have not heard any old man forgetting . . .').

This is the reason why I would prefer to analyze (a) as an a.c.i., the infinitive of which (*esse*) has been left unexpressed. This analysis is not possible for the construction with present participle, since no periphrastic construction of a present participle + a form of *esse* exists in Latin.

It is not clear to me at present, whether there are more restrictions on what may be expressed by means of the present participle construction. The verb need not necessarily refer to an activity, cf. *vidimus eos . . . ardentis cupiditate* ('We have seen them . . . on fire with greed', Cic. *Leg.* 2, 43), nor to a intentional or voluntary state or action, cf. *qui concidentem vulneribus Cn. Pompeium vidissent* ('who had seen Cn. Pompeius sinking under his

Similar to the construction with a single noun as OBJECT filler, the existence of the requirement that what is expressed by means of the present participle construction be perceivable by eyes or ears, is supported by the fact that in such a construction we never find an independent constituent in the semantic role Source in relation to the verb of perception. This is illustrated by examples (20):

- (20) *a) ex patre id Socratem ('from my father I hear S. saying that')
 dicentem audio
- *b) ex epistula hostes venientes ('from a letter I perceive the enemy
 cognosco coming')

On the basis of the above observations I would suggest the following analysis of the patterns allowed with verbs indicating perception. Such verbs may refer to either direct perception by the senses or to indirect perception. When they refer to direct perception, they have an OBJECT-constituent filled by either a noun, cf. (14b), or by a noun plus participle (cf. 14c). The semantic relation of these constituents to the verb is that of Source. Therefore they must denote directly perceivable objects, events or states.

That is, there are semantic restrictions on the types of noun or the types of combinations found as fillers of this role-function complex. However, they may also refer to indirect perception. In that case the OBJECT-constituent is filled by a clause of the form accusative noun (as SUBJECT of the clause) plus infinitive (as PREDICATOR of the clause). There are no restrictions on the noun in the accusative caseform, since this noun has no syntactic nor semantic relation to the main verb, nor on what may be expressed within the clause as a whole, since the semantic relation of this complex constituent to the main verb is not that of Source. Because of the difference between the semantic restrictions on the accusative noun in (14b) and the lack of them in (14a), it is not very plausible to regard (14a) as consisting of (14b) plus an added infinitive, that is, of an OBJECT plus COMPLEMENT.³¹⁾

wounds', Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 66). Perhaps visibility is indeed the only condition. The matter is furthermore influenced by the fact that a number of 'auxiliary' verbs like *posse* have no present participle forms to function in such constructions, apart from the circumstance that they do not denote visible states, etc.

³¹⁾ There also does not seem to be any indication of a diachronic change in frequency of e.g. present tense infinitives within a.c.i. clauses versus past tense infinitives, or of concrete perceivable SUBJECT nouns vs. more abstract ones. If there was, it could perhaps be used as a positive argument.

In fact there does not seem to be one single concrete argument in favour of assuming that the a.c.i. construction has developed out of an accusative noun plus an infinitive added to it, apart from the fact that if the noun happens to denote a concrete perceivable thing, and if the infinitive happens to be in the present tense and if at the same time it denotes an activity or state which is in itself perceivable, we may of course interpret the message in the same way as when we have to do with a present participle. E.g. if we substitute the verb *cantare* for *venire* in the examples (14a–c), the difference in interpretation between the two will be minimal: as long as nothing else is added we may quite well infer that it is the boy himself whom the speaker hears and that he is singing at that moment. However, if we would base our syntactic and semantic analysis of the structure of this sentence on the sole existence of the possibility to interpret it as involving direct perception we would exclude many other possible interpretations which may be needed in other contexts (e.g. ‘the boy is a singer’) and would need another analysis anyhow when the tense of the infinitive is changed.³²⁾

Therefore I reject the analysis of *puerum* in a sentence like *puerum audio venire/cantare* as fulfilling an independent syntactic function OBJECT in relation to the main verb, or an independent semantic role.³³⁾

4. Conclusion

As I have announced in section 1., I have discussed two arguments which have been used as a support for the hypothesis that the real a.c.i.-construction is historically related to patterns existing of OBJECT (filled by a noun) plus COMPLEMENT (filled by an infinitive).

In section 2. I have shown that, despite the existence of a syntactically similar passive counterpart of the two patterns, infinitives in the syntactic function COMPLEMENT behave quite differently in several respects from infinitives functioning as a

³²⁾ For a discussion about the dangers of excluding many possible interpretations by trying to completely incorporate one of them into the syntactic and semantic description of sentences see Kooij (1971).

³³⁾ For a different point of view cf. Calboli (1971 : 91–4). On the same subject see R. Lakoff (1968 : 85sq.) and Pinkster (1971 : 405–6). A discussion of similar problems of analysis arising in the case of constructions with English verbs of perception see Hudson (1971). The structure of Dutch verbs of perception is discussed a.o. by De Geest (1972).

PREDICATOR within a.c.i.-clauses. Notably the difference is that between the existence of restrictions and the complete lack of them respectively. I have also suggested that there may be a semantic difference between the two syntactically similar passive constructions.

In section 3 I have demonstrated that verbs indicating perception may not be considered as presenting evidence of a synchronic link between the two constructions. They do not, because they need not be analyzed as having a three place pattern at all: they always have a two place pattern, the OBJECT-function of which may be filled either by a noun, or by a noun plus present participle, or by a clause (of the form a.c.i.). The infinitive functioning as PREDICATOR within that a.c.i.-clause has the same lack of restrictions that the infinitives in real a.c.i.-clauses were shown to have (in section 2). The noun in the accusative caseform functioning as SUBJECT within the a.c.i.-clause was shown to lack restrictions in both cases as well.

This means that in the case of both verbs indicating speech activity and of verbs indicating perception, real a.c.i.-clauses are to be clearly distinguished from patterns in which we have to do with OBJECT (accusative noun) plus COMPLEMENT (infinitive) patterns as found with the verbs *admonere*² and *hortari*. The latter pattern obeys quite different syntactic and semantic rules.

(to be continued)

Appendix

In Part I (note 18, 20, 22) it was pointed out that restrictions like the ones I have shown to exist for infinitives governed by Latin verbs like *admonere*² or *hortari* have also been noted to exist for certain verbs in other languages, e.g. for the Engl. verb *to persuade*. For other verbs, e.g. for the Engl. verb *to expect* these restrictions are lacking, even though on first view sentences with these two verbs seem to have the same syntactic structure, cf.:

- (1) a) I expect you to go
b) I persuade you to go
- (2) a) I expect you to be examined by him
b) I persuade you to be examined by him
- (3) a) you are expected to go
b) you are persuaded to go

However, the difference between the two verbs is seen in:

- (4) a) I expect you to have gone
*b) I persuade you to have gone
- (5) a) It is expected that I go
*b) It is persuaded that I go

Furthermore the following two sentences with *to expect* are synonymous to each other, while the two sentences with the verb *to persuade* differ from each other in interpretation:

- (6) a) I expect him to examine you
 b) I expect you to be examined by him
 (7) a) I persuade him to examine you
 b) I persuade you to be examined by him

Particularly this latter fact has been an argument for Chomsky (1965: 22–4) and others, to assume that sentences with the verb *to persuade* have a different Deep Structure from sentences with the verb *to expect*.

In the Deep Structure of the verb *to persuade* constituents like *you* in (1 b) and (2 b) are syntactically OBJECT, whereas in the Deep Structure of the verb *to expect* they are not OBJECT, according to Chomsky. The function OBJECT is filled by the whole complex constituent *you to go* in (1 a) and *you to be examined by him* in (2 a). Although these Deep Structures are viewed as purely syntactic, this analysis might be restated in my more semantic terms as follows: *to persuade* is a three-place verb, with apart from the SUBJECT two more role-function complexes, namely an OBJECT + Addressee rfc., filled by *you* in (1 b) and (2 b), and a COMPLEMENT + Content rfc., filled by *to go* and *to be examined* respectively. The verb *to expect* at the other hand, is semantically a two-place verb, with apart from the SUBJECT-constituent one more rfc., namely an OBJECT + Content rfc., filled by *you to go* and *you to be examined by him*, respectively. The very fact that there is a semantic relation between *you* and *to persuade* is responsible for constituents in that rfc. being restricted to [+ human] ones. At the other hand it is the lack of semantic relation between *you* and *to expect* which makes *you* replaceable by e.g. *the train*.

Now this is exactly parallel to our argumentation regarding the construction of *admonere*² and *hortari*, comparable to *to persuade*, and the construction of *dicere* and *videre*, comparable to *to expect*. However, there are some differences as well.

Firstly, the a.c.i.-clause governed by verbs like *dicere* behaves syntactically much more like one single constituent than the complex *you to go* governed by *to expect*. We have seen (Part I, note 21) that it is possible for the a.c.i.-clause to function as a whole as SUBJECT-constituent if the verb *dicere* is passivized, whereas the complex *you to go* cannot as a whole become SUBJECT of *expect*. Even if we make it into a finite clause this is dubious:

- (8) a) te venire dicitur ('it is said that you are coming')
 *b) you to go / ?? that you go is expected

This is an argument in favour of analyzing *you* in (1 a) and (2 a) as being OBJECT in the Surface Structure of these sentences, as Chomsky proposes. His proposal is, that there is some rule taking *you*, which is SUBJECT of the clause (*that*) *you go* in the Deep Structure, out of the clause and moving it (or 'raising' it) to another position in the structure, that of OBJECT-constituent of the matrixverb *to expect* (cf. also Huddleston [1971 : 154sq.]). This means that the syntactic Surface Structures of (1 a) and (1 b) are the same even if their Deep Structures (semantic structures in my approach) are different.

For Latin a.c.i.-clauses at the other hand, the fact that (8 a) is well-formed would be difficult to explain if we took *te* in (9):

(9) *te venire dico* ('I say that you are coming')

to be OBJECT of *dicere*, because then we would expect it to always be SUBJECT in the passive version. However, because there are numerous parallels for (3 a) in Latin, we need some sort of 'raising' rule which syntactically restructures some semantic structure for Latin as well, cf. my discussion in 2.3.

The second problem has to do with the well-formedness of (2 b), *I persuade you to be examined*. I argued in section 2.2. under (iv), and in note 18, that parallel cases in Latin, like (10), are unacceptable:

(10) * *hortor te laudari* ('I admonish you to be praised')

Notice, first of all, that if we change the verb of our original example (2 b) to e.g. *to be praised* the example is not well-formed at all. In fact in order to avoid such sentences from being generated, verbs like *to persuade* are usually described as having a syntactic condition that their OBJECT-constituent must be identical to the SUBJECT-constituent of the active verb of the clause (which is consequently deleted). Thus the only way in which (2 b) can still be described is giving it some sort of Deep Structure like (X persuade Y (Y causes (Z examine Y))) and delete some more (cf. Perlmutter [1968]).

In 2.2. (iv) I suggested a more semantic reason for the fact that we do not find passive infinitives governed by *hortari* etc., namely the fact that one cannot tell someone to do something over which one does not have control like undergoing something as a Patient. In other words the event described should be controllable for the OBJECT + Addressee of the matrix-verb (the concept 'controllable' is taken from Dik (1973)). I will discuss the extent to which the syntactic condition mentioned above is wrongly formulated in more detail in Part II, in my discussion of the identity-conditions of *ut*-clauses.

However, the semantic interpretation possible for (2 b) is something like '*I persuade you to go and get yourself examined*' (very similar to the syntactic Deep Structure given above). The OBJECT + Addressee constituent of *to persuade* is viewed as someone who in some way himself can produce some activity leading to his getting examined. Apparently being involved in an event like *be examined* is more controllable than being involved in an event like *be praised*. This might mean that passive infinitives of similar verbs may not be completely excluded in Latin either. The only indication that this may be the case is found in the following example from Seneca:

(11) *hanc rem imperabas difficilem forti viro, vinci*
('that order you gave was a difficult thing for a courageous man,
to let himself be defeated' Sen. *Contr.* 10, 2, 13)

But perhaps the point of the sentence is just that one cannot say in Latin *alicui imperare vinci*. The same turn of thought (order someone to do something which is not normally 'controllable') we also find in his son's:

(12) *praecepta vestra quae imperant in actu mori*
('your teachings, which gave the order to die in action' Sen. *p. E8*, 1)

Do we here get a glimpse of the Stoic refusing to differentiate between controllable and non-controllable?