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Introduction

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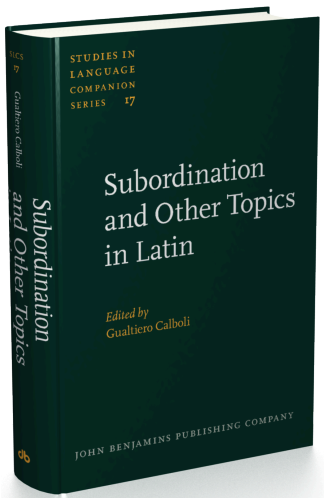

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INTRODUCTION

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The papers published in this volume form the Proceedings of the Third Congress on Latin Linguistics, now established as a regular international forum for the study of Latin by means of modern linguistic methods. Traditional methods, however, were by no means rejected. In fact efforts were made to integrate the two. In this way, and principally thanks to Harm Pinkster, promoter of the first Congress, and active member of the international Committee on Latin Linguistics, the study of Latin has gained a valuable means of comparison and of the exchange of ideas and is able to offer, in return, a considerable contribution to general linguistic research. Amsterdam, Aix-en-Provence, Bologna and now, according to plan, Cambridge, are important steps towards a modern organisation of studies relating to the Latin language, certainly the most studied language in the world. Returning to the same series in which the Proceedings of the first Congress on Latin Linguistics were published, it seems opportune to recall briefly the developments which have taken place in the study of Latin in the last five years and to examine how these developments have contributed to or, more precisely, have prepared the way for a contribution to the study of linguistics as a whole.

The main theme of the Third Congress on Latin Linguistics, held in Bologna from the first to the fifth of April 1985, was subordination and this particular subject appears to be one of the

most topical subjects in linguistic research today. This is largely due to transformational grammar and the effect of the problems raised in this field by the new model of the Government and Binding Theory. Indeed, this great problem of subordination, in traditional terminology, or "complementation", in transformational terminology, was initially brought to light or revived thanks to George Lakoff and James McCawley's generative semantics. By reducing everything into sentences they found themselves faced with the problem of linking these sentences together (embedding), or rather they induced Chomsky himself to examine closely the question of sentence-linking. But, whatever the origin, it is above all in Chomsky's transformational grammar that a serious study has been made of the way in which main and subordinate clauses are connected, taking into account movement and barriers which block movement and references. I believe that, apart from the contributions specifically inspired by the theory of Chomsky and his school of thought, such as the contributions of Alessandra Bertocchi, Jean-Pierre Maurel and of myself, the indirect influence of the problem raised by Chomsky and by TG is undeniable in all the contributions which deal with the theme of subordination while paying careful attention to the developments of modern linguistics.

Certainly another important aspect which should not be forgotten at this stage, is the so-called "modularity" of the model. To get an idea of "modularity" one need only refer to the "introduction" in Gabriella Hermon's volume on "Syntactic Modularity" (1985: 1-16). Here I must stress that I am not referring primarily to modularity in the sense of a "Universal Grammar" which may be adapted to various specific languages (even though this is also most important for Latin, as we shall see) but rather to the modularity of a model in which various theories (to use the example of "core grammar" drawn up by Chomsky (1981: 5), the theory of bounding, of government, the Θ-theory, the theory of binding, of control, of Case) are interrelated and where various forms are correlated (syntax, in a variety of structures, D-structure, S-structure, semantics, logic, and

phonetics). This problem was tackled in the introduction to the Proceedings of the Aix-en-Provence Congress with the critical insight of Christian Touratier and needs no further comment. I merely wish to add my conviction that one of the most important characteristics of modularity is, as far as Latin is concerned, the relationship between the theory of reference, which we find for example with deictic pronouns, with the question of articles and, in general, with the determiners described in the broad framework of E.L. Keenan and J. Stavi (1986), and in the theory of meaning. It is quite possible that, as Jaakko Hintikka stated (1974), the two theories may be merged into one but the role of Latin Linguistics is, in my opinion, to give concrete evidence of the possibility of this convergence and to at least show the interrelation of logic and natural language which is one of the foundations of modularity. It is, therefore, most interesting to follow the detailed examination which the great problem of quantification, a fundamental problem for determiners, has undergone in recent years, starting with the impressive approach of Richard Montague, PTQ, and works by scholars such as J. Barwise, R. Cooper, E.L. Keenan and others, and to follow the explanations given of the difference between Romance languages and Latin, a language without articles and provided with a particularly rich system of participles and nominal forms of the verb as, for instance, the infinitives and gerunds. The fascinating contribution of József Herman in this volume and the studies here and elsewhere by Anna Orlandini follow this interesting direction. In this field, on the basis of concrete facts rather than general theory, there might be a confirmation of the link between modern logic and the study of natural languages, also considering their diachronic development, given that it is precisely in this field that Latin undergoes profound modification, in its evolution towards Romance languages.

This brings us to the other aspect of modularity, the relationship between a universal grammar and individual languages. It is essential to recognise that, in traditional studies dedicated to Latin

grammar, Latin was seen as a sort of "universal grammar" from which other grammars were to grow. It was certainly an erroneous viewpoint which left this type of abstract classicism open to justifiable criticism by those who saw in the national languages the living languages set against an abstract language. However, one must bear in mind that Latin itself, with its normativism determined by the fact of being the language of a multilingual empire and, successively, the language of the learned, of the university, of academic or, at the very least, high-class culture, lead inevitably to the view of Latin as a superlanguage. Today, however, this view has become completely outdated, and a historical judgement of the facts permits us to conceive of Latin in its true role as a natural language and in its historic role as the mothertongue of the Romance languages and as a language which has also broadly influenced non-Romance languages. Since the modular relationship appears also under a diachronic aspect, such modularity in Latin has a privileged practical application, provided that this characteristic of Latin is held constantly in mind in its two-fold relationship with other languages synchronically (meaning, in this case, in comparison with Greek) and diachronically (in its Indo-european origins and its Romance developments).

Another field of study of notable interest is that of pragmatics, even though the modular relationship with other sectors of Latin linguistics remains very problematic, since situations of marked language are often concerned, in which almost anything can be considered acceptable. This gives pragmatics a somewhat exaggerated importance, since the first duty of a linguist should always be to discover the level of markedness or the conditions of markedness by identifying the unmarked grammar. Precisely in view of the expressive nature of marking and in view of the capacity of marked elements for self-adjustment the study of marking has always assumed excessive importance in stylistic and literary contexts. With the complicity of tropes and figures of speech, in other words the most elementary and sloppy rhetoric of literary tradition, stylistics

has become, as the field of the ornate and the emphatic, an all-encompassing subject and, as such, has lost all precision and scientific probability. When to this one adds the context, in the known versions of co-text, metatext and epitext, and one adds a sprinkling of various codes and messages, one finds oneself, as a result, in the muddy waters of the stalest literary uselessness. It seems to me that the contributions of these Proceedings keep themselves far removed from stylistic uselessness, which is an achievement in itself. But my suspicions are also roused by the distinction between theme and rheme where it becomes vague, no longer limited to large blocks of text and to the involvement of Textlinguistik. The greatest difficulty lies, however, in the necessity to keep these components in mind (and also such techniques as the laudable Textlinguistik) which are without doubt important, without going as far as to give them more emphasis than the unmarked passages and the "core grammar". A moderate position in this sense is that held by Functional grammar, as used in the contributions of the Dutch scholars present at the Congress, H. Pinkster, A.M. Bolkestein, J.R. de Jong and M.E. Hoffmann. However, one cannot ignore the efforts to return to a logical grammatical system, whether based on Chomsky's or Montague's models (which differ considerably), indeed the efforts of grammars which take modern logico-mathematical thought into account. These efforts have helped to clarify grammatical categories, their relationship to each other and to the lexicon, in a way which could have been conceived only a few years ago. What is missing from a grammar such as Chomsky's, certainly the most deeply involved in this research and the richest in concrete results, is not the contrast with the living language, as some people believe. who have read little or nothing of the works of Chomsky's school. On the contrary the whole, rather weak, model of Chomsky and his school is based on precise sentences of natural language. One cannot avoid, however, noting two important weaknesses; (1) the dominance of the English language and the construction of rules and of barriers using this language alone; (2) the lack of regard, or rather

the total disregard, for linguistic change and for historical linguistics. From this one perceives the important position that Latin can assume in this field of study, since linguistic development can be studied so thoroughly in no other group of languages as in the passage from Latin to Romance languages, which are numerous and generally quite distinctive.

Moreover, there is another important reason why a Latin scholar may or, in my opinion, should be interested in new methods. In ancient times the logicians and philosophers, as well as Theophrast and the Peripatetics and subsequently the Stoics, were the main contributors to the construction of classical grammar and, at the time of Port-Royal, it was logic once again which provided the decisive contribution to the revival of interest in grammar. This continued with the Kantian tradition of the 1800's so it seems only right to follow such traditions today. In addition to these noble sentiments there is the present urgent need to prepare the ground for constructive application of new, computerized techniques, which obviously cannot be used without first preparing the linguistic material to be examined with the aid of mathematical logic. Above all, I believe that scholars of grammatical studies, in particular those concerned with classical studies, should not forget the lesson of the Greeks, that is, the lesson that comes from the origins of linguistic science. The Greeks constructed an alphabet and a grammatical theory purely in order to describe the language in a simplified way, by default. This model, designed for the highest authority, was successively refined and reduced, but it would be unthinkable even to attempt to construct a model which could take into account all possible rules and barriers.

Precisely for this reason I continue to believe that a successful study would involve many different techniques and use the most refined methods of affronting the fundamental problems in depth, without rejecting those methods which, like traditional or Indogermanistic grammar, can still make a useful contribution to certain essential explanations. My view, therefore, is in this sense quite

eclectic or, as I should say today, quite modular.

I believe that the studies dedicated to Latin since 1981, the year of the first congress "On Latin Linguistics" held in Amsterdam, generally satisfy the need for modularity. In the first place we must draw attention to four books, namely the "Proceedings of the above-mentioned First International Congress", published and edited by Harm Pinkster with the title "Latin Linguistics and Linguistic Theory" (1983) and the "Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Latin Linguistics" held in Aix-en-Provence in 1983, published in 1985 under the title "Syntaxe et Latin" and edited by Christian Touratier. The third fundamental and comprehensive contribution is the Vol. II 29,1 (1983) in the series "Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt". This contains an article by G. Calboli ("Problemi di grammatica latina") on cases, moods, sentence linking and word order, one by Hannah Rosén on nominalisation in Latin ("The Mechanisms of Latin Nominalization and Conceptualization in Historical View"), another, both comprehensive and detailed, by Huguette Fugier, also concerned with nominalisation ("Le syntagme Nominal en Latin Classique"), and an article by Harm Pinkster on the problem of tense and aspect ("Tempus, Aspect and 'Aktionsart' in Latin"). The remainder of the volume contains a study by N.V. Baran on chromatic Latin vocabulary, by G. Bonfante on spoken Latin in the imperial era, by Bengt Löfstedt on the studies of Vulgar Latin, and by Veikko Väänänen on the diversification of Latin. The fourth comprehensive study must be the volume by H. Pinkster ("Latijnse Syntaxis en Semantiek", 1984), which represents a highly well-informed synthesis of numerous problems in Latin grammar, examined by means of 'functional grammar'. Apart from these works one needs to examine the studies of the problem of Case which have appeared in recent years, after the publication of an important book by Guy Serbat (1981). They deal with the very detailed study by Paolo de Carvalho (1985), preceded by a study, made in 1980, with the volume by E. Vester (1983) on "Instrument and Manner Expressions in Latin" (as regards the cases themselves) and other

studies of which I shall mention only that of E. Slave (1983). The studies of B. García Hernández, M. Lavency, S. Luraghi, G. Serbat published in this volume also refer to the cases. In this field the 'case grammar' of N. Chomsky (1981; 1982; 1985; 1986) is certainly extremely attractive (I have in part dealt with this work in Calboli [1983a: 64-80]), mainly because the Chomskian explanation of the cases is connected to the rest of grammatical structure and we find here an interrelationship between $\bar{A}$-Binding and A-Binding.

Another theme which continues to arouse the interest of scholars of Latin grammar is that of verb forms. The most interesting and useful volume in this field is A.M. Bolkestein (1980) on the modal expressions of must (*debēre, oportet, necesse est*, gerund and gerundive) which deals partly with this great problem. Conceptión Fernández Martínez (1986), examines mood in Plautus, and Sándor Kiss (1982) examines the syntax of tense and aspect, the voices of verbs and moods in Late Latin, while Paolo Martins Ferreira (1984) has studied the subjunctive in its evolution from Latin to Romance languages. A recent study of mood is found both in G. Calboli (1983: 80-109) and in H. Pinkster (1984: 241-247). In the present volume, Elseline Vester discusses the nature of the subjunctive in relative clauses, using the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative, and Huguette Fugier, studying clauses introduced by *quod, quia* and *quoniam*, contains some useful observations on the use of mood in these clauses. Another theme of vital importance today and fundamental for the syntactic problem of the connection of sentences, is that of pronouns, above all deictic-demonstrative, anaphoric and indefinite pronouns (the determiners in the generalised quantification of J. Barwise and R. Cooper 1981, of E.L. Keenan and J. Stavi 1986, and others) which various studies by Bolognese and French scholars have dealt with. G. Calboli, starting from 1978, then 1983b and 1985 up to the contribution in the present volume; Anna Orlandini 1981, 1983a and 1983b, and in the important contribution presented in these Proceedings in which the logico-semantic relationship between the definite article, the third person of the

verb and the demonstrative pronoun is examined, Alessandra Bertocchi, who, by rigorously applying the model of Chomsky in "On Binding" and in the "Government and Binding Theory" has refined the problem of anaphors in Latin and of the anaphoric links between the clauses in Bertocchi-Casadio 1980, 1983, Bertocchi 1986 and in the contribution in the present volume. These are the Bolognese contributions and of the French ones I would like to mention the perceptive studies of Jean-Claude Milner 1978; 1984, Guy Serbat 1984a and 1984b; 1986; Jean-Pierre Maurel 1986 and Huguette Fugier 1983.

The Latin language is very useful for examining the problem of generalised quantifiers and determiners in depth. In recent years the most important discovery in this field has been that these determiners must be explained by the syntax and semantics of the whole sentence into which they are inserted (cf. J. Barwise and R. Cooper 1981). But we must find a proof of this link between determiners and the other parts of the sentence and Latin gives us this proof: in the change from Latin to Romance languages the article appears and the construction of the AcI is abandoned and both phenomena are connected, as I pointed out (Calboli 1978). My explanation was accepted by T. Viljamaa (1985) and J. Herman (this book).

Another sector which has been subject to detailed analysis in the most recent research is that of the nominal forms of the verb, in which we must pay particular attention to the important volume by Ernst Risch "Gerundivum and Gerundium" (1983), the perceptive and interesting work by Toivo Viljamaa about the "Infinitive of Narration in Livy" (1983), that of Hannah Rosén on the "Syntax of the Verbal Noun in early Latin" (1981) and the studies by Mirka Maraldi 1980, 1983, 1985 and 1986 on the infinitive and the participle. In these Proceedings this subject is tackled by François Hoff, who discusses the ablative absolute and the semantic and syntactic difference between the conjunct participle, by Paolo de Carvalho, who tackles the problem of the nominalisation of verbs and of the Accusative with Infinitive in a scale of nominalisation which is, I

feel, of great interest. I had contemplated this possibility myself in a previous work (cf. G. Calboli 1968: 497 sg.). In the present volume Robert Coleman, in his turn, studies the origin and the value of the ablative absolute in relation to analogous constructions in various Indo-european languages, and Françoise Létoublon tackles with careful analysis and knowledge of the texts and of modern literature, the complex problem of the future-passive infinitive in Latin. A particular aspect of this theme, directly connected to the AcI is the problem of prolepsis dealt with in a transformational perspective (in accordance with GBT) by G. Calboli 1980 and 1983a, and by M. Maraldi (1986). This is discussed with full knowledge of the problem, of the relevant literature and of the Indogermanistic perspectives by Alain Christol in a very interesting study.

We have now arrived at the central theme of the Congress, that of Subordination. Numerous contributions have been dedicated to this argument, in particular those of H. Rosén, A.M. Bolkestein, C. Touratier, H. Fugier, M. Lavency and C. Guiraud. In this perspective the work of Chr. Lehmann develops such important criteria as the integration of a subordinate constituent, hierarchical downgrading and the desententialisation of main verbs. The studies of J.-P. Maurel and of myself tackle the theme of subordination in a transformational perspective, as we have seen. That of Maurel, in particular, concerns the subordination of the relative and contains important revelations as regards the node COMP or, as it is known today after Chomsky 1986, the node CP (= S') (Complementizer Phrase), where COMP could refer to the specifier of CP. Moreover he deals with the important problem of the relative of the protasis-apodosis type and determines a rule of the anteposition of the relative. Great interest has been aroused by the observations in the study made by József Herman, who is a specialist in Vulgar Latin and in subordinate conjunctions. He points out a characteristic difference between the use of the AcI and of the conjunctions *quod, quia* and the finite verb: with the *verba sentiendi vel dicendi* the subordinate clause placed before these verbs is normally an

AcI, whereas the subordinate clause placed after these verbs is either in the AcI or, more frequently, used with *quod, quia* + finite verb and the different usage depends on the word order, in the sense that the VO order permits the use of the AcI without ambiguity or the subordinate with conjunction and finite verb. Apart from this, Herman was able to establish another valid criterion for the difference between the two constructions. He observes that the AcI agent has a 'topical nature' and is fixed by means of co-reference to a previously expressed term. This topicalisation became superfluous with the birth of the article, which agrees with the use of the declarative subordinate of the type *quod, quia* + finite verb.

The criterion of theme and rheme, above all developed within the scope of 'Textlinguistik', and the important topic of word order with precise reference to Latin became the subject-matter of studies by D.G. Panhuis 1982, by Hannah and Haiim Rosén 1980: 27-48. A basic bibliography for theme and rheme is contained in G. Calboli 1986 and for word order in G. Calboli 1983: 110-164. In these Proceedings this topic has been covered by Hannah Rosén and Tommaso Del Vecchio, who extends the scope of the subject to include the complex metric problems of Plautus. René Amacker discusses word order in the Latin sentence, François Charpin considers word order in relation to various functions and Charles Elerick, in a most useful contribution, based on the speeches of Cicero, also reaches the conclusion that Latin has a dominantly OV word order. Ernst Heilig tackles a problem of text linguistics by applying Textlinguistik, Dependenzgrammatik and, in particular, the theory of valency grammar.

Finally, questions of morphology and word formation are covered by Leon Nadjo and Chantal Kircher, who studies the relationship between the semantic field and nominal formations (in religious feasts, the names of Gods and of plants). Maria E. Hoffmann makes an important contribution to pragmatics and stylistics in her study on litotes and another constructive study in the difficult field of negation, with ample use of texts from Regional to Late and Pre-

romance Latin is provided by Piera Molinelli, on double negation from Latin to Italian. Harm Pinkster, in his turn, studies, in great depth, the nature and meaning of periphrastic and synthetic future tenses of Romance languages in relation to the verbs *debere, posse, velle, habere*. His fine interpretation clarifies many points, previously interpreted generically by philosophers, who often held rough and imprecise notions, such as the weakening of meaning and so on, which they presented superficially and without essential semantic distinctions. Pinkster, however, with his customary mastery of the problem, fully exploits the experience he derived from a detailed study of the future in Latin, expressed with auxiliaries, which appeared in the journal *Glotta* (1985).

In conclusion, it seems to me that Latin linguistics or traditional and modern applied Latin linguistics, has undergone significant development not only as far as contributions and achievements are concerned, but also in the exploitation of a variety of techniques in order to clarify problematic aspects of Latin or aspects which needed further study. In the light of these observations I sincerely hope that the Proceedings presented here provide a worthy and useful sequel to the Proceedings of the Amsterdam Congress and those of the Congress in Aix-en-Provence. In some cases these Proceedings have served to clarify points of Latin grammar itself and in others, as in that of subordinates and pronouns, they have brought to light new mechanisms for development, which are essential to the comprehension of linguistic change in general. I believe that, in the field of Latin even more than in that of other languages, it is possible to combine traditional methods with modern methodology and thereby to continue, with new ideas, a glorious tradition, which, if abandoned, would be an incalculable loss. Looking back to the beginning of the difficult task of linking modern linguistics with the classical grammatical tradition, more than twenty years ago, it seems to me that one can already contemplate real success in this field. The first tentative steps that I took in this direction and all my subsequent work on the subject have certainly contributed to

dispelling the diffident, obtuse conservatism and the proud but mistakenly defensive attitude of an exhausted tradition.

I wish to express my great pleasure and gratitude to the friends and colleagues who have trodden the same path as myself, for the friendly and intelligent attention of Anton Szantyr, at the Tübingen discussions with Heinz Happ, many years ago now, for the solid, constructive friendship and collaboration of Harm Pinkster and for his fundamental contributions, for the important work of A. Machtelt Bolkestein, Christian Lehmann, Guy Serbat and Christian Touratier, and for the support of so many colleagues. It would be impossible to mention them all, but I wish, at least, to thank Philip Baldi, Robert Coleman, Benjamín García Hernández, József Herman, Marius Lavency, Hannah Rosén. It seems that the idea was good and that time has confirmed and defined its validity. Now, however, I believe that the time is ripe for another great work: the revival of the history of grammar and of rhetoric as a comprehensive organisation of thought, not solely of its linguistic expression. I had already taken into consideration the history of grammar, concerning mood and case in Calboli 1966: 175-184; 1972: 83-113. Harm Pinkster had examined adverbs in Roman grammatical theory very well (H. Pinkster 1972: 35-43), and G. Serbat had examined cases with an excellent presentation of the medieval conception of the case system (G. Serbat 1980: 19-57). Furthermore, the rich and extremely useful contributions of Aldo Scaglione 1970 and 1972 are also worth noting. I believe, however, that we should examine the history of grammar in a more systematic way, especially considering how much work has recently been done by J. Pinborg 1975, A. Wouters 1979 and W. Ax 1986. As far as rhetoric is concerned, one only needs to think of the attention Chomsky paid to what he termed Plato's Problem to sense how important it is, even in our studies of modern applied linguistics, to go back to classical languages, to the fount of linguistic thought, to Plato, Aristotle, and even earlier, to the sophists. It is a field which merits re-examination using modern methods, not only to establish or consolidate the

"Realien", as philologists do, but, above all, to deal with new problems. For this reason I sincerely hope that a greater place will be given to our studies and to our Congresses on the subject of the history of grammar (which naturally also involves rhetoric) which represents a fundamental moment in the history of human thought. Latin linguistics represents, in this field, a green and productive branch of hope which has, as we can say with due satisfaction, already borne substantial fruit.

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