
Impersonal and Personal Passivization Of Latin Infinitive Constructions: A Scrutiny Of The Structures Called AcI

SUSANNE SCHOOF

15.1 The Data

The structure **Accusativus cum Infinitivo (AcI)** has been observed in a number of languages, amongst them Latin. Morphologically it consists of an NP_{acc} and a VP_{inf}. In Latin however, a finer distinction has to be drawn, as was already noticed by Bolkestein (1976) who differentiates “between actual accusative cum infinitive clauses and constructions existing of an object-noun in the accusative caseform and a complementary infinitive” (1976:263).

This syntactical distinction was not drawn by the classical grammarians (cf. Woodcock (1959), Ernout and Thomas (1951), Meillet and Vendryès (1924), Leumann, Hoffmann, and Szantyr (1965)). Even relatively recent authors such as Cann (1983) – although aware of the difference – sometimes confuse the structures.

(1) illustrates the A+I-variety and (2) the AcI:

- (1) cogo te abire.
I-force you(acc) to-leave.
'I force you to leave.'
- (2) dico te abire.
I-say you(acc) to-leave.
'I say that you leave.'

The Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on HPSG.
Jong-Bok Kim and Stephen Wechsler.
Copyright © 2003, Stanford University.

If we have a closer look at the superficially analogous sentences (1) and (2) we realize syntactical as well as semantical differences. *Cogo* is a transitive verb whilst *dico* is intransitive:

(3) *cogo te.*
I-force you(acc).
'I force you.'

(4) **dico te.*
I-say you(acc).

This fundamental distinction has profound consequences in structure:

- Transitive verbs such as *cogo* taking an accusative object and an infinitive verb phrase as their complements exercise a semantic restriction. The action or activity which is forced must not be perfective. It must still be possible with respect to the action of forcing. This restriction is missing in case of the intransitive verbs:

(5) **cogo te abitum esse.*
I-force you(acc) to-have-left.

(6) *dico te abitum esse.*
I-say you(acc) to-have-left.
'I say that you have left.'

- The most striking syntactical difference however is found with regard to passivization. The object control verb *cogo* offers only one form of passive, the personal passive in which the accusative NP becomes the subject:

(7) *tu abire cogeris.*
you(nom) to-leave are-forced(2ndsg).
'You are forced to leave.'

Note that the verb agrees with the nominative subject 'tu'. There is no impersonal passive in which the accusative NP would keep its case:

(8) **te abire cogitur.*
you(acc) to-leave is-forced(3rdsg).

This latter structure is found with AcI-verbs. Sentence (2) can be passivized in two ways: The impersonal and the personal passive coexist (9, 10):

(9) te abire dicitur.
 you(acc) to-leave is-said(3rdsg).
 'It is said that you leave.'

(10) tu abire diceris.
 you(nom) to-leave are-said(2ndsg).
 'You are said to leave.'

Note that the impersonal passive is subjectless and shows third person singular inflection, while the personal passive is second singular, agreeing with the nominative 'tu'.

- The *verba sentiendi* (verbs of perception) participate in both structures. Thus they govern both A+I and AcI. This distinction was already drawn by Bolkestein (1976) who notices: ¹

"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 (..), or some object or being which is able to produce some kind of sound (..). This means that *audire* when it governs a noun always refers to direct perception of sound" (1976:284).

The AcI-construction lacks these semantic restrictions. (11 a, b) illustrate Bolkestein's points. We suggest that the accusative NP is not a direct object of the matrix clause and this is supported by the ungrammaticality of (12a). In constructions such as (12b) "neither the referent of the accusative noun within the aci-clause, nor of the entire aci-clause, ..., need necessarily refer to a thing, respectively event or state which is itself audible at the time referred to by the verb *audire*" (Bolkestein, 1976)(285).

(11a) audio puellam.
 I-hear girl(acc).
 'I hear the girl.'

(11b) audio puellam venire.
 I-hear girl(acc) to-come.
 'I hear that the girl comes.'

(12a) *audivit hereditatem.
 he-heard legacy(acc).

(12b) audivit venisse hereditatem.
 he-heard to-have-come legacy(acc).

¹cf. 1976:283-286

‘He heard that a legacy had come.’

Cic., Verr., 2,21

examples (12a + b) taken from Bolkestein (1976)(284:(15)a)and b)

Audire as an AcI-construction also allows for impersonal passive:

- (13) *auditum est pantheras, .. remedium quoddam habere*
 heard it-is panthers(acc), .. remedy(acc) some(acc) to-have
 ..
 ..
 ‘It is heard that panthers have some remedy ..’

Cic., N.D., 2, 126, 101

Impersonal AcI-constructions furthermore exist in the active:

- (14) *constat Caesarem dictatorem esse.*
 it-is-certain Cesar(acc) dictator(acc) to-be.
 ‘It is certain that Cesar is a dictator.’

We have to note that constructions like (14) are always found with intransitive verbs that do not passivize - as, for example, *oportet* - ‘(it) must’, *notum est* - ‘it is known’. Raising-to-Subject variants of these sentences are extremely scarce. Nonetheless, the existence of these structures in combinations with intransitive verbs demonstrates further the plausibility of a syntactic category AcI. I have been able to find examples only with *oportet*:

- (15) *fieri haec libertates oportuerant*
 to-happen these(acc,pl) liberties(acc,pl) must(3sg).
 ‘These liberties had had to be realized.’

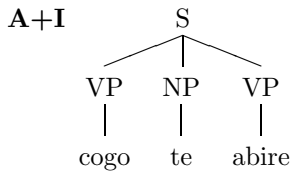
GregM., epist., 1, 53p.78,25

The data offer enough evidence to show that there are two different structures. I suggest to call them **A+I** (1) and **AcI** (2).

In the next section I will offer an analysis of the data presented here. The analysis will be formulated within the framework of HPSG.

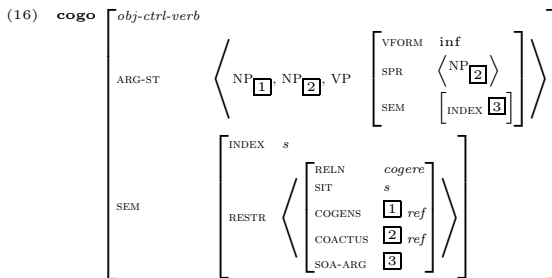
15.2 Analysis Of The A+I

The A+I, found with object-control-verbs, should be analysed as consisting of two constituents, the accusative object (NP_{acc}) and an infinitival complement (VP_{inf}). The structure looks as follows:

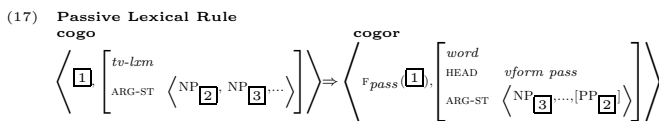


The lexical entry for *cogo* is thus:

prefinal version:

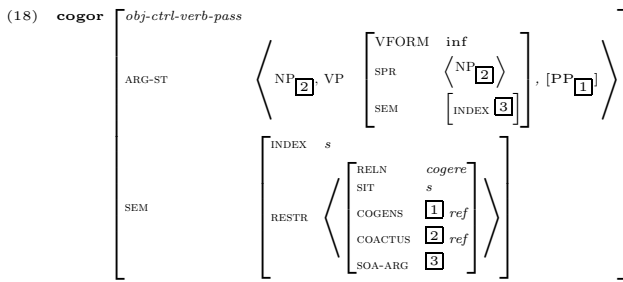


Following Pollard and Sag (1994) and Sag and Wasow (1999) I treat passivization in terms of a lexical rule. A morphological function maps a trans-verb-lexeme into the corresponding passive verb. It generates a passive lexeme to which the appropriate endings for number and person² are added.

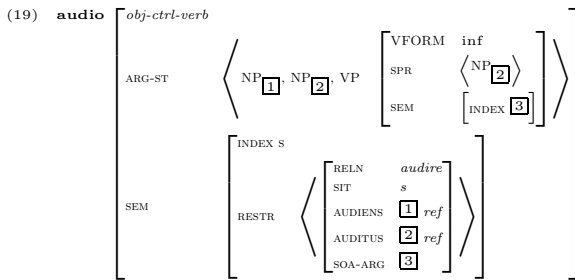


The results of rule (17) are specified in (18). The order of the elements on the argument-structure-list is rearranged. The first element, the agent - corresponding to the subject in an active sentence - is removed and turned into an optionally adjoined PP. The second element, the accusative object, becomes the subject of the passive sentence. Due to this rule the main verb of (1) is mapped into that of (7).

²and gender in verb forms specifying for gender



The verba sentiendi partly belong to the group of object-control-verbs. One of the readings of (11b) would be analogously analysed:

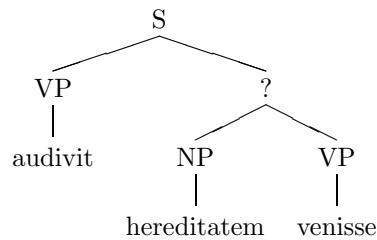


The hearer as well as the object heard are referred to. The semantic restriction exercised on the embedded infinitive is structure-shared by the matrix verb.

15.3 Analysis of the AcI

The AcI-variant (12b) behaves differently. Given the ungrammaticality of (12a) the accusative NP cannot be analysed as an object of the matrix verb. No immediate perception of the object referred to takes place. It seems that NP_{acc} and VP_{inf} form one single constituent. What kind of structure is it?

AcI, preliminary version



At the end of the seventies the rise of Transformational Grammar caused a controversial debate amongst Latinists concerning this question. The distinction between deep and surface structure more or less

forced the authors to operate within terms of categorial shift: The AcI was taken to be a sentence in deep structure which was transformed into an accusative NP in surface structure. The transformation was formulated in a way similar to Raising to Object (Pepicello, 1977). This suggestion was criticized heavily (Pillinger, 1980; Bolkestein, 1979). Only Bolkestein made the suggestion to analyse the AcI as a nonfinite clause. This work follows her analysis, and goes further in suggesting a formalization.

We now address the question of the syntactic category of the AcI constituent.³ If the AcI were assumed to be an NP the analysis would run into difficulties with regard to the following items:

The AcI

- can be negated

- (20) et dum pro se quisque deos tandem esse et
 and while for self each gods(acc) after-all to-be and
 non neglegere humana fremunt
 not to-neglect human-affairs(acc) mutter(3 pl)
 ‘and while the people muttered, each man to himself, that
 there were gods after all, who did not neglect the affairs of
 man ...

Liv., 3, 56, 7

- is modified by adverbs.

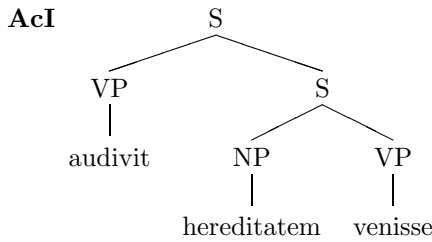
- (21) dicitur Offilius Calavius, ..., longe aliter se
 was-said Offilius Calavius, ..., by-far different(adv) self(acc)
 habere rem dixisse
 to-keep thing(acc) to-have-said
 ‘Offilius Calavius was said to have said that the case was very
 different.

Liv., 9,7,1

These are certainly clausal properties. Moreover, one would have to explain the transitivization of otherwise intransitive verbs (like *dico* (2) and *constat* (13)) if one assumed that AcI were a subcategory within NP. These problems speak against an NP-analysis as does, of course,

³Another problem concerns the status of the matrix clause the AcI is dependent on. Since in Latin the realization of subjects of finite clauses is optional, the question arises whether the subjectless finite VP itself should be analysed as a clause or not, i.e. whether the AcI depends on the VP-node of the matrix clause or on the S-node. I decided in favour of the second option in this place. It is a question of the status of Latin subjects of finite clauses which I will not discuss here.

the NP-VP internal syntax of the AcI. An analysis in terms of two separate constituents (NP_{acc} and VP_{inf}) would not differentiate between the two structures described in section 1. Especially the AcI's behaviour concerning passivization differentiates it clearly from the A+I. Therefore I suggest to analyse the AcI in clausal terms:



Within the matrix clause it serves as a kind of adjunct. Sometimes it can also serve as a complement clause, thus modifying a single NP-constituent of the higher clause. Both structures indeed coexist:

- (22) exemplum, quod testimonio sit non ex verbis
 example that testimony(dat.finalis) is not from words
 aptum pendere ius
 appropriate(acc) to-depend Right(acc)
 ‘example that serves as testimony that appropriate right does not depend on words’

Cic., Caecin., 52, 75b

- (23) docebant rem esse testimonio, quod
 they-learned thing(acc) to-be testimony(dat.finalis) that
 primum hostium impetum sustinuerint.
 first(acc) enemy's strike(acc) withstood(3 pl).
 ‘they learned that there was proof of it in the fact that they had withstood the enemy's first strike’.

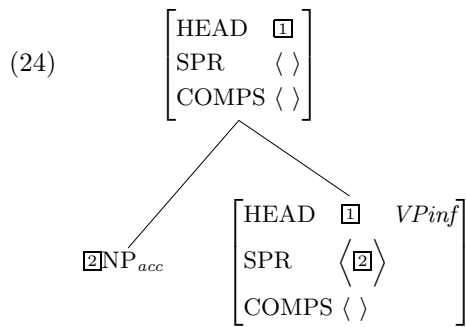
Caes., B.G., 5,28,3

The dative NP *testimonio* stands in apposition with an AcI-construction in (22), whilst in (23) modification takes place via a finite complement-clause.⁴

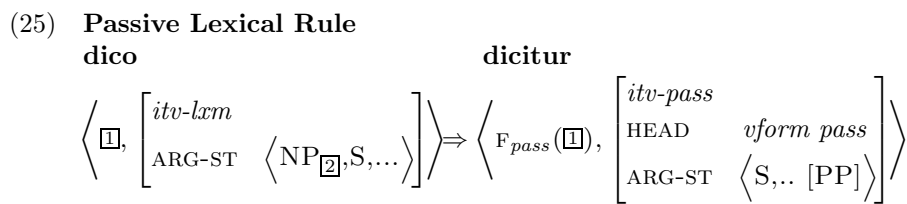
We propose therefore that the AcI is an **infinitival clause**. A grammatical rule assigns accusative case to subjects of infinitival clauses.

⁴As *quod* is the adverbial neuter of the relative pronoun this construction can be classified as a relative clause in Latin.

These are generally expressed,⁵ unlike subjects of finite clauses which are often left unexpressed.

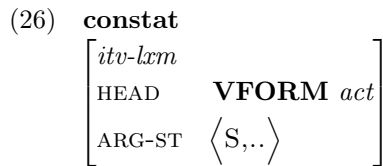


With regard to passivization the same lexical rule that was already used in the analysis of the A+I is applied:



As there is no direct object which can be promoted into subject position it follows that the matrix clause of impersonal passive constructions is necessarily subjectless.⁶ The verb form is always the third person singular.

The impersonal active (13) is analysed in analogous terms:



As an impersonal construction it is subjectless and always takes the third person singular.

⁵In colloquial language the subject pronoun is sometimes omitted, when it is obvious from the context cf. (Leumann, Hofmann, and Szantyr, 1963): 362, par. 198. An example of an Acl with the subject left unexpressed is also given in (20).

⁶Latin disposes of no expletiva.

15.4 Analysis Of The NcI

The AcI offers a further kind of passivization, the personal passive, **nominativus cum infinitivo (NcI)**. At first sight (10) resembles (7). Both sentences are repeated here as (27) and (28) for the convenience of the reader:

(27) tu abire cogeris.
 you(nom) to-leave are-forced.
 ‘You are forced to leave.’

(28) tu abire diceris.
 you(nom) to-leave are-said.
 ‘You are said to leave.’

However, a closer look reveals differences: Both structures consist of a passive matrix verb, its subject and an extra complement, VP_{inf} . (27) is the direct passivization of (1), repeated here as (29):

(29) cogo te abire.
 I-force you(acc) to-leave.
 ‘I force you to leave.’

Impersonal passive is never found with A+I-verbs, only with AcI-verbs:

(30) *te abire cogitur.
 you(acc) to-leave is-forced.

(31) te abire dicitur.
 you(acc) to-leave is-said.
 ‘You are said to leave.’

Moreover, with respect to the AcI-verbs there is another important issue to be noticed: Those licensing personal passive (NcI) form a perfect subset of the group of AcI-verbs licensing impersonal passive. There is no example of a Latin AcI-verb allowing for only NcI-passivization, although examples can be found that allow only for impersonal passivization, as in (32):

(32a) constitui eos proficisci.
 I-have-decided them(acc) to-leave.
 ‘I have decided that they should leave.’

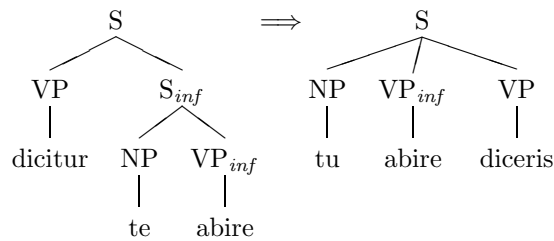
(32b) eos proficisci constitutum est.
 the(acc) to-leave is-decided(nom, sg, neutr).
 ‘It is decided that they would leave.’

- (32c) *Ii constituti sunt proficisci.
 they(nom) are-decided(nom, pl, masc) to-leave.
 ‘They have been decided to leave.’

(examples taken from (Bolkestein, 1979): (26: 14 a-c)

So the NcI-verbs form a subgroup of the AcI-verbs. A closer look reveals that they all belong to a semantical group. This is traditionally called the group of *verba sentiendi et dicendi*. With these verbs we find two possible passive constructions, impersonal and personal. We propose that personal passives are generated via Raising to Subject.⁷ NcI should best be interpreted as derived from the impersonal passive or as personalization of the impersonal passive.⁸ The existence of two parallel passive forms with this set of verbs definitely has semantic reasons, as raising verbs do not assign a semantical rule on their own. If we compare (9) to (10) we see that the AcI-internal accusative subject (“te”) becomes raised to subject position within the matrix clause (“tu”). There is agreement of person, number (and gender in forms specifying for gender) between the matrix verb and its (raised) subject, and no agreement in the unraised case.

Raising to Subject, passive



⁷Raising to Subject explains why the second passive (28) superficially resembles the single passive of A+I-verbs (27). No Raising-to-Object is presupposed in the analysis of the active sentence (2) *dico te abire*. If the AcI in (2) were interpreted in terms of Raising-to-Object it would be hard to explain why some structures consisting of a matrix verb, an NP_{acc} and an AcI only allow personal passivization with the (single) NP_{acc} turned into the nominative subject, leaving the AcI-construction unaffected. Since the AcI may not be split, it is ungrammatical to promote the second NP_{acc} (i.e. the accusative subject of the VP_{inf}) into subject position (nominative case) within the matrix clause. It would additionally be hard to explain the grammaticality of (32 a, b) and the ungrammaticality of (32 c).

⁸This was already the traditional interpretation, cf. Woodcock (1959)(22). There is historical evidence that the impersonal passive construction is older than the personal one which gradually evolved so that two passive forms were coexisting. An analysis of the NcI in terms of Raising to Subject as derived from the impersonal passive is also found in Pillinger (1980)(Theoretical Implications II:78 - 82). Bolkestein (1979) only discusses active NcI-constructions (30f.) which she interprets in terms of Raising to Subject, leaving the passive variant undiscussed.

Another lexical rule provides for the personalization of the impersonal passive:

- (33) *dicitur te abire.* \Rightarrow *tu abire diceris.*
 it-is-said you(acc) to-leave. \Rightarrow you(nom) to-leave are-said.
 ‘You are said to leave.’

(34a) dicitur

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-STR} \langle S_{\text{inf}} \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \quad \text{RESTR} \langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{REL} \quad \text{dicere} \\ \text{SOA-ARG} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \rangle \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow$$

(34b) diceris

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-STR} \langle \text{NP} \boxed{1}, \text{VP} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VFORM} \quad \text{inf} \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \end{array} \right] \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \quad \text{RESTR} \langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{RELN} \quad \text{dicere} \\ \text{SOA-ARG} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

As has been mentioned previously (see (14)), NcI-constructions also exist in the active, although they are extremely rare. The same mechanism of Raising to Subject is effective here as in the passive case:

- (35) *quos praetextatos*
 those(acc,pl) wearing-a-purple-garnished-toga(acc,pl)
curru vehi cum patre oportuerat
 in-chariot to-ride with father should-have(sg)
 ‘those - wearing a purple-garnished toga - should have ridden
 with their father in the chariot’

Liv., 45, 40, 7

- (36) *fieri haec libertates oportuerant.*
 to-happen these(nom,pl) liberties(nom,pl) must(3pl)
 ‘These liberties had had to be realized.’

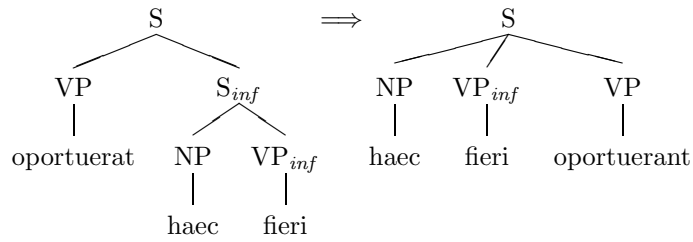
GregM., epist., 1, 53p. 78, 25

(35) is an impersonal active construction with the matrix verb in the singular. This matrix verb (*oportuerat*) subcategorizes for an infinitival clause (AcI). (36) is a personal active construction. The matrix verb (*oportuerant*) is in the plural, there is a (nominative) subject and an infinitive.⁹ In (36) the same mechanism of Raising to Subject takes place as has already been noted in (33). Whilst (33) is passive, we find

⁹For discussion of *oportere* see also (Bolkestein, 1979) (30f.).

here its active counterpart. The matrix verb in (36) subcategorizes for a nominative specifier and an infinitival complement.¹⁰

Raising to Subject, active



(37)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-STR} \langle \langle S_{inf}, \boxed{1} \rangle \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \quad \text{RESTR} \langle \langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{REL} \\ \text{SOA-ARG} \end{array} \right] \text{oportuerat} \rangle \rangle \rangle \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow$$

(38)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-STR} \langle \langle NP, \boxed{1} \rangle, VP \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VFORM} \quad \text{inf} \\ \text{SPR} \end{array} \right] \langle \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \rangle \rangle \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \quad \text{RESTR} \langle \langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{RELN} \\ \text{SOA-ARG} \end{array} \right] \text{oportere} \rangle \rangle \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

Let us repeat: Why is a differentiation between A+I- and AcI-verbs necessary?

- **A+I-verbs are transitive.**
- They participate in **object-equi-constructions**.
- They exercise a **semantic restriction** on their **two complements**, accusative object and infinitival verb phrase.
- In **passivization** the **accusative object becomes the subject**.
- They do not form impersonal passives.

- **AcI-verbs are intransitive.**
- They take an **infinitival clause** as their **oblique complement**.

¹⁰Bolkestein (1979)(30f.) notices, the Raising variant appears “only under specific conditions: the nominal to be raised must be a neuter pronoun and the infinitive of the clause must be passive voice.” However, this is only true for anteclassical Latin (cf. the entry for *oportet* in Lewis and Short (1879/1966)). In the postclassical era of Gregory I (fifth century AD) Raising affects an NP consisting of a com! mon noun specified by a demonstrative pronoun (see (36)).

- **No semantic restriction** is exercised on this complement which consists of an accusative subject and an infinitival verb phrase.
- **Passivization is impersonal**: the matrix verb is passivized (third person sing.), leaving the AcI-clause unaffected.
- A **semantically circumscribed subset** of these AcI-verbs (group of *verba sentiendi et dicendi*) allows an **additional kind of passivization**. With these verbs **impersonal and personal passive coexist**. **Personal passive** (Ncl) is derived via the process of **Raising to Subject**.
- The **verba sentiendi** are **structurally ambiguous**. If the accusative NP designates an object of **immediate perception** the matrix verb behaves as an **A+I**-verb. In case there is **no immediate perception** we have an **AcI**-structure allowing for **two different ways of passivization**.

15.5 A Note On The Copula

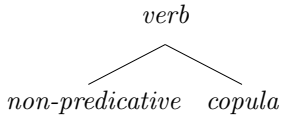
The auxiliary, when used as the copula, behaves differently from the other verbs as it subcategorizes for two NPs agreeing with each other in case. Predicative case-agreement occurs generally in either nominative (42 a) or accusative (42 b, c). It also appears in other cases, such as dative (42 d), although at a quite low frequency.

- (42a) Caesar dictator esse dicitur.
Cesar(nom) dictator(nom) to-be is-said.
'Cesar is said to be a dictator.'
- (42b) dico Caesarem dictatorem esse.
I-say Cesar(acc) dictator(acc) to-be.
'I say that Cesar is a dictator.'
- (42c) cogo Caesarem dictatorem esse.
I-force Cesar(acc) dictator(acc) to-be.
'I force Cesar to be a dictator.'
- (42d) licuit esse otioso Themistocli
it-was-allowed to-be otiose(dat) Themistocles(dat)
'Themistocles was allowed to be idle.'

Cic., Tusc., 1,15,33

We thus have to conclude that the copula serves as a kind of "case identifier". It subcategorizes for an NP (its specifier) and either another

NP or an AP as a predicative (complement). This rather surprising verbal behaviour has not been described yet within the framework of HPSG. Therefore I suggest that for Latin verbs at least the following specification must be made within the type hierarchy:



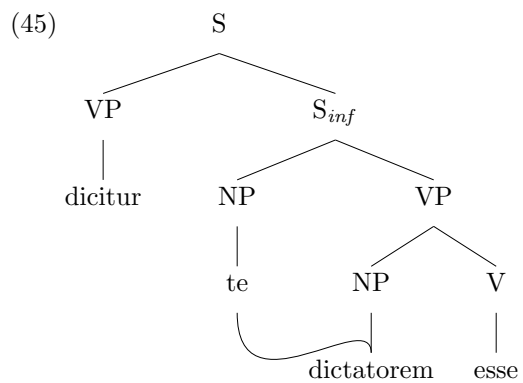
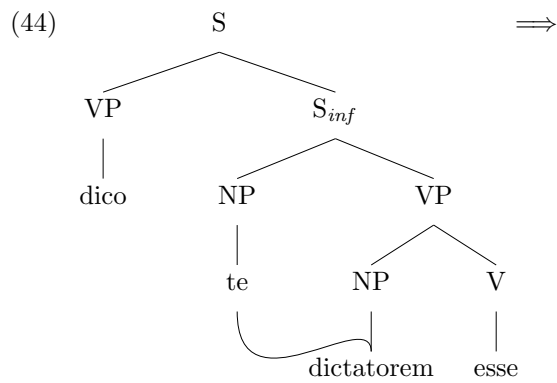
For the copula we have to introduce a lexical specification which instantiates the case of the specifier (i.e. the subject) on the complement.
¹¹

(43) **esse: lexical specification**

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{verb aux} \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \boxed{} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \boxed{} \rangle \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{verb aux} \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \text{NP} [_{\text{CASE}} \boxed{}] \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \text{NP} [_{\text{CASE}} \boxed{}] \vee \text{AP} [_{\text{CASE}} \boxed{}] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

Let us now examine examples (42 a-d). (42a) is a Raising-to-Subject-construction, (b) an infinitival clause (AcI), (c) and (d) are object-control-constructions with the object bearing accusative (c) or dative (d) case. In (b) we have a one-constituent-construction, in (a), (c) and (d) two constituents depend on the matrix verb. We discuss (42 b) first: Both “Caesarem” and “dictatorem” bear accusative case. The grammatical rule (24) assigns accusative case to the subject of the infinitival sentence (“Caesarem”). The copula *esse* ensures agreement of case between the subject and the predicative NP (“dictatorem”). Impersonal passivization leaves the internal structure of the AcI unaffected, as predicted by rule (24).

¹¹I leave the question open here how to change the HPSG-feature-architecture in order to cope with these data. Two interpretations are possible: either a purely semantic feature coindexation should be introduced, or we should argue that case is not purely syntactic but also semantic. Personally, I prefer the latter interpretation for Latin, a language which is rich in cases. The semantical identification would then be expressed syntactically.

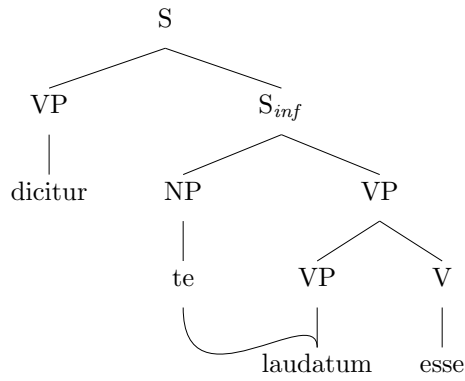


The entry for the argument-structure of *dicitur* in the passivized sentence (45) is given below. The impersonal passive subcategorizes for an infinitival sentence:

$$(46) \quad \mathbf{dicitur} \left[\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{S}[\text{INF}] \right\rangle \right]$$

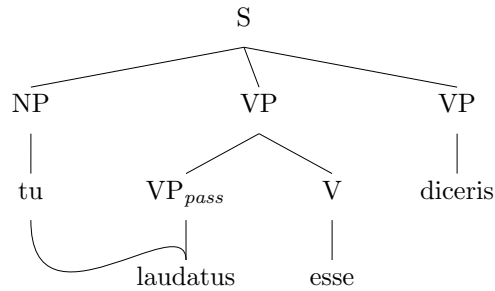
(42 a) is yielded via the process of Raising-to-Subject. In the NcI construction we have case agreement between the subject of the matrix clause (*Caesar*) and the predicative subcategorized for by the VP_{inf} *esse*.

(47) **dicitur te laudatum esse**

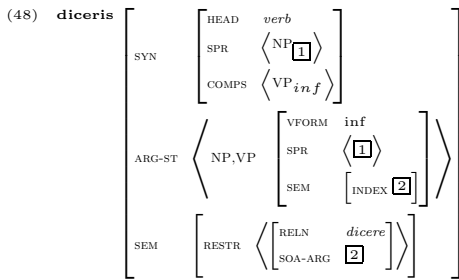


⇒

(47a) **tu laudatus esse diceris**



Here is the entry for the matrix verb in case of the NcI, i.e. the personalized passive construction that has undergone the Raising process:



In (42 c), contrary to (42 b), the subject of the VP_{inf} is subcategorized for as a complement of the matrix verb, thus found “on a higher level”. It is straightforward to verify that the specification for object control (16) predicts the case of the matrix controller but not that of the (un-realized) embedded subject, with which it is semantically coindexed. Note however the syntactically very similar examples of ‘quirky-case’ assignment in Icelandic discussed in Pollard and Sag (1994)(138f.). The authors come to the conclusion “that raising controllers share CASE

The Lexical Specification (43) then has to be slightly revised, as coindexation between the NP and the VP_{part} subcategorized for concerns case, number and gender. This is assured in (52).¹³

(52) **esse: lexical specification for participles**

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \text{verb aux} \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow$$

(52a)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VERB AUX} \\ \text{AGR} \quad \boxed{1} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CASE} \\ \text{NUMB} \\ \text{GEN} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \text{NP} \left[\text{AGR} \quad \boxed{1} \right] \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \text{VP}_{\text{past.part.}} \left[\text{AGR} \quad \boxed{1} \right] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

15.6 Conclusion

We have given sufficient evidence that two syntactically different structures formerly subsumed under the name of AcI have to be kept apart. The most crucial criterion which motivates the distinction is the behaviour of these structures with regard to passivization. Object-control verbs always display personal passive: The accusative object becomes the nominative subject. Intransitive verbs take an infinitival sentence as their complement. A grammatical rule assigns accusative case to subjects of infinitival sentences. Passivization takes place in two steps: Impersonal passivization yields in a subjectless matrix clause, leaving the AcI-clause unaffected. A perfect subset of verbs allowing for impersonal passivization displays additionally personal passivization which is explained via Raising to Subject.

We have shown furthermore that predicative infinitive constructions display ‘quirky case assignment’: CASE values are shared between the predicative NP and its unexpressed complement. In order to explain this we have to refine the lexical entries for control verbs, adding a case stipulation to the control specification. We leave open the question in what respect there is interaction between case and semantics.

References

Bolkestein, A.M. 1976. AcI- and ut-clauses with verba dicendi in Latin. *Glotta* 54: 263 – 291.

¹³I leave the question open here how to deal with the auxiliary in compound tenses semantically.

- Bolkestein, A.M. 1979. Subject-to-Object Raising in Latin? *Lingua* 48: 15 – 34.
- Cann, R. 1983. An approach to the Latin accusative and infinitive. In G. Gazdar, E.H. Klein, G.K. Pullum (eds.), *Order, Concord and Constituency*. Dordrecht Pp. 113 – 137.
- Ernout, A. and F. Thomas. 1951. *Syntaxe latine*. Paris.
- Leumann, J., B. Hofmann, and A. Szantyr. 1965. *Lateinische Grammatik*, volume II: Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik. München.
- Lewis, C.T. and C. Short. 1879/1966. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford.
- Meillet, A. and J. Vendryès. 1924. *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*. Paris.
- Pepicello, W.J. 1977. Raising in Latin. *Lingua* 42: 209 – 218.
- Pillinger, O.S. 1980. The accusative and infinitive in Latin: a refractory complement clause. *Journal of Linguistics* 16: 55 – 83.
- Pollard, Carl and Ivan A. Sag. 1994. *Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Chicago.
- Sag, I.A. and Th. Wasow. 1999. *Syntactic Theory, A Formal Introduction*. Stanford.
- Woodcock, E.C. 1959. *A new Latin syntax*. London.

For abbreviations of classical authors and their works see Lewis and Short (1879/1966).