

Concepción Cabrillana

20 Lexical domains in Latin predicative structures: ‘agentive’, fientive and stative types

1 Introduction

The study of the possible lexical domains of the verbal representation in predicative structures has been the object of a variety of studies of a general nature (see Levin [1993], Halliday [1994], Faber & Mairal [1999], Base de Datos ADESE). One question which has not been addressed specifically in Latin predicates is the nature and characteristics of the possible boundaries between different lexical domains that can designate the same predicate. In the present study we will analyse the assignment of different lexical domains which are available to a predicate, and some of the problems arising from such assignment. This will be done through looking at one especially complex concrete verb – *fio* – in a corpus representative of different genres and literary periods and which contains more than 2000 occurrences of the verb: Cato (*agr.*), Plaut. (*Amph.*, *Asin.*, *Aul.*, *Bacch.*, *Capt.*, *Cas.*, *Curc.*, *Epid.*), Caes. (*Gall.*), Sall. (*Cat.*, *Iug.*), Cic. (*Verr.*, *Catil.*, *S. Rosc.*, *Mil.*, *Mur.*, *Sest.*, *dom.*, *off.*), Ov. (*met.*), Liv. 1–10, Colum., Plin. (*paneg.*), Plin. (*nat.*), Tac. (*ann.* 11–15), Sen. (*dial.* 6, 12, *epist.*), Petron.

This investigation is the first in a series of studies within a project that will analyse in greater detail the characteristics of the different structures in which the verb *fio* can appear; hence, the present study will to a certain extent be descriptive in nature.

The structure of the study will be as follows: after the presentation and definition of possible lexical domains (§ 2), the different possible meanings of the verb *fio* will then be assigned to these domains. This will take as its starting point the meanings attributed to the verb, with its presence in the corpus used as a means of verification (§ 3); after this, the principal uses reflected in the study of the corpus – ‘agentive’, stative and fientive – will be illustrated (§ 4), in order to proceed to the analysis of the boundaries between the domains involved in the realizations of the verb (§ 5). A summary and some conclusions are then offered to conclude the study (§ 6).

Note: This study forms part of Research Project FFI2009-13402-C04-03, subsidized by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. The data have been obtained from the Data Base REGLA (see E. Torrego, J. de la Villa, D. Longrée, this volume).

2 Possible lexical domains

Prior to providing information on the verb in question, in order to illustrate the diverse particularities that exist in the assignment of one or more lexical domain by a predicate it will be useful to determine, as a methodological starting point, which lexical macro-classes can be established. For this, I will begin with Halliday's (1994) proposal, although this may need to undergo subsequent qualifications. Using broad terms, Halliday illustrates his approach with the following figure:

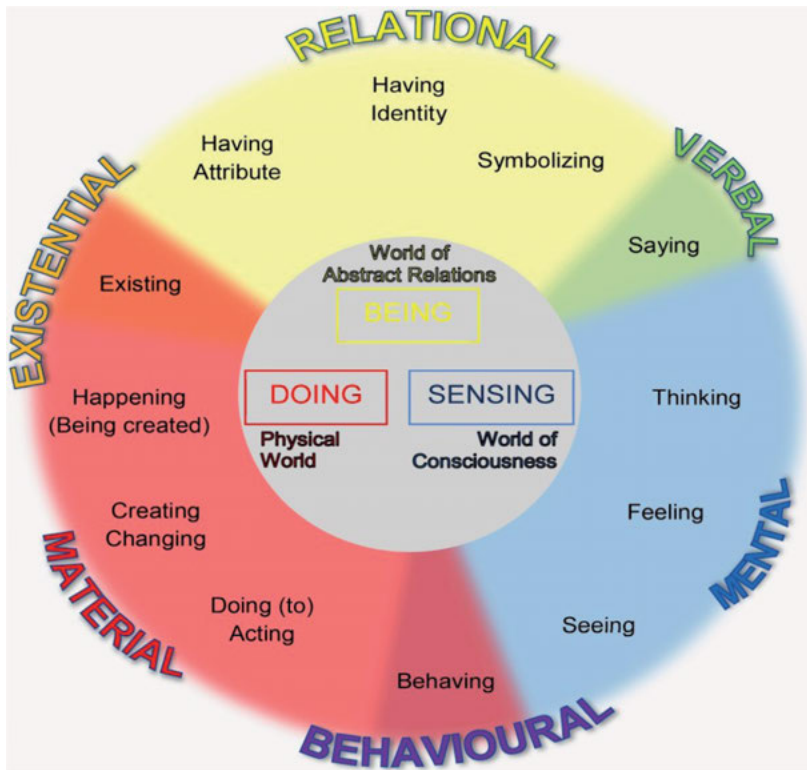


Fig. 1: Halliday's (1994) proposal.¹

¹ Thanks to Nick Moore (<http://najmoore.blogspot.it/2013/11/process-types-graphic.html>) for the image.

As can be seen, Halliday (1994: 108 ff.) recognises the existence of material, mental, relational, behavioural, verbal and existential processes. The first three of these are considered basic, and the remainder subsidiary. In what follows I will refer only to those which, as I will show in the analysis, can cover the specific lexical space of the predicate under study here.

- The type of material process covers the widest span of lexical domains; in accordance with Halliday (1994: 110) it might be defined *grosso modo* as the process which expresses the notion that an entity (Actor) does something to another (Patient), cannot be pre-existing, and logically can have active and passive formulations.
- If the material processes are those of ‘to do’ and the mental ones ‘to sense’, the relational processes can be understood as those of ‘to be’, not in an existential sense but rather in a sense of attribution, identification or possession.
- Finally, the type of existential process, according to Halliday (1994: 138), shares characteristics of relational and material processes, and represents – we might say – the fact that something exists, is present or happens.

3 Application with the verb *fiō*

Regardless of the discussion that this proposal might raise, – and which will be addressed elsewhere –, I will now set out the meanings that the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*² (henceforth *OLD*) offers for the verb *fiō*:

Tab. 1: *Fiō* in *OLD*.

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- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 1. | a. | (of events, situations, etc.) To take place, occur, arise |
| | b. | (of physical phenomena, substances, etc.) to arise, develop; (also) to occur, be found |
| 2. | | (w. <i>ut</i> , <i>ne</i> , etc.) To come about, happen (that) |
| 3. | a. | <i>quid fit?</i> or sim. what is the situation?, how are things going?, what is it?, what is the matter?; <i>quid fiet?</i> what will happen now? |
| | b. | (impers. w. adv.) to happen, turn out (in such a way); <i>ut fit</i> , as usually happen |
| 4. | | To result (from calculation, cf. sense 9b) |
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² I do not use the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*ThLL*) here because this dictionary presents the different meanings and uses together with those for *faciō*, which makes the individualisation of meanings and constructions impractical.

Tab. 1: *Fio* in *OLD* (continued).

5.	a. To be made, produced (from parts, raw material, etc.) b. (of non-material things) c. to be created
6.	a. (of laws, agreements, etc.) To be instituted, established, made b. to be elected, appointed (to a magistracy, etc.)
7.	To be prepared, be 'done'
8.	a. To be made available, be given b. to be incurred
9.	a. (w. pred.) To become or be made b. to come or amount to (by addition, subtraction, etc.)
10.	To be valued (at)
11.	(of action) To be performed, be done
12.	a. <i>quid fiet?</i> (w. dat. or abl.) What will happen (to)? what is to become (of)?; (also w. <i>de</i>) b. <i>quod fiat ...</i> so far as can be done, is possible, etc. (within specific limits)
13.	a. (of festivals, legal or other business, etc.) To take place, be held b. (impers.) a sacrifice is offered; a festivity or sim. is held
14.	(indicating the performance of the action expressed by the subject) To be done
15.	(impers., representing the action of another vb. in the context) It is being done; <i>fiat</i> , so be it, very well

If, from these data, we proceed to list the different basic meanings – without accumulating or multiplying contextual realisations that depend substantially on the semantic characteristics of the constituent that realises the function of the S(subject) – distinguished in this lexicon and in turn related to different complementation patterns,³ the following meanings emerge; they are ordered here from the highest to the lowest frequency of occurrence in the lexical information in the *OLD*:

Tab. 2: Distribution of lexical entries according to meanings in *OLD*.

Meaning	Number of lexical entries
1. To be done	12
2. To take place	7
3. To become	2
4. To result	2
5. (Impers.) A sacrifice is offered	1
Total	23

³ Such a study would require a scale not available here, and will be dealt with elsewhere.

However, a statistical analysis of these occurrences in the corpus reveals the following hierarchy regarding the order of frequency of occurrence:

Tab. 3: Global distribution of occurrences in the corpus according to semantics.

Meaning	Number of occurrences and percentage
1. 'To be done'	1141 (49.28 %)
2. 'To be(come)' ⁴	641 (27.68 %)
3. 'To take place'	501 (21.64 %)
4. 'To result'	31 (1.36 %)
5. 'A sacrifice is offered'	1 (0.04 %)
Total	2315 (100 %)

That is to say, the meaning 'to be(come)', which in *OLD* has the same number of entries as 'to result' – but very far from the number of realisations in the corpus –, would be the second in the order of frequency, with 'to take place' then coming third.

This table requires some additional data, including the frequency of use of the different meanings by individual authors, so that the distribution of occurrences in relation to the text type and period can be seen; this information is set out in the following table 4.

The data in this table lead us to a number of conclusions:

1. Text type is a relevant factor in the preferred use of one or another meaning. Thus, the global hierarchy of frequency of use presented in Table 3 is not constant in all authors and texts analysed: the general tendency, for example, is not reflected in the data from Plaut. (*Amph. – Epid.*), Caes. (*Gall.*), Cic., Plin. (*paneg.*) and Sen. (*dial.*), although the occurrences in the latter two are not very representative, given their scant number. It is probably the significant use of 'to be(come)' in Cato (*agr.*), Plin. (*nat.*) and above all in Ov. (*met.*) which leads to this meaning acquiring its position in the hierarchy in Table 3; this can be explained by the numerous contexts in which Cato and Pliny the Elder refer to natural processes, and well as in the very metamorphoses narrated by Ovid. All this might suggest that in a larger corpus the frequency of use of the different meanings – above all the first three in Table 3 – might in effect be seen to be inverted in the case of the second and third position (in that which affects 'to be(come)'), as

⁴ This double possibility, 'to be' / 'to become', will be dealt with below (§ 5.4).

Tab. 4: Distribution of occurrences in the corpus according to semantics.

Author	'To be done'	'To be (come)'	'To take place'	'To result'	'A sacr. is offered'	TOTAL
<i>Cato agr.</i>	40 (57.14%)	28 (40%)	2 (2.86%)	0	0	70
<i>Plaut. Amph.-Epid.</i>	56 (41.79%)	37 (26.61%)	41 (30.60%)	0	0	134
<i>Caes. Gall.</i>	32 (60.37%)	6 (11.32%)	15 (28.31%)	0	0	53
<i>Sall. Iug.; Cat.</i>	22 (52.38%)	16 (38.09%)	4 (9.53%)	0	0	42
<i>Cic., speeches</i>	135 (57.93%)	36 (15.45%)	60 (25.75%)	2 (0.87%)	0	233
<i>Cic. off.</i>	35 (48.61%)	17 (23.61%)	19 (26.38%)	1 (1.14%)	0	72
<i>Ov. met.</i>	11 (17.15%)	47 (73.43%)	6 (9.39%)	0	0	64
<i>Liv. 1-10</i>	159 (70.04%)	39 (17.18%)	29 (12.78%)	0	0	227
<i>Colum.</i>	146 (54.07%)	58 (21.48%)	39 (14.44%)	27 (10.01%)	0	270
<i>Plin. paneg.</i>	8 (42.10)	5 (26.31%)	6 (31.59%)	0	0	19
<i>Plin. nat.</i>	411 (48.72%)	247 (29.30%)	184 (21.82%)	1 (0.16%)	0	843
<i>Tac. ann. 11-15</i>	0	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	0	0	8
<i>Sen. dial. 6; 12</i>	5 (50%)	2 (20%)	3 (30%)	0	0	10
<i>Sen. epist.</i>	71 (29.58%)	88 (36.66%)	81 (33.76%)	0	0	240
<i>Petron.</i>	10 (33.33%)	11 (36.66%)	8 (26.66%)	0	1 (3.35%)	30
TOTAL	1141 (49.28%)	641 (27.68%)	501 (21.54%)	31 (1.36%)	1 (0.04%)	2315

can be understood from *OLD*; this question, for the moment, remains an open one.

2. Other notable facts are (i) the scant use of ‘to take place’ in Cato (*agr.*) in favour of ‘to be(come)’, (ii) the balanced findings in the case of Petron., (iii) the significant restriction of the technical use of ‘to result’ in Colum., and, perhaps most of all, (iv) the low frequency of the meaning most used in the epistolary and philosophical discourse of Sen. (*epist.*), an author who, like Ov. (*met.*), gives primacy to the copular use of *fiō*. These facts in general arise from the type of text in which *fiō* is used.

4 ‘Agentive’, Stative and Fientive uses

I. It seems logical that the meaning with the greatest number of occurrences should be that which defines *par excellence* this verb, habitually considered as the lexical passive of *facio*. This is clearly observed in the following cases, where reference is made to the same process by both *facio* and *fiō*, depending on whether the point of view from which this process is presented is active or passive:

- (1) a. Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius consules **facti**. (...). Quorum bellorum crescente cura, Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules **fiunt**
 (‘Quintus Fabius and Gaius Julius were then made consuls (...). During increasing anxiety occasioned by these campaigns Caeso Fabius and Spurius Furius were elected to the consulship’,⁵ Liv. 2,43,1)
- b. non putant enim **feri** quicquid **facere** non possunt
 (‘for such critics think that whatever they themselves cannot do, is not done’, Sen. *epist.* 71,22)

It is, so to speak, a factive use in the passive, so that it is said as much with the passive voice of *facio* as with the verb *fiō*. This use of an one-place predicate frame (*PF*) would be inserted in the lexical domain of the material processes in the nomenclature of Halliday: something is made/fabricated/chosen/prepared, firming up the corresponding nuance of the meaning of the verb in relation to the nature of the first argument (*A1*)-Subject (*S*), and bearing in mind that the material processes are not always physical or concrete, as Halli-

⁵ Translations of examples are taken, unless otherwise stated, from the corresponding volumes of the *Loeb Classical Library*.

day affirms. Thus, the following examples illustrate cases in which A1 is a constituent [+ concrete] (2a), [+ substance] (2b), [+ abstract] (2c), or [+ event] (2d):

- (2) a. **iugum** fit pertica aut harundine aut crine funiculoue
(‘the crossbar is made of a stake or a reed’, Plin. *nat.* 17,166)
- b. fit et cura **electrum**⁶ argento addito
(‘an artificial electrum is also made by adding silver to gold’, Plin. *nat.* 33,80)
- c. **auditas** coitus putatur et cibis fieri
(‘it is believed that desire for mating is also stimulated by articles of diet’, Plin. *nat.* 10,182)
- d. fit magna **caedes**
(‘a great slaughter ensued’, Caes. *Gall.* 7,70,5)

However, this meaning also shows the possibility of an S [+ human], albeit in a bivalent complementation structure: that which is habitually employed to designate naming, elections and similar processes:

- (3) Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt
(‘Caeso Fabius and Spurius Furius were elected to the consulship’, Liv. 2,43,1)

II. A second point of significance in the order of frequency according to the number of entries in *OLD* is found under the existential lexical domain, at least partially, observing thus a sort of movement from left to right – bearing in mind Halliday’s figure –, in a clockwise direction. It is concerned with the field of ‘happening’, a meaning that presents very clearly a monovalent PF in which the A1 is predominantly an event (375 cases = 74,85 %):

- (4) fiunt simul cum terrae motu et **inundationes** maris
(‘earthquakes are accompanied by inundations of the sea’, Plin. *nat.* 2,200)

The issue then arises as to the nature of the A1 in the other third of the occurrences of this meaning; and, in that it pertains to the existential lexical domain, its ability to present A1s of diverse natures is seen to be practically unlimited. In this sense, some cases can be observed in which we might define

⁶ That is, alloying four parts gold to one of silver, the colour being similar to amber.

the meaning not only as existential (5a) – including with a dative⁷ (5b) – but, more often, as a existential-locative (5c):

- (5) a. *fit et caeli ipsius hiatus*
 ('there also occurs a yawning of the actual sky', Plin. *nat.* 2,96)
- b. *ne nobis fiat invidia, scito idem dicere Epicurum*
 ('in order that there be no animosity between us, let me tell you that Epicurus said as much', Sen. *epist.* 81,11⁸)
- c. *fiunt et in quibusdam amnium haut minores (sc. pisces)*
 ('fish of no less size also occur in certain rivers', Plin. *nat.* 9,44)

Also, and on the other hand, it appears that it is not always exempt from a certain fientive nuance – a nuance that can be seen clearly in the example which follows – in the sense that a particular entity comes into being, moving from nothing to existing, and that entities [+ human] (6a), [+ animate] (6b), [+ concrete] (6c), [+ abstract] (6d) etc. are thus in evidence. Frequently, although not obligatorily, in such cases the place of origin appears coded through an ablative preceded by *ex*, *ab*, etc.:

- (6) a. *gallinaceorum testes si subinde a conceptu edat mulier, mares in utero fieri dicuntur*
 ('if occasionally after conception a woman eats the testicles of a cock, males are said to be formed in the uterus', Plin. *nat.* 30,123)
- b. **coccyx** uidetur ex accipitre fieri
 ('the cuckoo seems to be made by changing its shape out of a hawk', Plin. *nat.* 10,25)
- c. **diuitiae** fiunt autem ex auaritia
 ('but riches result from greed', Sen. *epist.* 87,22)
- d. **bonum** ex malo non fit
 ('good does not result from evil', Sen. *epist.* 87,22)

III. A third meaning, according to the number of occurrences in *OLD*, brings us to the fientive use *par excellence*, and, in a way, consumes the movement that goes in order of frequency from those uses with greatest semantic density to those with the most desemantized content. It is surprising, nevertheless, how little relevance is given to this in *OLD*, where only two entries for 'to become' are found. Yet with this meaning, which shows a bivalent PF and be-

⁷ See Cabrillana (2010: 94).

⁸ My translation, from the Spanish version in I. Roca (1986), Madrid, Gredos.

longs to the relational domain, a significant majority of situations (489 cases = 83,39 %) are expressed in which an entity changes the intensity of one of its possible properties, in such a way that the second argument (A2) is frequently an adjective that can either express grades of comparison (7a) or not do so (7b):

- (7) a. uincla, uirgae, molae: **saeuitudo mala fit peior**
 ('shackles, whips, work in the mill: frightful cruelty gets to be more frightful', Plaut. *Bacch.* fr. 5 (2,8))
- b. sic **multa**, quae honesta natura uidentur esse, temporibus fiunt non **honesta**
 ('thus there are many things which in and of themselves seem morally right, but which under certain circumstances prove to be not morally right', Cic. *off.* 3,95)

In (7b) we can see the contrast between the stative dimension of the relative clause with *esse* and the fientive of *fit*, whose interpretation as the process is also facilitated by the ablative *temporibus*.

Advancing a step further along the dimension of the change, the transformation that is made can affect the whole nature of the entity; here, the A2 tends to be coded by a noun, and instead of realising a Semantic Function of Manner, as in the previous case, it would exercise that of Result:⁹

- (8) fit noua Cyncus auis
 ('Cyncus became a strange new bird', Ov. *met.* 2,377)

The fientive nature of these kinds of examples is seen to be corroborated when the context provides more details about the process of change:

- (9) robore mollito lignoque in corpora uerso / in capitum facies puppes mutantur aduncae, / in digitos abeunt et crura natantia remi, / quodque prius fuerat, latus est mediisque carina / subdita nauigiis spinae mutatur in usum, / lina comae molles, antennae brachia **fiunt**, / caeruleus, ut fuerat, color est; quasque ante timebant, / illas uirginis exercent lusibus undas / naides aequoreae durisque in montibus ortae / molle fretum celebrant nec eas sua tangit origo

⁹ For a definition of these Semantic Functions, see Torrego *et al.* (2007: 7–9).

(‘straightway the wood softened and turned to flesh, the ships’ curved prows changed to heads, the oars to toes and swimming legs; what had been body before remained as body and the deep-laid keel was changed into a spine; cordage became soft air, and sail-yards, arms; the sea-green colour was unchanged. And now, as water-nymphs, with maiden glee they sport in the waters which they feared before. Though born on the rough mountain-tops, they now throng the yielding waves and no trace of their first state troubles them’, *Ov. met.* 14,554)

However, there are some examples of bivalent frames in which, although belonging to the relational domain, the fientive dimension is obscured or even absent:

- (10) *Quod propter crebras commutationes aestuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognouerat*
 (‘and the more so because he had learnt that by reason of the frequent turns of the tides the waves off Gaul were generally smaller’, *Caes. Gall.* 5,1,2)

This concerns uses of clearly stative nuances in which the verb shows its lowest semantic density; we will return to this distinction below.¹⁰

Thus far, then, we have presented a brief description of the principal meanings of *fio* and their assignment to lexical domains more or less proximate to each other.

5 Borderline cases between diverse semantic content and lexical domains

We will move on to look closely at a characteristic found in many of the uses of *fio*, to some extent an expected one given the semantic breadth of the verb in question, as noted above; I refer to the existence of boundaries, sometimes unclear ones, between the diverse meanings and, thus, between the lexical domains to be assigned to specific usages.

¹⁰ See § 5.4.

5.1 The boundary between the material and the existential domains

Firstly, the difference between the generic notion of ‘to be done’ and of ‘to take place’ is not always easy to establish. In principle, I have applied, among other criteria, that of the presence of the feature [+control] in A1 for those cases classifiable in the material domain (11) and its absence for those cases which would be subsumed within the existential domain (12):

- (11) fit **clamor** maximus, cum id uniuersis indignum ac nefarium uideretur
(‘(sc. that Theomnestus was named priest through an almost fraudulent election) whereupon there was a great cry of indignation at what everyone held a shameful piece of wickedness’, Cic. *Verr.* 2,2,127)
- (12) conuenit stellas in occasu uespertino proximas esse terrae et altitudine et latitudine, **exortusque matutinos** in initio cuiusque fieri
(‘it is agreed that the planets are nearest to the earth in both altitude and latitude at their evening setting, and that their morning risings occur at the beginning of both altitude and latitude’, Plin. *nat.* 2,68)

Difficulties arise when the context cannot even provide elements that make it possible to be sure as to the presence of [+control], the latter sometimes being associated with the nature of A1, above all when this is an entity of second order – that is, an event (13a) – or indeed an abstract entity (13b):

- (13) a. quod ubi ille intellexit, id agi atque id parari ut filiae suae uis adferretur, seruos suos ad se uocat; his imperat ut se ipsum neglegant, filiam defendant; excurrat aliquis qui hoc tantum domestici mali filio nuntiet. **Clamor** interea fit tota domo; inter seruos Rubri atque hospitis
(‘Philodamus, seeing that their purpose and intention was the violation of his daughter, called to his slaves, and told them not to trouble about himself, but to save his daughter; one of them had better rush off to his son with the news of his trouble at home. Before long the whole house was in an uproar, and its most respectable and worthy owner was being knocked about under his own roof in the struggle between his own slaves and those of Rubrius, everyone trying to lay hands upon him’, Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,67)
- b. cum omnes uias ordo canentium inpleuit et caeua aenatoribus cincta est et ex pulpito omne tibiaram genus organorum que consonuit, fit **concentus** ex dissonis

(‘all the aisles are filled with rows of singers; brass instruments surround the auditorium; the stage resounds with flutes and instruments of every description; and yet from the discordant sounds a harmony is produced’, *Sen. epist.* 84,10)

In (13a), it is not easy to deduce whether the *clamor* produced is intentional and controlled or, rather, is the spontaneous consequence of the difficult and confused situation being experienced. If it is compared to (11), the difference in intention and control is clear. In (13b), the A1 cannot exercise control on its own, but those who give rise to its referent can, that is, harmony (*concentus*).

On other occasions, even the speaker is not capable of discerning what type of verbal process is involved:

(14) *magnus hic in uita locus et diuersis refertus documentis, utrumne sint aliqua praescita animi quiescentis, quae fiant ratione, an fortuita res sit ut pleraque*

(‘here an important topic invites us and one fully supplied with arguments on both sides – whether there are certain cases of foreknowledge present in the mind during repose, and what causes them or whether it is a matter of chance like most things’, *Plin. nat.* 10,211)

5.2 The boundary between the existential and the relational domains

The absence of [+control] can constitute a feature that draws the existential and relational domains together, given that it is shared by both. Nevertheless, the difference in number of arguments of the constructions pertaining to each of these establishes a clear distinction: cases of the existential domain are monovalent while those of the relational domain are bivalent.

Overall, there are a few cases in which the presence of a constituent formed by various elements in those constructions understood in principle to be existential might be misleading:

(15) *fit et caligo beluae similis in nube*
(*Plin. nat.* 2,134)

The most common interpretation of this example is to understand it as existential: ‘also produced in the clouds is some fog reminiscent of a beast’¹¹ yet the

¹¹ The translation in Loeb is ‘there also occurs a darkness caused by a cloud shaped like a wild monster’.

copular interpretation is not absolutely impossible, which would situate us in the relational domain: ‘also in the clouds the fog becomes like a beast’. However, one can appeal to the context to orientate the interpretation, through parallelism, towards an existential nuance; the following example is from the same context as (15), above:

- (16) non fit autem **aquilonius typhon**, nec niualis aut niue iacente ecnephias
 (‘but a typhon does not occur with a northerly wind, nor a cloudburst with snow or when snow is lying’, Plin. *nat.* 2,133)

In other cases, the word order can also help in considering the case in terms of an existential interpretation; in effect, in existential constructions the position of the verb is frequently initial¹² (17a), although not always (17b):

- (17) a. **fiunt prodigiosi et longiores solis defectus**
 (‘portentous and protracted eclipses of sun occur’¹³ / ‘the eclipses of sun are portentous and protracted’,¹⁴ Plin. *nat.* 2,98)
 b. totam huc conuerte mentem, huic adside, hanc cole: **ingens interualum** inter te et ceteros **fiet**
 (‘focus all your attention, sit at her side (sc. philosophy), and venerate her. A great distance will emerge between you and other men’¹⁵ / ‘the difference between you and other men will be enormous’, Sen. *epist.* 53,11)

5.3 Boundary between the material and relational domains

At a first glance, it appears that between these two lexical domains there is too much distance for there to be proximity or ambiguity. Nevertheless, there is a series of contexts with quite clear bivalent structures in which it is not always easy to know what the type of construction is: this is the case in structures that are typically used to refer to the attaining of a position or of someone being named in that position.

¹² See Cabrillana & Díaz de Cerio (2000: 68–70), Cabrillana (2015: § 3).

¹³ Translation from Loeb.

¹⁴ My translation.

¹⁵ The translation that appears in the example in Loeb is: ‘turn to her (sc. philosophy), therefore, with all your soul, sit at her feet, cherish her; a great distance will then begin to separate you from other men’.

And it is, in effect, the point of view of the speaker that can differ: in the majority of cases it is understood that someone is simply named, as consul for example, by whomever; that is, the state of affairs is presented from the point of view of the event:

- (18) Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius consules facti. Eo anno non segnior discordia domi et bellum foris atrocius fuit. Ab Aequis arma sumpta; Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum crescente cura, **Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules** fiunt
 ('Quintus Fabius and Gaius Julius were then made consuls. This year there was no less discord at home, and the menace of war was greater. The Aequi took up arms, and the Veientes even made a foray into Roman territory. During the increasing anxiety occasioned by these campaigns Caeso Fabius and Sourius Furius were elected to the consulship', Liv. 2,43,1)

Yet at other times, that which might be of interest to highlight is the desire of someone to become a consul, to achieve such a rank; certainly, the situation is seen in terms of the fact that someone becomes consul, from the point of view of the A1 – and not so much as having been named consul externally –, which appears the preferable interpretation in examples such as the following, above all due to the presence of *uelle*:

- (19) esse denique, quod concupierint, nec ideo tantum *uelle* **consules fieri**, ut fuerint¹⁶
 ('in short, to be what they have really wished to be, and not to agree to become consul only to say they have been one', Plin. *paneg.* 59,2)

The following example has similar characteristics, although it is, if possible, yet more ambiguous:

- (20) ex peregrinone **patricius**, deinde **consul** fiat, cuius Romanus si sit ex plebe, praecisa consulatus spes erit?
 ('shall the son of a stranger become patrician and then consul, but a Roman citizen, if plebeian, be cut off from the hope of the consulship?', Liv. 4,3,15)

¹⁶ Pliny's comment seems to be a veiled criticism of Domitian, who Suetonius recounts as having twice been consul but only in a nominal way, with the desire that the years be named after him.

The difference perhaps hinges on the specific way in which the author wishes to present the state of affairs, given that the syntactic structure is identical in both cases: it is, then, a matter of either presenting the fact as an objective event and nothing more ('someone has been elected as consul'), or of making it understood that there exists a desire to acquire a particular condition by someone ('someone has become consul').

5.4 Boundary within the relational domain

Finally, as for possible dividing lines, and in connection with what has been said in the above paragraph, we must also mention here one of these lines which is found, as it were, in an intra-domain field: this is the difference between the uses of *fio* which are wholly fientive and those which can be considered stative within two-place structures. Thus, although the great majority of these bivalent predications are of a fientive-dynamic quality, in that which presents an entity 'coming to be' in a specific way or change of nature, there are some examples (75 cases: 11,70 %) in which the fientive quality is absent (21a)¹⁷ or at least doubtful (21b):

- (21) a. atque in frondatione cauendum, ne aut prolixiores pollices **fiant**
 ('in stripping the tree care must be taken that the knobs which are left where the rods have been cut away do not project too much', Colum. 5,6,16)
- b. at cum istud exemeris malum, omnis mutatio loci iucunda **fiet**
 ('also, with this difficulty (sc. to travel continually) removed, any change of scene, for you, will turn out to be / will come to be / will be gratifying',¹⁸ Sen. *epist.* 28,4)

This fact leads us to confirm the existence of an area of intersection between the majority of uses of *fio* (fientive, [+dynamic]) and those of *esse* (stative, [-dynamic]). In effect, what is normal is this distribution of the types of processes; the following example illustrates the fientive quality of *fio* and the stative quality of *esse*, contrasting a process through *fieri* with a state through *sit*:

¹⁷ See also (10).

¹⁸ Loeb offers the following translation: 'that trouble once removed, all change of scene will become pleasant'.

- (22) hunc a Zenone dici qui soleat **feri** ebrius, non qui **sit**
 ('Zeno, he says, meant the latter, – the man who is accustomed to get drunk, not the man who is drunk', Sen. *epist.* 83,10)

Yet cases also exist in which both verbs can express the same type of fientive process:

- (23) et perinde hoc ualet, plebeiusne consul **fiat**, tamquam seruum aut libertinum aliquis consulem **futurum** dicat?
 ('when we raise the question of a plebeian becoming consul, is it the same to say a slave or a freedman has attained that office?', Liv. 4,3,7)

The difference can be found, among other factors, in the frequency and fitness of the use of one or another meaning, which is indicative of which is the right use and which the 'displaced' although possible use in each of these two verbs; this situation is illustrated in the following figure:

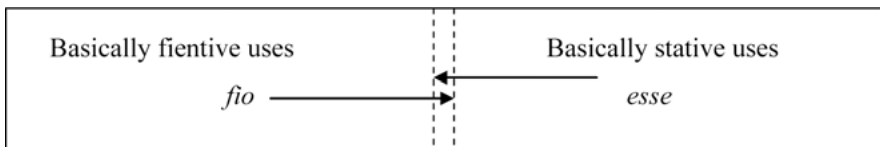


Fig. 2: Basic and displaced uses of *fio* and *esse*.

Also, that *fio* can behave in a way comparable to *esse* can be seen in the fact that it shares: (i) lexicalisations belonging to *esse*, such as *auctor esse*¹⁹ (24a), *obuius esse*²⁰ (24b), *particeps esse*²¹ (24c); (ii) structures typical with *esse* – in addition to those already mentioned – such as predications with the genitive (25a) and with the dative (25b), etc.

- (24) a. quibus cum ab uniuersis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus consultum, ut, ..., patres **auctores** omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent
 ('the entire people united in thanks to them, and the senate decreed ... that the Fathers should ratify all the election of that year', Liv. 6,42,14)

¹⁹ See *OLD*, *auctor*, 3 "(usu. as pred. of the vb. 'to be' or in abl. absol.)".

²⁰ See *ThLL*, 321,8 ff.

²¹ See *ThLL*, 496,44 ff.

- b. ubi cum **obuius** nemo ne inermis quidem fieret
 ('encountering (*sc.* the enemy) no one there, not even an unarmed man', Liv. 3,6,7)
- c. immo uero etiam in senatum uenit, fit publici consili **particeps**
 ('but he attends the Senate, takes part in our debates', Cic. *Catil.* 1,2)
- (25) a. **quanti** is a ciuibus suis fieret, quanti auctoritas eius haberetur ignora-
 bas?
 ('did you know how much Heius was valued, and how greatly he was respected, by his fellow-citizens?', Cic. *Verr.* 2,4,19)
- b. ad ea rex satis placide uerba facit: sese pacem cupere, sed Iugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem **illi** copia fieret, omnia conuentura
 ('to these words the king made a sufficiently conciliatory reply, saying that he desired peace, but pitied the misfortunes of Jugurtha; that if the same opportunity were offered his ally, agreement would be easy', Sall. *Iug.* 83)

6 Summary and conclusions

As we have seen in the discussion thus far, apart from the same verb being able to carry semantic content pertaining to lexical domains which are themselves either more or less proximate, the dividing lines between different lexical domains may not be clear-cut, thus establishing areas of intersection which correlate to the gradual nature of the semantic load and diversity in verbs such as those under study here (cf. Fig. 3).

In this way, what is reflected is the existence of boundary spaces between the material and existential domains, between this latter domain and the relational domain, and even – if only in fairly specific contexts – between the material and the relational domains, just as the verb *fit* illustrates.

On the other hand, the 'displacements' happen, so to speak, from the majority of cases in which there is greater semantic density to uses in which that density is, in one way or another, less, in a gradation that goes from a greater to a lesser index of predicationality²² and from a material scope to a relational one.

²² See Goossens (1990), Cabrillana (2010: 39).

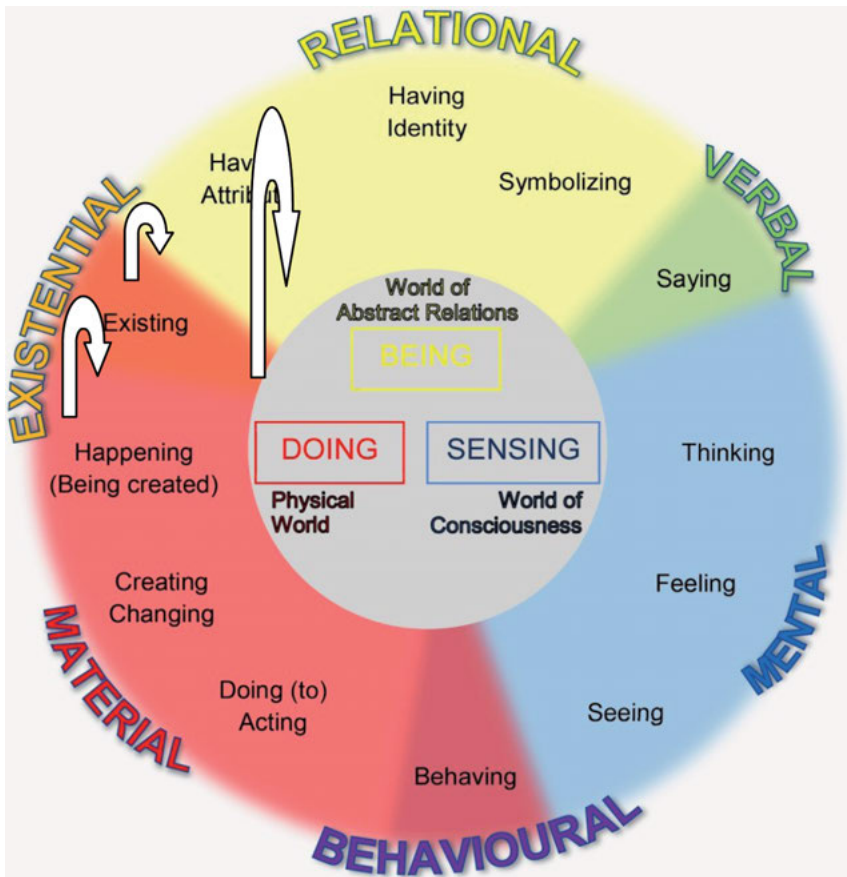


Fig. 3: Intersections between lexical domains (*fi*o).

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