SENTENCE PATTERNS IN LATIN AND GERMAN:
A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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1. *Introduction: Theoretical and practical goals*

Contrastive studies have theoretical and practical goals. On the theoretical level, detailed comparisons of languages can provide insights into the structure and function of language in general (cf. Coseriu 1972:48). They can also contribute to the solution of theoretical problems (cf. the distinction between dictionary and encyclopedia and typologies of semantic functions below). On the practical level, contrastive studies can be useful for foreign language teaching, error analysis and the practice of translation. In the last decades an ever growing amount of contrastive literature has been published (cf. the collections of Nickel 1972, Lohnes/ Hopkins 1982). By now, there are already quite a few contrastive grammars dealing with several languages (e.g. English-Italian: Agard/Di Pietro 1965; Modern Greek-German: Eideneier 1976; Turkish-German: Cimilli/Liebe-Harkort 1980; French-German: Zemb 1978/1984; German-Serbo-Croatian: Engel/Mrazović 1986).

Unfortunately, so far there is no contrastive grammar Latin-German which would fulfil modern standards of grammatical description (but cf. on Nägelsbach 1905 below). It is my aim to fill this gap and this article is a contribution to a comprehensive bilateral comparison of Latin and German (cf. also Kienpointner 1985, 1992). In the following, I will first discuss some problems of methodology and then deal with Latin and German sentence patterns in some detail.

2. *Methodological problems*

2.1. *Choosing the framework of description*

Subsequently I will briefly discuss traditional grammar and three modern grammatical theories: Transformational Grammar (TG), Dependency Grammar (DG) and Functional Grammar (FG).

Within traditional grammar, Nägelsbach (1905) can be considered as an out-

standing contribution to the contrastive description of Latin and German. This work is justly appreciated as the first contrastive Grammar of Latin and German in the modern sense (cf. Happ 1973:45). It does, however, show the typical weaknesses of traditional grammars: neglection of syntax, description of syntactic categories from a morphological perspective, confusion of levels of grammar.

At first view, TG offers a very attractive approach for a contrastive grammar, because deep structure could be seen as a universal background (tertium comparationis) for the contrastive analysis of the surface structures of the languages compared (cf. Krzeszowski 1972, 1979). Within his theory of Government and Binding, Chomsky stresses the value of contrastive studies showing parameters according to which specific languages differ from principles of universal (core) grammar (cf. Chomsky 1981:6).

But here the following question immediately arises: which deep structure of which phase of TG is to be chosen? (cf. Standard Theory vs Generative Semantics vs Case Grammar vs Extended Standard Theory vs Revised Extended Standard Theory, that is, the theory of Government and Binding). This choice is not at all trivial. As some versions of TG start from linear deep structures, it can be questioned whether these versions are adequate for a comparison of languages with very different word order patterns (like Latin and German). Furthermore, it could be argued that any linear deep structure cannot be considered universal given the diversity of basic word orders in the world's languages: SVO, SOV, VSO are most common (cf. Greenberg 1963), but there also examples of OVS (e.g. the Macro-Caribbean language Hixkaryana) and VOS (e.g. the Austronesian Language Malagasy; cf. Comrie 1981:81f.). Moreover, there are languages which perhaps cannot be classified at all within linear word order typologies. Again, Latin and German are good examples: Latin often has been considered a free order-language (without a basic word order) and German is classified as basically SVO by some linguists, SOV by others (cf. Grewendorf 1980, 1987 on this much-debated question).

A second disadvantage of TG for contrastive grammar results from the fact that in recent versions of TG semantics is treated only in a very restricted way (see Chomsky 1981, 1988; Burckhardt 1982; Grewendorf 1987 and the criticism of this development in TG by Katz 1981). For a contrastive grammar, which has to deal systematically with semantic differences between language A and B at all levels of grammar, this is not a very attractive position.

Furthermore, in the theory of Government and Binding many abstract, phonetically empty elements are assumed (e.g. traces, abstract pronouns: PRO, pro). This causes the danger of ad hoc solutions to descriptive problems. Consider the case of Latin weather verbs like 'pluit'. The surface sentence 'Pluit' is derived from 'pro-pluit' by the assumption that in 'pro-drop'-languages like Latin, Italian or Spanish the node INFL (='inflection') is moved into the verbal phrase **before** S-structure. Therefore, INFL no longer governs 'pro', which cannot be assigned nominative case and thus does not appear phonetically at the surface:

(1)   pro-INFL-VP → pro- $_{VP}$[V + INFL]

Yet, this pro-drop analysis seems to be a rather artificial solution (for an alternative description see below; more details of the pro-drop analysis can be found in Chomsky 1981:257; Grewendorf 1987:141; cf. also the adaptation for Latin by Bertocchi 1985; Maraldi 1985).

Finally, I want to mention the disadvantage that in TG it is generally assumed that the sentence is the upper limit of linguistic description. A contrastive grammar, however, must also systematically treat grammatical differences at the text level (cf. Kienpointner 1992:82ff.).

If we consider all these difficulties, it is not surprising that a contrastive generative approach like the one provided by Krzeszowski (1979), which tries to avoid some of them, is quite different from common versions of TG.

Some of the problems mentioned above do not arise for DG (as conceived by Tesniére 1966, Heringer 1973, Mel'čuk 1988, Hudson 1984, Hudson/van Langendonck 1991) and FG (as developed e.g. by Halliday 1985; Coseriu 1987; Dik 1989; Hengeveld 1992):

- DG and FG assume non-linear underlying syntactic structures, which provide a neutral background for languages with differing word order patterns;
- DG and FG systematically treat the semantics of all grammatical units;
- usually, no abstract, phonetically empty categories are assumed;
- DG and FG concentrate on the sentence level, but in FG, also the text level is taken into account (see Halliday 1985:287ff.; Coseriu 1987a:151ff.; Pinkster 1988:369ff.; Dik 1989:263ff.).

I, therefore, use DG and FG (cf. Kienpointner 1985, 1992). However, I integrate the concept of 'transformation' in a highly restricted sense. I define transformations as syntactic operations (e.g. substitutions and permutations) on the phonetic surface structures. This way, I want to account for the following facts (cf. Coseriu 1972:50; 1988:235):

- native speakers have intuitive knowledge about relations between phrases, clauses and sentences (e.g. active and passive sentences, subordinate clauses vs participle constructions vs infinitive constructions, finite sentences vs nominalizations, etc.)
- the ways in which transformations in this sense can (not) take place differ from one language to the other and can be described contrastively.

As far as practical applications of contrastive studies in foreign language teaching and translation are concerned, DG is particularly relevant because it provides lists of sentence patterns (cf. below), valency dictionaries (e.g. Helbig/Schenkel 1980; Schuhmacher 1986) and visual representations of dependency structure (dependency trees, called 'stemmata' by Tesniére 1966; cf. also Heringer 1978). Moreover, DG has already been used in contrastive grammars (e.g. by Engel/Mrazović et al. 1986).

2.2. Levels of contrastive grammar

The following levels of contrastive description should be distinguished: phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax (i.e., phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, texts).

Grammatical units should be described as to their form ('constitutional description'), their syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions ('functional description') and their relation to other units, that is, the (im)possibility of transformations ('relational description'). This threefold distinction between constitutional, functional and relational description has been developed by Coseriu (1972:50; 1987a:145ff.; 1988:242ff.).

I use the terms 'syntactic'and 'semantic function' in a broader sense than Dik (1989) and distinguish more types of functions (especially as far as syntactic functions are concerned: cf. below and Kienpointner 1992).

It has to be made clear which varieties of the compared languages are considered. I concentrate on the written standard variety of classical Latin (1st century B.C.) and written contemporary standard German. Very often, contrasts established as to certain varieties of languages disappear if other varieties are taken into consideration (e.g. dialects, sociolects, poetic language etc.).

In the following, I restrict myself to the description of some Latin and German sentence patterns (for a few remarks on phonology, morphology and the text level cf. Kienpointner 1992).

3. Latin and German sentence patterns

3.1. General remarks

Sentence patterns (= SPs) can be defined as syntactic structures consisting of the predicate and the arguments required according to the valency of the predicate. These structures are called 'nuclear predication' in FG (cf. Dik 1989:56; Pinkster 1988:4). Within the terminology of DG in the German-speaking area, they are called 'Satzmuster'/'Satzmodelle'/'Satzbaupläne' (cf. Erben 1980:257ff.; Drosdowski 1984:606ff.; Helbig/Buscha 1984:625ff.; Engel 1988:198f.; on SPs in general cf. Helbig 1992).

Contrasts between SPs of different languages are especially important in foreign language teaching: "Wer nur Wörter lernt, überträgt dann gewöhnlich automatisch den Bauplan seiner Muttersprache auf die Fremdsprache" (Engel 1988:199; similar statements are made by Happ 1976:593; Dönnges/Happ 1977:15; Heilig 1983:288).

The contrastive description of SPs can be restricted to the **number** of arguments required by the predicate (= quantitative valency), but it can also be extended to the treatment of **types** of arguments and the syntactic units occuring as paradigmatic variants of a type of argument (e.g. noun phrase (NP), prepositional phrase (PP), infinitive constructions like 'accusative-with-infinitive' (ACI), 'nominative-with-infinitive' (NCI), participle constructions like the 'ab-urbe-condita-construction' (= 'dominant participle', cf. Bolkestein 1981), subordinate clauses etc.). Finally, selection restrictions of the predicate and semantic functions of the

arguments can also be considered, that is, their **semantic valency**. Types of arguments, their paradigmatic variants and semantic valency can be subsumed under the concept qualitative valency (cf. Dik 1989:69).

I will start with quantitative valency. In general, both in Latin and in German most SPs are formed by predicates with one, two or three arguments. In Latin, however, there are also 'zero place predicates' without argument (see Figure 1 below on Latin weather verbs):
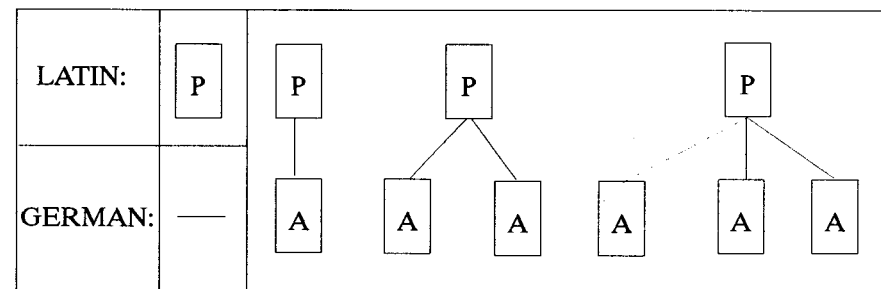

FIGURE 1

Abbreviations: P = predicate; A = argument.

Moreover, it seems to be plausible also to assume cases of predicates with four arguments in Latin and German. Still, it is often difficult to decide whether there is a predicate with four arguments or a predicate with three arguments and a satellite (cf. the discussion concerning the 'dativus sympatheticus' in Latin and the 'Pertinenzdativ' in German in Happ 1976:297ff.; Erben 1980:254; Engel 1988:193). A similar problem arises with causative constructions in German (cf. examples like *Ich lasse ihn das Buch seiner Schwester geben*), which yield 'secondary' SPs with one argument more.

SPs with five arguments are a very rare phenomenon, if possible at all. Usually, they are not assumed for German; for Latin, however, Happ (1976:473, 555f.) assumes the existence of at least one SP with five arguments.

As far as qualitative valency is concerned, I distinguish the following types of arguments in Latin and German (refer to Figure 2 on the next page).

Trivially, Latin has one type of argument more (Aabl), because it has one case more (ablative); cf. sentences like 'Utor Platone magistro', where 'Platone' is an Aabl.

This contrast remains even if further subdistinctions within the arguments are made, because these distinctions can be made in both languages; e.g. in his grammar of German Engel (1988:187) subclassifies Aadv distinguishing 'situative'/'direktive'/'expansive' Aadv; moreover, he distinguishes nominal Apred ('Mein Bruder ist *Beamter*') from adjectival Apred ('Ihre Mutter wurde *krank*'). But the same subdistinctions could be made in Latin.

LATIN: GERMAN:

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┌─────────────┐         ┌─────────────┐
│   Anom      │         │   Anom      │
│   Aacc      │         │   Aacc      │
│   Adat      │         │   Adat      │
│   Agen      │         │   Agen      │
│   Aabl      │         │   —         │
│   Aprep     │         │   Aprep     │
│   Aadv      │         │   Aadv      │
│   Apred     │         │   Apred     │
└─────────────┘         └─────────────┘
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FIGURE 2

Abbreviations: A = argument; nom = nominative; acc = accusative; dat = dative; gen = genitive; abl = ablative; prep = prepositonal; adv = adverbial; pred = predicative. The syntactic functions of these types of argument are the following ones: Anom = subject; Aacc = direct object; Adat = indirect object; Agen = genitive object; Aabl = ablative object; Aprep = prepositional object; Aadv = adverbial object; Apred = predicative object, that is, subject complement or object complement.

On the other hand, I think that the 8 (Latin) vs 7 (German) types of arguments distinguished above are all indispensable. They all have characteristic morphosyntactic and/or semantic properties. The distinction between Aprep and Aadv, for instance, can be motivated by the fact that Aprep mostly have invariable prepositions without specific meaning (cf. 'Das bezieht sich *auf* ihn'), whereas Aadvs have various exchangeable prepositions with different meanings (cf. 'Er wohnt *in* dem Haus/*auf* einem Bauernhof/*hinter* dem Bahnhof' etc.). A detailed treatment of Apred in German and Latin is given in Kienpointner 1985.

The number of SPs to be considered increases even further if the various constituents which together form the constitutional paradigm of the type of argument are distinguished (note that the use of cases and prepositions to distinguish types of arguments does not mean that they are only realized by NP or PP). As examples, take the paradigms of Anom and Aacc in Latin and German in Figure 3 on the next page.

In German translations, instances of Latin Anom like ACI, dominant participle and in most cases also NCI have to be replaced by other types of A and/or other means of expression:

- subordinate clauses or
- NP or
- translation of the verb in the Latin main clause as parenthesis
  ('dicitur'/'traditur' etc. = 'wie man sagt'/'wie es heißt'.etc.).

Similarly, Latin Aacc like dominant participle have to be replaced by NP, Latin Aacc like ACI most of the time have to be translated by subordinate clauses. Cf. the following examples (the German translation and the name of the translator are given in brackets; the relevant constituents are highlighted by italics and labelled bracketing):

LATIN: GERMAN:

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        ┌ NP                        ┌ NP
        │ Pronoun phrase            │ Pronoun phrase
        │ ACI                       │ —
Anom ───┤ NCI              Anom ────┤ (NCI)
        │ Infinitive phrase         │ Infinitive phrase
        │ dominant participle       │ —
        └ subordinate clause        └ subordinate clause


        ┌ NP                        ┌ NP
        │ Pronoun phrase            │ Pronoun phrase
        │ ACI                       │ (ACI)
Aacc ───┤ Infinitive phrase Aacc ───┤ Infinitive phrase
        │ dominant participle       │ —
        └ subordinate clause        └ subordinate clause
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FIGURE 3

Latin Anom = ACI: German Aprep = subordinate clause:

(2)   Liv. 9.1.4.: ...quibuscumque dis cordi fuit $_{ACI}$[*subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res, quae ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant*], ...
(...allen den Göttern, denen [*daran*] lag, $_S$[*daß wir uns in die Notwendigkeit versetzt sahen, herauszugeben, was man aufgrund des Bündnisses von uns forderte*]. Dittrich)

Latin Anom = NCI: German Main clause + parenthesis of the verb in the Latin main clause:

(3)   Cic. or. 3.2.: Quo quidem ipso in loco $_{NCI}$[*multa a Crasso divinitus dicta esse*] ferebantur.
(Sogar in dieser Situation *hat Crassus*, $_{PAR}$[*wie man sagte*], *noch manches eindrucksvolle Wort gesprochen*. Merklin)

Latin Anom = dominant participle: German Anom = NP:

(4)   Caes. civ. 1.62.3.: $_{DOMPART}$[*Pons in Hibero prope effectus*] nuntiabatur.
($_{NP}$[*Die unmittelbar bevorstehende Vollendung der Brücke über den Hiberus*] wurde gemeldet. Simon)

Latin Aacc = ACI: German Aacc = subordinate clause:

(5)   Cic. Tusc. 4.72: Stoici vero et $_{ACI}$[*sapientem amaturum esse*] dicunt.
(Die Stoiker freilich erklären, $_S$[*daß der Weise lieben werde*]. Gigon)

Latin Aacc = dominant participle: German Aprep = subordinate clause:

(6)   Cic. Phil. 9.7.: (Antonius)..._{DOMPART}[*auctorem senatus extinctum*] laete atque insolenter tulit.
((indem Antonius) *darüber,* _S[*daß der führende Kopf des Senates tot war*], in hemmungslose Freude ausbrach. Fuhrmann)

If for every SP the distinction between obligatory and optional arguments is made, the number of SPs in Latin and German amounts to about 100 (according to Happ 1976:426ff.; Helbig/Buscha 1984:625ff.):

LATIN: **89** SP   GERMAN: **97** SP

Here I can only sketch some further contrasts between these SPs in Latin and German. As far as Anom in Latin is concerned, it has to be implicit in the (1) and (2) person unless there is some special emphasis. In German, it is obligatory. In the (3) person, Anom is optional in Latin not only, like in German, in very specific text types (cf. German telegrams), but can be omitted generally if it is known from the preceding context. To a lesser degree, this holds also for Latin Aacc and other argument types, whereas in German a (3) person pronoun has to be placed (cf. Nägelsbach 1905:496; Pinkster 1988:382):

(7)   Cic. Tusc. 2.14.:
A: Videsne igitur, quantum breviter admonitus de doloris terrore deieceris?
B: **Video** plane, sed plus desidero.
(A: Siehst du, nach wie kurzer Ermahnung du den Schrecken vor dem Schmerze verloren hast?
B: Ich **sehe** _{Aacc}[es] durchaus, aber ich verlange nach mehr. Gigon)

(8)   Cic. leg.agr. 2.34.: Interea dissolvant iudicia publica, e consiliis abducant quos velint, singuli de maximi rebus iudicent, quaestori **permittant**.
(Unterdessen dürfen sie die Entscheidungen in Staatsprozessen aufheben, von den Geschworenenbänken entfernen, wen sie wollen, einzeln die wichtigsten Dinge aburteilen, _{Aacc}[sie] dem Quästor **überlassen**. Fuhrmann).

There are many contrasts concerning the case of NP-arguments. Here I can give only a few illustrations (for more examples cf. Nägelsbach 1905:448ff.; 519ff.):

I: Two place predicates:

LATIN: <u>Anom – Adat</u>   GERMAN: <u>Anom – Aprep/Aacc</u>

studere + Adat   **streben nach/sich mühen um** +Aprep
parcere + Adat   **verschonen** + Aacc
nubere + Adat   **heiraten** + Aacc
esse + Adat   **haben** + Aacc

II: Three place predicates:

LATIN: <u>Anom – Aacc – Aprep x</u>   GERMAN: <u>Anom – Aacc – Aprep y</u>

ponere + Aacc + Aprep(in + abl)   **stellen** + Aacc + Aprep/auf + acc.
collocare + Acc + Aprep(in + abl)   **legen** + Aacc + Aprep/auf + acc.

LATIN: <u>Anom – Aacc – Aabl/Aprep</u> GERMAN: <u>Anom. – Aacc – Agen/Aprep</u>

privare + Aacc + Aabl   **berauben** + Aacc + Agen
liberare + Aacc + Aabl/   **befreien** + Aacc + Aprep/von + dat
Aprep(ab/ex + abl)

Statistically, both in Latin and in German the SP Anom – Pred – Aacc is the most frequent one. But there seems to be some difference in percentage: based on a sample of 800 sentences of Cicero, Happ (1976:474) finds 40% of the sentences to be formed according to this SP. However, Drosdowski (1984:634), using two samples of about 1800 sentences of written standard German, finds only 26-30% of the sentences to fit into the SP Anom – Pred – Aacc. Interestingly enough, both in Latin and in German SPs with Agen have a very low frequency (this is not surprising for modern German, where the genitive case plays a rather marginal role, but less trivial as far as Classical Latin is concerned, where the genitive is used in a variety of Agen-constructions). The genitive seems to be more or less restricted to attributive NP in both languages (cf. Happ 1976:477ff.; Pinkster 1988:60ff.).

A contrastive study of semantic valency has to deal both with semantic selection restrictions of the predicates and with the semantic functions (roles) of their arguments (Engel 1988:357ff.). Here arises the complex and controversial problem of the (im)possibility to distinguish between language-specific and encyclopedic aspects of meaning (cf. Eco 1985; Coseriu 1987b, 1988; Gislimberti/Kienpointner 1987; Haiman 1980; Katz 1972, 1981, 1987).

I cannot discuss this problem in detail here, but in principle, I assume that a

	Anom	Predicate	Aacc/dat
LATIN	[+animate]	edere	[+concrete]
	[+animate]	bibere	[+liquid]
GERMAN	[+animate]	fressen	[+concrete]
	[+animate]	saufen	[+liquid]
	[+human]	essen	[+concrete]
	[+human]	trinken	[+liquid]
LATIN	[+male]	(in matrimonium) ducere	[+female]
	[+female]	nubere	[+male]
GERMAN	[+human]	heiraten	[+human]

FIGURE 4

line (most probably, not a sharp one) between language-specific meaning and encyclopedic reference can and should be drawn (cf. also Dik 1989:76ff.).

A contrastive perspective can be very instructive here, because it shows language-specific differences of meaning. Cf. the differing selection restrictions of the following Latin and German verbs in Figure 4 on the previous page.

Another difficulty concerns the number and definition of the semantic functions of arguments. The diversity of numbers and definitions given by the following authors shows that the problem has not yet been solved in a satisfactory way (cf. also the criticism of Coseriu 1987b:188ff. on typologies of semantic functions in Dik's FG):

	Number of semantic functions:
Pinkster (1988:20f.):	7
Fink (1982:54):	8
Dik (1989:101ff.):	11
Coseriu (1987b:194f.):	13
Engel (1988:360):	15
Helbig/Buscha (1984):	26

Despite this difficulty one has to try to draw a line between extra-linguistic (ontological) categories and relations and language-specific semantic functions of arguments in SPs. Therefore, it is **not** appropriate to assign the semantic function 'Instrument' to the Anom 'the key' in (9):

(9)   The key opens the door. (Fillmore 1968:25)

Likewise, it is not acceptable to assign the same function to the Anom 'die Werkzeuge' in (10):

(10)   Er hat die Werkzeuge benutzt. (Helbig/Buscha 1984:635)

These descriptions rest solely on the reference of 'key'/'Werkzeuge': they belong to the real-world category 'instrument'. Therefore, they are considered by Fillmore and Helbig/Buscha always to have the semantic function 'Instrument', whatever their position in different SPs. Thus, they are classified in the same way in (11) and (12):

(11)   John opens the door with the key.

(12)   Er repariert die Waschmaschine mit den Werkzeugen.

However, this neglects the language-specific perspective of the particular English and German SPs, which e.g. in (9) and (10) let appear 'key' as a Force ('the non-controlling entity instigating a process' Dik 1989:101) and 'Werkzeuge' as a Goal ('the entity affected or effected by the operation of some controller (Agent or Positioner) or Force' Dik 1989:103). Interestingly enough, in later treatments of Case Grammar Fillmore stressed that he did not want to equate his 'deep cases' with ontological categories and considered the language-specific perspective much more (Fillmore 1977:66ff.).

Again, contrastive observations can be interesting here: verbs of language A which are semantically similar to verbs of language B and are used to translate them still can have arguments with differing semantic functions:

(13)   Caesar$_{AGENT}$ urbi$_{RECIPIENT}$ vallum$_{GOAL}$ circumdat.

(14)   Caesar$_{AGENT}$ legt einen Wall$_{GOAL}$ um die Stadt$_{DIRECTION}$.

Another construction with 'circumdare' shows a close parallelism to German, as far as semantic functions are concerned:

(15)   Caesar$_{AGENT}$ urbem$_{GOAL}$ vallo$_{INSTRUMENT}$ circumdat.

(16)   Caesar$_{AGENT}$ umgibt die Stadt$_{GOAL}$ mit einem Wall$_{INSTRUMENT}$.

In the following, I treat the SP and quantitative and qualitative valency of some Latin and German verbs in more detail.

3.2. *Weather verbs in Latin and German*

I am going to deal with some of the most basic SPs designating weather processes. More complex variants are left out of consideration (cf. Latin *imbres cadunt* or *lapidibus pluit* and German *Regen fällt* or *es gießt in Strömen*). In Latin, the basic SP consists only of the verbal predicate. Thus, all weather verbs in Latin are zero place predicates. In German, there is an obligatory Anom, realized by the personal pronoun (3.p.sg. neuter) *es* (P = predicate) (Figure 5).

LATIN: P	pluit	ninguit	tonat	fulget fulminat fulgurat	grandinat	rorat
GERMAN: P — Anom	Es regnet	Es schneit	Es donnert	Es blitzt	Es hagelt	Es taut

FIGURE 5

Deleting *es* in German leads to ungrammatical sentences (**regnet/*schneit* etc.). The same holds for languages like English, Dutch and French, where *it/het/il* cannot be omitted in *It's raining/Het regent/Il pleut* (cf. **is raining/*regent/*pleut*). Languages like Italian, Spanish and Modern Greek behave like Latin: cf. *Piove/Llueve/'βρέχει'*.

There are, however, problems as to the explanation of these contrastive data (I will concentrate on Latin and German, but cf. below for some remarks on other languages).

First, it has been doubted whether German *es* in SPs with weather verbs is really a subject. Normally, it cannot be substituted by an NP or a subordinate clause; moreover, it seems to be semantically empty. Therefore, some grammarians have considered *es* to be part of the predicate (cf. Engel 1988:190; similarly Helbig/Buscha 1984:624). According to this view, the contrast between Latin and German is only a superficial morphosyntactic difference. In this view, the German weather verbs are to be classified as zero place predicates, too. Erben (1980:251) takes a slightly different point of view: he considers the weather verbs in German to be one place predicates as to their form, but zero place predicates as to the level of meaning.

Second, as far as Latin is concerned, the fact that the weather verbs appear in the 3.p.sg.-form has to be explained. If one does not accept purely syntactic approaches like the pro-drop analysis of TG, another explanation has to be found.

I start with the second problem. I suppose that the 3.p.sg. can be explained by giving semantic and pragmatic reasons. This does not mean that we have to use an explanation involving ancient mythology and religion. The old assumption that Juppiter, Apollo, Aurora or other weather gods are the implicit subject of the verb in the 3.p.sg. is not well-motivated linguistically. From early Latin texts onwards, the weather verbs occur without Anom and in classical Latin, the occurence of gods as explicit subjects is restricted to specific contexts or poetic texts (cf. also Kühner/Stegmann 1976 I:4; Leumann/Hofmann/Szantyr 1977 II: 145; Pinkster 1988:33 for further arguments against the mythological interpretation):

(17)   Cic. nat.deor. 2.65.: Iove fulgente tonante
(18)   Cic. div. 2.42.: Iove tonante fulgurante
(19)   Cic. Phil 5.7.: Iove tonante
(20)   Ov. met. 13.621f.: Aurora...rorat

But even in these contexts weather verbs occur without Anom:

(21)   Cic. div. 2.149: si fulserit si tonuerit
(22)   Verg. georg. 1.370: fulminat
(23)   Verg. georg. 3.367: ningit

There is a simpler explanation for the 3.p.sg.: the 1. and 2. person are excluded because it does not make sense to relate a predicate designating weather processes to a normal human speaker or addressee. The use of singular instead of plural is explained by the fact that in absence of an explicit Anom with which the predicate could agree in number, the unmarked form, namely the singular, is preferred.

As to the first problem, I want to criticize the claim that *es* is no real subject because it cannot be substituted and is semantically empty. This position can be refuted by a number of linguistics arguments:

1. German *es* can be substituted, be it only in a restricted way.
2. German *es* can be assigned a semantic function.
3. A multilateral comparison of basic SPs with weather verbs in German and in other languages shows the following: Anom have various degrees of specificity (zero – pronoun – noun). Accordingly, they refer to entities involved in the weather processes in a more or less specific way (no reference – general reference – specific reference).

However, I do not want to argue by using 1. metaphorical occurences of weather verbs (cf. (24)) or (2) their usage in specific types of texts (e.g. religious songs, cf. (25)) or (3) their usage in situational contexts where the substitution of *es* is possible thanks to modern technology (cf. (26), a fictitious dialogue between two inhabitants of a Tirolean winter holiday resort, invented by a journalist):

(24)   *Seine Augen* blitzten.
(25)   Tauet, *Himmel*, den Gerechten, *Wolken*, regnet ihn herab!
(26)   Früher sagte man: **Es schneit**. Das gilt heute nur mehr bedingt. Denn mancherorts schneit es nicht, dafür **schneien sie**... So kann es geschehen, daß zwei Tiroler sich begegnen und der eine den anderen fragt: "Was meinst du, wird es schneien?"... dann antwortet der andere: "Mir ist es gleich, wenn's nicht schneit, dann **schneie ich**". (Tiroler Tageszeitung 288/14.12.83)
         (in this example, the existence of modern technical facilities to cover skiing areas with snow ('snowcannons') allows the substitution of *es* by the 1.p.sg. or the 3.p.pl.; emphasis added by me)

But even apart from these cases there is some limited possibility to substitute *es* with other pronouns or even nouns, as the following examples show. They seem to be somehow unusual to me, but they are given by grammarians who are native speakers of German (Drosdowski 1984:555, 573; Leumann/Hofmann/Szantyr 1977 II:415; Weinrich 1993:403):

(28)   *Eis und Schnee* tauen.
(29)   *Der Regen, der* regnet jeglichen Tag.
(30)   a. *Das* regnet!
         b. Wie *das* heute wieder regnet! (Emphatic variants of 'Es regnet')

Furthermore, I doubt the semantic emptiness of *es*. I prefer the view that *es* has a meaning, but of course, a very abstract one. When used as Anom of German weather verbs, the semantic value of *es* is an abstract representation of the entities (objects and places like rain, snow, hail, the sky, etc.) involved in (or undergoing) the weather processes. In the same way, English *it* could be characterized as an expression with 'some generalized reference to the environment in a given context' (Quirk et al. 1985:749). Thus *es* forms part of dynamic states of affairs not controlled by human agents. Therefore, its semantic function is 'Processed' ('the entity that undergoes a process' Dik 1989:101).

This abstract use of *es* (with the semantic function 'Processed') is exploited also in other contexts, especially literary texts, to 'depersonalize' states of affairs normally controlled by human agents.

The following examples are taken from Erben (1980:84):

(31)　　Ich schrie auch nicht selbst, es schrie. (Thomas Mann)
(32)　　"Ich liebe dich", sagte ich, oder richtiger, es sprach aus mir heraus. (Hermann Broch)
(33)　　"Aber Sie streben doch ein Ziel an, Hans?" ... "Es strebt. In mir. Durch mich." (Robert Musil)

I think that these usages of *es* have to be distinguished from other occurences of *es* where it is really a semantically empty dummy element:

(34)　　Es wird getanzt.
(35)　　Es zeigte sich bald, daß die Folgen gar nicht so schlimm waren.
(36)　　Es scheint, daß wir in Kürze ankommen.
(37)　　Es freut mich, daß du kommst.

As far as German weather verbs are concerned, a similar position is taken by Weinrich (1993:391f.: *es* is considered as 'Horizont-Pronomen' which refers to the general background of weather processes: 'der Horizont des Naturgeschehens') and Drosdowski (1984:556: 'Das *es* bei den Witterungsverben kann heute noch als Hinweis auf eine unbekannte Ursache empfunden werden'; 'eine nicht näher zu bestimmende Ursache des Geschehens' ibid. 555). Drosdowski's position, however, would rather suggest the semantic function 'Force' ('the non-controlling entity instigating a Process' Dik 1989:101) for *es*.

Moreover, in German there is a basic SP containing a weather verb where a noun occupies the subject position:

(38)　　Der Wind weht.

'Der Wind' cannot be substituted by *es* in common German usage, but nevertheless 'is in a paradigm with *es regnet...es stürmt* etc. (Lehmann 1991:193). Therefore, German *es* in other basic SPs with weather verbs should be given a similar status as the noun 'Wind' (syntactically: Subject; semantically: Processed or Force).

A final argument for the description given above comes from the multilateral comparison of basic SPs with weather verbs in some other languages. Here we can see that there is a scale of explicitness from languages like Latin with no Anom at all to languages with rather concrete Anom, expressed by a noun denoting entities involved in the weather process (e.g. Russian, Turkish and Chinese). In these languages, we find SPs like *rain comes, rain falls, snow falls, sky thunders, thunder beats, lightning hits*. As these examples show, in some of these languages the semantic function of Anom is 'Force' rather than 'Processed' (cf. also German 'Die Sonne scheint': *The sun is shining*; Lehmann 1991:193). In between, we find languages like German which normally have an explicit, but very abstract expression for the Anom (the pronoun *es*). Moreover, there are languages like Hungarian,

which sometimes have no explicit Anom, but sometimes do have an optional Anom (expressed by nouns).

This comparison shows that pronouns like German *es* (cf. also comparable pronouns like English/Dutch/French *it/het/il*) as Anom of weather verbs are a sort of compromise between the option to refer not at all to the entities involved in weather processes (cf. Latin, Italian, Spanish, Ancient and Modern Greek) or to refer to them explicitly (cf. the NP in Russian, Turkish, Chinese and, partially, in Hungarian). The more or less complex SPs show various degrees of 'the exteriorization of participants' in a situation (cf. Lehmann 1991:191, who uses the term 'participant' for 'argument').

Cf. the following display (as examples, I choose the equivalents of *it's raining, it's snowing, it's thundering*; for informations and comments on Chinese, Dutch, Greek, Hungarian, Russian and Turkish weather verbs I want to thank E. Beóthy, T. Boyraz, C. de Groot, K. Hengeveld, T. Kruiger, A. Rijksbaron, A. Riza Yiğitbaşi and Shi Xu).

BASIC SPs WITH WEATHER VERBS IN TWELVE LANGUAGES

LATIN	GERMAN	HUNGARIAN	RUSSIAN
pluit	Es regnet	Esik (az eső)	Idjot dožd'
ninguit	Es schneit	lit.: Falls (the rain)	lit.: Comes rain
tonat	Es donnert		Sneg idjot
			lit.: Snow comes
ITALIAN	DUTCH	Havazik	Grom gremit
		lit.: Snows	lit.: Thunder thunders
piove	Het regenet		
nevica	Het sneeuwt	or:	TURKISH
tona	Het dondert	Esik (a hó)	
		lit.: Falls (the snow)	(Yağmur) yağiyor
SPANISH	FRENCH		lit.: (Rain) is raining
			(Kar) yağiyor
llueve	Il pleut	(Menny) dörög	lit.: (Snow) is raining
nieva	Il neige	lit.: (Sky) thunders	(Gök) gürlüyor
truena	Il tonne		lit.: (Sky) is thundering
GREEK:			CHINESE
ANCIENT			
ὕει			Xià yǔ le
νείφει			lit.: Fall rain already
βροντᾷ			Xià xuě le
MODERN			lit.: Fall snow already
βρέχει			Dǎ léi le
χιονίζει			lit.: Beat thunder already
βροντάει			

FIGURE 6

For better understanding, I will add some remarks concerning the SPs in Figure 6. More explicit, complex, and elaborate variants of these SPs occur also in languages which basically have minimally redundant SPs (with the weather verb only). E.g. in Latin we find *rorat, tonat*, but also *ros cadit, caelum tonat*. Similarly, in languages like German, where the basic SP has only the abstract Anom *es*, we have also *Tau fällt, der Donner rollt*.

In ancient Greek, quite often Ζεύς or ὁ θεός appear as subjects of weather verbs. Thus, the assumption of an implicit subject in cases of weather verbs without an explicit Anom is more plausible for Ancient Greek than for Latin (cf. Schwyzer 1950:621; Kühner/Gerth 1976:33). Nevertheless, from Homeric Greek onwards weather verbs appear also without subject and thus are better classified as zero place predicates.

Though I consider German, English, Dutch and French to be similar as far as SPs with weather verbs are concerned, I do not claim that *it/het/il* have to be analyzed exactly like German *es*.

As for English, cf. Chomsky (1981:324f.), who considers 'wheather-*it*' as 'quasi-argument' because '*it* behaves as though it were referential, but it can have no referent' in examples like (39):

(39)   It sometimes rains after [α snowing].

Chomsky concludes that several uses of *it* have to be distinguished (1981:325): 'The pronoun *it* can be a true argument ("it is on the table"), a quasi-argument ("it is raining"), or a non-argument ("it seems that John is here").'

Quirk/Greenbaum et al. (1985:348f., 748f.) use the term 'PROP-*it*' for *it* in expressions denoting time, distance, or atmospheric conditions. Though not without scepticism, they remain open to the idea that 'PROP-*it*' has some sort of very general reference: 'This PROP-*it*, if it has any meaning at all, refers quite generally to the time or place of the event or state in question' (1985:349; cf. also Lyons 1977:478). These positions concerning *it* come quite close to what I assume about German *es* (cf. above).

As far as French is concerned, cf. Spitzer's analysis of *il* in *il pleut* (1928:201ff.), which again comes close to my analysis of *es* in *es regnet*. Spitzer, however, uses the old mythological argument of appealing to religious forces behind *il* too much. A better characterization comes from Weinrich (1982:102f.), who describes *il* in connection with weather verbs like German *es* as 'Horizontmorphem'. This kind of morpheme has no specific reference, but only indicates the general background of natural processes ('der Horizont des Naturgeschehens').

Like German *es, il* can also be substituted (though in a very restricted way):

(40)   Ça pleut. (Emphatic variant of *il pleut* in spoken French)
(41)   Ah, ce que ça tonne! (cf. Weinrich 1982:103)

On the other hand, Hilty (1974:284) considers French weather verbs as zero place predicates (cf. already Tesniére 1966:239ff. on 'verbes avalents'). Judge/Healey (1983:54) classify *il* in *il pleut* as 'dummy subject, i.e. it may not stand for anything'.

Heriau (1980:71) claims that *il pleut* and *ça pleut* are completely different as far as grammatical status is concerned because *ça* is a real subject and can occur as subject of an open class of verbs like *ça se brouille, ça sonne, ça gronde*. So I will leave the status of *il* as an open question.

In Hungarian and Turkish, the Anom can be implicit if it is known from the context (cf. the brackets in the display). De Groot (1989:51) explains the complete absence of Anom in cases like (42):

(42)   Havazik. (lit.: Snows)

with an event-variable in underlying structure, ('Pres e_i: havaz$_V$- (ei)$_\emptyset$') which blocks the insertion of a term. This analysis, however, does not explain more or less redundant expressions like *Rain is raining* in other languages, e.g. Turkish:

(43)   Yağmur yağiyor. (lit.: Rain is raining)
(44)   Kar yağiyor. (lit.: Snow is raining)

In Russian the Anom is obligatory. Nevertheless, Isačenko (1968:278) does not consider *dožd/sneg* etc. as real subjects. In my opinion, this is even less acceptable than in the case of German *es*, because nouns like *dožd* or *sneg* obviously are not semantically empty. Therefore, I consider the description to be found in Gabka (1989:93) more adequate, where predicates like *idjot* in sentences such as (45):

(45)   Sneg idjot. (lit. Snow comes)

are classified as one place predicates with a subject.

Mandarin Chinese lacks cases. Therefore, syntactic functions like subject or direct object are not distinguished by overt case morphemes, but normally are indicated by word order. Basically, Chinese is a SVO-language (though there is a trend towards SOV: cf. Li/Thompson 1975). Therefore, the pre-verbal NP normally is the subject, the post-verbal NP the direct object. Perhaps this is the reason why Chao (1967:192) considers 'yǔ' (and likewise 'xuě', 'léi' etc.) in sentences with weather verbs like (46):

(46)   Xià yǔ le. (lit.: Fall rain already)

as objects, because he treats any post-verbal NP as object. However, differences between NP-V- and V-NP- sequences with intransitive verbs can be explained with the semantic function of word order: it distinguishes definite and indefinite nouns. The former are pre-verbal, the latter post-verbal (for more details and refinements of this rule cf. Li/Thompson 1975:166ff.). Post-verbal nouns are normally indefinite. Thus, they can be classified as post-verbal subjects of intransitive verbs (V-S).

4. Conclusions

The examples given above have shown that a detailed description of contrasting SPs can and should be integrated into a contrastive grammar of Latin and German. Lists of the most frequent and at the same time most divergent SPs (as far as

quantitative and qualitative valency is concerned) could be helpful for foreign language teaching and the practice of translation: a good knowledge of the most striking differences helps to avoid mistakes and at the same time offers possibilities for adequate translations into the target language. A comparison of SP also sheds some light on difficult theoretical problems like the establishment of typologies of semantic functions. Semantic roles or functions in the narrow sense should be distinguished from ontological categories. This distinction can be facilitated by contrastive descriptions.

Moreover, bilateral comparisons can be extended to more typologically orientated multilateral comparisons of particular SPs (cf. my analysis of some basic SPs with weather verbs in 13 languages). These more global comparisons can contribute to a better understanding of language-specific categories, e.g. the syntactic and semantic functions of pronouns like German 'es' in sentences with weather verbs.

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