

The Latin origins of Romance modal verbs and prepositional infinitives:

Abstract

Romance modal verbs tend to select bare infinitives while Romance lexical verbs can select prepositional infinitives (Harris (1978), Vincent (1988, 1999), Ledgeway (2012)). These complementation patterns are not recognised in Latin, since Latin modal verbs are not formally distinguished from lexical verbs (Ledgeway (2012: 34)) and prepositional infinitives do not exist in Latin (Schulte (2007)). However, in Bodelot's (2003) corpus, while Latin modal verbs only select bare infinitives and no prepositional dependents whatsoever, Latin lexical verbs are attested with prepositional dependents, some of which are functionally parallel to Romance prepositional infinitives, namely prepositional gerunds/gerundives, which are quasi-clausal and can be re-analysed as complements of certain lexical verbs e.g. *verba cogendi + ad-gerund/gerundive* (Panchón (2003: 384)). A wide investigation reveals that *de-* and *ad-*gerunds/gerundives are attested with numerous lexical verbs that select *de-* and *ad-*infinitives in Romance. The separation between modal and lexical verbs in Romance therefore already exists in Latin, and Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives can be taken as precursors of Romance prepositional infinitives. All this is paralleled by English modal verbs and *to*-infinitives, the former of which are only attested with bare infinitives (Lightfoot (1979)) while the latter are attested with lexical verbs (Los (2005)).

Introduction

From Latin to Romance, there are significant changes in the patterns of complementation (Vincent (1988: 65-69), Ledgeway (2012: 150-180)), one of which is the rise of prepositional infinitives, which are not attested in Latin, except in some very late texts (Beardsley (1921: 97), Diez (1876: 201-202)), but constitute a major form of complementation in Romance and are attributed to proto-Romance (Vincent (1988: 68-69, 1999: 6-7)). Romance prepositional infinitives have complementary distribution with Romance modal verbs, since the latter tend to select bare infinitives

(Harris (1978: 198, 226), Ledgeway (2012: 119-127)). The grammaticalization of Romance modal verbs and prepositional infinitives seems to be related developments. In this paper, I investigate their Latin origins.

1. *Romance modal verbs vs lexical verbs*

It is widely noted that Romance modal verbs select bare infinitives, while prepositional infinitives are selected by lexical verbs e.g. **potere* ‘can’ (1a-c)) vs **sperare* ‘to hope’ (2a-c)):

1a) egli pote-va ess-ere ancora vivo...

PRO.3SG can-IMPERF.3SG to.be-INF still alive

‘... he could still be alive...’ (Italian, in Skytte (1984: 104))

1b) je ne peux pas voir les gens malsain-s

PRO.1SG NEG can.1SG NEG see-INF DEF.ART.PL people.PL unhealthy-PL

‘I cannot see unhealthy people.’ (French, in Sandfeld (1943: 84))

1c) no pued-es pens-ar en cas-ar-te...

NEG can-PRES.2SG think-INF in marry-INF-REFL.PRO.2SG

‘you cannot think of getting married...’ (Spanish, in Skydsgaard (1977: 250))

2a) ... spera-va di ved-er-lo

hope-IMPERF.3SG DE see-INF-PRO.3SG

‘... he was hoping to see him... .’ (Italian, in Skytte (1984: 133))

2b) ... il n' esper-ait plus de jamais revoi-r

PRO.3SG.MASC NEG hope-IMPERF.3SG more DE never see.again-INF

‘... he no longer hoped to see her ever again.’ (French, in Sandfeld (1943: 88))

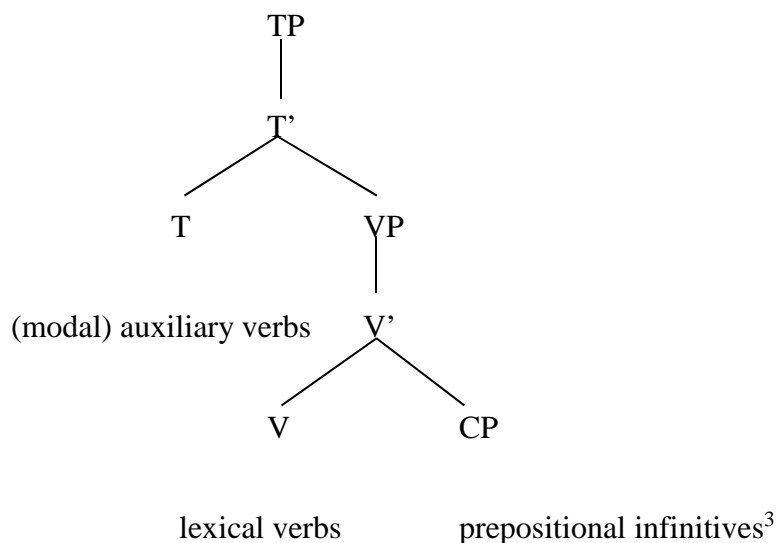
2c) mejor que esper-es a tom-ar-lo

better COMP hope-PRES.SUBJ.2SG AD take-INF-PRO.3SG

‘Better that you wait to take it...’ (Spanish, in Skydsgaard (1977: 525)).

Romance modal verbs have therefore been analysed as auxiliary verbs (T) forming monoclausal structures with the infinitive (V) (Ledgeway (2012: 127ff))¹, whereas prepositional infinitives are analysed as complementiser phrases (CP) selected by lexical verbs (V) (Ledgeway (2012: 169))²:

3)



¹ This monoclausal analysis is supported by clitic climbing (Ledgeway (2012: 120-121)).

² This CP analysis is supported by the fact that Romance prepositional infinitives are often structurally parallel to the finite *que*-clause (Vincent (1988: 68-69), Benucci (1992: 24-25), Ledgeway (2012: 169ff)).

³ This structure is parallel to English modal verbs and *to*-infinitives: the former are merged in T (Roberts and Roussou (R & R) (2003: 41)) and select the bare infinitive (Ledgeway (2012: 120)), while the latter are analysed as CPs selected by lexical verbs (R & R (2003: 105)).

There are exceptions to 3): on the one hand, there are verbs which select prepositional infinitives but display monoclausal properties e.g. Catalán *haver* + *de*-infinitive ‘to have to’, which allows clitic-climbing (see footnote 1):

4) M’-heu d’ ajud-ar

me-have.2PL DE help-INF

‘You have to help me.’ (Catalán, in Wheeler et al (1999:175), cf Vincent (1999:7))⁴

On the other hand, modal verbs do not always select the infinitive:

5a) vule-va ca prepara-ss-ero tutta cosa

want-IMPERF.3SG COMP prepare-IMPERF.SUBJ-3PL all thing

‘He wanted them to prepare everything.’ (Neapolitan, in Ledgway (2012:121))

5b) Dieu peut tout

God can all

‘God has authority over all.’ (French, in Ledgeway (2012:125))

5c) puede que alguien quiera apunt-ar-se-los

can.PRES.3SG COMP someone want-PRES.SUBJ.3SG achieve-INF-REFL.PRO-PRO.3PL

‘It is possible that someone wants to achieve them.’ (Spanish, Skydskaard (1977:109))

⁴ Similar modal periphrases exist in English e.g. *have* + *to*-infinitive, *ought* + *to*-infinitive, which are termed ‘semi-modals’/‘quasi-auxiliaries’ and are analysed separately from full modals (Heine (1993: 14-16)). Romance ‘semi-modals’/‘quasi-auxiliaries’ will not be analysed in this paper.

6c) ose-s devant moi en ma maison prech-er...

dare-PRES.2SG before PRO.1SG in my house assert-INF

‘You dare to assert in front of me in my house...’ (*La vie de Seint Auban* 45) (French)

**Debere* ‘to have to’:

7a) asy dev-ien mor-yr

so must-IMPERF.3PL die-INF

‘So they had to die.’ (*Libro de Alixandre* 171) (Spanish)

7b) debbia parlament-are a cavallo

must-PRES.SUBJ.1SG speak.in.public-INF AD horse

‘... I must speak in public on horseback.’ (*Rettorica*, p. 78) (Italian)

7c) doi-t on dir-e chanson

must-PRES.3SG PRO say-INF song

‘... we must sing a song...’ (*Ami et Amile* 3) (French)

**Potere* ‘to be able to’:

8a) non pued-o tra-er el aver

NEG can-PRES.1SG bring-INF DEF.ART possession

‘I cannot bring my possession.’ (*El Cid* 91) (Spanish)

8b) puoi prend-ere molte vi-e
 can.PRES.2SG take-INF many-FEM.PL path-FEM.PL

‘You can take many paths.’ (*Trattato*, cap. 6) (Italian)

8c) qu’ i pout porpens-er
 REL.PRO PRO can.PRES.3SG reflect-INF

‘who can think about it.’ (*L’histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat* 1.1.49) (French)

**quaerere* / *volere* ‘to want’:

9a) ex-ir quer-ien a battalla
 go.out-INF want-IMPERF.3PL to battle

‘They wanted to go out to battle.’ (*El Cid* 662) (Spanish)

9b) vuole elli di-re un poco
 want.PRES.3SG he say-INF a bit

‘... he wants to speak for a bit...’ (*Rettorica*, p. 41) (Italian)

9c) que dire voz vol-ons
 REL.PRO say-INF PRO.2PL want-PRES.1PL

‘which we want to say to you.’ (*Ami et Amile* 5) (French)

**Solere* ‘to be accustomed to’

10a) commo vev-ir sol-ia

as live-INF to.be.accustomed.to-IMPERF.1SG

‘... as I was accustomed to live.’ (*La Estoria de Sennor Sant Millan* 105) (Spanish)

10b) vi si suole da-re

PRO.2PL REFL.PRO to.be.accustomed.PRES.3SG give-INF

‘... it is usually given to you.’ (*Vegezio* 3, cap. 4) (Italian)

10c) qui... soul-oit estre vestuz...

REL.PRO be.accustomed-IMPERF.3SG be-INF dressed

‘who... was accustomed to be dressed...’ (*L’histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat* 2.1.14)

(French)

For proto-Romance, one can reconstruct the following class of modal auxiliaries which select the bare infinitive: **ausare* (6), **debere* (7), **potere* (8), **quaerere/volere* (9), **solere* (10) (cf Meyer-Lübke (1900:427-428), Diez (1876:206-207), Ledgeway (2012:120-124))⁵.

2.2. (Proto-)Romance lexical verbs

Medieval Romance lexical verbs, on the hand, are widely attested with *de-* and *ad-*infinitives.

⁵ Proto-Romance modal verbs all belong to the Latin second conjugation (*aud-eo*, *deb-eo*, **pot-eo*, *sol-eo*, **vol-eo*), which originates from Indo-European stative verbs (Sihler (1995:497, 531)) and is argued to be thematically weak and prone to being auxiliarised (R & R (2003:50-52)).

2.2.1. *de-infinitives*

*verba dicendi*⁶

11a) deneg-o de enuia-r-les ayuda

deny-PRET.3SG DE send-INF-PRO.3PL aid

‘... he denied that he sent them help.’ (*La Primera Crónica General* 679a33) (Spanish)

11b) confess-a d’ aver-lo fa-tto

confess-PRES.3SG DE have-PRO do-PERF.PTCP

‘he confesses that he has done it...’. (*Rettorica* p. 108) (Italian)

Verba dubitandi:

12a) non dubda-van de mor-yr

NEG hesitate-IMPERF.3PL DE die-INF

‘They did not hesitate to die.’ (*Libro de Alixandre* 497) (Spanish)

12b) dubit-a di vin-ire

hesitate-IMPER.2SG DE come-INF

‘... see to it that you come.’ (*De’ rimedii volgarizzato*, B. p. 378) (Italian)

⁶ Lexical verbs are classed semantically rather than etymologically, since Latin/Romance complementation is semantically conditioned and semantically similar verbs share the same complementation (Bodelot (2003:passim)).

12c) de l'-emploi-er ne dout-ez

DE PRO-use-INF NEG hesitate-PRES.2PL

‘... you do not fear using it.’ (*Chronique métrique* 752) (French)

Verba imperandi

13a) ell-os ordena-uan de pon-er

PRO-3PL order-IMPERF.3PL DE place-INF

‘... they ordered to place them.’ (*La Primera Crónica General* 87a47) (Spanish)

13b) ordin-arono di fa-r-gli fa-re incontinente...

order-PRET.3PL DE make-INF-PRO do-INF incontinent

‘... they ordered that he was to be made to make him incontinent’ (*Compagnia di S. M. del Carmine*, p. 66) (Italian)

Verba promittendi

14a) me promet-io de fer enperador

PRO.1SG promise-PRET.3SG DE make-INF emperor

‘He promised to make me emperor.’ (*Libro de Alixandre* 1141) (Spanish)

14b) promett-o-ti d’ at-ar-ti conquist-are

promise-PRES.1SG-PRO.2SG DE help-INF-you conquer-INF

‘... I promise you... to help you conquer.’ (Bono Giamboni, *Libro*, cap. 18) (Italian)

Verba putandi

15a) allí pienss-an de aguij-ar

there think-PRES.3PL DE goad-INF

‘There they are thinking of goading’ (*El Cid* 10) (Spanish)

15b) se io pens-ava di vol-ere cerc-are

if PRO.1SG think-IMPERF.1SG DE want-INF seek-INF

‘... if I was thinking of wanting to seek...’ (*Vita Nuova*, cap. 13, par. 6) (Italian)

15c) commencer-ai a pens-er de aukun-e bon-e estoire fai-re

begin-FUT.1SG AD think-INF DE some-FEM.SG good-FEM.SG story.FEM.SG make-INF

‘I shall begin to think of making a good story.’ (*Equitan, Gigemar, Lanval* 3888) (French)

Verba studendi

16a) siempre contiend-e de val-er a cuitad-os

always strive-PRES.3SG DE protect-INF AD victim-PL

‘He always strives to protect the victims.’ (*La Estoria de Sennor Sant Millan* 623) (Spanish)

16b) procaccia-ndo di riconcili-ar-si co-l Papa

strive-GERUND DE reconcile-INF-REFL.PRO with-DEF.ART Pope

‘striving to reconcile with the Pope.’ (*Cronica fiorentina*, p. 104) (Italian)

2.2.2. *ad-infinitives*

Verba cogendi

17a) pora esforç-ar a defend-er-se

in.order.to force-INF AD defend-INF-REFL.PRO

‘in order to force them to defend themselves.’ (*La Primera Crónica General* 560b31)

(Spanish)

17b) era-no costr-ett-i a tagli-are selv-e

be.IMPERF-3PL force-PERF.PTCP-NOM.PL AD cut-INF forest-PL

‘... they were forced... to cut forests...’ (*Vegezio* 2, cap. 24) (Italian)

17c) il fust contrei.nz a renoi-er la foy Jhesu Cript

PRO be.PRET.3SG force-PAST.PTCP AD reject-INF DEF.ART faith Jesus Christ

‘... he was forced to reject his faith in Jesus Christ.’ (*L’histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat*

1.1.46) (French)

Verba hortandi

18a) los aduxi-eron a se-er pocos

PRO.3PL encourage-PRET.3PL AD be-INF few

‘They encouraged them to be few.’ (*La Primera Crónica General* 4b1) (Spanish)

18b) quest-a necessitate mo-sse Boezio

this-FEM.SG necessity.FEM.SG urge-PAST.3SG Boezio

di se medesim-o a parl-are

about REFL.PRO.MASC.SG self-MASC.SG AD talk-INF

‘This necessity urged Boezio to talk about himself.’ (*Convivio* 1, cap. 2) (Italian)

Verba imperandi

19a) egli ordin-ò un suo discepolo a ten-ere la cattedra

PRO.3SG order-PAST.3SG a POSS.ADJ pupil AD hold-INF DEF.ART tenure

‘he ordered a pupil of his... to hold the tenure ’(*Tesoro volgarizzato* 1.2.24) (Italian)

19b) se ge li command-ase a fai-re une chose molt grief

if I PRO order-IMPERF.SUBJ.1SG AD do-INF one thing.FEM.SG very serious

‘If I ordered him to do a very serious thing’ (*Fabliau* 1019) (French)

Verba permittendi

20a) di-eron-te a mat-ar a tus amig-os

give-PRET.3PL-PRO.2SG AD kill-INF AD your-PL friend-PL

‘They allowed you to kill your friends.’ (*El libro de Alixandre* 1630) (Spanish)

20b) on don-e a mengi-er

PRO give-PRES.3SG AD eat-INF

‘we allow eating.’ (*La chevalerie de Judas Macabé* 374) (Medieval French)

Verba putandi

21a) pienss-an a deprun-ar

think-PRES.3PL AD leave-INF

‘They are thinking of leaving’ (*El Cid* 1493) (Spanish)

21b) se je pen-s a racont-er la bone vie

if PRO.1SG think AD tell-INF DEF.ART good life

‘If I think of telling the good life...’ (*Le tournoi de Chauvency* 2361) (French)

De-infinitives have a wider distribution than *ad*-infinitives, since the latter are used with verbs that imply futurity and purpose (*verba cogendi* (17), *hortandi* (18), *imperandi* (19), *permittendi* (20), *putandi* (21)) and the former are attested with such verbs (*verba imperandi* (13), *putandi* (15), *studendi* (16)) as well as others that are more semantically neutral (*verba dicendi* (11), *dubitandi* (12), *promittendi* (14)) (cf Meyer-Lübke (1900:426ff, 435ff), Beardsley (1921:97-99, 106-108, 150-151), Vincent (1988:68, 1999:7)).

3. (Proto-)Romance modal verbs and prepositional infinitives

Although the Latin precedents of the Romance modal verbs are well-attested with the infinitive, there is as yet no categorical separation between them and lexical verbs, since the latter are also attested with prolatives infinitives (Ernout and Thomas (1931:271-280), Woodcock (1959:15-16)), Vincent (1988:66, 1999:2), Ledgeway (2012:34 footnote 9)). Furthermore, prepositional infinitives are unattested in mainstream Latin (see introduction). Nonetheless, prepositional dependents are attested in Latin with some lexical verbs e.g. *verba hortandi* (22a) *et cogendi* (22b) (Panchón (2003:384, 387)):

22a) h-i hort-ari ad pac-em vide-ba-ntur

DEM.PRO-MASC.PL.NOM encourage-INF AD peace-ACC.SG seem-IMPERF-3PL

‘They... seemed to encourage us towards peace.’ (Cicero *Phillipics* 12.2)

22b) ut... ad depugna-nd-um cog-ere-nt-ur

COMP AD fight-GERUND-ACC.SG compel-IMPERF.SUBJ-3PL-PASS

‘... that they were compelled so as to fight...’ (Nepos *Themistocles* 4.4)

As *ad* denotes purpose, especially when construed with the gerund/gerundive (Ernout and Thomas (1931:223), Woodcock (1958:160-165), Schulte (2007:89-90)), these *ad*-PPs can be re-analysed as complements of these future-oriented verbs: ‘to encourage them towards peace > ‘to encourage them peace’, ‘they were compelled so as to fight’ > ‘they were compelled to fight’. The prepositional gerund in 22b) is especially relevant, since it denotes action (‘in order to fight’) and is hence clausal.⁷ This use of Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives therefore anticipates Romance prepositional infinitives (cf ex. 17)), and this conforms to the traditional view that Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives fill the oblique functions of the infinitive (Woodcock (1959:157-158), Oudot (1964:238)). Indeed, the Latin prepositional infinitives (23b) cited by Diez (1876:201-202) show functional equivalence to earlier prepositional gerunds/gerundives (23a):

⁷ *Verba cogendi et hortandi* are attested with *ut*-clauses in classical Latin (Panchón (2003:376ff)), which are analysed as CPs (Ledgeway (2012:154-158)), and so the *ad*-gerund in 22b) is functionally equivalent to a CP, which corresponds to Romance prepositional infinitives (see footnote 2). Most of the lexical verbs in section 2.2 take CPs in classical Latin: *verba cogendi et hortandi et imperandi et permittendi et studendi* take *ut*-clauses (Panchón (2003:376)), while *verba dicendi et promittendi et putandi* take Accusative with Infinitive (Lavency (2003)) and *verba dubitandi* take *quominus*- and *quin*-clauses (Orlandini (2003:511)).

23a) pro vin-a et mell-e eme-nd-um

instead wine-N.PL.ACC and honey-N.PL.ACC buy-GERUND-ACC.SG

‘instead of buying wine and honey...’

(*Diplomata, chartae, epistolae et alia monumenta ad res franciscas spectantia* 132) (629 AD)

23b) pro aqua prend-ere

instead water take-INF

‘instead of taking water...’ (*España Sagrada* XXXVI, p. XL) (1039 AD)⁸

As these prepositional gerunds/gerundives are already in use in Cicero and Nepos, I have scoured their texts as well as the texts of Plautus and three Christian authors (Augustine, Jerome and Tertullian) in Bodelot (2003:754-766), as these are traditionally taken as *loci classici* for proto-Romance developments in Latin (Elcock (1975:chapter 1)). These authors also form a chronological spectrum (Plautus-Nepos-Cicero-Tertullian-Jerome-Augustine). It is discovered that while Latin modal verbs are only attested with the infinitive, Latin lexical verbs are attested with prepositional gerunds/gerundives.

⁸ The earliest examples of Latin prepositional infinitives are not clausal but nominal, since they do not have obvious arguments:

a) ut inter optim-e val-ere et gravi-ssim-e aegrotare
 COMP between excellent-ADV be.well-INF and serious-SUPERLAT-ADV be.ill-INF
 nihil prorsus dice-re-nt inter-esse
 nothing completely say-IMPERF.SUBJ-3PL differ-INF
 ‘so that they said that there was absolutely no difference between excellent health and grave illness.’
 (cf Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 2.2.1)

This is a contrast to 22b) where *ad depugnandum* has a clear argument that is the subject of the main verb (*cogerentur*) i.e. ‘they were forced to fight (themselves)’. The gradual expansion of the Latin infinitive to cover oblique functions is detailed by Langslow (2009:344-345)).

3.1. Latin modal verbs

Throughout the history of Latin, modal verbs select the bare infinitive:

Audere

- 24a) aud-es mihi praedic-are id
- dare-PRES.2SG PRO.1SG.DAT tell-INF PRO.3SG.N

‘Do you dare to tell me this?’ (Plautus *Amphitryon* 561)

- 24b) aud-es mention-em fac-ere leg-is Semproni-ae
- dare-PRES.2SG mention-ACC.SG make-INF law-FEM.GEN.SG Sempronia-FEM.GEN.SG

‘Do you dare... to make mention of the Sempronian law?’ (Cicero *de lege agraria* 2.31)

- 24c) ill-um derid-ere non aude-o
- him-ACC.SG deride-INF NEG dare-PRES.1SG

‘I do not dare to deride him.’ (Tertullian *Apologeticum* 33.3)⁹ (cf ex. 6))

Debere

- 25a) debe-tis velle quae vel-i-mus
- must-PRES.2PL want-INF REL.PRO.N.PL want-PRES.SUBJ-1PL

‘You must want what we want.’ (Plautus *Amphitryon* 39)

⁹ *Audere* also has nominal complements:

a) qu-i hoc aud-ere non pot-uit

 REL.PRO-MASC.SG PRO.N.SG dare-INF NEG can-PERF.3SG

 ‘who could not dare this.’ (Augustine *de civitate Dei* 7.35)

25b) nostr-a omni-a pon-ere et quasi consecr-are deb-emus

our-N.PL.ACC all-N.PL.ACC place-INF and as.if dedicate-INF must-PRES.1PL

‘we must put all our possessions and as if we were dedicating them.’ (Cicero *de legibus* 2.5)

25b) te domin-e adorare deb-emus

PRO.2SG.ACC lord-VOC.SG worship-INF must-PRES.1PL

‘We must worship you, my Lord.’ (Tertullian *Liber Scorpiace* 8.5)¹⁰ (cf ex. 7))

Posse

26a) abi-re non pot-es

go.away-INF NEG be.able-PRES.2SG

‘... you cannot go away.’ (Plautus *Captivi* 332)

26b) ut... deliber-are plebs Romana pos-si-t

so.that consider-INF populace-F.NOM.SG Roman-F.NOM.SG can-PRES.SUBJ-3SG

‘so that the Roman people can consider it.’ (Cicero *de lege agraria* 2.66)

¹⁰ *Debere* also has nominal complements (cf section 1, ex. 5d):

a) argentum me-o qu-i debe-bat patr-i
money.ACC my-M.DAT.SG REL.PRO-M.SG owe-IMPERF.3SG father-DAT.SG
‘who owed my father money.’ (Plautus *Truculentus* 648)

26c) nihil pot-uit ex de-o fier-i
 nothing can-PERF.3SG from God-ABL.SG be.made-INF

‘nothing could be made from God.’ (Tertullian *Adversus Hermogenes* 15.1)¹¹ ¹² (cf ex. 8))

Solere

27a) sole-o esse in convivi-o
 be.accustomed-PRES.1SG be-INF in banquet

‘... I am regularly in the banquet.’ (Plautus *Captivi* 70)

27b) ali-is de re-bus disser-ere sole-a-mus
 other-ABL.PL about thing-ABL.PL discuss-INF be.accustomed-PRES.SUBJ-1PL

‘I am accustomed to debate about other things.’ (Cicero *de Officiis* 2.7)

¹¹ *Posse* also has nominal (a) and clausal complements (b) (cf section 1, ex. 5b-c)):

a) cum omnia deus pos-si-t
 since everything-N.PL.ACC God can-PRES.SUBJ-3SG
 ‘since God is capable of everything.’ (Jerome letter 22.5)

b) non potes-se quin tibi eius nom-en eloqu-ar
 NEG be.possible-INF COMP PRO.2SG.DAT PRO.3SG.GEN name-N.SG.ACC utter-PRES.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I have no choice but to tell you his name.’ (Plautus *Bacchides* 559)

¹² There is an example where *posse* seems to take a prepositional complement:

a) ut quisque de scriptur-is sanct-is vel de propri-o ingeni-o potest,
 as each about scripture-ABL.PL holy-ABL.PL or about own-ABL.SG heart-ABL.SG can-PRES.3SG
 provoc-at-ur in medi-um deo can-ere...
 invite-PRES.3SG-PASS into middle-ACC God-DAT.SG sing-INF
 ‘each is invited into the middle to sing to God, as much as he can about the Holy Scriptures or from his own heart...’ (Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 39.18)

However, it is necessary to supply *canere* (‘as much as he can (sing) about...’), and so this is not a prepositional complement of *potest*.

27c) sol-emus haeretic-is de posteritat-e praescrib-ere

be.accustomed-PRES.1PL heretic-DAT.PL DE posterity-ABL.SG preach-INF

‘I regularly preach to heretics about the posterity.’ (Tertullian *Adversus Hermogenem* 1.1)¹³

(cf ex. 9))

Velle

28a) aur-um auge-rre volu-ere

gold-N.SG.ACC steal-INF want-PERF.3PL

‘they wanted to steal the gold’ (Plautus *Bacchides* 297)

28b) quodsi vol-es in me esse dur-ior

but.if want-FUT.2SG in me be-INF hard-COMP.NOM.GS

‘But if you want to be tougher against me...’ (Cicero *ad Atticum* 1.1)

¹³ There is an example where *solere* seems to take a prepositional complement:

a) si quemadmodum sol-es de ceter-is rebus
if how be.accustomed-PRES.2SG about other-ABL.PL thing.ABL.PL
sic de amicitia disput-ari-s
thus about friendship-ABL.SG discuss-PERF.SUBJ-2SG

‘if just as you are accustomed to talk about other things... please speak so about friendship...’ (Cicero *Laelius de Amicitia* 16)

However, it is necessary to supply *disputare* (‘just as you are accustomed (to talk) about other things...’), and so this is not a prepositional complement of *soles*.

28c) uol-o sic ei respond-ere

want-PRES.1SG thus PRO.DAT.SG reply-INF

‘I want to reply to him thus.’ (Tertullian *Adversus Hermogenem* 23.2)¹⁴ ¹⁵ (cf ex. 10)

Latin modal verbs show strong affiliation with the bare infinitive, which anticipates Romance monoclausal analysis (see section 1). The absence of convincing prepositional dependents (see footnotes 12, 13, 15) sets them apart from lexical verbs¹⁶.

3.2. Latin lexical verbs

Lexical verbs are attested with prepositional gerunds/gerundives headed by *de* and *ad*. The former are used with a wide range of verbs (29)-34)) while the latter are used with future-oriented ones (35)-39)).

3.2.1. *de*-gerund/gerundive

de-gerunds/gerundives denote topics and are re-analyzable as complements of lexical verbs when the complement is empty:¹⁷

¹⁴ *Velle* also has nominal (a) and clausal complements ((b), (c)) (cf section 1, 5a)):

- a) h-aec ov-es vol-unt vos
DEM.PRO-F.PL.NOM sheep-F.PL.NOM want-PRES.3PL PRO.2PL.ACC
‘These sheep want you.’ (Plautus *Bacchides* 1141)
- b) Id mihi dic-i vol-o
PRO.N PRO.1SG.DAT say-INF.PASS want-PRES.1SG
‘I want it to be said to me.’ (Plautus *Bacchides* 269)
- c) ut ille te vide-a-t vol-o
COMP DEM.PRO.MASC.3SG.NOM PRO.2SG.ACC see-PRES.SUBJ-3SG want-PRES.1SG
‘I want him to see you.’ (Plautus *Bacchides* 77)

¹⁵ There is an example where *velle* seems to take a PP complement:

- a) usque ad mort-em vol-o
until AD death-ACC.SG want-PRES.1SG
‘I want all the way to death.’ (Plautus *Asinaria* 42)

However, as this is a response to a question, context supplies a clause (‘I want (you to go) all the way to death’).

¹⁶ English ‘premodals’ are likewise not attested with *to*-infinitives, as the latter originally express purpose and are mainly used with future oriented verbs in Old English (Lightfoot (1979:108-109)) (cf *ad*-infinitives in section 2.2.2).

¹⁷ English *to*-infinitives are also re-analysed from purpose adjunct clauses to complement clauses (R & R (2003:105)).

Verba dicendi

29) velle se cum e-o conloqu-i

want.INF REFL.PRO with PRO.3SG-ABL converse-INF

de parti-end-o regn-o

DE divide-GERUNDIVE-ABL.SG kingdom-ABL.SG

‘... he wanted to converse with him (something) about dividing the kingdom.’ > ‘for he wanted to tell him that he would divide the kingdom.’ (Nepos *Dion* 2)¹⁸ (cf ex. 11))

Verba dubitandi

30) Corneli-us de indica-nd-o dubit-at

Cornelius-NOM.SG DE make.charge-GERUND-ABL.SG hesitate-PRES.3SG

‘... Cornelius... doubts (something) about making a charge...’ > ‘Cornelius hesitates to make a charge...’ (Cicero *Pro Sulla* 52) (cf ex. 12))

¹⁸ Cf Cicero *ad Atticum* 1.3.3, Tertullian *Liber scorpiace* 9.10, Augustine *de civitate Dei* 5.13.

Verba imperandi

31) cum de muta-nd-o praecip-ere-t

since DE change-GERUNDIVE-M.ABL.SG order-IMPERF.SUBJ.3SG

homin-e

man-M.ABL.SG

‘since he ordered (something) about changing the man’ > ‘since he ordered to change the man.’ (Augustine *Sermones* 9.8)¹⁹ (cf ex. 13))

verba promittendi

32) tibi de nostr-o amic-o placa-nd-o

PRO.2SG.DAT DE our-M.ABL.SG friend-M.ABL.SG appease-GERUNDIVE-M.ABL.SG

aut restitue-nd-o pollice-or

or restore-GERUNDIVE-ABL.SG.M promise-PRES.1SG

‘I promise you (something) about appeasing or restoring our friend.’ > ‘I promise you that I shall appease or restore our friend’ (Cicero *ad Atticum* 1.10.2) (cf ex. 14))

¹⁹ Cf Cicero *de legibus* 3.21, Tertullian *Apologeticum* 21.4, Augustine *de civitate Dei* 1.12, 10.3, 10.5.

Verba putandi

33) tu de alter-o consulat-u gere-nd-o

you DE another-M.ABL.SG consulship-M.ABL.SG run-GERUNDIVE-M.ABL.SG

te dice-re-s cogit-are

PRO.2SG.ACC say-IMPERF.SUBJ-2SG consider-INF

‘you said that you were considering (something) about running for another consulship’ >

‘you were considering to run for another consulship.’ (Cicero *In Vatinius* 11)²⁰ (cf ex. 15))

Verba studendi

34) nos... labor-amus de aufere-nd-o mal-o

we work-PRES.1PL DE eliminate-GERUNDIVE-ABL.SG evil-ABL.SG

‘we strive in vain (on something) about removing the evil...’ > ‘we strive in vain to remove

the evil.’ (Tertullian *Adversus Hermogenem* 11.3) (cf ex. 16))²¹

²⁰ Cf Cicero *In Verrem* 2.3.31, *Brutus* 53, Augustine *de civitate Dei* 6.12.

²¹ Earlier attestations show *de-gerunds/gerundives* modifying the argument noun, the omission of which leads to the re-analysis above:

Verba dicendi

a) qu-os scrib-unt de contemne-nd-a glori-a
REL.PRO-ACC.PL write-PRES.3PL DE despise-GERUNDIVE-F.ABL.SG glory-F.ABL.SG
‘which (books) they write about despising glory.’ (Cicero *Disputationes Tusculanae* 1.34, cf *Pro Caelio* 10)

Verba imperandi

b) responde-re-m leg-em populum Romanum iu-ssi-sse
reply-IMPERF.SUBJ-1SG law-ACC.SG people-ACC.SG Roman-ACC.SG order-PERF-INF
de civitat-e tribu-end-a
DE state.F.ABL.SG share-GERUNDIVE-F.ABL.SG
‘... I replied that the Roman people had ordered a law about sharing the state.’ (Cicero *Pro Balbo* 38)
(cf Augustine *de civitate Dei* 3.8, 8.11, 15.6, Tertullian *de anima* 48.3)

Verba promittendi

c) qu-ae reg-i de Graecia opprim-end-a
REL.PRO-N.PL king-DAT.SG DE Greece-F.ABL.SG crush-GERUNDIVE-F.ABL.SG
pollici-tus ess-e-t
promise-PERF be-IMPERF.SUBJ-3SG
‘the things about crushing Greece that he had promised to the king.’ (Nepos *Themistocles* 10.4)

Verba putandi

d) quid cogit-e-s de transeu-nd-o in Epiru-m

3.2.2. *ad-gerunds/gerundives*

Ad-gerunds/gerundives denote purpose and are re-analyzable as complements to future-oriented verbs when the complement is empty (see footnote 17):

verba cogendi

35) ad resistitue-nd-um non compell-it

AD re-establish-GERUND-ACC.SG NEG force-PRES.3SG

‘He does not force you (anything) so that you will re-establish it.’ > ‘he does not force you to re-establish it.’ (Augustine letters 153.21)²² (cf ex. 17))

verba hortandi

36) si non facile ad crede-ndum adduce-ba-t-ur

if NEG easy.ADV AD believe-GERUND lead-IMPERF-3SG-PASS

'If he was not easily being led so that he would believe it' > 'he was not being led to believe it' (Nepos *Conon* 3)²³ (cf ex. 18))

INTERROG.PRO.N.SG.ACC consider-PRES.SUBJ-2SG DE cross-GERUND-ABL.SG into Epirus-ACC.SG
 ‘what you consider about crossing into Epirus’ (*ad Atticum* 9.1.4)

²² Augustine *de civitate Dei* 10.10.

²³ Cf Cicero *In Verrem* 2.3.6, *Pro Archia* 11, *de Officiis* 1.35, Augustine *de civitate Dei* 4.31, 5.2, 10.29.

Verba imperandi

37) ad hoc crede-nd-um

AD DEM.PRO.N.SG.ACC believe-GERUNDIVE.N.SG.ACC

uos ips-os admon-ere debe-a-tis

PRO.2PL.ACC self-M.ACC.PL advise-INF must-PRES.SUBJ-2PL

‘you must advise yourselves (something) so that you will believe this’ > ‘you must advise yourselves to believe this.’ (Augustine *de civitate Dei* 10.29)²⁴ (cf ex. 19)

verba permittendi

38) scienti-as arti-um uari-arum ad adiuuand-am

knowledge-ACC.PL art-F.GEN.PL various-F.GEN.PL AD help-GERUNDIVE-F.ACC.SG

uit-am natur-am-que conce-ssi-t

life-F.ACC.SG nature-F.ACC.SG-and grant-PERF-3SG

‘he granted the knowledge of various arts so that they might improve life and nature > ‘he granted the knowledge to improve life and nature.’ (Augustine *de civitate Dei* 7.30)²⁵

(cf ex. 20)

²⁴ Cf Augustine *de civitate Dei* 4.1.

²⁵ Cf *de civitate Dei* 7.30, 9.3.

Verba putandi

- 39) in recogita-nd-o ad capie-nd-um
in reconsider-GERUND-ABL.SG AD capture-GERUNDIVE-N.SG.ACC
'in reconsidering (something) in order to capture...' > 'in reconsidering to
capture...' (Tertullian *de anima* 18.2) (cf ex. 21))²⁶

Conclusion:

Latin modal verbs and prepositional gerunds/gerundives are still far from being grammaticalized, since the former occur in different word orders (e.g. *velle*, which occurs after the main verb in 28a) but before it in 28b-c)) when Romance modal verbs configurationally occur to the left of the main verb (see section 1, ex. 1), 3)), and the latter have inflectional endings which make them prepositional phrases.²⁷ Nevertheless, the categorical distinction between Romance modal and lexical verbs (see section 1.1, ex. 1-3)) lies deep in Latin (see section 3), and Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives can be considered as precursors to Romance prepositional infinitives.

²⁶ Several of these verbs are earlier attested with complements, the omission of which leads to the re-analysis above:

Verba cogendi

- a) a civitat-ibus pecuni-am ad eme-nd-um frument-um cogere
from state-ABL.PL money-ACC.SG AD buy-GERUNDIVE-ACC.SG food-ACC.SG force-INF
'to force money from the states in order to buy food.' (Cicero *In Verrem* 2.3.179) (Cf *de lege agraria* 1.15)

Verba imperandi

- b) qu-i e-um perg-ere praecipie-ba-t
REL.PRO-M.3SG PRO-M.3SG.ACC advance-INF order-IMPERF-3SG
ad popul-um Hebraeum libera-nd-um
AD nation-M.ACC.SG Jewish-M.ACC.SG free-GERUNDIVE-M.ACC.SG
'who ordered him to go on in order to free the Jewish nation.' (Augustine *de civitate Dei* 8.11)

Verba permittendi

- c) qu-as natur-a nobis ad vive-nd-um ded-it
REL.PRO-F.ACC.PL nature-NOM.SG PRO.1PL.DAT AD live-GERUND-ACC give-PERF.3SG
'which nature gave us so that we might live.' (Cicero *Pro Marcello* 27) (cf *In Verrem* 2.1.32, *In Catilinam* 1.29)

²⁷ In contrast, the Latin/Romance infinitive does not have nominal endings and can hence be re-analysed as clausal (cf English *to*-infinitives, which originally had an etymological dative ending *-enne* which was no longer part of the case paradigm in Old English and was hence no longer nominal but clausal (Los (2005:155-157))).

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