

Abstract for *Latin vulgaire latin tardif X*

Keith Tse (University of Oxford, United Kingdom):

(Proto-)Romance prepositional infinitives and modal verbs: Latin origins and grammaticalization

It is well known that modal verbs in many Romance languages select bare verb forms whereas many lexical verbs select prepositional infinitives (see Skydsgaard 1977 for Spanish, Skytte 1984 for Italian, and Sandfeld 1965 for French). However, although the geneses of these complementation patterns constitute a long-standing problem in Romance philology (Diez (1876:201), Meyer-Lübke (1906:386), Vincent (1988:68-69), Ledgeway (2011:418-425, 428-432)), good Latin antecedents have not yet been found, despite the wide and early distributions of prepositional infinitives in Romance (see Beardsley (1921) for Old Spanish, Salvi and Renzi (2010) for Old Italian, and van Reenan and Schøsler (1991) for Old French). This paper seeks to discover the Latin origins for Romance prepositional infinitives by examining the complementation patterns of Latin modal and lexical verbs, and I have used the corpora in Bodelot (2003).

In my Latin corpora, which run from Plautus to Christian Latin, it is clear that while Latin modal verbs are attested only with bare verbal complements throughout the history of the corpora, lexical verbs have a tendency to select prepositional gerunds/gerundives towards the later end of Latin. Not all Romance prepositional infinitives can be accounted for by Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives, but there are numerous Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives that bear strong resemblances to Romance prepositional infinitives e.g. *verba cogendi* (Panchón (2003:384)). I propose that Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives were the putative precursors of Romance prepositional infinitives, and this provides empirical confirmation to much previous scholarship where it is hypothesised, with little or no empirical coverage, that the Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives were replaced by prepositional infinitives in Romance e.g. Diez (1876:201), Meyer-Lübke (1906:386), Beardsley (1921:97-99, 106-108, 150-153), Harris (1978:199), Schulte (2007:79, 87-90, 106-109).

My analysis also provides interesting comparisons with some well-known examples of grammaticalization, namely English modal verbs and *to*-infinitives. The close affinity between the modal verbs and their bare verbal complements gives rise to a monoclausal analysis and hence the NICE properties in English and clitic-climbing in Latin/Romance (Ledgeway (2011:418-420)), and the loss of the nominal morphophonological paradigms of the prepositional complements (in Latin, the demise of the gerund/gerundive, which, unlike the infinitive, is fully inflected for case and number) leads to the re-analysis of prepositional phrases as complement phrases. My analysis of Latin provides empirical support for these cross-linguistic pathways (see Heine (1993) for the geneses of auxiliary verbs and Haspelmath (1989) for those of prepositional infinitives), and I have laid out the Latin background for the grammaticalizations of two important functional categories in (proto-)Romance, namely auxiliary verbs and prepositional complementisers (see Ledgeway (2011:418-432)).

Bibliography:

Beardsley, W. A. (1921): *Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bodelot, C. (ed.) (2003): *Grammaire fondamentale du Latin Tome X: Les propositions complétives en Latin*. Louvain-Paris-Dudley, MA: Peeters.

Diez, F. C. (1876): *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*. 3rd ed. Paris.

Harris, M. (1978): *The evolution of French syntax: a comparative approach*. London: Longman.

Haspelmath, M. (1989): 'From purposive to infinitive- a universal path of grammaticalization', *Folia Linguistica Historica* 10/1-2:287-310.

Heine, B. (1993): *Auxiliaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ledgeway, A. (2011): 'Syntactic and morphosyntactic typology and change.' In Maiden, M., Smith, J. C. and Ledgeway, A. (eds) *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*. Vol. I *Structures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 382-471.

Meyer-Lübke, W. (1906): *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*. Vol. III, *Syntaxe*. Paris.

Panchón, F. (2003): 'Les complétives en *ut*'. In Bodelot, C. (ed) *Grammaire Fondamentale du Latin Tome X: Les propositions complétives en latin*. Louvain-Paris-Dudley, MA: Peeters, p. 335-481.

Reenan, P. Van. and Schøsler, L. (1991): 'Les indices d'infinitif complément d'objet en ancien français', *Issue 38 of Working papers in linguistics*, p. 523-545.

Salvi, G. and Renzi, L. (2010): *Grammatica dell'italiano antico*. Vol II. Il Mulino.

Sandfeld, (1965): *Syntaxe du français contemporain: L'infinitif*. Geneva: Droz.

Schulte, K. (2007): *Prepositional infinitives in Romance: a usage-based approach to syntactic change*. Oxford : Peter Lang.

Skydsgaard, S. (1977): *La combinatoria sintáctica del infinitivo español*, vol 1-2. Madrid:Castalia.

Skytte, G. (1983): *La sintassi dell'infinito in italiano modern*, vols 1-2. Munksgaard.

Vincent, N. (1988): 'Latin', in Vincent, N. and Harris, M. (eds) *The Romance Languages*, London: Croom Helm, p. 26-78.