Constituent Order in Latin Accusative-Plus-Infinitive Constructions

Nicholas Aaron Rich
Omaha, NE

B.A. University of Iowa, 2009
M.A. University of Florida, 2011

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University of Virginia

Prof. Coulter George, Chair

Prof. Gregory Hays, Committee Member

Prof. Anthony Corbeill, Committee Member

Prof. Velázquez-Mendoza, Committee Member

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## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| **AcI** | Accusative with Infinitive (*accusativus cum infinitivo*). AcI elements will be denoted typographyically: <u>Accusative subjects</u> are underlined, *accusative objects* are italicized, and **infinitives** are bolded. |
| **BFoc** | Broad Focus |
| **CD** | Communicative Dynamism |
| *CGCG* | Van Emde Boas, E., Rijksbaron, A., Huitink, L., Bakker, M. 2019. *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*. Cambridge. |
| **DiscTop** | Discourse Topic |
| **ECC** | Extra-Clausal Constituent |
| **FG** | Functional Grammar |
| **Foc** | Focus |
| **FSP** | Functional Sentence Perspective |
| **GG** | Generative Grammar |
| **LIPOC** | Language Independent Preferred Order of Constituents |
| **lrM** | Long-range Matrix Verb |
| **M** | Matrix Verb |
| **NFoc** | Narrow Focus |
| **NP** | Noun Phrase |
| **O** | Object |
| **OCT** | Oxford Classical Text |
| *OLS* | Pinkster, H. 2021. *The Oxford Latin Syntax*. Vol 1–2. New York. |
| **PN** | Pronoun |
| **QUD** | Question Under Discussion |
| **S** | Subject |
| **SentTop** | Sentence Topic |
| **SoA** | State of Affairs |
| **srM** | Short-range Matrix Verb |
| *TFG* | Dik, S. 1997. *The Theory of Functional Grammar*. Vol. I–II. 2nd ed. Providence. |
| **TG** | Transformational Grammar |
| **Top** | Topic |
| **V** | Verb |

**VP**     Verb Phrase

For Cricket

*If life transcends death*
*Then I will search for you there*
*If not, then there too.*

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Why AcI? or Who Did What to Whom?

Many beginning Latin textbooks teach students that the normal constituent order in a Latin sentence is subject-object-verb (SOV). With this and a basic understanding of the verbal system in mind, students are prepared to translate simple sentences such as *Brutus Caesarem occidit*. Eventually, however, students realize that the constituent order given by their beginning textbook is rather oversimplified and that they can and will at some point encounter all five of the other possible arrangements of the three sentence constituents *Brutus*, *Caesarem*, and *occidit*. Because the linear order of constituents in Latin, unlike in English, is not beholden to syntactic roles, the propositional value of these sentences does not change and the lexical meaning remains equivalent to "Brutus killed Caesar." Additionally, regardless of the order of these three constituents, one still has recourse to the inflectional endings to identify syntactic roles; as the mantra of many a Latin instructor goes: *Let's go back. Where's the nominative?*

But what are students to do if we subordinate the simple sentence above into an *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction (henceforth, AcI)? Here, the instructor's refrain fails us: There is no nominative to search out, and locating an accusative instead often will not lead us to the subject. Exactly how are they to sort out the grammatical relations of the accusative arguments in *dicit Brutum Caesarem occidisse* or *dicit Caesarem Brutum occidisse*? If they assume that an AcI clause is merely an embedded form of a main clause and that the constituents will

thus follow an SOV order, they will correctly translate the first sentence but not the second.[1] Ultimately, they must rely on historical context to resolve the ambiguity in the second example.

This illustrates two points: First, neither beginning textbooks nor, for that matter, more advanced Latin grammars such as those of Kühner-Stegmann (1912) and Hofmann-Szantyr (1965) sufficiently address the problems that arise in interpreting the order of constituents in AcI clauses.[2] Second, context provides an invaluable tool to readers that, outside of the world of Wheelock, must always be scrutinized: No sentence or clause should be read without regard to its context because no author wrote sentences or clauses that entirely lack context. Additionally, although modern linguistics has refined and deepened our understanding of Latin constituent order, it has done so primarily at the main clause level, again virtually ignoring AcI clauses. Indeed, a problem encountered by those trying to explain Latin constituent order in main clauses is that very rarely, in fact, do we encounter simple sentences like "cat chases dog" where both verbal arguments are noun phrases.[3] In connected Latin prose, after all, nominal constituents are regularly marked by some anaphoric device, often zero-anaphora, and this is especially true of subjects. Thus, clauses with two pronominal arguments like *is eum occidit* are less common in Latin. However, one benefit of investigating AcI clauses is that according to Latin grammatical rules, one must include a subject constituent in the AcI even if it is co-referential with the matrix construction—hence, for example, the frequency of *se* in Caesar's third person narrative.

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[1] Obviously, it is possible to say something that is historically untrue, i.e. Caesar killed Brutus. However, with this pair we are assuming that there is a single proposition reported in two separate ways.

[2] See K-St. II.589–597 and Sz. 397 for main clause constituent order. However, now see Pinkster's two-volume *The Oxford Latin Syntax,* (2015, 2021) (henceforth *OLS 1* and *OLS 2*), esp. §23.62 "Word order in accusative and infinitive clauses," where such issues are tackled in light of more recent linguistic work in pragmatics and semantics. These theories will be discussed below in §1.3 Constituent Order Models.

[3] Cf. Pinkster (1990a) 72.

Although authors do not adhere to this "rule" without exception, the regularity with which explicit subjects occur in AcI clauses does allow us to gather more examples of clauses with both accusative subject and accusative object constituents, even if the pronominal nature of many of these subjects causes complications.

My aim in the following pages is to investigate and provide an explanation for constituent order in Latin AcI clauses, specifically those with two explicit accusative arguments, i.e. subject and object. Pride of place, therefore, will be given to the relative linear positions of the nuclear arguments as they are the true source of syntactic ambiguity, but the placement of verbal constituents is not unimportant and will be dealt with as well. I will do this by closely investigating and analyzing the use of transitive AcI clauses in two different Republican prose authors: Caesar and Cicero. Importantly, rather than a database search for particular words or forms, the source texts below were read in full to allow for a fuller understanding of the surrounding context of the individual examples. The corpus of Caesar will consist of *Bellum Gallicum* books 1, 5, and 7, and that of Cicero will involve an assortment of his oratory (*In Verrem* I, *In Catilinam* I, *Philippicae* I, *Pro Marcello*, *Pro Ligario*), one of his later philosophical dialogues (*De Senectute*), and the first book of letters to Atticus (*Ad Atticum* I). In general, effort was taken to create corpora of a similar size that were representative of the chronological scope of the author's life.

For Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* was chosen because it is generally considered a complete and finished product, unlike *Bellum Civile*, which breaks off mid-book and has widespread textual issues; books 1, 5, and 7 were selected in particular so as to have data from across the *Bellum Gallicum*, viz. the beginning, middle, and end. As we will see below, the dating of *Gal.* is

contentious, with (dis)continuity in style across the work often serving as evidence for or against various positions; by opting for books describing events of different years, we have the opportunity to observe and compare Caesar's AcI use from one book to the other. These three books have the additional benefits of being roughly the same length and of having a high number of AcI clauses.

The texts chosen for the Ciceronian corpus are intended to touch on multiple genres from various stages of his life. The five speeches—*In Verrem* I, delivered 70 BCE, *In Catilinam* I, delivered 63 BCE, *Pro Marcello* and *Pro Ligario*, both delivered in 46 BCE, and *Philippicae* I, delivered 44 BCE—nicely encompass the full chronological span of Cicero's oratorical career, while the epistles in book 1 of *Ad Atticum* are dated to the years 68–60 BCE. *De Senectute*, published in early 44 BCE, was chosen as the philosophical text both because it is a self-contained "essay" and because the philosophical argumentation tends to avoid the dense and abstract dialectic of other philosophical works.

**1.2 History of a Problem**

Since antiquity the problem of what to make of AcI clauses has been recognized and discussed. As early as the fourth century BCE, technical treatises in the Greek world such as the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* warned of the possible ambiguity caused by the confluence of two accusatives.[4]

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[4] The *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* is traditionally ascribed to Anaximenes of Lampsacus. Cf. Kennedy (1963) 114–124, Kennedy (1994) 49–51, Chiron (2007).

1) τὸ μὲν γὰρ συγκεχυμένον τοιόνδε ἐστίν, ὡς ὅταν εἴπῃς· δεινόν ἐστι τοῦτον τύπτειν τοῦτον· ἄδηλον γάρ {ἦν}, ὁπότερος ἂν ἦν ὁ τύπτων. ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃς οὕτως, δῆλον ποιήσεις· δεινόν ἐστι τοῦτον ὑπὸ τούτου τύπτεσθαι.

The following is such a confusion, as when you say, "It's a terrible thing that this man strikes this man." For it is unclear which one is the striker. But if you speak in the following way, you will make it clear, "It is a terrible thing that this man is struck by this man." (*Rh. Al.* 1435b6 (25.3))

Latin critics were also aware of the *aporia* that two accusatives could cause. Quintilian (born c. 35 CE) in his *Institutio Oratoria*, written sometime after his retirement from professional life in 88 CE, uses an example similar to that in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* but substitutes proper nouns for the Greek deictic pronouns.

2) Accusativi geminatione facta amphibolia solvitur ablativo, ut illud '*Lachetem* audivi percussisse *Demean*' fiat '*a Lachete* percussum *Demean*'.

The ambiguity caused by the double accusatives is solved by the ablative, such that: "I heard that Laches struck Demeas" becomes "I heard that Demeas was struck by Laches."[5] (Quint. *Inst.* 7.9.10)

Unfortunately, despite recognizing that a problem exists, neither author explains how one is to interpret the grammatical relationship between the two accusatives; they advise instead that it be avoided altogether by means of a passive construction.[6] In other instances Quintilian is not opposed to offering advice or criticism on word order, so that he does not do so here is telling.[7] Had there been an accepted means of identifying the grammatical roles of the accusatives

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[5] Spevak (2010) mentions this passage from Quintilian, but, although she remarks on its importance, she does not explicitly deal with the word order within the AcI. At ch. 3 §4 (157–162) she presents data concerning the ordering of the superordinate verb and AcI clause at the main clause level, but again there is no discussion of the ordering within the AcI itself.

[6] Cf. *Ar. Nu.* 1340–1341 where the ambiguity of an accusative subject and object is avoided by using the passive of τύπτειν with a ὑπό construction. For more on the motivations for the use of the passive in Greek cf. George (2005) 21–22; for the Latin passive cf. Panhuis (1984), Rosén (1999) 126, 129.

[7] E.g. Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.23–32. For more on Quintilian's views on word order cf. Naylor (1923).

without altering the clause structure, e.g. subjects occur before objects, one assumes Quintilian or the author of *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* would have at least mentioned it.[8] The absence of an actual solution to the problem at hand strengthens the probability that genuine grammatical ambiguity could have existed in this particular case.

Moreover, Quintilian's theoretical advice is often not implemented, and so his solution offers little for those trying to understand the intricacies of Latin or Greek constituent order in practice. However, we may be able to glean a bit more information from Quintilian's example than from that in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* because Quintilian uses proper names (i.e. full noun phrases) in place of pronouns, which allows us to use the passive construction in the second sentence to retroactively disambiguate the accusative arguments in the first sentence. We see, then, that the subject accusative (*Lachetem*) is placed first, perhaps giving us indirect evidence that the natural order for Quintilian would be SO.[9] But complications abound: First, unlike in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* where each corresponding constituent is accounted for, Quintilian's second sentence is actually a sentence fragment, lacking the superordinate verb from the original sentence, *audivi*. Moreover, the placement of *audivi* was peculiar in the first sentence as it breached the domain integrity of the AcI. It may be, then, that the constituent order in the

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[8] Of course, we are dealing with two different languages, with their own internal syntactic structures, so were an explanation of this sort given in *Rh. Al.* it would not necessarily be applicable to Latin or vice versa. Note, however, that this *does* seem to be the position taken by the second-century CE grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus: ἔστω γάρ τι "Θέων ὕβρισε Δίωνα" προδήλου ὄντος τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος καὶ τοῦ ὑβρισθέντος· …ἐκ δὴ τοῦ τοιούτου ἡ πρωτεύουσα αἰτιατικὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀπαρεμφάτου προσχωρήσει καὶ τῇ ἐνεργητικῇ διαθέσει, καὶ εἰ ὧδέ τις ἀποφαίνοιτο, "περιέχει ὁ οὐρανὸς τὴν γῆν," ἐξ οὗ γενήσεται "λέγουσι τὸν οὐρανὸν περιέχειν τὴν γῆν," καὶ ἀνάπαλιν, "περιέχει ἡ γῆ τὸν οὐρανόν, λέγουσι τὴν γῆν περιέχειν τὸν οὐρανόν" (*Synt.* III 84–87). Cf. Atherton (1995), Lallot (2015) esp. 891–892.

[9] If this example were lifted from a literary source, as many of the surrounding examples are, it would lose some of its applicability to Quintilian's default order (if such a thing existed), and would lack its original contextualization, which we will see is an important determinant of constituent order. Additionally, much of Roman rhetorical theory was inherited from Hellenistic Greek sources—note, for example, the Greek names in Quintilian's example—again raising the problem of the cross-linguistic applicability of any particular case. For the development of and relationship between Hellenistic and Roman rhetoric, see Kennedy (1994) chs. 6, 7, and 8, Connolley (2007).

first sentence is deliberately exaggerated for this example to signal to his readers that *Lachetem* is pragmatically marked. However, for our purposes the upshot is that neither the author of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* nor Quintilian considered the best and easiest solution to be found in manipulating the order of the grammatical constituents, signaling that there was true ambiguity to this construction, even for native speakers.

Nor is this ambiguity simply formal and theoretical. Even in early Greek and Latin literature we find cases where nominal ambiguity has serious or even fatal consequences. For instance, Croesus' misinterpretation of the collective responses of the oracles leads to his demise in his expedition against the Persians.

3) τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὠυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχήν μιν καταλύσειν·

and the opinions of both the oracles amounted to the same thing, proclaiming to Croesus that, if he should make war upon the Persians, he would destroy a great empire. (Hdt. 1.53.3)

Almost unanimously, scholars have interpreted the ambiguity in this oracle as solely *referential* ambiguity, and if we assume, as is likely the case, that Croesus received the oracular responses in their original, hexameter form, this is the only possible source of ambiguity: Croesus assumes that the μεγάλην ἀρχήν he will destroy is the Persian Empire, when it is in fact his own.[10] But, Herodotus chooses to present this oracle, and importantly *only* this oracle, to his readers in

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[10] Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1407a38) and Diodorus (9.31.1) quote the oracle in hexameters in a main clause construction, which resolves the grammatical ambiguity: Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει. Cicero (*Div.* 2.115–116) gives a Latin translation: *Croesus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim*. None of these versions, however, includes a full conditional as we find in Herodotus.

indirect speech,[11] which introduces the potential for grammatical ambiguity. So, instead of wondering which ἀρχή will be destroyed, the question becomes whether Croesus (μιν) will destroy the ἀρχή or it will destroy him.[12]

And yet, the two types of ambiguity are inconsistent with one another: The reader can question either the grammatical relationship between the accusatives or the identity of the ἀρχή but not both simultaneously. We have, in effect, a linguistic duck-rabbit in which both perspectives exist but only one can be activated at any given time. However, as we lack any evidence that ancient sources construed μεγάλην ἀρχήν as the subject of the infinitive, it is clear that something other than the linear order of the grammatical constituents determines the meaning.[13] That is to say, while it may generally be accepted that it is strained to render ἀρχήν as the subject, it is also important to consider why that would be the case. As we will see below, the inherent semantic properties of certain types of constituents, in particular animacy, agency, and individuation, can predispose them to subject roles over other constituents that lack these features.

From a narratological and linguistic point of a view, another aspect of the oracle warrants further consideration. David Goldstein notes that the oracular response offers a conditional in

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[11] Cf. Parke and Wormell vol. 1 (1956) 133 who note that this is the only oracle given to Croesus that is *not* recorded by Herodotus in its original verse form. Additionally, Oeri (1899) has also suggested that the use of the third person in an oracular response is peculiar.

[12] The likelihood that this is a simple case of *variatio* is quite low given that this is the sole oracle not in its original hexameter form, and a single outlier would hardly achieve such an effect. There must be some other motivation for the marked presentation here seeing as the direct-speech, hexameter form would have been perfectly sufficient to convey the referential ambiguity.

[13] At a more theoretical level, had Herodotus assumed his readers would impose a default SO order on the accusative constituents, the oracular gambit would fail as it would nullify both the grammatical and the referential ambiguity, at least in any meaningful sense. Once the ἀρχή becomes the subject, I would argue that any concept of referential ambiguity (and thus the enigmatic aspect) is rendered senseless. Of course, one could still say that the question is whether the empire is Croesus' or the Persian's, but that question is so strained as to be vacuous.

reply to Croesus' yes/no question.[14] The response, then, breaks certain Gricean conversational maxims that require that interlocutors, among other things, not be vague or intentionally misleading and present information such that it is relevant to the discussion.[15] Speakers can, however, flout these maxims for effect, which licenses an implicature on the part of the hearer. If Speaker A asks, "Did you enjoy the talk?" and Speaker B replies, "Well, at least there were pictures," most people would agree that Speaker B's response, while not answering the question directly, was intelligible to Speaker A. Speaker A (mostly unconsciously) assumes that Speaker B's response was intended to be informative and from this breach of convention draws an implicature that Speaker B did not enjoy the talk. In short, the literal utterance taken together with the implicature should satisfy the various conversational maxims.

For Croesus, then, the contravention of these conversational maxims should warrant a similar conversational implicature that the oracle may mean more than it literally says.[16] For readers, though, the unusual manner in which Herodotus presents the oracles' already marked response heightens the need for drawing an implicature. Finally, even within the AcI clause we

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[14] Goldstein (2013).

[15] There are four maxims in total: maxim of quality (truthfulness), maxim of quantity (informativeness), maxim of relation (relevance), and maxim of manner (perspicuity). These maxims taken together make up the cooperative principle, which describes how effective communication is able to take place; further, Grice asserts, any participant in a conversation must work under the assumption that their interlocutor is observing the cooperative principle. See Grice (1975) for further discussion. Disregarding these maxims need not render the discourse structure utterly incoherent as, for example, with extreme cases of schizophrenia. While schizophrenic utterances are syntactically well-formed, they are pragmatically disorganized and unconnected. Cf. Gernsbacher, et al. (1999), Salavera, et al. (2013).

[16] Herodotus says as much later when recapping the Croesus *logos* (1.91.4): Προηγόρευε γάρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν.  Τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρῆν, εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν ("For Loxias prophesied to him that, were he to wage war against the Persians, a great empire he would destroy. But, if he was going to choose wisely, he should have sent someone to ask whether he meant *his own* empire or that of Cyrus"). Note, also, that Herodotus repeats verbatim the conditional from 1.53.3 but replaces the offending μιν with αὐτόν, identifying the element that warranted an implicature.

may have an additional red flag in that the enclitic pronoun μιν does not occur directly after μεγάλην, where one might expect it, but after the entire noun phrase.[17] The marked position of the noun phrase or, more correctly, of the enclitic pronoun together with the odd manner of response from the oracles and its subsequent anomalous presentation by Herodotus ought to license a conversational implicature on the part of the reader that he or she ought to be wary of some oracular *legerdemain*.

From the above discussion, we can see that even this seemingly inconspicuous AcI is actually an interpretive can of worms. Of course, this example is of a much different nature than a run-of-the-mill AcI in Caesar or Cicero, which, one assumes, is not meant to deceive or inveigle the audience. And yet similar interpretive problems will present themselves. With that, let us move on to a Latin example, edging us even closer to our source texts.

Latin has its share of ambiguous oracles as well. One of the most famous is the Delphic oracle's response to Pyrrhus, which Quintilian cites shortly before example (2).[18] This oracle is similar to the one reported to Croesus in that it contains an AcI, but it is different in an important respect: The two accusative constituents are definite and therefore are not open to referential ambiguity.

4)      Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse.

Child of Aeacus, I say that you the Romans can defeat. (Enn. *Ann.* Sk. 167)

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[17] Goldstein (2013). There are plenty of instances where enclitic pronouns occur as the second lexical item in a clause, causing discontinuity of a noun phrase or hyperbaton. We can compare to the Croesus oracle the following similarly worded response from Hdt. 3.124.2, as Goldstein (2013) 328 does: ὁ δέ οἱ ἠπείλησε, ἢν σῶς ἀπονοστήσῃ, πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι ("And he threatened her that, should he return home safely, she would be a virgin for a long time"). Pronominal clisis will be a considerable obstacle in our own investigation below (see, e.g., §3.4 Subject-*Se* in SO: Nominal Objects and §4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO.)

[18] Quint. 7.9.6. Cf. Sk. ad loc. who thinks the line is imitating the oracle of Croesus but is unnecessarily ambiguous.

Here it would make no sense for Pyrrhus to ask what *Romanos* he will destroy in the same way that Croesus could wonder which ἀρχήν he would destroy. Additionally, no one—ancient or modern—would balk at the Latinity of construing either *te* or *Romanos* as the accusative subject: That is, without proper contextualization either syntactic assignment is acceptable.[19] Historically we know that OS is correct in this instance, but unfortunately for his army Pyrrhus, without the aid of hindsight, chose poorly and read *te* as the accusative subject and *Romanos* as the accusative object.

Although the number of instances of truly vexatious AcI clauses in literary Latin may be small, investigating and explaining the orders that we find is still vital for a deeper and fuller understanding of the Latin language. Indeed, constituent order in Latin prose is too often ignored or relegated to the *Rumpelkammer* of stylistics.[20] To that end we will survey a few of the theoretical models below, which we will ultimately bring to bear on our two authors, and weigh their pros and cons as they pertain to the peculiar difficulties inherent in an inflected language like Latin.

### 1.3 Constituent Order Models

As was noted above, the approach to word order adopted by most traditional Latin grammars is too often descriptively deficient. One reason for this is that the way in which classical scholars have tended to discuss and describe grammatical relationships and word order

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[19] For *Romanos* as accusative subject in Caesar *Bellum Gallicum*: 3.9.6, 6.4.1, 7.14.7. At any rate, *Romani* regularly occurs as a grammatical subject. As we will see below, a key reason that *Romanos* is more acceptable as a grammatical subject than ἀρχή in the Herodotus example is that it is higher up in the personal-animacy hierarchy.

[20] Kroll (1920) 101.

has not kept up with advances in theoretical linguistics. Fortunately, Pinkster's new two-volume *Oxford Latin Syntax* (2015, 2021) adopts a more linguistics-oriented framework and goes a long way to rectifying this deficit, for future generations of Latinists, at any rate. In this section will consider a number of competing frameworks used to describe word order by detailing the various conditioning factors that they claim influence the order of sentence constituents. This overview is in no way meant to be exhaustive, and we will focus considerably on those theories that have been espoused previously in scholarship on Latin or which will be adopted, in whole or in part, in this study; as such, many linguistic theories will be overlooked entirely. Additionally, should we find that no one theory is sufficient, we will introduce and explain more specialized conditioning factors or adopt them from competing frameworks as needed.

Most classicists, who interact with languages in a less theoretical way than linguists do, are still comfortable discussing the basic differences between English and Latin or Greek word order in terms of a distinction between the respective positions of the subject (S), object (O), and verb (V). This typological approach was launched by Joseph Greenberg, who, in 1963, published a seminal essay on language universals concerning the order of words and morphemes in which he laid the groundwork for typological studies of languages.[21] These early formal attempts to describe and categorize universal generalizations relied on comparisons of any number of linguistic features among a large number of languages: consonant and vowel inventories, affixation, noun-genitive ordering, or constituent ordering. From a typological perspective, then, one strives to arrive at generalizations concerning constituent order by comparing the relative

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[21] Greenberg (1963). An earlier version was first presented at a conference in 1961. For more information on typological accounts of language cf. Greenberg (1974) and Croft (1990).

positions of the subject, object, and verb. Languages are then assigned to one of six possible

groups based on what is called the "basic order" (SVO, SOV, VSO, OVS, VOS, and OSV).[22]

According to *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, 83% of world languages for which

constituent order data are available fall under the SO umbrella—so perhaps we should not too

hastily fault Pyrrhus for his misinterpretation.[23] For languages with fixed constituent order

patterns—like English—this model works well. However, inflected languages cause problems for

the typological model because inflectional fullness and syntactic rigidity tend to correlate

negatively. As such, another 13% of languages, like German, which has specific word order rules

but does allow for variation under certain circumstances, are classified by the *World Atlas of

Language Structures* as having "no dominant order."[24] Latin, were it included in the database,

would certainly fall in the "no dominant order" category as well, even if SOV is statistically more

common. While the use of syntactic orderings as a metric for describing constituent order allows

us to minimize the number of competing factors, it may be better suited to languages that have

more or less lost their inflectional categories. Nevertheless, this syntactic typology is the basis of

the explanations of Latin constituent order offered in standard twentieth-century grammars like

Kühner-Stegmann (1912) and Hofmann-Szantyr (1965), but this insufficient treatment barely

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[22] These orders primarily represent situations in which both the subject and object are nouns. As one might expect, much work in linguistic typology has concerned the genetic classifications of languages.

[23] The entire atlas catalogues 2,679 languages. The constituent ordering only deals with 1,377 of those, of which 1,148 are SO, 40 are OS, and 189 are listed as "no dominant order." This means that we have such data from only a little more than half of the total languages. Despite this, given the rarity of OS languages in the data set that we do have, it seems highly unlikely that there would be an overwhelming change in overall percentages if we had data on the other 1,302 languages. The main contention still stands: The overwhelming majority of the spoken languages in the world are SO.

[24] Modern Greek is categorized as "no dominant order" as well.

scratches the surface of the intricacies of Latin word order.[25] Because of its widespread familiarity, in this work I will often employ a typological nomenclature—i.e. speak of SOV or OSV order—with the understanding that the terminology is used merely for simplicity's sake and does not indicate adherence to the typological model more generally.

Meanwhile, in the mid-1950s Noam Chomsky had already inaugurated his own revolutionary theory of syntax with the 1957 publication of *Syntactic Structures*, referred to broadly as Generative Grammar (GG).[26] Although the general approach has remained the same, as the theory has developed and changed over the previous 50 years, often in very significant ways, so has its name: Transformational Grammar (TG), Transformational Generative Grammar, Standard and Extended Standard Theory, Government and Binding Theory (GB), the Principles and Parameters approach (P&P), the Minimalist Program (MP).[27] The ultimate goal, as Chomsky saw it, was to unearth the fundamental principles upon which all languages were built.

Many readers will have at least a passing acquaintance with this theory in the form of tree diagrams which are commonly employed to detail syntactic structures. Early stages of GG

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[25] K-St. II.589–597, Sz. 397. Both of these were written before the development of Chomsky's Transformational Grammar (late 1950s) and Dik's Functional Grammar (1970s–1980s), and have not received the updates necessary to facilitate a more nuanced discussion of constituent order. Unsurprisingly, standard textbooks adopt a similar approach, which only perpetuates the predominance of this approach. However, now see Pinkster's two-volume *The Oxford Latin Syntax* (2015, 2021), which has done much to fill this theoretical gap.

[26] More broadly, Chomsky's philosophical view on natural language is known as Universal Grammar (UG), whose most basic assumption is that the ability to learn and use language is a quality innate to humans. The fundamental linguistic problem that prompted Chomsky to develop GG was how, having experienced only a highly limited data set, a speaker could develop the ability to generate an indefinite number of grammatical utterances in a language. As such, there must exist a basic set of universal principles that every human language shares and to which each person has innate access. This position puts Chomsky at odds with the behaviorist camps of scientists like B. F. Skinner who maintain that language is an entirely learned behavior.

[27] For summaries of these theories of syntax, see van Valin (2001), esp. ch.6.

posited the existence of two distinct levels of representation for every sentence in a natural language: a deep structure, which represents the semantic core of the sentence, and a surface structure, onto which the deep structure is mapped via certain "transformations." Early formulations of these parse trees used syntactic assembly rules, collectively known as X-bar theory, to analyze the hierarchical structure of phrases, which are the fundamental unit of syntactic meaning.[28] Under X-bar theory these trees are built from branching nodes (binary or unitary), which indicate various phases in the syntactic derivation of the clause or phrase at hand. For example, as shown in Figure 1: X-Bar tree of NP "a new hope below the simple noun phrase (NP) "a new hope" has three projections: the Phrase-level (XP), the Bar-level (X'), and the Head-level (X), where X indicates the syntactic category of the head of the phrase.[29] The Phrase-level projection splits into a specifier or determiner (the indefinite article *a*) and an X-bar node (the adjective-noun pair). The first X-bar node then splits into further nodes, the AdjP and N' node, to accommodate the adjective *new* and the noun *hope*.

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[28] The description given here of X-bar theory is necessarily simplified and condensed as it will play a relatively minor role in the remainder of this work. For a more in depth and complete introduction to X-bar Theory see Radford (1981) ch. 3.

[29] These projections are also referred to as maximal projection (XP), intermediate projection (X'), and lexical projection (X).
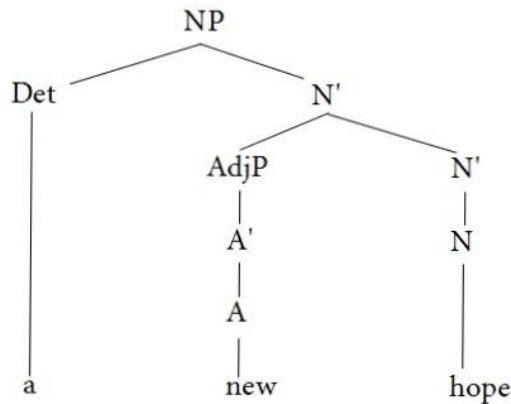
*Figure 1: X-Bar tree of NP "a new hope"*

Importantly, these rules are all recursive, meaning that we can hypothetically generate an infinite number of structures by extending the phrase levels.

In addition to these basic derivations, deviant orders are explained by movements or transformations such that all the elements in a sentence begin in a designated slot but later move or raise to another slot higher up in the syntactic tree. A simple case of this is the movement of interrogative pronouns (usually called *wh*-movement) from their original place in the deep structure to what in effect acts as the specifier position of the clause as a whole (i.e. sentence initial).[30]

In the years since its inception Chomsky's theory has branched out in many different directions, not unlike his parse trees themselves; however, we have neither the space nor the need to sketch these ebbs and flows in detail. Suffice it to say that in the late 1990s Chomsky moved away from the double layered structure of language to a more streamlined, economical position called the Minimalist Program (MP), which has dominated subsequent scholarship within the

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[30] That is, the sentences *I saw him* and *Whom did I see?* begin in deep structure with the same order, i.e. *I saw him* and *I saw whom?*, but then *whom* undergoes *wh*-movement.

generative framework.[31] The assumption here is that the innate syntactic knowledge of humans uses as economic a system as possible to generate the plethora of grammatical sentences in any language. MP uses a greatly simplified version of X-bar Theory called Bare Phrase Structure (BPS), which reduces the number of vacuous X-bar projections and nodes.[32] While our analyses will make sparing use of complex parse trees, many useful terms and phrases that we will employ—e.g. "raising" for leftward movement of a constituent—originate in the generative approach and stem from the metaphor of a hierarchically branching parse tree.

All of this is well and good when one applies a generative framework to a language like English where grammatical roles largely determine the sentence structure—viz. the phrase structure is built from a basic subject-VP dichotomy—and the informational and communicative goals of an utterance are regularly encoded *in situ* (i.e. without movement) primarily by prosodic means like stress and pitch. And this latter point is very important; it entails that without the aid of some typographical device—e.g. italics, scare quotes, capitals—transcribed English may be unable to represent the full range of meaning intended by the speaker.[33] Take for example the following three sentences, where small caps denote stress:

5)     a. Sally likes fried chicken.
       b. Sally likes FRIED chicken.
       c. Sally likes fried CHICKEN.

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[31] Cf. Chomsky (1995).

[32] Chomsky (1995), Radford (1997). For recent criticism of the Minimalist Program cf. Al-Mutairi (2014).

[33] Even in fixed word order languages like English, prosodic stress, albeit the most common, is only one means by which speakers can pragmatically mark information in a sentence. Others include particles or suffixes, special positions in the linear order, or unique construction types. For more cf. Dik (1997) 309–313 and (1997) 291–330.

Read with no intonation, as in (5)a, this sentence is a bare statement of fact as to Sally's dietary predilections, but by putting stress on certain words we can alter its pragmatic (and semantic) information to tailor it as a felicitous response in certain discourse conditions.[34] In (5)b, with emphasis on *fried*, the utterance tells us that Sally has a preference for chicken that has been prepared in a specific way, namely fried, but perhaps not baked or grilled chicken; whereas (5)c implies nothing about her favorite culinary technique, but rather that the only fried item she likes is chicken. Each of these responses will be felicitous under certain discourse assumptions but not others. (5)b is a felicitous response to the explicit question "What kind of chicken does Sally like?" while (5)c is not. On the other hand, (5)b would be an infelicitous response to the question implied by someone holding out a fried Twinkie (i.e. "Do you want a fried Twinkie?").

However, there are other languages, called discourse configurational languages, whose constituent order patterns are sensitive to or largely determined by these discourse-semantic properties. They are hypothesized to have fixed structural slots for pragmatic constituents like Topic and Focus (for which terms, see below) just as English and others do for grammatical constituents.[35] Currently, it is widely accepted that Latin shows features of a discourse configurational language, but, because of generative grammar's deliberate and lengthy concentration on English, it was not until the mid-1990s that it attempted to incorporate discourse configurational languages into its framework at all. Broadly, this is done by adding

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[34] Though not represented here, stress can also be placed on either *Sally* or *likes* as well should that produce the most felicitous statement.

[35] For a working definition of what constitutes a discourse configurational language and an overview of modern languages believed to be discourse configurational cf. É. Kiss (1995) chapter 1. Note, however, that the studies collected in É. Kiss (1995), like most generative studies, focus on spoken languages, and thus will not give information about discourse configurationality as it pertains specifically to Greek or Latin.

additional projections and corresponding movement rules to the parse trees to accommodate slots for topic and focus constituents just as for interrogative elements.[36]

The acceptance of discourse configurational languages into generative grammar has opened the door for a number of recent book-length works on Latin constituent order: Lisón Huguet (2001), Polo (2004), Salvi (2004), Devine and Stephens (2006, 2013, 2019), Oniga ([2007] 2014), Danckaert (2012, 2017).[37] Not only has this new level of theoretical intricacy been slightly overwhelming for some classicists, likened by one astute reviewer to the epicycles of Ptolemaic astronomy, but the benefits of this type of analysis to one hoping for a deeper understanding of a Latin text have not always been obvious.[38] Furthermore, while the terminology may have evolved, the fact that constituent order in Latin (and Greek, for that matter) can encode pragmatic information (often given the catchall label "emphasis") has been a commonplace among classicists for some time. As early as 1844 Henri Weil noted, although in not these exact words, that altering the order of constituents in even simple sentences can change the informational focus of an utterance.[39]

Linguists, too, have been attuned to the effects of pragmatic information on constituent order. Decades of linguists working in the Prague School have argued that the syntactic orders that we find in a language are not, in fact, effected by the syntactic roles themselves, but rather

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[36] For possible illustrations of what an extended parse tree in Latin would look like cf. Devine and Stephens (2006) 28, Danckaert (2012) 22, 324.

[37] This is in addition to the scores of scholarly articles. As far I am able to judge, Ostafin (1986) was the first to apply generative theories to Latin.

[38] George (2012) 4. In reference to the example from Danckaert on page 324 cited by George, I rather think the tree looks like a complex schematic for a football play.

[39] Weil (1844) 30.

are conditioned by a range of pragmatic and semantic factors. This pragmatic model, conveniently traced back to Weil, was further developed by Mathesius (c. 1920–1930) and Firbas (c. 1950–1970) into the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP).[40] Contrary to the syntactically motivated theories developed under the generative framework, FSP employs the concepts "theme," "rheme," and "communicative dynamism" (CD) to account for constituent order based on the communicative aims of the speaker and the context of the utterance: The theme, the element with a lower communicative dynamism, is known or inferable from the situational context and ideally occurs earlier in the sentence, and the rheme, which has a higher degree of CD, occurs later. As a typical example, Firbas gives the sentence *Mr. Brown has turned out an excellent teacher*; here, *Mr. Brown* is the theme and what we learn about him, viz. that he became an excellent teacher, is the rheme.[41]

Panhuis, adopting the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective, was the first to tackle systematically Latin word order from a communicative and pragmatic point of view. He proposes that the normal constituent orders found in both authors from his data set, Plautus and Caesar, can adequately be described as reflections of the interaction between the neutral distribution of communicative dynamism (Theme > Rheme), contextual factors, and semantic structure by and large without invoking syntactic constraints.[42] In other words, we begin from a default order that

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[40] Mathesius (b. 1882–d. 1945) founded the Prague Linguistic Circle in 1926. Firbas built on Mathesius' work and codified the key concepts of Functional Sentence Perspective in the mid-1950s.

[41] Firbas (1966) 240. The verb in FSP is labeled "transition."

[42] Panhuis (1982) 16. Panhuis' full theory is more nuanced, but the description given here is necessarily simplified for the sake of brevity. Plautus is chosen as a representative of the colloquial register and Caesar of the literary. Both are preferred by Panhuis because they have less "belletristic ornamentation" than some of their contemporaries (Panhuis (1982) 5). Included in the data set are all of the Plautine comedies and the *Bellum Gallicum*. However, within those Panhuis only looks at trivalent/ditransitive verbs; in particular in Plautus those involving the exchange

obeys the principle of CD, and then we feed into that semantic and contextual factors, which can interact with one another and can possibly override the neutral distribution. Panhuis cites as a characteristic example the following passage from Plautus' *Mostellaria* in which the slave Tranio asks Theopropides to repay a loan that his son Philolaches has taken out. [43]

6)     Th: Bonan fide?
       Tr: Siquidem tu argentum reddituru's, tum bona;
           si redditurus non es, non emit bona.

       Th: 'Seriously?'
       Tr: 'If at least you are going to PAY BACK the money, then he bought in good faith; if
           you are NOT, he did not buy in good faith'. (*Mos.* 670–672)

The three primary sentence constituents of the protasis in verse 671, *tu*, *argentum*, and *reddituru's*, follow the order predicted by the distribution of communicative dynamism. *Tu*, since it refers to one of the discourse participants, has a lower communicative dynamism and so is thematic. Regularly, the object would refine the scope of the verb and thus be more rhematic than the verb; but here, Panhuis argues, the verb is the most rhematic element because the repayment of the loan is Tranio's main point, hence its position at the end of the clause. The order of the three constituents, then, is Theme-Rheme-Rheme proper. In addition to the normal order, which Panhuis calls "non-emotive," there is an "emotive" order in which the rhematic elements come before the thematic elements. These instances are marked and rarer in Plautus' colloquial register.

Before investigating Caesar's constituent order patterns, Panhuis must make a caveat. It had long been recognized that Classical Latin prose authors, Caesar chief among them, show a

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of money and in Caesar constructions with the verbs *mittere* and *dimittere* (Panhuis (1982) 4–6, 32, 117). This gives Panhuis a Plautine data set of 400+ sentences and a Caesarian data set of 57.

[43] I reprint Panhuis' (33) text and translation here; caps should be read as primary sentence stress in English.

preference for verb-final clauses.[44] According to him, the literary language beginning in the

second century BCE consciously adopted the Proto-Indo-European OV pattern that was

preserved in Latin legal and religious texts. As such, the position of the verb in Classical Latin,

once this verb-final tendency had become a compositional rule, ceased to operate within the

discourse matrix and therefore the theme-rheme contrast was neutralized.[45] For Panhuis, then, in

Caesar the basic order is theme > rheme, with the verb tacked on at the end almost

mechanically.[46] One of his cited passages comes from *Gal.* 6 where Caesar has made a successful

three-pronged attack into the territory of the Menapii.[47]

7)      Quibus rebus coacti Menapii legatos ad eum pacis petendae causa mittunt.

        Forced by these events the Menapians send ambassadors to him in order to ask for peace.
        (Caes. *Gal.* 6.6.2)

Here the purpose phrase *pacis petendae causa* is the rheme proper and occurs in the most

rhematic position in the sentence, directly before the verb. Very often purpose constructions are

highly rhematic and should, according to the communicative perspective adopted by Panhuis,

always occur in the pre-verbal position; or as Panhuis puts it, "after the other nominal and

adverbial constituents."[48] However, Panhuis notices that, while purpose *phrases* can be placed

before the verb, purpose *clauses* prefer to occur after the verb. The diverse placement, Panhuis

claims, is determined by the syntactic form of the purpose constituent (clause versus phrase), the

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[44] This aspect of Caesar's prose style is discussed in the following chapter.

[45] Panhuis (1982) 99–116. At other times Panhuis seems to suggest that the verb can have communicative dynamism, but that it is removed from the linear distribution of constituents based on its communicative dynamism.

[46] Panhuis (1982) 121.

[47] Again I quote Panhuis' translation.

[48] Panhuis (1982) 129.

longer clause form occurring post-verbally so as to avoid a sentence that resembles a matryoshka doll with cumbersome center-embedding.[49] But Caesar is not above such multi-layered embedding even in the case of purpose clauses, and as we will see below he also allows post-verbal purpose phrases.[50] Moreover, were Panhuis' assessment correct, it would severely limit his work's applicability outside of Caesar, since other Latin prose authors employ center-embedding quite regularly and show more variation in adjunct and verb placement.

Nor does it bode well for a system grounded so firmly in pragmatics to have the distinction between these two orders be governed by the syntactic form alone with no regard to the semantic-communicative or contextual aspects of the sentence. One might argue that the placement of clauses versus phrases as such is primarily decided by the linguistic weight of the constituent (a well-founded linguistic principle known as LIPOC, discussed below). However, this still says nothing as to the discourse motivation for opting for a clause over a phrase. Are the purpose constituents rendered as phrases less "rhematic" than those rendered as clauses? Are the two constructions used interchangeably? Certainly, given how important purpose constructions are to discourse development and cohesion, this is an instance where the communicative aims of the speaker might be expected to determine the syntactic form of a constituent.[51]

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[49] Panhuis (1982) 130.

[50] Hopper (1985) 469. Cf. *Civ.* 3.19.2: *mittit P. Vatinium legatum ad ripam ipsam fluminis, qui ea, quae maxime ad pacem pertinere viderentur, ageret* ("he sends P. Vatinius to the same side of the river to discuss those things that seemed especially pertinent for peace."). Additionally, the example used by Panhuis of complex center-embedding comes from Ovid and does not contain a purpose construction but rather a double layered relative clause (Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.18). It seems, then, that Panhuis is referring to any center-embedding, not just when it involves purpose clauses.

[51] A similar situation exists in English as to whether purpose clauses are placed before or after the clauses to which they are attached. Cf. Thompson (1985), Diessel (2005).

Furthermore, Panhuis' findings for Caesar may be accidentally skewed by his choice of verbal construction. As we will see later, the order of the constituents in verbonominal constructions like *legatos mittere* or *castra ponere* is quite fixed in Caesar, even more so than with other verbs. If Panhuis claims that the rigid placement of the verb in clause final position is grounds for removing the verb from consideration in the theme-rheme distribution, it stands to reason that the nominal half of these verbonominal compounds should be affected by this neutralization of communicative dynamism as well. In other words, if the communicative dynamism of the verb is irrelevant for the theme-rheme distribution because its position is determined by literary convention, we should also be wary of describing the position of the semantically bound nominal constituents that occur in fixed positions in relation to them in terms of their own communicative dynamism.

Despite its shortcomings, Panhuis' study has been valuable and influential. His (and the Prague School's) basic principle that from a communicative perspective not all sentence constituents are made equal is a notion central to pragmatic theories of constituent order. The concepts "theme" and "rheme," designating the less informative and more informative constituents, correspond respectively to the pragmatic functions Topic and Focus in Functional Grammar (FG), the main theoretical model adopted for this work.[52]

As formulated by Simon Dik, Functional Grammar uses pragmatic roles and various "priority" or "linearization" hierarchies to describe constituent order.[53] These rules account

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[52] The definition of "Theme" in Functional Grammar differs from that in Functional Sentence Perspective. While we will primarily explain the data with a Functional Grammar toolkit, we will not disregard syntactic constraints entirely.

[53] The 1997 two-volume edition of *Theory of Functional Grammar* (henceforth, *TFG* 1 and *TFG* 2) is a revised and expanded version of the 1989 edition.

primarily for the ordering of constituents with the pragmatic functions Topic, the thing the clause is about, and Focus, the most salient element in the clause. Two additional roles, Theme and Tail, are also integrated into this framework, but they are typically extra-clausal constituents (ECCs)—i.e. left- or right-dislocated satellite clauses—which are said to be more characteristic of colloquial language than formal and are not vital to the nuclear predication of the clause the way that Topics and Foci are.[54] Themes, generally leftward-displaced constituents, indicate the frame of reference for the following clause, while Tails, rightward-displaced constituents, often serve as a clarification or further identification of a constituent in the clause.[55] All four of these pragmatic functions are illustrated by the underlined phrases in the following examples:

8)      a. Topic: <u>That man</u> was in the house.
        b. Focus: Speaker 1: What do you want to eat? Speaker 2: I want <u>carrot cake</u>.
        c. Theme: <u>In terms of storyline</u>, I like *A New Hope* the best.
        d. Tail: I couldn't get enough of it, <u>the ragout</u>.

The orderings of these basic pragmatic constituents cannot be converted directly into syntactic formulae such as SOV or OSV. This is not to say, however, that certain syntactic orders may not be more common outcomes of pragmatic conditions than others; only that the governing factors are pragmatic rather than syntactic. After all, a grammatical subject, especially

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[54] For definitions of topicality and focality cf. Dik *TFG* 1, ch. 13; for Theme and Tail ECCs cf. Dik *TFG* 2, 388–405. However, Dik classifies many more linguistic expressions as ECCs than just Theme and Tail.

[55] We will see that differentiating between Topics and Themes in Latin is not always straightforward. The presence of a Theme constituent is usually signaled in spoken language by an intonation break, i.e. prosody, or orthographically by a comma. However, without greater access to the prosodic contours of Latin, this criterion is not available to us. Further, Themes theoretically differ syntactically from Topics in that they are left-dislocations; but this can often lead to ambiguity, as Hoffmann (1989) and Somers (1994) have shown, especially when verbs have changeable argument valences or verb frames. Finally, recalling that the basic function of Theme constituents is to indicate broadly entities with respect to which the following clause will give relevant information (Dik *TFG* 2, 389), without the intonational signpost, we can and will run into instances in which it is difficult to differentiate the narrower scoped Topic constituents (roughly, what the clause is about) from the broader scoped Theme constituents. For more on the relationship between Topics and Themes in Latin cf. Hoffmann (1989), Somers (1994); for Greek, but still applicable to Latin, cf. Matić (2003), Allan (2014).

in anaphoric pronominal forms, is often previously given or contextually dependent information, and so is a prime candidate for Topic function. Verbs and grammatical objects, on the other hand, are usually new information and thus are less likely to be chosen as Topics and more likely to be focal elements.

## 1.4 Topics, Foci, and Linearization Hierarchies

At this point, it is prudent to consider in more depth the two pragmatic functions that will be most relevant to our further discussion. We will start with Topic and its various subtypes before moving on to Foci, which also come in different types.

The entities about which a speaker relates information are called Topics. At the beginning of a discourse, though, the informational cache is empty, and entities have to be introduced before anything can be said about them. A fairly common device for introducing New Topics to the store of pragmatic information, although only one of many, is Presentative Sentences.[56] For example, any number of fairy tales begin with the common formula or a variant thereof, *Once upon a time there was a NOUN*. Once a thing has been introduced into the discourse, it can be maintained as a Given Topic through various anaphoric devices (e.g. pronouns) or stored as mutually available pragmatic information and reintroduced later as a Resumed Topic. The method of reintroduction will depend on the entity's accessibility—or, at least, how easily accessible the speaker *believes* it is. In other words, the referring expression both tells an audience

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[56] Other sorts of discourse require different methods of introducing Topics. In the case of lectures or presentations, for instance, the topic is usually announced beforehand. One can also run into cases where a new entity is introduced but is not the primary argument in its clause, e.g. *At the zoo, we saw a huge elephant*. Here the constituent *a huge elephant* functions in its clause primarily as Focus, but also inherently as a Future Topic, as it now is an entity available in the store of Discourse Topics.

to recall a piece of information from their pragmatic cache and also marks how easily accessible

that item is: typically, the lower the accessibility, the stronger the anaphoric expression.[57] Topics

are most often (pro)nominal constituents, but complex noun phrases and verbs can function as

Topics as well.[58] Additionally, Topics can have the pragmatic feature Contrast, where two entities

or attributes of those entities clash.[59]

Some topical entities are more integral to the narrative or are maintained for longer

stretches of discourse; these are called Discourse Topics, the entity or entities that the discourse

broadly is about.[60] Other Topics, while still important from a discourse perspective, are limited in

scope to individual sentences or shorter stretches of discourse (Sentence Topics). Because of the

differences in scope, it is possible for a sentence or clause to contain multiple Topics, e.g. a

Discourse Topic and a Sentence Topic, which could potentially compete for linear order.[61] This

interaction is easily seen in cases with anaphoric pronouns such as *To him Evan gave a new book*,

which gives information both about *Evan* (Discourse Topic) and about *him* (Sentence Topic), or

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[57] Givón (1983) 18, "The more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it." For Accessibility Theory see Ariel (2001).

[58] H. Dik (1995) 207 for Greek verbs as Topics; Bolkestein (1998b) 197 for Latin. We will see examples below of verb and complex NP Topicalization.

[59] Foci (see below) can also bear contrast, and a sentence can include both contrastive Topics and contrastive Foci: e.g. *The old dog sleeps in the bed, but the young dog sleeps on the floor*. Here, the old dog and young dog are contrastive Topics, and where each sleeps are the contrastive Foci.

[60] This includes both inanimate and abstract concepts that the narrative is about and the main animate entities that populate the narrative space. In a manner of speaking, this is why classicists put so much emphasis on the first words of epic poems; when we ask what the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Aeneid*, or *Pharsalia* are about in the most basic sense, we simply look to their first words: μῆνιν, ἄνδρα, *arma virumque*, *bella*. However, Agamemnon and Achilles, Penelope and Telemachus, Anchises and Juno, and Caesar and Pompey are also discourse-wide figures. Similarly, Caesar must introduce to his readers the entities that his *Commentarii* will discuss, which he also does in his first word: *Gallia*. This is not, however, the case for the *Bellum Civile*.

[61] The terms Discourse Topic and Sentence Topic are widely used, see Givón (1983), Hannay (1985), Lambrecht (1994), Somers (1994), Matić (2003), Spevak (2010), Allan (2014). In English, multi-Topic clauses often show marked OSV order, for which see Lambrecht (1994) 147.

*dixi hanc legem P. Clodium iam ante servasse* ("I said that Clodius had already been following this law" (Cic. *Att.* 1.16.13)), in which the anaphoric NP *hanc legem* (Sentence Topic) precedes *P. Clodium* (Discourse Topic) despite being the grammatical object.

As these various Topics are introduced into the discourse, statements are made about them. The most important or salient information in a clause fulfills the pragmatic function Focus; hypothetically, the Focus should be the difference between the pragmatic information assumed of the audience by the speaker and the total pragmatic information contained within a clause, i.e. the new information.

Focus comes in two basic varieties: Narrow Focus, with focus on a single constituent or part of a constituent, and Broad Focus, with focus on the verb plus one or more of its arguments.[62] Further, unlike Topic, which has selection restrictions, any constituent—or parts of constituents—is available for Focus selection; thus, Focus can fall on an adjective or a noun, on the predicate or part of the predicate.[63] Also unlike Topic constituents where one could have both

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[62] This binary Focus system is introduced by Matić (2003) for Greek, but now also see the excellent discussion in *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (2019) esp. 709–716. For Latin, Spevak (2010) 44–45 calls Broad Focus "complex information," which she has adopted and altered from H. Dik's (1995) 29, 71–73 term "complex focus." Devine and Stephens (2006) 13–16 use "broad scope focus" as a subcategory of weak focus to describe focal domains that expand "beyond a single word;" they refine this definition, and their focus taxonomy more generally, in their (2019) work on pragmatics where they define broad scope focus as sentences where "the scope of focus extends over the whole sentence or at least over the complete verb phrase" (45), i.e. [SOV] and S [OV]. It follows from this definition that any clause in which a non-subject constituent has moved out of the VP (e.g. a topicalized object) is narrow focus or, at any rate, a "narrowed" focus (50). For this reason we will not use the definitions presented in Devine and Stephens (2019). S. Dik *TFG 1* breaks down Foci by their communicative aims (see below, Figure 2), but, as far as I can tell, does not distinguish based on the number of constituents contained in the focal domain.

[63] Focus on parts of the predicate (known as predicate (π)-operators), e.g. *I WAS/AM cooking the pasta*, is much easier to notice in languages with *in-situ* stress Focus, like English, or that have a highly periphrastic verbal system with separate tense and aspect markers.

a Discourse Topic and a Sentence Topic compete for placement in a clause, there is conventionally only one Focus constituent per clause.[64]

Focal information is determined not only by the overall content of the discourse (i.e. whether one is talking about Gaul or old age), but also by the pragmatic information that the speaker assumes the audience possesses and how he or she wishes to augment it. According to Dik's typology, assignment of Focus function to a constituent can serve different communicative aims: Broadly, the speaker can add new information (addressing an Information Gap) or correct a mistaken or partial piece of information (Contrast).[65] These two nodes can also be subdivided as can be seen in Figure 2:

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[64] There are, however, instances of coordinated or contrastive Foci, i.e. *both X and Y*, and Broad Focus where the Focus domain encompasses more than one word.

[65] It is important to remember that while Focus is a pragmatic function, contrast is a pragmatic *feature* and is applicable to Foci as well as Topics. For expanded examples of the different communicative aims of Focus assignments, see Dik *TFG 1*, §13.4.2.2. Cf. É. Kiss (1998) esp. 247–249 who shows that languages can also encode these communicative aims by means of word order variations; Hungarian, for example, marks identificational focus (Dik's Contrast node, or Narrow Focus) with preverbal position and information focus (Dik's Information Gap node, or Broad Focus) with postverbal position. Integral to this bifurcation is exhaustiveness and exclusivity insofar as identificational focus indicates that the state of affairs holds for the entity in question and not for any of the other contextually available alternatives. According to É. Kiss (1998) 247, preverbal, identificational focus means that "of a set of individuals present in the domain of discourse, it was Mary and no one else that I introduced to Peter last night," but postverbal position "merely presents Mary as nonpresupposed information, without suggesting that Mary was the only one of a set of relevant persons that I introduced to Peter last night." See also, Devine and Stephens (2019) 57–63 on strong narrow focus.
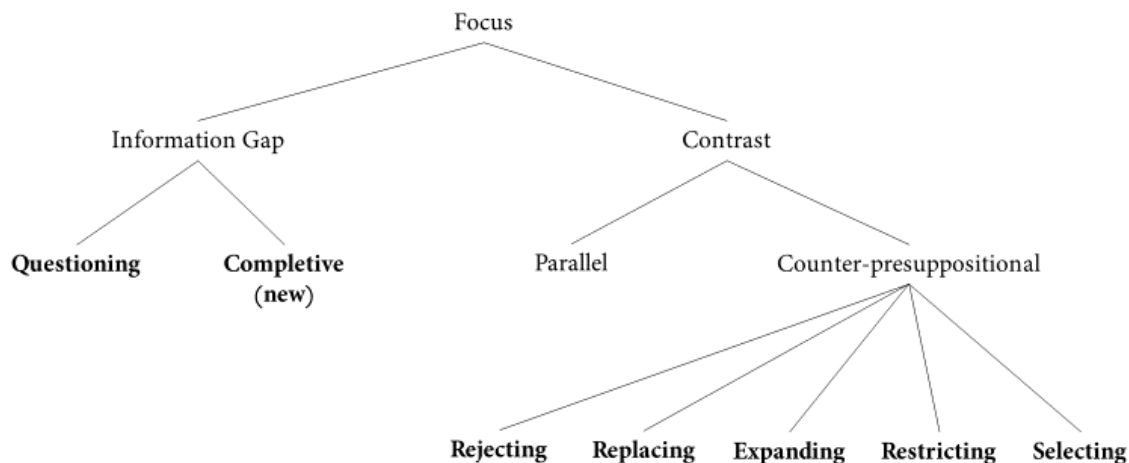
*Figure 2: Focus hierarchy, slightly adapted from Dik (1997) TFG 1 §13.4.2.2*

In the following examples, which recall Sally and her poultry preferences from above, we see some of the communicative goals of Foci in action.

9)     a. Sally likes fried chicken. *Completive Focus*
       b. Sally likes FRIED chicken. *Replacing Focus*
       c. Sally does NOT like grilled chicken. *Rejecting Focus*
       d. Sally likes FRIED chicken, not GRILLED chicken. *Replacing and Rejecting Focus*
       e. Sally likes fried chicken AND grilled chicken. *Expanding Focus*

In (9)a the speaker is inserting new information (Completive Focus) into the discourse because he has reason to believe that the audience has a gap in its pragmatic information. The other four examples are contrastive in some way, more specifically "counter-presuppositional," according to Dik: The speaker assumes his audience has a piece of information that is either incorrect or only partially correct.[66] Examples (9)b–c show two different strategies for addressing a mistaken belief on the part of the audience that Sally likes grilled chicken; these two Focus strategies are often combined, as we see in (9)d. In (9)e the audience's pragmatic assumptions are not outright false, but they are incomplete and require expansion.

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[66] Dik *TFG 2*, 331.

Identification of focal constituents can sometimes be difficult, especially in languages for which we lack prosodic data. However, certain phenomena are typical of Foci cross-linguistically. First, one may encounter linguistic focusing devices such as enumeration, repetition, and coordination.[67] Take, for instance, the oath one swears when giving testimony: *I swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth*. The repetition of *truth* makes it quite clear that *truth* has Focus function, not the swearing or telling. However, these devices are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for Focus function; rather they tend to accompany pragmatically marked constituents, including Topics. Despite this slight ambiguity, they are often good starting points.

We also encounter special sentence constructions that are used to accentuate Focus function. Cleft sentences and pseudo-cleft sentences are one of the most common constructions used to denote Focus. The ideal cleft begins with a dummy pronoun, *it*, followed by a form of *to be* and a predicate nominative, which receives stress accent in English, and closes with a relative clause whose antecedent is the predicate nominative: e.g. *It was MICHAEL JACKSON who invented the moonwalk*. Pseudo-clefts replace the dummy-*it* with a wh-pronoun relative clause followed by a form of *to be* and then the focal and stressed predicate nominative: e.g. *What I wanted to read was the* Iliad. We find this same construction used in Latin as well, albeit without the dummy pronoun:[68]

10)    …ut nescires Clodium esse qui contra leges faceret, alios qui leges scribere solerent.

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[67] Cf. Spevak (2010) 39–40. Other means include focusing particles, in Latin, e.g., (*ne…*) *quidem*, *quoque*, *etiam*, etc. However, these particles can simply denote that the constituent they scope over is pragmatically marked: Like the other devices discussed they are suggestive of Focus function but not indicative.

[68] For more cleft examples see Löfstedt (1966). Though our target construction will exclude clefts, both Caesar and Cicero will employ cataphoric pronouns as preparative expressions to a similar end. See below, e.g., (76) and (136).

that you did not know that it was Clodius who acted against the laws (and) other people who usually wrote the laws. (Cic. *Dom.* 48)

Cicero could have easily written *Clodium contra leges fecisse*, but then one would be inclined to interpret *Clodium*, a well-established Discourse Topic, as a contrastive Topic within the AcI and to analyze the verb and its dependent prepositional phrase as Broad Focus.[69] In short, it would produce an incorrect pragmatic meaning. Fortunately, the cleft construction makes clear that the "acting against" and the "writing" of the laws are presupposed information (here, contrastive Topics), and it puts contrastive Focus on *Clodium* over against *alios* in the second clause.[70]

Additionally, because each clause should add something new to the discourse, we can use question tests to help pinpoint the most informative element of a clause.[71] Take the sentence *Danny and I watched* Star Wars. With no context, identification of the salient information here is complicated in that the statement could be a felicitous response to various implied or explicit questions, such as "Who did you watch *Star Wars* with?", "What did you and Danny do?", or "What did you and Danny watch?" We then decide, given the surrounding context, which in dialogue is often more explicit, which of these questions is the most felicitous. In this instance, our speaker's mother could have asked her any of these questions; the point being that a single clause can focus on different material given different contextual circumstances. In originally monologic discourse, such as the historical narratives of Caesar or Livy, or accidentally

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[69] Remember that contrast is a pragmatic feature and is applicable to both Topics and Foci. Additionally, we see even here the use of coordination, albeit via asyndeton, to signpost pragmatically marked constituents.

[70] Another, much longer cleft construction (possibly a pseudo-cleft) occurs earlier at *Dom.* 4: '*tune es ille,' inquit, 'quo senatus carere non potuit, quem boni luxerunt, quem res publica desideravit, quo restituto senatus auctoritatem restitutam putabamus*'? ("He says, 'Are you that man that the senate could not do without, that the good men lamented, that the republic longed for, with whose restoration we thought the senate's authority was restored?'").

[71] Cf. Dik *TFG 1*, 328–330 and *TFG 2*, ch. 13–14. Goldstein (2016) 29–38, albeit for Ancient Greek, also has a useful overview of the Question Under Discussion (QUD) framework.

monologic discourse, such as much of Cicero's letters, the question test is quite important indeed as it is more difficult to gauge the felicitousness of any "response."

The examples of Focus constructions given by Dik mostly fall under Narrow Focus, and when we think of contrasting adjectives or nouns (e.g. not the *new* car, the *old* car), we are discussing Narrow Focus. However, the use of Narrow Focus requires a sufficiently robust presupposition pool from which to identify individual elements to replace, reject, or correct as the case may be. In other words, Narrow Foci are a poor and inefficient means of initiating or building out the set of presupposed entities and propositions. Broad Foci, however, allow larger units of information to enter the discourse and, thus, are often useful for advancing narratives; they tend to answer broader questions like "What does he do?" or even "What happened?" Additionally, as a consequence of the definition of Broad Focus as "verb plus other constituent," we will find that Broad Foci are particularly frequent with idioms, author- or genre-specific verb phrases, technical verb-phrases, and verbonominal compounds, in which the verbal component has undergone varying degrees of semantic bleaching and the nominal operator has a low degree of individuation; the meaning in such cases is determined not by either component separately, but by their combination (e.g. *gratias ago* vs. *vitam ago*). For example, note the phrase *legatos mittere* in the following example:

11)     Indutiomarus veritus ne ab omnibus desereretur legatos ad Caesarem mittit.

    Indutiomarus, as he feared that he would be abandoned by everyone, sends legates to Caesar. (Caes. *Gal.* 5.3.5)

Here, rather than an individual constituent being selected as Narrow Focus, the goal phrase *ad Caesarem* forms a pragmatic unit with *legatos mittit*; thus, the clause is presented as answering

the implied question "What does Indutiomarus do?" rather than "Whom did Indutiomarus send?" or "To whom did Indutiomarus send legates?"

As a final point on pragmatic structure, we can note that these pragmatic functions are assigned within a given discourse, a term which we will define broadly as a coherent text that relays information and is about certain things. For instance, this dissertation is *about* AcI constructions, but this chapter is *about* theoretical approaches to constituent order, and this specific paragraph is *about* the basic definition of discourse. Moreover, every discourse has a specific set of participants, who have a specific set of presuppositions, and the pragmatic structure of an utterance within a discourse is shaped both by what the speaker knows and what the speaker believes the other discourse participants know. Reported speech poses interesting issues in this regard since a reported speech act by definition has two "deictic centers,"[72] or points of view from which the relevant speech act can be reported, i.e. the original speaker and the reporter. Understanding and properly identifying the deictic center will be key to our discussion of AcI clauses because they are, in a sense, liminal, existing simultaneously in multiple narrative frames that often involve different pragmatic assumptions based on who is chosen as the deictic center for the reported speech. As such, we might wonder whether the pragmatic conditions of the reporter have influenced the pragmatic structure of the reported utterance—that is, in what ways has the reporter refashioned the pragmatic structure of the original speech act?

In addition to pragmatic roles, linearization hierarchies also influence constituent order in Functional Grammar. These hierarchies are divided into three main groups: formal

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[72] A deictic center is similar to the narratological concept of "focalization." The "deictic center" concept is a facet of Accessibility Theory, which "offers a procedural analysis of referring expressions, as marking varying degrees of mental accessibility" (Ariel (2001) 29). For deictic center see Sznajder (2002), Vandelanotte (2009), Adema (2015).

hierarchies (also referred to as the Language Independent Preferred Order of Constituents or LIPOC), dominance hierarchies, and familiarity hierarchies.[73] Importantly, the relevance of one hierarchy or family of hierarchies on constituent order can be language dependent—that is, a hierarchy highly determinant for English, may have relatively little bearing on ordering in Korean or Lakota. I will briefly sketch these hierarchies and detail how they interact with one another so as to influence constituent order.

Formal hierarchies concern constituent length and complexity. They include the law of increasing complexity whereby, all things being equal, the shorter, lighter constituent has a tendency to precede the longer, heavier constituent.[74] This phenomenon is abundantly evidenced in English in the order of conjuncts, particularly in binomial phrases, like *bread and water*, *prim and proper*, and *ladies and gentlemen*. To the final example we may compare the phrase *men and women*, which shows that the ordering of *ladies and gentlemen* is not mere linguistic chivalry. We also see it at work in the required postposing of adjectives that take prepositional modifiers, e.g. *the eyes red from crying* (*\*the red from crying eyes*), and in the strong preference for rightward placement of dependent sentential or complex phrases, e.g. *I gave my number to the girl that I met at the party* (cf. the more marginally grammatical *I gave the girl that I met at the party my number.*).[75]

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[73] The tripartite division is from Allan (1987). For a more complete list and detailed descriptions of these hierarchies cf. Allan (1987), Siewierska (1988) 29–83, and Dik *TFG 1*, 34–35.

[74] This rule is also referred to as Behaghel's Fourth Law or the *Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder* (Behaghel (1932) 6). This phenomenon had already been identified over two millennia earlier by the Sanskrit grammarian Pāṇini (c. 350 BCE) in his discussion of Dvandva compounds (hence one may additionally refer to it as Pāṇini's Law, as do Cooper and Ross (1975) 78).

[75] We can see that the weight is the key factor by noting that the grammaticality of the preposed version becomes ever more marginal as more adjuncts are added: e.g. *I gave the girl that I met at the party [at Jake's house] [last Friday night] my number*.

Also included in the formal hierarchies is the law of domain integrity that states that words that belong together usually remain together.[76] In other words, the elements of a constituent tend to group together and not allow other elements to intrude.[77] For example, the sentence *Mitch swims in always the river* is ungrammatical because the adverb *always* has intruded into the domain of the prepositional phrase. Prescriptivist grammar mavens forbid split infinitives on similar grounds. This "law" can easily be broken in Latin; a phenomenon known as hyperbaton or discontinuity of noun phrases.

The dominance hierarchies subsume multiple sub-hierarchies that concern the way humans experience the world and interpret natural saliency, the two major ones being the personal hierarchy and the semantic role hierarchy, which are highly correlated and mutually reinforcing.[78] Neither of the two major sub-hierarchies is innately more influential than the other, and there is no absolute sequence of items within either hierarchy. Regardless, there is ample evidence that the dominance hierarchies are important determinants of constituent order in many of the world's languages.

First, we will look at the personal hierarchy, which accounts for certain intrinsic aspects of constituents such as personhood, animacy, and referentiality.

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[76] Again, Behaghel (1932) 4 preempted Functional Grammarians; the rule of domain integrity is also known as Behaghel's First Law.

[77] However, the tendency to maintain domain integrity is fundamental for Fraenkel's colon hypothesis, which will be dealt with below.

[78] In approaching these hierarchies, we must remember that the idea of "dominance" is often culturally conditioned, meaning that not only the ordering of items within these sub-hierarchies but even the ranking of the sub-hierarchies themselves can differ from language to language or evolve, for example, in response to changing social norms. Further, though "dominance hierarchies" is commonly used to refer to this meta-hierarchy, because the definition of dominance is so flexible, I prefer, and will use in the rest of this work, the term "personal-animacy hierarchy" to refer to the combination of the personal and semantic role hierarchies as it may be more easily understood by non-specialists.

**Personal Hierarchy**

1$^{st}$ person > 2$^{nd}$ person > 3$^{rd}$ person human > higher animals > other organisms > inanimate matter > abstracts

*Table 1: Personal hierarchy*

In Table 1, items on the left of the scale tend to precede the items to their right: that is, a first-person pronoun will tend to occur before a third-person pronoun, which in turn will tend to occur before an inanimate object or abstract concept. However, as I mentioned, the personal hierarchy can be overridden by social conventions or politeness constraints. We see this clearly in the English practice of a speaker referring to themselves last in a series, even if other entities are lower on the personal hierarchy: e.g. *Danny, the dog, and I*. The personal hierarchy also corresponds nicely to levels of animacy and agency, starting with the most animate and agentive entities on the left end of the hierarchy, i.e. oneself and other humans, and gradually decreasing in animacy as we move rightward toward abstracts. As a result, items on the top of the personal hierarchy are also most likely to be selected as agents within a given verb frame since they can initiate and exert control over a state of affairs (SoA).

The correlation of the personal hierarchy with agency leads us to the semantic role hierarchy, the second major dominance sub-hierarchy, which categorizes the eligibility of the different semantic roles for assignment to argument slots in a given verb frame. Semantic roles are descriptions of the ways that arguments within a particular verb frame participate in the state of affairs. The number of arguments required by a given verb frame varies, and individual verbs can alter their valency as well.[79] There is no canonical list of semantic roles, and the number,

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[79] A high transitivity verb like *murder* is a two-place predicate or bivalent verb meaning that it requires two arguments to complete its meaning, i.e. the murder*er* (agent) and the murder*ed* (patient). *Drink*, on the other hand, can be either a two-place predicate, including both the one drinking and the thing being drunk (e.g. *Tim drank the water*), or a one-place predicate that specifies only the drinker (e.g. *Tim drank*).This alternation implicates a verb's *Aktionsart*, a verbal taxonomy developed by Vendler (1967) that sorts verbs into four categories—states,

labels, and definitions can fluctuate from scholar to scholar. If we wanted, we could classify semantic roles at the granular level of the individual verb, in which case we would talk about "pushers," "throwers," or "stabbers." Such a system would quickly become overly cumbersome, though.[80] Fortunately, we can generalize a set of "macroroles" across these verb-specific semantic roles. For example, pushers, throwers, and stabbers are all similar in that they (generally) are animate, intentional entities that actively initiate the state of affairs, i.e. the Agent. Likewise, the entities pushed, thrown, or stabbed (i.e. the second arguments) can be generalized as entities affected or effected in the state of affairs (i.e. Patient).

While the first and second arguments of transitive verbs are often the Agent and Patient respectively, other roles are possible. With verbs of perception or cognition, for example, the first argument is an experiencer because the entity does not instigate or control the action in the way that a pusher or stabber would, but rather involuntarily senses, perceives, or feels something. Likewise, the second argument is not affected or effected by the experiencer (i.e. patient) as much as it is the stimulus for the experience. Recipients are also possible first arguments, as in *Evan received the award*, or second arguments, as in *The cop gave Evan a ticket*.

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achievements, accomplishments, and activities—according to the presence or absence of four features: ±static, ±dynamic, ±telic, ±punctual. Dik (*TFG* 1, 112) adds a fifth feature, ±control, to designate states of affairs in which the first argument can determine whether or not the state of affairs obtains (e.g. *John opened the door*). While we will not make much use of *Aktionsart*, it is an important concept to keep in mind when discussing arguments, semantic roles, and verb frames. For an extended taxonomy, see Van Valin (2001) ch. 2, esp. 34 and Figure 2.5.

[80] Occasionally, one will encounter the term "thematic roles" in addition to semantic roles. Both terms essentially refer to the same thing, but when a differentiation is drawn between semantic roles and thematic roles it is a difference in granularity with semantic roles referring to *verb-specific* argument relations (drinker, stabber, knower) and thematic roles describing generalized "macroroles" such as agent, patient, or recipient which encompass numerous verb-level semantic roles. See Figure 2.2 *Continuum from verb-specific semantic roles to grammatical relations* in Van Valin (2001) 31 (reproduced in Van Valin (2005) 54 as Figure 2.2). Our needs do not require the additional level of granularity, so we will employ "semantic roles" throughout to mean both the verb-level relations and the higher-level relations.

Moreover, the likelihood of a certain semantic role being assigned to either first or second argument is not random: Some roles are more likely than others to function as the grammatical subject or grammatical object, some are eligible for both first argument and second argument slots, and some roles are disallowed from one or the other argument slot entirely.[81] The following hierarchies represent the eligibility of constituents bearing a semantic role for selection as either the subject or object:

**Semantic Role Hierarchy[82]**

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[81] There can also be restrictions on what types of entities are allowed to function as arguments of particular verbs. For example, *murder* not only requires two arguments, but it also requires an intentional and volitional participant, usually human, as its first argument—i.e. *murder* is a +control SoA—and (at least) an animate and cognizant entity as its second argument. Thus, the sentence *the stone murdered the grass*, while grammatically sound, is semantically defective both because an inanimate, non-volitional entity is represented as doing the action and because a non-sentient, non-experiencing entity is undergoing the action; the semantic soundness of this utterance then increases as higher animacy entities are substituted for the first and second arguments, e.g. *the lion murdered the gazelle*. Some languages, in fact, go further and restrict constituents from the subject position based on their rank in the personal and semantic role hierarchies. In Navajo, it is impossible for an entity lower on the personal hierarchy to be encoded as linguistic subject if there is another constituent in the sentence that is higher on the personal hierarchy. For them it is illicit to ascribe agency to an entity like *water* or *rocks* or to assert that such an entity has control over high animacy entities. Cf. Allan (1987) 64–68; Siewierska (1988) 49; Palmer (1994) 29–31.

[82] The following list of semantic roles and definitions will be used in this work. It is not intended to be comprehensive.

**Semantic Roles**

| | |
|---:|---|
| *Agent* | volitional, energized initiator of an action |
| *Patient* | entity undergoing, being affected, or being effected by an action |
| *Experiencer* | entity undergoing involuntary sensory, emotional, or mental state |
| *Recipient* | one receiving a transfer of property |
| *Benefactive* | one benefitting from the action |
| *Stimulus* | entity causing sensory, emotional, or mental state |
| *Goal* | location towards which the action is oriented |
| *Instrument* | something used by the agent in an action |
| *Force* | non-volitional cause of an action |
| *Source* | location from which the action originated |

Many of these roles are in fact the names given to certain case uses in Latin and Greek, which can inadvertently blur the line between semantic roles and syntactic roles. For additional information on semantic roles, cf. Palmer (1994); Van Valin (2001) ch. 2; Van Valin (2005) ch. 2; Devine and Stephens (2006) 9–13; Oniga (2014) 176–181. For more on semantics and its use in Latin, see Devine and Stephens (2013).

| *Subject* | Agent > Instrument > Experiencer > Recipient > Benefactive |
|---|---|
| *Object* | Patient[83] > Stimulus > Experiencer > Recipient > Goal > Source |

*Table 2: Semantic role hierarchy*

As with the personal hierarchy above, roles on the left of the scale have precedence over roles to their right for assignment to subject or object within a given argument structure. Since, for instance, agent is at the top of the subject selection hierarchy, if a verb frame requires an agent argument, it will be coded as grammatical subject. However, if the verb frame does not have an agent but does have an instrument, then the instrument will be subject. If the verb frame includes neither an agent nor instrument, then an experiencer or a recipient can be subject. For subject selection, at least, in cases where a verb frame includes multiple arguments that could have subject assignment, a lower-ranked role cannot supersede a higher-ranked role: that is, if a given argument structure takes agent, patient, and instrument arguments, the instrument cannot occupy first argument because it is outranked by the agent. There is more flexibility in the object selection hierarchy such that, in some cases, a lower-ranked role can be promoted to object over a higher-ranked role. For example, the trivalent verb *give* takes agent, recipient, and patient arguments—i.e. the giver, the receiver, and the thing given. While the default choice for object selection would be the higher-ranked patient argument (e.g. *The company gave money to charity*),

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[83] We are using Patient in a more expansive way than is typical. Most typologies differentiate entities that are in a state or condition or that undergo a change in state or condition, on the one hand, and entities that are located, possessed, or undergo a change in location or possession, on the other—the former being Patients, the latter Themes (Van Valin (2001) 24). In a way, the differentiation corresponds to the transitivity of the verb: high transitivity verbs (e.g. *kill*, *break*, *smash*) take Patient arguments and lower transitivity verbs (e.g. *put*, *give*, *send*) take Themes. However, Theme is also a core pragmatic function (see above), so to avoid confusion we will use Patient more broadly to refer to entities that undergo or are affected or effected in a state of affairs. That is, we will categorize *the pencil* as Patient in both *Tim broke the pencil* and *Tim lost the pencil*, rather than as Patient in the former and Theme is latter.

coding the recipient as object is also possible, in English at any rate (e.g. *The company gave the charity money*).

Finally, as I mentioned at the outset, the semantic role hierarchy is intricately linked to the personal hierarchy, insofar as the personal hierarchy describes the suitability of an entity for a semantic role, and the semantic role hierarchy describes the eligibility of constituents bearing certain semantic roles for assignment to one of the argument slots with a given verb frame. For instance, since inanimate or abstract entities—i.e. items on the right end of the personal hierarchy—can only be agentive, volitional, or purposeful in a metaphorical sense, human beings—i.e. items on the left end of the scale—are most often selected as agents and are thus more likely to be chosen as first arguments, which tend to be subjects in traditional grammatical terms.

Third, the relationship of an entity to a speaker's cognitive field is expressed by familiarity hierarchies.[84] They encompass a wide range of variables that are internal and relative to the speaker's personal involvement in the states of affairs such as topicality, givenness, accessibility, and temporal (or for written texts linear) proximity. Additionally, "familiarity" may include strictly idiosyncratic aspects like personal preferences or emotional attachment.

This hierarchy can manifest itself in a number of ways. For example, in English the order of conjoined nouns can be influenced by the speaker's degree of familiarity with one or the other of the constituents; given the sentence *I had to listen to Danny and Jordann fight all night long*, the order of the personal names *Danny and Jordann* instead of *Jordann and Danny* could be an expression, although possibly subconscious, of the speaker's closer relationship with *Danny* or of

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[84] Allan (1987) 52–54, Siewierska (1988) 61.

a perception on the part of the speaker that the interlocutor may have a closer relationship with *Danny*. Additionally, adjective sequences can be affected by their degrees of subjectivity: The more objective and demonstrable the qualities the closer they occur to the noun; the more subjective and personally motivated the qualities the further they are placed from the noun.[85] In English where attributive adjectives generally precede their heads this means that subjectivity decreases as we progress from left to right. The adjective orderings in the phrases *my favorite old brown leather walking shoes* and *the happy young three-legged sheep dog* both show the principle of subjectivity in action.

## 1.5 Phonology and Segmentation: Clitics, Postpositives, and Cola

Phonology is another factor that may influence constituent order. For our purposes we will invoke phonology primarily as it relates to pronominal clisis. However, we will generally disregard the typological distinction made in the linguistic literature between "simple" and "special" clitics. As formulated by Zwicky (1977) simple clitics are unaccented forms of lexically accented words that occur in the same position as the accented forms; special clitics are also unaccented variants, but they have a syntactic distribution different from their fully tonic counterparts.[86]

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[85] Hetzron (1978) 178.

[86] Pronominal clitics in modern Romance languages are textbook examples of a special clitic in Zwicky's system. We will also avoid discussing the ontological status of clitics since it is not entirely germane to the issue at hand. See Luraghi (2013) for a concise theoretical and linguistic overview. See also Klavans (1985); Anderson (2005).

Linguists have different perspectives on the precise mechanisms that account for the placement of clitics.[87] Some, primarily those working in a generative framework, promote a strong syntactic approach wherein the order of constituents in a given sentence or clause is determined prior to and irrespective of the ultimate phonological expression; others argue that clisis is a prosodic phenomenon whereby clitics move from their base syntactic location to dock with the first prosodic word or phonological phrase.[88] However, this is somewhat of a false dichotomy. As Hock admits, clitic placement does seem to be a syntactic phenomenon in some languages, but it does not follow therefrom that "it is a syntactic phenomenon in all languages."[89] There is strong evidence that prosody can affect the surface form of an utterance, especially as it pertains to clitics, even if the syntax is also involved.[90] This brings us to the third camp that allows the syntax and phonology to cooperate, with the syntax determining a clitic's approximate position and the phonology finetuning the surface position. Therefore, if we also allow prosody—by which we primarily mean the phenomenon clisis—to influence constituent order, we can perhaps explain a greater range of examples. This will be particularly applicable to the present study since many of the deviations from the statistically predominant order of constituents involve pronouns.

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[87] The relationship between an utterance's syntactic structure and its phonological encoding is known as the syntax-phonology interface and it is an ongoing topic of debate among linguists. For which, see Bošković (2001); Truckenbrodt (2006).

[88] For the syntactic approach, see Zwicky (1982); Zwicky and Pullum (1986); and Miller, Pullum, and Zwicky (1997). The strongest form of this syntactic approach is called the Principle of Phonology-Free Syntax, which Zwicky (1997) 67 puts forward as a "universal principle of grammar that prohibits reference to phonological information in syntactic rules or constraints." For the prosodic approach, see Hock (1996).

[89] Hock (1992) 40.

[90] Phonology also implicates more idiosyncratic factors such as eurythmic preferences. For example, languages may develop tendencies or "rules" that constrain the size of prosodic constituents or avoid stress-clash. Prose rhythm and clausulae are examples of eurythmic preferences familiar to classicists, which we will encounter below.

Regardless of the underlying linguistic facts, it has been understood for a long time that second-position clitics show distributional similarities. In 1892, long before the conception of Transformational or Functional Grammars, Jacob Wackernagel published an article in which he formalized the famous observation that in the oldest Indo-European languages certain words, enclitics and postpositives, have a tendency to occur in second position within their clause.[91] Wackernagel's Law (variously *Gesetz* or *Tendenz*) has become so ubiquitous that it is one of the few linguistic principles that nearly every classicist is acquainted with and one of the first invoked to explain the positions of many different words, from pronouns to particles to conjunctions. However, we must be careful to define what exactly we mean when we say that a word is in "Wackernagel position." Wackernagel's Law is not a prescriptive linguistic convention that mechanically forces clitics into second position, but rather a description of a general distributional pattern, an epiphenomenon of prosodic and syntactic effects: As David Goldstein writes, "a clitic is never in second position *because of* Wackernagel's Law."[92] We saw this above in Greek where clitics could occur both after the first lexical item, often causing hyperbaton, e.g. πολλόν μιν χρόνον (Hdt. 3.124.2), or after the first phonological phrase, respecting the domain integrity of the noun phrase, e.g. μεγάλην ἀρχήν μιν (Hdt. 1.52.3).[93] Rather, there is a tendency for

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[91] Enclitics are generally believed to have no accent, while postpositives have an accent but are still restricted from first position. This distinction is more obvious in Greek where enclitics lack a graphic accent (μιν) but postpositives have one (γάρ). Cf. Dover (1960).

[92] Goldstein (2016) 6 (my emphasis) with accompanying bibliography on Wackernagel's law in general and for specific languages. Fortson (2008) 3–4 makes the same point regarding word order and metrical "laws" in Plautine verse.

[93] Phonology is not simply a matter of syllables and words. The work of Selkirk (1981, 1984) and Nespor and Vogel (1986) refined the notion of prosodic unit into a hierarchy of prosodic constituent types that recursively combine to form larger prosodic constituents. Syllables are organized into feet, feet into prosodic words, prosodic words into phonological phrases, and phrases into intonation units. These prosodic constituents form their own domains, in a way, at the borders of which different phonological rules operate. Fortunately, the phonological minutiae need not

clitics to be dependent on certain kinds of hosts; and, since a common position for such host

words is the beginning of the clause, clitics wind up in second position. [94]

   A rule, then, that states that "clitics occur in second position" has less explanatory power

than one might think. To begin with, clitics come in both bound and unbound varieties, that is

those that attach graphically and prosodically to the preceding word and those that are separate

lexical items orthographically (e.g. Gk. -τε and Lat. -*que* are bound and Gk. που and Lat. *enim* are

unbound or postpositive). [95] Furthermore, "second position" is a relative term, and within a clause

or sentence there can be many "second positions" for clitics to occupy. This observation is based

on a rethinking of our conception of the building blocks of sentences in Greek and Latin. Rather

than taking the entire sentence or even individual clauses as the primary unit of meaning, Eduard

Fraenkel in a series of publications spanning three decades argued that Greek and Latin

sentences are built up of cola, mostly self-contained units of words, which an author strings

together to form a sentence. [96] Fraenkel's observations brought with them a need to retool our

understanding of Wackernagel's Law as well: If a sentence was built of multiple units there could

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concern us here; for our purposes it is sufficient to note that cliticization can theoretically happen at multiple levels of prosodic constituency.

[94] Cf. Adams (1994a, 1994b). More on this below.

[95] It is unclear whether postpositives also exhibit prosodic clisis. Moreover, at least in Latin, the effect of clitics and postpositives on word accent and the prosodic phrase is unclear. For ancient grammarians' confusing and often contradictory remarks on clitics and accentuation, see Probert (2019).

[96] *Kolon und Satz* I (1932) showed that Latin poets tended to avoid enjambment except with certain syntactic units; *Kolon und Satz* II (1933) invoked Wackernagel's Law to identify cola in Latin and Greek prose; *Noch einmal Kolon und Satz* (1965) argued that vocatives can delineate cola as well; *Leseproben aus Reden Ciceros und Catos* (1968) brought the findings of the previous studies together to argue that the use of rhythmical clausulae remained steady for most of Latin literature from genre to genre. For an overview of Fraenkel's position cf. Laughton (1970) and Habinek (1985). Although it was not until Fraenkel that it became common for classical scholars to describe sentence structure in terms of competing cola, the term κῶλον (Lat. *membrum*) has an ancient pedigree and was employed by rhetorical theorists of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds, but with much inconsistency from rhetorician to rhetorician (cf. Habinek (1985) 21–41).

be multiple starting points and thus multiple second positions. A pronoun that occurs later than second sentential position still could fall into second position within its own colon; in fact, this is one manner in which Fraenkel identified colon boundaries. Take for example the following short passage, in which the personal pronoun *se* occurs in what seems to be an arbitrary position mid-clause (the vertical stroke indicates a colon boundary).

12)    His rebus gestis | Curio se in castra ad Bagradam recipit.

    After these things had been taken care of, Curio returned to the camp near Bagrada. (Caes. *Civ.* 2.26.1)

If we consider the order of (12) in terms of constituents rather than words, we see that the position of *se* is not irregular after all; the opening ablative absolute functions as a separate chunk of linguistic meaning, creating its own boundary, and forcing the pronoun to look for a different host: the first constituent after the colon boundary, *Curio*. Ablative absolutes, Fraenkel reasoned, together with other constructions such as dependent participles, adverbial prepositional phrases, linguistically heavy subjects (i.e. longer noun phrases), vocatives, and AcI clauses often function as separate cola.[97] Any or all of these constructions, then, could potentially house a clitic in its second position.

Much research on clitics has been conducted for Greek due to its ample enclitic and postpositive particle lexicon, but for Latin, in which particles and postpositives are comparatively sparse, much less exists.[98] Not only is the particle inventory of Greek larger, but it also has

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[97] Fraenkel (1932, 1933, 1965). For a condensed list of all the grammatical constructions identified by Fraenkel as capable of delineating cola, cf. Habinek (1985) 4–9.

[98] The studies on Greek particles are too plentiful to present here, but a few notable works include Denniston (1954), Bakker (1993), Rijksbaron (1997), Gerö (2000), Mavrogiorgos (2010), Goldstein (2016), and now Bonifazi, Drummen, and de Kreij (2021). For a more complete list of works on Greek particles up to 2011 cf. Páez (2012). For Latin particles, enclitics, and postpositives see Fraenkel (1932), (1933), (1965), Adams (1994a), (1994b), Kroon (1995), (2005), Kruschwitz (2004), Salvi (2004), Spevak (2006), Schrickx (2012), Danckaert (2014, 2015), Schrickx (2021).

separate forms for accented and unaccented (i.e. non-clitic and clitic) pronouns. By contrast, the prosodic status of Latin pronouns is uncertain and only deducible indirectly as its orthography makes no formal distinction between enclitic and tonic pronouns.[99] And even if we accept that Latin did have orthographically identical but phonologically distinct clitic and non-clitic pronouns, which is not universally agreed upon, the absence of native speakers makes identifying which instances fall under which category quite challenging.[100] The same can be said for forms of *esse*. While the verb *to be* is typologically prone to cliticization, Classical Latin again lacks an orthographic means of differentiating clitic and non-clitic forms—provided that the two existed.[101] Although the lack of any unique orthographic markers for enclitic pronouns and forms of *esse* makes the Latin situation trickier, it is a task worth undertaking.

In short, in any given sentence or clause there is more than a single second position. But even with this updated Wackernagel's Law, we still find, as Adams has abundantly shown, that there are numerous instances in which pronouns do not stand second in their cola. He argues instead that unaccented pronouns and enclitics in Latin do not necessarily seek out the second

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The last 20 years have seen an increase in scholarship focused on the discourse function and pragmatics of Latin particles. Additionally, one can consult the generally up-to-date online bibliography of Latin particles at https://parerga.hypotheses.org/bibliography-of-latin-particles.

[99] Many languages, including English, also lack separate lexical items for unaccented/enclitic and accented pronouns. Both forms are present, but the difference is prosodic rather than orthographic and the change between the two does not involve an accompanying alteration to the distributional patterns of the pronoun. Compare the two prosodic realizations of the object pronoun in the sentence *I saw him* as [hɪm] and [ɪm], each of which is licensed under different discourse conditions: the full pronoun perhaps used as contrastive focus, i.e. *him* but not *her*, and the phonologically reduced form used to assert the reality of the State of Affairs, i.e. I actually saw him. The latter is also called Verum Focus, where the Focus is on the polarity of the proposition itself (Spevak (2010) 46; Devine and Stephens (2019) 38).

[100] Spevak (2006) (restated in (2010) 92 n. 103) denies that Latin personal pronouns are enclitic. However, she considers *is* merely an anaphoric pronoun and states that Latin has no third person pronoun (2010: 92 n. 101); thus, where she lands on the status of the reflexive *se*, I do not know.

[101] The situation is different in Plautus (and Lucretius to a lesser degree) where we find numerous instances of orthographically represented prodelision with finite forms of *esse* (cf. (6) above), from which we can perhaps extrapolate into similar situations in Classical Latin poetry or prose.

positions in their cola, but rather function as emphasizers or focusing elements that are prone to adhere to certain types of focused host words, which have a tendency, but are not required, to stand first in a colon.[102] Take for instance the following passage (reproduced as it appears in Adams (1994b) with // marking colon boundaries):

13)     sed mihi ita persuadeo (potest fieri ut fallar) // eam rem laudi tibi // potius quam vituperationi fore.

    But I persuade myself (I could be wrong) that this thing will be a source of praise to you rather than a source of abuse. (Cic. *ad Fam*. 13.73.2)

Here the pronoun *tibi* is the third and final constituent in its colon: It has attached itself to the first member of an antithesis, which itself is *not* in first position in its colon. Based on examples like these, Adams concludes that the "focused host" is what accounts for the placement of clitic pronouns rather than a Wackernagel-type rule. He identifies additional types of words that tend to function as host words: antithetical terms, demonstratives/deictics, adjectives of quantity and size, intensifiers, negatives, temporal adverbs, and imperatives.[103] It is obviously difficult to scrutinize the phonological minutiae of a dead language, and placing too much weight on this leg of an argument would risk bringing the house down around us; and yet, if we follow Adams, it may be that, in Latin at least, what we often interpret as phonological principles of clitic placement are in fact pragmatic and semantic effects masquerading as such, which, fortunately, are much easier to isolate and defend. Moreover, it may be the case that neither approach will

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[102] Adams (1994b). Adams' definition of "focus" is not the same as that of Functional Grammar given above. He follows Quirk *et al*. (1985) and von Stechow (1991) where "focus" refers to a constituent with an "intonational center," usually a falling pitch accent (von Stechow (1991) 804). It seems likely that by "focus" Adams means a constituent that is pragmatically marked.

[103] Each of these is given in order in Adams (1994b) but then summarized in list form (131). Do note that Adams' list combines pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic categories.

suffice by itself; as I mentioned earlier, one author or genre may require slightly different factors to explain the placement of clitic pronouns than another.

In our investigation of AcI clauses pronominal verbal arguments will be quite abundant indeed, and explaining their positions within our construction will require us to bring to bear pragmatic, semantic, syntactic, and at times even phonological principles. We will work with the assumption that Latin, like English, had orthographically indistinguishable unaccented and accented pronouns in addition to the handful of other bound and unbound enclitics. These same principles will apply to nominal arguments of verbs as well, but phonology may play an even further reduced role.

## 1.6 Data Gathering, Cataloguing, and Sorting Methods

Finally, given the number of AcI constructions we will encounter in our selected authors, it would be an unwieldy and ultimately fruitless task to compare the AcI clauses pell-mell without first identifying specific questions of constituent ordering and restricting our data sets accordingly. To this end, we will close this chapter with a brief description and justification of the methods by which the data were gathered and catalogued and then subsequently sorted into manageable sets.

Due to the nature of our target construction, gathering data via a searchable database would be overly complicated and in the long run incomplete. Unlike investigations of specific words or phrases, which can be identified through relatively simple word searches, AcI clauses lack a unique, searchable, marker. The accusative constituents are too ubiquitous to be helpful. Likewise, Latin infinitives come in too many varieties and also occur in too many alternative constructions to make them a viable choice. Finally, the matrix constructions offer little help

either because AcI clauses can be introduced in a number of ways, often by periphrases that only imply speaking or the like. Completing a thorough collection of the data by incorporating all of these aspects would have been overly time-consuming, and doing so by focusing on any one of these facets alone would have been virtually impossible. As such, the source texts that were chosen from each author's corpus were read in their entirety, and extreme care was taken to isolate and diagram each AcI clause, marking matrix constructions, any accusative arguments, infinitive(s), and often goal or source prepositional phrases with intransitive infinitives (e.g. *venisse ad Caesarem*). Occasionally, further targeted searches were done outside of these specific texts using a favorite matrix construction of the author, e.g. *respondit*, to crosscheck the conclusions drawn from the original texts.

Collecting the data in this manner has an additional benefit beyond its simplicity relative to the complexity of a word or inflectional search: proper contextualization. By carefully reading the whole of the source texts and not picking out individual snippets of a text for analysis, we can more fully and effectively incorporate the surrounding context of each example, an absolute necessity in discussing constituent order. In fact, a significant shortcoming of many studies of Latin word order is an insufficient emphasis on the context of the evidence and a reliance on individual, detached sentences in lieu of a focus on the communicative aims of the discourse in which those sentences occur. Critiques of this ilk are not a product of modern linguistic trends; in 1918, long before the development of pragmatics or Functional Grammar, Arthur Walker wrote:

> I do not believe that Caesar or Cicero knew that the subject should stand first. The rule may be the best that we can do for pupils who are asked to translate into Latin wholly detached sentences from a composition book; but I believe that Caesar or Cicero, if requested to translate the same sentences, would ask what came before them. Neither

Caesar nor Cicero has left us a single completely detached sentence; that is, a sentence not connected with some other thought already expressed or in his mind.[104]

Even scholars who explicitly claim to focus on the communicative perspective can have this charge leveled against them. For example, in his review of Panhuis' work, which we looked at earlier, Paul Hopper mildly criticizes Panhuis' and Functional Sentence Perspective's concentration on the decontextualized sentence as the locus for encoding pragmatic information rather than the discourse structure writ large.[105] And Hopper's criticism is well taken. The communicative aims of a sentence are not necessarily exhausted when punctuation tells us to stop; a speech act can look backward or forward and interact with other speech acts, even those at a considerable linear remove. To avoid a similar criticism this study will go to great lengths to contextualize each example properly. In fact, the nature of AcI clauses is conducive to this approach since, as subordinated predicates, they are dependent on the matrix clause for much of their context.

When the data were catalogued, certain constraints were put in place to maintain consistency and thus to ensure the validity of the final conclusions. To begin with, because our primary goal is the ordering of the individual constituents of a nuclear predication (i.e. the verb and its primary nominal arguments), constituents were counted by their explicit presence in a clause; the primary and most common effect here is that an initial subject governing multiple infinitives was counted only with the first infinitive. We see this situation in the following example.

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[104] Walker (1918) 644.

[105] Hopper (1985) 467–468.

14) Caesari nuntiatum est <u>equites</u> Ariovisti propius tumulum **accedere** et ad nostros **adequitare**, *lapides telaque* in nostros **coicere**.[106]

It was announced to Caesar that Ariovistus' horsemen were approaching nearer the mound and were riding up to our men, and they were throwing stones and weapons at us. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.46.1)

For constituent ordering purposes, despite the fact that *equites* is easily construed as the subject of all three infinitives, only *accedere* is listed as having a subject constituent (i.e. SV); *adequitare* is catalogued as having only a V, and *coicere* is catalogued as showing an OV order. The same holds true for any clause: Only explicit clausal constituents were catalogued. There are borderline cases where we have coordinated infinitives that are split by noun phrases or other satellite clauses that may or may not apply to both infinitives; however, to maintain consistency, these have been counted as *lacking* an explicit subject or object constituent, whatever the case may be.

The second constraint is closely connected to the first: Individual or minimally coordinated infinitives that did not govern separate constituents or constructions were counted as single infinitives. To return to the previous example for a moment, this means that all three infinitives in (14) are catalogued separately because they all have their own sphere of predication: *accedere* and *adequitare* both govern goal phrases, and *coicere* has an object and a goal phrase. This constraint is further evidenced in example (15):

15) [uti per eos Caesari satisfacerent]; <u>se</u> neque **dubitasse** neque **timuisse** neque de summa belli suum *iudicium*, sed imperatoris esse **existimavisse**.[107]

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[106] The typographical features in this example will be used throughout this work: <u>Accusative subjects</u> are underlined, *accusative objects* are italicized, and **infinitives** are bolded.

[107] The second level of indirect discourse begun by *existimavisse* is left unmarked in this case lest the higher level AcI (our target construction here) become obscured.

[to excuse themselves through them]; (saying that) they had neither doubted nor feared nor had they thought that the decision about the plan of war was theirs, but rather that it was the general's. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.41.3)

This is an interesting passage: We have three infinitives in total, but the first two (*dubitasse* and *timuisse*) are closely coordinated, and so counted in our data set as a single unit, while the third (*existimavisse*) sets off a second level of indirect discourse, and is thus counted as a separate infinitive.[108] Furthermore, just as in (14), the subject pronoun *se* is only catalogued with the first infinitive pair (SV) and not with *existimavisse*.

The third constraint has a more limited application and concerns only the examples involving a complementary or object infinitive. Because the complementary or object infinitive actually determines the valence of the VP, in our data set these are counted as single units with their governing verbs. This is the case not only when the two infinitives are contiguous (e.g. *potiri posse*), but also when they are split by other constituents, as we find in the following example from *Gal.* 1.8.3:

16)     negat <u>se</u> more et exemplo populi Romani **posse** *iter* ulli per provinciam **dare**…

he says that, because of the custom and precedent of the Roman people, he is unable to grant a path through the province to anyone… (Caes. *Gal.* 1.8.3)

For our purposes, (16) is catalogued as SOV despite the fact that the actual AcI infinitive *posse* is separated from its object infinitive *dare* by the other arguments of the VP. In the interest of limiting the complexity of the data set, the positions of the individual infinitives in these instances with what we might call VP hyperbaton will be by and large ignored in our Caesar data, where it is relatively rare, in any case; in our Cicero data, however, we will have cause to

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[108] Additional examples of multiple infinitives that were counted as single units in Caes. *Gal.* 1 are 1.13.3, 1.16.4, 1.18.5, 1.18.8, 1.27.4, 1.33.2, 1.35.2, 1.40.1, 1.41.3, 1.44.3.

investigate a subset of examples with split modal constructions that appear to serve as a Focus marking strategy. However, on a case by case basis we may consider the relative order of the instances of contiguous infinitives to see whether there is a difference in meaning between, say, *deterrere posse* at 1.32.16 and *posse defendere* two lines later in the same passage.

Finally, while most periphrastic infinitive forms are easily identifiable as infinitives, on a few occasions we find possibly ambiguous uses of the future active and perfect passive participles, which may or may not form the respective infinitives with an omitted *esse*. To remedy this problem, instances where the participles are the only verbal forms at that level of predication are treated as full infinitives, as in example (17):

17) Locutus est…[14 OCT lines]…coactos esse…iure iurando civitatem obstringere, <u>sese</u> neque *obsides* **repetituros** neque *auxilium* a populo Romano **imploraturos** neque **recusaturos** quo minus perpetuo sub illorum dicione atque imperio essent.

He said…that they were forced to bind the state by an oath that they would neither demand hostages in return nor beg for aid from the Roman people nor refuse to be forever under their sway and empire. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.31.3–7)

The target AcI clauses here are in a second level of indirect discourse set off by *iure iurando obstringere*. Because no alternative verbal form is present at this level of the subordinate predication, we must render these three participles as infinitives with omitted *esse* rather than as simply participles. Unfortunately, not all cases are as obvious as (17) and consequently these less obvious have been omitted from the data set.

Next, these data must be separated into smaller data sets based on assumptions we will make and the specific questions we are seeking to answer. A basic assumption is that differences in syntactic and semantic valence will result in variation of the constituent order: e.g. active infinitive clauses behave differently than passive or copulative constructions, and active transitive

infinitives differ from active intransitives. The main cause for these distinctions is, of course, the number of accusative arguments in play for each infinitive type. In order, then, to address the primary impetus for this investigation—i.e. how did authors avoid ambiguity in AcI clauses with two accusative constituents—we would need to restrict our data set accordingly; as this is a question of SO versus OS ordering, including examples in this data set that are semantically and syntactically precluded from having both constituents (i.e. passive and intransitive infinitives) would be nonsensical. We can also hypothesize that pronominal constituents will have a different distribution than nominal constituents; so even within our "active transitive" category, we will need to further divide the data set into those examples with pronominal subjects and those with nominal subjects. But equally important to constituent order more generally is the placement of the verbal constituents, which come with their own set of "linguistic baggage." The data may ultimately belie these hypotheses and show, for example, that semantic valence does not, in fact, affect the overall constituent order, but it is better to separate these variables in the first instance than to mix the data together at the start. These issues are best approached through actual examples and will be addressed individually in the following pages.

CHAPTER 2:

CAESAR I: OVERVIEW OF ACI DATA AND NOMINAL SUBJECTS

## 2.1 Background to Caesar

We begin with Caesar, an author that we are fortunate to know a great deal about both from the accounts of his contemporaries and from his own works. In fact, because of his impact on the Roman Republic we are better informed about Caesar's biographical details than we are about most ancient writers.

Most of what we know of Caesar's life relates to his military and political machinations, which began amidst the civil strife that gripped Rome in the aftermath of the Social War (91–87 BCE).[109] Caesar's familial ties to Marius and Cinna put him at odds with Sulla, who came to power in 82/1. Amidst the Sullan proscriptions, Caesar chose to leave Rome for Asia Minor where he spent the majority of the 70s studying[110] and building his military reputation. After Sulla's death in 78, Caesar felt safe returning to Rome where he practiced law and began to ascend the *cursus honorum*, serving as quaestor in Spain in 69, praetor in 62, and propraetor in 61.

In 60 BCE Caesar's competing desires for military accolades and political advancement clashed for the first time. He planned to run for consul in 60, but to do so he had to be present in the city, which meant crossing the sacred *pomerium* and relinquishing his *imperium*, which in turn meant giving up the triumph he had earned during his propraetorship in Spain the previous

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[109] All dates are BCE unless otherwise noted.

[110] In particular, both Plutarch (*Caes.* 3.1) and Suetonius (*Iul.* 4.1) write that Caesar studied rhetoric at Rhodes with Apollonius of Molon, with whom Cicero also studied (see below).

year.[111] Having failed to obtain a special dispensation to run for office *in absentia*, Caesar chose to forego his triumph and run for the consulship. With political and financial backing from Crassus and Pompey (the so-called First Triumvirate[112]), Caesar won the consulship and continued to exert his influence to secure the passage of the *lex Vatinia* in 59, granting him a five-year proconsular term in Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, which was later extended for another five years.[113] It was during this proconsular command (58–52) that he waged the successful and lucrative campaign against the Gallic tribes that is detailed in his *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (*Bellum Gallicum*).[114]

After the death of Julia—Pompey's wife and Caesar's daughter—in 54 and Crassus in 53, Pompey's and Caesar's relationship turned openly hostile.[115] In 49, Caesar made an open grab for power, and Rome again devolved into civil war. Pompey fled Rome to the east, where he was pursued and eventually defeated by Caesar, the account of which is detailed in Caesar's other existing work, the *Commentarii de Bello Civili* (*Bellum Civile*).[116]

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[111] Tatum (2006) 198–199.

[112] Unlike the Second Triumvirate between Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, which was legally formalized by the *lex Titia* in 43 BCE, the First Triumvirate was only a handshake agreement between the three men (cf. entry for "Triumviri Rei Publicae Constituendae" and sources in Broughton (1951) 337–338).

[113] Transalpine Gaul, originally intended to be under the command of Metellus Celer, was added to Caesar's proconsulate control after Celer's death sometime in early-to-mid 59 BCE. For the dating of legislation and events in Caesar's first consulship, cf. Taylor (1951 and 1968).

[114] *Bellum Gallicum* is composed of eight books, the first seven of which, it is agreed, were written by Caesar. The eighth and final book is the product of A. Hirtius. See below for issues of dating and composition of the *Bellum Gallicum.* For composition and authorship of *Gal.* 8, cf. Canali (1966), Canfora (1970), and Gaertner (2018).

[115] Lucan humorously calls Crassus ("Fatty") the *gracilis Isthmos* that prevented the collision of two raging seas (Luc. *BC* 1.100).

[116] The *Bellum Civile* contains only three books, the last of which breaks off at the beginning of Caesar's campaigns in Alexandria. In addition to being incomplete, each book is rife with major and minor textual problems. For manuscript tradition of *Civ.* and prevalence of textual issues, see Damon (2015).

Between the end of the civil war and his assassination in 44 BCE, Caesar received various and sundry honors, instituted political reforms to consolidate his power, diluted the influence of the senatorial class, and overhauled the Roman calendar, the last of which is probably his most historically significant reform effort.[117]

But despite the widespread scholarly agreement concerning his life and achievements, Caesar's place in Latin literary history is much less well-established. We know he was a well-regarded orator, but no extended written specimens have weathered the centuries.[118] We know that in 45 BCE he circulated his *Anticato* in response to Cicero's *Cato*, but both of these texts are now lost.[119] We also know that he composed a rhetorical treatise, *De Analogia*, debating the nature of correct Latinity, which he dedicated to Cicero; this work too is largely non-extant.[120] Scholars have patched together what we do know about Caesar's oratory, rhetoric, and linguistic theory from scant fragments and ancient testimonia.

We are on firmer ground when we approach Caesar's literary contributions to the *commentarius* genre. His account of the Gallic war and of the civil war with Pompey are extant and serve as invaluable historical and cultural sources for the time periods and wars in question. Unfortunately, even here we find troubles. While the seven books of the *Bellum Gallicum* form a largely cohesive narrative arc, at least as early as Alfred Klotz's (1910) *Caesarstudien*, scholars

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[117] Rüpke (2011) Ch. 8.

[118] For collected fragments and testimonia of Caesar's oratory see Malcovati (1976); for a list of Caesar's public orations see van der Blom (2016).

[119] For fragments of Caesar's *Anticato* see Tscheidel (1981), of Cicero's *Cato* see Jones (1970). Corbeill (2018) 218 argues that both of these texts would have taken the form of alternating epideictic speeches, a common rhetorical exercise found in ancient handbooks and treatises. Other Roman intellectuals had written (*Anti-*)*Catones* as well (e.g. Brutus, *Att.* 13.46.2).

[120] For fragments and commentary on Caesar's *De Analogia* see Garcea (2012).

have noted that the *Bellum Civile* appears to be both unfinished and incomplete.[121] From an editorial and textual perspective, editors must contend with a lacunose manuscript tradition and plentiful scribal errors, which "number in the hundreds" in a work only about 33,000 words long.[122] Additionally, most scholars agree that Caesar did not finish writing the *Bellum Civile*: Scenes show wide variance in levels of polish, there are internal inconsistencies, and the final book breaks off mid-narrative.[123] Without a substantively complete text to work with, both in overall narrative arc and in stylistic form, using the *Bellum Civile* as a source text for our investigation seems unwise.

## 2.2 Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*

Despite its seemingly simple prose style and straightforward subject matter, Caesar's seven-book history of the military campaigns in Gaul between 58 and 52 BCE has given rise to numerous scholarly debates, some of which persist to this day.[124] And why should it not? It is a bit puzzling that, as Christina Kraus puts it, "one of history's most powerful men left behind as his

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[121] Klotz (1910). Cf. Collins (1959) with overview of arguments for and against Klotz's position.

[122] Damon (2015) 14, 55–61. Damon lists misread abbreviations, word division errors, and word order inversions as some of the primary forms of error found in the MS tradition of the *Civ.* The lack of a comparative MS branch, as with α and β for *Gal.*, makes identifying the true extent of word order inversion impossible. Damon (2015) 57 states that only "the most egregious inversion errors" can be detected with any level of confidence. Cf. Gaertner and Hausburg (2013).

[123] Batstone and Damon (2006) 27–32; cf. Raaflaub (2006) 181. A prevailing view is that Caesar's changing political outlook prompted him to discontinue his writing (cf. Collins (1959), Batstone and Damon (2006), Raaflaub (2006)). Moreover, while ostensibly *commentarii*, the *Bellum Civile* starkly contrasts to the generic style of the *Bellum Gallicum*, perhaps stemming from its more overt (and real time) political and ideological motivations; for the *commentarius* genre see below.

[124] I will not attempt to give a comprehensive overview of every scholarly debate; rather, I will focus exclusively on the issues stemming from books 1–7, those written by Caesar. For an overview of many such areas of debate see Collins (1963a, 1963b), Gesche (1976) with extensive bibliography, and Riggsby (2006).

literary testament two sets of 'Notebooks' with only a single, minimalist preface between them."[125]

Although it has its own share of textual issues with which editors have had to contend, the *Bellum Gallicum*'s manuscript tradition is cleaner than that of the *Civ.*[126] For our purposes, there are two Grendels, as it were, that have terrorized successive generations of scholars.

First, scholarship is divided regarding the composition and "publication" of the *Bellum Gallicum* with some arguing for serial composition and perhaps serial dissemination in Rome and others arguing for unitary composition sometime between 52–50 BCE.[127] Whether the *Bellum Gallicum* was composed over several years or all at once has implications for an investigation of constituent order, in particular for any assumption of a default constituent order. For example, if we assume serial composition, we could interpret a steady change in the distribution of word order patterns or of certain constructions over the course of the seven books either as evidence for the lack of a default constituent order or as a reflection of a change in Caesar's literary style. Another aspect to consider is the publication date of the *De Analogia*, which, if we believe the

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[125] Kraus (2005) 103. Though not true in the strictest sense, I agree with the spirit of the sentiment, viz. that the *commentarii* are the only works accessible to an audience beyond a small group of specialists.

[126] Numerous phrases and sentences as well as larger ethnographic and geographic excurses (e.g. 6.25–28) have been flagged as interpolations or un-Caesarian. The hunt for suspect passages reached a fever pitch in the "orgy of athetization" engaged in by notable 18th- and 19th-century (primarily German) scholars (Collins (1963a) 48). Recent editions (e.g. Seel (1961), Hering (1987)) have tended to be more conservative. Hering (1987) XII–XIII in his Teubner edition notes that a common discrepancy between the two primary codices (α and β) is word order inversions, e.g. *quanto res sit α* : *quanto sit res β*. For *Gal.* 7 alone there are over 90 inversions in the β family. Such MS issues could directly affect our data, and will be taken into account when appropriate. Though the primary text used for data collection was Du Pontet's (1963) OCT, reference will be made to Hering's app. crit. on occasion.

[127] As with most scholarship, the camps are not, in fact, as clear cut as I have indicated here. There is an amorphous middle camp that argues, variously, for publication in three groups (Radin (1918)), serial *composition* but unitary *publication* (Klotz (1910)), and nearly every other publication configuration as well (see Gesche (1976) 78–84); but for the present purposes it will suffice to deal with the two primary viewpoints. For a survey of scholarship on this question from 1935–1963, see Collins (1963a) 48–51; for a more recent overview of the *status quaestionis*, see Riggsby (2006) 9–15. For unitary composition cf. Holmes (1899 [1911]), Mommsen (1920), Schlicher (1936), Seel (1961) xlv–xlix; for serial publication cf. Barwick (1938), Hastrup (1957), Welch and Powell (1998), Wiseman (1998), Riggsby (2006).

evidence from Suetonius (*Jul.* 56.5), was composed during Caesar's campaigns in Gaul. Caesar dedicated the work to Cicero, and in it he challenged the definition of rhetoric as we find it in the *De Oratore*, written in 55 BCE. If Caesar was in the midst of composing this work while simultaneously working on the *Bellum Gallicum*, there could be small but significant impacts on his style: word choice, syntactic constructions, constituent order.

Second, a satisfactory definition of the *commentarius* genre continues to elude scholars, due in large part to the absence of extant examples of the genre, which in turn leads to a circular overreliance on Caesar's *Commentarii* to deduce generic characteristics. Because of the degree to which generic conventions are believed to have affected the style of a particular work and, conversely, how often a work's supposed style is used for generic classification, it will be important for any explanation of constituent order to address the issue of genre. However, whether we classify Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* as *commentarius*, historiography, biography, or an amalgam of genres, it still remains a coherent linguistic system with rules and word order patterns that can be investigated and described.

To date neither side in either debate has been able to produce definitive proof for their hypothesis. This failure is, of course, not unique to the *Bellum Gallicum* as we generally lack access to the full gestational history of most multi-book works of ancient Greek or Roman literature. As such, my aim here is not to take a firm stance in either the compositional or generic debate. Instead, I want to relate the *status quaestionis* of each as a grounding for our investigation of constituent order below.

The debate over the composition and dissemination of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* is ongoing despite considerable scholarly output on the Caesarian corpus.[128] On one side of the aisle are those that argue for unitary composition and dissemination sometime between 52–50 BCE.[129] One of their core lines of argumentation draws attention to purported anachronisms or prolepses to indicate that the section or book in question must have been composed after the year in which the surrounding narrative takes place. For example, at 1.28.5, that is, in a book describing the events of 58 BCE, Caesar says that the Aedui gave lands to the Boii and afterward also granted them legal equality and freedom (*quibus* [Boiis] *illi* [Aedui] *agros dederunt quosque postea in parem iuris libertatisque condicionem atque ipsi erant receperunt*). Given that the Boii are referred to as *stipendiariis Aeduorum* at *Gal.* 7.10.1, the *postea* here, this line of argumentation claims, must refer to a time well after 58 BCE, most likely even after 52 BCE, and thus entails later composition.[130]

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[128] For reference, *L'Année philologique* lists 480 publications on Caesar and the *corpus Caesarianum* between 1996 and 2016. While the number seems high, if we compare it to the publications on other Roman prose authors, we see that Caesar gets short shrift; in the same time span there were 883 publications on Livy, 1192 on Tacitus, and an astonishing 3271 on Cicero.

[129] The unitary composition argument dates to the late 19th or early 20th century. Radin (1918) 284 and Collins (1963a) 49, for example, appear to attribute the argument to Rice Holmes' 1899 work *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*. Hastrup (1957) 60, on the other hand, cites Ebert's (1909) dissertation as the source of the argument; yet both Hastrup (1957) 63 and Gesche (1976) 78 refer to the position as "Mommsen's theory." Ebert's own position, however, is unclear to me since the dissertation was unavailable to me and the statements by Radin (1918) 284 and Hastrup (1957) 60 conflict. Regardless, the unitary position is considered the prevailing view as late as Gesche (1976) 78.

[130] Mommsen's argument hinges on this specific irregularity (Mommsen (1920) 615 ff.). Critics have roundly dismissed this internal evidence as inconclusive. See, e.g., Radin (1918) 285, Barwick (1938) 101–105, and Hastrup (1957) 63–65. Radin (1918) 285 countered that the exact temporal extent of the *postea* here is *prima facie* unclear and could denote a time later in the *same* year rather than years later; he goes even further and argues that this discretion is in fact an argument *against* rather than *for* unitary composition. Alternatively, the equality described in book 1 could have been *de jure* enacted but had yet to translate into *de facto* political equality at the time.

On the other side are those who believe that the work was written and circulated

piecemeal, one book per year, in the winter after the campaigning season.[131] A focal point for this

camp is textual contradictions, which can only be explained, so the argument goes, if the earlier

section of the text had been published prior to the later section. So, at 2.28.1 Caesar comments on

the near eradication of the Nervii in 57 BCE (*prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum*

*redacto*), but yet three years later they are able to stage a formidable rebellion of around 60,000

men (5.49.1; cf. 5.42.3–4). While various attempts have been made to explain this "Nervian

renaissance" as, for instance, a strategic campaign of misinformation on the part of the Nervii or

as a simple misconception on Caesar's part, Andrew Riggsby urges that we should not dismiss

the possibility that Caesar's claims are hyperbolic or had political or literary aims.[132] In other

words, the apparent contradiction could have been purposefully written into the text by Caesar,

and so cannot be used as evidence for the serial camp after all.

Statements made by Caesar's continuator, Aulus Hirtius, are taken as evidence for both

sides as well, but on closer examination they too are not as definitive as they are claimed to be.

Some scholars have taken Hirtius' reference to the ease and speed of Caesar's composition (*nos*

*etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos* [*commentarios*] *perfecerit scimus* (*Gal.* 8.pr.6)) to mean that

books 1 through 7 were produced in a brief time between 52–50 BCE. However, as Hastrup

forcefully remarks, this conclusion is far from warranted since Hirtius' reference could just as

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[131] See above, n. 127.

[132] Riggsby (2006) 9. Radin (1918) 286–287 argues that prior to the second engagement in 54 Caesar had believed the Nervii's purposefully exaggerated reports as to their sizeable losses in 57. The contradiction corroborates the view of the serial camp insofar as, at the supposed time of composition in 52–51, Caesar would have known the reports to be false and would have indicated as much in book 2. Holmes (1899) 162, to explain away the contradiction, posits that the army in 54 was composed of those who were too young to fight in 57.

easily be to the rapid composition of individual books during the winter after each campaign season.[133]

Hirtius mentions the *commentarii* a second time when he excuses himself for breaking from Caesar's practice of writing individual *commentarii* of individual years (*scio Caesarem singulorum annorum singulos commentarios confecisse* (*Gal.* 8.48.10)). Both sides have tried to appropriate this passage, specifically the phrase *singulorum annorum*, as support for their position. However, the context and construction of the passage suggest that Hirtius is simply referring to the annalistic character of the finished product, however or whenever it got that way. In the end, the evidence from Hirtius, such as it is, only has bearing on the question of composition if we make a *prima facie* assumption that it is relevant, which, on closer inspection, does not seem to be the case.[134]

Finally, many readers of the *Bellum Gallicum* notice a stylistic change over the course of the work; it has been said that the work begins as a *commentarius* but evolves to be more like true *historia*.[135] One of the most easily identifiable changes is the use of direct speech, which begins reservedly near the end of book 4, but increases steadily to its culmination in Critognatus' long speech in book 7. Proponents of serial composition point to this facet of stylistic evolution among others as proof that the work must have been composed over a number of years, not in one go. However, the unitarians note the stylistic progression between books of the *Bellum Gallicum* is not uniform. For example, Schlicher has argued that the use of periodic-style

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[133] Hastrup (1967) 67. Radin (1918) 284 offers a similar counterargument to this interpretation of Hirtius' words.

[134] See Riggsby (2006) 10.

[135] See Schlicher (1936), von Albrecht (1997) 413; Görler (1976) esp. 95–98 denies this generic shift. For a more in-depth look at the arguments between the competing camps see Riggsby (2006) ch. 1.

sentences spikes in books 2–4 but then drops and levels off in the remaining books. But uneven

stylistic changes do not rule out serial composition altogether, they merely force an adaptation to

the serial model wherein these challenges are addressed.[136] It would not be a huge leap to imagine

that, while engaged in correspondence with Cicero and possibly other rhetorical theorists, Caesar

developed an inclination to periodic sentence structure for a short time, but then consciously

moved away from it, for whatever reason. Or, to alter the nature of the stylistic debate, perhaps

these changes arose from purely literary concerns—regardless of how long each book was *in*

*manibus*—as von Albrecht has argued, noting that the development of direct speech in the

*Bellum Gallicum* is mirrored in the *Bellum Civile*.[137]

Consequently, regardless of one's favored compositional camp, we need not and should

not assume that Caesar's stylistic proclivities—especially at a time when these exact issues were

being theorized and debated—were unconscious or passive facets of his prose.[138] The fact that the

work has stylistic ebbs and flows is not definitive evidence for either compositional camp. In the

end, we do not have any indisputable internal or external evidence for the date or manner of

composition of the *Bellum Gallicum*, and the best we are left with are probabilities, educated

guesses, and scholarly impressions.

Fortunately, issues of composition and publication are not our primary goal. What is

important is that the stylistic concerns identified in the compositional debate will have real

effects on the present study. Coupled with the increase in direct speech is a decrease not only in

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[136] Radin (1918) attempts to salvage the serial camp by treading a middle ground in which the *Bellum Gallicum* was composed in chunks.

[137] Von Albrecht (1997) 414.

[138] On the linguistic turbulence of the late Republic, see Krebs (2018b).

extended passages of indirect discourse but also in the overall use of it. Radin notes that while there are numerous chapters in books 1 and 2 written almost exclusively in indirect discourse, in books 3 through 6 there are but two (coincidentally, 5.27, 5.29, one of our chosen books).[139] Our data (presented below) further substantiate these observations both as they relate to the length and to the overall number of AcI clauses. For example, we will see below that there is a 42% decline in the number of infinitives in indirect discourse between books 1 and 5 (287 to 166 respectively). In fact, book 1 will be somewhat anomalous for various reasons.

Just as attempts to pinpoint the year(s) of composition of the *Bellum Gallicum* have ended in frustration, so have attempts to define and categorize it generically. Ostensibly and traditionally it is a *commentarius*, but most scholars agree that it breaks the supposed generic mold. But what exactly does that mold consist of? Due to the dearth of extant *commentarii*, Caesar's works are often used both to prove what was characteristic about the genre and what Caesar changed, how he conforms to and how he subverts a genre of which his is not only the largest, but also one of the only examples. This comes to bear on opinions of Caesar's Latinity. If one tries to define the genre too narrowly, for example as a set of battlefield notes whose *raison d'être* is to be rewritten in good and stylized Latin, one would necessarily question the stylistic worth of the work; after all, by definition it would be sub-literary, perhaps more akin to a long graffito than a Ciceronian oration. And yet if one opts for a broader approach, that Caesar's Latin cannot be mere notes, one endangers the very definition of the *commentarius* genre itself or at least Caesar's place within it.

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[139] Radin (1918) 293–294.

Indeed, the generic debate is even more painfully vexed than that surrounding the date of publication. Fortunately, it will be only marginally relevant to the work at hand, and so need not be delved into at length. Regardless of whether Caesar's two extant works are representative of the *commentarius* genre and whatever the hallmarks of the genre may have been, they have been read for hundreds of years and used as models for Latin grammar, so they deserve to be studied as coherent linguistic systems. Thus, the generic label given to the *Bellum Gallicum* and the linguistic influences of that genre may be most useful in comparison to other genres.

With such ongoing debates about Caesar as an author and the compositional and generic nature of his works, why would we begin our investigation of constituent order in AcI clauses with the *Bellum Gallicum*? First, it offers a sizeable corpus, whose content is more or less consistent and allows, if not demands, widespread use of indirect statement, which gives us a larger sample size than other authors. Second, for better or worse and somehow in spite of the debates just outlined, Caesar's syntax and style are vital to modern Latin pedagogy and have become one of the benchmarks by which scholars and educators assess *Latinitas*.[140] And finally, Caesar's prose is not obscure or overly artificial. We can recall Panhuis whose justification for beginning with Caesar was very similar, namely that Caesar does not revel in "belletristic ornamentation."[141]

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[140] Cicero is also a common model for Latin syntax, but his works are more generically diverse and cover a broader range of topics, making him less than ideal as a starting point. We will investigate Ciceronian Latin in Chapter 4: Enter Cicero.

[141] Panhuis (1982) 5.

Although presumably issued in reference to public oratory, Caesar's own instructions from the *De Analogia* seem to echo this modern evaluation of his simple and lucid language use.[142]

18)     tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum.

You should avoid the unusual and unfamiliar word as if a boulder. (*gram*. fr. 2, Garcea)

Additionally, contemporary appraisals of Caesarian oratory and prose highlight its linguistic purity and elegance, seemingly confirming that Caesar followed his own guidelines in practice.

19)     de Caesare et ipse ita iudico et de hoc huius generis acerrumo existimatore saepissume audio, illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissume.

I myself think this about Caesar and I hear it constantly about this highly accurate judge of this type [of speech] that he speaks the most elegant Latin of nearly all the orators. (Cic. *Brut*. 252)

20)     valde quidem, inquam, probandos; nudi enim sunt, recti, et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta.

"[the *commentarii* are] deserving of great admiration," I said, "for they are clear, direct, and charming, with every embellishment of language removed as if an article of clothing." (Cic. *Brut*. 262)[143]

The *elegantia* attributed to Caesar's oratorical prowess by Cicero in (19) comes up again in a *testimonium* from Aulus Hirtius, this time in reference to his ability with the pen.[144]

21)     erat autem in Caesare cum facultas atque elegantia summa scribendi, tum verissima scientia suorum consiliorum explicandorum.

Moreover, Caesar had both an exceptional fluency and elegance in writing and also a real knack for conveying his own ideas. (A. Hirtius *Gal*. 8.pr.7)

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[142] For more on this fragment cf. Garcea (2012) 83–86, 132.

[143] Cf. Kraus (2005) 108–115 for the alternate view that in this passage "Cicero is slyly undermining the famous 'purity' of the *Commentarii*" (112).

[144] *Elegantia* is also a key characteristic of Caesarian style in modern discussions of his biography and literary output. Cf. van der Blom (2016) ch. 5. Also cf. Suet. *Jul*. 55.1 which highlights yet again Caesar's reputation for *elegantia*.

Even though as Caesar's continuator he clearly would have had ulterior motives for putting forth a positive assessment of Caesar's prose style, I find it unlikely that he was offering a highly contentious position.

Of course, we should not infer from these quotations alone that Caesar's style was universally praised or admired. Yet we can safely assume, I think, that the positions given here were widely held. In the *Brutus*, for instance, none of the other Ciceronian interlocutors raise an objection to the speaker's characterization of Caesar's style. While none of these passages indicate that Caesar's Latin had attained a privileged status such as it enjoyed in the nineteenth century, they do show that during and after his life Caesar's literary and oratorical precision was held in high esteem.[145]

Partly based on ancient citations such as these and partly because of vague impressions that Caesar's writing is simpler and more regular than other Latin prose, Caesarian prose style has become a standard for Classical Latin grammar and syntax.[146] However, we can do more than offer nebulous impressions to show that the syntax of Caesar's prose provides a comparatively straightforward baseline relative to other authors. Thanks to modern linguistic research we can make statistical arguments that Caesar is less prone to stylistic alteration than other authors. For example, Devine and Stephens (2006) have demonstrated that Caesar's and Livy's use of

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[145] Even if he had not achieved "textbook" status during his own lifetime, he was still highly influential in directing morphological developments. According to Varro (cited by Cassiodorus *de Ortho.* 1.50) Caesar's promotion of word forms with medial *i* over competing forms with *u* (e.g. *lacrumae* and *lacrimae*, *pulcherrimam* and *pulcherrumam*) was instrumental in the former becoming standard.

[146] The eclipse of Caesar as a literary figure by his role as standard-bearer of Latinity, what Pascucci (1973) 502 poignantly calls "*la (s)fortuna di Cesare,*" has not been without its drawbacks. On occasion it has been used by, perhaps, overeager editors to justify textual emendations of passages they believed "deviated from their author's *usus scribendi*" (Krebs (2018b) 112). For this "orgy of athetization," see above n. 126. However, see Mayer (2005) for the non-existence of a "standard" Republican Latin prose style.

preverbal or postverbal accusative objects in repeated and technical verb phrases varies significantly.[147] They found that, whereas Caesar without exception preposes the accusative object in the phrase *castra ponere*, Livy not only allows for postponement, but prefers it: 45 of the 55 instances (82%) in Books 21 and following were postverbal (i.e. *ponere castra*).[148] The same holds for other fixed phrases like *aciem instruere* where Caesar preposes the accusative object 100% of the time while Livy does so only 35%.[149] More recently, Danckaert (2017) conducted a large corpus-based statistical analysis of Latin authors from roughly 200 BCE to 600 CE, and found that Caesar showed the lowest percentage of VO orders (under 10%) of any of the 39 authors sampled.[150] Although his goal is a diachronic assessment of the OV/VO alternation in Latin, the data allow us to further confirm at the macro level what Devine and Stephens and others have shown at a more restricted level, that is, postverbal objects in Caesar are exceedingly rare. Thus, it seems there is no better place to begin an investigation of constituent order in AcI clauses than with an author whose word order is notoriously rigid, since we should presumably see a similar rigidity at the AcI level. This is what we turn to next.

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[147] Devine and Stephens (2006) 125–136. To begin with a manageable data set and minimize the factors at play, they restrict their sample size to a single phrase—*castra ponit/posuit* (including the plural forms of the verb)—and require the verb and object to be contiguous. Cf. Spevak (2010) 125–131, esp. 128 who uses the term "verbo-nominal constructions."

[148] There are 12 instances in this data set.

[149] There were 10 instances in Caesar and 14 instances in Livy. Caesar even keeps the OV pattern when *aciem* is used with other verbs: *aciem premebant* (*Gal.* 1.52.6); *aciem subiceret* (*Civ.* 3.84). Cf. Spevak (2010) 122 on the rarity of post-verbal objects in Caesar's historical narrative.

[150] Danckaert (2017) 112. The percentages given here are taken from Figure 3.1 which shows the percentage of VO in all syntactic environments. Additional figures are given with progressively modified or restricted parameters, but Caesar's position on the graph does not fundamentally change. Furthermore, his data further confirm the findings in Devine and Stephens (2006) as to the frequency of VO in Livy, whose percentage is around 24%. However, since Cicero, who is a contemporary of Caesar, also has a VO frequency just above 20%, we should perhaps refrain (*pace* Devine and Stephens (2006)) from drawing further conclusions about differences between the syntax of Caesar and Livy.

## 2.3 Caesar's AcI Clauses: Active Transitive Data

As was made clear above in §1.6, we need to break down the larger data set into smaller, more manageable sets in order to address our specific points of inquiry. To reiterate, these two fundamental questions are: 1) What determines the linear order of constituents in AcI clauses? 2) How do we disambiguate the syntactic roles of double accusatives in an AcI? To answer these questions, we will restrict our investigation to active transitive infinitives that have explicit accusative subject and accusative object constituents (Table 3).[151]

| Book 1, 5, 7 | WITH S, O, V | Subject Type | | Verb Placement | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Pronoun | Noun | Initial[152] | Mid | Final |
| SO order[153] | 56 | 38 | 18 | 3 | 5 | 48 |
| OS order | 26 | 21 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 25 |
| Hyperbaton | 9 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 7 |
| Total | 91 | 67 | 24 | 4 | 7 | 80 |

Table 3: Combined BG data for transitive AcI

[151] The text used for data collection was Du Pontet's 1968 OCT. The case of the object is important. We are only dealing with accusative direct objects here, but in all data sets there are a small number of dative, genitive, or ablative verbal objects. At a later point we will look at these in passing and check their distribution against the examples with accusative objects to see whether non-traditional "direct objects" behave similarly or differently than traditional accusative objects. Further, we will omit instances in relative clauses in which either constituent is the relative pronoun due to the strong cross-linguistic inclination to wh-fronting that may override other considerations (e.g. *quam Gallos obtinere* (*Gal.* 1.1.5)). We will, though, include cases where the relative clause itself is the subject or object constituent (e.g. *quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiasse* (*Gal.* 1.22.4)).

[152] One example in each verb-initial and verb-medial have non-contiguous infinitive phrases (*posse…dare* at 1.8.3 and *consuesse…concedere* at 1.14.5). I classified these two examples by the placement of the controlling infinitives, *posse* and *consuesse*. All told, there are eight examples of complementary or prolative infinitives, six of which are contiguous. Moreover, in all six contiguous VPs the complement precedes the head verb (e.g. *facere posse*). Note, however, that in both of the examples with a split VP the complement follows the head, and that the infinitival elements seem to operate as distinct constituents insofar as multiple constituents separate the head verbs from their dependent verbs. In other words, the discontinuous verb phrases do not seem to differ from a discontinuous subject or object NP.

[153] The shorthand ordering notation here and elsewhere only represents *serial* orders; it may, but need not, represent contiguity of constituents.

The table should be read as follows. In the first column we see that 56 (61%) of the 91 total examples have an SO order, 26 (29%) have an OS order, and 9 (9%) show discontinuity of the object noun phrase (hyperbaton).[154] Pronominal subjects (column two) have roughly a 2:1 preference for SO over OS order (38 to 21), and nominal subjects (column three) prefer SO order at an even higher rate of 3:1 (18 to 5). Object hyperbaton occurs almost exclusively with pronominal subjects (8 to 1). Finally, we find an overwhelming preference for verb-final position (80 of 91); verb-medial and verb-initial both occur as well, though only seven and four times respectively.

Looking at the combined data alone, however, obscures the fact that book 1 is aberrant in multiple respects, including number and type of AcI constructions and the admissibility of nominal subjects in OS order. We can better identify these additional factors by looking at a breakdown of the individual books, given below in Table 4, Table 5, and Table 6.

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[154] For our purposes, object hyperbaton is restricted to cases where the subject causes discontinuity of the object constituent or, in other words, where the relative ordering of subject and object is obscured, e.g. *magnam Caesarem iniuriam facere* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.36.4). Instances in which a non-subject constituent breaks into the object domain, e.g. *sese…tempus ipsum emisse iudici sui* (Cic. *I Verr.* 8) or *magnitudinem pecuniae plus habuisse momenti* (Cic. *I Verr.* 52)), were not counted as "object hyperbaton" because the order of the nuclear arguments remains the same. Interestingly, neither in the Caesar selections nor, as we will see in chapter 4, in those from Cicero do we find instances of the subject constituent in hyperbaton in active-transitive constructions. The instances we do find in Caesar occur in copulative constructions, in which the subject constituent breaks around the infinitive, or in passive constructions, which do not include objects.

|  | | Subject Type | | Verb Placement | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Book 1** | **With S, O, V** | **Pronoun** | **Noun** | **Initial** | **Mid** | **Final** |
| *SO order* | 35 | 27 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 31 |
| *OS order* | 14 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| *Hyperbaton* | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| *Total* | 52 | 38 | 14 | 2 | 5 | 45 |

Table 4: Transitives with all nuclear constituents, BG 1

|  | | Subject Type | | Verb Placement | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Book 5** | **WITH S, O, V** | **Pronoun** | **Noun** | **Initial** | **Mid** | **Final** |
| *SO order* | 11 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 10 |
| *OS order* | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| *Hyperbaton* | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| *Total* | 16 | 10 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 15 |

Table 5: Transitives with all nuclear constituents, BG 5

|  | | Subject Type | | Verb Placement | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Book 7** | **WITH S, O, V** | **Pronoun** | **Noun** | **Initial** | **Mid** | **Final** |
| *SO order* | 10 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| *OS order* | 9 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| *Hyperbaton* | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| *Total* | 23 | 19 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 19 |

Table 6: Transitives with all nuclear constituents, BG 7

There is a notable disparity between the number of target AcI constructions for books 1, 5, and 7 (52 : 16 : 23) despite book 5 being only 2 OCT pages shorter than book 1 and book 7 being 17 pages longer; this unbalanced distribution holds more broadly for the total number of AcIs as well (287 : 166 : 233). That means in book 1 we see an average of 8.6 AcI per page, but the average drops to 5.3 in book 5 and finally to 4.8 in book 7.[155] The 42% decrease between the full data sets in books 1 and 5 and the 19% decrease between books 1 and 7 is not insignificant.

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[155] The discrepancy between book 1 and books 5 and 7 fits with the larger pattern of a decrease in indirect speech over the course of the work as mentioned by Radin (1918).

It is not just the quantity of our target construction that differs wildly, the kind does as well. In book 1 we find whole sections and even entire OCT pages comprised of a single extended AcI construction: 1.14, 1.17, 1.18, 1.31 (two full OCT pages!), 1.35, 1.36, 1.40 (almost two OCT pages), 1.44 (one OCT page), and 1.45. Books 5 and 7, conversely, have very few extended AcI constructions; only 5.27, 5.29. 7.14, 7.29, and 7.32 span entire sections of text, and only 5.27 covers an entire OCT page. This observation combined with the figures for the individual books lets us assume based on quantitative evidence that book 1, book 5, and book 7 differ in a more important way than simply describing three separate years, even if it is simply the narrative content of the book.[156]

Finally, the combined data mask the important fact that all five of the nominal subjects in OS order occur in book 1. Of course, this skewed distribution does not negate the fact that we have nominal subjects in OS order, but it does add an important qualification to the aggregate data. It also cautions us against blindly extrapolating to the work *in toto*: Yes, our source texts show that nominal subjects occur in SO order roughly 75% of the time, *but* all of the OS examples—i.e. the other 25%—are isolated in a single book. Ultimately, though it is technically true that nouns are not precluded from OS order simply in virtue of their status as nouns, the distribution makes clear that pronominal subjects are, for whatever reason, more *compatible* with OS order.[157]

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[156] Book 1 involves more direct communications with the Gallic tribes; book 5 consists of descriptions of landscapes and routes and other expository digressions; and book 7 has much space dedicated to the military campaigns and political machinations of Vercingetorix. One aspect to bear in mind is that beginning at 4.25 Caesar introduces direct speech into his narrative. However, he only uses *inquit* 12 times total in *Bellum Gallicum*—twice in book 5, seven times in book 7—so the extent to which we can use this fact to account for the divergent numbers in AcI constructions is limited. Cf. Radin (1918); von Albrecht (1997).

[157] Tempting as it is, one should not presume that cliticization alone explains the overrepresentation of pronouns in OS order; certainly some of the pronominal subjects will be clitics, but, as we will see, pragmatic movement also

It is also important to state upfront that all of the nominal subjects, whether in OS or SO order, are the same class of noun: Highly agentive, animate, and individuated.[158] This conforms with our earlier discussion of the personal and semantic role hierarchies which often cooperate, as it were, in the assignment of the syntactic functions subject and object. As was shown above, a constituent's position on the personal hierarchy positively correlates to its position on the semantic hierarchy and thus to its eligibility as a semantic agent; as such, high-animacy, individuated nouns are more often selected as agents and are thus more likely to be assigned to a subject role.[159] In other words, this tells us that the type of noun itself is insufficient to explain its use in OS order.

Neither the frequent use of pronouns nor the predominant serial ordering here is surprising. First, the number of alternating speeches in *Bellum Gallicum* necessitates the heavy use of pronominal arguments of the reflexive, non-reflexive, and deictic varieties.[160] Second, in main clauses subjects tend to occur before objects and verbs tend to be final, especially, as we saw above, in Caesar. These data from *Bellum Gallicum* 1, 5, and 7 simply confirm a similar tendency for subordinate AcI constructions. But we have yet to explain why this tendency exists and what accounts for the deviations from the predominant SO order.

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plays a significant role. The data simply show that a trend exists. One might still puzzle over the proper framing, though; that is, whether it is a strict preference for pronominal subjects or a strict avoidance of nominal subjects.

[158] The nominal OS subjects are all proper names or refer to a proper name: *Gallos* (1.1.5), *Helvetios* (1.12.2), *Aeduos … Arvernos* (1.31.3), *Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones* (1.40.1), *Caesarem* (1.42.6), and *pulsos* (*sc. Aeduos*) (1.31.6). For a fuller breakdown of the nominal SO subjects, see discussion of Table 7 below. For now, note that 17 of the 19 nominal subjects in SO either are or refer to proper names (e.g. *magnam manum Germanorum*) or concrete entities (e.g. *deos immortalis*; *omnis* [*sc. hostes*]). The two remaining examples also ultimately refer to concrete entities by metonymy, although the head of each noun phrase could have an inanimate or abstract reading in other circumstances: *LX navis* (5.5.2) and *civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum* (5.28.1).

[159] Throughout, I will refer to this meta-hierarchy as the "personal-animacy hierarchy" for simplicity. For more on the intimate relationship between these two hierarchies, see Siewierska (1988) 47–51.

[160] Cf. §2.2 Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*.

Table 3 suggests that the divergent OS examples will likely be quite useful in explaining the constituent ordering of AcIs. However, without a firm baseline of what counts as "normal" AcI constituent order, any explanations of deviations could appear ad hoc. Thus, before parsing these more complex cases, we will use the SO examples as a control group. Moreover, we will begin with the nominal subjects (i.e. tonic lexical items) in order to reduce the possible influence that phonology and cliticization could have on the linear order. Once we have compared the nominal-subject SO and OS examples, we will turn in the next chapter to pronominal subjects where phonology must be taken into consideration.

## 2.4 Nominal Subjects in SO Order

In this section, we will examine the 19 examples with nominal subjects in SO (*v.s.* Table 3). We will approach these examples from two directions that broadly correspond to the two primary linearization hierarchies from above: the personal-animacy hierarchy and the familiarity hierarchy. The first avenue involves the relationship between the semantic status and syntactic function of the nominal constituents. We will see that there is a sharp divide between the subject and object nouns, the former being highly animate and individuated and the latter being inanimate or abstract. The second tack focuses on pragmatic function and its relationship to linear order. The information structures of the clauses tend to follow a Topic>Focus order, but we cannot map this pragmatic representation directly onto the syntactic SO schema. Though the subjects generally have Topic function,[161] i.e. they are what the predication is "about," the object

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[161] Unless, that is, we classify certain examples as "event reporting" or "What Happens" clauses, in which case there is no proper Topic because the goal of the utterance is to introduce the entire proposition or an event into the discourse rather than make a statement about a discourse-bound entity. See below n. 165.

constituents can be pragmatically "unmarked." In a number of instances the object is also presupposed information, but it follows the Narrow Focus constituent, meaning that the basic pragmatic structure of the clause is Topic – Narrow Focus – Presupposed Material. In short, the personal-animacy hierarchy will be most useful for determining the syntactic roles of multiple accusatives in an AcI, while the familiarity hierarchy, primarily as expressed by selection of Topic and Focus, will largely determine the linear order.

The table below lays out these 19 examples, including the subject and object constituents (columns 2 and 4) and corresponding animacy status of each (columns 3 and 5). The far-right column indicates the relative order of the nuclear constituents (i.e. subject, verb, object) and other clausal elements (e.g. relative clauses). The table is sorted by location (column 1).

| Loc.[162] | Subject | Animacy | Object | Animacy | Order scheme |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1.14.5 | *deos immortalis* | animate, "human" | *secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem* | abstract | $V_1S**DOV_2$ |
| 1.22.4 | *Considium* | animate, human | *quod non vidisset* | abstract | S*O*DV |
| 1.22.4 | *Helvetios* | animate, human | *castra* | inanimate | SOV |
| 1.31.5 | *horum...milia XV* | animate, human | *Rhenum* | inanimate | G*SOV[163] |
| 1.32.2 | *tristis* (sc. *Sequanos*) | animate, human | *terram* | inanimate | S*OV |
| 1.32.2 | *unos ex omnibus Sequanos* | animate, human | *nihil earum rerum* | abstract | SOGV |
| 1.33.1 | *Ariovistum* | animate, human | *finem* | abstract | SODV |
| 1.40.1 | *Ariovistum* | animate, human | *amicitiam* | abstract | S*GOV |
| 1.44.9 | *Aeduos* | animate, human | *auxilium* | abstract | *SDOV |
| 5.27.8 | *magnam manum Germanorum* | animate, human | *Rhenum* | inanimate | S*OV |
| 5.28.1 | *civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum* | animate (metonymy) | *bellum* | abstract | S*DOV |
| 5.29.2 | *Carnutes* | animate, human | *consilium* | abstract | SOV |
| 5.41.3 | *Germanos* | animate, human | *Rhenum* | inanimate | SOV |
| 5.5.2 | *LX navis* | animate (metonymy) | *cursum* | abstract | S**OV |
| 5.56.1 | *Nervios Aduatucosque* | animate, human | *bellum* | abstract | SODV |
| 7.14.7 | *Romanos* | animate, human | *inopiam* | abstract | SOV |
| 7.18.1 | *Vercingetorigem* | animate, human | *castra* | inanimate | S*OV |
| 7.41.4 | *Fabium* | animate, human | *ceteras* | inanimate | S**VO |
| 7.61.4 | *omnis* (sc. *hostes*) | animate, human | *fugam* | abstract | S*OV |

*Table 7: SO nominal subjects and objects, BG 1, 5, 7*

[162] Animacy classifications are adapted from Table 1 above. The far-right column notes the contiguity of the constituents within the AcI domain; "S," "O," and "V" denote the nuclear constituents, "G" is a partitive genitive, "D" is a dative, and the asterisks mark satellite and adjunct clauses (e.g. relatives, ablative absolutes) and secondary predicate participles (e.g. *tempestate reiectas*). To reiterate, a constituent can include more than one lexical item. As such, though each asterisk denotes one intervening constituent, the notation does not account for relative constituent lengths, which vary across the examples. Not represented are single adverbs (with core infinitive) or conjuncts (*aut*, *et*).

[163] Partitive genitive is split from its head by two adverbs, *primo* and *circiter*, the former of which has sentential scope.

As we can see from columns 2 and 3, the subject nominals have an obvious inclination toward definite, concrete, and highly agentive nouns. In other words, the subject nouns are high on the animacy scale: 11 of the 19 are unmodified proper nouns (e.g. *Romanos*); three additional examples refer to proper nouns with a partitive construction (e.g. *unos ex omnibus Sequanos*); two more are substantive adjectives that refer to animate entities (e.g. *tristis*); and there is one common noun with an adjective (i.e. *deos immortalis*). The final two—an inanimate noun and an abstract noun—are less agentive than the previous 17, but both extend by metonymy to animate entities. The opposite is true, however, of the object nouns: all are either inanimate (e.g. *terram*) or abstract (*inopiam*).

Keeping in mind that the data set under discussion includes only transitive verbs, the regularity with which this asymmetrical relationship holds is interesting. We have neither examples in which the relative agency is reversed (i.e. low-agency subject and high-agency object) nor examples that have a similarly-agentive subject and object (i.e. low-agency subject and object or high-agency subject and object). In other words, it is not *just* that Caesar strongly favors high-agency nouns as subjects in AcI clauses, it is also that he avoids high-agency, animate nouns as objects. The same holds *mutatis mutandis* for low-agency, inanimate nouns. The importance of this observation should not be overlooked. If such situations were common—that is, AcI clauses with two equally-animate nominal constituents, e.g. *Caesarem Orgetorigem videre*—the likelihood of grammatical ambiguity would skyrocket. Ultimately, given that we know Latin allows for variation in constituent order, it would render the semantic personal-

animacy hierarchy trivial as a metric for assigning or determining syntactic roles, and much more would be demanded of the audience to properly interpret clauses.[164]

The final column shows us that adjuncts or satellites regularly disturb the contiguity of the nuclear arguments. Even counting all datives as nuclear arguments, we still have ten examples where at least one adjunct or satellite disrupts the contiguity. But their position is neither random nor evenly distributed. In fact, in all ten cases it is the subject constituent that is separated from the OV. In one instance (1.22.4) an adjunct also follows the object NP, but we should note that the object constituent in question is a relative clause (*quod non vidisset*), not a nominal object, and the adjunct prepositional phrase following said relative clause is both a predicative complement of the object phrase and the Narrow Focus. In short, in terms of the schematic representation of the final column of the chart, the asterisks fall frequently between the S and OV, but only once is the OV sequence separated by an asterisk. Most commonly these elements are participial, either ablative absolutes with varying semantic functions as in (22) or secondary predicates modifying the subject as in (23) (marked with dotted underlines):

22)     a. Caesar cognovit Vercingetorigem consumpto pabulo *castra* **movisse** propius Avaricum.

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[164] For example, a greater demand would be placed on one's general knowledge of the world and the language, from which one would need to extrapolate the relative frequencies of potential states of affairs—e.g. dogs chase cats more often than cats chase dogs. As I explained above in §1.1 Why AcI? or Who Did What to Whom?, this is the precise concern that gave rise to this project. Such instances are seemingly rare, but do occur: e.g. *Ph. Quid ais? Ge. Huius patrem vidisse me et patruom tuom* ("Ph. What are you saying? Ge. That I saw this guy's father and your uncle" (Ter. *Phorm.* 199)). All of the accusatives—*patrem*, *me*, and *patruom*—are agentive, so devoid of context, one might analyze the syntax as SVO1O2 with *patrem* as the subject accusative and the post-verbal material as conjoined objects (i.e. "the father saw me and your uncle."). However, the audience knows that Phaedria and Antipho are cousins (i.e. one's father is the other's uncle), which restricts *patruom tuom* to a secondary description of *patrem* and likely a Tail. The Focus is *huius patrem vidisse*, which directly answers Phaedria's question, and the subject accusative *me* follows or perhaps attaches to the first pragmatic unit. We only have a minimal number of such clauses in our data set, mostly in pronominal-subject SO orders.

Caesar learned that Vercingetorix, after the grain had been eaten, had moved camp nearer to Avaricum. (*Gal.* 7.18.1) (Causal/Temporal)

b. Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos …sed <u>tristis</u> (*sc.* Sequanos) <u>capite demisso</u> terram **intueri**.

Caesar recognized that the Sequani alone out of everyone…but they dejected with bowed head gazed at the ground. (*Gal.* 1.32.2) (Description)

c. demonstrant… <u>Fabium discessu eorum duabus relictis portis</u> **obstruere** ceteras…

They relay that…Fabius, at their departure, with two gates left (open), was blocking up the rest…. (*Gal.* 7.41.4) (Temporal, Attendant Circumstance)

23)     a. atque <u>omnis</u> (*sc.* legiones) <u>perturbatos defectione Aeduorum</u> fugam **parare**.

And all because they were alarmed by the desertion of the Aedui readied for flight. (*Gal.* 7.61.4)

b. cognovit (*sc.* Caesar) <u>LX navis</u>, quae…, <u>tempestate reiectas</u> cursum **tenere non potuisse**.

He (Caesar) learned that the 60 ships, which…, having been driven back by a storm had not been able to hold their course. (*Gal.* 5.5.2)

c. <u>magnam manum Germanorum conductam</u> Rhenum **transisse**.

[that] a great band of Germans, having been hired, had crossed the Rhine. (*Gal.* 5.27.8)

When we turn to the nominal-subject OS examples, we will see that such discontinuity is almost entirely absent and that the nuclear arguments tend to cluster. The underlying reason that SO allows for greater variance is unclear, but we will return to this subject below in our discussion of the OS examples.

In all 19 cases the subject constituent likely functions as Topic[165] and in nearly every instance it occurs in colon-initial position or following a typical clause-initial element such as a

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[165] One might be inclined to classify a couple of examples as "event reporting" clauses, to use the nomenclature of Lambrecht (1994), meaning they would be functionally Topic-less because their goal is to introduce an *event* into the discourse. Imagining a situation where a grocery bag–laden woman says "My CAR broke down" as she slowly boards a bus, Lambrecht (1994) 15 argues, "Even though the car is the subject argument at the conceptual level of the proposition, and even though the noun phrase expressing this argument is the grammatical subject of the

conjunction or correlative adverb.[166] Topic changes do not appear to have any explicit marking

strategies except clause-initial position; certain examples, though, may suggest that the referential

accessibility of the topical entity—i.e. the ease with which the audience can bring an entity back

to mind—affects the relative ordering of Topic and Setting constituents.[167] Entities with low

referential accessibility, whose retrieval may require more cognitive effort by the audience,

precede Setting adjuncts, while Topics whose referential accessibility is higher and are recalled

more easily can either precede or follow a Setting adjunct. For example, *Vercingetorigem* in (22)a

and *Fabium* in (22)c are Topics that are being reintroduced into the discourse after being absent

for some time. Both nouns precede ablative absolutes, and the latter also precedes the anaphoric

temporal phrase *discessu eorum*. In contrast, *Aeduos* in the following passage is a contrastive

Topic that is present in the immediate discourse and thus easily accessible to the audience, and it

follows both a correlative adverb and temporal ablative:

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sentence…the expression *my car* does not correspond to a TOPIC at the level of the pragmatically structured proposition. Rather the topic is the speaker: the woman, not the car, is 'what the utterance is about'." Event reporting sentences are further discussed at Lambrecht (1994) 120–126, 137–146, 218–220, 307–311. Such clauses are variously labeled "what-happens" (Spevak (2010) 41–44), "thetic" (Devine and Stephens (2006) 145–172; (2019) 22–23), or "all new" (Pinkster *OLS* 2, 828–829). Possible candidates in our data set include *Helvetios castra movisse* (*Gal.* 1.22.4) or *Germanos Rhenum transisse* (*Gal.* 5.41.3).

[166] The lone outlier is *consuesse enim deos immortalis, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos…, eis secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere* ("For the immortal gods are accustomed to grant to these on occasion greater prosperity and more extended impunity, so that the men, whom …, may suffer more severely from the reversal of circumstances," (*Gal.* 1.14.5)). The example is odd in that both a non-topical and non-imperative verb gets clause-initial placement and that the initial verb is split so far from its complementary infinitive. Despite the verb-initial position, the Topic (*deos immortalis*) still precedes the Focus (*quo gravius… doleant*). On the other hand, were we to render *consuesse* as an impersonal that initiates another layer of indirect speech (e.g. *there is a custom that…* (for which, *OLD* ad loc. 2.b), the position of *consuesse* would be more explicable (i.e. it is outside of the domain of the *deos…concedere* construction), and the Topic *deos immortalis* could be in initial position.

[167] Allan (2014) 186–188 comes to a similar conclusion for Greek Topic expressions. Cf. Brown and Yule (1983) 174 whose data (mostly English) show that separate linguistic strategies are used to refer to the most recent Given Topic, on the one hand, and to refer to a Given Topic from earlier in the discourse, on the other, the latter always requiring a full noun phrase.

24) Quod fratres Aeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse (*sc.* Ariovistus) rerum ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum proximo <u>Aeduos</u> Romanis *auxilium* **tulisse** neque ipsos…auxilio populi Romani usos esse.

As to him saying that the Aedui had been styled "brethren," he (Ariovistus) was not so simple nor so oblivious to things that he did not know that neither, in the last war of the Allobroges, had the Aedui rendered aid to the Romans nor had they… availed themselves of the aid of the Roman people. (*Gal.* 1.44.9)

Accessibility is affected by more factors than just the linear distance in the text between mentions of an entity. One must also consider the number of competing topical entities, as well as the entity's relevance within the larger narrative. Entities that are integral to the narrative will be more cognitively salient to the audience and so more easily recalled—e.g. Caesar, Ariovistus, or Gaul—while entities with a more limited or local relevance in the discourse are less accessible in the future and may require a fuller reintroduction; the former are called Discourse Topics, the latter Sentence Topics.[168] It could be the case that a topical entity's operative discourse level influences the relative linear position of the Topic expression and Setting elements, but such an investigation is beyond the scope of this work.

What is relevant, however, is that because of the differences in scope it is possible for a clause to contain both a Discourse Topic and a Sentence Topic, which could compete for clause initial position.[169] None of our nominal-subject SO examples have multiple Topics, but the situation will occur in our OS examples, at which point we will look more closely at the relative

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[168] E.g. Caesar, Gaul, and Ariovistus are central to the *Bellum Gallicum*, and, even if absent from the narrative for a while, they can be recalled easily. On the other hand, *LX navis* in (23)b is a minor player in the discourse, and it is likely less accessible to the audience. The ships are first introduced at *Gal.* 5.1.1, then referred to at *Gal.* 5.2.2. When Caesar resumes this Topic at *Gal.* 5.5.2, he includes the relative clause *quae in Maldis factae erant* which eases its reintroduction. For more precise definitions of these Topic types, see above §1.4 Topics, Foci, and Linearization Hierarchies.

[169] Spevak (2010) 65–73 demonstrates that for Latin sentence-level topical constituents (Sentence Topics) tend to have linear priority over constituents that operate at a higher discourse level (Discourse Topics).

ordering of Discourse and Sentence Topics. For our SO examples the upshot is that the position of the Topic early in the clause and before the focal, salient information conforms to the familiarity hierarchy.

The object constituents, on the other hand, despite showing a marked preference for preverbal position (see Table 7), need not have a specific pragmatic function.[170] In twelve cases the object is part of a Broad Focus construction, all of which have preverbal objects (immediately preverbal nine times and split from the verb by a genitive or dative element in three others). These constructions are especially common with technical or "genre-specific" verb phrases ((25)) and with verbonominals or other phrasal verbs ((26)) where the verb has undergone some degree of semantic bleaching and the phrase's meaning is dependent on the object (hard brackets denote Focus domain):

25)    a. Caesar cognovit et…et <u>Helvetios</u> [*castra* **movisse**].

Caesar learned that both…and that the Helvetii had moved camp. (*Gal.* 1.22.4)

b. Caesar cognovit <u>Vercingetorigem</u> consumpto pabulo [*castra* **movisse** propius Avaricum].[171]

Caesar learned that Vercingetorix, after the grain had been eaten, had moved camp nearer to Avaricum. (*Gal.* 7.18.1)

c. <u>horum</u> primo [circiter <u>milia XV</u> *Rhenum* **transisse**].[172]

Of these, at first around 15,000 had crossed the Rhine. (*Gal.* 1.31.5)

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[170] The position itself is unsurprising given the regularity with which objects in non-AcI clauses are preverbal in Caesar's prose.

[171] The postverbal position of the goal phrase here may be an attempt to clarify its dependency on the VP rather than the ablative absolute.

[172] I would interpret the genitive *horum* alone as SubTopic and take the subject accusative as a third member of the Broad Focus. Alternatively, assuming *Rhenum transisse* is also discourse bound, one could read Narrow Focus on the subject NP *circiter milia XV*. The position of the NFoc expression would match the position of other NFoci in our examples. Cf. (51) below for inverted VO order with pronominal subject.

d. <u>magnam manum Germanorum</u> conductam [*Rhenum* **transisse**].

[that] a great band of Germans, having been hired, had crossed the Rhine. (*Gal.* 5.27.8)

e. commemorant…<u>Germanos</u> [*Rhenum* **transisse**].

They recall…that the Germans had crossed the Rhine. (*Gal.* 5.41.3)

26)    a. altera <u>Nervios Aduatucosque</u> [*bellum* Romanis **parare**].

From the other, the Nervii and Aduatuci were planning war on the Romans. (*Gal.* 5.56.1)

b. magnam se (*sc.* Caesarem) habere spem et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum <u>Ariovistum</u> [*finem* iniuriis **facturum**].

He had a great hope that Ariovistus, being convinced by his kindness and authority, would put an end to the injuries. (*Gal.* 1.33.1)

c. Quod fratres Aeduos appellatos diceret…non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum ut non sciret (*sc.* Ariovistus) neque bello Allobrogum proximo <u>Aeduos</u> [Romanis *auxilium* **tulisse**] neque ipsos in eis contentionibus (quas Aedui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent) auxilio populi Romani usos esse.

As to him saying that the Aedui had been styled "brethren," …he was not so simple nor so oblivious to things that he (Ariovistus) did not know that neither, in the last war of the Allobroges, had the Aedui rendered aid to the Romans nor had they, in those struggles (which the Aedui had had with him and with the Sequani), availed themselves of the aid of the Roman people. (*Gal.* 1.44.9)

At least in terms of the basic pragmatic functions, the Broad Foci seem to have a fairly simple pragmatic clause structure—Setting – Topic – [Broad Focus (focal argument(s) – verb)]—which corresponds to a core syntactic order SOV.[173]

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[173] As explained previously, the order of Setting and Topic can flip under certain pragmatic conditions. It is interesting to compare the different placements of the dative constituents in the three passages in (26) relative to the objects. Though there are instances of Broad Foci where the accusative object and verb are not contiguous, the intervening constituents tend to be dependent on the main verb (e.g. directional adjuncts with *mitto*) and are thus, I believe (*pace* Spevak (2010)), subsumed into the Broad Focus domain. E.g. *Caesar … <u>se in fines Ubiorum</u> <u>recepit</u>* ("Caesar … withdrew to the territory of the Ubii," *Gal.* 4.19.1); *Caesar … <u>castra</u> ad Gergoviam <u>movit</u>* ("Caesar … moved camp to Gergovia," *Gal.* 7.41.1). In (26) a and b, the separated object and verb delineate the Broad Focus domain (*bellum Romanis parare*; *finem iniuriis facturum*). The questions under discussion are not "On whom were the Nervii and Aduatuci making war?" or "To what will Ariovistus put a stop?" but "What did the Nervii and Aduatuci do?" and "What will Ariovistus do?" The third example also has a Broad Focus reading, and though the dative *Romanis* precedes the OV frame, it seems best to include it in the Focus domain because of the double

However, we also find the object in the same preverbal position in most of the Narrow Focus examples (four of six), even though the object itself does not have Focus function.[174] Instead, the Narrow Focus constituents tend to be adverbials or adjuncts ((27)), in which case they generally precede the clause-final OV pair, negatives ((28)), or even verb tenses ((29)):

27)   a. vehementer eos incusavit (*sc.* Caesar)…<u>Ariovistum</u>, se consule, cupidissime populi Romani *amicitiam* **appetisse**.

   He (Caesar) rebuked them harshly…that Ariovistus, when he was consul, had sought the friendship of the Roman people most eagerly. (*Gal.* 1.40.1) [NFoc on superlative adverb]

   b. maximeque hac re permovebantur, quod <u>civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum</u> sua sponte populo Romano *bellum* **facere ausam** vix erat credendum.

   And they were especially influenced by this fact, that it was scarcely believable that the unknown and insignificant state of the Eburones would have dared to make war on the Roman people of its own accord. (*Gal.* 5.28.1) [NFoc on ablative of manner]

28)   docet (*sc.* Vercingetorix)…<u>Romanos</u> aut *inopiam* **non laturos** aut magno periculo longius ab castris processuros.

   He (Vercingetorix) instructs…that the Romans either would not survive the scarcity or at great danger they would venture too far from camp. (*Gal.* 7.14.7) [NFoc on negative]

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contrast between *Romanis* and *populi Romani*, on the one hand, and *auxilium tulisse* and *auxilio…usos esse*, on the other—i.e. the Roman army versus the Roman state and rendering versus accepting aid. In other words, we have a situation in which the salient information is the contrastive *relationship* between entities, and Ariovistus' point is that Caesar is overstating or misrepresenting the mutual defense agreement implicit in these symbolic labels. However, following Devine and Stephens (2019) 160–168, one could also argue that the movement of *Romanis* to the left of the direct object, via a process called "scrambling," removes it from the Focus domain. While we would still have a Broad Focus construction, albeit a "narrower" one, on OV, I believe this ignores the double contrast and the position of *populi Romani* inside the Broad Focus domain in the second half. Cf. Spevak (2010) 125–144, esp. 136–138, where she presents data for the phrase *legatos ad* [noun] *mittunt* in Caesar and Sallust that show that the directional complement occurs between *legatos* and the verb in 42% (n=15) of cases and before it in 26% (n=9). When the goal phrase is a proper name (e.g. *ad Caesarem*), neither order is heavily preferred (*legatos*>goal has 10 occurrences, goal>*legatos* has 8). She rejects the appropriateness of establishing a relative order of the noun and verb in verbonominal cases because "their syntactic capacities and their semantic properties" both influence the order (131). She does not extend this conclusion to the various *mitto*-phrases, however, writing that in most of the cases "*legatos* is the most salient element," and, as such, we should view the different orders as "variants without a special pragmatic value" (138).

[174] The two other object constituents (for which, see Table 7 above) are a postverbal *ceteras* and a *quod* clause. The *quod* clause is technically preverbal (*quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiasse*), but it is separated from the verb by two separate constituents.

29)    clamitabat (*sc.* Titurius)…Caesarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam; neque aliter <u>Carnutes</u> interficiendi Tasgeti *consilium* **fuisse capturos** neque Eburones…tanta contemptione ad castra venturos esse.

He (Titurius) was exclaiming…that he thought that Caesar had gone off into Italy; otherwise the Carnutes would not have executed the plan to kill Tasgetius nor would the Eburones have come to our camps with such disdain. (*Gal.* 5.29.2) [NFoc on tense of *fuisse capturos*]

In (27)a Caesar reassures his forces about future outcomes by highlighting the way in which Ariovistus previously sought Roman *amicitia*. The second passage of (27) finds the Romans believing Ambiorix's lie that his humble tribe (*ex humilitate sua* (*Gal.* 5.27.4)) did not attack of its own volition, but was compelled by the masses. In (28) Vercingetorix explains the two possible outcomes of his plan to burn all the nearby food sources (*vicos atque aedificia incendi* (*Gal.* 7.14.5)). Finally, in (29) the killing of Tasgetius is a known fact (*cognoverat Tasgetium interfectum* (*Gal.* 5.25.4)), so the salient information is that the plan would not have taken place were another fact not true, i.e. *Caesarem…profectum in Italiam*. Importantly, in all four passages the object constituent is immediately preverbal but not focal, and both the object and verb are old information.[175]

We also have one instance of Narrow Focus with a postverbal object, but again the object itself is not the focal constituent. In fact, at least internally to the clause, the object *ceteras* is old information, just like the objects in (27)–(29). Instead, the verb itself has Narrow Focus and contrasts with *relictis* in the preceding ablative absolute:

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[175] As noted previously, it is not required that every word have a unique pragmatic function. Different scholars use different labels for this additional presupposed information. For Greek, H. Dik (1995) uses the term "pragmatically unmarked," Matić (2003) 578 prefers "pre-supposed open proposition," and Allan (2014) opts for "presupposed material." I will use Allan's terminology.

30) demonstrant… <u>Fabium</u> discessu eorum duabus relictis portis **obstruere** *ceteras* pluteosque vallo addere et…

They relate that…Fabius, at their departure, with two gates left [open], was blocking up the rest and adding parapets to the walls and…. (*Gal.* 7.41.4) [Contrastive NFoc on verb]

As I pointed out earlier, *Fabium* marks a Topic switch, which licenses its position before the anaphoric element. The focal verb raises into a Narrow Focus slot ahead of the object *ceteras*, which strands the object in postverbal position.[176] The movement into the NFoc slot is observable in this case because of the attendant effect on the linear order. When a non-object constituent or the object itself is selected as Narrow Focus, however, this movement is likely to be string vacuous, i.e. indiscernible at the word order level. A rough representation of the pragmatic structure of the clause is as follows:

31) Topic – Setting(s) – Narrow Focus – Presupposed Material

Positing a Narrow Focus slot that (at least) precedes the VP could also account for other Narrow Foci in our data set. For example, the position of the NFoc constituents in (27) both follow the structure Topic – Setting – Narrow Focus – Presupposed Material. In (27)a, the clause-initial Topic *Ariovistum* is followed by a Setting phrase, and the Narrow Focus *cupidissime* precedes the discourse-bound VP *populi Romani amicitiam appetisse* (i.e. the verb and the object accusative plus its dependent genitive). Likewise, though there is no Setting constituent, the Narrow Focus ablative *sua sponte* in (27)b follows the Topic *civitatem…Eburonum* and precedes the VP *populo Romano bellum facere ausam*, which is also presupposed information.[177]

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[176] Were one so inclined, one could also note the asymmetric grammatical structure (i.e. chiasmus) radiating in either direction from the central word *portis*: A1-V1-*portis*-V2-A2. In fact, there is a dual contrast in the members of the chiasmus: *duabus~ceteras, relictis~obstruere*

[177] Unlike the genitive *populi Romani* in (27)a which is dependent on the object, the dative in (27)b is dependent on the verb as a third argument (i.e. indirect object).

One consequence of the pre-VP Narrow Focus position is that if the object itself were selected as Narrow Focus, this movement would likely be string vacuous. In other words, clause-final OV could potentially represent multiple informational structures: Broad Focus on the object-verb unit ([O V]) or Narrow Focus on the preverbal object ([O] V).[178] While we cannot determine based on the SO examples here, the possibility exists that for Caesar Broad Focus on the VP and Narrow Focus on the object are not marked by constituent order variation.

What, then, do these 19 SO examples tell us about the constituent orders in AcIs? First, animate and agentive nouns are good candidates for grammatical subjects, and these in turn tend to have Topic function, while inanimate or abstract nouns prefer object roles. Additionally, we generally find only one topical constituent per clause. Second, Topics tend to occur early in the clause and to precede Foci. Third, clause-final OV is regular in both Broad and Narrow Foci and regardless of whether the object or verb are part of the Focus domain. Finally, based on the positions of the Narrow Foci in (27) and, in particular, the focal verb *obstruere* in (30), we ought to posit a separate Narrow Focus slot to which constituents can raise. Depending on the constituent that has NFoc function, this movement may be string vacuous.

In terms of our two primary questions about constituent order in AcI clauses, these nominal-subject SO examples show that the personal-animacy hierarchy is a meaningful proxy for syntactic function.[179] That is to say, given two accusative nouns, the noun that is more

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[178] Obviously, as discussed in the previous paragraphs, the clause-final OV could also be presupposed material. Each case could potentially involve a prosodic marker (e.g. stress or pitch variation) in order to distinguish it from the others. This would also likely be the case, for example, when the focal element is an aspectual or modal marker as in (29). See Pinkster (1990) 77–78. Matić (2003) 587–588 identifies the same issue for ancient Greek. Cf. Fortson (2008) 40–42 on the effects of reduction of prosodic domains on word order.

[179] For more on the intimate relationship between these two hierarchies see Siewierska (1988) 47–51.

agentive, animate, and individuated (i.e. higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy) will likely be the subject and the noun that is less animate, less agentive, and less individuated will likely be the object. Moreover, because the personal-animacy hierarchy is also a linearization hierarchy, we could say that it also explains the serial order: animate>inanimate. However, applying the familiarity hierarchy achieves a similar result. All of the subjects/Agents are discourse bound entities, likely Topics, and they precede the objects, which are often part of the Focus domain. Therefore, as it happens, in these SO examples the two main linearization hierarchies agree in which constituent each selects for linear priority, in effect over-determining the constituent order.

This, however, is a less than satisfying conclusion as it does not clarify which factor is the primary determinant of serial order. Fortunately, the OS-ordered examples will be especially useful in this regard. We will see in the OS examples that the personal-animacy hierarchy and the familiarity hierarchy disagree—that is, they promote different constituents for linear priority— and when this happens pragmatic factors prevail. As such, by looking at these examples with nominal subjects in OS constituent order we can better determine what factors govern the statistically predominant linear order by identifying what factors cause deviations from it.

## 2.5 Nominal Subjects in OS Order

This section is devoted to examples with nominal subjects in OS order. Before looking at the examples, though, I want to reiterate a few points from above about this subset that will be pertinent to our further discussion. First, there are five instances in total, all of which occur in book 1 (*supra* Table 4). And book 1, we will remember, was unique in two other respects: its higher number of AcIs, both in total and average per page, and its fondness for extended AcIs.

This fact need not cast doubt on our conclusions as such, but it is an important caveat to keep in mind when considering their broader applicability.

Second, like the nominal subjects in SO order, the OS nominal subjects are also high-animacy, agentive nouns: *Helvetios* (1.12.2), *Aeduos … Arvernos* (1.31.3), *Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones* (1.40.1), *Caesarem* (1.42.6), and *pulsos* (1.22.4).[180] Thirdly, also just like the SO examples, these five nominal subjects occur alongside nominal objects: respectively, *tris iam partis copiarum*, *harum alterius principatum*, *frumentum*, *plus*, and *magnam calamitatem*. Generally, these objects are also inanimate or abstract nouns, but in one case (i.e. *tris iam partis copiarum*) one could impute a low level of agency.[181] Importantly, though, the disparity in animacy between the subject and object remains stark, and as such we find the same asymmetrical semantic relationship in our OS examples as we did in the SO examples: high-animacy subjects paired with low-animacy objects. These preliminary observations allow us to rule out semantic status (of either constituent) as a determinant of the marked OS order. Additionally, we also see that the personal-animacy hierarchy continues to be a useful stand-in for syntactic function, which is all the more relevant in the statistically rarer OS order.

These five examples showcase the influence that pragmatic function can have on linear ordering. This is true whether we look at the pragmatic status of the subject or the object

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[180] *Pulsos* is a potentially problematic case given the semantics of the participle. As I argue below, however, it seems best to include this example, despite the uncertainty regarding the status of the participle vis-à-vis common or proper nouns.

[181] The use of the unindividuated, collective noun *copiarum* here, instead of synonyms like *militum* or *hostium* mitigates the level of animacy as it obscures the individuality of the group. Moreover, as noted by Devine and Stephens (2019) 35, referential direct objects have a different syntactic distribution than nonspecific, indefinite, or unindividuated direct objects, which have a crosslinguistic tendency "to be placed closer to the verb than ordinary objects." This is particularly true for objects in verbonominals, i.e. fixed phrases with semantically light verbs, like *bellum facere* or *gratias agere*. See also Devine and Stephens (2013) 276–287 and Spevak (2014) *passim* for semantic differences in count, mass, and collective nouns.

constituent.[182] Broadly, the five examples break down into two groups. The first group contains three examples with a topicalized object constituent. In this work, I will use Topicalization to mean the marking of a constituent, especially a *non-subject*, as Topic by placing it in the clause-initial Topic slot.[183] In the second group we deal with the messier issue of "Focus-first" clauses.[184] In other words, we have two motivators of the marked OS order, one involving topical entities and the other focal. We will begin with the three examples of object Topicalization, each of which has a unique characteristic in addition to the topicalized object that deserves our attention.[185]

The first example occurs in the lead up to the battle of Vesontio. Caesar calls a meeting to address rumors that have run amok in the camp. He explicitly addresses three issues raised in the previous chapter 1.39.6–7: the food supply (*rem frumentariam*), the road (*angustias itineris*), and

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[182] It is important to reiterate that pragmatic marking does not necessarily equate to *emphasis* (as it is commonly used), for which contrast is often a better parallel. Spevak (2010) and Pinkster *OLS* 2, 862 also posit emphasis as a salient pragmatic feature separate from contrast. It may be the case that emphasis, defined properly and employed judiciously, is a useful pragmatic concept, but this has yet to be accomplished and we will not employ it here. Contrast in English is often marked prosodically, particularly with a fluctuation in pitch.

[183] Our usage follows that of Lambrecht (1994) 147 who states that Topicalization occurs when a non-subject constituent is "marked as a topic expression by being placed in the sentence-initial position normally occupied by the topical subject," and more recently of Matić (2003) 579 who uses Topicalization "as a convenient designation for the placement of the topic expression in the topic position." *Pace* Spevak (2010) 76, who states that Topicalization should be restricted to pronominal constituents alone, in particular those at an intermediate point in a referential chain, we will allow nouns and verbs to undergo Topicalization too. Again, cf. Brown and Yule (1983) 174 and Allan (2014).

[184] "Focus-first" is a term taken from Spevak (2010) 41, though our definitions of the phenomenon will differ. Her position, I believe, follows—and can be summarized by—that of H. Dik (2007) 39 who writes, "Sometimes, the point of orientation will be so firmly established that the bit of new information can virtually stand alone, in which case it comes first in the clause." Spevak's and Dik's concept of priority for pragmatically marked constituents comes from Givón (1983) 20. The Focus-first strategy itself is fairly uncommon, all things considered, and somewhat undertheorized. Spevak, for instance, devotes a total of 75 words and one corresponding Latin passage to explicating it. Pinkster *OLS* 2, 1005–1010 seems to regard clause-initial Focus as one of many possible Focus positions rather than as a unique "strategy" as such (e.g. cleft sentences). My tentative position below will be that it does not differ substantively from a preverbal Narrow Focus except in that it is the only constituent that raises into a pragmatic slot.

[185] In the first (32), we find a Broad Focus made up of the subject and verb. The second (34) includes contrastive SubTopics (on which, below) presented in different syntactic constructions. Then, in the third (36) we encounter a genitive Theme constituent.

the insubordination (*non fore dicto audientes milites*). The transition to each of these previously mentioned items is slightly different, but the effect is the same: to signal the switch in Topic through clause-initial placement of the referring expression.

32)    eos incusavit (*sc.* Caesar)… [30 OCT lines] Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itineris conferrent, facere arroganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperarent aut praescribere auderent. Haec sibi esse curae: *frumentum* <u>Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones</u> **sumministrare**…; de itinere ipsos brevi tempore iudicaturos. Quod non fore dicto audientes…

He (*sc.* Caesar) censured them harshly…[that] those who ascribed their fear to a pretense of the grain or the narrowness of the path were behaving insolently, since they were either losing faith in their general's sense of duty or daring to dictate it to him. These things were his concern: that, as to the grain, the Sequani, Leuci, and the Lingones were to supply it, …; concerning the route, they would soon judge for themselves. As to the report that they would not obey orders…. (*Gal.* 1.40.11)

In our target clause, Caesar signals the Topic shift by putting the Resumed Topic, *frumentum*, in initial position, i.e. by topicalizing it, which I have attempted to mimic in my translation. In other words, the object constituent raises from its default preverbal position (i.e. SOV) to a clause-initial Topic slot. Because of the low degree of referential accessibility and the fierce anaphoric competition, a simple anaphoric pronoun would presumably not be sufficient to specify which previously given constituent is under discussion. To avoid confusion, then, Caesar reintroduces this Topic with a strong anaphoric device, here the full noun.[186] Additionally, even though Caesar alters his manner of expression, when he switches to the condition of the road he signals the Topic shift by the clause-initial prepositional phrase *de itinere*.[187] Finally, the

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[186] Do note, however, that he still modifies the referent slightly by using *frumentum* instead of *res frumentaria*, which is used in both previous occurrences. For additional means of introducing, maintaining, and reintroducing Topics cf. Dik *TFG* 1, 313–326.

[187] This sentence is slightly more problematic than it might seem. In FG we also have Theme constituents, which set up a broad framework in which the predication is to be interpreted (cf. Hoffman (1989), Pinkster (1990) 37, Somers

subordinate *quod* clause, also placed first in its sentence, signals the switch to the third Topic just as effectively as the initial position of *frumentum* and of the prepositional phrase *de itinere*.

If *frumentum* is our Topic, the rest of the clause is new and salient information, so there is Broad Focus on the subject and verb.[188] One could quibble with the informational status of *sumministrare* insofar as it could be presupposed from *supportari* in the preceding chapter (*rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset*) or from the fact that having grain implies getting it from somewhere. However, grain can be procured in a number of other ways (for example, by raiding); this would make the fact that the *frumentum* in this instance will be supplied rather than gathered or stolen new information as well. No Focus marking devices (e.g. particles like *vero*) occur here, so we cannot state with absolute certainty that the Focus domain includes the verb, but a Narrow Focus on the subject would imply a contrast of sorts between varying grain *suppliers*, which is a less felicitous meaning than the alternative Broad Focus.

While the familiarity hierarchy determines the constituent order, the grammatical relationship between the two accusative constituents is determined by the personal-animacy hierarchy. Because the tribes supplying the grain (i.e. animate entities) are higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy than the grain (i.e. an inanimate entity), they are selected as the grammatical subject of the infinitive, even if they are not afforded initial position. Had the more-

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(1994), Spevak (2010) 106–111, Pinkster *OLS* 1, 26). Themes are labeled and sometimes differentiated as being "extra-clausal constituents," meaning they are not dependent grammatically on the predicate of the clause; unfortunately, this is not always easy to determine. The verb *iudico* in many of its meanings can take a *de*-clause as an optional verbal argument. However, the left-dislocation of the prepositional phrase in this instance may suggest Theme expression rather than Topic. And yet the problem may seem worse than it is, since these two pragmatic roles differ in degree rather than kind and, as with Discourse and Sentence Topics, the saliency of the distinction may require both to be present. We will discuss this issue further below in relation to (36).

[188] Though rarer, Latin subjects can occur in both Broad and Narrow Foci. For focal subjects, see Devine and Stephens (2019), esp. 66. For Greek, Matić (2003) 582–586 has convincingly argued that positing a Broad Focus construction, which for Greek is post-verbal, allows for explanation of numerous instances of verb-subject sequences.

animate constituent also had higher topicality—as in the SO examples above—we would likely have seen an SO constituent order here as both hierarchies would have selected the same constituent for linear priority. However, because they endorse conflicting candidates for precedent, we end up with an order divergent from the statistically prevalent one.

The next example also involves a topicalized object constituent, but this time the Topic also bears contrast. In addition, this will be our first example with both a Discourse Topic and a Sentence Topic, which in theory compete for initial position. As I detailed above, these topical entities operate at different levels of discourse, and the more localized, immediate Topic (Sentence Topic) tends to receive linear priority over the higher-level Topic (Discourse Topic).[189] A textbook example of this phenomenon occurs in the following passage cited by Spevak (2010: 66) from Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*; here the topicalized object pronoun *eum* precedes the Discourse Topic *Iugurtha*:

33)     cuius legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius… Eum Iugurtha tametsi Romae in amicis
        habuerat.

        The chief of the delegation was Lucius Opimius…Although Jugurtha had already counted
        him among his friends at Rome. (Sal. *Iug.* 16.2; Spevak's translation)

Both Jugurtha and Lucius Opimius are topical, but this clause is primarily about Lucius Opimius, the referent of *eum*, and only secondarily about Jugurtha's relationship with him. In other words, *eum* is the Sentence Topic, while *Iugurtha* is a Discourse Topic, and the order SentTop>DiscTop

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[189] See above §1.4 Topics, Foci, and Linearization Hierarchies. Spevak (2010) 65–73, following Dik (1995), demonstrates that the informational status of topical elements, specifically the level of discourse at which they operate, correlates to the linear order. Comparing the placement of paradigmatic Discourse Topics, *Caesar* and *Iugurtha* (from *Bellum Civile* and *Bellum Iugurthinum* respectively), she shows that sentence-level topical constituents (Sentence Topics) tend to have linear priority over constituents that operate at a higher discourse level (Discourse Topics). For a discussion of the relative ordering of Sentence vs. Discourse Topics in Greek cf. Allan (2014).

is quite common. In Spevak's model, Topicalization applies narrowly to situations in which a Topic is introduced by a full noun phrase (i.e. *fuit L. Opimius*) and then subsequently maintained as Topic in the discourse by a fronted anaphoric pronoun (i.e. *eum*). As stated above, I believe Spevak's definition of Topicalization is too restrictive. Though we do find cases in our Caesar data that fit this precise mold (e.g. beginning of the following example), there are other examples where a similar "Topicalization" process is operative except that the fronted constituent is nominal or verbal instead of pronominal. As such, we will allow Topicalization to operate on nouns and verbs as well.[190] As we go forward, then, we will posit (at least) two Topic slots to which constituents can raise, with the Sentence Topic slot preceding the Discourse Topic slot.

In the following passage we find two cases of Topicalization, one that fits Spevak's definition and one that fits our broader definition; a comparison of their similarities will further support our choice to expand the definition. Early in book 1 the Helvetii are raiding the territories of the Aedui, Ambarri, and Allobroges, who beg Caesar for protection. He agrees and prepares to engage the Helvetii as they are ferrying their forces across the Saône (Arar) river, which Caesar introduces into the narrative as a Topic with a presentative sentence.

34)    Flumen est Arar, quod… Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est *tris* iam *partis copiarum* <u>Helvetios</u> id flumen **traduxisse**, <u>quartam</u> vero <u>partem</u> citra flumen Ararim **reliquam esse**, … e castris profectus ad eam partem pervenit quae nondum flumen transierat.

fere *A′Rb* : vero *β*

There is a river, the Saône, which …This the Helvetii were crossing over with rafts and skiffs that had been joined together. When Caesar was informed through his scouts that the Helvetii had already led three parts of their forces across this river, but in fact the

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[190] Spevak (2010) 65–73. For our definition of Topicalization, see above n. 183.

fourth part was left on this side of the Saône river, …having set out from camp, he reached that part had not crossed the river yet. (*Gal.* 1.12.1–2)

The opening of our passage mimics Spevak's "canonical" Topicalization example. Here, a newly introduced entity, the Saône (*Arar*) river, is continued as Sentence Topic in the following discourse by an anaphoric pronoun (*id*), which receives linear priority over the Discourse Topic (*Helvetii*): *Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis transibant*.

Then, in the first half of the target AcI we find the Topicalization variant. The contrastive Sentence Topic (and direct object) *tris partis copiarum* occurs in colon initial position ahead of the Discourse Topic (and subject) *Helvetios*. More precisely, *tris partis copiarum* (and *quartam partem* in the following clause) is a contrastive SubTopic, inferable from *Helvetii…transibant* in the previous sentence, that functions as the Sentence Topic in its clause.[191] While the final word has yet to be said on the relationship between Topics and SubTopics, most definitions rely on "inferability" as a primary criterion. Inferable entities are entities that are textually unintroduced but yet discourse bound via various forms of bridging assumptions or relational inferences between the entities: in this case, part or subset of a whole.[192] Furthermore, Hannay (1985) has

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[191] The contrast is explicit in the enumeration *tris-quartam*, and the pragmatically marked nature of the contrasted constituents is signaled by the particles *iam* and *vero*. For the particle *vero* cf. Kroon (1995) 281–332, esp. 309–325. Kroon's (1995) 281 detailed discussion of *vero* notes that the particle "functions on the representational level of discourse (objective modality marker) and on the interactional level of discourse (subjective modality marker; conversation particle)." As a marker of a speaker's commitment to the veracity of his or her message *vero* often occurs in salient information units. So, while Kroon concludes that *vero* is, in fact, not a focus particle as such, like e.g. *quidem* (cf. Solodow (1978)), its use on the interactional level of discourse has a side effect (called a *chiaroscuro* effect by Kroon) of often focalizing an element or the whole of an utterance. This example offers evidence that *vero* can signal pragmatic significance more generally and can occur with topical constituents as well as focal constituents.

[192] Hannay (1985) 57 gives the following rule for SubTopic formation: "If an entity X has been activated in the given setting, then the speaker may present an entity Y as a sub-Topic entity, if Y R X, where R is a relationship of inference." For more on inferability and the possible relationships between previously evoked entities and SubTopics see Hannay (1985). While it may strike some as awkward to have a SubTopic in the same clause as the Topic from which it itself is inferred, there does not seem to be any research to indicate that this is theoretically forbidden.

shown that, because inferable entities straddle the line between previously introduced and new information, a speaker can choose to introduce an inferable entity either in an all-new predication, almost denying its status as an inferable entity, or as a SubTopic, taking it for granted that the audience would make the necessary cognitive connection. An example is the following:

35)   a. Adam threw a party. There was bad music.
      b. Adam threw a party, but the music was bad.

In both a and b, *party* is the Focus and *music* is a SubTopic, inferable from the fact that very often parties have music. In (35)a, the imagined speaker chooses to present the SubTopic *music* in an all-new predication. In (35)b, on the other hand, *music* is presented as a SubTopic clearly inferable from *party* in the preceding clause. Based on the specific relationship between Topics and SubTopics, we might say that SubTopics have an inherent anaphoric quality, which further justifies the extension of the definition of Topicalization to include SubTopics.

In fact, both the Discourse Topic and the Sentence Topic precede the anaphoric noun phrase *id flumen*, which together with the verb *traduxisse* has Broad Focus.[193] The informational goal of the AcI is to update Caesar on the status of the Helvetii's endeavor to cross the Saône. From a semantic point of view, the presence of *flumen* here mitigates the referential burden of the anaphoric pronoun, which in turn relieves some of the pressure that *id* as an anaphoric

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[193] Interestingly, the anaphoric adjective *id* refers to the previous semi-digression explaining to the reader at the monologic level what the Arar is, and so seems out of place as an anaphoric element at the dialogic level since Caesar knows his scouts are reporting about the Arar. The anaphora refers to a monologic section of the text within a dialogic section of the text; in other words, *id* seems to create a bridge between inner dialogic discourse and outer monologic discourse. The oscillation between deictic centers is a unique aspect of indirect discourse and reported speech. Adema (2015) 431 argues that this expression arises from a change in deictic center: "The first part of this message is predominantly geared to the deictic centre of the narrator, whereas the second part is geared more to the deictic centre of the speaker." See also Vandelanotte (2009); Kroon (2017).

element would otherwise be under to occur early in its clause. More generally, the anaphoric nature of the demonstrative pronoun is not a sufficient condition in itself for clause-initial placement, and absent a particular pragmatic function, anaphoric elements are generally more mobile.[194]

While it is ancillary to our main objectives, it is curious that the AcI clauses, while correlated, are not syntactically parallel: In the *iam* clause, *tris partis* is the accusative object/patient in a transitive construction, but in the *vero* clause *quartam partem* becomes the accusative subject/patient of a quasi-passive construction.[195] Writing this off as mere *variatio* overlooks the fact that parallel active infinitives (i.e. syntactically equivalent clauses) could not have communicated the same information: *\*tris iam partis copiarum Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam vero partem citra flumen Ararim reliquisse*. *Reliquisse*, in a way, misses the mark by implying an intentional state of affairs rather than happenstance: The Helvetii *left* a portion behind rather than had not had time to ferry them across yet. The reverse fails as well because changes to the syntax of the first clause would remove the intentionality and render the statement a mere description of the state of affairs (e.g. some troops are here, some are there).

But that is precisely the point, the two clauses are not informationally equal. *Quartam vero partem* remains a SubTopic but is used in a construction much more like an all-new predication.[196] While not a presentative sentence, Caesar promotes the semantic Patient to

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[194] Cf. Spevak (2010) 75–76.

[195] The passive voice is often described as a means of promoting or demoting certain entities in the discourse, in this case the Patient is promoted from object to subject. For the discourse functions of the passive, see Pinkster (1985), Pinkster (1992), Gleason (2016).

[196] It may be instructive to recall a fundamental assumption for FG: "Whenever there is some overt difference between two constructions X and Y, start out on the assumption that this difference has some kind of functionality in the linguistic system. Rather than pressing X into the preconceived mould of Y, try to find out why X and Y are

syntactic subject by using a passive construction, which reduces the valence of the predication, making the subject the sole obligatory syntactic argument of the infinitive. And this is maybe what we would expect. Recall the presentative sentence that introduced the Saône into the discourse: *Flumen est Arar, quod*…. The all-new predication was used there to introduce an entity into the discourse that was vital to moving the discourse forward—at least up through the end of our target passage. The same is happening here with *quartam partem*, which will dominate the discourse for the rest of 1.12 and move the narrative forward.

As we see, the syntactic difference between the two clauses is driven by pragmatics and speaker choice, not mere *variatio*. In the *quartam partem* clause Caesar opts for a construction more akin to an all-new predication. But in the *tris iam partis* clause the contrastive SubTopic is presented as a Sentence Topic, which, because it operates at a more local level, takes linear precedence over the Discourse Topic, *Helvetii*.

Contrast can be a pragmatic feature of both Topic and Focus constituents, and they are not mutually exclusive; the next example illustrates how a Contrastive Topic and Contrastive Focus interact with one another. More interesting, however, is that we have another rare instance of a postverbal nominal constituent, but it is the subject not the object. Unlike the previous instance (*obstruere ceteras* in (30)) where the focal verb raised into a NFoc slot and the object was presupposed material, the verb here is part of the Topic domain and it raises into the Topic slot, which gives us an even rarer OVS order.

different, on the working assumption that such a difference would not be in the language unless it had some task to perform" (Dik *TFG 1*, 18). For changes in pragmatic assignments resulting in alternative word order patterns, see Hannay (1985) 60.

After the conclusion of the war against the Helvetii, the Aeduan Diviciacus makes a long and impassioned appeal (49 OCT lines, all in indirect discourse) to Caesar for help against Ariovistus. He begins by outlining the political landscape of Gaul and introducing the *dramatis personae*, not unlike Caesar's opening words at *Gal.* 1.1–2 (*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum…*):

36)   Locutus est pro his Diviciacus Aeduus: Galliae totius factiones esse duas: harum *alterius principatum* **tenere** <u>Aeduos</u>, *alterius* <u>Arvernos</u>. Hi cum …

Diviciacus the Aeduan spoke on behalf of these men: "There are two factions in all of Gaul: of these the Aedui have control of one, the Arverni of the other. Since these…". (*Gal.* 1.31.1–3)

While the audience, here Caesar, could probably infer the existence of competing alliances in a tumultuous territory like Gaul, the exact number (*duas*) of these is contextually independent information (Focus) and is Diviciacus' communicative goal in the presentative sentence of the first subordinate AcI.[197] This focal information is maintained in our target clause both by the anaphoric pronoun *harum*, likely a Theme constituent (see below), and the topicalized object NP, *alterius principatum*, a SubTopic inferable from *factiones*.[198]

The previous two OS examples had non-contrastive Broad Foci, but here we find for the first time a contrastive Narrow Focus, and it is in postverbal position. More interesting still is that the postverbal Focus is the subject constituent. It would be tempting to attribute the postverbal position to some feature of the Focus itself, but its position is better explained as an

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[197] The placement of the focal information in this presentative sentence mirrors that of the presentative sentence in (34) that introduced the Saône. Despite the fact that one is spoken by an internal narrator and the other is spoken by our primary narrator and that they occur at different discourse levels, in both passages the focal information is post-verbal: *factiones esse duas* (1.31.1); *flumen est Arar* (1.12.1).

[198] Cf. Spevak (2010) 73–76 concerning placement of the anaphoric pronoun. Cf. Hannay (1985) for list of inferential relationships between textually dependent entities and SubTopics.

ancillary effect of the Topicalization of *principatum*. When *principatum* topicalizes, the weak verb *tenere* is pulled with it as part of the verbonominal compound (*principatum tenere*), thereby maintaining a continuous pragmatic and semantic domain and stranding *Aeduos* in "postverbal" position.[199] In other words, both *alterius principatum tenere* and *Aeduos* raise out of their default SOV positions into the respective pragmatic slots: the verb phrase into the Topic slot and the subject into the NFoc slot.

The pragmatic assignments in the first clause can be checked against the second clause where we have only the contrastive elements of the Topic and Focus constituents repeated in the same order as in the first clause (*alterius Arvernos*). Caesar structures the information for his reader such that the presupposed proposition is [$x$ and $y$ have power], where the contrastive Foci identify these variables: [$x$=Aedui, $y$=Averni]. These two Focus constituents are maintained as Topics in the subsequent discourse (note the clear Topicalization in the following sentence: *hi cum…*). The pragmatic order of constituents, then, is Theme – Contrastive Topic – Contrastive Narrow Focus in the first clause and Contrastive Topic – Contrastive Narrow Focus in the second, corresponding to an OVS/OS syntactic order.

Again we see that the familiarity hierarchy and pragmatic assignment guides the linear constituent order, but the syntactic functions still correspond to the personal-animacy hierarchy. Although the topicalized abstract noun *principatum* takes linear precedence over the focal animate noun *Aeduos*, the subject and object roles still conform to the personal-animacy

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[199] We will see other instances where the Topicalization of one element in a closely linked semantic domain affects the position of the other half, cf. *transisse Rhenum* (51). It is precisely this sort of situation that justifies our focus on constituents rather than individual words. Constituency can be syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic, and while it is beyond the scope of this project to determine the exact relationship between the different types of constituency, it is clear that in some situations one type of constituency is more salient than another.

hierarchy. Moreover, the respective positions of the nominals on the personal-animacy hierarchy diverge significantly, which is important for the avoidance of ambiguity.

Before we move on to the next example, one more feature needs discussion as it will continue to be relevant, viz. our Theme constituent *harum*. Most often prepositional phrases with *de*, *quod* clauses, or occasionally *nominativus* or *accusativus pendens* are cited as examples of Theme constituents.[200] It is not that scholars have explicitly *excluded* genitive constituents as candidates for selection as Theme; rather, they have, I believe, been too focused on the higher levels of discourse to the exclusion of subordinate constructions like AcI clauses. The meager interest in subordinate constructions is coupled with the fact that the definitions of Theme and Topic overlap considerably insofar as both establish an entity about which information will be given; most commonly, this conundrum is solved by adding the syntactic condition that Topics function as a true argument of the verb while Themes are Extra-Clausal Constituents.[201] While the precise nature of the grammatical dependency of a fronted constituent is often in the eye of the beholder, there does seem to be broad agreement that the scope of the Theme constituent's

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[200] Cf. Hoffman (1989) 188; Pinkster (1990) 37, (2021) §22.14; Somers (1994) 151; Spevak (2010) 107–111; Halla-aho (2018), who uses the term "left-dislocation." We saw examples of such a *de* phrase and a *quod* clause above in the latter half of (32). The number of instances of possible Themes in our data set seems to be at odds with the position of Halla-aho (2018) 10–11 who states that "in classical Latin, left-dislocation was largely avoided," and, more specifically, "Caesar's style does not allow much freedom in this respect. There are practically no examples of [left-dislocation]."

[201] This definitional ambiguity is evident in Spevak's (2010) 107 description of Theme as "an entity with respect to which the subsequent clause is going to present some relevant information." Save for the syntactic restriction, this definition of Theme is also found in Hoffmann (1989) and Somers (1994). Cf. Lambrecht (1994) 114–121, wherein "topic" is defined as the "relation of 'aboutness' between an entity and a proposition." Because of the "inherently vague character of the notions of aboutness and relevance" and the "relative degrees of topicality of given referents," he explicitly eschews a distinction between Topic and Theme.

domain is wider than that of the Topic.[202] That said, domain scope is a useful metric only when both pragmatic constituents are present, as we have in (36). All of this is to say that, regardless of the position we take on the syntactic integration, the difference between Topic and Theme may be better understood as one of degree rather than kind, such that this scalar distinction is made manifest most readily when multiple points on the continuum are visible.[203]

Labeling *harum* as a Theme squares with the pragmatic definitions given above as a constituent that establishes a broad framework for interpretation, and its omission in the second clause of (36) corroborates that it scopes over both clauses. Moreover, because the Theme and Topic constituents form a larger NP based on the grammatical dependence of the double genitives, our example offers further evidence, I believe, of this scalar pragmatic relationship, which need not impose rigid syntactic constraints for Theme identification.

The preceding examples all featured a topicalized object constituent. However, objects with other pragmatic functions can also receive linear priority. In the final two examples, we have the same OS syntactic order as in (32), (34), and (36), but the objects in question are not Topics; instead, they have Narrow Focus in a Focus-first construction.[204] Importantly, Focus-first does not mean Focus *before* Topic; as we will see, no constituent has been selected as Topic. Lest we unnecessarily expand our theoretical framework, it is worth attempting to explain these cases through the previously invoked pragmatic movement processes. We will develop the idea further

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[202] We saw this exact phenomenon above in (32) where the *de itinere* phrase could be interpreted as more or less dependent on *iudico* based on how one renders the clause into English, with little to no fluctuation in meaning. For Latin examples cf. Hoffman (1989) and Somers (1994). For Greek examples cf. Matić (2003) and Allan (2014).

[203] The position espoused here is considerably indebted to the in-depth discussion of the theoretical relationship between Topic expressions and Extra-Clausal constituents in Allan (2014) and, to a lesser extent, Somers (1994).

[204] Spevak (2010) 41. See above, n. 184.

as we proceed, but, in short, in these two cases the object constituent raises to the NFoc slot while the other clausal elements remain in the base VP layer as presupposed material. Additionally, both object constituents include a subjective, scalar element—viz. comparative nominal *plus* and evaluative adjective *magnus*—which are more mobile than simple intersective adjectives and tend to attract Focus.[205] As with the three object Topicalization examples, both Focus-first examples have a feature that, while somewhat tangential to our primary project, nevertheless deserves our attention because it could exert subtle influence on the pragmatic structure and order of the constituents.[206]

In the first of the two passages, Caesar is preparing for a parley with Ariovistus prior to the decisive Battle of Vesontio (*supra* (32)). Fearing some kind of treachery, however, Ariovistus demands they meet on horseback with a small contingent of cavalry and no foot soldiers. Caesar agrees, but he swaps out his Gallic horsemen for soldiers from the Tenth Legion, in which he has more confidence. This substitution is the antecedent of *quod* at the beginning of this passage.

37)    Quod cum fieret, non inridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit: *plus* quam pollicitus esset <u>Caesarem</u> ei **facere**: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum, ad equum rescribere.

ei facere α : ei *om.* β

When this was done, one of the soldiers of the Tenth Legion said, not without a bit of humor: Caesar did more for it (the legion) than he had promised: having promised to

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[205] Scalar or relational modifiers (or nominalizations of these modifiers) like *magnus* are semantically distinct from intersective, extensional adjectives (e.g. color, material), which denote the intersection of two properties (i.e. a red car is the subset of all things that are red and all things that are cars). Our discussion is complicated somewhat by the fact that the comparative paradigm for *multus* is defective and *plus* is used as a nominal rather than an adjective. For scalar adjectives generally and *magnus* specifically, see Devine and Stephens (2006) 467–476. For a more linguistically intricate account of modifier semantics, see Devine and Stephens (2013) ch. 7.

[206] In (37), we will briefly assess the relationship between humor and pragmatic structure. Then, in (38), we will return to secondary participles, which we first encountered in the SO examples above (e.g. (23)), and look more closely at their semantic, pragmatic, and prosodic status.

have the Tenth Legion in place of the praetorian cohort, he re-enlisted it as the cavalry. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.42.6)

Here, the clause-initial object *plus*, which forms a larger constituent with the corresponding *quam* clause, has Narrow Focus. More specifically, the Focus is a corrective Focus, which requires a discourse-bound proposition that the speaker believes is deficient in some way (i.e. something to correct). In this instance, the soldier's remarks call back to 1.40.15, where Caesar initially boasted that he would use the Tenth Legion as his praetorian guard if no one else would follow him (*tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum…sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram*).[207] This Focus constituent precedes the syntactic subject *Caesarem*, the full name likely warranted here due to the anaphoric competition created by reported speech and to avoid confusion with the pronoun *ei*, presuming of course that we retain the reading of the α MSS.[208] The semantically weak verb *facere* closes the clause.

Although we are dealing with a different pragmatic structure than in the object Topicalization cases, we can still utilize the personal-animacy hierarchy to disambiguate the two accusative constituents; the animate, agentive noun *Caesarem* functions as subject, and the abstract neuter noun *plus* fills the object role. Again, the risk of grammatical ambiguity is

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[207] The Tenth even remains a discourse participant briefly at the beginning of chapter 41. But the end of chapter 41 propels the narrative forward seven days (*septimo die*), and chapter 42 moves us forward another day or two. When we reach the soldier's quip in (37), character-Caesar's forces have traveled over 50 miles and narrator-Caesar's story has traveled nearly 10 days, even though we the readers have traveled only 38 lines of text.

[208] Adema (2015) 427 argues that "when confusion for the narratee might occur, the narrator has the possibility to step in and use an unequivocal expression, as a service to his narratee." These devices help us identify the operative deictic centers in reported speech. In other words, since the type of expression used relates to how accessible an entity is, and since there are multiple levels of discourse, an entity can be presented either from the perspective of the external narrator or the internal speaker. Building on her argument, assuming a faithful reproduction of the original speech act, the fact that the speaker (here an unnamed solider (*quidam ex militibus*)) felt comfortable referring to Caesar by name rather than by military rank or honorific (e.g. *imperatorem*) could be an illocutionary signal of familiarity or personal rapport between Caesar and the Tenth Legion. See also Ariel (2001) for issues of accessibility.

primarily hypothetical given the delta between the animacy and agency of the two nouns in question.

Pragmatics motivates the linear order here as it did in the previous OS examples. The information structure of the clause presupposes the proposition [Caesar did $x$ for the Tenth Legion]. Instead of simply identifying this variable as we did above in (36) (i.e. [$x$=Aedui, $y$=Averni]), the soldier corrects the presupposed proposition and asserts [not $x$, but $y$].[209] The *plus*-constituent is the $y$ variable in this instance, and it raises into the Narrow Focus slot. The subject *Caesarem*, however, despite being a discourse-bound entity, does not raise to the Topic function slot, which would put it ahead of the Narrow Focus constituent. Instead, it stays with the dative and verb as part of the presupposed information (i.e. in the base VP layer). On the one hand, topicality is not the same as Topic function, and a topical constituent need not raise to a Topic slot if it is not selected as Topic. On the other hand, pragmatic weight can act as a barrier to movement; this particular Focus domain may be such that it blocks the subject constituent from raising to a Topic slot. We will, in fact, see this phenomenon again in the next chapter with pronominal subjects.

One possible source for the pragmatic prominence of this Focus constituent comes from the explicitly humorous discourse context (*non inridicule*).[210] In particular, I believe the answer lies in the licensing of a conversational implicature.[211] Humor often hinges on conversational

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[209] More specifically, the first half of the AcI merely corrects the presupposition, it does not also identify the referent of the new variable *y*. We do not learn what *y* is until the punchline at the end (i.e. *ad equum rescribere*).

[210] Humor researchers use "humor" as an umbrella term for all forms of humor, e.g. joke, irony, mockery, wit, pun, etc. For an overview of the relevant terminology, competing theories, and linguistic concepts in humor studies, see Attardo (2020).

[211] Likewise, in the discussion of Croesus from §1.2 History of a Problem above the preposing of the adjective μεγάλην had a specific informational objective, namely, to signal a corrective Focus, which then licensed a

implicatures, on the addressee revising or re-analyzing a previous utterance in some way to

retroactively resolve an inconsistency or incongruity.[212] The marked Focus-first strategy with *plus*

ought to signal to the audience the need for an implicature, that something is afoot—in this case,

that the scalar relationship denoted by *plus* may not be quantitative or qualitative (i.e. the

standard meaning) but categorical.[213] In other words, Caesar did not promise a roasted chicken

and deliver two roasted chickens or a duck (obviously, the higher quality fowl); he promised a

chicken and delivered a three-pound, perfectly medium-rare Chateaubriand.[214]

We see here how the communicative needs of the speaker manifest in this particularly

marked pragmatic construction. The selective promotion of the object constituent to a pragmatic

function slot, which results in the OS linear order, together with the explicitly humorous context

licenses a conversational implicature and subtly insinuates to the audience that it should be on

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conversational implicature. In flouting certain conversational maxims, e.g. the *M-Principle*, which says a speaker should not use a marked expression without reason, the oracle suggested to Croesus that he would destroy more than he expected. Croesus, however, failed to make the necessary implicature.

[212] Take, for example, the Mitch Hedberg joke, "I haven't slept for ten days, because that would be too long." The adverbial phrase *too long* in the second half of the line creates an incongruity and forces the audience to reanalyze the dependency of the temporal phrase in the main clause: i.e. [I haven't slept [for ten days]] retroactively becomes [I haven't [slept for ten days]]. Also, though not reproducible textually, the prosodic contours are also key; for example, there must be a sufficient prosodic break between *slept* and *for ten days* that the audience will analyze them as separate constituents (https://youtu.be/PBWpXSiP5xY?t=155).

[213] Our Caesar example squares with a prominent theory of humor known as incongruity theory, in which humor arises from the recognition of an incongruity, i.e. a divergence from expectations, and the subsequent resolution of that incongruity by the audience (Attardo (2020) 64, 78–94). Incongruity theories of humor potentially date back to Aristotle (*Rh.* 1412a.20–1412b.3) or Quintilian (6.3.24, 6.3.84, 8.5.15). Both authors mention the contravention of expectations (παρὰ τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν, *in decipiendis exspectationibus*). More commonly, incongruity theories of humor are traced to Kant and Schopenhauer, neither of whom are known for their comic stylings—*decipiendae exspectationes*, indeed.

[214] Historical context could be a critical backdrop for the landing of the joke as well. According to Phil Sidnell (2007) 205, the Jugurthine War (112–106 BCE) is the last large-scale engagement for which we have secure evidence of participation by Roman citizen cavalry. After this point, the Roman army's cavalry was almost exclusively drawn from allies, so having Roman citizens, and legionary infantry to boot, acting as cavalry would be quite unusual. Note, also, that Keppie (1984) 61 traces the Tenth Legion's sobriquet *Equestris* to this passage.

guard for some chicanery. The Focus-first order achieves this goal whereas a Topic>Narrow

Focus structure might have been insufficient to do so.

The second Focus-first OS example also has Narrow Focus on an object constituent with

an evaluative adjective. However, since the subject constituent is a participle functioning as a

secondary predicate[215] (i.e. standing in for a subordinate clause) rather than as a substantive (e.g.

"the defeated, the losers"), we should say a few words in justification of its inclusion in the

nominal subject set. Although there is variation in the position, length, and complexity of

secondary predicate participial phrases, they do share some common tendencies such as

modifying a discourse-bound entity,[216] preceding the main predicate argument structure,[217] and

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[215] Broadly secondary predicates specify the stimuli, motives, or conditions (either external or internal) involved in achieving or preventing the state of affairs of the main verb, but the precise semantic relationship of the participial clause to the state of affairs in the nuclear clause is often undefined: One instance may be obviously causal, another clearly temporal, while a third is best rendered as paratactic. Given the definitional fuzziness, these constructions are often grouped together as "adjuncts," "adverbials," or "satellites," the shared feature being that the constituent is optional. For secondary predicates, see Pinkster *OLS* 2, §21.7. For types and uses of participle constructions in the Latin historians more generally (e.g. *phrase à relance* and *phrase à rallonge*), see Schlicher (1933, 1936) and Chausserie-Laprée (1969). Certain adjectives can also function as secondary predicates, e.g. *nudus* or *ebrius*, which Devine and Stephens (2019) 195 call depictives.

[216] Based on a set of 30 examples pulled at random from *Gal.*, the nominal element seems to be required with Resumed or contrastive Topics, but it can be omitted with Continued Topics (including SubTopics), e.g. [*quidam…Gallus*]…*scorpione ab latere dextro* traiectus *exanimatusque concidit* (*Gal.* 7.25.2); [*Galli*]…*id silentio noctis* conati *non magna iactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant* (*Gal.* 7.26.2); [SubTopic from description of Orgetorix and Helvetii] *his rebus* adducti *et auctoritate Orgetorigis* permoti *constituerunt ea quae…* (*Gal.* 1.3.1). Spevak (2010) 70 draws a similar conclusion about subjects that precede temporal subordinate clauses, though the finding can easily extend to Settings more broadly.

[217] As with the other tendencies, this is not absolute. E.g. *pulsos* follows the object of the main infinitive in (38), and in *hos cum* Suebi *multis saepe bellis* experti *propter…expellere non potuissent, tamen…* (*Gal.* 4.3.4) the anaphoric pronoun *hos* topicalizes above the conjunction *cum*. Participles can also follow the primary verb, a construction which gains popularity beginning with Nepos and Sallust, perhaps influenced by Greek usage, and reaches a crescendo in Tacitus, but in these instances they operate similar to "Tails" rather than Settings. Here I am couching in pragmatic terms my conclusions from the various collected examples and those in the previously mentioned scholarship. Neither Schlicher (1933, 1936) nor Chausserie-Laprée (1969) systematically employs pragmatic terminology, but Pinkster *OLS* 2, 794–795 and Spevak (2010) do.

marking the boundary of a prosodic phrase domain.[218] This last point is crucial: Given that

participles carry larger informational loads than simple nouns and that semantic weight

correlates positively with prosodic domain, it is unclear from a prosodic standpoint whether we

ought to treat the one-word participial phrase *pulsos* more like a noun or a full participial phrase.

And this distinction matters because different ordering principles likely apply within and

between prosodic phrase domains. Despite this caveat, given the frequency of secondary

participles in Caesar, it seems best to include the example and to move forward cautiously,

recognizing that these potential issues exist.[219]

This final example comes from Diviciacus' impassioned plea in book 1, from which

example (36) was also drawn. To recap briefly, Diviciacus is speaking on behalf of a group of

Gallic leaders to beg for Caesar's help against Ariovistus and his Germans, who have, he says,

utterly decimated his people and allies.

38)     Locutus est pro his Diviciacus Aeduus… [8 OCT lines]. Cum his (sc. Germanis) Aeduos
        eorumque clientis semel atque iterum armis contendisse; *magnam calamitatem* <u>pulsos</u>
        **accepisse**, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus
        proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, …

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[218] The participle more commonly forms the right-hand boundary, regardless of the relative order of the noun and participial phrase: e.g. <u>Diviciacus</u> multis cum lacrimis Caesarem <u>complexus</u> obsecrare coepit (*Gal.* 1.20.1); <u>Caesar idoneum locum <u>nactus</u> quid…cognoscit (*Gal.* 7.85.1); Interim <u>Lucterius Cadurcus</u> in Rutenos <u>missus</u> eam civitatem Arvernis conciliat (*Gal.* 7.7.1); his rebus <u>permotus</u> Q. Titurius, cum…, mittit rogatum ut… (*Gal.* 5.36.1). The participle as left-hand boundary also occurs: e.g. atque <u>omnis</u> (sc. legiones) <u>perturbatos</u> defectione Aeduorum fugam parare (*Gal.* 7.61.4); [Galli]…<u>veriti</u> ne…circumvenirentur, se ad suos receperunt. (*Gal.* 7.82.2) It is possible that the length of the participial phrase and the nature of the argument structure influence the position of the participle, but without further research one cannot say for certain. At least with ablative absolutes, the participle can also occasionally cause discontinuity of the adjectival or anaphoric element and its head noun, e.g. duabus relictis portis (*Gal.* 7.41.4). For ablative absolutes in Caesar, see Bolkestein (2002) 53–57.

[219] In fact, Caesar will often string together multiple, syntactically distinct participial phrases asyndetically, such that participial and subordinate constructions do the heavy lifting, narratively speaking: e.g. [ uno die intermisso] Galli atque [hoc spatio] [magno cratium, scalarum, harpagonum numero effecto] [media nocte silentio] [ex castris egressi]…accedunt (*Gal.* 7.81.1); [multis…acceptis], [nulla munitione perrupta], [cum lux appeteret], [veriti ne … circumvenirentur], se ad suos receperunt (*Gal.* 7.82.2).

> Diviciacus the Aeduan spoke on behalf of these men [saying that]… With these (the Germans) the Aedui and their allies had fought time and again; that they had been defeated and had suffered a great disaster, they had lost their entire nobility, the entire senate, the entire cavalry. Broken by these battles and defeats…. (*Gal.* 1.31.5–7)

The phrasing is truncated and minimal, a classic example of the "battlefield notes" style of the *commentarius*. The object phrase consists of an abstract noun, *calamitatem*, modified and preceded by the evaluative adjective *magnam*, which strongly prefers premodifier position in Caesar.[220] This class of adjective also more easily raises to the left and tends to attract Focus, either on itself alone, in which case hyperbaton can ensue,[221] or, as we have here, on the full NP (note the noun's continuation in the following sentence by the connecting relative *quibus… calamitatibus*). The subject constituent separates the object and verb, which is not in itself strange, but instead of a noun or pronoun, it is a null-head participial phrase referring back to *Aeduos… clientis* in the previous clause.

As with the previous Focus-first example, the linear order is pragmatically driven while the syntactic assignments correlate with the personal-animacy hierarchy. The high-animacy substantive participle is the de facto subject, and the abstract noun fills the object role. The object NP has Narrow Focus and has raised into the Narrow Focus slot, while the subject participle

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[220] Although Latin shows variation in pre- and posthead modifiers, premodifier position of scalar, evaluative adjectives, *magnus* in particular, is especially common in Caesar. This is true for Caesar even (or especially) with abstract nouns. The adjective alone can bear Focus, for example in instances where it serves a corrective function (e.g. a *big* storm), although in so doing the noun gets relegated to presupposed information; or the full noun phrase can bear Focus. If only the adjective raises left, it can result in hyperbaton. The precise rules, if they exist, for pre- or posthead modifier placement are not universally agreed upon. Given the lack of consistency both between and within authors, it is likely that a mix of pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic factors condition the relative ordering of noun and adjective. Cf. Devine and Stephens (2006) ch. 5, (2013) ch. 7; Spevak (2010) ch. 6 with bibliography. For *magnus*, with data set, see Devine and Stephens (2006) 471–476.

[221] See *Gal.* 1.36.1–4: *Ariovistus respondit* [7 OCT lines]…*magnam Caesarem iniuriam facere*.

*pulsos*, which modifies (but is not the same as) an implied topical constituent, remains with the verb.[222]

But what is the motivation for using this particular pragmatic structure? Again, I believe it has to do with the communicative goals of the speaker and the representation of deictic centers. In other words, the pragmatic structure signals whose subjective experience is being portrayed. A disaster is by definition a fairly significant bad event, so it is not obvious how a quotidian *calamitas* would differ from a *magna* one. Nor, given that we are dealing with multiple narrative levels, is it obvious "whose evaluation of a referent is given in evaluative expressions, that of the narrator or that of the represented speaker."[223] In this instance, we should assign the evaluative expression to the deictic center of the internal speaker, Diviciacus. Although he surely has exaggerated—Diviciacus himself is a *nobilis* after all—the subsequent epexegetical tricolon reinforces the personal character of the disaster from the perspective of the speaker Diviciacus and elucidates what made it a *magna calamitas*.[224] The use of the Focus-first construction subtly reinforces this communicative aim.

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[222] Additionally, it may be that the semantic weight of the participle, while not great enough to block the movement of the whole NP, subtly discouraged the movement of the adjective alone, which would have resulted in discontinuity of the NP.

[223] Adema (2015) 427.

[224] If not technically a *nobilis*, then a Druid, at any rate, and his brother Dumnorix is a cavalry commander, who takes up arms with the Helvetii in 58 BCE, at least two years after the loss of "all" the nobles and cavalry. Moreover, one wonders to what extent Rome's social and civil nomenclature accurately reflects the stratification of Gallic society. Given that Diviciacus' narrative is presented to the reader after being filtered through Caesar (i.e. Caesar's recollection and recapitulation of what Diviciacus said), it is at least possible that Caesar has consciously or unconsciously Romanized it. In the same vein, one might wonder whether the Focus-first construction itself was employed by Diviciacus or whether this is, in fact, Caesar's rendering of it, his imposition on the reported speech of how he interpreted the original utterance. If the latter, the Focus-first structure signals something different, e.g. that Caesar knew that Diviciacus was overstating his case for rhetorical effect. In short, the Focus-first structure indicates the primary narrator's deictic center. Narratologically, we might call this an example of embedded Focalization.

These final two nominal-subject OS examples differed from the first three in that the fronted object constituents were Narrow Foci not Topics. Additionally, the Focus was the only pragmatic function in the clause. The linear order, then, was driven by the pragmatic structure, albeit a different one than the previous OS examples, and the pragmatic structure itself was motivated by the particular communicative goals of the speaker. The syntactic assignments, though, continued to correspond to the personal-animacy hierarchy: that is, higher-animacy entities were selected as Agents, and Agents were assigned to a subject role, while lower-animacy entities were selected as Patients and put into object roles. Moreover, there was considerable distance between the respective levels of animacy. Again, the reliable correlation of an entity's position on the personal-semantic hierarchy and its syntactic function is crucial for disambiguating the syntactic roles of the two accusatives.

## 2.6 Nominal Subject Conclusions

At the outset of this chapter, we took care to lay out and contextualize the AcI data from *Bellum Gallicum* books 1, 5, and 7. An understanding of the prevalence of the construction in Caesar more broadly helped to frame our investigation. A comparison of the data from individual books was also instructive in that it showed significant variation between books in the kind and quantity of AcI clauses. Not only did book 1 outnumber books 5 and 7 both in total number of AcI clauses (285 : 166 : 232), and in average AcI per page (8.6 : 5.3 : 4.8), but, more importantly for this chapter, it contained all five of the OS examples with nominal subjects. The 42% decrease in AcI clauses between books 1 and 5 and the 19% decrease between books 1 and 7 is not insignificant and could be used in future research as evidence for serial composition of the work.

Our goal, however, has been to better understand the mechanisms by which the linear order of accusative constituents in AcI clauses is determined and through which the syntactic roles of the accusative constituents are interpreted. To that end, we restricted the data set to active transitive verbs with explicit subjects and objects, viz. clauses where syntactic ambiguity could theoretically occur. We further pared the data set for this chapter to examples with nominal subjects in order to mitigate the influence of prosody.

We used the examples with the statistically predominant SO order to establish a baseline for constituent order and pragmatic structure. These 19 examples showed us a number of common features. Most conspicuously, high-animacy, agentive, and individuated nouns strongly favored subject roles and lower-agency, inanimate, unindividuated nouns favored object roles. In short, these nominal-subject SO examples showed that the personal-animacy hierarchy is a meaningful proxy for syntactic function: Given two accusative nouns, the more volitional and agentive noun will likely be the subject and the less agentive or inanimate noun will likely be the object. However, application of the familiarity hierarchy achieved a similar result since all or nearly all of the subjects/agents were Topics in their clauses and they preceded the objects, which were often part of the Focus domain. Therefore, the two main linearization hierarchies agreed in which constituent each selected for linear priority, in effect overdetermining the constituent order.

The Foci in the SO examples were interesting as well in that clause-final OV was regular in both Broad and Narrow Foci and regardless of whether the object or verb was part of the Focus domain. For the Broad Foci, we posited a fairly simple pragmatic clause structure—Setting – Sentence Topic – Discourse Topic – [Broad Focus (focal argument(s) – verb)]—keeping in

mind that the Setting and Topic constituents can swap positions under some pragmatic conditions. The Narrow Focus constituents, though, tended to precede the clause-final OV, both of which were discourse bound. Based on the positions of the Narrow Foci, in particular the verb *obstruere* in (30), we posited a separate Narrow Focus slot: Setting – Sentence Topic – Discourse Topic – Narrow Focus – Presupposed Material.

With these various findings in mind, we turned to the OS-ordered examples to identify the factors that caused the aberrant constituent order. Here we found the two linearization hierarchies at odds: The personal-semantic hierarchy still corresponded to syntactic assignment—i.e. high-agency nouns were subjects, low-agency nouns were objects—but the high-agency noun did not receive linear priority for various pragmatic reasons. One such pragmatic priority factor was Topicalization, which motivated the object-first order in three of the OS examples. In these three examples, the object constituent raised to the clause-initial Sentence Topic slot. When a Discourse Topic was also present, the Sentence Topic had linear priority because it functioned at a more immediate level of narration.

Topicalization was not the only pragmatic factor that affected the constituent order. In the final two OS examples, the object constituent was selected as Narrow Focus and raised to the Narrow Focus slot, a construction that, following Spevak, we labeled Focus-first. A better label, however, might be Focus *only*, since the other clause constituents lacked pragmatic functions and stayed in the base VP layer as presupposed material. In both instances an evaluative, subjective element was in play, and the specific discourse goals of the speakers motivated the Focus-first pragmatic structure. In the first instance, the soldier's quip prompted a conversational implicature concerning the meaning of *plus.* In the second case the Focus-first construction

provided a means of pinpointing the deictic center of the utterance and signaled that the internal speaker's evaluation was being portrayed.

Importantly, in the OS examples as well, the personal-animacy hierarchy remained an effective proxy for syntactic assignments. More than that, the two accusative constituents had *markedly* different levels of agency. The regularity with which this asymmetric relationship holds in our data set—that is, the juxtaposition of high-agency, animate subject and low-agency or inanimate object—is critical. The more reliably the personal-animacy hierarchy selects for syntactic function, the less likely it is that the pragmatic movement of a constituent (e.g. Topicalization) will create grammatical confusion.

Because Caesar so consistently pairs high-animacy nouns with low-animacy nouns (at least in transitive AcIs), there were virtually no cases in our data set in which the potential for grammatical ambiguity was more than theoretical, even in the statistically rarer OS order. As such, we might conclude that the potential syntactic ambiguity of two accusatives in an AcI—the concern that motivated this study—does not necessarily come from the presence of two accusatives per se or from their constituent order, but rather from having two accusatives with insufficiently distinct levels of agency or animacy. In short, the smaller the gap between the animacy levels, the higher the possibility of a grammatically ambiguous clause.

Finally, we noted the interesting feature that the SO ordered examples easily admitted adjuncts and satellites that interrupted the contiguity of the nuclear arguments and verb. Plus, the object constituents in the SO examples were typically light nouns, rarely modified or projecting additional NPs. This situation contrasted starkly with our OS examples, in which the nuclear arguments tended to cluster, and, if a constituent had modifiers, it was the object. The

reason for this incongruity is unclear at this point. For Topicalization, at any rate, it may be that the domain of Topic raising is inherently limited or becomes so in the presence of some class of constituent, e.g. a heavy subject constituent.[225] Topicalization of an object, then, could perhaps discourage heavy subject constituents or additional phrasal adjuncts or subordinate clauses that would limit the raising domain. On the other hand, it may be that OS order in itself was seen—by language users more broadly or just by Caesar—as an extra cognitive demand on the audience and so additional complications were avoided. Finally, we cannot rule that it is an accident arising from our particular data set, which would disappear with a more expansive set of examples from Caesar or not appear at all in another author, like Cicero. We will revisit this feature in the following chapter in connection with pronominal subject examples in Caesar.

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[225] Movement rules and limitations have been proposed for a variety of mobile elements (e.g. weak pronouns). See, e.g., Devine and Stephens (2006) §3.3.

## CHAPTER 3:

## CAESAR II: REFLEXIVE AND NON-REFLEXIVE PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS

### 3.1 Pronominal Subjects Data

We now turn to pronominal subjects, for which we are fortunate to have a rather robust data set due in large part to our target construction and the content of *Gal*. While pragmatically unmarked pronominal subjects, especially the first and second persons, are generally omitted in main clauses,[226] the inclusion of subject accusatives in indirect discourse, even if coreferential with the main verb, is obligatory. Although "obligation" here is a fuzzy concept and authors—even Caesar—can and do flout this supposed stricture, AcI clauses still contain explicit subjects more often than not, and this fact offers a unique opportunity to identify and examine potentially "neutral" constituent order patterns involving pronominals.[227]

However, in dealing with the pronominal subjects, not only will pragmatic assignments and priority hierarchies be in play, but we must also take into account prosody and cliticization, which were not applicable to the nominal subjects. Interestingly, with the pronominal subjects, we will find a few cases in which the subject and object constituents are similarly agentive, which decreases the saliency of the personal-animacy hierarchy as an indication of syntactic assignment and raises the specter of grammatical ambiguity.

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[226] Cf. Pinkster (1987) 376–378; Spevak (2010) 98–99; Pinkster *OLS* 1, 748–749; Pinkster *OLS* 2, 1005–1011, 1041–1044, 1148–1151.

[227] For omitted AcI subjects, see e.g. *Gal.* 1.14.4 and 1.14.6. See Damon (2010) 110 for dropped subject pronouns in the *Bellum Civile*. Of course, this does not imply that every infinitive in such clauses has its own explicit subject. As in main clauses, subject constituents are easily construed with multiple infinitives.

Keeping the same restrictions from above, viz. that all three clausal elements—S, O, and V—must be present and omitting any instances in which the subject or object is a relative pronoun, we have 65 pronominal subject examples, roughly three times as many as the nominal subjects. But, like the nominal subjects, the pronominal subjects show interesting distributional trends:

| Book 1, 5, 7 | Total Subj Pronoun | Of which, in SO | Of which, in OS | Of which, in Obj hyperbaton |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *se*[228] | 38 | 16 | 15 | 7 |
| *sese* | 15 | 12 | 3 | 0 |
| *il- deictic* | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| *hi- deictic* | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| *is* | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| *Other*[229] | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| *Total* | 63 | 37 | 18 | 8 |

*Table 8: Pronominal subjects in transitive AcI, BG 1, 5, 7*

The simplex and reduplicated forms of the reflexive pronoun are by far the most common, comprising 55 (84%) of the 65 examples; though it is important to note that the simplex form occurs far more frequently. We also see a preference for SO over OS order, though the preference is less pronounced than with the nominal examples primarily due to the distribution of our *se* examples, which split almost evenly between SO (n=17) and OS (n=16) order. Moreover, object

[228] Though I have not personally checked any manuscripts, based on the app. crit. in Hering's 2008 Teubner edition the readings of all *se* examples in OS orders are secure. The β MSS read *se* for one of the three instances of OS *sese* (see (53) below); all consulted editions, however, print the reading of α (*sese*).

[229] The category includes one use each of *nos*, *ipsum*, *neminem*, and *quemquam*. This group is only found in SO order and will be dealt below with the other non-reflexive subject pronouns in SO.

hyperbaton (e.g. *angustos se finis habere*; *nullam se salutem perspicere*) occurs almost exclusively with *se*. Why *se* appears to be more common generally can perhaps be explained simply as the most natural outcome of Caesar's deliberate presentation of the narrative in third person: that is, what would be a first-person referring expression in a main clause becomes a third-person reflexive in a third-person narrative. However, why *se* is also more amenable to OS order and to object hyperbaton than other pronominal forms are questions we will try to answer below.

In the rest of this chapter we will again approach the data in tranches, moving through the pronominal forms separately. In sections 3.2 Subject-*Sese* in SO Order and 3.3 Subject-*Sese* in OS Order we will look at the examples with *sese* as subject. The choice to begin with the disyllabic pronoun *sese* is meant to serve as a bridge between the fully tonic nominal constituents—i.e. where prosodic factors were negligible—and the potentially unaccented clitic *se*. The assumption here, based on the traditional explanation of *sese* as "emphatic," is that the doubling of the root would forestall phonetic weakening and thus cliticization.[230] Then, in sections 3.4 Subject-*Se* in SO: Nominal Objects and 3.5 Subject-*Se* in OS: Nominal Objects we will turn to the examples where the subject pronoun *se* is combined with a nominal object, before moving on to those with subject *se* with pronominal objects in sections 3.6 Subject-*Se* in SO: Pronominal Objects and 3.7 Subject-*Se* in OS: Pronominal Objects. Finally, section 3.8 Non-Reflexive Subject Pronouns will tackle the remaining non-reflexive pronominal subject forms.

## 3.2 Subject-*Sese* in SO Order

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[230] For *sese* as a possible "emphatic" form of *se*, see now Pinkster *OLS* 2, 865 and §22.41. Note, however, that Pinkster *OLS* 2, 907 does not take a strong position on *sese* as emphatic; rather, he points out that, unlike other suffixes (e.g. -*pte*), the data for *sese* are inconclusive as to whether the "geminate forms as such" were "a device used to create emphasis." Our data will suggest a similarly inconclusive conclusion.

There are 15 total examples with subject *sese*, and 12 of these have an SO order. These examples share many similarities with the nominal subject examples from the previous chapter, including the primacy of the personal-animacy hierarchy for syntactic assignments and the familiarity hierarchy for linear order. In short, the more animate entity also has higher topicality such that the two primary linearization hierarchies select the same constituent for linear priority.

In the subject-*sese* SO set we continue to find agentive, animate subjects paired with low-animacy objects. The subject pronouns tend to refer specifically to proper nouns (Ariovistus 4×; Caesar 3×; Aedui, Gauls, Ambarii 1× each), though in one instance the referent is less definite but still animate (*vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum*). The objects, on the other hand, are primarily inanimate or abstract entities (e.g. *pacem*).[231] The one object noun with a human referent (*obsides*) is indefinite, unindividuated, and thus quite low on the semantic animacy scale. In other words, we find the same correlation between a constituent's syntactic function and its position on the semantic role hierarchy with highly animate, agentive entities assigned to subject roles, and inanimate entities or abstracts assigned to object roles.

The linear order of the nuclear arguments corresponds to the familiarity hierarchy, and the clauses generally have a Topic>Focus order. However, the information structure does not map directly onto the syntactic roles of the arguments. While the subject referents generally function as Topics, the pragmatic status of the objects varies. Importantly, the position of the

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[231] Contrary to the mostly simple, unmodified object nouns in the subject-nominal SO examples, half of the objects in our subject-*sese* SO examples are light NPs and half are complex NPs. The simple NPs include *pacem, obsides, gratum, bellum,* and *civitatem.* The complex NPs include *quasdam res* (expanded by a lengthy relative clause), four dependent genitives (e.g. *vim hostium, populi Romani amicitiam*), and one compound NP with a dependent genitive (*ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum*).

subject pronoun is consistent regardless of the type of Focus or the relative order of the verb and object.

The pronominal referents are easily retrievable, discourse bound entities, and the pronouns themselves generally function as Topic in the clause—perhaps merely weak or simple Topics given that reflexive pronouns, unlike nouns, are definitionally discourse bound to some degree, and should be easily retrievable by the audience with minimal marking material. Moreover, the subject pronouns pattern similarly to the SO nominal subjects from the previous chapter in that they strongly prefer colon-initial placement. *Sese* occurs in absolute colon-initial position in eight of the twelve SO examples, while in three more cases it follows a clause-initial correlative or sentential adverb (e.g. *non*, *saepe numero*, and *non minus libenter*). In the twelfth example *sese* disrupts a Beneficiary expression, which is dependent on the accusative object, resulting in a surface order wherein *sese* resembles a clitic:

39)     Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit…
        Quod si eum (*sc.* Caesarem) interfecerit, multis <u>sese</u> nobilibus principibusque populi
        Romani *gratum* **esse facturum**.

        Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length…
        But if he were to kill him (Caesar), that he would have done a thing welcome to many
        nobles and leaders of the Roman people. (*Gal.* 1.44.12)

Although at first glance the serial ordering could suggest that *sese* has cliticized, there are sundry examples of subjective adjectives—forms of *multus*, *magnus*, etc.—moving left ahead of other words, including full nominals to which cliticization would not apply.[232] As such, it is likely that

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[232] For example, *magnam Caesarem injuriam* in (89). Interestingly, our data set has more examples of object hyperbaton with nominal subjects than with pronominal (nine versus eight). This fact would seem to suggest that the phonology of the intervening element is less important than the pragmatic and semantic status of the fronted element. Devine and Stephens (2006) 500–501 and Spevak (2010) 244 reach similar conclusions to explain why in Caesar *multus* more readily separates from its head noun than *magnus*.

the position of *sese* here is less a function of the pronoun than of *multis*, a subjective adjective that is prone to leftward movement. In this instance, the subjective adjective is part of a dative Beneficiary phrase governing a dependent genitive, which has Broad Focus function together with the object. The adjective *multis* scopes over both of the nouns, which perhaps licenses its separation from the noun pair by *sese*.[233] The takeaway here is that *sese* does not *move from* initial position, it is *displaced from* that position by another word.

Though topical, the instances of *sese* generally do not (re)introduce an entity into the discourse, bear contrast, or show other features that might more clearly denote their movement into the pragmatic Topic slot. As such, it seems plausible that such instances of *sese* represent zero anaphora in direct discourse. In cases where material intervenes between the Topic expression and the VP it is somewhat clearer that *sese* is in the Topic slot. The intervening material can be a participial element, e.g. ablative absolute or secondary predicate (ex. (40)), as was common in the nominal subject examples from the previous chapter, or a correlative adverb (ex. (41)):

40)     ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos…esse praedicabant (saepe numero <u>sese</u> cum his congressos *ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum* dicebant **ferre potuisse**).

From the inquiries of our men and the reports of the Gauls and merchants, who were reporting that the Germans were men with unnaturally massive bodies… (they were saying that, having encountered them on many occassions, they were unable to bear even their expression and the fierceness of their eyes). (*Gal.* 1.39.1)

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[233] A similar complex NP occurs in (65) below but the pronoun *se* does not break into the NP domain: *perpetuum imperium libertatemque se…*. The scope of *perpetuum* here is not obvious, but a comparison to *multis sese nobilibus principibusque*, where the separated adjective does scope over both nouns, perhaps supports a single-noun scope reading for *perpetuum*. However, since *perpetuum* is not a typical subjective adjective, this would need further corroboration by additional examples.

41) Locutus est pro his Diviciacus Aeduus…(*sc.* Aeduos eorumque clientis) coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare…et iure iurando civitatem obstringere, <u>sese</u> neque *obsides* **repetituros** neque *auxilium* a populo Romano **imploraturos** neque **recusaturos**…

Diviciacus the Aeduan spoke on behalf of these men… that they (the Aedui and their allies) were compelled to give hostages to the Sequani…and to bind their state by an oath that they would neither demand hostages in return, nor beg for aid from the Roman people, nor refuse… (*Gal.* 1.31.7)

The Topic in the former example precedes a complex Narrow Focus expression, which is marked as such by the focusing particle *ne…quidem*. The correlative adverb in the latter case cleanly separates the Topic from the Broad Focus expression. To these Topic expressions, we can compare the following example in which the correlative adverb scopes over *sese*.

42) (Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit)… Non <u>sese</u> Gallis sed <u>Gallos</u> sibi *bellum* **intulisse**.

(Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length)… That he had not brought war upon the Gauls, but the Gauls upon him. (*Gal.* 1.44.2)

The correlative in this case is adversative and corrective rather than simply additive, and *sese* is part of the corrective Focus, as we can see from the ellipsis of the VP in the first half of the clause. Additionally, because of this contrast one would, in fact, expect a subject pronoun in the direct speech form.

Turning now to the object constituents, we see that they prefer preverbal position, but can also occur postverbally, and in either position may or may not be in the Focus domain. When not focal, the object tends to follow the Narrow Focus constituent. The distribution of Focus constructions in these subject-*sese* SO examples skews slightly more in favor of Broad Foci than was the case with the subject-nominal SO examples: Broad Foci outnumber Narrow Foci seven to five (58% and 42% respectively). In the Broad Foci, the object is always part of the Focus domain and is immediately preverbal or separated from the verb by a dative or genitive, which is

construed with the VP. Typical examples of these Broad Foci are (41) above (*sese neque obsides repetituros*) and the following:

43)   nisi ita fecerint (*sc*. Pirustae), <u>sese</u> (*sc*. Caesarem) bello *civitatem* **persecuturum** demonstrat.

Unless they (the Pirustae) did thus, he (Caesar) makes known that he will pursue the state with war. (*Gal.* 5.1.8)

The QUD here is "What will Caesar do?" not "Who/what will Caesar hound?" or even "What will Caesar do to their state?" Interestingly, despite the higher relative percentage of Broad Foci, we find fewer semantically weak verbs (i.e. situations in which the object and verb form a tight semantic unit) than with the nominal subjects. In fact, only two of the seven Broad Foci examples involve a semantically weak verb, and it is the same verb form in both cases: *esse facturum*.

44)   (=39) Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit… Quod si eum (*sc*. Caesarem) interfecerit, multis <u>sese</u> nobilibus principibusque populi Romani *gratum* **esse facturum**.

Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length… But if he were to kill him (Caesar), that he would have done a thing welcome to many nobles and leaders of the Roman people. (*Gal.* 1.44.12)

45)   et si Aeduis de iniuriis quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, <u>sese</u> cum eis *pacem* **esse facturum**.

And if they make amends to the Aedui for the injuries that they inflicted on them and their allies, and likewise to the Allobroges, he would make peace with them. (*Gal.* 1.14.6)

The object nouns *gratum* and *pacem* bear the bulk of the semantic burden, and they form the Broad Focus domain together with the dependent phrases they govern. The auxiliary *esse* has raised ahead of the participle to right-adjoin these object nouns.[234]

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[234] For the attraction of *esse* to pragmatically prominent constituents, see Adams (1994a) *passim*, esp. 34–43. In indirect discourse, at any rate, the omission of *esse* in such periphrastic verb forms is by far the norm rather than the exception. The full data set for Active-Transitive verbs includes 64 total periphrastic infinitives, 57 of which omit a

The remaining examples are the five Narrow Foci, and here too the object constituents prefer preverbal position, but can also occur postverbally, with or without Focus function. Identification of the Focus domain is occasionally subjective, but two of these Narrow Foci are explicitly marked as such by the focusing particle *ne…quidem*. In fact, these are the first two instances in our data set where Caesar uses a focusing particle:

46)    (=40) saepe numero <u>sese</u> cum his (*sc.* Germanos) congressos *ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum* dicebant **ferre potuisse**…

     they were saying that, having encountered them (the Germans) on many occassions, they were able to bear not even their countenance and fierceness of their eyes…. (*Gal.* 1.39.1)

47)    Aedui questum…; <u>sese</u> ne obsidibus quidem datis *pacem* Ariovisti **redimere potuisse**.

     The Aedui complained…; that not even by giving hostages had they been able to buy peace from Ariovistus. (*Gal.* 1.37.2)

Despite the ablative adjunct bearing Focus in the second example, the object *pacem Ariovisti* is still in preverbal position.

Two additional Narrow Focus examples involve a postverbal object, but the position in each case is separately motivated:

48)    (Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit)… non minus libenter <u>sese</u> **recusaturum** *populi Romani amicitiam*, quam appetierit.

     (Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length)… that he would no less happily reject the friendship of the Roman people than he had sought it. (*Gal.* 1.44.5)

49)    petierunt (*sc.* Galli) uti…: <u>sese</u> **habere** *quasdam res* quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent.

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form of *esse*. 53 of the 57 participle-only cases have the future active participle, and four use the perfect passive participle. The seven forms with *esse* are *esse facturum* (2×), *redditurum non esse* (1×), and *esse…tempturos* (1×). There is also a single instance of *fuisse capturos*.

They (the Gauls) begged that…: that they had certain things that, by general consent, they wanted to ask of him. (*Gal.* 1.30.4)

In the first, the verb *recusaturum* has Narrow Focus and has risen into the NFoc slot, which strands the discourse-bound object in postverbal position—note the contrast with *appetierit* and the ellipsis of the shared object. We saw examples of objects stranded by focal verbs in the previous chapter as well. In the second, the object constituent *quasdam res* combines with the restrictive relative clause to make a heavy constituent, which also bears Narrow Focus, and this semantically and phonetically heavier constituent follows the lighter constituents (per LIPOC). [235]

In the preceding examples, the object constituents are primarily inanimate or abstract nominals (10 of 12), which follows the preference we have seen throughout for pairing low-animacy objects with high-animacy subject nouns, a juxtaposition which, particularly in the OS examples, helped determine the syntactic role of the fronted object. In light of this, the lone SO example with a pronominal object deserves attention since it is the first instance in which both arguments refer to animate, discourse-bound entities:

50)  (Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit)… qui nisi (*sc.* Caesar) decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, <u>sese</u> *illum* non pro amico sed hoste **habiturum**.

(Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length)…[saying that] unless he (Caesar) departed and led the army out of these parts, he (Ariovistus) would consider that man not a friend but an enemy. (*Gal.* 1.44.11)

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[235] Importantly, the mechanism by which the heavy semantic domain is conjoined is still unclear (cf. the postverbal *Aeduos* in (36)). The contiguous domain could be generated by the object moving right into contact with the relative clause or by the verb raising left; the verb remains *in situ* in the former, the object in the latter. However, cf. *Gal.* 5.26.4: *habere sese quae de re communi dicere vellent…*, though the VS order may be influenced by incorporation of the object into the relative clause. Additionally, we find other examples with *habeo* in a similar position (cf. below *habere nunc se rationem offici pro beneficiis Caesaris* (*Gal.* 5.27.7)), so a unique feature of *habeo* itself (e.g. weak prosody) may be exerting a greater impact; for *habeo* as pragmatic marker, see Adams (1994a) 89–90.

Here, *sese*, which refers to Ariovistus, is in colon-initial position and is followed by the object pronoun *illum*, which refers back to the subject of the previous dependent clause, Caesar. As such, both pronominal referents are discourse bound and highly agentive. Syntactic ambiguity is theoretically possible, but the reflexivity of *sese* largely forestalls it since a reflexive reading of the specific *habeo* construction would be pragmatically and semantically infelicitous, although grammatically sound (i.e. \**that man will consider himself not a friend but an enemy*).[236] Furthermore, because the adversative correlative *non…sed* is predicative rather than an optional adjunct phrase, a Broad Focus reading that includes the pronoun *illum* is better than a Narrow Focus reading on the correlative.[237] Thus, despite being anaphoric and discourse bound, the object pronoun does not receive leftward, topical position (cf. *transisse Rhenum sese* in (51) above).

In summation, the 12 subject-*sese* SO examples pattern similarly to the nominal-subject SO examples. The semantic status of the verbal arguments tends to determine their syntactic role, with entities higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy functioning as subjects and those lower as objects. Pragmatically speaking, the referents of the subject constituents were also easily accessible discourse participants and, unless displaced by a connective or—in one instance—an evaluative adjective, were in clause-initial position. The pronominal subjects themselves, however, were relatively unmarked, and in some cases determining whether *sese* had moved to the Topic slot or was in its default position was somewhat difficult.

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[236] However, as we will see below (ex. (52) and n. 246), Ariovistus does not always maintain a crisp distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive anaphoric pronouns.

[237] That we should read this as a Broad Focus is bolstered by the preverbal position of the correlative here versus other cases where the correlative phrase is postverbal and more likely the Narrow Focus.

We do, however, have a few subject-*sese* examples with an OS serial order that we can compare to these SO orders. In each case Topicalization gives rise to the OS constituent order, but what topicalizes and how *sese* interacts with the fronted constituent is interesting.

### 3.3 Subject-*Sese* in OS Order

There are three OS-ordered *sese* examples in our data set. In each instance, Topicalization of an element from the VP gives rise to the OS order; the first two involve complex nominal objects, while the third has a pronominal object. Interestingly, the subject pronoun *sese* consistently right adjoins to the first pragmatic domain in its colon and avoids causing discontinuity of the preceding noun phrase. In the first two examples, *sese* follows the fronted Topic expression, but in the third the topicalized object pronoun raises out of the primary AcI frame to a secondary participial phrase, of which it is also the object. This movement leaves the ablative Focus expression as the first pragmatic unit in the AcI clause to which the subject pronoun attaches. Again, while the referents of *sese* are topical, they tend to lack contrast or other pragmatic marking.

The two nominal object examples occur relatively near to one another in the lead-up to the Battle of Vesontio. As context, Caesar and Ariovistus have met with a contingent of horse to negotiate. Caesar speaks first and reiterates his previous demands, to which Ariovistus responds at length (44 OCT lines of indirect speech), both justifying his past actions and issuing demands of his own:

51)    Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: **transisse** *Rhenum* <u>sese</u> non sua sponte, sed rogatum et accersitum a Gallis.

> Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length: [saying that] he had crossed the Rhine not of his own accord, but invited and beckoned by the Gauls. (*Gal.* 1.44.1)

The beginning of Ariovistus' response, *transisse Rhenum*, swaps the order of the VP elements from Caesar's statement in the immediately preceding context (*ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur*).[238] This is mainly because the verb *transisse* overtly topicalizes, allowing it to jump leftward. We could, perhaps, better render this in English by nominalizing the verb phrase as "the crossing of the Rhine was not of his own accord, but by the invitation and beckoning of the Gauls."[239] This is analogous to the preposing of the verbonominal VP *principatum tenere* in (36) which left the NFoc subject *Aeduos* in post-verbal position, with the slight difference that *principatum tenere* retains the OV order because the nominal element topicalizes and pulls the other member of its semantic domain left; the reverse occurs in (51), but with the similar outcome that both members move left.[240] The Focus here is marked by the *non…sed* correlatives, rejecting one state of affairs and replacing it with the correct answer to the question "Why did you cross the Rhine?"[241] The subject pronoun serves as the righthand border of the Topic domain and does not seem to carry any strong pragmatic weight itself, despite the use of *sese* instead of

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[238] The OV order is by far the most common in Caesar for this particular verb phrase. Of the 45 transitive uses of *transire* in *Civ.* and *Gal.*, only 5 have a post-verbal object: *Civ.* 1.64.2; *Gal.* 1.44.1, 2.23.2, 2.27.3, and 6.35.6. The verb is used intransitively in an additional 25 passages. My search filtered out passive forms. Search done via Brepolis Cross Database Searchtool (www.Brepolis.net), accessed July 17, 2021.

[239] For the connection between topicalized verbs and nominalization, see Devine and Stephens (2019) 155–156.

[240] In the case of *principatum tenere Aeduos* above, the minimal argument structure reduces the possible origin points of the topicalized constituent. The additional constituent, here, leaves open whether the VO moved from a clause-final position or topicalized around *sese* alone. In other words, while it is unlikely that the Narrow Focus *Aeduos* was initially post-verbal, we do not know if the Narrow Focus *non…sed* correlative was originally post- or pre-verbal.

[241] See (9)d above.

the shorter *se*.[242] If we assume for the moment that the reduplicated form *sese* does not cliticize while *se* can, the use of the non-clitic form here could be influenced by the desire to maintain the integrity of the domain of the topicalized constituent *transisse Rhenum* insofar as *se* might more naturally dock to the infinitive, which could lead to a faulty analysis of the pragmatics.[243]

The next example occurs a few days and a couple of pages later. At some point during the initial meeting Caesar learns that Ariovistus' cavalry has begun to harass his men by throwing stones and weapons, so he abruptly concludes the parley and heads back to camp with his men. Two days later, Ariovistus requests a second conference (*iterum colloquio diem constitueret*) or an audience with an ambassador (*e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret*), but Caesar's appetite for talking has disappeared.

52)    Colloquendi Caesari causa visa non est, et eo magis, quod pridie eius diei Germani retineri non potuerant quin in nostros tela conicerent. *legatum e suis* <u>sese</u> magno cum periculo ad eum **missurum** et hominibus feris obiecturum existimabat.

Caesar saw no reason to parley, even more so because the Germans were not able to be restrained from launching weapons at our men on the day before. He thought that he would be sending him a legate from his own men at great risk and that he would be subjecting him to savage men. (*Gal.* 1.47.3)

Again, we find variation in the call and response. Caesar's thought process follows the order of Ariovistus' requests, but the phrasing varies. First, he rejects Ariovistus' bid for a new meeting and explains his reasoning. We can note the clear Topicalization of *colloquendi* to the left of

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[242] It is worth noting here, as it will recur in the following examples, that all instances of *sese* in OS order occur in close proximity to another form of the reflexive, here *sua*. This has a loose parallel in the Greek αὐτός + pronoun structures, for which, see now *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (*CGCG*) §29.11.

[243] The situation as described would merely be one of the competing pressures and would not preordain one linear outcome or another. See examples (64)–(67) below for instances of *se* following complex NPs.

*Caesari*, which creates discontinuity in the subject NP.[244] Then, he considers whether to send a legate. Whereas Ariovistus' request was phrased *e suis legatis aliquem*, Caesar's internal dialogue restates it as *legatum e suis*. This constituent is clearly topical and contrastive, and it gets sentence-initial placement to mark the switch in Topic, similar to *colloquendi* in the first sentence of (52). The verb phrase (*ad*+acc *mitto*), which, if not technical, is at least highly regularized in Caesar, is presupposed information and has clause-final position.[245] The formulation differs from Ariovistus' invitation slightly in that Caesar reinforces a crisp deictic distinction between the reflexive and anaphoric (3ʳᵈ person) pronoun (i.e. *sese* and *ad eum*), which was blurred in Ariovistus' request.[246] *Magno cum periculo*, a Manner adjunct, has Focus function in the first clause. Unlike the previous example where the subordinating device precedes, and is more cognitively distinct from, the reported speech (i.e. more akin to so-called "free indirect

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[244] It is tempting to read *Caesari* as an indirect object dependent on the gerund (e.g. "of speaking to Caesar") instead of a possessive dative with *causa* insofar as it would create a single constituent, make the implicit contrast explicit, and remove the discontinuity. However, *colloqui* does not appear to take such a construction. A second example of the construction (gerund + [dative+*causa*]) occurs in the following sentence where Caesar is explaining whom he selected to send as legates and why (*in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset* (1.47.4)).

[245] For this verb phrase, see Spevak (2010) 136–138.

[246] Ariovistus uses both a reflexive adjective and a reflexive pronoun (*e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret*), the former (*suis*) referring to Caesar, the latter (*se*) to Ariovistus. Given the competing reflexive referents, *aliquem*, which follows the prepositional phrase it governs, could also be functioning to demarcate the two uses. This is by no means an isolated incident. One can find similar "mistakes" throughout the work (e.g. Ariovistus again at *Gal.* 1.36.6 or Ambiorix at 5.27.7). This may be an opportune moment to reiterate that we cannot forget that all of this is being put into the mouths of these characters by Caesar, who has a distinct deictic reference point temporally, physically, and epistemologically. In other words, there is an inherent tension in that fact that Caesar-as-author and Caesar-as-narrator, who themselves occupy separate deictic centers, must project into the deictic center of the characters; we should not be surprised if this gives rise to the occasional deictic slippage, especially in extended passages of reported speech where there is a tendency to slip into free indirect discourse. For deictic centers in Latin, see Adema (2015) and Kroon (2017). For free indirect discourse, see Sharvit (2008).

discourse"[247]), the matrix verb *existimabat* occurs after the AcI and more directly governs the subordinate construction: that is, the status of the AcI as an argument clause is explicit.

The heavy topicalized constituent occurs immediately before the pronominal subject, with *sese* again seeming to form the right-hand boundary of the Topic domain.[248] The subject pronoun does not appear to have pragmatic significance beyond marking a subject change.[249] In other words, despite the stronger *sese* form, we would not expect a 3ʳᵈ person subject pronoun—especially not an "emphatic" one—to be expressed in the hypothetical direct speech since Caesar is a well-established discourse entity and does not bear contrast.[250] Again, continuity of the complex Topic domain may be a factor in the use of the reduplicated form.

It is important, moreover, that the full *legatum e suis* constituent rather than one element of it have Topic function. At first glance, one assumes the sentence is a justification to refuse outright Ariovistus' request to send a legate because it is much too risky, which then implies that Caesar will adopt a different course of action. However, what actually worried Caesar was sending a legate *e suis*, i.e. a *Roman*. Nevertheless, he chooses to send two men with ties to the Germans and Ariovistus himself, C. Valerius Procillus and M. Mettius, whom, as Caesar sees it,

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[247] In English, for example, free indirect discourse can affect the standard sequence of tenses, for which see Sharvit (2008). For Latin, see Pinkster *OLS* 2, §14.25 "Direct and indirect speech." For representational and truth-value issues in indirect speech more generally, see Sharvit (2008), Vandelanotte (2009), and Buchstaller (2017).

[248] As with the previous example, we find repeated forms of the reflexive in close proximity.

[249] Unless, that is, we view the discourse hierarchically in terms of domains of control. To account for so-called "long-distance reflexives," Pieroni (2010) 432–443 argues that we should think in terms of "the controller and the domain in which this controller may be found." Approached this way, linear referential continuity is less salient than continuity across hierarchically equivalent domains; as such, we should not see *sese* as marking a subject/Agent change because the Agent *Caesari* controls the *non visa est* clause and the *existimabat* clause. She does, however, explicitly pass over AcI clauses because they may be "possibly considered monopropositional" (437).

[250] Cf. Pinkster (1987) 376–378; Spevak (2010) 98–99; Pinkster *OLS* 1, 748–749; Pinkster *OLS* 2, 1005–1011, 1148–1151.

the Germans will have no reason to harm (*et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset*).[251] Conveniently, both of the men are immediately detained and imprisoned (*in catenas coniecit*) as they approach Ariovistus' camp (1.47.5), which was foreshadowed by the second AcI *hominibus feris obiecturum*.[252] All this is to say that Caesar's reshaping of the Topic's original phraseology is not mere *variatio*; it slyly signals the semantic shift of *e suis* (or perhaps the way in which Caesar interpreted Ariovistus' original meaning). Since the battle context offers a clear and natural delineation between two opposing groups, taking *e suis* to refer, not to one side or the other (i.e. Caesar's army), but to a subset of one side (i.e. the Roman soldiers in Caesar's army) shifts or, perhaps, narrows the meaning.

The final *sese* example breaks from the mold of the previous examples in two significant ways. First, the object is an unmodified anaphoric pronoun, i.e. a light constituent. And second, the subject pronoun occurs later in the sentence, following the Narrow Focus domain instead of the Topic, because it does not have a pragmatic function.

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[251] There is a lack of explicit attitudinal or logical markers in this string of thoughts, which is surprising, perhaps, for Caesar who tends toward precision. The reader is left to infer the concessive relationship of the AcI to the following sentence. For C. Valerius Procillus, the explicit reasons to send him are his loyalty (*propter fidem*) and his language abilities (*propter linguae Gallicae scientiam*), but it seems unlikely that these two qualities alone would justify Caesar's belief. As such, the audience must make the further supposition that he is protected because he is descended from Gallic freedmen, which must itself be inferred from the historical naming conventions of freedmen. For which, see ad loc. Allen and Greenough's (1898) *Gallic War* commentary. Caesar explicitly states that M. Mettius *hospitio Ariovisti utebatur*. Strangely, though, M. Mettius is only mentioned *after* Caesar remarks on the reason to hope for safety, so we must *assume* that this protection will extend to Mettius also; one cannot help but feel that he is somewhat of an afterthought, both here and in their triumphant return at 1.53.8. Additionally, there are larger textual problems in this passage both with the legates' names—Hering (1987) even goes so far as to dagger †M. Mettius† both here and later at 1.53.8—and with the nature of the relationship between Valerius Procillus and Ariovistus, which has variant readings.

[252] Oddly, Caesar does not react to their capture, demand their return in the week prior to the battle, or use their captivity to spur on his soldiers. Valerius Procillus simply re-emerges into the narrative in the aftermath of the battle. The rescue of these two men, unscathed of course, serves to punctuate the end of the battle (1.53.5–8). C. Valerius Procillus says that he, and presumably M. Mettius also, whose name is *again* tacked on as an afterthought, was saved by fortuitous lots (*sortium beneficio*) from being burned alive.

The antecedent of the object pronoun *id* in the following example is the plan (*consilium*) made by the besieged and overrun Gallic defenders of Avaricum to abandon the city (*ex oppido profugere*) which, after a nearly month-long siege, they can no longer defend from the Roman incursion.

53)   (Galli…consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere…) *Id* silentio noctis conati non magna iactura suorum <u>sese</u> **effecturos** sperabant, propterea quod…

sese α : se β

(The Gauls…made a plan to flee the city…) By attempting it in the dead of night they were hoping that they would accomplish it without a great loss of their own men, because… (*Gal.* 7.26.2)

The accusative object *id* has topicalized, not to initial position within the main AcI predicate frame, but, in the manner of a connecting relative, to the front of the sentence-initial secondary participial phrase. This domain movement is licensed because the object pronoun is a shared argument, and in such cases (contrary to English) the shared element is generally expressed in only one of the two verb frames: Here, it is expressed with the subordinate participle and must be resupplied as the implied object of the infinitive.[253]

Despite the different case markings, the participle *conati* and *sese* both continue the Discourse Topic *Galli*.[254] However, strictly speaking the nominative marking of the participle *conati* places the participial clause outside the AcI predicate frame, despite the fact that the two

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[253] This example was first introduced above in connection with (38) when discussing the secondary predicate participial construction. Unlike *pulsos* in the earlier example, *conati* nicely forms the right-hand boundary of its phrasal domain.

[254] Unfortunately, although all the editions I have consulted print *sese*, our MSS disagree over the form of the pronoun. The printed reading is perhaps further supported by the recurrence of the duplicated reflexives (i.e. *suorum sese*), a phenomenon identified in the previous two examples as well.

states of affairs share a conceptual (if not syntactic) object.[255] Moreover, the nominative marking

seems to imply a temporal reading of the participle as an action that both precedes the action of

the matrix verb and also actually takes place.[256] However, in reality, *neither* state of affairs

obtains—they are dissuaded from their plan by the *matres familiae* at 7.26.3[257]—and as such the

state of affairs of the participle must be preparatory to the state of affairs of the infinitive, not the

matrix verb. In other words, the propositional content of the Gauls' hope (i.e. the contents of the

AcI) must include both verbal actions, *attempting* and *accomplishing*, even though the

nominative case marking of the participle explicitly places it outside of the contents of the AcI.

Further research is needed on secondary participles, particularly as a means of regulating

information flow, and their pragmatic, syntactic, and semantic relationships to the surrounding

clause.

Whatever the exact role of the participial Setting phrase, including the topicalized object,

in regulating information flow, the first pragmatic unit in the main AcI is the Narrow Focus *non*

*magna iactura suorum*, which has moved to the NFoc slot, ahead of the subject pronoun, which

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[255] We could, perhaps, extend the argument of Devine and Stephens (2006) 292–293 (cited above) to offer some insight into our example. They argue that clitic pronoun placement following a secondary predicate participial phrase reflects whether the participle's state of affairs is internal or external to the main predicate's information structure: If internal, a pronoun docks to the end of the participial phrase; if external, it docks in second position of the *following* colon. In our example, the pronoun *sese* occurs after (or perhaps docks) to the end of the colon that follows the participial phrase. Though the prosodic status of *sese* is unclear, we cannot say for certain that it is *not* capable of clitic traits.

[256] That is, "They tried, but their hope (of losing few men) was not fulfilled." Temporal setting constituents, especially ablative absolutes, are a common Caesarian narrative feature—one of the most recognizable, in fact. It may edge toward hermeneutic historiography to argue that Caesar's penchant for the construction influences the wording of this passage, but, being such a noticeable feature from the reader's perspective, it is quite easy to imagine that it would be the reader's default interpretive strategy upon encountering this *conati* phrase. Ultimately, the participle is best taken as a disguised conditional.

[257] *Matres familiae…petierunt ne se et communis liberos hostibus…dederent.*

remains in the base VP layer as presupposed material, i.e. it is not selected as Topic.[258] At least in terms of the position of the subject pronoun, the pragmatic structure here has similarities to the Focus-first constructions from the previous chapter. In the Focus-first construction the Focus expression was the first and only pragmatic projection and the subject constituent remained in the base VP layer as presupposed information; in this particular case, a Setting phrase with a topicalized element precedes the Narrow Focus, but the subject is still relegated to the presupposed material. In other words, we can apply the same pragmatic structure as above: Topic – Setting – Narrow Focus – Presupposed Material.

Although we have only three examples in the OS-ordered *sese* data set, the examples share important commonalities. To begin with, as I pointed out above, all instances of *sese* in OS order occur near, but are not modified by, a form of the reflexive adjective. In fact, the forms are contiguous in two cases and nearly so in the third: (51) *suis sese*, (53) *suorum sese*, and (52) *sese non sua*. As was also noted, we find a semi-analogous device in Greek with αὐτός + pronoun constructions. However, this was not a feature exhibited in the 12 examples of *sese* in SO, so its presence in the limited OS examples is unique and requires a different explanation.[259]

Second, these three examples further confirm the conclusions drawn from the nominal OS and SO examples as well as the subject-*sese* SO examples that the personal-animacy hierarchy

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[258] A case could be made that the larger information structure is focal since *conati* is also new information and the two ideas (i.e. *doing something* and *at night*) are combined in the following clause (*iamque hoc facere noctu apparabant*). Even if we accept the broader Focus domain in this case, one is still inclined to read some elements (i.e. *non magna iactura suorum*) as more focal than others. Although an investigation of a saliency hierarchy within Broad Foci—or whether such a hierarchy would impact linear ordering—is beyond the scope of the present work, it may in fact be the case that some constituents within a Broad Focus domain are *more* focal than others.

[259] A handful of subject-*se* examples below also have this feature (e.g. (55)a–b, (56), and (59)). At the end of the day, this may be nothing more than a fluke of our data set. However, I must, begrudgingly, leave this explanation to others as tackling it would take us too far afield.

is key to interpreting syntactic assignment; in all three cases the higher-animacy, agentive entity is the subject and the lower-animacy, and thus non-agentive, entity is the object. Interestingly, though, whereas in most of the previous examples there was a marked difference in agency between the subject and object, in (52) we have another instance where the subject and object, *sese* and *legatum* (cf. (50) above), are relatively close to each other in agency. And yet, here, even with the OS order, there is still little room for confusion in parsing the respective syntactic roles. Not only are 3rd person pronouns higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy than concrete nouns, but the indefinite reading required of *legatum e suis* ("*a* legate from his own men") further lowers its position on the personal-animacy hierarchy.[260]

The linear order, however, is a function of the familiarity hierarchy, in particular the pragmatic functions Topic and Focus, with Topics (given information) tending to precede Foci (salient information). In fact, as we noted at the outset, Topicalization of the object constituent is the basis for the OS order in these three cases. In the first two examples, the object and subject constituents were contiguous because the subject pronoun was also part of the Topic domain, but because the topicalized objects were more-proximally topical, i.e. Sentence Topics, while the reflexive pronouns were Discourse Topics, the topicalized objects receive linear priority.[261] The

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[260] It may be prudent to reiterate that the personal-animacy hierarchy is a meta-hierarchy that subsumes multiple sub-hierarchies, some of which simple binaries, i.e. an entity has or does not have the property. As such, even though *legatus* and a pronoun can be equally animate, these two entities can still occupy different positions on the personal-animacy hierarchy because of distinctions in other hierarchies such as agency or individuation.

[261] We encountered this in the nominal examples as well (see above example (34)) with the same result: The more localized Sentence Topic takes precedence over the higher-level Discourse Topic. The relative ordering of constituents within the Topic domain invokes a different aspect of the familiarity hierarchy, proximity, which entails distinguishing between discourse levels and identifying which Topic functions at which level. Remember that—just as "dominance hierarchies" is an umbrella term encompassing multiple specific hierarchies, e.g. personal and semantic role—what we refer to as the "familiarity hierarchy" is really an array of individual scalar relationships that broadly express the speaker's personal involvement in the states of affairs. This includes not only givenness and saliency, which we might call propositional or information-packaging properties, but also accessibility and proximity (linear, physical, temporal, etc.).

order of the nuclear arguments in the third example is somewhat exaggerated both because the topicalized object pronoun is drawn to the preceding participial Setting phrase and because the subject does not function as Topic, but it has an OS order nonetheless.

Third, even though they do occur as the second constituent in their cola, none of the OS *sese* examples is obviously clitic.[262] The colon-first constituents are all multi-word phrases, which are susceptible to discontinuity, but the pronoun *sese* avoids breaking into the initial constituent's domain.[263] Insofar as they follow constituents that have raised left into specific pragmatic slots (i.e. Sentence Topic and Narrow Focus), these examples of *sese* seem to pattern similar to the nominal subjects above.

Finally, the weak topicality of the pronominal subjects also raises the question of their specific form, namely reduplicated *sese*. Given that the reflexive pronouns in two cases were weakly topical and in the third only notionally so, one would expect them to be represented by zero-anaphora in a hypothetical direct speech (e.g. \**transieram Rhenum non mea sponte sed rogatus et accersitus a Gallis*). The general lack of pragmatic features stands somewhat at odds

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[262] In this regard, *sese* seems to function more like the nominal subjects than the pronominal subject *se* in the following section. In examples (51) and (52) *sese* is in the first colon of the clause following the Topic constituents *legatum e suis* and *transisse Rhenum*, respectively. However, *sese* is the second constituent in the second colon in example (53) (following the Narrow Focus), if we analyze as such: *id silentio noctis conati | non magna iactura suorum sese | effecturos sperabant*. One could also take *sese* as the first constituent of the final colon. It is interesting to speculate on whether the alternate reading *se* in β is evidence for the scribe's implicit colon analysis: that is, could *suorum se* suggest the pronoun was taken as part of the preceding colon and the form changed accordingly? None of this should be construed as a definitive argument concerning the prosody of these instances of *sese*.

[263] In our data set there were no examples of *sese* causing object hyperbaton, while there were seven instances of *se* doing so (see Table 8 above). There is, however, one instance where *sese* causes hyperbaton of an adjunct phrase: *multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum* (*Gal.* 1.44.12). We have not formally dealt with the 17 object hyperbaton examples. It is likely that the pragmatic and semantic status of discontinuous constituent more generally is a factor in whether discontinuity is allowed.

with the traditional view of *sese* as an emphatic form of *se*.[264] Instead, perhaps it is the desire to maintain intact pragmatic domains, whether Topic or Focus, that prompts the use of *sese* over *se*. However, as we will see in the following section, the cliticization of *se* is by no means obligatory.

### 3.4 Subject-*Se* in SO: Nominal Objects

As we move into the subject-*se* examples, prosodic considerations will need to play a larger role (i.e. cliticization). Although more salient for the corresponding OS examples below, sections 3.5 Subject-*Se* in OS: Nominal Objects and 3.7 Subject-*Se* in OS: Pronominal Objects, it is worthwhile to consider prosody's role in the SO examples as well, both with nominal and pronominal objects, if only as a counterpoint to the OS cases later.

Clitics were briefly discussed above in Chapter 1, but certain points bear repeating. First, the following assumes Latin does indeed have orthographically identical but phonologically distinct clitic and non-clitic pronouns (*pace* Spevak (2010)).[265] Next, there are multiple cola, and thus multiple second positions, within a clause (Fraenkel (1932), (1933), (1965)), and Latin clitics can occur later than second position—however we define it—given a suitably marked host word (Adams (1994a), (1994b)).[266] Furthermore, the serial ordering of *se* may allow for multiple explanations, especially since we are dealing with an embedded construction in which various predication domains interact. The pronoun domain could be limited to the subordinate AcI

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[264] Emphasis in this context is not the term of art as used in pragmatic accounts of Latin word order (e.g. Spevak (2010) 47–48 and Pinkster *OLS* 2, 862–865; see also Pinkster *OLS* 1, 1129–1133); instead it is construed quite broadly, and tends to boil down to "pragmatically marked in some way."

[265] *Supra* n. 100.

[266] *Supra* ns. 91–92.

clause, or it could be the larger matrix clause, and this factor will affect what serial position an unstressed pronoun occupies.[267]

For instance, take the *quod* clause in the following example:

54)     …quod *plus* <u>se</u> quam imperatorem de victoria atque exitu rerum **sentire** existimarent.

        …because they thought that they knew more than the general about victory and the outcome of events. (*Gal.* 7.52.3)

Here we have an AcI clause inside of a causal *quod* clause. The accusative subject occurs in second position if its domain is the AcI, or in third position if the full *quod* clause is the domain. But there are other positions available for *se* as well, so why does it follow *plus*? It could have occurred further right, following the larger *plus quam* constituent (cf. (65) below) or the *de-* phrase; alternatively, it could have raised into contact with the conjunction, which would have resulted in an SO order. Furthermore, we need to consider whether the pronoun's position is due to phonological inversion (i.e. *se plus quam > plus=se quam*), whether the pronoun was placed in this position directly, or whether the material preceding the pronoun has moved ahead of it independently, perhaps for pragmatic reasons.[268] The latter options, importantly, are agnostic on the question of the phonology of *se*, and one or the other may be operative in different circumstances. Hyperbaton could suggest inversion or clisis to an extent, but the preceding

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[267] Devine and Stephens (2006) 284.

[268] The equal sign is used to denote phonetic dependence, i.e. cliticization. The lexical categorization of clitics as well as the relationship between their syntax and phonology is far from settled, and we will not wade into the larger debate. For more, see n. 87, as well as Spevak (2006), Fortson (2008), and Probert (2019). Note that phonological inversion means that the OS surface order represents at the level of syntax an SO order. This would be quite separate from instances in which the object or other argument has topicalized. Also worth restating is that Classical Latin grammar requires the use of a subject pronoun in AcI clauses even when the subject of the subordinate infinitive is coreferential with that of the matrix verb. But, to paraphrase Peter Venkman, this is more of a guideline than a rule; Caesar himself has instances where he drops the pronominal subject in AcI clauses (e.g. *Gal.* 1.14.4, 1.14.6). See Damon (2010) 110 for dropped subject pronouns in the *Bellum Civile*.

material just as easily could have moved left as, for example, we have seen with forms of *multus* and *magnus*. In this specific instance, the position of *se* inside the larger *plus quam* constituent suggests that the pronoun's domain is restricted to the AcI clause, and yet we may ultimately be unable in every circumstance to determine whether *se* has fully cliticized given that Latin orthography does not distinguish between tonic and enclitic forms of the pronoun.

Fortunately, our set of subject-*se* examples offers the opportunity to explore these issues incrementally. By starting with tonic nominal objects we will be able to investigate the position of *se* without overcomplicating matters by having another potentially clitic element in the mix. In sections 3.6 Subject-*Se* in SO: Pronominal Objects and 3.7 Subject-*Se* in OS: Pronominal Objects we will eventually turn to the examples with two pronominal arguments. With these things in mind, let us look at the 12 examples where the pronominal subject *se* occurs before a nominal object.

As we might expect given the previous examples, the majority of the pronominal referents in our subject-*se* SO examples are important dramatis personae (i.e. high-animacy, individuated entities) or their respective groups as a whole (e.g. Helvetii). There are, however, a few that are less so. Though they ultimately are humans, these referents are, on the one hand, a subgroup of an unindividuated group of soldiers (i.e. *qui…ex his*) and, on the other, the residents of various towns of the Bituriges, to which the two most immediate references are the substantives *omnes* and *omnium*.

The objects are mostly abstract or inanimate nouns, e.g. *rationem*, the two exceptions being *hostem* and *obsides*, both of which could be agentive. The former, however, though singular functions as an unindividuated, collective noun (i.e. the enemy *en masse*, not an individual),

which puts it lower on the personal-animacy hierarchy. As to the latter, it is also a collective

noun, and given the larger context of pacification and the culturally common practice of

exchanging hostages, it is likely that the "default" semantic role of *obsides* is Patient (i.e. the thing

given) rather than Agent; in other words, if two participants are involved in an exchanging event,

and one of the participants is *obsides*, it will naturally be construed as the second argument

(object). Moreover, in many cases, particularly when dealing with a future state of affairs, *obsides*

will not be a true referring expression and the inherent agency will decrease accordingly: that is,

in a future state of affairs, *obsides* can only refer to a hypothetical set of entities, the identities of

whom must be filled in later, and not to a distinct set of entities—i.e. the ones *actually* chosen as

hostages.[269]

The semantic statuses of the pronominal referents and object entities in the *se* examples

largely follow that of the *sese* examples: that is, in AcI with transitive SoAs Caesar continues to

pair animate, agentive entities with inanimate, non-agentive ones, the former functioning as

subjects and the latter as objects. In other words, entities with lower-ranked semantic roles are

barred from subject positions when another entity with a higher role is also an event participant.

The subject pronouns also behave similarly to the *sese* examples above in that the

pronouns themselves rarely (re)introduce an entity into the discourse or bear contrast (for

exceptions, see below), and as such, from a discourse-pragmatic perspective, they would likely

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[269] The role of *obsides* in these situations seems to be such that Caesar can postpone or omit a subject pronoun in an AcI without causing grammatical confusion. *Hostes…ad Caesarem legatos de pace miserunt; obsides daturos quaeque imperasset sese facturos polliciti sunt*. (*Gal.* 4.27.1). α MS omits *sese* and reads *facturos esse*. Rice Holmes' 1914 edition of *Gal.* prints *obsides sese daturos*. Whether we use the reading of α or β, putting *sese* after *obsides* produces the wrong pragmatic meaning; either we assume a topicalized *obsides*, which fails because Topicalization here would imply a contrast with some other entity that will *not* be given, or a *sese* that is breaking up the Broad Focus domain, which *sese* tended not to do in our examples above.

represent zero anaphora in direct speech more often than not. However, *se* diverges from its duplicated counterpart in a couple of ways as well, including the position of the matrix verb and the position of the subject pronoun itself. The former is somewhat beyond the scope of this work, but, nevertheless, it relates to the latter in interesting ways.

First, in six of the twelve *se* examples the AcI clause immediately precedes the matrix verb ("M"), which highlights the status of the AcI as an argument clause and makes conspicuous the presence of the superordinate domain. In such cases, the matrix verb tends to be tacked on to a clause-final OV (i.e. [[SOV]M]), such that the AcI argument clause occurs in the same position relative to the matrix verb as the object does to the internal verb, although the reverse order, M>AcI, is also possible.[270] These matrix verbs also tend to govern only a single infinitive (or a closely coordinated pair) and not a series of them. We will call these "short-range" matrix verbs. Four of these occur within subordinate *quod* clauses (e.g. (55)a), but the others are all main clauses (e.g. (55)b) (the respective domains are shown with hard brackets).

55)     a. …[quod [se̲ suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis *bellum* **gesturos**] dicebant].

Because they said that they would make war on the Romans on their own account and of their free will. (*Gal.* 7.75.5)

b. # [[se̲ suis copiis suoque exercitu illis *regna* **conciliaturum**] confirmat].

He assures them that he will acquire royal authority for them with his own troops and his own army. (*Gal.* 1.3.7)

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[270] There is one instance of *se* with M>AcI order: *quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum* (*Gal.* 1.36.6). This would be classified as a short-range matrix verb, but it is somewhat unclear how one should parse the respective domains because Ariovistus is directly quoting Caesar from the previous section (1.35.4). Given this fact and the deictic slippage (i.e. *sibi*=Ariovistus; *se*=Caesar), it could easily be that the AcI here is frozen in its original form and there is not a meaningful distinction between the AcI domain and that of the matrix verb.

For comparison, none of the twelve *sese* examples were in *quod* clauses and only four had short-range matrix verbs, two preceding the AcI and two following it; instead, most were governed by an initial, and distant, matrix verb, which we will label a "long-range" matrix verb.[271] Importantly, the proximity of the matrix verb reinforces the presence of two interacting domains, which makes the position of the subject pronouns interesting. This brings us to the second way that *se* differs from *sese*—subject position—which is more pertinent to the linear ordering within the AcI clauses themselves.

The second area of divergence is specifically the frequency with which *se*, in the SO orders, occurs in initial position. Based on our data set, *se* seems to have a less pronounced preference for clause- or colon-initial position than *sese*—especially for absolute initial position[272]—even if we discount correlative adverbs and conjunctions for purposes of initial position. In the twelve SO examples, *sese* has absolute initial position seven times following a punctuated pause or stop, that is, after a stronger syntactic and prosodic break, and colon-initial position one other time after a matrix construction (*Caesarem certiorem faciunt | sese* (*Gal.* 1.11.4)). *Se*, on the other hand, in the same number of examples occurs in absolute initial position only twice and possibly once in colon-initial position after a matrix verb.[273] In both of the

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[271] Long-range matrix verbs also tend to be separated from their governed AcIs by hard punctuation, such that the matrix domain never really interacts with any of the subsequent AcI domains, even the first. See, for example, the speech of Ariovistus at *Gal.* 1.36 (*ad haec Ariovistus respondit: ius esse belli* [+18 OCT lines]) or Diviciacus' speech at *Gal.* 1.31.3–16 (*locutus est pro his Diviciacus Aeduus: Galliae totius factiones esse duas* [+49 OCT lines]). However, long stretches of indirect speech have their own issues. For example, as the matrix construction falls into the background, clauses can begin to "take the forms characteristic of Free Indirect Speech" (Dik *TFG* 2, 420). For features of free indirect speech, see Sharvit (2008). Cf. Vatri (2017) for criticisms of some of the typical features of free indirect speech.

[272] Absolute initial position is important to distinguish from colon- or even clause-initial insofar as in absolute initial position there would be no host word for *se*. It could, however, still lean right as a proclitic. See Fortson (2008).

[273] The number depends, again, on how we parse the respective domains in *quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum* (*Gal.* 1.36.6). See above, n. 270.

absolute initial cases *se* is a contrastive Topic and marks a subject change as well as a change in Topic. Moreover, *se* exhausts the topical material, and the Narrow Focus domains begin immediately after it (*suis copiis suoque exercitu*; *dimissurum*):

56)     (=55)…plurimum Helvetii possent; <u>se</u> suis copiis suoque exercitu illis *regna* **conciliaturum** confirmat (*sc.* Orgetorix).

        …the Helvetii were the strongest; he (Orgetorix) assures them that he will acquire the royal authority for them with his own troops and his own army. (*Gal.* 1.3.7)

57)     Quin etiam Caesar cum in opere singulas legiones appellaret, et si acerbius inopiam ferrent, <u>se</u> **dimissurum** *oppugnationem* diceret, universi ab eo ne id faceret petebant.

        Indeed, when Caesar addressed his legions one at a time as they worked, and said that, if they felt the scarcity too acutely, he would lift the siege, they unanimously begged him not to do it. (*Gal.* 7.17.4)

Adding in the four cases where *se* immediately follows a correlative adverb (*non se* 1×; *nec minus se* 1×) or a subordinating conjunction (*quod se* 2×), which may be acting as a host word for *se*,[274] we are still left with a subject-*se* that has initial position only six of twelve times (50%) compared to *sese* which, if we add the two examples with a correlative adverb, has initial position ten of twelve times (83%).

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[274] There is an ongoing debate about whether subordinating conjunctions properly function as clause -initial elements and how they interact, syntactically and prosodically, with the domain of the subordinated clause. For instance, subject pronouns in English can phonologically reduce after a conjunction under certain pragmatic conditions: *because 'e went home* vs. *because he went home*, the departure being the salient element in the former and the identity of the departed the salient element in the latter. In our examples with *quod*, the *se* domain does not strictly speaking include the conjunction since the AcI is syntactically subordinate to the verb of the *quod* clause. However, as Devine and Stephens (2009) 277–292 show, it is common for weak pronouns in Latin to raise into contact with conjunctions if there is no suitable host (e.g. *quod sibi* in the previous note), even if they have to raise out of their direct domain to do so. The majority of their examples are dative pronouns (esp. ethical datives), that is, adjuncts that are structurally and syntactically different from core nuclear arguments. It is not clear whether we should apply their findings to subject accusatives in AcI clauses which, as nuclear arguments, "can more easily occupy the same serial (but not structural) position as their lexical counterparts" (281). Importantly, phonological inversion would not be the motivating mechanism in cases where the weak pronoun followed the conjunction; instead, the pronoun is left-adjoined to the AcI clause.

What, then, displaces *se* from initial position in the five remaining examples and where does *se* ultimately land? The familiar process of Topicalization accounts for two of the five. Note, though, that since we are still dealing with the SO examples the topicalized constituents in these cases are not the objects as has been the case in previous examples. In (58), the dative argument *Aeduis* topicalizes, marking a change in Topic (cf. *obsides quos haberet ab Aeduis redderet* (*Gal.* 1.35.3)), and in (59) the position of the anaphoric prepositional phrase *in eam rem* serves as a tail-head linking device. In both examples, *se* is a weakly marked Discourse Topic and follows the fronted Sentence Topic.

58)     …Aeduis <u>se</u> *obsides* **redditurum non esse**, neque his neque eorum sociis iniuria bellum inlaturum.

        …[that] to the Aedui, he was not going to give back the hostages, but neither would he wrongfully make war upon them or their allies. (*Gal.* 1.36.5)

59)     …ipsi (*sc.* Titurio) vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem <u>se</u> (*sc.* Ambiorix) *suam fidem* **interponere**.

        …[that] to him (Titurius) himself, certainly, no harm would come, and to this matter he (Ambiorix) pledged his faith. (*Gal.* 5.36.2)

The first has negative polarity Focus—i.e. the speaker negates the truth value of the proposition "Ariovistus will return the hostages to the Aedui." The larger Topic domain contains both *Aeduis* (SentTop) and *se* (DiscTop) and possibly even *obsides redditurum* as well, the meaning being something like "as to him returning the hostages to the Aedui, it was *not* going to happen." In the second example the DiscTop *se* forms the right edge of the larger Topic domain, with the anaphoric phrase moving into the clause-initial SentTop slot, and there is Broad Focus on the OV. Neither the fronted dative nor the prepositional phrase affects the SOV serial ordering. Had there been no topicalized element, *se* might have remained in clause-initial position as it does in (56) (*se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat*).

As with many of the OS-ordered examples we have looked at previously, the position of *se* in both cases is due to the leftward movement of a topicalized element rather than the rightward movement of the subject pronoun, which is an important observation insofar as we care about the prosodic realization of *se*, both here and in the following cases where *se* causes discontinuity of a clause-initial domain. The next question, then, is can movement of a constituent (pragmatic or otherwise) be sufficient to cause the cliticization of *se*? The answer to this question is likely no. As Fortson (2008) notes, fronted elements often project their own prosodic domains and resist "uniting prosodically with a preceding or following word." In other words, we would expect topicalized constituents to be followed by a prosodic break, that is, a boundary "at or across which phonological rules applying within each neighboring domain do not apply."[275] However, in the final three examples *se* intrudes into a clause-initial domain, which seemingly contradicts the fronted domain demarcation principle. It may be that only certain types of fronting, e.g. Topicalization, or, alternatively, only certain types of fronted constituents, e.g. single-word, result in a strongly demarcated prosodic domain.

In these last three examples where *se* is displaced from initial position, *se* seems more likely to be functioning as a clitic given that it splits a semantic or pragmatic domain. In the first, *se* intrudes into the Narrow Focus domain, which is comprised of two adverbs:

60)      Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur, quodque tam diu <u>se</u> impune *iniurias* **tulisse** admirarentur, eodem pertinere.

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[275] Fortson (2008) 5, 10 with additional citations. As cross-linguistic evidence Fortson (2008) 108 points out that "[f]ronting blocks sandhi phenomena and other phrase-internal phonological processes in many languages." See also, Nespor and Vogel (1986). Presumably this fact also applies to elements undergoing wh-movement and to certain function words (e.g. conjunctions). However, function words also tend to unite prosodically with adjacent lexical items (Fortson (2008) 22), so it is perhaps the pragmatics that creates the phrase boundary rather than the movement as such.

[that] as to the fact that they so arrogantly gloated in their own victory, and the fact that they were amazed that they had committed wrongs with impunity for so long, it tended to the same point. (*Gal.* 1.14.4)

The position of *se* here is fairly uncomplicated if we assume it has cliticized to the first half of the Narrow Focus domain in a Focus-first structure, that is, the adverbial *tam diu…impune* is the only constituent to raise to a pragmatic function slot.[276] A comparison of the position of *se* in (60) with the position of *se* in (54) and (55) above illustrates the different ordering outcomes for Topic and non-Topic pronouns. In (54), another Focus-first construction, the accusative object *plus* functions as *tam diu* does in (60) (*quod plus se quam imperatorem*), that is, it tells us that the conjunction *quod* is outside of the scope of the AcI. In (55), on the other hand, *se* was in a Topic slot and raised into contact with the conjunction immediately preceding the Narrow Focus (*quod se suo nomine atque arbitrio*).

The final two cases lack subordinating conjunctions, and yet they bear an obvious similarity to the previous example. Here, instead of an adverbial element, the pronoun splits an initial idiomatic VO (*daturum operam* and *habere rationem*). We are grouping these two together because idioms tend to form tighter phonological domains than non-idiomatic object-verb pairs—an impoverished semantic structure leads to an impoverished prosodic one[277]—and yet *se* still causes domain discontinuity. In his discussion of violations of Luch's Law in Plautine meter (i.e. instances in which the second-to-last foot in the line *can* be filled by an iambic word-end), Fortson draws special attention to the fact that a number of the proposed violations involve

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[276] The following sentence nominalizes this Focus as *secundiores res et diuturniorem impunitatem* (see, ns. 166 and 292).

[277] Fortson (2008) 40–43, 263–267.

idiomatic phrases, specifically *dabo operam* and *habe animum*, both of which are relevant to our examples here.[278]

61) hunc (*sc.* Brutum) monet, ut in omnes partes equites quam latissime pervagentur; **daturum** <u>se</u> *operam* ne longius triduo a castris absit.

He advises this man (Brutus) that the cavalry should range as widely as possible in all directions; (saying) that he would try not to be gone from camp for more than three days. (*Gal.* 7.9.2)

62) Quibus (*sc.* Gallis) quoniam pro pietate satisfecerit, **habere** nunc <u>se</u> *rationem offici* pro beneficiis Caesaris.

Since he had made good to them (Gauls) on account of *pietas*, he was now paying regard to his duty for the kindnesses of Caesar. (*Gal.* 5.27.7)

For *dare operam* VO is the more common order both in Caesar and in Classical Latin generally.[279] Moreover, since *daturum* alone neither has Topic nor Focus function, it is unlikely that the participle has moved left ahead of the pronominal subject. Given that the pragmatic weight here is concentrated in the *ne* clause, the cliticization of the weak pronoun *se* to the first member of the VO pair seems the most likely explanation. However, *habere rationem*, at least in Caesar, is primarily OV (10 of 12) with the objective genitive most often preceding the pair.[280] In both of the VO cases, again the only two such cases in Caesar's corpus (cf. *Civ.* 1.13.1), we have a mirrored order of the norm, i.e. V>O>gen instead of gen>O>V, which maintains continuity of

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[278] Fortson (2008) 40. He writes explicitly that "[c]learly fixed idioms such as *dabo operam*, *habe animum* (*bonum*) formed tight phonological phrases." However, the complexity of a constituent may impact how tightly the domain coheres—that is, the domain of a more hierarchically complex phrase may be functionally looser than a simpler one (Fortson (2008) 10). See also, Devine and Stephens (1994).

[279] See Spevak (2010) 125–131, who looks at the ordering patterns of various verbonominal constructions. In her data set, *dare operam* presented in VO order 76% (n=20) of the time. Though contiguity of the words is most common, two examples of VO and two examples OV were separated.

[280] The figures above include both active and passive forms (i.e. *rationem habere* and *ratio haberi*) and all related meanings of the phrase (cf. *OLD* ad loc. 1b "to make a calculation, keep count," 8b "take account of, pay regard to," 8c "take official account of a candidate for office.").

the primary semantic unit (noun+gen). More importantly, though, in both VO examples the objective genitive has Narrow Focus—in our example *offici* is contrastive as well. So, the position of *habere rationem* may have multiple motivations. On the one hand, the idiom, or part of it at least, may be topicalized, connecting to the previous clause via *satisfecerit* and forming a pragmatic chiastic structure of sorts (A[*pro pietate*] B[*satisfecerit*], B[*habere rationem*] A[*offici*]).[281] On the other hand, the leftward movement of the object and verb nicely reduces the material within the Focus domain to mark the Narrow Focus on *offici*. Both, however, can be true: that is, *habere rationem* can have raised ahead of the genitive into the Topic slot and *offici* can have raised into the NFoc slot. Unlike other instances of VP topicalization that we have seen, this time the domain is broken, not only by the weak pronoun *se*, but by the temporal adverb *nunc* as well. Simplex *nunc* is not generally considered a clitic (note, however, univerbated *etiamnunc*) so it is better to assume that *habere* has moved ahead of the adverb; but since *habere* itself can be prosodically weak and is cross-linguistically a verb prone to cliticization, it could lean right and form a prosodic unit with *nunc* to which *se* could cliticize.[282] This approach has the added benefit of explaining quite well the position *pro beneficiis Caesaris*, which as old information (*pro Caesaris in se beneficiis* at *Gal.* 5.27.2) is relegated to the presupposed material.

Altogether, these 12 subject-*se* SO examples offer an interesting counterpoint to our other SO-ordered data sets. Although these examples had an SO linear order for the primary arguments, there were still a number of examples where the subject pronoun was not in initial position. *Se* arrived in this position by different means. On the one hand, non-object constituents

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[281] See Devine and Stephens (2009) 242–249, who offer a pragmatically motivated explanation for chiasmus.

[282] Importantly, this need not have been the case. As we will see in the following section, *se* can and does follow multiple types of complex fronted constituents without causing domain discontinuity.

can topicalize and move left ahead of the subject without disrupting the SO order of the nuclear arguments. In this scenario, the position of *se* is due more to the pragmatic status of the surrounding constituents than its own. On the other hand, *se* can also split domains; here, *se* lacks a pragmatic function and looks more like a clitic which has attached to the first member of the first pragmatically marked unit. The less pronounced preference for initial position is a unique feature of the examples with subject *se*, meaning that in our AcI data set *se* is less often pragmatically significant than *sese* or nominal subjects.

### 3.5 Subject-*Se* in OS: Nominal Objects

We turn now to the six OS-ordered examples with subject *se*. The subject position is more varied than in other data sets, but, as we will see, the positions are still motivated by the pragmatic movement rules we have invoked up to this point to explain the OS linear orders, that is, object Topicalization and Focus raising; the subject is either in the DiscTop slot on the right edge of the Topic domain or is unmarked and left in the base VP. Part of the reason that *se* seems more mobile in these examples is that the object constituents range in type and complexity from simple unmodified nouns to noun-adjective pairs and finally to nouns with dependent genitives. As such, we find *se* in second position, but also third, sixth, and eighth(!). And yet, *se* does not break the domain integrity of the object NPs, even the more complex ones, and it is important to investigate why. As we will see, a mix of prosodic and semantic features of the object NPs may promote domain cohesion and discourage clisis, but the pragmatic weight of the subject pronoun may also have a role to play.

Domain considerations will be a factor at the clausal level as well. The majority of these OS examples exhibit a preference similar to the SO examples above for short-range matrix verbs

in clause-final position. As such, how one delineates the domains can also affect the serial position of *se*.

In the following, we will be dealing with the implications of the fact that Latin lacks separate lexical items for clitic and non-clitic forms of the pronouns. In a situation with an object that consists of a single lexical item (e.g. the first pair of examples below), the N>PN order could involve either a clitic or a non-clitic form of the pronoun. With a situation involving a pronoun and an object NP that is composed of more than one lexical item (e.g. the noun-adjective and noun-genitive pairs), hyperbaton could give a clearer sign of the pronoun being a clitic. However, this path is closed to us since the pronouns in our examples all follow the complex constituent, so we end up in an aporetic situation similar to the two-word case. In a way, we are faced with a Schrödinger's pronoun, and the only way to know its status would be to look inside the prosodic box, which, of course, we cannot do for an ancient language. A possible albeit imperfect alternative may be to turn to pragmatics insofar as pragmatic function and cliticization often negatively correlate—in other words, pragmatically marked constituents tend not to cliticize.

We will begin with the two simpler examples where an unmodified nominal object topicalizes before moving on to the cases involving a more complex object constituent. These two examples are comparable to the two examples of Topicalization in SO order from the previous section (e.g. (58)) as well as the numerous other cases we have seen. In both, the non-contrastive Discourse Topic *se* follows the Sentence Topic, which has topicalized to initial position.

63)    a. Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset dum milites quos imperaverat convenirent, legatis respondit *diem* s̲e̲ ad deliberandum **sumpturum**: si quid vellent, ad Id. April. reverterentur.

Nevertheless, so that a period of time could intervene until the soldiers that he had ordered could gather, he responded to the legates that he would take time to deliberate. If they wanted something, they should return on the day before the Ides of April. (*Gal.* 1.7.6)

b. monet (*sc.* Caesar) ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; *praeterita* <u>se</u> Diviciaco fratri **condonare** dicit.

He (Caesar) warns him to avoid every suspicion in the future; the past, he says, he pardons on behalf of Diviciacus, his brother. (*Gal.* 1.20.6)[283]

*Diem* is a SubTopic inferable from *spatium* in the *ut* clause, and it is selected as Sentence Topic in the embedded predication as we can see from its position at the head of the AcI domain. In the second passage, the accusative object *praeterita*—contrastive with *reliquum tempus* in the previous clause—is selected as Sentence Topic, which likewise licenses its movement to initial position. The subject pronouns, however, still function as Discourse Topics, meaning that they have moved from the base VP into their respective Topic slots, ahead of the Focus domains, to form the right border of the Topic domain. The prosody of *se* in such cases is uncertain, and it may be that the outcome of this pragmatic tug of war is the phonetic weakening of *se*, allowing its cliticization (*diem=se*). On the other hand, it could be that the prosodic domain projected by the fronted constituent or the pragmatic weight of the DiscTop function—or a mix of both—could be sufficient to block cliticization.

In the first example, the Narrow Focus *ad deliberandum*, which seems to have an inherent contrast with Caesar's true motives, i.e. deception, occurs in the expected preverbal NFoc slot.[284] As readers we know, because he tells us explicitly in the preceding *ut* clause, that his aim is to

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[283] See also Pinkster *OLS* 1, 1192–1193 and Pinkster *OLS* 2, 1042 who references this passage in his discussion of the dative as second argument.

[284] Purpose constructions, especially *ad* + gerund(*ive*), are often good candidates for Focus function. Cf. e.g. Panhuis (1982).

stall until his new troops can assemble, but he tells the delegation that the time was *for deliberating*.[285] In the second example, the verb and Beneficiary adjunct (*Diviciaco fratri condonare*) have Focus; the QUD would be "What is Caesar doing about his (Dumnorix's) past?" The upshot for our purposes is that *se* is not forced mechanically into second position; rather we can motivate its position (and possible phonological reduction or cliticization) by noting the interplay of the pragmatic functions of the constituents.

The accusative objects in (63)a and (63)b were single lexical items, but, interestingly, we also find OS orders with objects consisting of noun-adjective and noun-genitive phrases. This situation deserves attention precisely because it is the environment where we would expect clitic pronouns to show their "clitic-ness" most easily and breach the domain integrity of the object constituents, as was the case in the two V-*se*-O examples in the previous section. That the subject pronouns here tend not to breach the larger object NP domains is additional evidence that the OS order is motivated by leftward-moving constituents rather than a phonological rule or a floating pronoun. We will look at a couple of those here.

The first example involves a topicalized VP, similar to *transisse Rhenum* in (51). More specifically, the object NP topicalizes and drags the semantically weak verb with it. This

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[285] A curious phenomenon seems to occur here, similar to the one noted in (34) above. There the anaphoric nature of *id* seemed out of place in the inner dialogue taking place between Caesar and his scouts. In (63), *diem* should only be able to function as a SubTopic, inferable from *spatium*, at the monologic level of discourse, i.e. between Caesar-as-narrator and the external reader. Between Caesar and the Helvetian delegation, to whom Caesar presumably did not divulge his true motives, there is no explicit or implicit entity from which *diem* is inferable. So, with this in mind we can question how closely the reported speech in the AcI mimics the hypothetical direct speech. Alternatively, it could be that the same proposition gives rise to two different pragmatic analyses: one for the reader and one for internal addressees. In other words, a SubTopic analysis is only available to the reader because she in fact has the preceding text in which she learns Caesar's true motives and from which *diem* can be inferred; the Helvetians, on the other hand, have no reason to interpret this as anything but a Broad Focus response to their question "Will you let us pass?" Moreover, our explanation for the position of *se* differs depending on which of these two pragmatic analyses is operative: Broad Focus privileges phonological inversion, which is incompatible with *diem* as SubTopic.

Topicalization leaves the Narrow Focus in postverbal position, again just as the Topicalization of *transisse Rhenum* left the correlative *non…sed* phrase in postverbal position.[286] The difference, however, is the placement of the subject pronoun.[287]

64)     Postero die Vercingetorix consilio convocato *id bellum* se **suscepisse** non suarum
        necessitatum sed communis libertatis causa demonstrat.

        et bellum suscepisse se *β*

        Having called a council on the following day, Vercingetorix shows that he undertook the
        war not for the sake of his own interests but for common liberty. (*Gal.* 7.89.1)

In the earlier example, reduplicated *sese* followed the fronted VO unit (*transisse Rhenum sese non…*), splitting the topicalized VP from the focal information[288]; here, the shorter form *se* breaks into the larger OV domain, but not into the smaller adjective-noun domain of the object constituent. The reason we do not see NP hyperbaton here, e.g. \**id se bellum suscepisse*, has to do with domains and constituency. First, *id* is not an anaphoric referring expression in itself; instead, it relies on the head noun *bellum* for its meaning—in effect, it is closer to an article than a demonstrative adjective. In other words, *id* alone could not topicalize because it has no

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[286] Note, however, that it is postverbal in relation to the infinitive, not the matrix verb. Based on this common short-range matrix verb pattern, i.e. [[SOV] M], if the VP of the AcI domain raises to Topic position, the NFoc slot would become preverbal in relation to the M, exactly as it is here. In *principatum tenere* the nominal half of the VP topicalized, and in *transisse Rhenum* the verb topicalized. It is possible that the alternate MS reading *bellum suscepisse se* represents not just dittography but the maintenance of a semantic and pragmatic domain.

[287] We could also add that in AcI clauses, particularly those with pronominal subjects, the transformation from direct to indirect speech potentially introduces a new lexical constituent into the mix that would not have been present in the hypothetical direct speech counterpart: the accusative subject. In other words, while the linguistic accouterments of the other constituents *may* have been influenced by what our internal narrator "heard" from his interlocutors (e.g. Vercingetorix, legates, or scouts), the placement of this subject constituent is entirely determined by the speech act of our author, Caesar, the one constructing the AcI clause.

[288] One might also note from a purely aesthetic point of view that \**transisse sese Rhenum*, the result of a VSO order in (51), would produce a dissonant series of sibilant sounds.

independent semantic value. Similarly, we can observe[289] that in the rest of the *Bellum Gallicum*

and in the *Bellum Civile* we do not find any instances of hyperbaton with *id* when it is

functioning as a demonstrative adjective, perhaps suggesting that *id* in these cases is proclitic or

at least proclitic-curious; this extra prosodic bond, then, would block *se* from cliticizing to the

first member of the NP.[290] We should not take for granted, though, that *se* would in fact have

cliticized but for a proclitic *id* since it does still function as the DiscTop. Therefore, if *id bellum*

forms not only a semantic domain but also a prosodic phrase or even single prosodic word, and

*se* has a unique pragmatic function—albeit a small one—then the DiscTop *se* is exactly where one

expects based on the previous examples, that is, after the topicalized NP.[291]

Our second example of an object NP with adjective modifiers comes from book 7. Here

the subject pronoun occurs much later in the clause, after a connecting relative phrase (Topic)

and the object NP (Narrow Focus), which consists of a prenominal adjective modifying two

nouns connected by *-que* (i.e. A-N-N-*que*).[292]

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[289] This observation was only made for the form *id*; oblique cases were not investigated. Search was done on Diogenes software, and no final tally of pronominal versus demonstrative adjective uses was made.

[290] Other demonstrative adjectives ultimately become Romance articles, that is, they transition from full content lexical items to function words, so it could also be that adjectival *id* was capable in some circumstances of behaving like a function word (e.g. conjunction, particle, article) instead of a full content lexical item (e.g. adjective, noun, verb), which would make it more likely to have proclitic properties. See Fortson (2008) 22.

[291] At any rate, a colon-initial placement of *se* would, I think, imply some added layer of pragmatic significance. That clisis (if that is indeed what we have here) would be licensed only in certain structural circumstances would not be anomalous cross-linguistically. In fact, this is the situation in English, which generally blocks clisis of *is* if the copula cannot also combine phonetically with a following word: e.g. *Evan is in Baltimore* can become *Evan's in Baltimore*, but *I know where Evan is* cannot become *\*I know where Evan's*. Cf. Fortson (2008) *passim* on proclisis in Plautine Latin and Probert (2019) on Latin proclitics more generally.

[292] The complexity of this object constituent is worth noting as the majority thus far have been non-compound noun phrases and fairly simple ones at that (e.g. *auxilium, cursus, vim hostium*). The only comparable instance is *secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem* (*Gal.* 1.14.5, *supra* Table 7 and n. 166), which is also a preverbal Narrow Focus. The subject *deos immortalis*, however, is both nominal and separated from the object by subordinate relative clauses so there is nothing to delineate the Narrow Focus position.

65)　　dicit (*sc.* Vercingetorix)… perfacile esse factu frumentationibus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere, aequo modo animo sua ipsi frumenta corrumpant aedificiaque incendant, qua rei familiaris iactura *perpetuum imperium libertatemque* <u>se</u> **consequi** videant.

He (Vercingetorix) says…[that] it is quite easy to stop the Romans from foraging or scouring for fodder, provided that they steadfastly ruin their own crops and burn their homes, by which sacrifice of property they would see that they would obtain perpetual command and freedom. (*Gal.* 7.64.2–3)

The connecting relative phrase summarizes the Focus of the previous clause and is the Topic of its own clause. It is followed by the compound object NP, which has Narrow Focus (i.e. [*x* is the goal of our sacrifice]$_{presupposed}$ [*x=perpetuum imperium libertatemque*]$_{asserted}$). In other words, both the adjunct and the object raise to pragmatic function slots: the Means adjunct to the clause-initial SentTop slot and the object to the preverbal Narrow Focus slot. Based on the previous examples, we might have expected a Topic>PN>Focus order, but the subject does not have a unique pragmatic role and is not contrastive, so it remains in the base VP layer with the infinitive. The position of *se* also has the effect of allowing both the Topic and the Focus domains (and their respective syntactic domains) to remain intact, which is important insofar as a different division would have entailed different presuppositions (i.e. changed the pragmatic meaning). Had *se* attached to *perpetuum*, for example, the adjective alone would have contrastive Narrow Focus, which would mean "the type of command and freedom they will get is the perpetual kind (not temporary)," but this is inappropriate here. In other words, pragmatic constituency helps maintain a syntactic constituency by potentially influencing the phonology.[293]

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[293] The scope of the adjective *perpetuum* may also play a role. Note, however, that this contradicts the potential description given above for *sese* in OS orders, viz. that it helped to maintain a pragmatic domain by avoiding cliticization.

We face a similar issue here regarding the prosody of *se* as we did above in the Topicalization cases: that is, what happens when a constituent raises ahead of a potentially clitic pronoun and are all types of raising the same? It could be that the Narrow Focus domain (and *mutatis mutandis* a fronted Topic domain) provides a pragmatically marked host to which the weak pronoun can attach, but a raised Focus could also project a prosodic domain similar to topicalized elements, which would block *se* from cliticizing.[294] Ultimately, we are unable to determine the prosodic realization of *se* in these cases.

In the final two examples the object accusative governs a posthead genitive, and this genitive NP has topicalized ahead of the subject PN *se*. This situation deserves attention because dependent genitives tend to have greater mobility than adjectives, and yet the subject pronouns follow the full noun-genitive phrases rather than causing hyperbaton. In addition to the possibility of a prosodic break after the fronted constituent, which we discussed above, there are also semantic features of the object NPs that promote domain integrity.

66)     Quibus rebus confectis, Caesar ad oppidum Avaricum, quod erat maximum
        munitissimumque in finibus Biturigum…, profectus est, quod eo oppido recepto
        *civitatem Biturigum* <u>se</u> in potestatem **redacturum** confidebat.

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[294] Devine and Stephens (2006) 294–302 argue that weak pronouns will generally raise into contact with a subordinating conjunction (i.e. *quod mihi…*) unless blocked by another factor such as strong (i.e. Narrow) Focus. For example, in the clause *alter ° eam ° legem sibi statuerat ut…* (Cic. *Phil.* 10.12 [295 ex. 205]) the weak pronoun *sibi* ends up in immediately preverbal position, not one of the other possible positions (denoted by the degree sign), because the object has strong focus, which "acts as a barrier to weak pronoun raising" (294). On the one hand, this poses an interesting question for indirect speech insofar as AcI clauses lack explicit conjunctions. On the other hand, we are likely seeing in (65) a similar interaction between the pragmatic function of the object constituent and the pronoun. Devine and Stephens (2006) frame it as a hinderance to movement of the pronominal element by an *in situ* Narrow Focus, but it also seems possible that the pronoun in our example is itself *in situ* and the object has raised to a NFoc slot, which is above the subject position in the base VP and, potentially, creates a host for a weak pronoun. The example at hand may also create a double clitic with the attached *-que*, but it is also possible that the pronoun has been left-adjoined to the verb. Note that these two (i.e. left-adjoining and cliticization) can exist simultaneously—that is, clitics can have prosodic "bridge effects" joining together both preceding and following material (Fortson (2008) 116 and *passim*). See also Agbayani and Golston (2010) on postpositive strings.

> When these things had been accomplished, Caesar set out for the town of Avaricum, which was the greatest and best fortified in the lands of the Bituriges ..., because he was confident that, once this town had been taken back, he would bring the State of the Bituriges under his power. (*Gal.* 7.13.3)

Here, we have another instance where the AcI clause itself is nested inside a subordinate *quod* clause with a clause-final matrix verb (cf. e.g. (54)). *Civitatem Biturigum* is the syntactic object, semantic Patient, and a contrastive SubTopic, inferable both from *in finibus Biturigum* in the main clause and more directly from the preceding ablative absolute through a part-to-whole relationship.[295] *Se* is again a non-contrastive DiscTop, and it precedes the Broad Focus domain, which consists of the infinitive and preceding prepositional phrase.[296] Our initial ablative absolute is a Setting adverbial that, despite its semantic relationship to the state of affairs of the AcI clause, appears to be outside of the domain of the infinitive based on the position of *se*.[297] The question of domains was raised above specifically as it affects what position *se* occupies: If the domain begins after the conjunction, *se* is the third constituent (and sixth word); if it begins before *civitatem*, then it is the second constituent (and third word).

We may still wonder why *se* does not break the object domain, if in fact genitives are more mobile. A possible answer lies in the semantic status of the phrase *civitatem Biturigum*. Instead of functioning as separate lexical items with unique referents, the full NP forms a single

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[295] Note that in the AcI itself the direction of the part-to-whole relationship of the SubTopic is part to whole (city to state), whereas in (34) above the SubTopic's relationship was whole to part: *Helvetii...tris partis copiarum...quartam partem.*

[296] QUD: "What will he do regarding the state of the Bituriges?"

[297] For the use of pronouns for domain identification, see n. 255 above (secondary predicates) and Devine and Stephens (2006) 292–303. Settings often serve as bridges between the preceding and subsequent discourse, specifying time, location, or operative states of affairs for the main clause. Cf. Lambrecht (1994) 125, Givón (2001), Allan (2014), 184. Regardless of whether we render this ablative absolute as a temporal clause, a disguised conditional, or we punt and revert to a textbook *with X having been Yed*, there is both a temporal and logical primacy to the subordinate ablative construction vis-à-vis the matrix verb *confidebat.*

informational unit, i.e. lacks conceptual individuation.[298] We might compare this to the subtle distinction in meaning in English between phrases like *empire of the Incans*, with a posthead genitive, and *Incan empire*, with a prehead adjective. The phrase *empire of the Incans* means that there is an empire and it is run by the Incans, that is, there are two separate concepts, *empire* and *Incans*, either of which can be contrasted with another concept: e.g. *I read about the empire (of the Incans) and the gods of the Incans*. The phrase *Incan empire*, on the other hand, collapses the two concepts into one and makes a single-concept contrast less felicitous, e.g. \**I read about the Incan empire and gods*. In our example above, this conceptual deindividuation creates a tighter semantic domain that pressures the two elements to move in concert rather than the contrastive noun alone. We can compare this to the behavior of *id bellum* in (64), where *id* also lacked an independent semantic value.

This leads us to our next instance, which also involves *se* following a posthead genitive, giving us an OS constituent order and avoiding potential hyperbaton. Similarly, and even more so than the previous, the object NP lacks conceptual individuation. As context, Vercingetorix has been accused of treason (*proditionis insimulatus*) by his men. He employs various Topic marking strategies as he attempts to rebut their four accusations, but it is the third (*sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset*) that interests us here:

67)    ad haec respondit (*sc.* Vercingetorix): quod castra movisset… equitum vero operam… *Summam imperii* <u>se</u> consulto nulli discedentem **tradidisse**, ne is multitudinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur.

He (Vercingetorix) responded to these things: that, as to the fact that he had moved the camp…that surely the function of the calvary… that as he was leaving he had given the

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[298] Devine and Stephens (2006) 388 define conceptual individuation as "the degree to which the genitive plus head combination expresses a single recognizable concept, as opposed to an ad hoc combination of two independent concepts."

chief command to no one on purpose, lest he should be compelled by the zeal of the crowd to fighting. (*Gal.* 7.20.5)

Vercingetorix switches to the third charge by expanding the original noun (*imperio*) into a NP with a posthead genitive (*summam imperii*). Despite the change in mechanism, the clause-initial noun phrase performs the same function as the preceding *quod* clause and the particle *vero*, viz. to mark a switch in Topic.[299] The accusative subject *se* is our DiscTop, and it does not break the domain integrity of the SentTop constituent, which, like *civitatem Biturigum* in the previous example, functions like a single informational unit rather than distinct parts of a whole. Our Narrow Focus constituent is the adverb *consulto*, the only new information in the clause, and the remainder is left in the base VP as presupposed material.[300] Again, Topic selection allows the object constituent to displace the subject pronoun from initial position, and the semantic status of the object constituent ensures its domain integrity.

What, then, do these six examples have in common and are there any conclusions we might draw from them? As to the overarching question of why we have OS order instead of SO, we looked to the previously explored pragmatic movement rules, primarily Topicalization and Focus raising, for help. These were also sufficient to motivate the OS serial orders here. In these subject-*se* examples, the pragmatic function of the object licensed its leftward movement either to clause-initial position as Sentence Topic (e.g. (66) and (67)) or into the preverbal Narrow Focus slot (e.g. (65)). With the topicalized objects, the subject was also marked as DiscTop, which

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[299] The first two original charges were *quod castra prorius Romanos movisset* and *quod cum omni equitatu discessisset*. For *vero* as pragmatic marker more generally, see (34) above.

[300] The *ne* clause expands on the adverb *consulto*, so it may be more accurate to say both form the Focus and that the *ne* constituent occurs after the infinitive because of its length.

meant it raised ahead of the Focus domain, but in the Focus raising example, the OS order is only possible because the subject is pragmatically unmarked and left in the base VP layer.

Pragmatics, however, was not the only feature at work. In three examples with topicalized multi-word object constituents (i.e. (64), (66), and (67)), we also needed to address the fact that *se* did not cause discontinuity of the fronted constituent. There were additional semantic and prosodic features operating both between and within domains that helped maintain the integrity of the fronted constituents. First, we noted the cross-linguistic feature that fronted elements tend to project their own prosodic domains, and that these domains can act as barriers to certain prosodic rules, e.g. sandhi or cliticization. Put another way, this feature exerts a repelling force at the boundaries between domains. Second, the semantic status of the fronted NPs reinforced the domain cohesion of the multi-lexical-item objects. In the case of *id bellum* ((64)), we hypothesized that the demonstrative adjective was operating more like a function word than a full content lexeme, and as such could be proclitic to *bellum*, i.e. form a single prosodic domain, similar to prepositions and their object nouns.[301] The genitive NPs *civitatem Biturigum* ((66)) and *summam imperii* ((67)), on the other hand, are bound through the semantic process of

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[301] Adams (1996) 208; Fortson (2008) 22. See also Spevak (2006), Agbayani and Golston (2010), and Probert (2019). However, note that in *inque eam rem* in (59) the bound clitic attaches to the preposition and not the object noun (but, β reads *in quam*). This may be a function of the prepositional object being a semantically weak A-N rather than a full referential noun. This situation is by far the exception. In Caesar, *-que* attaches to the preposition only nine times, and only certain prepositions at that: *in* (2×), *ex* (1×), *per* (1×), *de* (1×, with textual issues), *circum* (3×), *contra* (1×), *extra* (1×); *sub*, *pro*, *ad*, *post*, *ante*, and *sine* have none. Two caveats are worth mentioning: First, *-que* is the most commonly omitted word in the Caesarian MS tradition (Damon (2015) 110 n. 15); second, editors often cite unusual or difficult prepositional usage, particularly in the *BC*, as evidence for scribal innovation or Caesar's dependence on legate reports—in other words, to question or establish the authenticity of the text (Damon (2015) 109–120). Damon does not believe these sorts of anomalies are likely due to simple scribal error, though she is more agnostic on whether to attribute them to Caesar or "scribal meddling" (111). Critically, a similar issue surrounds the omission of the pronominal subject *se* in AcI clauses: Each individual omission is explainable as an error, but, Damon argues, "cumulatively it makes more sense to say that Caesar sometimes included it and sometimes didn't" (110).

conceptual deindividuation, that is, the individual words form a single informational unit, and this restricts the mobility of the individual lexical items.[302]

Despite the relative orders of the subjects and objects, the infinitives in the subject-*se* OS orders were clause- or domain-final in five of the six examples, both in Broad and Narrow Focus constructions. In the sixth example ((64)), the object and verb topicalized as a semantic unit, which stranded the Narrow Focus *causa* phrase in post-verbal position. Previous OS data sets have shown the same combined tendency for verb-final orders with both Broad and Narrow Foci which can be altered if the verb topicalizes. In other words, except when it has been marked as the Topic, the position of the infinitive is fairly regular regardless of whether it is new or old information.[303]

The OS order with subject-*se* also coincides with a higher percentage of Narrow Foci, which matches the pattern found in the OS orders for subject nominals and *sese* as well. However, in the respective SO examples for nominal subjects and subject-*sese* these proportions flip, and Broad Foci are more common. The subject-*se* SO examples, on the other hand, breakdown proportionally the same as the OS orders, that is, Narrow Foci outnumber Broad Foci. We will continue to find higher percentages of Narrow Foci throughout every subject-*se* subset. Though we do not have sufficient evidence at this point to proffer a substantive justification for this trend, the general pragmatic *in*significance of *se* may have a role to play. We will develop this idea further at the end of this chapter, but, because *se* is often more a grammatical feature than pragmatic choice, the higher percentage of Narrow Foci with *se* may be

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[302] Devine and Stephens (2006) 387–389 and *supra* n. 298.

[303] This matches data from Pinkster *OLS* 2, 1041–1043, see esp. Table 23.7 p. 1043.

indicative of a preference for asymmetric or unbalanced pragmatic structures. However, we will have to wait until more examples have accumulated to develop this idea further.

In the next section, we will begin looking at cases with two pronominal arguments. The data set of SO-ordered examples is smaller than others, but the three examples will still raise interesting points of comparison both to previous data sets and to its corresponding OS data set in §3.7 Subject-*Se* in OS: Pronominal Objects which, as we will see, is the first and only pair of data sets where the OS orders outnumber the SO orders. Moreover, the examples themselves offer an opportunity to contrast an anaphoric and cataphoric pronoun and to dissect another case with a similarly agentive subject and object.

### 3.6 Subject-*Se* in SO: Pronominal Objects

There are surprisingly few examples of a pronominal object with subject *se* in SO order. In fact, we have only three: *id* (2×) and *illum* (1×).[304] In each the subject and object are contiguous, but the three examples are also dissimilar in important ways. Grammatical ambiguity is unlikely in the two *se id* cases given the drastic difference in animacy of the pronominal referents, but both pronominal arguments in the *se illum* example are animate and agentive. With *se illum*, we have an SO order for the nuclear arguments, but the subject is displaced from initial position. In the two *se id* examples, the subject has initial position, but *id* is anaphoric in one case and cataphoric in the other. Anaphoric referents are discourse-bound but cataphoric

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[304] As with our previous data sets, we will leave out the case with the relative pronoun at *Gal.* 1.40.15: *vehementer eos incusavit* (sc. *Caesar*) [38 OCT lines]… *Itaque se quod in longiorem diem conlaturus fuisset repraesentaturum et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut…* ("Caesar rebuked them harshly… And so, he would do immediately what he was going to put off to a later day and he would break camp the following night at the fourth watch, so that…").

referents are not, and yet the anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns occur in similar serial positions, which is puzzling.[305] The relative paucity of examples is all the more interesting given that, as we will see in the next section, there are nine examples in the corresponding OS data set, meaning that this is the first time that the OS ordered examples outnumber—or even come close to—the SO examples. Is there, then, something special about the subject pronouns in these three cases? We will attempt to answer this question by looking at these three examples here.

In the first *se id* example, *se* refers to Ariovistus and *id* refers anaphorically to a preceding *quod* clause. Given this fact, one might expect the anaphoric pronoun to Topicalize, resulting in an OS order. And yet, it does not.

68)     Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset (*sc.* Caesar), <u>seque</u> *id* sine periculo **facere posse** existimare.

existimaret β[306]

Ariovistus sends legates to him: [saying that] the thing he had asked before about a conference, it could now happen, as he saw it, since he had come closer, and he thought that he could do it without danger. (*Gal.* 1.42.1)

*Se* has Sentence Topic function and marks a contrast with and change from the subject of the *quoniam* clause (e.g. because *Caesar* had come closer, *Ariovistus* could do it safely). Because of its limited discourse scope, *id* likely cannot function as a Discourse Topic, but it still raises to a Topic slot ahead of the preverbal Narrow Focus *sine periculo*.

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[305] Despite their different discourse statuses, the referents of both anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns can also be of the same *type* (i.e. complex clausal information).

[306] Unlike previous examples, the alternate MS readings here represent underlying differences in the syntax and meaning of the passage. With the infinitive *existimare*, the verb is coordinated with *fieri licere* and dependent on the matrix construction, *legatos ad eum mittit*. The subjunctive *existimaret*, on the other hand, would continue the subordinate construction of *quoniam* and (critically) change the referent of *se* from Ariovistus to Caesar. This, however, makes no sense as Ariovistus has no concern for Caesar's safety, only his own.

This double Topic structure appears at first glance to be a problem given our earlier discussions of the relative order of elements in the Topic domain, but those examples involved a single propositional domain, while there are multiple propositional domains at play in (68). The larger structure is similar to the various clause-final short-range matrix verbs above except that the clause-final matrix verb is itself within an AcI. The infinitive *existimare* is in the first layer of indirect speech, dependent on the matrix verb implied by *legatos ad eum mittit*. *Facere posse*, on the other hand, is in a second AcI layer initiated by the matrix verb *existimare*. The problem is that we have only one accusative subject. Because the subject changes from the *quoniam* clause, *se* must be construed as the subject of the higher level of discourse, that is, with *existimare*; *id*, however, is governed by *facere* in the second AcI layer. As such, it may be more accurate to say that *se* precedes *id* not merely because it has SentTop function and *id* does not, but because it has SentTop function in a separate and superordinate domain while the topicality of *id* is restricted to a lower domain. In short, there is no difficulty with the existence of two Topics, so long as *se* and *id* can be understood as Topics in the clauses headed by *existimare* and *facere* respectively.

The second *se id* example is quite different from the first, primarily in that the pronominal object is cataphoric and serves as a preparative expression for the contrastive *ne* and *uti* clauses.[307] Since we will run into a few more cataphoric examples below in the OS data, it is important to note that it is not uncommon for subordinate clauses of various types to be anticipated by a preparative expression, and the subordinate clauses can function as subject or

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[307] The term "preparative expression" is taken from Pinkster *OLS* 2, §14.16 and §15.41, with examples and references. The neuter forms of *hic*, *ille*, and *is* are the most common (in that order), but noun phrases and adverbs are also found. These pronouns can occur as determiners in phrases with certain semantic classes of nouns, e.g. *res* (semantically weak) or *mos, opinio, sermo, vel sim.* ("speech act" nouns). Such preparative expressions set up not only *ut* clauses but also AcI, *quod*, *quia*, and *si* clauses (as well as the respective negations).

object clauses or adjuncts of various kinds.[308] In some cases, as in our example here, the preparative expression is syntactically optional, that is, the superordinate verb can govern the specific type of subordinate clause directly; in other cases, though, the role of the subordinate clause is less clear. Finally, such devices are more common in dialogic or interactive texts such as letters, dramatic dialogue, or speeches (both direct and reported). Such cataphoric elements, like *id* in the following passage, seem unlikely candidates for Topicalization because cataphoric elements are by definition not discourse bound.

69)     Ea re impetrata sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes proiecerunt: non minus <u>se</u> *id*
        **contendere** et **laborare** ne ea quae dixissent enuntiarentur quam uti ea quae vellent
        impetrarent.

        When this thing was obtained, they threw themselves weeping at Caesar's feet: [saying
        that] they no less beg and strive for this, that what had been said not be disclosed, as that
        they obtain what they ask for. (*Gal.* 1.31.2)

The nuclear clause structure is fairly minimal, so the only likely viable alternative order would be *non minus id se*, but this could imply Topicalization of a cataphoric pronoun, which if not illicit would certainly be peculiar. Moreover, the preparative expression *id* could be omitted without rendering the larger construction ungrammatical because either of the verbs *contendere* or *laborare* can initiate a purpose clause directly. So, if *id* is neither topical nor even syntactically required, what is it? Precisely because it is an optional argument in the verb frame, its use is a choice on the part of the writer to highlight the propositional content in the contrasted *ne* and *uti* clauses, which is the salient information. So, we might say that *id* functions as a "dummy Focus,"

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[308] This situation has a corollary in the use of expletive *it* in English, wherein a heavy subject or object phrase is extraposed and replaced by the semantically empty, but syntactically necessary pronoun *it* (e.g. *That you only eat chocolate cake on Wednesdays and Fridays is strange to me* is more naturally rendered as *It is strange to me that you only eat chocolate cake on Wednesdays and Fridays*). It is unclear whether the heaviness of the object clauses in our Latin examples influenced their position or the use of the larger construction with the preparative expression.

as it were, where the pronoun itself is simultaneously semantically empty and pragmatically

marked (like dummy *it* in English).[309] As the Focus, *id* should occur in the preverbal NFoc slot, or

as part of the Broad Focus with the infinitives, that is, exactly where it is.

The third and final example in this particular data set involves two high-animacy

pronouns. Moreover, while we have an SO serial order of the core arguments, the subject is

displaced from clause-initial position. The AcI in question closes a forty-five-line speech in

which Ariovistus justifies his actions and makes counterdemands to Caesar. The entire chapter,

1.44, is in indirect discourse, and it makes heavy use of pronouns.[310] Ariovistus first refers to

Caesar by name at 1.44.10, 34 lines into his speech, and then uses alternating anaphoric

expressions to maintain him as an explicit discourse participant in the subsequent ten lines

(1.44.11–14), which is primarily constructed of a series of conditional sentences: *qui nisi*, *quod si*,

*quod si*. It is instructive to track the referential chain across these ten lines as Ariovistus makes

use of similar phraseology and constructions. In (70), the Caesar anaphors are marked with

dotted underlines (zero-anaphora is not marked), but the target AcI maintains the usual

formatting; only the target AcI will be translated:

70)   Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit:
      …Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui
      opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus,
      sese illum non pro amico sed hoste habiturum.[311] Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese

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[309] Note, also, that the propositional content is maintained in the following sentence as the protasis of a conditional (*si enuntiatum esset*). It is quite common for a newly introduced entity or proposition to be maintained in the subsequent discourse as a topical constituent by means of a referential chain. In such cases, the entity is often referred to as a New Topic. See Dik *TFG 1* 315–326, Spevak (2010) 6–7.

[310] We have already seen parts of this speech, and we will return to it later as well since a handful of *id se* examples (i.e. two pronouns in OS order) occur here.

[311] *Supra* ex. (50).

nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum[312]: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere posset. Quod si decessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se *illum* praemio **remuneraturum** et quaecumque bella geri vellet sine ullo eius labore et periculo confecturum.

Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length… [saying that] he ought to be suspicious that Caesar, though friendship was put forward as the reason that he was keeping an army in Gaul, had it to crush him. And that unless he departs and leads the army out of these parts, he would consider that man not a friend but an enemy. But that if he were to kill him, he would have done a thing welcome to many nobles and leaders of the Roman people. But if he had departed and handed over to him free possession of Gaul, he would pay him back with a great reward and would bring to a close whatever wars he wished to be waged without any work or danger to him. (*Gal.* 1.44.10–14)

Our target clause shares features with both the first and the second conditional. Like the first (*sese illum…habiturum*) our clause involves a transitive verb with two high-animacy pronominal arguments, even though we have *se* instead of *sese*. Like the second (*multis sese nobilibus*), the subject pronoun is displaced from initial position by a subjective adjective in hyperbaton; interestingly, the fronted adjective in our clause has raised ahead of both the subject and object. Both *se* and *illum* are topical, but I would argue that neither is selected for Topic function; instead they remain in their default position at the head of the VP layer. The discontinuous Means adjunct and the verb have Broad Focus, and, if either *se* or *illum* had Topic function, they should precede *magno*.

In the same way that the possibility of grammatical ambiguity was low with *sese illum* when we looked at that example in isolation above, the reflexivity of *se* as well as its position largely forestalls alternative syntactic assignments. An OS order, at any rate, would require a

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[312] *Supra* ex. (39).

motivation for *se* to raise, presumably Topicalization, but an occasion in which one could or would topicalize the object in a reflexive construction and not the subject, which must have the same referent, is difficult to imagine. Moreover, when *se* does occur as the object in a reflexive construction, it tends to compose with the verb, as in the following examples:

71)　　a. Ubi <u>eum</u> (*sc.* Ariovistum) castris *se* **tenere** Caesar intellexit, ne…

When Caesar realized that he (Ariovistus) was holing up in the camp, lest… (*Gal.* 1.49.1)

b. Ubi <u>neminem</u> in aequum locum *sese* **dimittere** sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt…

When they saw that nobody was descending onto level ground but were pouring in from every direction all along the wall… (*Gal.* 7.28.2)

We will look more closely at these examples in a later section, but for now we can note that the reflexive pronouns *se* and *sese* in these two instances are objects in a reflexive construction and that they both are in immediately preverbal position following a locative phrase. It is also possible that these reflexives, or at least *se*, lean right as proclitics, similar to certain verbal clitics in the modern Romance languages (e.g. Sp. *se=habla español*).

Even though we have relatively few examples of SO order with two pronominal arguments, we have nonetheless gleaned important information from the three examples above. Although the two instances of *id* occurred in similar serial positions, they had different pragmatic functions and were in different structural positions. The cataphoric *id* in (69) was an immediately preverbal focal element, but the anaphoric *id* in (68) was topical and preceded a preverbal Manner adjunct, which likely has Narrow Focus. With the anaphoric *id* we also saw how the interaction between multiple propositional domains can influence serial order insofar as each domain manifests its own Topic slot. The final example was the only one of the three which raised the possibility of grammatical ambiguity since both pronouns referred to high-animacy

entities. However, the reflexivity of *se* was again a significant barrier to the alternative OS

constituent order. Not only is it difficult to concoct an instance in which one would topicalize a

reflexive object pronoun instead of the subject, but when *se* is the object in a reflexive

construction, it tends to left-adjoin to the verb.

Additionally, it was worth looking at the SO-ordered data set simply to note its size

relative to the OS set, which we will look at in the next section, since this is the first time that the

OS ordered examples are more numerous than the corresponding SO ones. Why this is the case

we have yet to determine, but hopefully a comparison of the two data sets will provide some

answers.

### 3.7 Subject-*Se* in OS: Pronominal Objects

We continue looking at AcI clauses that have both a pronominal subject and pronominal

object, turning now to the examples that have an OS order. There are also a handful of instances

with non-reflexive subject pronouns, and we will look at those in the final section, but here we

are only dealing with clauses with subject *se*, of which there are nine total examples. Unlike in

previous sections we need not treat each case separately since, as we will see, the similarities are

much more pronounced, both in form and structure. To wit, all nine of the object pronouns are

neuter singulars in clause-initial position: *id* (7×), *illud* (1×), and *hoc* (1×). We see a contiguous

OS order (e.g. *id se*) in four *id* examples and both deictic examples; in the other three *id* examples

a -*que* or *tamen* intervenes between them.

The subject pronouns all refer to the agent of the matrix verb in the passage, and all of

these agents participate significantly in the broader discourse. Eight of the nine subjects/agents

are individual commanders or soldiers: Ariovistus, Vercingetorix, Ambiorix, and Considius; the

ninth is the Roman legions collectively. Despite the plural collective noun in the final case, all of the entities are highly agentive and, importantly, *more* agentive than the corresponding objects, whose referents are primarily clausal and occasionally quite complex; only one *id* refers to a singular, abstract noun (*incommodum* (*Gal.* 7.29.5)). Most often that complex idea is explicit in the preceding text, but in two cases some level of inference is required to complete the thought.[313] We should also point out that the concerns about the semantic hierarchy and agency that featured prominently in earlier examples are almost negligible here given that the object pronouns refer to propositions.

Despite these parallels, the object pronoun *id* in all seven cases is anaphoric, but both deictic pronouns are cataphoric (see Table 9 below). We encountered a similar anaphoric-cataphoric divide in the previous section albeit with the same pronominal form. Not only is this division interesting as it relates to the relationship between personal and deictic pronouns—that is, our OS examples show a perfect correlation between the choice of pronoun and anaphoricity or cataphoricity, even if we did see *id* used both cataphorically and anaphorically in the last section—but it also means that the respective pronominal referents have significantly different discourse-informational statuses: The anaphoric referents are discourse-bound, the cataphoric referents are not. Being unbound and largely un-inferable, cataphoric pronouns are less than

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[313] One also observes that these OS examples tend to cluster: Ariovistus' extended speech at *Gal.* 1.44 (45 OCT lines), reproduced in part in (70) above, contains three *id* examples; Ambiorix's shorter speech at *Gal.* 5.27 (31 OCT lines) has two examples (one *id* and one *illud*); and Vercingetorix's much shorter speech at *Gal.* 7.29 (16 OCT lines) contains two *id* examples. While interesting, this clustering is fairly unsurprising given that such speakers often switch topics multiple times as they respond point-by-point to a message, usually from a commander of the opposing side. It is also worth noting that these longer speeches were common loci for other of our SO and OS examples alike. The other two examples are in shorter reports given by Roman soldiers to Caesar, which means they appear to the reader much more like true "reported" speech, i.e. Caesar telling us what someone told him, unlike the examples in longer speeches where, at times, the voice of the internal narrator seems to take over.

optimal candidates for Topicalization, which has consistently been one of the primary reasons for OS orders, a theme which continues with the anaphoric *id* examples as well. And yet, just as in the two SO examples with *id*, the anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns in our OS examples occur in similar serial positions, viz. clause initial. For this reason, we will discuss the seven cases with anaphoric *id* and the two cataphoric deictic examples separately.[314]

For convenience, the nine pronominal examples are given below in Table 9 along with the accompanying object referents. I have included here only the nuclear arguments of the AcI clause:

| | Loc. | AcI Nuclear Arguments | Object PN Referent |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Anaphoric** | 1.22.2 | *id se…cognovisse* | *montem…ad hostibus teneri* |
| | 1.44.5 | *idque se…petisse* | Having *amicitia populi Romani* |
| | 1.44.6 | *id se…facere* | *quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam traducat* |
| | 1.44.11 | *id se…compertum habere* | *si eum interfecerit, multis se nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum* |
| | 5.27.4 | *Id se…probare posse* | *id…fecisse…coactu civitatis* et al. |
| | 7.29.5 | *Id tamen se…sanaturum* | *incommodum* |
| | 7.29.6 | *idque se…effectum habere* | *Has…adiuncturum atque unum consilium totius Galliae effecturum* |
| **Cataphoric** | 5.27.10 | *Illud se polliceri et…confirmare* | *tutum iter per finis daturum* |
| | 7.17.6 | *hoc se ignominiae laturos loco* | *si inceptam oppugnationem reliquissent* |

*Table 9: OS with pronominal subjects and objects, with referents of pronominal objects*

[314] This division between personal and deictic pronouns is not as clean as these examples may make it seem; *id* can also function as a cataphoric referent of an AcI clause: *Caesari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam nostrum iter facere conari…* ("When it was announced to Caesar, that they were trying to journey through our province…" (*Gal.* 1.7.1)). Though, here, the direction of influence may be significant: That is, *id* is not here to set up the AcI clause (preparative expression) so much as the AcI exists to clarify the referent of *id* (Tail or expexegetical). The cataphoricity, in a way, results from a reanalysis of the construction. Note, also, the movement of the (reintroduced) Topic *Caesari* ahead of the conjunction *cum*.

As the far-right column indicates, some of the propositional referents in the anaphoric examples are more distinct than others. In the following two passages, the object pronoun's referent is textually explicit (marked with dotted underlines):

72) Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit [16 OCT lines]…quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam traducat, *id* se sui muniendi, non Galliae inpugnandae causa **facere**.

    Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length …that as to the fact that he led a throng of Germans into Gaul, he did it for his own protection, not to make war on Gaul. (*Gal.* 1.44.6)

73) Considius…dicit montem quem a Labieno occupari voluerit ab hostibus teneri: *id* se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus **cognovisse**.

    Considius…says that the mountain that he wanted taken by Labienus is held by the enemy: this he gathered from the Gallic weapons and insignia. (*Gal.* 1.22.2)

In these two passages, the anaphoric pronoun *id* has Topicalized. In the *quod* clause in (72), Ariovistus restates one of Caesar's earlier complaints, and the subsequent clause-initial pronoun *id* refers to that clause's contents.[315] Similarly, the initial *id* in (73) refers to the preceding proposition *montem…ad hostibus teneri*. The DiscTop *se* in both precedes a preverbal adjunct phrase that bears Narrow Focus. The infinitives are presupposed information and have clause-final position.

    Importantly, both of these clausal pronominal referents are explicit in the text, and it is possible to identify the exact string of words denoted by the pronoun. We have two other cases, however, where the states of affairs or propositions referred to require some inference, that is, there is not an explicit string of words that are directly substitutable for the topicalized object

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[315] Cf. (75) below with both anaphoric *quod…id* and cataphoric *hanc…id*.

pronoun *id*. Identification of the referent is somewhat easier in the first example, and more difficult in the second.

74) Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit [12 OCT lines]… Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento, esse oportere, *id*que <u>se</u> hac spe **petisse**.

   Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length… that the friendship of the Roman people should be a mark of honor and protection for him, not a disadvantage, and he had sought it with this expectation. (*Gal.* 1.44.5)

The subject pronoun *se* follows the topicalized clause-initial *id*, to which the bound clitic *-que* has attached. *Se* may form a clitic string with *-que*, but we cannot state this with any more certainty than we could above in (65). Again, a Manner adjunct occurs in the preverbal NFoc position, and the verb is presupposed. *Id*, however, cannot refer to the noun *amicitiam* since they do not agree grammatically, and the propositional content of the entire AcI clause *amicitiam…oportere* would be an illogical referent. Instead, *id* here must refer to the looser concept of "being a friend of the Roman people." Also worth noting is the presence of an additional anaphoric element in *hac spe*, which, itself salient, refers to the Focus of the previous clause, *ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento, esse oportere*. The referent of *hac* is both nearer textually and more important and personal to the speaker, Ariovistus; the referent of anaphoric *id*, on the other hand, is a looser concept, one further removed textually, and less emotionally or personally charged. Yet the stronger deictic does not get initial position.[316] This example further illustrates that anaphora

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[316] While it is far beyond the scope of this project, it would be an interesting line of inquiry to see whether *is*, *hic*, and *ille* more broadly have unique Focalizing (in a narratological sense) or illocutionary qualities that correlate with varying degrees of speaker commitment to the state of affairs (e.g. subjective impact, truth value, etc.) similar to those posited for *vero* by Kroon (2015). For example, the alternation between *eum* and *illum* in the last ten lines of Ariovistus' speech seems to carry an illocutionary meaning. In the conditional with *eum*, the protasis logically entails the apodosis, that is, if the SoA of the protasis obtains, the SoA of the apodosis will necessarily obtain as well. In the *illum* examples, the actions of the protases and apodoses are under the control of different entities, and while the actions of the protasis may provoke those of the apodosis, one is not a logical consequence of the other (e.g.

itself is not a sufficient condition for initial position. Instead, it is a combination of anaphoricity and pragmatic assignment that motivates initial position.

The second case also involves a topicalized *id*, but homing in on the referent requires more leg work and more context:

75)   Apud quos (*sc.* C. Arpineium et Q. Iunium) Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est…[5 OCT lines]. Neque id quod fecerit…aut iudicio aut voluntate sua fecisse sed coactu civitatis, suaque esse eiusmodi imperia ut non minus haberet iuris in se multitudo quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitati porro hanc[317] fuisse belli causam, quod repentinae Gallorum coniurationi resistere non potuerit (*sc.* Caesar). *Id* <u>se</u> facile ex humilitate sua **probare posse**, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum ut suis copiis populum Romanum superari posse confidat. Sed esse Galliae commune consilium.

Ambiorix spoke before them to this effect…and that he had not done what he did…either of his own judgment or will but by the compulsion of the state, and his own powers were of such a nature that the people had no less authority over him than he himself had over the people. For the state, then, this had been the reason for war, that he (Caesar) could not withstand the unexpected alliance of the Gauls. He could easily prove this by his own insignificance, because he was not so inexperienced as to believe the Roman people would be overcome by his own forces. But there was a common resolution of Gaul. (*Gal.* 5.27.3–5)

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peripheral, indirect, or pseudo-conditional (see, Danckaert (2015) 127–131). *Illum* in these two apodoses seems to imply the meaning "that kind of man" or "the kind of man (who would do the actions of the protasis)." In other words, we may want to re-translate *magno se illum praemio remuneraturum* as "he would repay that kind of man (who would depart and give him free possession of Gaul) with a great reward." This line of thought becomes more interesting when we note that in our Cicero sample corpus deictic *hic*, in pronominal or adjectival form, does not occur in subjects. For Cicero's deictic usage, see below.

[317] The construction here with cataphoric *hanc* that refers to a subsequent *quod* clause is the reverse of that in (72) (*quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam traducat, id se…*) where *id* refers to a preceding *quod* clause. In general, it seems that both *hic* and *is* can function anaphorically or cataphorically (cf. (77) below), but *is* seems to prefer an anaphoric or summarizing function. Even in a case where *id* signposts an AcI clause (n. 314), it has a resumptive quality in that the content of the AcI is presupposed information. It could also be that both referential functions are available for *hic* or *is* in isolation, but they get restricted when both forms are present as they are in (74). We can compare here the following two examples that have a similar division of anaphoric *is* and cataphoric *hic* (adjectival here): *reliquas omnis munitiones…reduxit, id hoc consilio, …ne de improviso aut noctu ad munitiones hostium multitudo advolaret aut…* ("He raised all the other fortifications…, [he did] *this* with *this* intention, …lest a bunch of enemies ride up on the fortifications unexpectedly or at night or…") (*Gal.* 7.72.2); *…magno esse usui posse, si haec esset in altitudinem turris elata. Id hac ratione perfectum est.* ("[that] it would be very useful if this wall went up higher. *This* was accomplished in *this* way.") (*Civ.* 2.8.3). The deictic centers of the individual speech acts may also influence the choice of pronoun, for which see n. 193 above as well as Adema (2015), Kroon (2017).

Again, similar to (72)–(74), the subject pronoun follows the object *id*, which has topicalized to clause-initial position, and an adjunct phrase (focal in all cases) precedes the infinitive. However, to cobble together the precise idea referred to by the pronominal referent in this passage we must go further back to *id…fecisse…coactu civitatis* at the beginning of the passage and then add additional elements from the clauses following it (ideas reinforced in the clauses following the AcI too), namely, that the people formed a certain plan and Ambiorix's governmental authority was limited.

Despite the imprecision in the latter two examples, the preceding contexts do contain the ideas needed to parse the pronouns. This applies to the other five *id* examples as well (*v.s.* Table 9). In other words, all seven of the *id* examples, whatever the complexity of the antecedent, refer to an entity or proposition that is presupposed and accessible to some degree. The anaphora does not by itself ensure clause-initial position; rather, the object pronoun *id* receives preferential linear placement to mark its function as Sentence Topic. The subject pronouns, on the other hand, have DiscTop function. However, we should note that in five of the seven cases *se* does not continue the most recent grammatical subject. So, even though these subject pronouns may not have much pragmatic weight, they are functional insofar as they mark the change in subject.[318]

The two cataphoric pronominal examples share some features with the anaphoric examples, most notably, clause-initial position of the object pronoun and contiguous OS order. Here, however, the clause-initial position does not build a mental bridge to the preceding context

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[318] In some examples the referent of *se* is competing with multiple intervening grammatical subjects, e.g. at 1.22.2 (*dicit montem quem a Labieno occupari voluerit ab hostibus teneri: id se*), Caesar is the subject of *voluerit* and *montem* is the subject of *teneri*, but *se* refers to *Considius*. The *se* at 1.44.6 and 1.44.11 continues the subject from the preceding verb. However, see the discussion above at n. 249 of Pieroni (2010) for whom linear referential continuity is less important than continuity across hierarchically equal domains.

since there is no anaphoric referent. Instead, it prepares the reader for a future subordinate clause. Viewed through the lens of serial order alone, the position of these cataphoric pronouns may seem strange. Why would a constituent move to the *left* edge of a clause if it points to something beyond the *right* edge? From the perspective of pragmatic constituency, however, the object positions are more easily understood. Rather than framing it as a pronoun raising to clause-initial position, which implies long-range movement, we should see this as the object pronoun raising to the NFoc slot, while the other clausal constituents remain in the base VP layer, that is, do *not* raise: [SOV] > [O^{NFoc}[SV]]. On the other hand, such an analysis is generally unavailable for the anaphoric object pronouns because an adjunct phrase intervenes between the topical OS and the verb, i.e. has Narrow Focus.

The first of our two cataphoric pronoun examples comes from a speech in book 5, in which a verbose Ambiorix attempts to inveigle the Roman garrison to abandon its winter quarters through fear, appeals to his goodwill toward Caesar, and the promise of safety. Here the object pronoun *illud* cataphorically refers to the content of Ambiorix's oath given in the following subordinate AcI clause.[319]

76)     Apud quos (*sc.* C. Arpineium et Q. Iunium) Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est [20 OCT lines]… Monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio ut suae ac militum saluti consulat… Ipsorum esse consilium, velintne…milites aut ad Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere… *Illud* <u>se</u> **polliceri** et iure iurando **confirmare**, tutum iter per finis daturum. Quod cum faciat…

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[319] Given that the majority of the AcI examples from our Caesar data set are in extended AcI passages, i.e. a single matrix verb governs multiple infinitives, we find relatively fewer examples of these preparative expressions with AcI clauses. Two examples are *Gal* 1.7.1 (*Caesari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam nostrum iter facere conari, maturat…*) (see above, n. 314) and *Gal.* 1.40.11 where *haec sibi esse curae*, itself an AcI, sets off an embedded layer of indirect speech. One may hesitate to label *id* in the former example cataphoric strictly speaking; rather, the cataphoricity is a byproduct of the expexegetical AcI. This stands in contrast to our Cicero data sets, where preparative expressions are quite common, both in the matrix constructions and in the AcI clauses (see below, § 4.3 Cicero's AcI Data).

> Ambiorix spoke before them (*sc.* Arpineius and Junius) to this effect… [that] he advised, he begged Titurius to see to his own safety and that of his soldiers… [that] the choice was theirs whether to lead off their soldiers either to Cicero or to Labienus… [that] this he promised and confirmed by a solemn oath that he would provide safe passage through their lands. When he did this… (*Gal.* 5.27.10)

The referent AcI is an object clause, but the AcI's status as an object clause would be clear even if *illud* were not present (cf. (77) below). In other words, the pronoun *illud* could be omitted without rendering the larger construction ungrammatical because either of the matrix verbs *polliceri* or *confirmare* can take an AcI as an argument directly. The pronoun *illud* is a dummy Focus (*v.s.* (69)), a semantically empty stand-in for the actual Focus constituent, that is, the following AcI.[320] This dummy Focus has raised to the appropriate NFoc slot, while the subject remains in the base VP layer. It is possible that the non-contrastive *se* is a clitic, but even if we knew that it was, we would not know which direction it leaned.

The second cataphoric example differs in some respects from (76), primarily in the omissibility of the preparative expression and the informational status of the referent. Here, as the siege of Avaricum drags on, Caesar slyly gauges his soldiers' appetite for prolonging the siege by announcing that he will give it up, if they cannot handle the various hardships. The legions react strongly to the subtle questioning of their fortitude and grit, as Caesar (presumably) expected they would, and they beg him to maintain the siege lest they tarnish their honor.

77)     universi (*sc.* legiones) ad eo ne id (*sc.* dimissurum oppugnationem) faceret petebant: sic se compluris annos illo imperante meruisse ut nullam ignominiam acciperent, nusquam incepta re discederent: *hoc* <u>se</u> ignominiae **laturos** loco, si inceptam oppugnationem reliquissent.

incepta α : infecta β; ignominiae loco laturos β

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[320] Just as in (69) above, the propositional content is maintained as Topic in the following sentence with the connecting relative *quod*.

> They (the legions) unanimously begged him not to do it (*sc.* abandon the siege): [saying that] they had served for many years under this command in such a way that they had suffered no disgrace and had never given up when a thing had been started: this they would take as a disgrace, if they abandoned the siege that had been started. (*Gal.* 7.17.6)

Unlike in (76), the predicate structure in (77) requires *hoc*, both for grammaticality and to identify the following protasis as an object clause. Moreover, the elements within the *hoc* referent are to some degree individually inferable—*ignominiae* : *ignominiam*, *inceptam* : *incepta*, and *reliquissent* : *dimissurum*—even if the association between the elements is not.[321] The argument *si* clause does not so much introduce brand-new information as establish the relationship between the different discourse entities, that is, what they will consider a disgrace.[322]

Pragmatically, then, *hoc* is part of the Focus domain together with the salient element of the predicative NP (i.e. *hoc…ignominiae*). The weak subject pronoun follows the first element of the Focus domain, but the splitting is less forceful given the predicative structure. Assuming that the printed text is sound, the participle *laturos* has also raised into contact with the Focus domain, which strands *loco* in postverbal position, although one would be wise not to hinge too much on this point given the manuscript variation.[323]

These two cataphoric pronouns differ in how the focal information they point to relates to the pragmatic context and how it is meant to augment the audience's existing pragmatic suppositions. The fact that the referent of *hoc* is semi-inferable makes the *si* clause resemble a

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[321] The original proposition *dimissurum oppugnationem* was referred to by *id* in the beginning of the passage (*universi ad eo ne id faceret petebant*). Moreover, nothing precludes a speaker from presenting presupposed information as salient.

[322] Viz. they have never (A) suffered a disgrace nor (B) abandoned an incomplete task, therefore (C) abandoning an incomplete siege would be a disgrace. Salience based on the relationship between discourse-bound entities is not uncommon. H. Dik (2007) 123–136 shows that in question-answer pairs one can find multiple Focus elements, and that "it is mostly the particular combination of known elements that leads to their collective salience" (136).

[323] For participle raising as a Focus marker, see Devine and Stephens (2006) 123, 261–263, 533–535.

Tail; it identifies the correct item from predetermined list of referents, as it were, whereas *illud* adds new information to a blank slate. This distinction corresponds loosely to the *information* focus and *identificational* focus dichotomy presented by É. Kiss.[324] She argues that information focus is merely nonpresupposed information, but identificational focus indicates that the state of affairs holds for the entity and *not* for any of the other contextually available alternatives.

Although these cataphoric pronouns mirror the clause-initial, contiguous OS order of the anaphoric *id* examples, their positions are not due to Topicalization; instead, they occupy the left edge of their respective Focus domains. In the *id* cases, there was often material intervening between the initial OS unit and the verb at the end, which underscored the leftward movement of the object. With *hoc* and *illud*, however, the verb frames are fairly minimal, and, as such, we need not posit long-range movement to account for the OS order.

At the end of the day, this final set of subject-*se* examples is an important comparandum not only for our previous SO examples in Section 3.6 Subject-*Se* in SO: Pronominal Objects but also for other subject-*se* examples. Looking to the cases with object *id* specifically, we saw that the OS order was invariably due to object Topicalization. This has been the case in the majority of the other OS examples as well. The subject pronouns are regularly contiguous with the fronted object pronouns because they have DiscTop function, which, again, is similar to the previous OS data sets. The subjects also precede the preverbal Narrow Focus domain.

Anaphoricity is not a sufficient condition for initial position, however, as was demonstrated clearly in (74) *idque se hac spe petisse*. *Hac*, the stronger anaphoric element, follows

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[324] É. Kiss (1998) esp. 247–249. Devine and Stephens (2006) 14–16 use weak focus in place of information focus and strong focus for identificational focus.

both the anaphoric object pronoun and the reflexive subject pronoun because it has Focus function, while *id* precedes the subject pronoun because it has SentTop function. If the subject (or another constituent) is selected as Topic, the anaphoric pronouns will not receive linear priority, as was the case in (68) *seque id sine periculo facere posse*. In this SO example, one might have expected *id* to Topicalize, but that would produce the wrong pragmatic meaning by implying a contrast between *id* and something else, whereas the proper contrast is between Ariovistus (*se*) and Caesar. In other words, the meaning is not "this thing (but not that one), Ariovistus could do safely," but rather "Ariovistus (maybe not others, but who cares?) could do it safely."

When subject pronouns are not selected for a pragmatic function slot, they either occur to the left (or perhaps as the left edge) of the Broad Focus domain or they will follow the NFoc expression, which is exactly what we see in the two cataphoric pronoun examples. These were similar to the Focus-first pragmatic structures we have seen previously. While *illud* and *hoc* were both in clause initial position, suggesting Topicalization, cataphoric pronouns are unlikely to serve as Topics because they lack established discourse referents.

Finally, this last tranche of subject-*se* examples shows a higher percentage of Narrow Focus constructions just as every other subset of examples with subject *se* did. Altogether, our subject-*se* examples had 21 Narrow Foci and only 9 Broad Foci. This distribution stands in contrast to both the nominal and *sese* data sets where the distribution of the two Focus constructions is much more even:

| Subject | Broad Foci | Narrow Foci | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Se* | 9 (30%) | 21 (70%) | 30 (100%) |
| *Sese* | 7 (46%) | 8 (54%) | 15 (100%) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Nominal* | 14 (58%) | 10 (42%) | 24 (100%) |

*Table 10: Focus construction distribution in Caesar*

We can partially attribute the higher Broad Foci percentages for nominals and *sese* to the prevalence of verbonominal compounds and semantically weak verbs, e.g. *auxilium tulisse* or *finem facturum*, and recurring genre-specific verb phrases, e.g. *castra movisse*, in those data sets, which, if focal, are Broad Foci by default according to our working definition of Broad Focus from Chapter 1 as a Focus domain consisting of the verb and one or more constituents.[325] Moreover, from a narratological perspective, these various phrasal verbs—generic set phrases in particular—tend to relate commonly occurring SoAs, e.g. sending envoys, or background information necessary to advance the larger narrative, e.g. troop movements. These situations are often, though not always, less pragmatically complex and would tend toward Broad Focus constructions.

## 3.8 Non-Reflexive Subject Pronouns

To this point we have been dealing solely with reflexive subject pronouns, both the simplex and reduplicated forms. One consequence of only having *se* as the subject is that it places a thumb on the scale, as it were, in terms of semantic status and syntactic assignment. For AcI clauses, at any rate, in transitive states of affairs with two agentive referential nouns (e.g. *frater* and *soror*), switching the syntactic functions still results in a bivalent predicate structure where

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[325] This, however, is another potentially fruitful area of inquiry. It would have taken us too far afield to discuss whether the traditional definition of Broad Focus should even apply to verb frames where the verb and object (or other phrase) are semantically inseparable. More generally this is a question of constituency, that is, what lexical units are analyzable as single constituents and can constituents of any complexity be considered a single constituent for purposes of pragmatic analysis? In other words, the question remains whether verbonominals and other phrasal verbs—or the individual elements thereof—can function as Narrow Foci at all.

an Agent acts upon an (external) Patient, albeit one where the participants have switched roles. If one of the nouns is replaced by a reflexive pronoun, not only is the pronoun itself likely higher on the semantic hierarchy than the nominal participant, that is, it is more likely to be the subject, but swapping the syntactic roles potentially reduces the number of event participants. Much rests, of course, on whether the reflexive pronoun is coreferential with the subject of the infinitive or the matrix verb, a concern not present with two nominals. For example, the AcI in *Caesar dixit ducem legatum odisse* involves two participants, the leader and the legate, both of which are restricted to the scope of the AcI, and either syntactic assignment describes the same underlying event with two thematic roles, i.e. Agent hating Patient. When we substitute a reflexive pronoun, e.g. *Caesar dixit se legatum odisse*, an additional syntactic possibility becomes available depending on the scope of the reflexive; if *se* is coreferential with the matrix verb, that is, *se*=Caesar, then we retain the two-participant event structure in either SO or OS. If, on the other hand, the reflexive is coreferential with the subject of the AcI only, we lose the syntactic bidirectionality and an OS syntactic assignment changes the underlying event structure from a two-participant SoA with both Agent and Patient to a one-participant SoA where the Agent is also the affected object.

It also introduces additional complications in that not all verbs are used as true reflexives, that is, where the reflexive pronoun is interchangeable with a noun phrase (also called "convertible" verbs in Pinkster *OLS* 1, 231). With true reflexives, the Patient role from the transitive construction is eliminated, but the SoA is still transitive to some degree, the transitivity has just been redirected, as it were, back onto the Agent. The other types of reflexives tend to alter the underlying event structure more starkly either by, for example, developing extended or

idiomatic meanings, which more closely resemble and are often better rendered in English as intransitive verbs (e.g. *sese dedere* > "to surrender"; *se erigere* > "to rise") or by promoting non-human Patients to the subject and eliminating the Agent role itself (e.g. *scindit sese unda* (Verg. *A*. 1.160)).[326] The relative frequencies of these competing reflexive constructions varies across genres and authors—for example, according to Pinkster, we find more reflexive constructions in didactic texts, but Livy and Tacitus prefer autocausative passives[327]—and such usage patterns influence the likelihood that any particular reflexive will be construed as either the subject/Agent or object/Patient in a given context; just as importantly, the reader's knowledge of an author's patterns shapes their own default interpretive strategies.[328] All this is to say that the presence of the reflexive pronoun *se* in an AcI clause often reduces the potential for grammatical ambiguity because, despite the numerous ways in which *se* could be construed as an object in AcI constructions, in actual fact, the strong tendency of *se* to be coreferential with the subject of the matrix verb and the infrequency of reflexive constructions in AcIs predisposes readers, of Caesar at least, to understand it as a subject.

Luckily, our data set also includes a handful of examples with non-reflexive subject pronouns, which are more akin to agentive nouns in that they can serve as Agent or Patient

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[326] We need not reproduce a full taxonomy of reflexives here. For such, see Pinkster *OLS* 1, §§5.19–5.24, who labels reflexive verbs like *se dedere* and *se scindere* autocausatives and decausatives respectively. These two active constructions often co-exist and compete with corresponding autocausative and decausative passives, e.g. *dedor*, *scindor*, with the former retaining an agentive subject (which happens to act on itself) and the latter lacking a true Agent altogether.

[327] Pinkster *OLS* 1, 274. See also Pieroni (2010) 432–443.

[328] For example, in re-reading J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Silmarillion* recently, I noticed an unusual number of OSV orders—e.g. "but of all these water they most greatly praised" (19), "valleys they delved and Melkor raised them up; mountains they carved and Melkor threw them down; seas they hollowed and Melkor spilled them" (22), "and the dews of Telperion and the rain that fell from Laurelin Varda hoarded in great vats" (39), "And the inner fire of the Silmarils Fëanor made of the blended light of the Trees of Valinor" (67). At first I found this difficult to parse, but once I recognized the tendency, the construction was less intrusive.

without changing the underlying type of predication.[329] There are nine examples in this final data set (*eum* (2×); *eos*, *hos*, *illum*, *ipsum*, *nos*, *neminem*, (*nec*) *quemquam* (1× each)) and, interestingly, all nine have an SOV order. The forms of *hic*, *ille*, and *ipse* and one *eum* occur in colon-initial position, the first-person *nos* follows a locative relative pronoun, and a conjunction or correlative precedes the indefinite *quemquam*, the other *eum*, and *neminem*. Although anaphora strongly correlates with initial position, it is the coincidence of anaphora and pragmatic function that is decisive.[330]

Seven of the animate subject pronouns pair with object nouns, all but one of which is immediately preverbal. The other two are reflexive constructions, so we will look at those separately. The object nouns are mostly abstract or low-animacy nouns, which should not surprise us as this has been largely true for every data set thus far. In these cases syntactic ambiguity is largely forestalled by the animacy of the object noun relative to that of the subject pronoun because inanimate and abstract nouns lack volition and cannot easily be assigned to the semantic Agent role. The other two object nouns are animate, *uxorem* and *multitudinem*, but like other (semi-)agentive object nouns above, e.g. *obsides*, these two also have certain features that make them less qualified for subject/Agent roles, viz. *uxorem* is indefinite and *multitudinem* is unindividuated.

78)     a. reperit esse vera: ipsum esse Dumnorigem… matrem in Biturigibus homini…
        collocasse, <u>ipsum</u> *ex Helvetiis uxorem* **habere**, sororem… et propinquas suas nuptum in
        alias civitates collocasse.

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[329] This group combines the rows for *il-deictic*, *hi-deictic*, *is*, and *other* from Table 8 above.

[330] Anaphoric elements can theoretically occur in any position, and there are clear distributional patterns and preferences for each pronoun. See Spevak (2010) 73–79, with summary of previous statistics. See also Adema (2015) and Kroon (2017).

He found these things to be true: [that] it was that very Dumnorix… [that] he had married off his mother to a man of the Bituriges… [that] he himself had a wife from the Helvetii, [that] he had sent off his sister… and his female relatives into other states to marry. (*Gal.* 1.18.7)

b. Liscus…quod antea tacuerat proponit: esse non nullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui…plus possint quam ipsi magistratus. Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione *multitudinem* **deterrere** ne frumentum conferant quod debeant.

Liscus…discloses what he had been keeping secret: that there are some, whose authority is very strong among the people, who…have more power than the magistrates themselves. These men are deterring the masses with seditious and dishonest talk from providing the food that they should be providing. (*Gal.* 1.17.2)

The subject pronouns *ipsum* and *hos* are contrastive Topics. In the first passage, *ipsum* resumes Dumnorix as the Topic and contrasts him with *matrem* in the previous clause (and subsequently *sororem*). The Narrow Focus is *ex Helvetiis uxorem*. In the second example *multitudo* is animate, but it lacks individuation and is used *ad sensum* with a plural verb in the subordinate *ne* clause. Further, based on the information provided in the previous two relative clauses, we know that the referent of *hos* has power over the populace, not the other way around. The rest of the clause has Broad Focus.[331]

As with the previous SO examples, the anaphoric pronominal subjects can be separated from the object by various adjuncts, such as the Means phrase in the previous example, as well as full subordinate clauses. This feature was largely absent from the corresponding OS data sets. In the following passage both a subordinate *cum* clause and a Means adjunct split the Topic *illum* from the object *ea praemia*:

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[331] This clause answers the question "What are these men (*hos*) doing?" not "Who (*x*) is preventing the grain delivery?" (*x=hos*) or "How (*x*) are these men preventing the grain delivery?" (*x=seditiosa…oratione*). That the grain is not being supplied (i.e. the *ne* clause) is old information, the Aedui's failure to supply the promised grain being the subject of the previous chapter (1.16), but why or how is unknown to Caesar until this clause, making a Narrow Focus reading inappropriate.

79)    quam rem (*sc.* quod rex appellatus…, quod amicus, quod munera…missa) et paucis
        contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat. <u>Illum</u>, cum neque
        aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus
        *ea praemia* **consecutum**.

        Which circumstance, he informed him, had both fallen to few and was wont to be granted
        on behalf of the great services of the men. That that man, although he had neither leave
        nor a just cause for a demand, had attained these honors by the kindness and generosity
        of himself and the Senate. (*Gal.* 1.43.5)

The subject *illum* reasserts Ariovistus as Topic and contrasts him with the *paucis* of the previous
clause. The Means adjunct is the contrastive Narrow Focus and occurs in preverbal position. The
clause-final OV is presupposed information.

        Despite the linear position, not all of these subject pronouns have Topic function, nor are
they always the only Topic element. At *Gal.* 5.19.1 a relative pronoun (locative ablative) has
SentTop function and precedes *nos,* which depending on the Focus construction (i.e. Sentence
Focus or Broad) may or may not have DiscTop function:

80)    Cassivellaunus… itinera nostra servabat… atque eis regionibus quibus <u>nos</u> *iter* **facturos**
        cognoverat pecora atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat.

        Cassivellaunus… he used to watch our marches… and in those areas in which he had
        learned that we were about to travel he also used to drive the cattle and people from the
        fields into the woods. (*Gal.* 5.19.1)

The pronominal subjects can also bear Focus as *quemquam* does in the following example.
*Quisquam* regularly occurs with *nec* and functions as a de facto negative universal quantifier
equivalent to *et nemo* (see *neminem* below).[332] In Latin, universal (negative) quantifiers regularly

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[332] Negative quantifiers (e.g. *nemo*, *nullus*) are one of the three means to construct a negative clause in Latin. Except
with correlative *et…et, et nemo* rarely, if ever, replaces the negative indefinite *nec quisquam.* See Pinkster *OLS* 1,
1168–1169.  For negative polarity operators, see Devine and Stephens (2013) Chapter 8. Negative quantifiers are also
discussed in the linguistic scholarship as negative existentials and negative indefinites. For the ongoing linguistic
discussion of negation, see Déprez and Espinal (2020).

have Focus function, and, in Caesar specifically, forms of *omnis* and *nullus* are readily found in premodifier hyperbaton. As a stand-in for *nemo*, *nec quisquam* also may bear Focus:

81)  Diviciacus… Caesarem… obsecrare coepit… scire se illa esse vera, nec <u>quemquam</u> ex eo *plus quam* se *doloris* **capere**…

Diviciacus began to implore Caesar… [saying that] he knew those things were true, and that no one suffered more pain because of it than him. (*Gal.* 1.20.2)

The negative conjunction has phrasal scope, not sentential. The weakly anaphoric source phrase (*ex eo*) does not precede the subject pronoun because such a position would suggest the source phrase is dependent on *quemquam* (cf. *nec vero ex reliquis fuit quisquam…*(*Civ.* 3.87.7); but the semantic link between *nec* and *quemquam* may also play a role. The verb phrase *plus quam se doloris capere* is part of the presupposition. Given the semantic status of the object constituent *plus…doloris*, there is little to no risk of syntactic ambiguity.

We arrive finally at the two reflexive constructions. These are interesting for many reasons, not the least of which is that reflexive verb frames are generally less common than non-reflexive ones, i.e. transitives, and the prevalence of one verbal construction over another can shape readers' interpretive strategies. In fact, in the entire Caesar data set compiled for this study (n=686), there were only four reflexive constructions.[333] In other words, upon seeing a clause with a transitive verb and two pronominal arguments, one of which is *se(se)*, the default is likely to

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[333] The other two are ((=22)) *demonstrant…Fabium discessu eorum duabus relictis portis obstruere ceteras et se in posterum diem similemque casum apparare* ("they relate…that Fabius, at their departure, with two gates left (open), was blocking up the rest and preparing himself for the following day and a similar misfortune") (*Gal.* 7.41.4) and (=64) *Vercingetorix consilio convocato id bellum se suscepisse…causa demonstrat et… ad utramque rem se illis offerre, seu…* ("Having called a council on the following day, Vercingetorix shows that he undertook the war for the sake of…and that he offers himself to them for either end, whether…") (*Gal.* 7.89.2). In contrast to the two examples presented in (82), these reflexive objects are not contiguous with the verb. I would consider both of these true reflexives, and it may be that with true reflexives the reflexive object has more freedom precisely because it is less semantically bound to the verb.

take the reflexive as subject. We will look at these issues more closely below. For now, let us move forward knowing that these are reflexive constructions. In so doing, we can notice a difference in the position of *se* when it is the object of a reflexive construction versus when it is the subject. As the reflexive object, it tends to compose with the verb, as in the following examples, both of which follow a similar structure: Subject–Locative–Object–Verb.

82)   a. Ubi <u>eum</u> (*sc.* Ariovistum) castris *se* **tenere** Caesar intellexit, ne…

sese β

When Caesar realized that he (Ariovistus) was holding up in the camp, lest… (*Gal.* 1.49.1)

b. Ubi <u>neminem</u> in aequum locum *sese* **dimittere** sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt…

When they saw that nobody was descending onto level ground but were pouring in from every direction all along the wall… (*Gal.* 7.28.2)

The reflexive pronouns *se* and *sese* in these two instances are in immediately preverbal position following a locative phrase. *Eum* in the first passage resumes the Topic Ariovistus and pulls the narrative back from a digression on German military techniques at 1.48.4–7. The content of the AcI is all known information (cf. *Ariovistus…exercitum castris continuit* (*Gal.* 1.48.4)), but Caesar presents it here as Broad Focus (i.e. "What was Ariovistus doing?") to resume the pragmatic conditions at play before the digression. *Neminem* in the second passage, on the other hand, has Focus function just as *nec quemquam* did in (81). The rest of the clause *in aequum locum sese dimittere* is presupposed information: "Who (*x*) is descending to the ground?" (*x*=nobody).

Importantly, out of context, syntactic ambiguity could arise. First, *se* is most often coreferential with the subject of the superordinate verb and as such is also more often the subject in an AcI; in the first passage *Caesar* is very close to *se* in the text, and in the second the superordinate verb is plural (*viderunt*) while, grammatically at least, *neminem* is singular.

Second, we have seen that forms of *is* regularly topicalize, so one could be forgiven for analyzing initial *eum* as a fronted object. Moreover, an OS order does not immediately produce an illicit meaning in either case: *that he (Caesar) was keeping him (Ariovistus) in camp*; *that they were lowering nobody onto level ground*. Third, without sufficient lexical knowledge of these two verbs, even an SO order can cause a slight hitch in that, while the subject pronouns *eum* and *neminem* work fine as Agents, the reflexive pronouns, though grammatical objects, are not quite right as Patients. This is because in a verb-plus-reflexive expression *tenere* and *demittere* become autocausative reflexives, that is, they acquire an intransitive meaning (i.e. *to keep oneself somewhere > to stay somewhere*; *to drop oneself down > to descend*).[334] In short, despite the SO orders, lexical knowledge of the two verbs and discourse context are critical to resolving potential ambiguity.

These nine examples with non-reflexive pronominal subjects have both solidified findings from previous data sets and offered new insights. First, it is interesting that we found no OS ordered examples, even though many of the object nouns were low-animacy or abstract, and, had they topicalized, the syntactic assignments could have been disambiguated easily based on the relative agency levels of the noun and pronoun. Instead, all but one of the subject pronouns had initial position, while all the objects save one were immediately preverbal.

Second, it is less that the objects failed to topicalize, as that the subject pronouns *did*. Given the default syntactic order SOV, though, the movement of the subject to either Topic slot will often be string vacuous. Many of the deictic forms were contrastive or strong Topics, but not every subject pronoun had Topic function. The ablative relative pronoun in (80) has Topic

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[334] See above n. 326 for discussion of reflexives.

function while the subject *nos* is likely part of a Broad Focus encompassing the SOV. Likewise, the negative quantifiers *nec quemquam* and *neminem* had Focus function while the rest of their clauses were presupposed material.[335]

Finally, this set provided a unique opportunity to assess two potentially ambiguous AcI clauses that were also reflexive constructions. Here it was not so much linear order as context and lexical knowledge that prevented true ambiguity. In addition, we saw that when *se* is a reflexive object it was in Caesar's preferred object position: immediately preverbal.

### 3.9 Pronominal Subject Conclusions

We have covered substantial ground in this chapter. To begin with, our data set was twice the size of the nominal subjects (63 to 28) both because of the content of the *Bellum Gallicum* and our target construction, which in Latin requires a subject accusative even if that accusative is coreferential. This is not a hard and fast rule, but AcI clauses still have accusative subjects more often than not, which provided us a larger sample size and ample opportunity to explore potentially neutral pronominal argument orders in AcIs.

The data themselves have confirmed certain assumptions and revealed some interesting trends. The reflexive pronoun *se* was by far the most common subject, with the simplex form accounting for 38 of the 63 examples, and the reduplicated form an additional 15. All told, *se(se)* comprised 85% of the examples in this chapter. This imbalance is perhaps unsurprising given Caesar's deliberate presentation of the narrative in third person. The remaining nine pronominal subjects were non-reflexive pronouns, including third person *is*, deictics, and indefinites.

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[335] Again, negative quantifiers and subjective modifiers are prone to premodifier hyperbaton in Caesar. See Spevak (2010) 244–245.

In an interesting departure from the nominal subject examples, the overall preference of the pronominal subjects for SO over OS order was less pronounced, as was the subject's penchant for initial position. However, when we looked at the subsets more closely, we saw that *sese* and the non-reflexive pronouns patterned much like the nominal subjects from the previous chapter both in terms of relative argument order and subject position. All nine of the non-reflexive examples had an SO order, and all but three of the twelve *sese* examples did as well. *Sese* had initial position in ten of twelve SO examples and the non-reflexives had initial position in seven of nine.

These two subsets stand in contrast, however, to the subject-*se* examples which were revealed to be the true outliers in constituent order and subject position, and their disproportionate share in the total number of examples skewed the larger data set. Subject-*se* showed a less pronounced preference both for SO order and for initial position, even within the SO examples. As to argument order, the subject-*se* data set split nearly evenly between SO and OS (16 and 15, respectively), and seven of the eight examples with object hyperbaton had subject-*se*. Moreover, even in SO order *se* was displaced from initial position in 50% of cases. Again, this was a unique feature of the examples with subject-*se*, meaning that in our AcI data set *se* was less often pragmatically significant than other subject forms; or put another way, because in many cases *se* likely represented zero-anaphora—i.e. it was a grammatical feature rather than a pragmatic choice—the pragmatic statuses of the surrounding constituents have an outsized influence over the position of *se*, which itself did not command a specific pragmatic role or slot.

While the raw data provide an interesting starting point, our larger goal has been to identify the mechanisms by which the linear order of accusative constituents in AcI clauses is

determined and through which the syntactic roles of those constituents are construed. And, as with the nominal subjects, we found that the familiarity hierarchies (i.e. given>new, Topic>Focus), which are largely driven by pragmatics, and the personal-animacy hierarchies (i.e. high animacy>low animacy, Agent>Patient), which are more focused on semantic features, are key factors. Specifically, the semantic status of the arguments tended to determine their syntactic role, with entities higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy functioning as subjects and those lower as objects; however, the arguments' linear order was determined by the information structure of the clause, that is, pragmatic functions.

In nearly all cases the pronominal subject referents were highly agentive entities, primarily named individuals, and most often these were paired with inanimate or abstract objects, especially the neuter pronoun *id*. In other words, the relative positions of the two entities on the personal-animacy hierarchy were markedly different. In such cases grammatical ambiguity was unlikely. We have found this feature across all the data sets, and the regularity with which this asymmetric relationship holds is critical for avoiding potential ambiguity. Fronting a low-agency object/Patient ahead of a high-agency subject/Agent does not pose a significant communicative problem because the difference in agency counteracts any confusion that may arise from the less common serial order. In other words, when the arguments are sufficiently disparate on the agency scale, Topicalization and other movement rules can alter the default serial order without impairing the syntactic analysis.

There were, however, a handful of examples with reduced or negligible differences in agency. In fact, we saw in this chapter our first instance of a clause where both pronominal

referents are discourse bound and highly agentive, and yet grammatical ambiguity was barely more than theoretical due to the reflexivity of the subject *sese*:

83) (=50) (Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit)… qui nisi (*sc.* Caesar) decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, <u>sese</u> *illum* non pro amico sed hoste **habiturum**.

(Ariovistus replied briefly to Caesar's demands, but vaunted his own virtues at length…) [saying that] unless he (Caesar) departed and led the army out of these parts, he (Ariovistus) would consider that man not a friend but an enemy. (*Gal.* 1.44.11)

Reflexivity is key here since a reflexive construction (i.e. *illum*=S, *sese*=O) would be pragmatically and semantically infelicitous, although grammatically sound (i.e. \**himself, that man will consider not a friend but an enemy*).

The broader point is true for accusative reflexive pronouns in AcI clauses more generally, namely, that the reflexivity of the pronoun discourages grammatical ambiguity. It does so for a few reasons. Given a transitive AcI clause with two accusative arguments, one of which is *se*, e.g. *se* X V, two alternative syntactic assignments are available: 1) *se*=S, X=O and 2) *se*=O, X=S. But since *se* would likely be higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy than a second participant whether a noun or pronoun, it would be more likely to be taken as the subject. Second, reflexive constructions are simply much rarer, and *se* is the subject more often than not; again, only four reflexive constructions were found across the entire Caesarian data set of 686 AcI clauses, and in the couple that we examined ((82)) the reflexive pronoun tended to compose closely with the verb. Third and finally, we would ultimately need to motivate an OS order in some way, likely through Topicalization, but it is not entirely obvious when or even how one could topicalize the object pronoun in a reflexive construction in a way that is both grammatically sound and pragmatically and semantically felicitous.

Critically, the potentially ambiguous clauses only occurred in SO orders, i.e. pragmatically simpler clauses, relatively speaking. In other words, it appears that in AcI clauses Caesar does not allow lower-ranked, and thus lower-agency, semantic roles (e.g. Instrument or Force) to function as the syntactic subject of a transitive verb when another entity with a higher role, and thus higher agency, is also an event participant, even if those entities could be subjects in main clauses. Further, when both arguments are equally agentive and either is a suitable subject, Caesar avoids pragmatic devices like Topicalization, which could distort the more common SO order and result in ambiguity. These features could partially underlie assessments, both ancient and modern, of Caesar's style as simple and unadorned (*genus tenue*) or free from poeticisms, rhetorical flourishes, or "belletristic ornamentation"[336] since the promotion of non-agentive entities to subject roles or the assignment of agency to non-volitional entities would lend an air of abstractness and add a layer of metaphor.

Although the subject constituents tended to have both higher topicality and higher agency than the objects in the SO orders, this does not necessarily mean every pronominal subject form had Topic function. In fact, the pronominal subjects themselves generally did not (re)introduce an entity into the discourse, bear contrast, or show other features that might denote their movement into a Topic slot, and as such in some cases differentiating clauses where the subject pronoun had raised to the Topic slot from a Sentence Focus clause (i.e. thetic or event reporting clause) posed problems. That is to say, since the subject's movement to the Topic slot can often be string vacuous, i.e. does not manifest in the linear order, especially when the verb phrase has Broad Focus, it can be difficult to determine whether a clause like *nos iter facturos*

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[336] Panhuis (1982) 5. For ancient and modern assessments, see Krebs (2018b).

should be analyzed pragmatically as [*nos iter facturos*[SentFoc]] or [*nos*[Top]][*iter facturos*[BFoc]]. The presence of a preverbal NFoc constituent or other adjuncts that separated the subject from the object-verb, e.g. *sese, depopulatis agris, non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere*, allowed for easier identification of subjects with Topic function.

Variations from the SO constituent order were motivated by the same pragmatic movement rules that were operative in the SO cases, and in the previous data sets as well, primarily Topicalization and Focus raising. Thus, we were able to fit the subject pronoun examples into the pragmatic schema we have proposed already:

| | |
|---|---|
| **Broad Focus** | [Setting] – [Sentence Topic] – [Discourse Topic] – [Broad Focus (focal argument(s) + verb)] |
| **Narrow Focus** | [Setting] – [Sentence Topic] – [Discourse Topic] – [Narrow Focus] – [Presupposed Material] |

*Table 11: Pragmatic Configurations for Broad Focus and Narrow Focus*

Beginning from a default syntactic order SOV—pragmatically speaking, Sentence Focus—constituents then raise into pragmatic function slots above (to the left of) the base VP layer. It is important for theoretical parsimony that we can motivate the various serial orders by invoking a limited number of pragmatic movement rules.

In fact, Topicalization was quite productive and explained the majority of the OS cases, such as (63):

84)  ((=63) *praeterita* <u>se</u> Diviciaco fratri **condonare** dicit.

The past, he says, he pardons as a favor to Diviciacus, his brother. (*Gal.* 1.20.6)

We also saw additional examples of verbonominals or semantically weak verbs and their objects topicalizing. However, Topicalization is not confined to nuclear arguments; other constituents can topicalize as well and thus displace the subject constituent from initial position while

maintaining an SO linear order. In these cases, the subject itself may still raise to the broader

Topic domain, but it tends to have DiscTop function, which follows the SentTop slot. We saw

our first examples of this in this chapter:

85)　　(=58) Ariovistus respondit…Aeduis[SentTop] se[DiscTop] *obsides* **redditurum non esse**.

　　　　Ariovistus responded…that to the Aedui, he was not going to give back the hostages.
　　　　(*Gal.* 1.36.5)

　　　　Importantly, the fronted objects could also be multi-word constituents, and surprisingly

we saw numerous such cases where the subject did not cause hyperbaton, even with potentially

clitic *se*. In these examples a mix of prosodic and semantic features of the fronted constituents—

aided by, on occasion, the pragmatic status of the subject pronoun—helped promote domain

cohesion and discourage clisis. For example, the demonstrative adjective in *id bellum* in (64) was

more like a function word than a true adjective and so may have had proclitic attributes that tied

the NP together into a prosodic phrase or even single prosodic word. In two other cases with a

topicalized noun-genitive phrase, the pairs had undergone a semantic process called conceptual

deindividuation, meaning that the full NP formed a single informational unit rather than two

independent ideas, which restricts the mobility of the genitive element.

86)　　(=66) quod eo oppido recepto *civitatem Biturigum* se in potestatem **redacturum**
　　　　confidebat.

　　　　because he was confident that, once this town had been taken back, he would bring the
　　　　state of the Bituriges under his power. (*Gal.* 7.13.3)

We were unable to ascertain the phonetic realization of pronominal subjects, especially *se*, that

followed a fronted constituent. While it is possible that fronting as such is sufficient to cause the

pronominal element to cliticize, strong cross-linguistic evidence suggests that fronted elements

often project their own prosodic domains, that is, they are followed by a prosodic break, which

would block certain phrase-internal phonological processes such as cliticization.

But Topicalization was not the only pragmatic factor that affected the constituent order.

A handful of our OS examples were due to Focus raising, that is, the focal object constituent

raised into the NFoc slot while the subject remained pragmatically unmarked, e.g. [SOV] >

[O^{NFoc}][SV]. As with the subject's movement to the Topic slot, *mutatis mutandis*, the object's

raising to the Narrow Focus slot could also be string vacuous if the subject had Topic function,

e.g. [SOV] > [S^{Top}][O^{NFoc}][V]. Because Focus raising may not be visible in the surface order, these

examples, both here and in the previous chapter, helped substantiate the presence of a separate

NFoc slot by providing evidence of movement that affected the serial order. When Focus raising

is coupled with an unmarked subject constituent, it can result in an OS order, as it did in (65).

87) (=65) dicit (*sc.* Vercingetorix)… qua rei familiaris iactura *perpetuum imperium libertatemque* <u>se</u> **consequi** videant.

He (Vercingetorix) says…[that] by this sacrifice of property they would see that they would obtain perpetual command and freedom. (*Gal.* 7.64.2–3)

The Narrow Focus *perpetuum imperium libertatemque* has raised into the NFoc slot, which is

structurally above the base VP layer where the subject remains; the subject's lack of pragmatic

function allows the Focus raising to manifest in the serial order. This example, fortuitously, also

has a topicalized constituent in the Means adjunct *qua rei familiaris iactura*, which allowed us to

see both processes—i.e. Topicalization and Focus raising—at the same time.

Intriguingly, in our Caesar data, these movement rules primarily shifted constituents to

the left, such that many instances of ostensible rightward movement could be explained as an

induced motion effect of the leftward movement of another constituent. Furthermore, it allowed

us to explain certain examples where one might be inclined to view the pronominal subject as enclitic.

88)    a. (=70) magno <u>se</u> *illum* praemio **remuneraturum**.

       that he would pay him back with a great reward. (*Gal.* 1.44.14)

       b. (=39) multis <u>sese</u> nobilibus principibusque populi Romani *gratum* **esse facturum**.

       that he would have done a thing welcome to many nobles and leaders of the Roman people. (*Gal.* 1.44.12)

In both of these instances, the reflexive pronoun resembled an enclitic, that is, it appeared to be in classic Wackernagel (second) position. However, this would imply that the pronoun's prosodic deficiency is the proximate cause of its position, in other words, that it was *placed* in second position or arrived there through phonological inversion. The former is difficult from a compositional standpoint since one assumes the subject is composed before adjuncts, and both are called into question by the frequency of hyperbaton with subjective, evaluative adjectives like *magnus* and *multus*, especially in situations where clitics are not in play:

89)    Ariovistus respondit…*Magnam* <u>Caesarem</u> *iniuriam* **facere**, qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret.

       Ariovistus replied…[that] Caesar was committing a great injustice, who by his arrival was diminishing his tributes. (*Gal.* 1.36.4)

Based on a comparison to the previous two examples with *magno* and *multis*, it seems clear that it is the position of the adjective has been manipulated and which has caused the subject constituent to breach the domain integrity of the accusative object constituent.

   The *se* examples were distinctive in another way as well, i.e. the prevalence of short-range matrix verbs, which, especially when in clause-final position, highlighted the presence of and interaction between two domains of predication. This fact helped explain one of our subject-*se*

examples above where we seemed to have a double Topic structure, and given the preceding

context we may have expected the object pronoun *id* to topicalize ahead of the subject pronoun,

but it did not:

90)   (=68) Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri
      licere, quoniam propius accessisset (*sc.* Caesar), <u>se</u>que *id* sine periculo **facere posse**
      existimare.

      Ariovistus sends legates to him: [saying that] the thing he had asked before about a
      conference, it could now happen, as he saw it, since he had come closer, and he thought
      that he could do it without danger. (*Gal.* 1.42.1)

Both *se* and *id* are Topics, which should pose a problem given that the Discourse Topics tend to

follow Sentence Topics and *id* is a poor candidate for Discourse Topic. The problem is resolved if

*se* has SentTop function in the superordinate domain of *existimare*, while *id* has Topic function

in the second AcI layer with *facere posse*.

Unfortunately, a salient motivating factor for the use of *sese* instead of *se* remains elusive.

In one instance *sese* is explicitly contrastive (*non sese Gallis sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse* (42)),

but aside from this one case *sese* rarely (re)introduced an entity into the discourse or had

contrast. Thus, from a discourse-pragmatic perspective, it more often than not would have

represented zero anaphora in direct speech just as *se* would have in the majority of examples. We

even have one case where an initial *sese* is restated by *se*, after multiple intervening clauses,

without any discernable difference in the pragmatic status of each. The latter half of this passage

was referenced above, but we did not look at it in depth in either the *sese* or *se* sections above, so I

include it here.[337]

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[337] See n. 270.

91) legatos cum his mandatis mittit… [12 OCT lines] si non impetraret, <u>sese</u>,… [3.5 OCT lines], <u>se</u> *Aeduorum iniurias* **non neglecturum**.

He sends legates with these demands…[that] if he does not get his way, he, …, he will not overlook the injuries of the Aedui. (*Gal.* 1.35.4)

When Ariovistus refers back to this AcI in the following chapter (*Gal.* 1.36.6), he repeats the final coda with *se*: *Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum*.

Moreover, for certain examples of *sese*, one could find clauses with *se* that were similar enough to suggest more or less free variation between the two pronominal forms. For example, the following two passages with subject-*se* have correlative constructions similar to that in (48): *non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani amicitiam, quam appetierit* ("[that] he would no less happily reject the friendship of the Roman people than he had sought it" (*Gal.* 1.44.5)).

92) a. (=69) non minus <u>se</u> *id* **contendere** et **laborare** ne ea quae dixissent enuntiarentur quam uti ea quae vellent impetrarent.

[that] they no less beg and strive for this, that what had been said not be disclosed, as that they obtain what they ask for. (*Gal.* 1.31.2)

b. nec minus <u>se</u> ab milite *modestiam et continentiam* quam *virtutem atque animi magnitudinem* **desiderare**.

[that] no less did he require moderation and restraint from his troops than *virtus* and an abundance of courage. (*Gal.* 7.52.4)

In short, the general lack of pragmatic features seen in the *sese* examples, including anything one might label "emphasis," stands somewhat at odds with the traditional view of *sese* as an emphatic form of *se*. Future research is needed to fully flesh out what, if any, differences there are between the two forms.

Finally, every subject-*se* subset had a higher percentage of Narrow Foci than Broad Foci, which was not the case with other subject forms where the two Focus constructions were relatively equal. Given that *se* in many cases seemed to be a grammatical feature rather than

pragmatic (i.e. would represent zero anaphora) and its predilection for Narrow Foci, it is worth

considering whether there is some preference (either linguistic or stylistic) for clauses with

asymmetric or unbalanced pragmatic structures, e.g. pairing strongly marked Foci with small or

reduced referring expressions and vice versa—this certainly would be only a preference, perhaps

even an unconscious one, and not a rule. Referring expressions come in different strengths—full

noun phrases are the strongest form, followed by anaphoric pronouns of various kinds, followed

by zero anaphora—and using light referring expressions when an entity is insufficiently inferable

or accessible can lead to conversational breakdowns. Thus, for clarity's sake, it may be the case

that when stronger referring expressions are required or used, i.e. cases when the identity of a

participant is being (re)established, Caesar steers clear of stronger, that is, Narrow Focus

expressions, perhaps avoiding clauses with two heavy pragmatic nodes, as it were. For example, if

we imagine the pragmatic balance of a clause with the Topic on one end and Focus on the other,

a full noun phrase tilts the weight toward the Topic side. Then, as the referring expression

lightens (e.g. via a referential chain), one can gradually increase the "size" of the Focus

expression. This information packaging strategy would be an extension of the general rule that

you cannot or should not introduce an entity and predicate something of that entity in the same

clause.

In the next chapter we transition to Cicero. We will follow the same structured approach

to the data as we have done with Caesar; that is, we will address nominal subjects before

pronominal subjects and SO orders before OS. As we move through these data, we will see that,

while the fundamental ordering principles and pragmatic movement rules are similar—e.g.

Topicalization is quite productive—they manifest in diverse ways. In other words, Cicero adheres

to the same general principles but is less internally consistent than Caesar is. In addition to the the basic pragmatic structures, Cicero employs adjuncts and disjuncts in unique ways, which further contrasts his information packaging strategies and style with that of Caesar.

**CHAPTER 4:**

**ENTER CICERO**

In this chapter our primary objective is to introduce and analyze AcI data from Cicero, another Republican author, to whose corpus we can compare our Caesar data. Unlike Caesar's, Cicero's works span decades and multiple genres, and our corpus ought to be representative of this temporal and generic breadth. Therefore, we will briefly touch on the choice of texts in the following section (§4.1 Background and Corpus) and then review a couple of additional generic and compositional conditions that will be operative in Cicero (§4.2 Generic, Compositional, and Theoretical Influences on Constituent Order). After these introductory sections, we will conduct a systematic assessment of the data roughly analogous to our analyses from chapters 2 and 3, starting with nominal subjects in both SO and OS orders and then moving onto pronominal subjects.

Ultimately, and perhaps predictably, we will find that Cicero both concurs and conflicts with the semantic and pragmatic patterns identified in Caesar. On the one hand, the personal-animacy hierarchy will continue to be, with a few exceptions, a reliable proxy for syntactic assignments, and the subject and object constituents will consistently differ widely in their respective positions on the personal-animacy hierarchy. In short, Cicero, like Caesar, strongly favors pairing high-agency, individuated subjects with low-agency, inanimate, or abstract objects.

On the other hand, although we will find "textbook" cases of Topicalization and Focus raising throughout his corpus, Cicero will display considerably less internal uniformity in his pragmatic structures and information packaging strategies than Caesar did. He will accomplish this through a number of means, some of which are variations of features found in Caesar while

others are unique to Cicero. Perhaps the most consequential feature, which will have multiple downstream effects, is Cicero's marked preference for short-range matrix verbs, i.e. matrix constructions that tend to govern only one infinitive and immediately precede or follow the AcI domain, which, as we will see, implicates syntactic and pragmatic domain integrity, pronominal prosody, and constituent order.

### 4.1 Background and Corpus

A natural counterpart to Caesar is Cicero, a man about whom we have abundant biographical information, thanks in large part to his own writings, principally his extensive collections of letters to friends, family, and acquaintances that chronicle sundry events from 68–43 BCE.[338] Cicero and Caesar were born six years apart and died within two years of one another. They were ambitious men trying to achieve greatness amid the shifting political and social landscape of the late Republic, and because of this ambition they would regularly cross paths in public and in private, sometimes as allies and other times as adversaries. Moreover, since their lives intersect and overlap so intricately, we can safely assume that their written works were produced within the same historical, social, and intellectual milieu.[339]

And yet Cicero is also unique as a Republican author in many ways. First, much more so than perhaps any of his contemporaries, his personal identity was symbiotic with the Roman

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[338] Four collections of Ciceronian letters are extant: *Ad Atticum* (68–44 BCE), *Ad Familiares* (62–43 BCE), *Ad Quintum fratrem* (59–54 BCE), and *Ad Brutum* (43 BCE). As far as we know, these letters were not written with an eye to publication (cf. Halla-aho (2011)).

[339] For which, see Volk (2021).

Republic.[340] Properly contextualizing passages from any of Cicero's orations, letters, or

philosophical or rhetorical treatises is nigh impossible without some understanding of how the

work fits within the broader cultural *Gestalt* of the late Republic.

Second, Cicero's extant writings are more expansive—in date, style, genre, and sheer

number—than those of most Latin writers. Cicero's set of Oxford Classical Texts, for example,

contains sixteen total volumes, while the entire *corpus Caesarianum*, which includes the works of

Caesar's continuators, fills just two. His various writings also span nearly four decades from the

late-80s with the *De inventione* through the *Philippics* produced shortly before his assassination

in 43 BCE, and they cover multiple genres including oratory, rhetoric, philosophy, and

epistolography, each of which brings with it the possibility of generic idiosyncrasies and

affectations.[341] Caesar's two *commentarii*, by contrast, each record campaign details from their

respective wars and cover relatively short spans of time: the *Bellum Gallicum* seven or eight years,

the *Bellum Civile* only two.

Third, we have a much richer understanding of Cicero's inner life thanks to his

correspondence with various of his friends and family and, more importantly, of his operant

theories of oratory, rhetoric, and composition from his technical tracts on the subjects.

Conversely, while we know that Caesar wrote on such subjects (*supra De Analogia*, fr. 2), these

works have been lost to time, and persuasively identifying within either of Caesar's extant

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[340] Dench (2013). We find this fact reflected in the *Scholia Bobiensia* as well: *gloriae Ciceronis accedit quod seiungi ab re publica non potest* (Stangl (1912) 86.19 *In Clodium et Curionem* fr. 3), for which, see Pieper's contribution in Pieper and Pausch (2023).

[341] This is by no means meant to imply that generic features are mutually exclusive.

*commentarii* potential overarching rhetorical or compositional principles is a more complicated endeavor.

Given these factors, my choice of Ciceronian texts reflects a conscious desire to work from a temporally and generically representative corpus. Focusing on one genre to the exclusion of others would have given us a distorted view of the constituent order data or, at the very least, made any further application of the data either within Cicero's corpus or to other authors problematic. Similarly, privileging texts written early in Cicero's life to those written later or vice versa would overlook the potential for changes—conscious or otherwise—to stylistic preferences or for natural developments in the language more broadly over the course of 40 years.

I also wanted to stay true to the guideline laid out in §1.6 Data Gathering, Cataloguing, and Sorting Methods to read the whole of source texts. This approach, I believe, allows for better contextualization of our examples.[342] In this regard, the speeches presented no problem as they are inherently manageable units intended for consumption in their entireties. Individual letters are also self-contained units, albeit much shorter, which have been organized into larger units.[343] A tougher decision was posed by the rhetorical and philosophical works—e.g. multiple books of a longer work or individual books from separate works; ultimately, I opted for a single, stand-alone text. The names of the texts along with their dates of delivery or composition and the number of

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[342] As with Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, this method does not require reading a work cover to cover; rather it is an avoidance of a reliance on detached, excerpted sentences in lieu of a focus on the communicative aims of the discourse in which those sentences occur.

[343] While the book-level unit exists in the manuscript tradition, the chronological letter organization is to a greater or lesser degree the work of editors. On the (re)organization of ancient letter collections by modern editors, see Gibson (2012) and (2013) 389, who argues that "through the systematic re-arrangement of ancient letter collections along chronological lines, modern and early-modern editors have effectively converted ancient letter collections into species of history or (auto-)biography."

pages in their editions of the Oxford Classical Texts series are listed by genre in the following

table for reference.

| Genres | Works | Date: Comp./Delivery | OCT page count[344] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oratory | *In Verrem I* | 70 BCE | 19 |
| | *In Catilinam I* | 63 BCE | 14 |
| | *Pro Marcello* | 46 BCE | 11 |
| | *Pro Ligario* | 46 BCE | 13 |
| | *Philippicae I* | 44 BCE | 16 |
| Epistles | Ad Atticum I | 68–60 BCE | 43 |
| Philosophy | *De senectute* | late 45–44 BCE | 46 |
| | | | **162** |

*Table 12: Cicero source texts and page count*

The five speeches chosen from Cicero's oratory encompass the full chronological span of

Cicero's oratorical career. Each also concerns a broader episode of historical or personal

significance that mentioned frequently in other texts, in particular Cicero's letters.[345] Moreover,

we know that versions of these five speeches were actually delivered unlike the *Second Philippic*

or the *Second Verrine*.[346] Finally, each of these speeches is highly regarded and widely read both

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[344] For the texts I used the following editions: *Orationes* I, A. C. Clark, ed. (1965), *Orationes* II, A. C. Clark, ed. (1963), and *Orationes* III, W. Peterson, ed. (1967); Letters to Atticus: *Epistles* II.I, W. S. Watt, ed. (1965); *De senectute*: *De re publica, De legibus, Cato maior de senectute, Laelius de amicitia*, J. G. F. Powell, ed. (2006).

[345] Cross-referencing can, for example, provide additional or alternative descriptions of events, which in turn augments our knowledge of the pragmatic conditions at play in the speech context. For Catiline and the "consular orations," see *Att.* 1.19, 2.1, *Fam.* 5.2.8. For Antony and *Philippics*, see, e.g., *Att.* 14 *passim*, 15.11, 15.13, 15.13a, 16.7, 16.11, *Fam.* 10.2, 12.2–3, 12.23. For Verres, see *Orat.* 102, 103, 167. For *Lig.*, see *Att.* 13.12, 13.20.

[346] Knowledge of delivery, I believe, is critical, because it increases in some small sense the likelihood that the written text is truly representative of the oral version. For the relationship of the delivered speech to its written counterpart, see below. However, a small handful of scholars have come to the opinion that the *Pro Marcello* is a forgery. This

by modern audiences and in antiquity, that is, they are seen as prime examples of Ciceronian oratory, which, while not a necessary or sufficient condition in itself, does nevertheless give additional value to using these particular texts.

One might object that these speeches privilege invective over other types of oratory, but the three prosecution speeches are not regarded as the epitome of Ciceronian invective. *Verrine* 1, for instance, is a forensic speech against Verres, but Cicero forewent the expected *perpetua oratio* and presented documentary evidence (*tabulis, testibus, privatis publicisque litteris, auctoritatibusque*) to thwart the defense's underhanded delay tactics (*I Verr.* 1.33).[347] The *First Catilinarian* too "is notoriously difficult to classify in terms of formal rhetoric."[348] Some see it as deliberative, others note prosecutorial elements, while still others describe it as epideictic with forensic and deliberative features.[349] Berry's recent book on the *Catilinarians* argues that the speech is not a conventional invective, but rather a "denunciation" because Cicero lays out specific allegations against Catiline rather than simply maligning him.[350] Finally, while Antony is taken to task in many of the 14 orations that make up the *Philippics*—especially in the *Second Philippic*—readers have found the *First Philippic* by itself to be more subdued in its insults.[351]

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position is perfunctorily mentioned by Gotoff (1993) xxxii as a "historical curiosity" and quickly dismissed. For this debate, see now the contributions of Margiotta and Schwameis in Pieper and Pausch (2023).

[347] Vasaly (2002) 88–90 points out that the bulk of the speech is an explanation of Cicero's decision to forego the long set speech typical of extortion trials.

[348] Craig (2002) 522.

[349] Deliberative: Kennedy (1972) 175–176; Steel (2006); deliberative with prosecutorial elements: Dyck (2008) 61; epideictic: Batstone (1994) 218–221. Craig (2007) 335–336 also applies the epideictic label even as he attempts to explain why the speech has "remarkably fewer of these seventeen standard invective *loci*." Cf. Corbeill (2002) 200–201 and Arena (2007) for alternative lists and discussions of invective themes.

[350] Berry (2020) 91, following Powell (2007).

[351] Usher (2010) 129, with additional bibliography.

Therefore, while these three speeches all confront and condemn a major adversary in Cicero's life, they also differ in important ways in their approaches.

The selection from Cicero's epistles is the first book of the *Ad Atticum* collection. The letters in book one date to 68–60 BCE; unlike his orations, however, Cicero did not intend the letters to be circulated, so we cannot place the date of their publication as a collection more firmly than the mid-first century CE.[352] Cicero's letters to Atticus hold pride of place among his various letter collections, and many scholars believe Cicero is here at his most open and vulnerable. Furthermore, since all the letters are to the same person, we need not worry that the level of familiarity between writer and addressee will change nor that the pragmatic knowledge of the discourse participants will vary drastically: That is, we can treat the letters to Atticus more like a conversation where the speakers interact based on a shared set of informational presuppositions.

Finally, scholarly consensus puts the composition of *De senectute* in the few months before or directly after Caesar's assassination in March 44 BCE, during Cicero's flurry of philosophical and rhetorical literary production following his return to Italy and pardon by Caesar after the battle of Pharsalus in 48.[353] The works produced during this period represent

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[352] The publication of Cicero's extensive correspondence is a particularly vexed question. Nicholson (1998) notes that "publication" in such a situation would be logistically improbable given that our evidence suggests, in addition to the four extant collections comprising roughly 36 books, upwards of 40 books of letters may have been lost, among which are those to Cornelius Nepos (2 books), Octavian (3 books), Caesar (3 books), Pansa (3 books), Hirtius (9 books), M. Brutus (8 more books), Licinius Calvus (3 books), Marcus his son (2 books), Q. Axius (2 books), and Pompey (4 books). The commissioned copying of such large collections would have been a massive undertaking. He suggests the likelier situation is that the collections were never formally published in the way that a Ciceronian oration would have been (i.e. production of multiple complete copies for sale to a general public); instead there was a gradual and casual circulation of letters among those with privileged access to private libraries (Nicholson (1998) 77). Cf. Shackleton-Bailey (1965) 59–76 for in-depth discussion of the evidence for appearance of the epistles as collections.

[353] A *terminus ante quem* comes from a direct reference to the work (*legendus mihi saepius Cato maior ad te missus*) in a letter to Atticus dated May 11, 44 BCE (*Att*. 14.21.3). A precise *post quem* is not available, although Cicero does

Cicero's more mature philosophical positions and his deliberate Romanization of a Greek

intellectual heritage.[354] In fact, Cicero offers multiple explicit *apologiae* for his choice to write

philosophy *Latinis litteris*.[355] The uniquely Roman setting of *De senectute* as well as the fact that it

is a self-contained "essay" influenced my selection. Moreover, while the dialogue reflects on

weighty philosophical issues, it does so without getting bogged down in the overly dense and

abstract philosophical dialectic that one finds in other philosophical treatises.

As was the case with Caesar above, certain linguistic-adjacent issues will impinge on or

shape our investigation of Cicero's constituent order. In the following section, I will foreground

several of these issues that will be salient to our discussion of Cicero, such as generic

expectations, rhetorical theory, and prose rhythm. Our aim will not be to provide a

comprehensive examination of each issue, nor will it be to offer evidence or argument on behalf

of any side in a particular debate. Rather, we want to identify how these issues could affect our

source texts and also how these effects are relevant to our overall linguistic investigation.

## 4.2 Generic, Compositional, and Theoretical Influences on Constituent Order

Many more issues concerning generic expectations and composition exist than would be

practical or useful for us to discuss. Therefore, we will review only a handful of these,

concentrating on those issues that pertain to our particular texts. As an initial question, we will

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list the *De senectute* in his catalogue of recent writings in *De Divinatione*, which was completed after Caesar's assassination (*…etiam nuper liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus* (*Div.* 2.3)). Powell (1988) 267 interprets the *nuper* in comparison to the other listed works, the last of which is *De natura deorum* from the autumn of 45 BCE. The evidence available only permits us to place the date of composition between January and May 44 BCE.

[354] Corbeill (2013) 11.

[355] The phrase is found at *Tusc.* 1.1 and *Nat. D.* 1.7. Cf. Corbeill's and Schofield's chapters in Steel (2013).

begin by asking what Cicero himself said about his approach to style and rhetoric, invoking the

typical tripartite division (plain, middle, grand) as well as the Atticist debate active at Rome

during Cicero's life. We will then look at how generic expectations may affect the three genres we

have chosen, before briefly considering a few compositional issues such as date of publication

and textual revisions; unfortunately, many of these compositional issues are rather open

questions, and even if definitive answers could be found, this is not our goal here. However, an

awareness of these debates as background qualifications will be important for the larger project.

Finally, we will look at prose rhythm and clausulae, how Cicero uses rhythmical prose, and what

effects it could have on his constituent order.

The history of rhetorical theory is long and complex, but since our interest in rhetoric

centers primarily on style (λέξις, *elocutio*)—in particular, the three *genera dicendi*, or styles of

speaking—we need not rehash it in full here.[356] While tradition traces the "invention" of rhetoric

to Corax and Tisias in the fifth century BCE, it is not until book 3 of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, dated to

the latter half of the fourth century, that we find a concerted, if preliminary, effort to treat style

(λέξις) systematically.[357] Soon after, in his treatise *On Style* Theophrastus rearranged Aristotle's

[356] The threefold division of styles was the most common taxonomy and had become the standard by the first century CE, but it was not universal. For instance, the treatise *On Style* (for whohse dating, see n. 372), attributed to Demetrius of Phaleron (for which, see Kennedy (1994) 88–90), discusses four styles of speaking: plain, grand, elegant, and forceful. Kennedy (1963) provides a detailed discussion of the development of rhetoric in the Greek world, as Kennedy (1972) does for the Roman. Kennedy (1994) is a student-oriented combination, revision, and abridgement of Kennedy (1963), (1972), and (1983). For the early development of rhetoric, see Kennedy (1963) esp. 52–73, Kennedy (1994) 30–48; Habinek (2005) and Pernot (2005) are also worth consulting. For an account of the origins of rhetoric *pace* Kennedy (1963) et al., see Cole (1991a) and Schiappa (1999).

[357] Our knowledge of Corax and Tisias comes primarily from references in other authors, the earliest of which is Plato's *Phaedrus* (266e–267e). For the figures of Corax and Tisias, see Kennedy (1963) 58–60, Cole (1991b), Gagarin (2007). Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and the *Rhetoric for Alexander* (possibly by Anaximenes), also dated to the fourth century BCE, are the earliest extant rhetorical handbooks. For a detailed overview of the *Rhetoric* and Aristotle's rhetorical theory, see Murphy, Katula, and Hoppmann (2013) ch. 3. Earlier rhetoricians had written handbooks as well, and many more would produce them after—so many, in fact, that Habinek (2005) 44 surmises that rhetorical handbooks may be "quite possibly the single best-attested genre of writing from the ancient world." Because the pre-

discussion into a list of four virtues of style—correctness, clarity, ornamentation, propriety—that would become the standard account in later writers, including Cicero.[358]

An even more important list to emerge from the Hellenistic period is that of the three *genera dicendi*—the plain style, the middle style, and the grand style—which we find for the first time in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.11), but which is also embraced by Cicero in his rhetorical works.[359] In the following we will largely restrict ourselves to Cicero's own statements about himself and theory more broadly since he actively engaged in the philosophical discussions of rhetoric and language that were taking place in the intellectual milieu of the late Republic.[360] His writings on these subjects give us privileged insights into his theoretical views on Latinity, oratory, and composition, views which would have informed his non-theoretical writings. First, however, we should review what these three styles are and how they differ from one another.

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Aristotelian (and most post-Aristotelian) handbooks have been lost, we cannot precisely date when style became a distinct category of rhetoric, but according to Kennedy (1994) 44–45 Isocrates is the earliest writer to reference style as a fundamental part of rhetoric (πρεπόντως ὅλον τὸν λόγον καταποικῖλαι (*C. soph.* §16)).

[358] *On Style* and many more works of Theophrastus are now lost. Reconstructions of his works are possible because of the large number of references in later writers, e.g. Demetrius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, and Quintilian. For example, it is from Cicero (*Orat.* 79) that we learn of Theophrastus' four qualities of style. See also *De Or.* 3.37. For Theophrastus' role and legacy in the development of rhetoric, see Kennedy (1963) 273–284, Kennedy (1994) 84–87, Pernot (2005) 58–63.

[359] During the Hellenistic period we see a paroxysm of rhetorical taxonomy, although what we know about these developments is almost entirely filtered through later Roman sources. Kennedy (1963) 266 argues that "the primary reason for this elaboration is the fact that any discipline, once it begins self-analysis, carries on the process relentlessly. In modern times [1960s] the same trend with the same creation of terminology and definitions can be seen in some of the social sciences." This somewhat disparaging assessment is tempered in the revised publication Kennedy (1994) 81–101. For an alternate lens on the contributions of Hellenistic rhetoricians, see Connolly (2007).

[360] Cf. *De Or.* 3.39 on the importance of *consuetudo* and contemporary language; *Orat.* 160 on Cicero's gradual acceptance of aspirated plosives in loan words and even their extension into Latin words (e.g. *pulcher*). Of course, we know that Caesar, as an educated Roman, would also have taken part in these debates, but his extant contributions are quite scant. The extent to which Cicero practices what he preaches has been a matter of debate, as has been the level of credence we should give to his theoretical positions themselves given the polemical undercurrents and the fluctuations in views between the works. For rhetorical theory in Rome, see Kennedy (1994) chs. 6, 7, and 8. For the larger intellectual climate of Republican Rome, see Wisse (2002) and Corbeill (2013). For an overview of the development of Cicero's rhetorical theories, see Dugan (2013). See Powell (2013) for an overview of Cicero's style.

Kirchner (2007) 193 summarizes the particulars of the three styles well:

> The plain style…is used to describe facts and instruct the hearer…This style avoids the use of rhythmical patterns and employs metaphors for the sake of clarity rather than ornament…The words should be taken from everyday language, and the structure of the sentences should be neither too complicated nor too long.

> The middle style [should] be richly ornamented with all kinds of tropes and figures that help to render the speech elegant and pleasant. Grammatical structures are often set out in isocola, and the middle style is particularly suited to epideictic speeches or epideictic parts of a speech.

> The grand style belongs to political rhetoric or the emotional parts of a forensic speech…this style sets out to instill new opinions in the listener and remove old ones…the orator is allowed to use poetic words and archaisms, and the sentence ought not to be too smooth.

At *Orator* 101, Cicero explains that the ideal orator is one who is not only a master of all three styles of oratory but also, and more importantly, one who is capable of modulating between them as the context demands.[361] Of course, Cicero claims that he is precisely this type of orator.[362] Despite what Cicero says about his singular command of the three styles, we learn from Tacitus (*Dial*. 18.4–6) and Quintilian (*Inst*. 12.10.10–15) that the so-called Atticists (*Atticorum imitatores*) castigated Cicero's style as bombastic and bloated (*inflatus et tumens*), long-winded and over the

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[361] *Is erit igitur eloquens, ut idem illud iteremus, qui poterit parva summisse, modica temperate, magna graviter dicere* ("He, then, will be an eloquent speaker, to repeat my former definition, who is able to discuss trivial matters in a humble way, matters of moderate significance in a tempered way, and weighty affairs in the grand manner") (*Orat*. 101).

[362] He acknowledges that this was not always the case, though. In *Brutus* (316), he relates how, under the tutelage of Molon of Rhodes, he learned to temper his "over-abundance and lack of restraint caused by the unbridled license of youthful speech (*nimis redundantis nos et supra fluentis iuvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret*). Likewise, at *Orator* 107–108 he contrasts an excerpt from *Rosc. Am.* in 80 with a shorter excerpt from *Clu.* in 66. The former, he says, was an artifact of his youthful excesses (*iuvenilis redundantia*) and was not sufficiently tempered (*nequaquam satis defervisse*), while the latter was the product of a seasoned (*matura*) orator. Yet, Cicero admits that broader changes in cultural norms and in Latin also spurred his style to evolve (e.g. *Orat*. 160). Thus, if a more ornate, "Asianic" style was in vogue early in Cicero's career, we need not see his admission of *redundantia* in earlier speeches as a criticism per se, but rather an acknowledgment of the shifting cultural and linguistic landscape. For Asianism in the Hellenistic context, see Kennedy (1963) 301–330; for Asianism and Atticism in the Roman context, see Narducci (2002a) *esp*. 420–422, Dugan (2013), Powell (2013).

top (*exsultans et superfluens*), redundant and excessively repetitive (*redundantem et in repetitionibus nimium*), in short, as *not* Atticist (*parum Atticus*).[363] Since these questions of style were front of mind for Cicero, they ought to remain accessible to us as well, even if Cicero does not, in the end, practice what he preaches.

The three styles will also factor into the next topic, generic expectations, which we discussed somewhat narrowly above in regard to Caesar's *commentarii*. In our discussion of Cicero, though, they will play an even larger role since he wrote in multiple genres. We will address such concerns by reference to each of our genres: oratory, epistles, philosophy.

Speeches, at a macro level, reflect not only the objective of the speech — that is, deliberation, prosecution, invective, praise — but also the audience, both of which may require adaptations in register, tone, and style. There are prescribed arrangements at the internal level as well, each of which has its own preferred style.[364] Cicero himself states (*Orat*. 69) that the plain style is best suited to proof, e.g. *narratio* (*subtile in probando*), the middle style to pleasure (*modicum in delectando*), and the grand style to persuasion (*vehemens in flectendo*), i.e.

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[363] The majority of our knowledge on the Atticist debate comes from Cicero himself in two treatises written in 46: *Brutus* and *Orator*. Per Kaster (2020) 21, the Atticist debate arose sometime before 46 (the date of *Brutus* and *Orator*), but likely after 55, the date of *De oratore*, given that Cicero does not mention the controversy in the latter. See Kaster (2020), 1–34 ("Introduction") and notes ad loc. *Brut*. 49–52, 61–76, 279–292 and *Orat*. 20–32, 75–99, 168–173, 234–236. For *Brutus*, see Narducci (2002a); for juxtaposition of Cicero's and Caesar's place in the Atticist debate, see Garcea (2012) 42–77; for Atticist issues in style generally, see Kennedy (1963) 330–336 and von Albrecht (1989) *passim*, esp. 33–67. Again, for Asianism in the Hellenistic context, see Kennedy (1963) 301–330. Although much attention has been paid in modern scholarship to this divide, at least in the Roman world it seems to have been a relatively short-lived phenomenon, so perhaps we are making intellectual mountains out of mole hills as has been done with other ancient "debates," e.g. the coincidence or clash or versus ictus and word accent, about which Fortson (2011) 99 writes "Not often does a problem costing so many scholars so many years of toil turn out to be founded on false premises and therefore illusory: the theory that there was a verse ictus, never universally accepted, has by now been conclusively discredited."

[364] See Kirchner (2007). The division of speeches into their respective parts — traditionally four, i.e. prologue, narrative, argument, epilogue — is one of the earliest stages in the development of rhetorical theory. Gagarin (2007) 30 suggests that Tisias may be responsible, but Aristotle attributes the division to Theodorus (*Rh*. 3.13.5). Cf. Kennedy (1994) 32.

*exordium*.[365] Thus, depending on what section of a speech a particular example is drawn from, different explanations of certain features may be required. Cicero, of course, does not slavishly adhere to these theoretical archetypes, but their development and institutionalization over the course of decades or centuries presumably stems from a belief that some arguments and oratorical structures work better than others.

Treatises on philosophy or rhetoric, on the other hand, are often more abstract in their content, contain intricate logical argumentation, and tend to be written for an elite audience that is presumed to be fluent in the current scholastic argot. Furthermore, philosophical texts differ from typical narrative texts in that they often lack a consistent cast of characters. In other words, there are fewer Agents performing actions and more inanimate and abstract entities. This feature is mitigated to a certain degree in Cicero since many of his philosophical and rhetorical works are written as, what Schofield calls "Academic dialogue-treatises."[366] This is the case with our text, *De Senectute*, which purports to be a conversation between Scipio Aemilianus, Laelius, and an 83-year-old Cato the Elder, taking place in 150 BCE, 106 years prior to its composition.[367] So, we do have persistent characters, but the conversation itself, not actions and deeds, is driving force of the narrative.

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[365] Similar statements are made in the surrounding context. For example, also in §69 Cicero writes that *ita dicet ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat* ("to speak in such a way as to prove, to please, and to persuade"). Then, at *Orat.* 74, he reiterates that it is clear *non modo partis orationis sed etiam causas totas alias alia forma dicendi esse tractandas* ("that not only the different parts of the speech, but also whole speeches must be treated now in one style, now in another").

[366] Schofield (2013) 80; also see Schofield (2008).

[367] For Cicero's reasoning behind his use of historical figures cf. *De amicitia* 4–5, *Att.* 12.12. For the precursors and influences on Cicero's dialogues cf. introduction to Powell (1988) esp. 5–9. For the philosophical dialogue more broadly, see Schofield (2008).

Cicero is not alone in this; the dialogue was a popular format for philosophical texts, which let authors present philosophical ideas in a more relaxed and informal setting.[368] But there are generic norms here too, and the underlying narrative conceit itself introduces potential tensions.[369] The dialogue, while entirely contrived, must also affect a level of verisimilitude to "real" dialogue; on the other hand, the historical setting muddies the time period to which the dialogue assimilates: present or past or both intermittently.[370] Powell (2013) writes that "its status as a dialogue lays on the author an obligation to try to reproduce, at least some of the time, the nuances of an actual conversation." And since one interlocutor in the conversation is Cato the Elder, the reputed father of Latin prose, Cicero may have felt obliged to try to reproduce identifiable linguistic idiosyncrasies as well.[371]

The epistolary genre, and epistles more generally, also had stylistic prescriptions. The rhetorical treatise *On Style*, attributed to Demetrius of Phaleron, states that letters ought to be written in the plain style (ἰσχνότης) because, according to Artemon, the editor of Aristotle's letters, they are the other half of a conversation (οἷον τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ διαλόγου, *De Eloc.*

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[368] Of course, Platonic dialogues loom large in this respect. In *Sen.* 6–8, for instance, Cicero adapts or paraphrases a lengthy section of Plato's *Republic* (328d–330a), for which see Powell (1988) ad loc.

[369] Cicero was, of course, aware of the generic norms of the dialogue format. See *Leg.* 3.26, where Marcus knowingly comments, *scis solere, frater, in huius modi sermone, ut transiri alio possit, dici "admodum" aut "prorsus ita est"* ("you know that is it customary, dear brother, in this kind of discussion, to say "precisely" or "it certainly is," so it is possible to move on to another topic"). For Cicero's use of conversation and dialogue, see Hutchinson (1998) cf. 5.

[370] Powell (1988) 20 believes the dialogue reflects the conventions of Cicero's time rather than Cato's. Cf. Goetsch (1985) for the broader concept of "fingierte Mündlichkeit;" cf. Müller (1997) for similar issues in Terence.

[371] The meager extant corpus of Cato coupled with our knowledge that Cicero had read much of Cato's work, has led to a hunt for "Catonian echoes" in Cicero's representation of Cato (Powell (1988) 142). Cicero states that he had read 150 of Cato's speeches (*Brut.* 65), but fragments from 80 are all that survive. A few fragments of his seven-book *Origines* are extant. The *De Agricultura* has survived nearly intact. For Cato's language and style cf. Till (1968); Sciarrino (2007) on oratory; Briscoe (2010) on *Origines*; Adams (2016) 61–84 and 85–106 on *De Agricultura*. Conversely, Ciceronian echoes are to be found in his fictionalized Cato as well, in particular the use of rhythmic prose and clausulae (on which, see below, and Powell (2013) 61).

223).[372] Quintilian also connects the language of dialogues and letters saying that their construction is looser (*soluta*) than other types of *oratio* (Quint. *Inst*. 9.4.19). Cicero, in turn, notes that there are different types of letters with different flavors (*Fam*. 2.4): The most "authentic," to use Shackleton-Bailey's term, are intended to inform someone about events that they missed; the second type is familiar and jocular (*familiare et iocosum*); the final type is serious and somber (*severum et grave*).

Interestingly, Cicero also comments on his own epistolary style in a letter to Papirius Paetus (*Fam*. 9.21.1) where he asks Papirius how he (Cicero) seems as a letter writer and whether he sees his style as colloquial (*quid tibi ego videor in epistulis? Nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum?*). He justifies his question by noting the need to adapt one's style to the situation at hand: Epistles, courts, and public meetings are all different (*quid enim simile habet epistula aut iudicio aut contioni?*), and letters should be put together from everyday words (*epistulas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus*). In keeping with his description, we find ample variation in register across Cicero's letter collections depending on the content and audience of the letter.[373] The letters to Atticus, in particular, are considered Cicero's most "colloquial" and, therefore, the best evidence we have for spoken Latin of this period.[374] Typologically speaking, spoken language differs from

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[372] The dating of the treatise is uncertain as is the authorship. Scholars have proposed dates ranging from third century BCE to the first century CE. See Halliwell et al. (1995) 309–319 for discussion of authorship and date. Demetrius is an outlier among rhetorical theorists in discussing epistles; however, as Kennedy (1994) 90 states, the puzzle is "not that Demetrius should discuss the subject but why other rhetoricians do not, considering the fact that the epistle was a widely used literary genre."

[373] A number of types of letters can be distinguished based on subject matter, e.g. recommendations, consolations, official dispatches. Contrast *Fam*. 15.1, a dry official dispatch from Cilicia with *Fam*. 5.12, a "very pretty" literary letter to Lucceius (Shackleton-Bailey (1985) 59–60).

[374] Halla-aho (2011) 428. The comedies of Plautus and Terence are also cited as representative of everyday speech. The connection between the language of letters and comedy dates to Tyrrell and Purser (1885) I.59–64.

written in certain ways, such as having a predisposition to paratactic syntax and fewer subordinate constructions.[375] Also, cliticization is an innately oral phenomenon. Both the conversational structure of letters and their relationship to spoken language are important factors to bear in mind as we parse the data below.

Furthermore, much like a conversation or dialogue, epistles both presuppose a unique pragmatic relationship between the sender and recipient and also naturally provide plentiful examples of changes in subject matter insofar as a common purpose of a letter is to cover multiple subjects in a single document. In fact, using evidence from non-literary letters from Egypt and Vindolanda, Halla-aho (2009) even suggests that marking a switch in subject matter through mere initial placement of a constituent may be a feature of letters more generally regardless of the personal relationship between sender and recipient.[376]

Unfortunately, Atticus' own contributions to the correspondence are absent, so Cicero's letters function as a one-sided conversation where we only see one participant's "turns."[377] As such, we are left with syntax that is often strikingly elliptical, narratives that are highly context dependent, and frequent and often abrupt switches in topic.[378] The familiarity allows Cicero to

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[375] For an in-depth discussion of written and oral texts and the concept of orality, see Vatri (2017) ch. 1.

[376] Halla-aho (2009) 144.

[377] For conversation analysis and "turn-taking" see Sacks et al. (1974), Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998), Mondada (2017); for conversation analysis applied to Latin texts specially, see Kroon (2011). In other letter collections we do have both sides of the interaction, e.g. those to and from Marcus Caelius Rufus in *Ad Familiares*, for which see Pinkster (2010).

[378] Apparently, such techniques even confounded Atticus on occasion. At *Att.* 13.32, Cicero has to clarify something he wrote previously: …*quod ad te de decem legatis scripsi, parum intellexisti, credo, quia* διὰ σημείων *scripseram* ("you did not quite understand what I wrote you about the ten legates because, I'm guessing, I wrote in shorthand ["abbreviations" in Shakleton-Bailey's Loeb edition]"). What exactly διὰ σημείων means is unclear insofar as the letter to which Cicero seems to refer, *Att.* 13.30, does not contain anything unusual. Cf. Plut. *Cato Min.* 23.3 where Plutarch says Cicero introduced shorthand and σημειογράφους ("shorthand writers") to Rome.

transition from one topic to the next with minimal conversational scaffolding, as we can see in the following example:

93)      Quintum fratrem cotidie exspectamus. Terentia magnos articulorum dolores habet.

My brother, Quintus, we wait for every day. Terentia has severe joint pains. (Cic. *Att.* 1.5.8)

Both *Quintum fratrem* and *Terentia* have Topic function; Quintus was mentioned earlier in the letter (1.5.2), but Terentia has not occurred. For *Quintum fratrem*, it appears that Cicero deemed sentence-initial placement sufficient to reintroduce the constituent and to mark it as Topic. The second Topic switch to *Terentia* appears similarly abrupt, but the reintroduction of his brother Quintus likely activates the referent set "family members," building a mental bridge to ease the transition to his wife Terentia.

We then come to the nexus of complementary issues that we will classify as "compositional." All three of our genres are implicated in these issues. We would be remiss not to mention them, but since they turn out to have little practical bearing on our data, we will not dwell on them at length. Ultimately, since we lack detailed access to the gestational history of most ancient works, we cannot truly know the answers to many such questions. As such, they are better understood as background qualifications.

To take just one example, let us consider the relationship of the published written speech to the original oral performance.[379] The current scholarly consensus is that most Ciceronian texts

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[379] In modern times, we can easily compare the delivered version of a speech to its transcription. Doing so reveals the extent of the informational loss that takes place in the process of transcription, most clearly performative affectations such as pitch, emphasis, and pauses. (This disconnect is a critical plot device in the movie *My Cousin Vinny*). A clarifying analogy might be the published version of a conference paper found in a collected volume versus the presentation of that paper at the conference itself. This process works in reverse when adapting written material to oral presentations. Often, when read aloud, the syntax and word choice of a text written for a print medium create a stilted, unnatural, and clumsy performance. Cf. Powell (2013) 47 with additional citations. Though approached

are reasonable approximations of the spoken versions in terms of overall structure and content.[380]

And yet, Quintilian tells us that Cicero's usual method was to write down only the openings and

important portions of speeches,[381] and Cicero himself mentions only a single instance in which he

delivered a speech from a script (*de scripto*).[382] So, we can still wonder how representative the

written versions are to the originals at the level of phraseology[383]

In addition, we have evidence that some speeches were revised pre-publication. For

example, at *Att.* 1.13.5, Cicero says that he plans to heed Atticus' advice to insert descriptions of

Misenum and Puteoli into a speech (Τοποθεσίαν *quam postulas Miseni et Puteolorum includam*

*orationi meae*) and that he has already added a bit to the speech (*in illam orationem Metellinam*

*addidi quaedam*);[384] but at *Att.* 13.20.2 Cicero notes that he cannot add content to *Pro Ligario*

(one of our source texts) because the speech is already in circulation (*Ad Ligarianam…neque*

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through Greek sources, Vatri (2017) ch. 1 discusses the concept of "orality" more broadly and how one categorizes various text types in relation to their oral forms.

[380] Cf. Berry (2020) ch. 2, esp. 56–58, with history of the *communis opinio*. Berry (2020) 65–67, however, quoting Rawson (1975), argues for fairly extensive revisions, especially to *Cat.* 3 and 4, as part of Cicero's "propaganda campaign" against Clodius. See also, Dio. 40.54 where Milo comments, after reading the published version of *Pro Milone*, ὅτι ἐν τύχῃ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὸ μὴ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λεχθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοιαύτας ἐν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ…τρίγλας ἐσθίειν, εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον ἀπελελόγητο ("that it was lucky for him that these things had not been spoken in this manner in court; for he would not be eating mullets in Massilia…, if any such defence had been made").

[381] …*maxime necessaria et utique initia scribant…quod fecisse M. Tullium commentariis ipsius apparet* ("they wrote the most indispensable parts and especially the openings…a thing that it is clear from his *commentarii* that Cicero did") (Quint. *Inst.* 10.7.30). *Tusc.* 4.55 seems to confirm Cicero's practice was to write out speeches after delivery: *cum iam rebus transactis et praeteritis orationes scribimus, num irati scribimus?* Other orators had different habits such as writing detailed outlines, of which Quintilian does not approve (*Inst.* 10.7.31–32).

[382] He refers to the *Post reditum in senatu* at *Planc.* 74: *oratio quae est a me prima habita in senatu? …Recitetur oratio, quae propter rei magnitudinem dicta de scripto est* ("The speech that I first gave in the Senate…Let the speech be read out, which, because of the importance of the circumstance, was delivered from a script"). For the sentiments of Greek orators on scripts, see Vatri (2017) 5–9.

[383] We also know a handful of extant speeches were never actually delivered, e.g. the second actio of the *Verrines* and the *Second Philippic*, raising the question of whether such "hypothetical" speeches differ from delivered speeches. For composition and circulation of *Verrines* and the relationship of real to hypothetical speeches cf. Frazel (2004) esp. 135–138.

[384] Shackleton-Bailey (1965) ad loc. identifies the speech as the *contra Contionem Q. Metelli*, delivered in 62 BCE.

*possum iam addere* (*est enim pervulgata*)), suggesting it was not a unique practice.[385] The evidence explicitly references only revisions to content, not stylistics, but the editing process could easily vitiate some of the oral features or intensify the written ones.[386] Of course, this question and others like it—e.g. are there differences between dictated and written letters?[387]—are interesting academically, but, since concrete answers are difficult if not impossible to obtain, it seems best to engage with these texts as they are, acknowledging that our discussion does not exhaust the possible avenues of investigation.

Finally, then, we come to prose rhythm or the deliberate use of metrical patterns, or clausulae, at the end of sense units such as the colon or comma or period.[388] "Latin prose rhythm," write Keeline and Kirby in a recent discussion, on which much of our own discussion will be based, "sometimes looks like a species of philological witchcraft, albeit one without the seductive power of most black magic."[389] Unlike poetry which has prescribed metrical forms,

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[385] Cicero also mentions the need to add or replace portions of philosophical works. Cf. *Att.* 13.32 on adding new prefaces to the *Academica* (*Catulus et Lucullum…His libris nova prohoemia sunt addita*); *Att.* 16.6.4 on replacing the incorrect preface to *De Gloria* with the correct one (*De gloria librum ad te misi. At in eo prohoemium idem est quod in Academico tertio*). Other orators also made pre-publication edits. At *Att.* 15.1a, we learn that Brutus sent a speech to Cicero to edit (*corrigerem*) prior to its publication. See also Vatri (2017) 41–45, who illuminates these issues by reference to the differences in the manuscript tradition and text of Demosthenes' *Third Philippic*.

[386] In particular, oral features such as parataxis or cliticization could be affected by the transition to a writing-centric medium.

[387] Cicero occasionally comments on his use of scribes. In *Att.* 7.13a, 7.14, 8.12, 8.13, he says that an eye affliction (*lippitudo*) is forcing him to dictate letters rather than write them himself, which had been his custom. Further, he twice mentions dictation as an excuse for the brevity of a letter (*Att.* 7.13a, *longior epistula fuisset*, 8.13, *causa brevitatis*). A similar connection of dictation and length or complexity crops up at *Att.* 13.25 where Cicero states that he opted not to dictate to Tiro a letter to Varro because he was putting so much effort into it. There is also epigraphical evidence from Vindolanda that scribes were used to compose letters, both from dictation and from draft copies of letters. Interestingly, scribes were able to reproduce orthographical forms that did not correspond to contemporary pronunciation, which raises a myriad of questions that, unfortunately, are also beyond the scope of this work. Cf. Adams (1995), Adams (1996), Halla-aho (2009), Halla-aho (2010), Pinkster (2010).

[388] We find theoretical discussions of prose rhythm in book 3 of Aristotle's *Rhetoric.* (*Rh.* 3.8–9), and contemporary orators, e.g. Demosthenes, clearly concerned themselves with rhythmical prose as well.

[389] Keeline and Kirby (2019) 163.

identifying "rhythm" in prose is a subjective endeavor.[390] This point, in fact, has plagued nearly

every modern theory of prose rhythm since Zieliński's foundational work on Ciceronian rhythms

in 1904.[391] As such, the description of prose rhythm here will be both truncated and centered on

Ciceronian rhythms; that is, I do not propose to give a general introduction to prose rhythm as

such, but rather Ciceronian prose rhythm in particular.

Lists of clausulae patterns vary from scholar to scholar as do the metrical descriptions, but

Ciceronian clausulae are conventionally described as variations of a base cretic ($- \cup -$).[392] Either

before or after this base can be added other syllables or feet (with the caveat that all final syllables

are treated as anceps): a single long or short ($- \cup - \times$), a second cretic ($- \cup - - \cup -$), a trochee or

iamb ($- \cup - - \cup$ / $- \cup - \ \cup -$), a spondee ($- \cup - - -$), etc. These base patterns can be modified by

resolutions (e.g. $- \cup \cup \cup -\times$, i.e. the *esse videatur*-type[393]), and, depending on the number of

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[390] Quantification is difficult for various reasons, not least of which is the lack of consensus on even fundamental questions like the allowed locations or lengths of clausulae, i.e. can clausulae occur before a comma? How short or long is too short or too long? Do we count a single cretic as a clausula? What about a double cretic with two resolutions? There is not even consensus on elision, i.e. to what degree, if at all, elision is operative in prose, for which, see Sturtevant and Kent (1915), Sturtevant (1916), and Riggsby (1991). Ultimately, I believe, it is unlikely that there were hard and fast rules in such cases.

[391] As noted by Keeline and Kirby (2019) 162 n. 8, predecessors do exist, but "[Zieliński's] results were so novel and comprehensive that, for all intents and purposes, they sprang fully formed from his head and revolutionised the field." Since its publication, Zieliński's *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*, for better or worse, has been the standard source for statistics on Ciceronian prose rhythm. However, his data collection methods are idiosyncratic and, worse, not reproducible. For example, he "read his own Russian translations of Cicero's speeches out loud in order to develop a feel for where sense breaks (and so clausulae) occurred in the Latin." For a fuller critique of Zieliński's methodological deficiencies, see Oberhelman (2003), Keeline and Kirby (2019) 161–163, with citations.

[392] So, explicitly with Hutchinson (1995) 485, (2018) 11–12 and Powell (2013) 59–60. Aristotle, by contrast, preferred the paeon ($\cup \cup \cup -$), which he says was a favorite of orators since Thrasymachus (λείπεται δὲ παιάν, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο μὲν ἀπὸ Θρασυμάχου ἀρξάμενοι (*Rh.* 3.8.4)). Prof. Anthony Corbeill reminds me (p.c.) that the cretic is especially important because it is impossible in dactylic verse and thus achieves the goal of being rhythmical while also avoiding the most common poetic meters.

[393] Analyzed differently, though, one could say that this rhythm substitutes a paeon (Aristotle's favorite) for the base cretic. Tacitus derides Cicero for overusing this particular rhythm at *Dial.* 23.1: *Nolo inridere…illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum "esse videatur."*

resolutions allowed, the final list of clausulae can be considerable.[394] Additional "unrhythmic"

clausulae, unrhythmic insofar as they do not follow Ciceronian practice, also exist such as the

double spondee (––––) and the Heroic clausulae (– ◡ ◡ ––).

Of course, every Latin syllable is either long or short, and so every sentence or clause will

necessarily end with some kind of pattern of longs and shorts.[395] Moreover, the moraic nature of

Latin verbs in particular and the tendency toward verb-final clauses make some rhythms more

likely than others. Therefore, Cicero's primary means to effect certain rhythms or to avoid gangly

or less appealing ones is word order, e.g. he may invert the order of participle and auxiliary (i.e.

*provisum esse > esse provisum* (*I Verr.* 1 27)) or omit the auxiliary altogether.[396] Fortunately for

our purposes, clausulae are traditionally found at the end of clauses and sentences, and so we

need worry less about the effects of prose rhythm on the relative order of the subject and object

than on the elements more commonly found in clause-final position, e.g. participles and

auxiliaries or modal verbs and complementary infinitives. How this will play out in our data set

remains to be seen, but in Caesar verb raising was often a pragmatic phenomenon. This raises the

question, perhaps unanswerable, whether Cicero would subordinate pragmatic structure to

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[394] For varieties of clausulae in tabular form, see, e.g., Nisbet (1990), Hutchinson (1995) 485 and (2018) 11, Powell (2013) 60, Keeline and Kirby (2019) 164.

[395] We find a similar sentiment in Quintilian (9.4.61): *Et in omni quidem corpore totoque, ut ita dixerim, tractu numerus insertus est: neque enim loqui possum nisi e syllabis brevibus ac longis, ex quibus pedes fiunt* ("Rhythm of course is woven into every text, one might say, and over its whole area: for I cannot speak except in short and long syllables, which are the constituents of feet"). Based on their data, Keeline and Kirby (2019) 184–189 argue that "[a]ll Latin authors have their own rhythmic profiles, meaning that there are no truly 'unrhythmic' authors. Instead, there are authors who pursued the Ciceronian rhythmic practices and those who did not."

[396] The ptcp>aux order scans (with elision) –––× or (without elision) –– ◡ –×, while the aux>ptcp order scans – ◡ ––×, producing a cretic+trochee. The use of *atque* before a consonant, however, did allow Cicero to change the length of some syllables, for which see Nisbet (1990), Hutchinson (1995). Their position, of course, presupposes that elision was practiced, at least some of the time, in prose. Syncopated verb forms also supplied a means of producing certain rhythms.

rhythmic structure. In other words, any individual instance of, e.g., an inverted auxiliary will need to be considered as a function of pragmatics and as a function of rhythm.

Recognizing that all of these generic issues and compositional questions lurk in the background, we will move on to the actual Ciceronian data. We will first compare them to the quantitative data from Caesar to see if there are any interesting similarities or differences. Then, we will proceed with the analysis of segments of this data set just as we did in the previous Caesar chapters, that is, we will look at nominal subjects first and then move on to pronominal subjects.

## 4.3 Cicero's AcI Data

In this section we will briefly present the quantitative AcI data from Cicero and compare them to Caesar's. Overall there are fewer AcI clauses in Cicero, i.e. individual infinitives, and fewer target AcI, i.e. transitives with explicit SOV, despite the overall higher page count (162 pages of Cicero, 112 pages of Caesar). However, matrix verbs in Caesar regularly governed multiple infinitives, and Cicero's matrix verbs do not, a factor which will be particularly salient in the pronominal subject sections. The breakdowns of the AcI into subject and object positions and serial order look fairly similar to Caesar. Cicero's usage differs, though, in a few ways, including the prevalence of object hyperbaton.

A first-order comparison highlights a couple salient differences between Cicero and Caesar, which will have downstream effects when we turn to our various serial orders. In the Cicero data set we have a total of 649 infinitives, and these infinitives are governed by 356

separate matrix constructions and 124 unique roots or periphrases.[397] Caesar, by contrast, has 683

total infinitives but only 239 separate matrix constructions and 97 unique roots or periphrases. In

other words, Cicero has more variation in how he introduces indirect discourse, both in distinct

lexical roots (e.g. *dico*, *credo*, *existimo*) and in matrix constructions (e.g. *dixit*, *dico*, *dictum est*); in

fact, 237 matrix constructions are used only once.

More apropos of our investigative aims, this also means that each matrix construction

tends to govern fewer infinitives (often only one), with the result that Cicero has far fewer "long-

range" matrix verbs and many more cases where superordinate and subordinate domains are in

contact or, as we will see in §4.7 Pronominal Subjects in OS, even collapse into a single domain.

In Caesar, by contrast, matrix constructions regularly governed multiple AcI clauses across entire

chapters or even full pages, and in the limited examples where a short-range matrix verb abutted

an AcI domain, the integrity of those domains was rarely breached.[398]

The short-range matrix constructions[399] in Cicero can precede the AcI domain, as in (94),

or follow it, as in (95):

94)     a. Itaque <u>certo scio</u> <u>vos</u> **non petere** *sanguinem*, sed parum attenditis.

Therefore, I know for a fact that you are not seeking blood, but you are paying too little
attention. (*Lig.* 13)

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[397] "Separate matrix construction" includes every verb form or phrase that introduces an AcI, whereas "unique root" refers to the verbal stems used to introduce an AcI. *Dixit*, *dico*, and *dictum est*, for example, each count as separate matrix construction, but all three fall under the single root *dico*.

[398] *Locutus est* at *Gal.* 1.31.3 initiates Caesar's longest AcI. The matrix verb governs 31 infinitives, one of which initiates a second level AcI. In Cicero, on the other hand, the longest AcI contains only 11 infinitives (*dicebat* at *Sen.* 39–41). As mentioned above in chapter 3, long-range matrix verbs have issues of their own such as the tendency to slide into free indirect discourse.

[399] Because we will regularly be referencing the position of matrix verbs in the Cicero examples, we will mark them with a <u>double underline</u> for easier identification. This will apply to matrix constructions as well, e.g. *venit ad meas auris* in (94)b. In the few instances where we find more than one AcI layer (e.g. *credo te audisse*), only the most relevant will be marked.

b. Saepe enim <u>venit ad meas auris</u> <u>te</u> (*sc.* Caesarem) *idem istud* nimis crebro **dicere**, satis te tibi vixisse.

For often it has come to my ears that you (*sc.* Caesar) too frequently were saying that same thing, that you have lived sufficiently for yourself. (*Marcell.* 25)

95)   a. …similesque sunt ut si qui <u>gubernatorem</u> in navigando *nihil* **agere** <u>dicant</u>.

…and they are like those who would say that the helmsman does nothing in sailing. (*Sen.* 17)

b. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani qui te ista cura liberarent et <u>se</u> illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem *me* in meo lecto **interfecturos esse** <u>pollicerentur</u>.

Two Roman knights were found to free you from that care and to promise that they would kill me in my own bed that very night a little before dawn. (*Cat.* 1.9)

We saw examples of short-range matrix verbs similar to these in Caesar (cf. e.g. (66) and (63)).

However, in our pronominal subject examples (§§4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO–4.7

Pronominal Subjects in OS) we will also find multiple instances where the two domains merge, as

in (96):

96)   a. quae (*sc.* senectus) plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut *onus* <u>se</u> Aetna gravius <u>dicant</u> **sustinere**.

and this (*sc.* old age) to most old people is so vexing that they say they are carrying a burden heavier than Aetna. (*Sen.* 4)

b. L. Cincio *HS XXCD* <u>constitui</u> <u>me</u> **curaturum** Id. Febr.

I have arranged that I will pay L. Cincius 20,400 sesterces on the Ides of February. (*Att.* 1.7.1)

c. quam ob rem vero <u>se</u> <u>confidat</u> *aliquid* **proficere posse** hoc praetore et hoc consilio intellegere non possum.

But how he is confident that he can achieve anything with this praetor and this council I cannot understand. (*I Verr.* 10)

The secondary breakdown into transitive AcI reveals that, despite the higher page count,

there are fewer target AcI clauses (i.e. transitive with subject, object, and verb) in Cicero

(n=81).[400] Further segmentation by serial orders and subject types, however, reveals a situation similar to that in Caesar. Table 13: Cicero combined data for transitive AcI contains the relevant data for the Cicero data set.

| | | Subject Type | | Verb Placement | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **All Works** | **WITH S, O, V** | **Pronoun** | **Noun** | **Initial** | **Mid** | **Final** |
| *SO order* | 56 | 41 | 15 | 0 | 14 | 42 |
| *OS order* | 21 | 15 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 20 |
| *Hyperbaton* | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| *Total* | 81 | 60 | 21 | 0 | 16 | 65 |

*Table 13: Cicero combined data for transitive AcI*

Of the 81 examples, 56 (69%) have an SO constituent order. The majority of these (41) are pronominal subjects. 21 of the 81 examples (26%) have an OS constituent order, and 15 of these have pronominal subjects. Finally, in 4 (4%) of the target clauses we have discontinuity of the object noun phrase (hyperbaton), which obscures the serial ordering. Except for the object hyperbaton group (see below), these numbers generally accord with those from Caesar where we found 93 total examples, 57 (61%) with SO order and 27 (29%) with OS order. Caesar, though, had 9 examples with hyperbaton.

Expanding on our Cicero data alone for a moment (not pictured), our oratory selections have the highest number of AcI, both overall (n=320, 49%) and target (n=45, 55%), but the epistles have the highest AcI per page (4.6). The *Sen.* has the lowest figures in both respects,

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[400] Non-accusative object constituents are also found in our Cicero corpus, although slightly fewer than in Caesar's and at a lower rate given the slightly smaller size of the Caesar corpus. All told, Cicero's data set has nine instances of non-accusative objects: dative 7×, ablative 2×. Interestingly, Cicero also shows less variation in the infinitives governing non-accusative objects than Caesar, who uses a different verb for each of the 12 instances. In contrast, Cicero uses *confidere*, *uti*, and *consulere* twice each, then *impendere*, *obstitisse*, and *placere* once each.

accounting for only 20% of both the total AcI (n=129) and the target AcI (n=16). More

interesting given the generic differences we mentioned previously is that all three genres show a

similar division between SO and OS orders, roughly 70% v. 30%. In other words, the rate of SO

versus OS orders in our target AcI is roughly equivalent in the epistles, which are less formal and

dialogic, the speeches, which are formal performances and monologic, and the academic

dialogue, which is a fictional conversation set a century in the past.

A final macro-level difference between our Cicero and Caesar data is object hyperbaton,

by which I mean specifically the separation of an object NP by the subject constituent (e.g.

*magnam te calamitatem*), of which Cicero has only four examples, whereas Caesar has nine. The

quality of the instances is also different. Those in Caesar most often involve a noun-adjective pair

(usually a scalar, subjective adjective), in either A…N or N…A order, e.g. *magnam Caesarem*

*iniuriam facere* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.36.4), *copias se omnis pro castris habiturum* (Caes. *Gal.* 7.66.6); a

couple other examples involve split dependent genitives, e.g. *regnum illum Galliae malle Caesaris*

*concessu quam ipsorum habere beneficio* (Caes. *Gal.* 7.20.2); *tantum se eius opinionis*

*deperdidisse…gravissime dolebant* (Caes. *Gal.* 5.54.5).[401] Cicero's examples are not as consistent.

There is one noun-adjective example similar to the Caesar cases, although the adjective is a weak

demonstrative, not qualitative or quantitative as is often the case in Caesar: *sed in omni oratione*

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[401] Powell (2010) would classify most of Caesar's examples as "short-range" hyperbaton (i.e. with one intervening constituent), and short-range hyperbaton, he argues, is always a focusing device; the modifier has focus when it is prehead (i.e. A…N), and the whole NP has focus when the modifier follows the head noun. There is also one long-range hyperbaton (*imperium se ab Caesare per proditionem nullum desiderare* (*Gal.* 7.66.6)).

*mementote eam me senectutem laudare* (Cic. *Sen.* 62).[402] There is also a single posthead genitive in hyperbaton, *dixi ego idem in senatu caedem te optimatium contulisse* (Cic. *Cat.* 1.7).

The other two involve longer objects that are split by multiple constituents: The first NP is likely appositional rather than discontinuous, and in the second we are dealing with coordinated adjectives where one adjective has raised with the head noun above the matrix verb.[403]

97)    a. *hoc* <u>me</u> <u>profiteor</u> **suscepisse** *magnum fortasse onus et mihi periculosum, verum tamen dignum* in quo omnis nervos aetatis industriaeque meae contenderem.

this I confess that I have undertaken, a great burden perhaps, and dangerous to me, but yet worthy of employing all the energy of my youth and diligence. (*I Verr.* 35)

b. De Caesare ipso si quaereres quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga, *leges multas* <u>responderet</u> <u>se</u> *et praeclaras* **tulisse**.

If you were to ask of Caesar himself what he had done in the city and in the toga, he would reply that he had passed many excellent laws. (*Phil.* 1.18)

There are a couple of additional examples in Cicero where the infinitive splits the object noun from its dependent genitive (e.g. *sese…tempus ipsum emisse iudici sui* (*I Verr.* 8); *magnitudinem pecuniae plus habuisse momenti* (*I Verr.* 52)); these were not counted as "object hyperbaton" because, although the object constituent is split, the order of the nuclear arguments remains the same. Though Cicero and Caesar differ in their use of object hyperbaton, they agree in not allowing discontinuous subject NPs, either with adjectives or dependent genitives.[404]

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[402] While *eam* is not a subjective or evaluative adjective like *magnus*, it works quite well to analyze this short-range hyperbaton in Powell's terms as throwing focus or emphasis onto *eam*, especially since it governs a following relative clause.

[403] In §4.7 Pronominal Subjects in OS we will encounter and discuss more examples like this one where the matrix domain and AcI domain seem to have collapsed. See below exx. (158)–(162). This example would likely be classified by Powell (2010) as long-range hyperbaton.

[404] This restriction does not apply when the modifier is a secondary participle, however.

As we investigate the 81 target AcI constructions from Cicero over the course of the following sections these various concerns will come to bear. Our primary objective, however, is still to assess the order of constituents within AcI clauses and the motivations thereof. As we did with our Caesar data above, we will begin by surveying the 56 examples with nominal subjects (§4.4 Nominal Subjects in SO and §4.5 Nominal Subjects in OS). We will then transition to the pronominal subject examples in §4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO and §4.7 Pronominal Subjects in OS. In many ways, our Cicero examples will resemble those from Caesar, e.g. the correlation between syntactic role and personal-animacy hierarchy, but they will diverge in interesting ways too such as the illocutionary role of phrasal and clausal satellites, the prevalence of post-verbal objects, and the integrity of the respective AcI and matrix domains.

## 4.4 Nominal Subjects in SO

In §2.4 Nominal Subjects in SO Order we looked at the 19 AcI in our Caesar data with nominal subjects in SO order. A short review of these data will help orient our current investigation. We began with this subset because it was most likely to provide a baseline by which to judge the other subsets where more factors were involved. In these examples, Caesar strictly used high-agency nouns as subjects and inanimate or abstract nouns as objects. When there was an articulated pragmatic structure, all the subjects were Topics. The familiarity hierarchy governed the linear order of the arguments, though the objects preferred preverbal position even if they were not part of the Focus domain, likely due to their semantic connection to the verb. It was also common for adjuncts or satellites, especially secondary participles, to intervene between the nuclear constituents, most often separating the subject from the VP and always governed by the subject. Ultimately, the data from Cicero do not differ significantly in terms of the underlying

determinants of syntactic assignment or pragmatic structures. In the particulars, though, such as the use of satellites and the mobility of infinitives, he deviates in ways that are worth noting; the effects of these will be somewhat muted in the current data set, but they will play a quite important role in our pronominal-subject sections below.

Our Cicero data set includes 15 nominal subject examples in SO order, so the two subsets are roughly equal. Cicero also parallels Caesar both in his preference for pairing high-agency nominal subjects with low-agency or abstract objects—except in two instances, which we will discuss—and in the types and frequencies of pragmatic structures. The subject entities in Cicero's AcI are generally high-agency nouns such as individuated proper nouns (e.g. *Caesarem*, *Crassum*) or human-referent noun phrases (e.g. *fratrem suum alterum*, *gubernatorem*), and these high-agency subjects occur alongside inanimate or abstract (i.e. non-agentive) objects, e.g. *provinciam*, *tribuniciam potestatem*.

In short, the general rule is that the syntactic roles follow the personal-animacy hierarchy, as was the case in Caesar. Certain AcI, in fact, have a terseness and concision similar to many of Caesar's, which we may have ascribed to the precepts of the *commentarius* genre, e.g.:

98)  a. Cum iis ita <u>loquitur</u> (*sc.* Q. Metellus), 'se consulem esse; <u>fratrem suum alterum</u> *Siciliam provinciam* **obtinere**, alterum…

To them he (*sc.* Q. Metellus) speaks thusly: that he is the consul; one of his brothers governs the province of Sicily, the other… (*I Verr.* 27)

b. credo enim te <u>audisse</u>…postea rem ex senatus consulto ad virgines atque pontifices relatam idque ab iis nefas esse decretum; deinde ex senatus consulto <u>consules</u> *rogationem* **promulgasse**; uxori Caesarem nuntium remisisse.

For I believe that you have heard…that afterward the matter was referred by a senatorial decree to the Vestals and pontifices, and it was determined by them to be a sacrilege; then according to a senatorial decree the consuls promulgated a proposed bill; Caesar sent his wife divorce papers. (*Att.* 1.13.3)

Moreover, as in the previous two examples, there is often considerable difference between the respective positions of the subject and object on the personal-animacy hierarchy, which also accords with Caesar. However, twice this pattern does not hold. The first is a passage with two low-agency entities:

99) Quare si…<u>intelleget</u> populus Romanus integerrimo atque honestissimo praetore delectoque consilio nocenti reo <u>magnitudinem pecuniae</u> *plus* **habuisse** *momenti* ad suspicionem criminis quam ad rationem salutis.

Wherefore, if [certain conditions are met]…the Roman people will understand that, with a most blameless and honest praetor and a select bench of judges, for a guilty defendant excessive wealth was more effective as an indication of guilt than as a means of acquittal. (*I Verr.* 52)

Although neither entity is agentive, the inanimate subject *magnitudinem pecuniae* is highly accessible (*maximamque pecuniam* §47) and referential, that is, it represents a real-world, if slightly intangible, entity, whereas the abstract entity *plus…momenti* does not. In other words, the inanimate subject is still higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy than the abstract object and it has higher topicality. *Momentum habere* is also loosely idiomatic so the object NP has a stronger semantic relationship to the verb. It is also worth noting that *habere* is atelic, durative, and stative, all features of low-transitivity verbs, so having a low-agency, inanimate subject is more easily accommodated.[405]

The second outlier is the reverse of the first, i.e. two high-agency entities, and somewhat more complex in that both entities are topical:

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[405] Transitivity—roughly speaking, the carrying over or transfer of energy from one event participant to another—is a scalar concept, and the overall transitivity of a SoA is a combination of features of the participants and the verb. High-transitivity events tend to involve dynamic, punctual, and telic verbs with active, volitional Agents and differentiated, affected Patients. Most definitions of transitivity build on the seminal work of Hopper and Thompson (1980) where they lay out their parameters of scalar transitivity. See also Givón (2001) 109–110, Næss (2007) esp. 11–26, 85–122.

100) Atque utinam…adesse potuissem! Non quo profici potuerit aliquid, sed ne unus modo consularis…dignus illo honore, dignus re publica inveniretur. Qua quidem ex re magnum <u>accipio dolorem</u>, <u>homines</u> amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis <u>usos</u> *L. Pisonem ducem* optimae sententiae **non secutos**.

And so…would that I had been able to be there! Not because something could have been accomplished, but so at least one consular man…would be found worthy of that honor, worthy of the republic. Indeed, from this fact I take great pain, that men who have enjoyed the most honorable distinctions of the Roman people did not second L. Piso, the sponsor of an excellent opinion. (*Phil.* 1.14)

Grammatical ambiguity here is forestalled because only the subject agrees with the participle, but the subject, an unindividuated common noun (*homines*), is lower on the personal-animacy hierarchy than the object, an individuated proper noun (*L. Pisonem*). However, with the *usos* participial phrase, the subject NP gains a definite referent, which goes some way to closing any gap between the participants on the personal-animacy hierarchy.[406] This may not seem remarkable, but this is the first instance in either SO data set where the personal-animacy hierarchy does not map onto the syntactic roles. We should note, however, that we are still dealing with two high-agency entities and not the reverse of the normal situation, that is, a *low*-agency subject and a *high*-agency object, which, I believe, would be more peculiar.

The familiarity hierarchy also plays a role since both entities are discourse dependent; in fact, virtually the entire proposition is presupposed in some fashion. In §10, Cicero mentions L. Piso, his speech, and the underwhelming support he received: *Hunc* (sc. *L. Pisonem*) *igitur ut sequerer properavi quem praesentes non sunt secuti* ("Therefore, I hurried to second this man (*sc.*

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[406] We also must not overlook the environment in which Cicero is giving this speech. While as a purely lexical item the noun *homines* is a common noun lacking individuation, the speech is taking place in the Senate in front of the very men to whom Cicero is referring, that is, the *consulares*. So, though Cicero does not call out individuals by name, no one would mistake his meaning. Additionally, the use of the vauger expression *homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos* could be a politeness or face-saving strategy employed by Cicero. See, e.g. van Gils and Risselada (2022).

L. Piso) whom those present had not seconded"). In our AcI clause, then, both subject and object are topical: The clause-initial subject is the Sentence Topic, and the object is the Discourse Topic, that is, the proposition is narrowly about the *homines consulares*, but it is also about their relationship of inaction to L. Piso. As we have seen many times, the Sentence Topic takes linear precedence over the Discourse Topic. The most salient piece of information, i.e. Focus, is the object's appositive *ducem optimae sententiae*, which has a corrective quality in that their inaction (*non secutos*) implies that Piso did *not* propose a good opinion, because, if he had, it would have behooved men of their rank to back him. The appositive corrects this assumption and places the failure on the Senators rather than Piso, that is, Piso's opinion was, in fact, *optimae*, precisely the kind the *Optimates* should endorse (cf. *a quibus debuerat adiutus*, §10). That they did not negates or, at least, challenges, their status as *consulares*.

Broadly, the pragmatic functions of the subjects and objects and the distribution of the larger clausal information structures in these examples are similar to Caesar's as well. The subject constituents regularly have Topic function, and the Topics occur in initial position or after a Setting, Theme, or adverb (correlative or sentential).[407] However, in one example a dative third argument (*uxori*) moves into the SentTop slot (i.e. topicalizes) to mark a Topic change, which puts it in front of the subject (*Caesarem*) which has Discourse Topic function.

101)  credo enim te <u>audisse</u>, cum apud Caesarem pro populo fieret, venisse eo muliebri vestitu virum…postea rem ex senatus consulto ad virgines atque pontifices relatam idque ab iis nefas esse decretum; deinde ex senatus consulto consules rogationem promulgasse; uxori <u>Caesarem</u> *nuntium* **remisisse**.

For I believe that you have heard that, when the state function was happening at Caesar's house, a man in women's clothes had entered there…afterward the matter was referred

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[407] A Setting and Theme constituent occurs in (99) above.

by a senatorial decree to the Vestals and pontifices and it was determined by them to be a sacrilege; then according to a senatorial decree the consuls promulgated a proposed bill; Caesar sent his wife divorce papers. (*Att.* 1.13.3)

The dative *uxori* marks a Topic change, and, as we mentioned above, such shifts often occur in the letters with little to no conversational scaffolding.[408] We have a similar example in Caesar where a dative constituent has topicalized to mark a Topic change; the subject in this case, though, is at best a weakly marked DiscTop:

102)  (=58) …Aeduis <u>se</u> *obsides* **redditurum non esse**, neque his neque eorum sociis iniuria bellum inlaturum.

   …[that] to the Aedui, he was not going to give back the hostages, but neither would he wrongfully make war upon them or their allies. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.36.5)

Occasionally, the Topics are contrastive, e.g. *fratrem suum alterum* in (98) or *gubernatorem* in the following:

103)  nihil igitur adferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt ut si qui <u>gubernatorem</u> in navigando *nihil* **agere** <u>dicant</u>, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi, non faciat ea quae iuvenes…

   Therefore, they contribute nothing who deny that old age is involved in activities, and they are like those who would say that the helmsman does nothing in sailing, since some climb the masts, some run across the deck, and others drain the bilge, but that man sits quietly on the stern holding the rudder, he does not do the things that young men do… (*Sen.* 17)

In most cases, though, the Topic is not strongly contrastive, nor is there any observable difference in behavior between those Topics with contrast and those without. Regardless of the type of Topic, they all precede the Focus constituent(s).

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[408] See (93) above.

The information structures in the SO nominal subject group divide almost evenly between Broad and Narrow Foci, though in a few instances classification is tricky; we will look at these separately below ((108)–(110)). There are four Broad Foci with minimal clause structures and immediately preverbal objects, which are reminiscent of the report-style AcI from Caesar:

104) (=98) a. Cum iis ita <u>loquitur</u> (*sc.* Q. Metellus), 'se consulem esse; <u>fratrem suum alterum</u> *Siciliam provinciam* **obtinere**, alterum…

To them he (sc. Q. Metellus) speaks thusly: that he is the consul; one of his brothers governs the province of Sicily, the other… (*I Verr.* 27)

b–c. credo enim te <u>audisse</u>…postea rem ex senatus consulto ad virgines atque pontifices relatam idque ab iis nefas esse decretum; deinde ex senatus consulto <u>consules</u> *rogationem* **promulgasse**; uxori <u>Caesarem</u> *nuntium* **remisisse**.

For I believe that you have heard…that afterward the matter was referred by a senatorial decree to the Vestals and pontifices and it was determined by them to be a sacrilege; then according to a senatorial decree the consuls promulgated a proposed bill; Caesar sent his wife divorce papers. (*Att.* 1.13.3)

In the first passage, the subject is a contrastive Topic and the OV has Broad Focus. The second passage actually contains two AcI, but in both the OV has Broad Focus as well. The object alone has Narrow Focus only once in this set of examples, in which case it is preverbal but also part of a complex *non…sed* contrast:

105) <u>Credo</u> enim <u>vos nobilis homines</u> magna quaedam <u>spectantis</u> *non pecuniam*, ut quidam nimis creduli suspicantur, quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta est, *non opes violentas* et populo Romano minime ferendam *potentiam*, sed *caritatem civium* et *gloriam* **concupivisse**.

For I believe that you noble men, aiming at something great, have desired not money, as some too credulous people suspect, which has always been looked down on by every great and renowned man, not power obtained by violence and authority that is unendurable by the Roman people, but the esteem of the citizens and glory. (*Phil.* 1.29)

When another constituent has Narrow Focus, it also generally occupies the immediately preverbal slot. In addition to the appositive *ducem optimae sententiae* in (100) above, prepositional and adverbial adjuncts occur in the preverbal NFoc slot:

106) Haec primae actionis erit accusatio. <u>Dicimus</u> <u>C. Verrem</u>, cum multa libidinose, multa crudeliter in civis Romanos atque socios, multa in deos hominesque nefarie fecerit, tum praeterea *quadringentiens sestertium* ex Sicilia contra leges **abstulisse**.

   This will be the indictment of the first hearing. We say that C. Verres not only did many wanton things, many cruel things against the Roman citizens and their allies, many sinful things against gods and men, but moreover has illegally stolen four hundred thousand sesterces from Sicily. (*I Verr.* 56)

107) Neque hoc Q. Catulum…fugit, qui Cn. Pompeio…de tribunicia potestate referente cum esset sententiam rogatus, <u>hoc initio est summa cum auctoritate usus</u>, <u>patres conscriptos</u> *iudicia* male et flagitiose **tueri**.

   Nor did this escape Q. Catulus…, who, when he was asked for his opinion as Cn. Pompey…was bringing a motion on the tribunician power, began like this with the utmost authority, that the conscript fathers had stewarded the courts poorly and shamefully. (*I Verr.* 44)

In example (106) Cicero closes the *First Verrine* with a restatement of his primary charges against Verres, meaning that virtually everything is discourse-bound to some degree. He urges the jury to vote to convict, not because of how much money Verres took or from where, but because it was illegal (*contra leges*). Likewise, in (107) *patres conscriptos* and *iudicia* not only feature in the surrounding discourse but are easily accessible given the debate over the *tribunicia potestate* and control of the courts. Catulus confirms, then, the manner in which the Senate has governed the courts, i.e. poorly (*male et flagitiose*).

Postverbal objects, i.e. VO, are more common in Cicero as well, both in the present data set and in future ones.[409] In the current tranche, there are five VO examples, three of which are in *De Senectute*. However, the motivation for the VO orders is not as clear cut as it was in Caesar, where the order was due either to the verb topicalizing or raising to Focus.[410] But the verbs in Cicero are not topicalized and the few that are candidates for Focus raising also have alternative explanations:

108)   sed <u>credo</u> <u>deos immortales</u> **sparsisse** *animos* in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia.

But I believe that the immortal gods sowed souls into human bodies, so that there would exist people who would guard the earth, and who, as they contemplated the heavenly order, would imitate it in the manner and constancy of their life. (*Sen. 77*)

In this example, the postverbal object and Locative adjunct are presupposed (*est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram* (§77)). The metaphorical usage that is excused lexically in the earlier passage (*quasi demersus*) is excused in the target

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[409] Much scholarly attention has been paid to the OV/VO alternation in Latin, both diachronically and synchronically. We will not wade into the larger debate here, but it is worthwhile to note in relation to our two authors that the uniformity of Caesar's OV pattern may, in fact, be the more irregular or, perhaps, artificial style. The comparison by Devine and Stephens (2006) 119–136 of the relative ordering in certain precompiled phrases (e.g. *aciem instruere*) in Caesar and Livy shows that either ordering is permissible in Livy—with VO having an advantage in certain phrases—but in Caesar OV is virtually a requirement. Devine and Stephens, and others, take data like these as evidence that "there is clearly an important typological difference between Caesar's syntactic system and Livy's" (127), with the implication, it seems, that Caesar's system represents the language-wide operative system at $T_1$ while Livy's does the same at time $T_2$. However, the large-corpus analysis conducted by Danckaert (2017) 109–120 offers contradictory evidence that we do not find a statistically significant increase in the relative frequency of VO order from Early to Late Latin and that Livy is much closer to the mean than Caesar, who shows the lowest VO percentage of the authors surveyed across all contexts. According to Danckaert's data (Figure 3.1), Cicero and Livy show a VO frequency just above 20%, while Caesar is just below 10%; more importantly, for the entire time period (200 BCE–600 CE) the regression line only rises from around 20% to 35%, crossing the low-to-mid 20s for the period *c.* 100 BCE to 0 CE. Cf. Linde (1923), Adams (1976), Pinkster (1991), Bauer (1995), Ledgeway (2012), Danckaert (2017).

[410] There was one instance in which a complementary infinitive was separated from its governing infinitive, for which, see n. 166.

passage by an illocutionary property of Focus function.[411] However, the position of *sparsisse* also conveniently forestalls the misanalysis of the adjective *immortales* with *animos*, which, given the context, could as easily be predicated of *animos* as *deos*.

A second example that could be analyzed as verb Focus could also be a function of LIPOC:

109) Intellexi hominem (*sc.* Pompeium) <u>moveri</u> [verum] <u>Crassum</u> **inire** *eam gratiam* quam ipse praetermisisset an esse tantas res nostras quae tam libenti senatu laudarentur…

I noticed that the man (*sc.* Pompey) was troubled that Crassus had gotten that approval that he himself had let pass by or that our achievements were such that they were praised so willingly by the senate… (*Att.* 1.14.3)

If *inire* has raised to a Focus slot, it must be a quasi-verum Focus, that is, it asserts that the event (perhaps partially against expectations) actually took place. Since the meaning of *inire* is dependent on the object *gratiam*, we must classify this clause as Broad Focus.[412] Moreover, usually verum Foci are clause-initial, but the semantic bond between *inire* and *gratiam* may translate into a linear bond that limits the movement of *inire*, or, since both the Topic (*Crassum*) and Focus (*inire eam gratiam*) in this short AcI are contrastive (*ipse praetermisisset*), the Topic's contrast may block the verb raising to initial position.[413] On the other hand, the position of the

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[411] Plato uses a similar planting metaphor in *Timaeus* for implanting souls in living beings: <u>σπείρας</u> (*Tim.* 41c); <u>σπαρείσας</u> αὐτὰς εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα ἑκάσταις ἕκαστα ὄργανα χρόνων (*Tim.* 41e); ὁπότε δὴ σώμασιν <u>ἐμφυτευθεῖεν</u> ἐξ ἀνάγκης (*Tim.* 42a); <u>ἔσπειρεν</u> τοὺς μὲν εἰς γῆν, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς σελήνην, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς τἆλλα ὅσα ὄργανα χρόνου (*Tim.* 42d). See Powell (1988) ad loc.

[412] The semantic dependency also complicates the verb Focus classification since verb Focus means Focus on the verb alone. A similar concern was raised earlier in this work in the context of Caesar's Focus constructions (esp. n. 325), where we mused on whether the current and prevailing Focus classification regime can properly accommodate verb frames where the verb and object (or other element) are semantically inseparable. Are these predicate structures *by definition* restricted to Broad Focus? Can verbonominals and phrasal verbs—or the individual elements thereof— function as Narrow Foci? If so, what effects, if any, would there be on word order?

[413] Based on research on complex noun phrases (e.g. Devine and Stephens (2006) 386–389), we know that the semantic relationship between the elements of the NP affects the mobility of the individual lexical items. As such, something similar could be the case for semantically bonded VPs.

verb may be the wrong interpretive lens; instead, perhaps we should focus on the postverbal position of the object, which allows the antecedent to remain with its restrictive relative clause.

There is one case of verb raising that deserves individual attention, not only because it is interpretively troublesome, but also because we will see the same process at play in four of the pronominal-subject examples in §4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO ((150)–(154)).[414] Therefore, much of our discussion here will be in preparation for the lengthier discussion below. In this case, the auxiliary *fuisse* in a periphrastic infinitive raises ahead of the participle and object NP into contact with the subject. The movement, however, does not appear to reflect any obvious pragmatic feature of *fuisse* nor, *pace* Adams (1994a), is *homines* a pragmatically marked host that might attract the auxiliary:

110)     Neque enim ullam aliam ob causam populus Romanus tribuniciam potestatem tanto studio requisivit…Neque hoc Q. Catulum…fugit, qui Cn. Pompeio…de tribunicia potestate referente cum esset sententiam rogatus, <u>hoc initio est summa cum auctoritate usus</u>, patres conscriptos iudicia male et flagitiose tueri; quodsi in rebus iudicandis populi Romani existimationi satis facere voluissent, non tanto opere <u>homines</u> **fuisse** *tribuniciam potestatem* **desideraturos**.

     Nor, in fact, for any other reason has the Roman people sought the tribunician power with such enthusiasm…Nor did this escape Q. Catulus…who, when he was asked for his opinion as Cn. Pompey…was bringing a motion on the tribunician power, began like this with the utmost authority, that the conscript fathers had stewarded the courts poorly and shamefully; but if they had been willing to satisfy the expectations of the Roman people in adjudicating trials, men would not so greatly have missed the tribunician power. (*I Verr.* 44)

In particular, it is the Focus construction of the apodosis that is not entirely clear, which makes the motivation for the aux-movement also unclear. At the time of the original utterance, it is presupposed that the people want the tribunician power returned (hence the counterfactual). The

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[414] Interestingly, this phenomenon does not occur in any of the corresponding OS data sets.

salient information in Cicero's reproduction seems to be the clause-scoped negative adverb *non tanto opere*, with the rest of the proposition being presupposed.[415] In other words, *tanto opere* raises to the NFoc slot but the other constituents remain in the base VP layer (i.e. Focus-first). The movement of *fuisse*, then, would need to be motivated by something else, perhaps rhythmic concerns given the metrical shape of *fuisse*, although simply swapping the participle-auxiliary order would achieve the same goal.[416]

However, given the similarity in surface order to the four pronominal-subject examples, one ought to consider, at least, whether the underlying motivation for the surface order is also the same. In the pronominal examples, the raised elements tend to mark the boundary between the Topic and Focus domain, that is, the movement is a Focus marking strategy loosely akin to scrambling.[417] To cite just one (truncated) example with a similarly composed future infinitive:

111)   vel cum mendacio, si voltis, <u>gloriemini</u> per me licet, <u>vos</u> *provinciam* **fuisse** Caesari **tradituros**.

> …if you want, you may boast for all I care, though falsely, that you would have turned over the province to Caesar. (*Lig.* 25)

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[415] The presupposition pool in effect at the time of original utterance is different from that in effect at the reproduction of the utterance by Cicero. So, even though "people want the tribunician power back" may be part of Catulus' pragmatic cache, Cicero's specific proposition at the beginning of §44 (i.e. …*populus Romanus tribuniciam potestatem tanto studio requisivit*) can only be part of the pragmatic cache for the restatement of Catulus' words. That they mirror one another in the particulars (*tanto studio, tanto opere*) likely indicates deictic transfer to some degree, that is, Cicero reproduces the sense of Catulus' words but not necessarily the original pragmatic structure. Exploitation of the possibility for deictic ambiguity will be a recurring theme.

[416] With *fuisse* in clause-final position, we have a clausula of the shape $--\cup---|\cup-\cup$, but *desideraturos* by itself gives a cretic+spondee ending ($--\cup---$). In fact, swapping the order would plausibly give a double cretic+spondee (discounting the first syllable of *fuisse*) $\cup-\cup|--\cup---$. However, see both *Lig.* 23, ex. (115) below, and *Sen.* 82 where Cicero retains the participle-auxiliary order: *An censes…me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si…* But this may not be an appropriate spot for a clausula.

[417] The analogy to scrambling (for which, see above n. 173) is imperfect since scrambled elements are removed from the Focus domain and explicitly *not* under Focus. The way in which this is a Focus marking strategy differs from the position found in Adams (1994a) in that the form of *esse* is not attaching itself to a focal host word, but rather it has raised to a position between the two pragmatic domains. Whether the raised word has right-adjoined the Topic or left-adjoined the Focus, I cannot say for certain.

The auxiliary *fuisse* raises above the dative *Caesari* but not the object *provinciam*, but we have yet to determine whether the raised elements (here *fuisse*) have raised above, i.e. outside of, the Focus domain or to the head of the Focus domain. If we take the position of *fuisse* as outside of the Focus domain, it marks *Caesari* (or *Caesari tradituros*) as Focus, that is, the part of the proposition that Cicero believes is a *mendacium*: [You would have given the province back to $x$]$_{presupposed}$ [$x$=Caesar]$_{asserted}$. Applying this to our nominal subject example would place Narrow Focus on *tribuniciam potestatem*, i.e. [Men would not so greatly have missed $x$]$_{presupposed}$ [$x$=tribunician power]$_{asserted}$, but this produces slightly unsuitable pragmatic meaning as it does not account properly for the negation. A Broad Focus reading with *fuisse* at the head of the Focus domain also omits the negation; it does, however, incorporate additional inflectional properties of the verb, and in such a multilayered informational environment as a counterfactual rendered into indirect discourse the auxiliary seems to carry significant semantic weight.[418] At present, however, we must leave this example somewhat unresolved, but we will return to it below in § 4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO and attempt to present a more unified explanation for this phenomenon.

Finally, as should be clear at this point, Cicero also varies the complexity of the AcI clauses. Many in this group consist of only the nuclear arguments and verb (i.e. SOV). Others, however, have additional adjunct phrases or satellite clauses. These can precede the primary

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[418] The rendering of counterfactuals into indirect discourse places an additional layer of information structure on top of an already complex proposition while simultaneously stripping information from the conditional itself by effectively leveling the inflectional distinction between present and past counterfactuals. As Woodcock (1959) 236 notes, "only the context can determine whether it is a Present or Past Unreal that is being represented." Other conditionals are affected as well, for which see Woodcock (1959) 234–238. The upshot is that we may be dealing with multiple pragmatic domains, e.g. one at the higher-order level of the conditional and one at the local level of the apodosis. If this is the case, it stands that multiple Foci could also be present corresponding to these levels as well.

predicate frame as, e.g., a Setting phrase, or follow it if the adjunct is dependent on the VP (e.g. *plus habuisse momenti ad suspicionem criminis quam ad rationem salutis* (*I Verr.* 52 [=(99)]), but more often these adjuncts and satellites separate nuclear constituents. This is not unique to Cicero by any means, but the practice is more intricate and less uniform than it was in Caesar, whose adjuncts tended to be ablative absolutes and subject-dependent secondary predicate participles.

We find only two secondary predicate participles and zero ablative absolutes (in the target AcI clauses, at any rate) in Cicero's nominal-subject SO examples.[419] The secondary participles are similar to Caesar's in that they modify the subject and form the right edge of the Topic domain (e.g. *homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos* (*Phil.* 1.14); *vos nobilis homines magna quaedam spectantis* (*Phil.* 1.29)). However, Cicero allows these adjuncts and satellites to be object dependent as well, whereas Caesar's adjuncts almost always modified the subject.[420]

Moreover, Cicero also makes regular use of intervening clausal satellites (e.g. *ut*, *cum*, or relative clauses). For example, the contrastive object in *Phil.* 1.29, has multiple intervening satellites, including a gerundive phrase:

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[419] One could argue that *integerrimo atque honestissimo praetore* and *delectoque consilio* in *I Verr.* 52 are ablative absolutes. As Laughton (1967) 100 notes, ablative absolutes are not required, per se, to have a participle; such cases, though, are usually temporal and would use a participle of *sum*, which is non-existent (Priscian [XVIII 75, 1140 P.], however, claims Caesar used *ens*). As such, at best these two phrases are atypical examples of the construction. At *I Verr.* 44 there is an ablative absolute preceding the main AcI: *Cn. Pompeio, viro fortissimo et clarissimo, de tribunicia potestate referente*. At any rate, Caesar employs ablative absolutes roughly ten times as often as Cicero, for which, see Adams (2005), Laughton (1967) 100–117.

[420] This is not always the case, e.g. at *Gal.* 1.39.6 there is a contrastive object very similar to the one in (112): *non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum, quae inter eos atque Ariovistum intercederent, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant*. Caesar also had the occasional intervening relative clause or *cum* clause, but again they are subject-dependent, e.g. *Gal.* 1.43.5 *Illum, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum*; *Gal.* 5.5.2 *LX navis, quae…, tempestate reiectas cursum tenere non potuisse*.

112)     (=105) <u>Credo</u> enim <u>vos nobilis homines</u> magna quaedam <u>spectantis</u> *non pecuniam*, ut quidam nimis creduli suspicantur, quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta est, *non opes violentas* et populo Romano minime ferendam *potentiam*, sed *caritatem civium* et *gloriam* **concupivisse**.

For I believe that you noble men, aiming at something great, have desired not money, as some too credulous people suspect, which has always been looked down on by every great and renowned man, not power obtained by violence and authority that is unendurable by the Roman people, but the esteem of the citizens and glory. (*Phil.* 1.29)

It is not just that the satellites break up the AcI constituents. The satellites in this passage are syntactically part of the AcI domain governed by *credo*, but from the content of the satellites it is fairly clear that they are Ciceronian additions. In other words, *populo Romano minime ferendam* was not part of the original thought of the *nobilis homines*. Both of these—the more varied use of satellites and, in particular, the use of satellites whose deictic center is ambiguous—are consistent features of Cicero's satellite usage, to which we will have occasion to return. As with the raised auxiliary above, the primary objective at this point is to establish the pattern.

We began with the nominal-subject SO examples because the prosody of the nuclear constituents, or of the subject at any rate, is of minimal concern, and the clause structures should provide a point of reference for future clauses in which more factors are at play. There were 15 examples in this nominal-subject SO tranche, and at a first approximation they parallelled the data from Caesar. Cicero also prefers pairing high-agency subjects with low-agency objects, meaning that the personal-animacy hierarchy largely determines the syntactic assignments. Pragmatically, the constituents' functions and the clausal information structures also reflected what we found in Caesar, that is, subjects regularly have Topic function and initial position, while objects prefer preverbal position both in Broad Foci and when they have Narrow Focus.

Non-object Focus constituents tend to displace the object from preverbal position, further confirming the presence of a preverbal NFoc slot.

However, the Cicero and Caesar data sets did diverge as well. To begin with, we encountered the first instance (100) in either SO data set where the personal-animacy hierarchy did not map onto the syntactic roles. Importantly, though, grammatical ambiguity was forestalled because the infinitive *secutos* could only agree with the subject *homines*, not the object *L. Pisonem*. Moreover, Cicero's infinitives were more mobile, with five examples having a VO order. The causes of the VO orders, though, were less evident; unlike in Caesar, they were not topicalized and only a few were candidates for Focus raising. Finally, as we saw in Caesar, satellites could separate the nuclear constituents, but Cicero's practice was less uniform. He never used an ablative absolute, and secondary participles were rare. Moreover, Cicero allowed these satellites to be object dependent, whereas Caesar's adjuncts almost always modified the subject.

We will now move on to the corresponding nominal-subject OS data set. Not only will we be concerned with the motivations for the OS orders and any differences between them and the nominal-subject SO orders, but we will also focus on areas in which Cicero's OS orders differ from Caesar's.

## 4.5 Nominal Subjects in OS

Now that we have established some benchmarks by which to measure other AcI clauses, we can turn to those cases with a nominal subject but an OS constituent order. Again, in broad terms our Cicero data do not differ too significantly from the Caesar data discussed in §2.5 Nominal Subjects in OS Order: There are fewer OS examples (six) than SO, the personal-

animacy hierarchy still strongly correlates to the syntactic roles (four of six subject nominals are proper names), and the OS orders are pragmatically motivated.

Topicalization is quite productive in Cicero, although more so in this OS set than in the pronominal subjects below. In fact, object Topicalization accounts for five of the six OS orders whereas only three of Caesar's five examples had a topicalized object. Though the underlying process is the same, the two authors differ in some of the particulars, which we should keep in mind as we continue. For example, Cicero allows both nominal and pronominal objects to topicalize ahead of nominal subjects, but object pronouns do not topicalize with subject nominals in Caesar. On the other hand, two of the three topicalized objects in Caesar are complex (e.g. double dependent genitives), and Topicalization can exert gravitational attraction, as it were, on other lexical items, pulling them forward (e.g. semantically weak verbs). Only two of Cicero's fronted objects are modified, one has a prehead anaphoric adjective and another has a fairly trivial dependent genitive, and other clausal elements are not affected. That being said, there are genuine similarities that are worth highlighting.

To begin with, four of the topicalized objects (i.e. Sentence Topics) in Cicero share the Topic domain with another topical entity. Three times this is a Discourse Topic, two of which are the subject accusatives and one of which is a dative Recipient. As we saw in Caesar, Sentence Topics generally precede Discourse Topics because they function at a more localized level of predication. Moreover, the two Topics are often contiguous, both with nominal objects (113) and pronominal objects (114):

113) novi est in lege hoc, ut qui nummos in tribu pronuntiarit, si non dederit, impune sit, sin dederit, ut quoad vivat singulis tribulibus HS CIↃ CIↃ CIↃ debeat. <u>Dixi</u> *hanc legem* <u>P. Clodium</u> iam ante **servasse**; pronuntiare enim solitum esse et non dare.

> This is the new part of the law, that anyone offering money in a tribe, if he does not give it, will not be punishable; but if he does give it, he would owe 3,000 sesterces to each tribe as long as he lives. I said that P. Clodius had already been following this law, for he was wont to promise to pay and not pay. (*Att.* 1.16.13)

114) Credo enim te audisse nostros equites paene senatu esse diiunctos; qui primum illud valde graviter tulerunt, promulgatum ex senatus consulto fuisse ut de eis qui ob iudicandum accepissent quaereretur; qua in re decernenda cum ego casu non adfuissem <u>sensissem</u>que *id* <u>equestrem ordinem</u> **ferre moleste neque aperte dicere**, obiurgavi senatum…

> For I believe you have heard that our Knights have nearly split from the Senate. First off, this thing they took quite poorly, that there had been a promulgation according to a decree of the Senate that there would be an investigation into those who had accepted money for their vote; since I happened not to be present at the passing of the decree and I had noticed that the Equestrian order was vexed by it and not saying so openly, I rebuked the Senate… (*Att.* 1.17.8)

Example (113) is a fairly textbook case of Topicalization. The bulk of the letter narrates the trial of Clodius in 61, but in the final few sections Cicero transitions to the upcoming elections, recent senate business, and some new laws, in the last of which he is able to sneak in one final barb at Clodius. So, *hanc legem* refers to an entity in the immediately preceding context, while *P. Clodium* reintroduces an entity present in the larger discourse, and each of these precedes the Focus domain (*iam ante servasse*).[421] In (114) the anaphoric pronoun *id* raises to domain-initial position ahead of the DiscTop *equestrem ordinem*. The verb phrase has Focus, in particular the added *neque aperte dicere* which contrasts directly with *obiurgavi*.

Contiguity of the two Topic constituents is not required, however:

115) Si <u>responderit</u> Tubero, *Africam*, quo senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi (*sc.* Caesari) <u>patrem suum</u> **traditurum fuisse**, non dubitabo apud ipsum te cuius id eum facere interfuit gravissimis verbis eius consilium reprehendere.

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[421] One could argue that the adverb *iam ante* alone has Narrow Focus, if *servasse* is inferable via *lex* insofar as one follows or does not follow a law.

If (Quintus) Tubero should respond that his own father (L. Aelius) would have handed over Africa, where the senate and his lot had sent him, to you (Caesar), I will not hesitate to criticize his plan in the harshest terms before you yourself to whose advantage it was that he do it. (*Lig.* 23)

The SentTop *Africam* raises to clause-initial position and is followed by a non-restrictive relative clause, which separates it from the DiscTop *tibi*.[422] The subject and verb have Broad Focus. The colon-initial position of *tibi* tells us that it is a strong pronoun, i.e. pragmatically prominent. In the preceding context, Cicero has asked Tubero *Caesarine eam tradituri fuistis an contra Caesarem retenturi?* Tubero's hypothetical answer, then, concerns Africa vis-à-vis Caesar, not just Africa.

In the fourth instance the accusative object is actually a SubTopic which follows a topicalized anaphoric pronoun (SentTop), though the latter is grammatically dependent on the former:

116) Aviam tuam scito desiderio tui mortuam esse, et simul quod verita sit ne Latinae in officio non manerent et in montem Albanum hostias non adducerent. *eius rei consolationem* ad te <u>L. Saufeium</u> **missurum esse** <u>arbitror</u>.

You should know that your grandmother has died from missing you, and also because she feared the Latin festival would not fulfill its function and would not bring the animals to Mount Albanus. I think L. Saufeius will send you a consolation letter for it. (*Att.* 1.3.1)

The anaphoric *eius* in the objective genitive summarizes the previous idea and builds a connection between it and the new clause. The object, *consolationem*, while not explicitly present in the discourse, is easily inferable through a bridging assumption or relational inference, i.e.

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[422] An interesting feature of this relative clause, and one to which we will have cause to return later, is that it is unclear to whom we should attribute these words. Though the future utterance is said to be Tubero's, it is also possible that the relative clause is added by, or focalized through, Cicero. In other words, the illocutionary satellite is a means by which Cicero comments on an utterance. Indirect speech adds another layer of complexity to these types of illocutionary adjuncts. Cf. Pinkster *OLS* 1, 25 and §10.97, who uses the term "disjunct" for "satellites that convey some form of comment by the speaker or writer either on the content or on the form and communicative function of the sentence."

death>grief>consolation. *L. Saufeium*, the subject, has Narrow Focus. The question under discussion here, that is, the piece of information Cicero wants to add to Atticus' pragmatic cache, is not "What will Saufeius do?" or "What will Saufeius send?" but rather "Who will send the letter?" Reading *Saufeium* as a Narrow Focus is supported by the fact that the verb itself is inferable from *consolationem*; that is, if there is a letter, there is a good chance someone sent it. [423]

The distance that the fronted constituent moves can vary as well. Or, put another way, the space between the topicalized constituent and the other nuclear constituents is not fixed. It can raise above a single, fairly simple constituent as in most of the preceding examples (and in most of Caesar's examples as well), or it can be separated by a more complex one. For example, at *Sen.* 39 Cato launches into a story he was told as a young man about Archytas of Tarentum (*accipite…veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini…quae mihi tradita est cum essem adulescens*). Then, at *Sen.* 41.16 a topicalized anaphoric *haec* summarizes the preceding account:

117) *haec* cum Gaio Pontio Samnite, patre eius a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, **locutum** <u>Archytam</u>, Nearchus Tarentinus hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se <u>a maioribus natu accepisse</u> dicebat.

Nearchus, our Tarentine host, who had been steadfast in his friendship with the Roman people, said that he had learned from his ancestors that Archytas had discussed these things with the Samnite Gaius Pontius, the father of the man by whom the consuls Spurius Postumius and Titus Veturius were defeated at the Battle of the Caudine (Forks). (*Sen.* 41)

The Focus constituent (*cum Gaio Pontio Samnite …*) is in preverbal position, and, because it is complex, the topicalized pronoun ends up quite the distance away from the rest of the nuclear predication. Further exacerbating the distance is the fact that, unlike in the previous examples,

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[423] Von Albrecht (2003) has shown that verbs referring to the exchange of letters are especially prone to ellipsis in Cicero's correspondence.

the subject accusative *Archytam* is a Tail, not a DiscTop, so it follows the infinitive *locutum*. Had

*Archytam* had DiscTop function, it presumably would have preceded the Focus and the distance

between the two Topics would have been much less. Though it may seem like *haec* has made a

long-distance move, or longer than others, at any rate, the underlying process is the same: The

object constituent is selected as SentTop, so it raises out of the base VP layer, ahead of the

preverbal NFoc slot and the (unused) DiscTop slot to clause-initial position.

The final nominal OS example is motivated by an object pronoun raising to Focus,

specifically a cataphoric preparative expression.[424] The object pronoun has clause-initial position

like *haec* (117) and *id* (114), but unlike the previous pronominal objects it is primarily cataphoric

and occupies a different pragmatic function slot:

118)   Quid faceres pro homine innocente…cum…committis ut quod ille dictitat alicui qui te
ignoret verum esse videatur? Nam *hoc* <u>Verrem</u> **dicere** <u>aiebant</u>, te non fato, ut ceteros ex
vestra familia, sed opera sua consulem factum. Duo igitur consules et quaesitor erunt ex
illius voluntate.

What would you do for an innocent man…when you act in such a way that what that
man keeps repeating seems true to someone who does not know you? For this is what
they said that Verres was saying: that you were made consul not by fate, like other
members of your family, but by his own agency. Therefore, the two consuls and the
presiding judge will be at his disposal. (*I Verr.* 29)

At the local propositional level the object pronoun is cataphoric, referring to the following AcI,

but at the broader discourse level it is also anaphoric and, together with *nam*, explains the

implied content of *dictitat* in the previous sentence. *Hoc* has raised the NFoc slot, and, because

the subject and verb are presupposed and stay in the base VP layer, it ends up in initial position

(i.e. [O<sup>NFoc</sup>[SV]]). As a preparative expression, *hoc* is simultaneously semantically empty and

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[424] For preparative expressions, see above ns. 307–309.

pragmatically marked; it stands in for the actual Focus constituent, the following AcI (*te non fato*…). Additionally, like previous preparative expressions in Caesar ((69), (76), (77)) *hoc* is syntactically optional, that is, the superordinate verb (*dicere*) can govern an AcI directly, and precisely because it is an optional argument, its use is a choice on Cicero's part that adds additional emphasis to the content of the second AcI clause.

Because all but one object constituent—*hoc* in the previous example—have been topicalized, they cannot be part of the Focus domain. Instead, other nuclear constituents or adjuncts have Focus function, either alone or in combination with the verb. In particular, OS orders provide opportunities for subjects to have Focus function, which they generally do not have in SO orders. For example, in (115) above, the subject *patrem suum* was part of a Broad Focus:

119)   (=115) Si <u>responderit</u> Tubero, *Africam*, quo senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi (*sc.* Caesari) [<u>patrem suum</u> **traditurum fuisse**]…

If (Quintus) Tubero should respond that his own father (L. Aelius) would have handed over Africa, where the senate and his lot had sent him, to you (*sc.* Caesar)… (*Lig.* 23)

and in (116) the subject *L. Saufeium* had Narrow Focus:

120)   (=116) *eius rei consolationem* ad te [<u>L. Saufeium</u>] **missurum esse** <u>arbitror</u>.

I think L. Saufeius will send you a consolation letter for it. (*Att.* 1.3.1)

We also found this in Caesar's OS examples above:

121)   (=32) a. *frumentum* [<u>Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones</u>] **sumministrare**.

that, as to the grain, the Sequani, Leuci, and the Lingones were to supply it. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.40.1)

(=36) b. Galliae totius factiones esse duas: <u>harum alterius principatum</u> **tenere** [*Aeduos*], alterius [*Arvernos*].

"[that] there are two factions in all of Gaul: of these the Aedui have control of one, the Arverni of the other." (Caes. *Gal*. 1.31.3)

Finally, now that we have seen the nominal subject examples in both SO and OS order, we can revisit one of the main differences between Caesar and Cicero that we alluded to earlier in §4.3 Cicero's AcI Data: the type and position of matrix verbs. Though we did not call specific attention to it, all but one—*Sen*. 41 (117)—of the OS-ordered examples have a short-range matrix verb ("srM"). Likewise, the SO examples from the previous section showed a strong preference for short-range matrix constructions (srM 11×, lrM 4×). All told, the nominal subject examples have 16 short-range and only 5 long-range matrix verbs. Moreover, these short-range matrix verbs precede the AcI much more often than they follow it (srM>AcI 12×, AcI>srM 4×). Caesar's usage strongly contrasts with this: In no category are there more short-range than long-range matrix verbs, and in the nominal subject groups in particular there are twice as many long-range matrix constructions (n=16) as short-range (n=8).[425]

The reason the distinction matters is that we are dealing with an embedded construction, that is, a second predication domain, which can interact with the matrix domain. Identifying or delineating these domains is crucial to assessing constituent order, especially if clitics are involved. With long-range matrix verbs, the superordinate domain is all but absent with every AcI but the first, and even then it is not obvious that the two domains are truly at risk of

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[425] All told Caesar has 46 long-range matrix constructions and 32 short-range ones. I have counted any matrix construction that directly abuts an AcI domain as short-range, even if hard punctuation separates them, i.e. where the two domains may not actually interact. For which, see ns. 270 and 271 above. This is mostly an issue in Caesar where editors typically punctuate after matrix constructions that initiate multiple separate AcI clauses, e.g. *his Caesar ita respondit:* (*Gal*. 1.14.4), which governs the next 22 lines. But punctuation can occur in shorter speeches as well with far fewer individual AcI, such as *non inridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit: plus quam pollicitus esset Caesarem ei facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum ad equum rescribere* (*Gal*. 1.42.6). In other words, *his Caesar ita respondit* and *quidam ex…dixit* are considered short-range matrix constructions for the first AcI they introduce, but not others. The same is true for the Cicero examples, though the situation is less common.

interacting.[426] With short-range matrix verbs, on the other hand, the existence of the superordinate domain is salient, and its proximity, whether before or after the AcI, reinforces the presence of two potentially interacting domains. In the nominal subject examples there was very little domain interaction or intermingling, but this will change with the pronominal subjects.

In this section we investigated Cicero's nominal-subject OS orders. We first compared them with his own nominal-subject SO orders, and we found that pragmatics determined the serial orders both in the SO and OS set. Subjects in the SO examples generally had Topic function, as did the object constituents in the OS orders, which accounted for their leftward movement. However, objects raising to Focus could also produce an OS order if the other clausal constituents were not pragmatically marked. In this, Cicero followed Caesar's practice. Also like Caesar, the personal-animacy hierarchy broadly controlled the syntactic roles, with high-agency entities in subject roles and low-agency or abstract entities in object roles. There was one instance in the SO data set where this was not the case, the first occurrence in either author, but ambiguity was precluded due to the case markings on the infinitival participle.

Ultimately, our nominal-subject AcI data from Caesar and Cicero did not diverge much in terms of the underlying drivers of constituent order or syntactic assignment. Where some daylight existed between them was in their use of satellites, particularly those that separated the nuclear constituents, and in the types and positions of matrix verbs. Caesar liberally used ablative absolutes and secondary predicate participles, though the latter always modified the subject constituent. Cicero, on the other hand, entirely eschewed the ablative absolute and employed

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[426] Though I have not collected data to this effect, the presence of a preparative expression may well affect the likelihood of domain interaction with short-range matrix verbs. This would include stronger or full-fledged preparative expressions, e.g. *hoc palam dictitet* (*I Verr.* 8) or *ad hunc modum locutus est* (*Gal.* 5.27), as well as weaker or semi-preparative expressions, e.g. *qui ita dictitat* (*I Verr.* 4).

only a couple of secondary participles. Instead, he made broader use of clausal satellites, and he also allowed these intervening elements to modify the object constituent or to be dependent on the VP. Finally, while long-range matrix verbs were the norm in Caesar, Cicero strongly preferred short-range matrix constructions. This preference increases the opportunity for the matrix and AcI domains to interact. Many of these differences were insubstantial in this section, but they deserved attention because they will be recurring themes throughout the rest of this chapter.

In the next two sections, we will transition to the pronominal subject data sets. As with Caesar, the pronominal subject examples outnumber the nominal subjects. The determinants of constituent order and syntactic assignment will remain consistent, that is, pragmatic movement rules will alter the linear order and entities higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy will be subjects. Moreover, many of the subject pronouns, as we saw in Caesar, will be weak or simple Topics, i.e generally non-contrastive and not (re)introducing an entity, meaning that it is not always clear if the subject pronoun has raised to the Topic slot. Cicero's preference for short-range matrix verbs will complicate matters further in terms of pronominal prosody and domain integrity. Cicero will present unique features as well, including the use of first- and second-person pronouns.

## 4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO

Just as we saw in the Caesar data above, pronominal subjects in Cicero's AcIs are more common than nominal subjects, both in the SO orders in this section and in the corresponding OS orders that we will look at later. The semantic and pragmatic status of these subject pronouns as well as the larger pragmatic structures of the clauses will be of interest. These SO examples will

further evidence the role of the personal-animacy hierarchy in syntactic assignments, that is, the more agentive, animate, and individuated entity has subject function.

However, the presence of a pronominal subject in an AcI does not perforce indicate pragmatic saliency, since subject accusatives are required grammatically.[427] Despite occurring early in the clause, it will be unclear in certain cases whether the subject pronoun has Topic function. We can recall that more often than not subject-*se* in Caesar seemed to represent zero-anaphor. With a lack of pragmatic weight comes the possibility of cliticization, which is further complicated by the fact that we are dealing with an embedded construction in which various domains interact. Since Cicero vastly prefers short-range matrix constructions, the prosody and structural position of these weak pronouns will be thornier.

The Focus constructions, likewise, will not be as clear-cut as we might have hoped. First—more so than in Caesar—we will encounter examples where there is genuine uncertainty in whether a given clause has Broad or Narrow Focus, and these decisions will alter the percentages for the Focus types. Second, though they may be ultimately derivable from the rules we have invoked up to this point, in certain examples the resemblance to the prototypical versions of the two Focus constructions will be less obvious and require further explanation. For example, we will find Narrow Foci not in immediately preverbal position, and we will also find additional instances of the unique Focus marking strategy that was introduced back in §4.4, i.e. auxiliary raising.

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[427] We should mention the obvious but important fact that the move to Cicero introduces first- and second-person subject pronouns, which were rarely a factor in Caesar's third-person narrative. The reason this merits explicit mention is that in main clauses first- and second-person pronouns tend to be omitted unless pragmatically salient. This is not the case in AcI clauses, however, where they are just as grammatically required as third-person pronouns. As such, other devices are required to mark pragmatic function.

Finally, we previously noted that Cicero's use of satellites was different from Caesar's in that he used more clausal satellites and that they were less restricted to specific arguments. In this section we will be able to extend that observation to include the types of satellites as well, but it will require a brief primer on satellite typology within Functional Grammar. Following the taxonomy in Pinkster's new *Oxford Latin Syntax*, from this point on we will divide satellites into two basic groups: adjuncts (§§10.1–10.96) and disjuncts (§§10.97–10.107).[428] The two types operate at different levels of the clause. Adjuncts, for instance, modify in various ways the state of affairs, the verb, or its arguments. Adjuncts are then subdivided into five categories based on semantic role: Space, Time, Process, Contingency, and Respect.[429] Disjuncts, on the other hand, are speaker-, addressee-, or speech act–oriented; those that specify the speaker's attitude toward the content or truthfulness of a proposition are called attitudinal disjuncts, and those that comment on the form or communicative function of an utterance are called illocutionary disjuncts.[430] In particular, Cicero will employ a handful of attitudinal or illocutionary disjuncts in

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[428] Further satellite distinctions are drawn in later sections of the work. See §16 "Subordinate clauses filling a satellite position" and §21 "Secondary predicates."

[429] Contingency is a broad category that includes Cause, Purpose, and Reason adjuncts. While it is not made clear at the outset (§10), many of these adjunct categories have disjunct counterparts, especially within the Contingency group. The reader does not learn until the relevant sections on satellite clauses, for instance, that Manner, Reason, and Purpose clauses can also function as attitudinal or illocutionary disjuncts. For Manner clauses, see §16.33–38; for Reason clauses, see §16.39–48; for Purpose clauses, see §16.49–52. Other types of clauses, phrases, or clausal elements can function as adjuncts or disjuncts as well, e.g. conditionals (§16.63–64), concessives (§16.83), and participial secondary predicates (§21.7). In many cases, this overlap necessitates a two-layer description, e.g., a Reason satellite, functioning as an illocutionary disjunct.

[430] Pinkster's taxonomy only loosely reflects the standard taxonomy within Functional Grammar, but no direct references or citations are provided in either volume of *OLS*. In the broader linguistic scholarship, satellites are typically divided into four types, based on the definitions developed in Hengeveld (1989) 150–151:

(i)     Predicate satellites capture the lexical means which specify additional properties of the set of SoAs designated by a bare predication.

(ii)    Predication satellites capture the lexical means which locate the SoAs designated by a predication in a real or imaginary world and thus restrict the set of potential referents of the predication to the external situation(s) the speaker has in mind.

these examples, but because they are inside of an AcI clause, their deictic centers will be ambiguous. In other words, it will be more difficult to discern whether the comment is coming from Cicero or the original speaker. By and large, Caesar did not employ disjuncts, preferring predication-level adjuncts instead, so their use in Cicero represents a true contrast. With these preliminary issues out of the way, we can move on to the pronominal-subject SO data themselves.

Cicero matches Caesar in having a considerably larger number of pronominal subjects than nominal subjects, both in the SO orders in this section and in the corresponding OS orders that we will look at later. There are 41 examples in this SO set and 15 in the OS set, compared to the nominals which had 19 and 5 respectively. All 41 of these pronominal subjects refer to human entities, i.e. the referents are high on the personal-animacy hierarchy. Unlike Caesar, though, Cicero also uses first- and second-person pronouns (*me* 6×, *nos* 0×, *te* 9×, *vos* 3×), but, despite the wider range of options, *se* is again the most common subject pronoun, accounting for 16 of the 41 examples (also *sese* 1×). The final six subjects are forms of *is* (4×) and *ille* (2×), meaning that there are no uses of pronominal *hic* as subject.[431]

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    (iii)      Proposition satellites capture the lexical means through which the speaker specifies his attitude towards the proposition he puts forward for consideration.

    (iv)      Illocution satellites capture the lexical means through which the speaker modifies the force of the basic illocution of a linguistic expression so as to make it fit his communicative strategy.

Predicate (i) and predication (ii) satellites operate at the representational level of the clause, which describes a SoA in relation to some real or hypothetical world, while proposition (iii) and illocution (iv) satellites operate at the interpersonal level, which concerns the speaker's communicative goals in presenting the information about the SoA. As I read it, Pinkster's adjuncts correspond to Hengeveld's representational-level satellites, while the two types of disjuncts—attitudinal and illocutionary—correspond respectively to Hengeveld's proposition and illocution satellites. See also Dik et al. (1990); Ros (2005).

[431] Interestingly, this will also be the case in the OS orders. In fact, *hic* in both its pronominal and adjectival form is entirely absent from the subject constituents in Cicero (in our specific transitive data sets, at any rate). The restriction on *hic* does not extend to the object constituents, however, where both pronominal and adjectival forms

These high-agency subject pronouns occur with both nominal (31×) and pronominal objects (10×), and the objects are generally low on the personal-animacy hierarchy, e.g. an abstract noun as in (122) or an inanimate noun as in (123):

122) Ipse denique Cn. Pompeius…ubi…<u>ostendit</u> <u>se</u> *tribuniciam potestatem* **restituturum**.

Finally, when Cn. Pompey himself…showed that he would restore the tribunician power. (*I Verr.* 45)

123) Quamquam <u>te</u> quidem *id* **facturum** non <u>arbitror</u>…

Although I do not think that you, at any rate, will do this… (*Phil.* 1.27)

There are also four instances where the object too is an agentive entity, far more than we found in any one data set in Caesar, but grammatical ambiguity is unlikely for various reasons. The first is a second-person reflexive construction (*te…te*). The second is a singular *me* which does not agree with the infinitival participle *interfecturos*. The third object is an indefinite *hominem*, which is still lower on the personal-animacy hierarchy than the subject *se* (=*C. Verrem*). The fourth involves a double-accusative predicate structure, and the object is a proper name:

124) Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina: num igitur <u>censetis</u> <u>eum</u>, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset *Lysimachum* **salutare solitum**?

Themistocles had learned the names of all the citizens: therefore, do you really think that, when he had gotten on in years, he was wont to address as Lysimachus one who was Aristides? (*Sen.* 21)

The most readily available anaphoric referent for *eum* is *Themistocles*, but Cicero emphasizes the connection by separating it from the other possible (cataphoric) referents, e.g. *qui* and *Lysimachum*, with a *cum* clause.[432]

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are found. To determine whether there is a larger significance to this feature would require a review of a much larger sample of uses of *hic*, which I leave to others.

[432] See Powell (1988) ad loc. who notes that the "relative clause neatly avoids the ugly and ambiguous double accusative." Without the *qui* clause, we would, in fact, be faced with a triple accusative, *\*eum cum…Aristidem*

Despite being discourse-bound, only some of the subject pronouns are identifiable as Topics.[433] This can be accomplished lexically by means of secondary participles like *prolapsos* in (125) which, assuming a colon break after *senatu*, forms the right border of a colon beginning with the subject:

125) Asiam qui de censoribus conduxerunt <u>questi sunt</u> in senatu <u>se</u> cupiditate <u>prolapsos</u> *nimium* magno **conduxisse**.

Those who contracted with the censors for Asia complained in the senate that they, having erred because of greed, had contracted at far too great a cost. (*Att.* 1.17.9)

Other times, though, to support the subject's selection as Topic we must look to discourse-pragmatic features. For example, in (126) the adverb *etiam* creates an explicit contrast between *me* (Cicero) and *te* (Caesar); in (127) *se* forms a link in a referential chain that maintains Topic continuity, i.e. *duo equites>qui>se*:

126) memoria teneo qualis T. Ligarius quaestor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam. Sed <u>parum est</u> *me hoc* **meminisse**: spero etiam te qui oblivisci nihil soles nisi iniurias…te aliquid de huius illo quaestorio officio…recordari.

I remember what kind of city quaestor T. Ligarius was towards you and your dignity. But it means little that I remember this: I hope that you too, who are wont to forget nothing except injuries…that you recall something important about this man's performance as quaestor… (*Lig.* 35)

127) (=95) Reperti sunt duo equites Romani qui te ista cura liberarent et <u>se</u> illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem *me* in meo lecto **interfecturos esse** <u>pollicerentur</u>.

Two Roman knights were found who freed you from that care and promised that they would kill me in my own bed that very night a little before dawn. (*Cat.* 1.9)

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*Lysimachum*. In such a situation, the importance of the *cum* clause would become all the more obvious in that its position would forestall the misanalysis of *eum* as an adjective (i.e. *eum Aristidem*). Cicero, of course, could then add a *fourth* accusative, e.g. *eum illum Aristidem Lysimachum*, to help protect against *eum* being read as an adjective, but such a string of accusatives seems quite unwieldy.

[433] Of the 41 examples, Topic status is particularly questionable in the following 7 instances: *Att.* 1.12.2 (*se*), 14.3 (*se*), 16.4 (*se*); *I Verr.* 23 (*se*), 40 (*se*), 45 (*se*); *Sen.* 59 (*se*).

Moreover, the anaphoric *hoc* in (126) does not receive initial position precisely because *me*, not

*hoc*, has Topic function, and in (127) the presence of Setting adjuncts between the subject

pronoun and the object and verb strongly suggest that the subject has raised to the Topic slot.

In still other instances, however, the subject pronouns are at best weak Topics or more

likely not pragmatically significant, and as was the case with many such examples in Caesar, these

pronouns probably represent zero-anaphora in direct speech.[434] This lack of pragmatic weight

coupled with the prevalence of short-range matrix verbs leads to situations in which the

structural position of the subject pronoun may not match its serial position. In other words,

despite the SO order, the subject's position early in the clause may be attributable to it being a

clitic rather than a Topic:

128)   (=122) Ipse denique Cn. Pompeius cum primum contionem ad urbem consul designatus
       habuit, ubi, id quod maxime exspectari videbatur, <u>ostendit</u> <u>se</u> *tribuniciam potestatem*
       **restituturum**.

       Finally, when Cn. Pompey himself, when as consul designate he held the first address to
       the city, a thing that seemed most especially to be expected, showed that he would restore
       the tribunician power. (*I Verr*. 45)

As we have seen in the other examples with preparative elements of one kind or another, the

presence of the cataphoric expression artificially prescribes its clausal referent as a single state of

affairs, effectively collapsing the matrix and AcI domains into one. If the domain of *se* includes

the matrix construction, as seems likely, then *se* is in second position in its colon, which, given

the subject pronoun's lack of pragmatic weight, suggests it is functioning as a clitic. In other

words, structurally *se* has not raised to a Topic function slot in the AcI domain. Domain

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[434] For Caesar correlates, see above, e.g., (58), (61), (62).

considerations of this ilk were present in a few of our Caesar examples, but more rarely and to a lesser degree.

However, Cicero presents even more complicated cases where the superordinate and subordinate domains appear to intertwine. We will encounter multiple examples of this phenomenon in the next section, for which the following two examples will serve as an *amuse-bouche*:

129)    quam ob rem vero <u>se</u> <u>confidat</u> *aliquid* **proficere posse** hoc praetore et hoc consilio intellegere non possum.

  But how he is confident that he can achieve anything with this praetor and this council I cannot understand. (*I Verr.* 10)

130)    de eo (*sc.* Hilaro) mihi Valerius interpres nuntiat, Thyillusque <u>se</u> **audisse** <u>scribit</u> *haec*, esse hominem cum Antonio; Antonium porro…

  The interpreter Valerius informed me about him (*sc.* Hilarus), and Thyillus writes that he had heard these things, that the man is with Antony; further, that Antony… (*Att.* 1.12.2)

In (129), we should assume the matrix verb *confidat* was originally pre-AcI, then the weak subject pronoun *se* jumped domains and attached to the interactional particle *vero*.[435] The second example is a bit more difficult. The least convoluted explanation, I believe, is that *haec* has, in fact, moved right into contact with its cataphoric referent, which strands the matrix verb *scribit* "inside" the AcI domain. The subject *se* then forms a clitic chain with the bound clitic *-que*. Importantly, however, neither hypothesized movement would be possible if the boundaries between the two domains were not already somewhat porous, that is, they are not treated as two truly independent domains.

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[435] For the various discourse roles of *vero* see, above, n. 191 and Kroon (1995).

Whether the pronominal subject has Topic function or not, in every one of the examples it precedes the object and the Focus domain, which may or may not include the object. Of these 41 examples, 24 have Broad Focus and 17 have Narrow Focus. Caesar's 36 pronominal-subject SO examples, by contrast, had 16 Broad Foci and 20 Narrow Foci, so a slight preference in the opposite direction. However, one should remember to take these as soft numbers, since, as we discussed above in relation to Caesar, identifying Focus domains, especially when we lack access to the prosody, has an unavoidable element of subjectivity to it, even if there are some examples where the Focus is clearly demarcated. In the following passage, for example, a choice must be made, and justified, between a Broad Focus analysis on the whole verb phrase *nimium magno conduxisse* or a Narrow Focus one on the object and adverb:

131) Asiam qui de censoribus conduxerunt <u>questi sunt</u> in senatu <u>se</u> cupiditate prolapsos *nimium* magno **conduxisse**.

Those who contracted with the censors for Asia complained in the senate that they, having erred because of greed, had contracted at far too great a cost. (*Att.* 1.17.9)

Leaving aside the syntactic domain of *Asiam*, it is not immediately clear what the Focus domain should be within the AcI. On the one hand, this use of *conduco* is somewhat a term of art or, at the very least, relegated to mercantile or business language, so it would make sense if parts of the phrase would cohere. And yet, I believe a Narrow Focus reading is preferable here, both because *conduxisse* is easily presupposed from *conduxerunt* in the immediately preceding clause and because quantifiers, like *nimium*, are easily associated with Focus. The point, though, is that neither Focus construction is pragmatically infelicitous—one is just *more* felicitous than the other. Since additional borderline cases exist, another person's tally of Focus constructions could potentially swing two or three points in either direction. In short, these borderline cases are why

the statistics should not relay, for example, that Cicero has precisely a 61%–39% divide between

Broad and Narrow Foci, but rather that we find roughly a 60/40 split in this particular data set.

That being said, Cicero's Broad Foci do have some similarities to Caesar's. In fact, we can

find nearly all of the following Broad Focus variations in our Caesar data. There is, of course, the

familiar and basic final OV:

132)   (=122) Ipse denique Cn. Pompeius cum primum contionem ad urbem consul designatus
       habuit, ubi, id quod maxime exspectari videbatur, <u>ostendit</u> <u>se</u> *tribuniciam potestatem*
       **restituturum**.

       Finally, when Gnaeus Pompey himself, when as consul designate he held the first address
       to the city, a thing that seemed most especially to be expected, showed that he would
       restore the tribunician power. (*I Verr.* 45)

133)   (=126) memoria teneo qualis T. Ligarius quaestor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem
       tuam. Sed <u>parum est</u> <u>me</u> *hoc* **meminisse**: spero etiam te qui oblivisci nihil soles nisi
       iniurias…te aliquid de huius illo quaestorio officio…recordari.

       I remember what kind of city quaestor T. Ligarius was towards you and your dignity. But
       it means little that I remember this: I hope that you too, who are wont to forget nothing
       except injuries…that you recall something important about this man's performance as
       quaestor… (*Lig.* 35)

Even though the subject in (132) cliticizes to the matrix verb and does not have Topic function,

the utterance still communicates what Pompey is going to do, i.e. return the tribunician power,

which has Broad Focus. The OV *hoc meminisse* in (133) likewise has Broad Focus, but the subject

*me* is a Contrastive Topic as we established above.

In a few others, additional constituents are also part of the Focus domain; the object and

verb can bookend this constituent, or it can precede the object in certain instances, if, for

example, the object and verb are idiomatic:

134)   Cognoscet ex me populus Romanus [20 OCT lines]… quod in C. Herennio, quod in C.
       Popilio, senatoribus, qui ambo peculatus damnati sunt, quod in M. Atilio, qui de

maiestate damnatus est, hoc planum factum est, <u>eos</u> *pecuniam* ob rem iudicandam **accepisse**, quod inventi sunt senatores qui…

The Roman people shall know from me [20 OCT lines]…that in the case of Gaius Herennius, that in the case of Gaius Popilius, the senators, who both had been convicted of embezzlement, that in the case of Marcus Atilius, who was condemned of treason, this has been made clear, that those men had received payment in return for judicial decisions, why it is that senators were found who… (*I Verr.* 39)

135) Crassus…surrexit ornatissimeque de meo consulate locutus est, cum ita <u>diceret</u>, <u>se</u>, quod esset senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi *acceptum* **referre**.

Crassus…stood and spoke very elegantly about my consulship, when he said thusly: that he credited me with the fact that he was senator, that he was a citizen, that he was free, and that he was alive. (*Att.* 1.14.3)

In the first example, the pronominal subject *eos* refers to the senators just mentioned and has Topic function. Although minor variations of the phrase *pecuniam ob rem iudicandam accepisse* have been used in the preceding context and the corruption of the courts is a major theme in the speech, its predication of *eos* is new.[436] In (135) the third argument *mihi* is part of the Broad Focus with the idiomatic phrase *acceptum referre*, which stays contiguous. That we are dealing with a third argument rather than a VP-dependent satellite may also be a factor in its placement. Again, we have seen examples in Caesar comparable to each of these.[437]

The Narrow Foci in this data set occasionally pattern like the other Narrow Foci we have seen so far, that is, they have preverbal position. For example, in the following the adverb phrase *nimis crebro* is in the NFoc slot:

136) Saepe enim <u>venit ad meas auris</u> <u>te</u> *idem istud* nimis crebro **dicere**, satis te tibi vixisse.

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[436] *ne tenuissima quidem suspicio acceptae pecuniae ob rem iudicandam constituta sit; …quod ille ob rem iudicandam pecuniam accepisset* (…not even the slightest suspicion arose of bribes taken in return for judicial decisions; …because that man had received payment in return for judicial decisions (§§38–39)).

[437] See above, e.g., (25) and (26).

> For often it has come to my ears that you too frequently say that same thing, that you have lived sufficiently for yourself. (*Marcell.* 25)

However, as in so many other areas, Cicero is less uniform. Or rather, our definition of the Narrow Focus slot needs to be reframed. Until now, we have loosely referred to the NFoc slot as "preverbal." But preverbal has simply been a useful shorthand for "the pragmatic function slot immediately above (to the left) of the base VP layer," which is a tad wordy. What this entails, then, is that one could find a constituent in the NFoc slot, but not in immediately preverbal position, if additional presupposed material has been left in the base VP layer. This, for example, is precisely the cause of the Focus-first constructions. We also see this in the following example where the object constituent is clearly marked as a contrastive Narrow Focus by the correlatives *non…solum, …sed*, but it is followed by a source phrase *Athenis*, which is in preverbal position.

137) novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, <u>teque</u> non *cognomen* solum Athenis **deportasse**, sed *humanitatem et prudentiam* <u>intellego</u>.

> For I know the moderation and evenness of your mind, and I understand that you brought back from Athens not only a cognomen, but also culture and judgment. (*Sen.* 1)

We know the Source noun is not the Narrow Focus because it, together with the verb, is omitted in the second half of the correlative, meaning it is information that is presupposed.

Verb Focus also behaves as we would expect based on our Caesar examples, that is, the verb raises to the NFoc slot ahead of the object, but with a few caveats. To begin with, verb Focus rarely evokes simple contrast where one predicate is contrasted with another predicate, e.g. *is fugit sed hic remanet*. Instead, in these examples Cicero seems to use verb Focus as an illocutionary instrument; in the following two passages, it serves to remark on the fact that the state of affairs has obtained:

138) (=135) Crassus, postea quam <u>vidit</u> <u>illum</u> (*sc.* Pompeium) **excepisse** *laudem* ex eo quod [hi] suspicarentur homines ei consulatum meum placere, surrexit…

Crassus, after he saw that that man (*sc.* Pompey) had gotten a cheer from that because men inferred that he approved of my consulship, he stood… (*Att.* 1.14.3)

139) <u>triumphabat</u> (quid quaeris?) Hortensius <u>se</u> **vidisse** *tantum*; nemo erat qui illum reum ac non miliens condemnatum arbitraretur.

quid quaeris *ante* trium- *ci. Pius*

Hortensius was (in a word) exultant that he had foreseen such; there was no one who thought that that man was a defendant and not convicted a thousand times. (*Att.* 1.16.4)

In (138) and (139) the Focus marks the speaker's insistence or surprise perhaps that the state of affairs actually happened, similar to verum Focus.[438] Narrow Focus on *vidisse* in (139), for example, means that Hortensius' feeling of exultation stems from accurately foreseeing the situation. But, interestingly, in both cases Cicero is portraying the inner dialogue or thoughts of another person, so neither Hortensius nor Crassus need have said a word. Verb Focus can also imply an opinion (criticism in this case) about the predicate itself:

140) Clodius contiones miseras habebat, in quibus Lucullum Hortensium C. Pisonem Messallam consulem contumeliose laedebat; <u>me</u> tantum '**comperisse**' *omnia* <u>criminabatur</u>.

Clodius was giving wretched speeches, in which he insolently offended Lucullus, Hortensius, C. Piso, and the consul Messala; he charged that I had only "uncovered" everything. (*Att.* 1.14.5)

*Comperisse* in (140) implies Cicero's personal assessment of the original speaker's (Clodius') choice of words or of pragmatic structure. Since exclusivity and exhaustiveness can be features of

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[438] As Devine and Stephens (2019) 38–39 note, verum Focus also connotes "certainty (strength of commitment) and insistence on the part of the speaker," but, they argue, these illocutionary effects are likely "an epiphenomenon of the exclusivity of strong focus…and not part of the meaning of the verum focus itself." Devine and Stephens (2019) 38 classify verum Focus as a subtype of strong broad scope focus rather than narrow scope focus. For identificational (exhaustive) Focus, see É. Kiss (1998) and n. 65 above.

Narrow Focus, Clodius could have achieved or, at least, driven home his goal of demeaning Cicero by putting *comperisse* in Narrow Focus—the particle *tantum*, at any rate, indicates that this is how Cicero interpreted Clodius' meaning—which would evoke and negate the set of all possible alternative predicates, thus denying that he did anything more substantial than "uncover."

Since we only have Cicero's reproduction of the original utterance, we cannot say for certain whether Clodius originally used a Narrow Focus construction in this way or whether Cicero is only availing himself of it here to achieve the same effect, i.e. to deride Clodius' derision of him. The possibility of deictic ambiguity is a feature, not a bug, of indirect speech, and it is what makes investigating the pragmatics of reported speech so fascinating.

Whether consciously or not, Cicero also exploits the potential for deictic ambiguity in his use of satellites. As we discussed above, speakers regularly use satellites to specify additional properties of a state of affairs (adjuncts) or to comment on or state their attitude toward the utterance itself (disjuncts); but in AcI clauses a satellite's deictic center can be obscured, especially with attitudinal or illocutionary disjuncts, because it is unclear to whom we should attribute the attitudinal stance or illocutionary strategy. More specifically, the classification of the satellite is contingent on the operative deictic center; that is, a prepositional phrase that would be a simple Reason adjunct if uttered by the original speaker can become a disjunct if attributed to the reporter. In this batch of examples we find a number of such satellites, not all of which are troublesome. For example, the Purpose adjunct (*quo…probaret*) in the following passage is safely attributable to Lucullus rather than Cicero:

141) non dicam quod tibi, ut opinor Panhormi, Lucullus de suis historiis <u>dixerat</u>, <u>se</u> quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse idcirco *barbara quaedam et soloeca* **dispersisse**.

I shall not say as Lucullus said to you (at Panhormus, was it not?) about his own history, that he had peppered in certain barbarisms and solecisms for the express purpose of proving that it was the work of a Roman. (*Att.* 1.19.10)

It is perfectly consistent with the communicative aim of Lucullus to have given this reason for his peppering in of *barbara et soloeca*.

At other times, however, these satellites do seem irreconcilable with the content of the utterance, such as the secondary participle in (142):

142) Asiam qui de censoribus conduxerunt <u>questi sunt</u> in senatu <u>se</u> cupiditate prolapsos *nimium* magno **conduxisse**.

Those who contracted with the censors for Asia complained in the senate that they, having erred because of greed, had contracted at far too great a cost. (*Att.* 1.17.9)

The participial phrase *cupiditate prolapsos* is a Reason satellite, but it is less obvious that we ought to ascribe the articulation of that reason to the original speakers since, one imagines, a frank admission that it was their own greed that led to their current predicament would be unlikely to garner sympathy from their addressees. Better, then, to attribute the Reason disjunct to Cicero, who is offering his own commentary on these men's pleas. The secondary participle does not affect the overall constituent order too much, though it can, as I argued above, be used as evidence that the subject pronoun has raised to the Topic slot.

In two other cases, the final two we will look at, the satellites in question are object dependent, a notable feature in its own right, and they have greater influence on the constituent order. In the first, the satellites are two appositives, one nominal, the other participial, which are the second and third members of an increasing tricolon:

143) Nam si crimen est voluisse, <u>non minus magnum est</u> <u>vos</u> (*sc.* Tuberones) *Africam, arcem omnium provinciarum, natam* ad bellum contra hanc urbem gerendum, **obtinere voluisse** quam aliquem se maluisse.

> For if the desire is a crime, it is no less great a crime that you (*sc.* Tuberos) had a desire to get control of Africa, the citadel of all the provinces, born to wage war against this city, than that someone else had preferred that he get control of it. (*Lig.* 22)

These satellites, if properly belonging to the content of the two Tuberos' volitional act, seem strange since they obviously allude to the Tuberos being Pompey's supporters, a fact they are keen for Caesar and everyone else to forget. However, it *does* serve Cicero's goals to draw attention to this fact and to impute such motives, specifically the tacit desire to wage war *contra hanc urbem* and thus against Caesar himself, to the father and son. The appositives add weight and a rhetorical flourish to the object constituent, but aside from separating the object noun itself from the verb, they do not alter the order of the nuclear predication; we still have a topical subject pronoun preceding the direct object, which is in preverbal position. In this last case, though, the satellite, another secondary participle phrase, does affect the clause order:

144) At ille vobis audientibus cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit…Cuius enim malefici tanta ista poena est ut <u>dicere in hoc ordine auderet</u> se publicis operis **disturbaturum** publice ex senatus sententia *aedificatam domum*?

> But with you all listening that man said that he would come to my home with masons…For, of what crime is there such a penalty as this that he would dare to say in this assembly that he with public workmen would tear down a house that was built at the public expense according to the decree of the senate? (*Phil.* 1.12)

The subject *se* is domain initial, but unlike the previous example we have an SVO order. The semantic and pragmatic weight of the secondary participle likely plays a key role in its—and by extension the object noun's—postverbal position. The object in (143) was also quite heavy, but it seems unavoidable that the tricolon structure, which is absent from (144), overrides other semantic or pragmatic considerations that may have induced the participial *natam…gerendum*

phrase to move. Additionally, we cannot overlook the fact that the position of *disturbaturum* is essential to maintaining the contrast between *publicis* and *publice* and to preserving the integrity of the two articulated pragmatic domains.

Of course, the status of the satellite also deserves attention. Although Cicero presents it as such, the content of Antony's utterance (*dicere*) is unlikely to include the satellite *publice ex senatus sententia aedificatam*, even if the object *domum* is part of the primary predicate frame. This satellite brings to the fore the audacity and obscenity of the action contemplated by Antony (hence, *auderet*), but at the same time, because the satellite is syntactically part of Antony's reported speech act, Cicero's role in criticism is less direct.

Caesar, on the other hand, not just in the pronominal-subject subsets but across his corpus, preferred adjuncts. Many of the ablative absolutes and secondary participles were adjuncts which established spatial, temporal, or circumstantial relationships to the primary infinitive. On the few occasions when we did find disjuncts, they were rarely within the AcI itself. And, even when it is possible that Caesar is attributing reasons or motives to other characters, the reasons seem to be honest attempts to make sense of a character's action rather than a means of criticism. For instance, the content of the opening relative clause in the following passage from chapter 3 cannot originate with the original speakers, but neither does it undermine the rest of the utterance:

145)    Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non <u>se</u> *hostem* **vereri**, sed *angustias* itineris et magnitudinem silvarum…aut *rem frumentariam*…timere dicebant.

Of these, the ones who wanted to be thought less frightened kept saying that they were not afraid of the enemy, but rather the narrowness of the road and the vastness of the forest…or that they feared for the grain supply… (Caes. *Gal.* 1.39.6)

The speakers, of course, cannot both acknowledge that they are fabricating reasons to save face and also achieve the goal of saving face. But the "true" motives proffered by Caesar do not impugn them as *cupiditate prolapsos* does in (142).

Finally, we need to revisit example (110) from §4.4 Nominal Subjects in SO and supplement it with four additional examples from this data set that also feature raised auxiliaries or modals. In the earlier nominal subject example, reproduced here in truncated form, the auxiliary *fuisse* in a periphrastic infinitive raised ahead of the object NP into contact with the subject:

146)  (=110) quodsi in rebus iudicandis populi Romani existimationi satis facere voluissent (*sc.* patres conscriptos), non tanto opere <u>homines</u> **fuisse** *tribuniciam potestatem* **desideraturos**.

but that if they (*sc.* conscript fathers) had been willing to satisfy the expectations of the Roman people in adjudicating trials, men would not so greatly have missed the tribunician power. (*I Verr.* 44)

As we noted above, the Focus construction here is unclear. One option is the clause-scoped adverb *non tanto opere*, with the rest of the proposition being presupposed. But this left the position of *fuisse* unresolved. By reference to the examples in this section, we tentatively suggested that the raised element had moved to the head of the Focus domain, which would place Broad Focus on *fuisse tribuniciam potestatem desideraturos*.

We can now further substantiate this assertion with four additional examples, all of which feature a raised verbal element. These contain a mix of periphrastic infinitives and modal verb phrases, and both elements of each type are capable of raising: The auxiliary *fuisse* raises in (147), but the participle *occupaturum* does in (150); the complement *commovere* raises in (149), but the modal verb *velle* does in (148). Moreover, the number of constituents to the left or right of the

raised word and the role of the constituent to which it raises differ. Given the surface similarities, it is worth attempting to identify a single underlying process that could motivate all of them, though this is not necessary by any means.[439] I will include all four examples here for easier comparison:

147) (=111) vel cum mendacio, si voltis, <u>gloriemini</u> per me licet, <u>vos</u> *provinciam* **fuisse** Caesari **tradituros**.

…or if you want, you may boast for all I care, though falsely, that you would have turned over the province to Caesar. (*Lig.* 25)

148) ego cum hanc causam Siculorum rogatu recepissem, idque mihi amplum et praeclarum <u>existimassem</u>, <u>eos</u> **velle** meae fidei diligentiaeque *periculum* **facere** qui innocentiae abstinentiaeque fecissent, tum…

When I had undertaken this case at the request of the Sicilians, and since I thought it was a worthy and honorable thing for me that they were willing to test my faith and diligence who had tested my innocence and temperance, at that time… (*I Verr.* 34)

149) Num <u>infitiari potes</u> <u>te</u> illo ipso die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia <u>circumclusum</u> **commovere** *te* contra rem publicam **non potuisse**…?

Can you really deny that you were unable to stir yourself against the republic because you were surrounded on that very day by my guards, my diligence…? (*Cat.* 1.7)

150) Quid? Cum <u>te</u> *Praeneste* Kalendis ipsis Novembribus **occupaturum** nocturno impetu **esse** <u>confideres</u>, sensistin illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam?

What? Since you were confident that you would seize Praeneste on the Kalends of November itself by a nighttime raid, did you not realize that that colony had been fortified at my command with guards, sentries, watchmen? (*Cat.* 1.8)

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[439] One argument against this impulse is that we are dealing with two separate types of verbal syntagms, such that there is no a priori reason to assume that the individual elements of a periphrastic infinitive, in which there is no obvious governance relationship, and a modal construction, where the modal does control its complement, will have the same phrase structure. In other words, we should not assume that the relationship (semantic, syntactic, or otherwise) between *tradituros* and *fuisse* is the same as that between *velle* and *facere*.

As in the nominal-subject example, these movements do not seem to reflect any pragmatic feature of the raised elements themselves or of the constituent to which they have raised. Instead, the movement narrows or frames the Focus domain. The two clearest examples of this are (147) and (148). In (147), *fuisse* raises to the right of the subject and object, which are topical, setting off *Caesari* as focal, i.e. the core of the proposition that Cicero believes is a lie (*mendacio*). In (148), *velle* raises into contact with the subject pronoun *eos*, bracketing the dependent genitive and object inside the two verbs; the genitive, or it and (part of) the verbonominal, has contrastive Focus, mirroring *innocentiae abstinentiaeque* in the following *qui* clause. In the final two, both of which are rhetorical questions, the matrix verbs signal the Foci of the AcIs. In (149), Catiline is invited to deny (*infitiari*) the truth value of the proposition *commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse*. The position of the object pronoun *te* illustrates that the fronted verb *commovere* is left-adjoined to and should be analyzed with the Focus domain; this is likely the case in the other three examples also, but we lack independent means of verification. Finally, in (150) the location (*Praeneste*) and the date of the attack (*Kalendis Novembribus*) are firmly established in the immediately preceding context. What is under discussion is the source of Catiline's confidence, which Cicero implies stems from the fact that the attack was to take place *nocturno impetu*.

This Focus marking strategy is mostly restricted to Cicero, and only occurs in the SO half of the data set. The single comparable example from Caesar is also part of the SO data set:

151)    negat <u>se</u> more et exemplo populi Romani **posse** iter ulli per provinciam **dare**…

   He says that, because of the custom and precedent of the Roman people, he is unable to grant a path through the province to anyone. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.8.3)

Here, however, the material enclosed by the modal and complement (and likely the modal and complement themselves) is presupposed, echoing both a report to Caesar at 1.7.1 (*eos per*

*provinciam nostram iter facere conari*) and the request of the Helvetian legates a few lines later at 1.7.3 (*iter per provinciam facere*). The Focus may be on the polarity (i.e. the refusal itself) or, if the denial of the request is taken as a foregone conclusion, which may be the case given the neg-raising, then the reason for the denial becomes salient; that is, the clause means it is because of the custom and precedent of the Romans that he cannot grant passage. The raised verb may still be said to demarcate pragmatic domains to some degree, but the resemblance to the earlier Cicero examples is limited.

This first pronominal subject data set is important both for testing the hypotheses of earlier sections and for establishing a benchmark for how Cicero deploys pronominal subjects in AcI that we can use in the next section when we turn to the OS orders. As with previous data sets, we began by assessing the semantic status of the nuclear arguments. We found that the pronominal-subject SO examples further evidenced the importance of the personal-animacy hierarchy for syntactic roles. All of the subject pronominal referents were high-agency human agents. The objects continued to be primarily low-agency or abstract entities, but there were four examples with an agentive object constituent. None of these posed a grammatical issue, though, for various reasons, e.g. the object was still lower on the personal-animacy hierarchy relative to the subject, or the object pronoun did not agree with a plural participle.

We then transitioned to the information structure of the clauses. Certain subjects were identifiable as Topics either by particles or implicit or explicit contrast with another topical entity. However, despite their prevalence early in the clause, not all of these subject pronouns had a clearly defined Topic function. This in itself was not new—we encountered quite a few weak Topics or pragmatically insignificant subject pronouns in Caesar—but Cicero's preference for

short-range matrix verbs meant there were more examples where the superordinate and subordinate domains interacted. In these instances, the subjects often appeared to be initial in the AcI domain, but the positions were likely due to cliticization after the collapse of the two-domain structure.

Likewise, both the Broad and Narrow Foci were less uniform than the corresponding Caesar data set or Cicero's previous data sets. To begin with, there were generally a higher number of cases where the Focus domain was open to interpretation. The surface structure remained the same, though, whether Focus was on the preverbal object ([O] V) or on the object plus verb ([O V]).

Certain of the Narrow Foci also required additional attention. For example, although focal verbs raised to the NFoc slot above the objects as in Caesar, the communicative strategy underpinning the pragmatic structure was different. Verb Focus tended to take advantage of the illocutionary properties inherent in the Focus function to denote that the state of affairs had occurred (similar to verum Focus) or to subtly comment on the predicate itself. Other Narrow Foci required us to reevaluate and reframe our definition of the NFoc slot as preverbal in order to clarify that the *linear* position was not the true salient factor, but rather the structural position above (and left of) the base VP layer. For instance, the Source adjunct *Athenis* in (137) is immediately preverbal but not focal:

152)　　(=137) novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, <u>teque</u> non *cognomen* solum Athenis **deportasse**, sed *humanitatem et prudentiam* <u>intellego</u>.

For I know the moderation and evenness of your mind, and I understand that you brought back from Athens not only a cognomen, but also culture and judgment. (*Sen*. 1)

This fact, of course, has always been implicit in the meaning of "preverbal," but certain examples required a more explicit definition.

We then turned to Cicero's use of satellites, which exploited the possibility for deictic ambiguity inherent in reported speech. The satellites in question were presented as if they were part of the original speech act, that is, syntactically part of the AcI, but their content was often incompatible with the assumed communicative aims of the original speaker. The combination of an AcI and attitudinal or illocutionary disjunct is a feature more or less unique to Cicero, whose effect in these cases is to subtly contradict or criticize the original speaker or their speech act.

Finally, we supplemented the example of auxiliary raising from § 4.4 Nominal Subjects in SO, which we left somewhat incomplete, with four additional examples from this data set. Each case involved either a periphrastic infinitive or a modal verb and complement. The movement did not seem to be motivated by the verb form itself nor by the word to which it raised per se. Instead the raised element separated the Topic and Focus domains and, with the non-raised verb, bracketed the Focus domain. This Focus marking strategy was also unique to Cicero and only occurred in the SO data sets.

In the next section we will turn to our final tranche of Cicero examples. Though Topicalization is still quite productive, the pragmatic function of the subject pronouns and the larger pragmatic structures will be more difficult to ascertain. The prevalence of short-range matrix verbs will be a complicating factor, but worse still is that there will be multiple examples where the superordinate and subordinate domains seem to merge rather than adjoin.

## 4.7 Pronominal Subjects in OS

Finally, we turn to the OS-ordered examples with pronominal subjects. In many respects this group will behave as expected based on previous OS data sets both from Cicero and Caesar: There will be fewer tokens than in the corresponding SO data set, the subject pronoun referents will be high-agency entities, while the objects will not, and object Topicalization will be a key motivator of OS order. However, there will be discrepancies in certain areas too. For example, although Topicalization explains many of these examples, more objects than we might expect—more, at any rate, than in Cicero's nominal OS data set and Caesar's pronominal OS data set—are not topicalized, meaning we must identify another motivation for the OS order. The pragmatic role of the subjects will also be less homogeneous and occasionally difficult to determine. Finally, we will find an increase in cases where the AcI and matrix domains overlap or intermingle, which in turn requires a reassessment of how such clauses are structured pragmatically.

There are 15 total examples in this pronominal subject subset. It may be worth noting at the outset that this particular data set had more than its fair share of examples that were discarded because the object was a relative pronoun. In Caesar, we dropped a total of five examples for this reason (subject relative 2×, object relative 3×). In Cicero, we have until now also dropped five total examples, three with relative pronoun subjects in the pronominal-subject SO set (§4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO) and two with object relatives in the nominal-subject OS set (§4.4 Nominal Subjects in SO). Here, however, we have to drop eight such examples—half as many as are in the total data set—only two of which are connecting relatives. Additionally, seven of these eight examples are in our epistle corpus, which, as Cicero himself says, should be written *plebeio sermone* and *cotidianis verbis* (*Fam.* 9.21.1). Moreover, our epistle sample is from the

Atticus letters, which many argue are Cicero's most colloquial and informal.[440] Since these cases

fall outside of our target construction, we cannot investigate here whether this feature has

significance to the identification of colloquial or informal Latin. Even if it does not have broader

diagnostic value, its disproportionate presence in this particular subset is notable.

Semantically, the subject and object constituents in this OS sample are quite similar to the

SO group. All the referents of the subject pronouns are high on the personal-animacy hierarchy:

Most often these are singular, named individuals (e.g. *me*=Cicero, *te*=Catiline, *eum*=Tubero,

*se*=Varus), but occasionally the referent is an indefinite group (e.g. *eos*=*domesticis*) or an

indefinite person (e.g. *unum quemque*=a provincial governor). Fortunately, the objects are low

on the hierarchy, and unlike the SO group all of the OS examples have a marked difference in

agency between subject and object. As such, the syntactic roles of the two accusatives follow the

personal-animacy hierarchy, and the difference in position along the hierarchy ensures no

grammatical confusion will arise due to the statistically rarer OS order.

However, the pragmatics of the subject pronouns are not as easy to determine in some

cases. Unlike the nominal-subject OS examples, the subject pronouns rarely are DiscTops, the

only example being the following:

153)    *Haec omnia* <u>me</u> diligenter severeque **acturum esse** <u>polliceor</u>.

All of these things I promise I will address earnestly and seriously. (*I Verr.* 40)

Note here the subject's position ahead of the Narrow Focus adverbs. But in at least seven of the

fifteen examples, the subject pronouns do not appear to be pragmatically significant, which leads

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[440] For features of the epistolary genre, see §4.2 Generic, Compositional, and Theoretical Influences on Constituent Order, esp. n. 374.

them to cliticize (or pattern like a clitic) as in the following two passages. While the linear position of *se* is fairly similar, that is, between a semantically weak verb and the object, the structural positions are different:

154)  …alios respondisse non putare id perfici posse; inventum tamen esse fortem amicum ex eadem familia, Q. Verrem Romilia…qui HS quingentis milibus depositis *id* <u>se</u> **perfecturum** <u>polliceretur</u>, et fuisse tamen non nullos qui se una facturos esse dicerent.

…others responded that they did not think it could be done; and yet, a bold friend was found, from his own family, Quintus Verres, of the Romilian tribe…who promised that he would get it done if 500,000 sesterces were put aside; and there were even some others who said that they would go along. (*I Verr.* 23)

155)  Nam si crimen est voluisse, non minus magnum est vos Africam…obtinere voluisse quam aliquem se maluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis Ligarius non fuit: Varus *imperium* <u>se</u> **habere** <u>dicebat</u>; fascis certe habebat.

For if it is a crime to have desired it, it is no less great a crime that you wanted to get control of Africa…than that someone preferred that he get control of it. And yet this somebody was not Ligarius: Varus said that he held imperium; he had the fasces at least. (*Lig.* 23)

In (154), the ablative absolute has NFoc function, and has accordingly raised into the NFoc slot. The weak subject pronoun cliticizes to the object, which, together with the verb, is presupposed and remains in the base VP layer. Similarly, in (155) *se* follows the object *imperium*, but the object has contrastive Narrow Focus, corresponding to *fascis* in the following clause. The subject pronoun could be enclitic on the object, which occupies the first pragmatic domain above the base VP layer, or it could function as a proclitic on the verb.[441] With a differently composed focal constituent in the first example—or maybe not a monetary denomination—*se* might have

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[441] Given previous examples—and some that we will look at below—we may have expected the AcI and matrix domains to collapse and *se* to attach to *Varus* (cf. (128) *ostendit se tribuniciam potestatem restituturum*); however, the two propositional domains remain separate, and *Varus* operates in the matrix domain.

cliticized to the Focus element, as it does in (155), which would have resulted in the SO order.[442]

In other words, these two examples have the same surface order relative to the primary

arguments subject and object, but this linear order does not correspond to the same structural

order.

We also have two examples in this OS data set where the subject pronoun is actually the

sole Topic constituent. These occur in close proximity to one another, hence the similarity in

construction, and thus will be grouped together into a single citation:

156)     (venit in mentem illud dicere)…si enim iudicia nulla sint, *tantum* <u>unum quemque</u> (*sc.*
         praetorem) **ablaturum** <u>putant</u> (*sc.* nationes externae) quantum sibi ac liberis suis satis
         esse arbitretur; nunc, quod eius modi iudicia sint, *tantum* <u>unum quemque</u> **auferre**
         quantum sibi, patronis, advocatis, praetori, iudicibus satis futurum sit.

         (it came into my mind to say that thing)…since if there were no trials, they (*sc.* foreign
         nations) think that each one (*sc.* provincial governor) would make off with as much as he
         deemed sufficient for himself and his family; [but that] now, because there are trials of
         this sort, each one makes off with as much as will satisfy himself, his patrons, his
         advocates, the praetor, and the judges. (*I Verr.* 41)

The two sentences are contrastive and use the same arguments and basic clause structure, but the

protasis of sentence one becomes a *quod* clause and the tense of *aufero* changes. *Unum quemque*

has Topic function, and the initial object *tantum* correlates with *quantum* and forms the

contrastive Focus constituent. The correlative nature of *tantum* likely determines its clause-initial

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[442] The potential concern is that we do not know how the written expression of the monetary denomination
corresponds to the verbalization of that denomination, e.g. the dollar sign in English is written prenumerically but
read postnumerically ("$10" versus "ten dollars"). That the phrase is also a full ablative absolute may also discourage
cliticization.

placement since we have seen uses of non-correlative *tantum* that were not in initial position.[443]

Aside from these few cases, the subjects do not have Topic function.

Turning now to the linear order, we see that object Topicalization accounts for just over half of the OS orders. There are a couple of examples of Topicalization, such as (153), repeated below with additional context, that are characteristic of the process:

157)   Iam vero quo modo ego illam labem ignominiam calamitatemque totius ordinis conquerar, hoc factum esse in hac civitate, cum senatorius ordo iudicaret, ut discoloribus signis iuratorum hominum sententiae notarentur? *Haec omnia* <u>me</u> diligenter severeque **acturum esse** <u>polliceor</u>.

   But now how can I lament that stain, that dishonor, that calamity of this order, the fact that this happened in this state, when the Senatorial order was adjudicating, that the votes of men under oath were marked with different colored signs? All of these things I promise I will address earnestly and seriously. (*I Verr.* 40)

The anaphoric *haec* has a summarizing function and with substantivized *omnia* topicalizes to the SentTop slot ahead of the DiscTop *me*. The preverbal adverbs have Narrow Focus. However, we also find cases where the scope of Topicalization extends before the AcI domain itself:

158)   L. Cincio *HS XXCD* <u>constitui</u> <u>me</u> **curaturum** Id. Febr.

   I have arranged that I will pay L. Cincius 20,400 sesterces on the Ides of February. (*Att.* 1.7.1)

The payee (Recipient) and the price (object) have Topicalized ahead of the matrix verb *constitui* to mark the Topic change. Cicero references this payment in the following letter (1.8) as well, using the same order for Recipient and object, though it is not an AcI clause: *L. Cincio HS XXCD pro signis Megaricis, ut tu ad me scripseras, curavi.* Due to the merged domains, identification of

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[443] E.g. (139) *triumphabat (quid quaeris?) Hortensius se vidisse tantum (Att.* 1.16.4); *qui (sc. Verres) ita dictitat, iis esse metuendum qui quod ipsis solis satis esset surripuissent, se tantum eripuisse ut id multis satis esse possit (I Verr.* 4). In the Verrine example, *tantum* is even focal as well.

the Focus is tricker, especially since we do not have access to some of the pertinent pragmatic background, i.e. Atticus' letters, but Focus on the infinitive *curaturum* is most likely with the temporal satellite being a Tail. This analysis would mean that Cicero has decided that he will, in fact, pay the amount to Cincius, and he will do so on the Ides of February.

Moreover, (158) is not the only instance in which we find merged domains in this data set, and this phenomenon marks another true contrast with Caesar, who generally respected domain integrity. In Caesar's AcI, we did have a few examples of short-range matrix verbs where the domains interacted, but even then the constituents tended to stay within the confines of their own domains.[444] Not so in Cicero. As has been the case throughout, Cicero strongly prefers short-range matrix verbs.[445] On occasion these domains have interacted at the boundaries, but in this data set in particular we see the integrity of the domains further erode resulting in five of the fifteen examples (33%) having merged domains. We will also include a sixth case brought in from the object hyperbaton examples which were omitted from the primary data sets. These domains may not be treated as a single syntactic domain, but, at the very least, they are merged for the purposes of pragmatic movement rules.

It seems likely that each of these six examples originates from a short-range matrix verb preceding the AcI clause ([srM [SOV]]). Then, various constituents raise ahead of the matrix verb ([SO srM V]). The constituents that raise ahead of the matrix verb can have Topic function

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[444] However, see above (40) *Gal.* 1.39.1 (*saepe numero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse*), and (53) *Gal.* 1.41.2 (*id silentio noctis conati non magna iactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant*). Only *Gal.* 1.39.1 truly resembles the examples presented from Cicero. In the second, the object *id* is the shared by the participle and the infinitive, so it does not raise so much as get composed alternatively.

[445] Present data set: srM 13× v. lrM 2×. Pronominal SO: srM 36× v. lrM 5×. Nominal SO: srM 11× v. lrM 4×. Nominal OS: srM 5× v. lrM 1×. Total: srM 65× v. lrM 12×.

(as in the previous example) or Focus function, or no function at all in the case of clitic subject pronouns. For example, in (159) and (160) all the AcI constituents but the infinitives raise ahead of the matrix verbs, but for different reasons:

159)     Saepenumero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio, cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, Marce Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim; quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut *onus* <u>se</u> Aetna gravius <u>dicant</u> **sustinere**.

Very often C. Laelius and I are wont to be in awe not only at your excellent, even faultless, wisdom in issues generally, Marcus Cato, but most especially because I have never felt that old age was burdensome to you; though to most old people it is so vexing that they say they are carrying a burden heavier than Aetna. (*Sen.* 4)

160)     a quo (*sc.* Caesare) hoc ipso C. Pansa mihi hunc nuntium perferente concessos fascis laureatos tenui quoad tenendos putavi; qui mihi tum denique *salutem* <u>se</u> <u>putavit</u> **dare**, si eam nullis spoliatam ornamentis dedisset.

By his (*sc.* Caesar's) concession I held the be-laureled fasces, with this very C. Pansa bringing the message to me, for as long as I thought they should be held; he thought that only then was he granting safety to me, if he had granted it robbed of none of its distinctions. (*Lig.* 7)

The object *onus* in (159) has topicalized to initial position, while the Focus *Aetna gravius* has raised to the NFoc slot, which is above *both* verbs since we are dealing with a single domain. The weak pronominal subject attaches to the first pragmatic constituent in the domain, the topicalized object *onus*. In (160), on the other hand, the object raises to the NFoc slot. Neither *mihi* nor *se* have pragmatic functions and they attach to different hosts: the former to the highest element available, i.e. the relative pronoun, and the latter to the Narrow Focus constituent.[446]

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[446] See Devine and Stephens (2006) 294–302 and (2009) 277–292. See also ns. 274 and 294.

Not all the constituents need to evacuate the AcI domain, however, as these final examples show. In the first instance we have a minimal clause structure, but only the object pronoun *id* raises above the matrix verb:

161)    De Tadiana re, mecum Tadius locutus est te ita scripsisse, nihil esse iam quod laboraretur, quoniam hereditas usu capta esset. *id* <u>mirabamur</u> <u>te</u> **ignorare**, de tutela legitima, in qua dicitur esse puella, nihil usu capi posse.

On the Tadius matter, Tadius told me that you had written to the effect that there was nothing for him to worry about anymore since ownership of the property was his by right of possession. I was surprised that you do not know this, that, in the case of a legal ward, which the girl is said to be, there is no ownership by possession. (*Att.* 1.5.6)

The raised object pronoun is primarily a cataphoric device looking forward to the second AcI clause *nihil usu capi posse*, but it is also to some degree anaphoric (*te ita scripsisse*).[447] We have seen several such examples of a clause-initial cataphoric pronoun that has raised because of its Focus function, as this one does here. The subject *te*, then, remains in the VP layer, perhaps conditioned by the fact that it is not coreferential with the matrix verb (i.e. it marks a subject change), while the previous two instances of *se* in (159) and (160) were coreferential.

In this last case, our repurposed object hyperbaton example, the nominal object constituent and one of the coordinated adjectives raise out of the AcI domain. But because the second adjective remains in the AcI domain this example was classified as object hyperbaton and thus omitted from the pronominal-subject OS data set. However, as we can see, the same process is at play here as in the previous five examples:

162)    De Caesare ipso si quaereres quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga, *leges multas* <u>responderet</u> <u>se</u> *et praeclaras* **tulisse**.

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[447] *Hoc* in (118) above also had this bi-directional deictic feature, the cataphoric referent being an AcI clause and the anaphoric referent being the content of a previous speech act. …*dictitat alicui qui te ignoret verum esse videatur? Nam hoc Verrem dicere aiebant, te non fato*…

> If you were to ask of Caesar himself what he had done in the city and in the toga, he would reply that he had passed many laws, and excellent ones. (*Phil.* 1.18)

In the preceding context, Cicero has avowed that Caesar's *acta* should be upheld—the *praeclara* ones at any rate (§17)—after which he attempts to narrowly define *acta* as the *leges* that Caesar passed. In this, the climax of the argument, Cicero imagines Caesar voicing the same constrained definition. Similar to the previous example, the Focus, *leges multas*, raises into the NFoc slot, but because the matrix and AcI domains are one, it raises ahead of the matrix verb *responderet*. The subject and the second coordinated adjective are left *in situ*, which makes *praeclaras* feel more like an "afterthought" or Tail than a properly coordinated adjective.[448]

This final set of examples proved to be quite fruitful. While the personal-animacy hierarchy still governed the entities assigned to subject and object roles, the pragmatic structures were more difficult to ascertain. Though Topicalization did account for eight or nine of the OS orders, that was only a little over half of the examples. Other OS orders were caused by the object raising to Focus or subject cliticization.

Moreover, just as we did in the previous SO section, we encountered another amplified version of an issue that we identified previously in the nominal-subject sections. In the pronominal SO data set, we revisited Cicero's use of satellites and the Focus marking strategy with raised auxiliaries or modals. In this section, our concern was domain integrity since in a

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[448] "Afterthought" should not be taken to imply "unimportant." Often Tails or Tail-like constituents do seem pragmatically significant or "emphatic" and not merely explanatory. Coulter George (p.c. with reference to a forthcoming publication in the *ICAGL Madrid proceedings*) has noted a loosely analogous phenomenon in Greek oratory whereby postverbal adverbs gain emphasis precisely by being syntactically superfluous, that is, they are not necessary for the semantic polarity of the clause. Demosthenes, George adds, "can add emphasis through appending a non-focal adverb that adds sheer phonological weight to the expression." Our specific case could perhaps be classified as an example of what Powell (2010) 173 calls "conjunct hyperbaton…in which a phrase of the form 'A and B'…is split by another constituent placed before the conjunction." This construction, he states, is "not so much a hyperbaton as a form of ellipsis" (173).

third of our examples the AcI and matrix domains intermingled. The pragmatic movement processes Topicalization and Focus raising both operated as if the domains had fully merged. Cliticization also appeared to ignore preexisting domain boundaries since subject pronouns could attach to constituents that had raised ahead of the matrix verbs.

In the next and last section of this chapter, we will review the various findings from our assessment of Cicero's AcI data, and we will draw final comparisons and contrasts to the Caesar data presented in previous chapters.

## 4.8 Exit Cicero

Our goal in this chapter has been to assess the AcI data from Cicero and to compare it with our Caesar data from chapters two and three. We found many large-scale similarities in terms of statistical distributions of linear order, the semantics of subject and object constituents, and the underlying pragmatic structures and movement rules. But there were also areas in which Cicero differed from Caesar in his deployment of a feature (e.g. satellites) or where Cicero displayed a feature not found in Caesar (e.g. raised auxiliary Focus marking).

We began simply by looking at the size of the Cicero sample relative to the Caesar one to identify any first-order similarities or differences. We found that our Cicero corpus had fewer AcI clauses in total (649 v. 683) and fewer target AcI (81 v. 93) despite having a higher overall page count. We also noticed that Cicero had more variation in his matrix verbs, both in distinct lexical roots (e.g. *dico*, *credo*, *existimo*) and in matrix constructions (e.g. *dixit*, *dico*, *dictum est*): 356 separate matrix verb forms and 124 unique roots or periphrases. More importantly, though, these two facts—i.e. more matrix verb forms but fewer overall AcI—entailed that each matrix construction governed fewer infinitives (often only one). This, in turn, meant that Cicero would

have far more short-range matrix verbs, that is, cases where superordinate and subordinate domains are in contact.

Despite the differences in the sample sizes, further subdivision of the AcI data yielded figures that corresponded roughly to those from Caesar: The breakdown between SO and OS order was fairly similar (Cic. 56:21 vs. Caes. 57:27), as was the division between nominal and pronominal subjects (Cic. 56:21 vs. Caes. 59:23). However, we only found four examples of object hyperbaton in Cicero, while Caesar had nine examples. Also different were the types of hyperbaton. The majority of Caesar's involved a prehead subjective adjective, while in Cicero's four examples we found long-range and short-range hyperbata, though without the strong qualitative or quantitative adjective. The numerical breakdown itself was a bit surprising given the traditional description of Cicero's style as more rhetorical and Caesar's as straightforward, and the types of hyperbaton found in Caesar are all the more interesting in light of Powell's statement that short-range hyperbaton is avoided in styles like "the military dispatch as exemplified in the early books of Caesar's *Commentarii*."[449]

Digging into the Cicero data more closely, we also saw that all of the sample genres showed a similar division between SO and OS orders, roughly 70% vs. 30%, which is interesting in light of the assumed generic differences between the epistles, which are informal and dialogic, the speeches, which are formal monologic performances, and the *De Senectute*, which is a philosophical dialogue set a century in the past. In fact, the only significant quantitative difference between the genres was the fairly low number of tokens in the philosophy sample: 20%

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[449] Powell (2010) 179–180. We must not forget, however, that we are here dealing with only a narrow subset of the total possible hyperbata, i.e. an object NP split by the subject constituent. A more inclusive sample set might shift the balance in Cicero's favor or provide more examples of the type of short-range hyperbata with a subjective adjective.

(n=129) of the total AcI tokens and 20% (n=16) of the target AcI.[450] I was unable to identify any other statistically meaningful differences between the genres across any of the variables I examined. This is not to say that no differences existed, but rather that the differences were quite small (two or three percent typically) and to draw broader conclusions from them would require an investigation of each parameter individually with much larger sample sizes, which is outside the scope of the current work.

As we did with Caesar, we began our Cicero investigation with the nominal-subject SO examples because, on the one hand, using tonic nouns allows us to reduce the prosodic concerns surrounding the position of the subject constituent and, on the other, because the statistically predominant SO order is the best group from which to form a baseline for future data sets. Ultimately, our nominal-subject AcI data from Cicero did not diverge much from Caesar's in terms of the underlying motivations for constituent order or syntactic assignment. In both the SO and OS data sets, the personal-animacy hierarchy broadly controlled the syntactic relations, with high-agency entities in subject roles and low-agency or abstract entities in object roles. Moreover, in the OS-ordered examples the arguments had markedly different levels of agency, such that no grammatical confusion could arise from the OS order.

There was, however, one instance in the SO data set where the personal-animacy hierarchy did not map onto the syntactic roles, the first such occurrence in either author:

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[450] For these divisions, see the discussion of Table 13: Cicero combined data for transitive AcI. Oratory accounted for 320 (49%) of the total AcI tokens and 45 (55%) of the target AcI tokens, though the sample size was larger than the other genres (73 pages v. 43 (epistles) v. 47 (philosophy)). The epistles represented 200 (31%) of the total AcI and 20 (25%) of the target tokens. Despite being fewer, the examples from *Sen.* did not differ from examples in the other genres.

163)    (=100) Qua quidem ex re <u>magnum accipio dolorem</u>, <u>homines</u> amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis <u>usos</u> *L. Pisonem ducem* optimae sententiae **non secutos**.

Indeed, from this fact I take great pain, that men who have enjoyed the most honorable distinctions of the Roman people did not second L. Piso, the sponsor of an excellent opinion. (*Phil.* 1.14)

Importantly, grammatical ambiguity was precluded by the plural infinitival participle, a differentiating factor that arose a handful of times in other examples (e.g. (127), *se…me…interfecturos*).[451]

The subject constituents in the SO examples regularly had Topic function and initial position, though contrastive Topics like (164) were relative rare:

164)    (=103) nihil igitur adferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt ut si qui <u>gubernatorem</u> in navigando *nihil* **agere** <u>dicant</u>, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi…

Therefore, they contribute nothing who deny that old age is involved in activities, and they are like those who would say that the helmsman does nothing in sailing, since some climb the masts, some run across the deck, and others drain the bilge, but that man sits quietly on the stern holding the rudder… (*Sen.* 17)

Likewise, five of the six object constituents in the OS orders had been topicalized. These examples were similar to other cases of Topicalization we saw in Caesar, for example:

165)    (=113) novi est in lege hoc… <u>Dixi</u> *hanc legem* <u>P. Clodium</u> iam ante **servasse**; pronuntiare enim solitum esse et non dare.

This is the new part of the law…. I said that P. Clodius had already been following this law, for he was wont to promise to pay and not pay (*Att.* 1.16.13).

There was also a single instance of Focus raising of a cataphoric preparative expression. Like the previous preparative expressions in Caesar, the cataphoric pronominal object is syntactically

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[451] Even if other semantic and pragmatic factors can be invoked in certain cases, the value of grammatical agreement in disambiguating accusative arguments in AcI clauses is not to be overlooked.

optional, meaning that its presence is a deliberate choice on Cicero's part to highlight the pronominal referent, a second AcI clause.

The objects in the SO examples preferred preverbal position both in Broad Foci and when they had Narrow Focus, but non-object Focus constituents could displace the object from preverbal position, further confirming the presence of a preverbal NFoc slot. Similarly, when the object topicalized in the OS orders, the subjects were more often part of the Focus domain.

There were also areas in which the two authors differed, but, strangely enough, these differences played a fairly minor role in the nominal-subject examples; by noting their simpler versions, though, we were better able to address their more complex versions in the pronominal-subject examples. First, Cicero's infinitives were more mobile than Caesar's. In five of the SO examples the verb raised ahead of the object, but Topicalization was not at play and Focus raising seemed likely in only two. Even these two examples admitted of alternative explanations: *Sparsisse animos* in (108) fortuitiously forestalled the misanalysis of the adjective *immortales* with *animos*, and *inire eam gratiam quam* in (109) could be due to the weight of the object constituent (i.e LIPOC). One instance in which the auxiliary *fuisse* raised while the participle stayed in clause-final position was particularly noteworthy for its connection to examples of the same phenomenon in the SO pronominal-subject examples. The movement did not seem motivated by features of the verb itself or of the word to which it raised, but based on the later examples, we suggested that the movement was a form of quasi-scrambling meant to narrow and frame the Focus domain.

Another dissimilarity in the nominal-subject data concerned Cicero's use of satellites. While Caesar used many an ablative absolute and secondary predicate participle, the latter of

which always modified the subject constituent, Cicero employed no ablative absolutes and but a pair of secondary participles. Cicero also made broader use of intervening clausal satellites, and he allowed these intervening elements to modify the object constituent or to be dependent on the VP whereas Caesar's satellites—clausal or otherwise—were primarily subject dependent. As with verb raising, the discussion of satellite usage here served as a prelude to the more complex issues in the pronominal subject examples.

Finally, we noted that Cicero contrasted sharply with Caesar in both the types and positions of matrix verbs. Cicero strongly preferred short-range matrix constructions: The nominal-subject examples have a total of 16 short-range matrix verbs and only 5 long-range matrix verbs. This pattern continued throughout the remainder of our Cicero data sets. More significantly, this affinity for short-range pre-AcI matrix verbs increased the opportunity for the matrix and AcI domains to interact. Though the role of domain interaction was minimal in the nominal-subject examples, perhaps precisely because we were dealing with tonic nominal subjects, its effect was more prominent in the pronominal subject data sets.

We turned, then, to the pronominal subjects where, as with Caesar, the data sets were considerably larger than the nominal subjects in both SO and OS order. The OS group, for instance, still contained 15 examples even though we had to exclude 8 examples, an unusually large number, because one constituent was a relative pronoun. Also in keeping with the data from Caesar, *se* outnumbered the other pronominal forms, having accounted for 22 of the total 56 pronominal subjects. Cicero's pronominal distribution also diverged from Caesar's. First off, Cicero's data set included forms of the first- and second-person pronouns, which were virtually absent in Caesar. Second, no subject constituents in our data set contained a form of *hic* in either

its pronominal or adjectival form. Since the exploitation of the interplay of deictic centers was a throughline in our Cicero sample, it could be that this sensitivity to deictic centers somehow extends to deictic pronouns as well. However, based on the goal of the current project, I am not prepared to make any further speculations on the matter.

Beyond these quantitative data, our assessment of Cicero's pronominal subjects identified many areas of partial similarity to our Caesar data sets, but Cicero deployed the available semantic and pragmatic tools in more varied and intricate ways. Moreover, while Caesar tended toward internal consistency, Cicero seemed to prefer variations on a theme to the theme itself. Put another way, the two share the same linguistic genetic code, i.e. pragmatic motivations for serial order and semantic bases for syntactic roles, but they differ in replication of that code: Caesar maintains near-perfect fidelity to the original DNA, but Cicero purposefully introduces mutations.

That being said, Cicero continued to follow Caesar in his use of high-agency entities as subjects and low-agency entities as objects. Most often the pronominal subject referents were singular, named individuals (e.g. Cicero, Catiline, or Varus), but less individuated agentive entities occurred too. The objects, on the other hand, were generally low on the personal-animacy hierarchy, e.g. abstracts and inanimates. In most cases there was also a marked difference in agency between subject and object. However, four objects in the SO examples were also high-agency entities, more than the total number of such examples in all of Caesar, let alone any single subset. Fortunately, grammatical ambiguity was averted by various means, e.g. the object pronoun did not agree with a plural participle, or it was a second-person reflexive construction. Despite these exceptions, the syntactic roles of the two accusatives are

overwhelmingly, but not entirely, driven by the personal-animacy hierarchy, and the difference in position along the hierarchy ensures no grammatical confusion will arise.

A pragmatic analysis of the pronominal subject examples proved trickier, in part because the use of a pronominal subject in an AcI does not necessitate pragmatic saliency. In the SO group, for instance, Topic identification posed a concern. A handful of subjects were marked as Topics either lexically or by contrast, but many others lacked a clearly defined Topic function. This factor was not new or unique—many subject pronouns in Caesar were pragmatically insignificant too—but the prevalence of short-range matrix verbs multiplied the examples where the superordinate and subordinate domains interacted. In such cases, the positions of the subjects often appeared to be domain initial, but cliticization to the matrix verb would have produced the same serial order, as in (128), (139), and (166) below:

166)  cum praesertim planum facere multis testibus possim C. Verrem in Sicilia multis audientibus saepe <u>dixisse</u> se **habere** *hominem potentem* cuius fiducia provinciam spoliaret.

Especially since I can make it clear with many witnesses that in Sicily Gaius Verres had often said with many people listening that he had a powerful man with whose support he was plundering the province. (*I Verr.* 40)

Topics in the OS orders did not fare much better. Just over half of the OS examples involved object Topicalization, which is far fewer than in Cicero's nominal OS data set and Caesar's pronominal OS data set. Plus, the subject pronouns rarely had DiscTop function as was the case in many of Cicero's nominal-OS examples and in Caesar's two OS groups; instead many of these subject pronouns were also likely clitics.

The Focus constructions in the pronominal-subject examples were also more varied than in Caesar. In the SO group specifically, there were a higher number of examples relative to

Cicero's other data sets and Caesar's data sets where the Focus domain was open to interpretation, which highlighted the need to take Focus statistics as soft figures. While the pronominal SO group broke down roughly 60/40 in favor of Broad Focus, the other three subsets were basically even splits, with an example or two either way. In contrast, Caesar's Foci were easier to identify, but the distributions were slightly less regular: In the nominal-subject SO examples Broad Foci won out 60/40, but Narrow Foci were more common elsewhere—roughly 60/40 in both the nominal OS and pronominal SO sets. The true outlier in Caesar was the OS-ordered pronominal subjects where Narrow Foci had an 80/20 advantage.

These figures provide insight into how Cicero and Caesar respectively structure and modulate their information flow. As we will further demonstrate in chapter 5, the frequency of Narrow Foci in Caesar is often a by-product of an informational asymmetry inherent in the narrative, that is, the presupposed or background information far outweighs the salient or new information. Recall that a great many of Caesar's AcI clauses were found in dispatches from one commander to another, and the content of the response would correspond closely to the initial demand (e.g. "In response to your claim that…" or "As to the…"). This call-and-response context means that there is a sizeable presupposition pool for any given exchange and more opportunity to *narrowly* reject, replace, restrict, correct, or expand the beliefs, assumptions, or assertions of an interlocutor. Whereas in an argumentative or expository text, such as a philosophical dialogue or court speech, more time must be spent adding foundational background material to the presupposition pool, which requires more Broad Foci. As a rule of

thumb, then, we might say that the larger the pool of presupposed information, the more precise, limited, or "narrow" the asserted or new information can be.[452]

Additionally, in the SO pronominal-subject examples there were three focal verbs, quite a large number for a single tranche, and even though these focal verbs underwent the expected movement into the NFoc slot, the communicative strategy underpinning verb Focus differed. At times Cicero seemed to use Narrow Focus for its illocutionary properties, either to indicate that the SoAs had occurred (i.e. quasi-verum Focus (e.g. *excepisse* in (138) and *inire* in (139)) or to subtly comment on the verb itself (e.g. *comperisse* in (140)). Since we established early in the nominal-subjects that VO orders are more common in Cicero and need not be due to Focus raising, it is perhaps less strange that Cicero also employs verb Focus differently. Caesar's focal verbs, however, of which there were fewer, were primarily contrastive:

167) (=48) non minus libenter <u>sese</u> **recusaturum** *populi Romani amicitiam*, quam appetierit.

he would no less happily refuse the friendship of the Roman people than he had sought it. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.44.5)

There were also other Narrow Foci that did not seem to fit the established preverbal pattern quite right. For example, the *non solum…sed* construction in (137) identified the object as a contrastive Narrow Focus, but the Source adjunct *Athenis* separated it from the verb in the first half of the correlative:

168) (=137) …<u>teque</u> *non cognomen solum* Athenis **deportasse**, *sed humanitatem et prudentiam* <u>intellego</u>.

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[452] More generally this involves Grice's cooperative principle (see above, n. 15) and the felicity conditions of pragmatic structures, such as clefts, non-canonical word orders (e.g. English OSV), or negative polarity markers. Negation, for example, is generally infelicitous or, at least, pragmatically awkward in the absence of sufficient contextualization, most often the positive proposition—e.g. saying, out of the blue, "I rarely drive steamboats, dad" will likely be met with a confused look unless he has reason to believe that you do so.

> …and I understand that you brought back from Athens not only a cognomen, but also culture and judgment. (*Sen*. 1)

We showed, however, that a revision to the existing Narrow Focus schema was not required to account for cases like this; rather, we simply needed to reframe the "preverbal" description of the NFoc slot in order to make clear that the *structural* position above and left of the base VP layer, not the *linear* position, was the true salient factor.

Finally, three issues that were identified in the previous nominal-subject data sets reemerged more potently in the pronominal-subject data sets, viz. satellite usage, "auxiliary" raising, and domain merging.

First, we have already noted in the nominal subjects how Cicero deployed satellites differently than Caesar. The alteration was primarily formal, e.g. clausal or phrasal, subject dependent or object dependent. But in the pronominal examples (primarily SO) satellites had functional differences as well. We found a number of satellites which were presented as part of the reported speech, i.e. syntactically governed by the *verba dicendi*, but whose content belied the communicative aims of the original speakers. Classification of these satellites as adjuncts or disjuncts was dependent on the source of the satellite (i.e. original speaker or reporter). Deictic ambiguity is an innate characteristic of reported speech, and it appeared that Cicero was shrewdly taking advantage of that possibility to voice critiques of the original speaker or their speech act. Caesar, on the other hand, primarily used adjuncts that were easily attributable to the original speaker (e.g. *duabus relictis portis*, *navis…tempestate reiectas*). Even when we did find disjuncts within an AcI, which was quite rare in itself, the satellite's content was justifiably a sincere attempt at explanation and not a veiled means of criticism. As such, this marked a true contrast in Cicero's and Caesar's narrative strategies.

Second, the pronominal SO examples also presented us with four additional examples that featured raised auxiliaries or modals, the first of which we encountered in the nominal SO data set. Because of the surface similarities, it seemed best to attempt to find an explanation that could accommodate all of these cases. We determined based on these four pronominal examples that the raising was a mechanism to narrow or frame the Focus domain, that is, it was a Focus marking strategy.[453] This process was most easily seen in (147), where the raised *fuisse* sequestered *Caesari*, bookending the part of the hypothetical statement that Cicero believed would be a lie (*mendacio*):

169) (=147) …vel cum mendacio, si voltis, <u>gloriemini</u> per me licet, <u>vos</u> *provinciam* **fuisse** Caesari **tradituros**.

…or if you want, you may boast for all I care, though falsely, that you would have turned over the province to Caesar. (*Lig.* 25)

This Focus marking strategy, as with the previously mentioned disjuncts, was restricted to our Cicero corpus and represented another area of contrast with Caesar.

Thirdly, and finally, domain integrity played an outsized role in the pronominal-subject examples. Throughout the nominal data sets, we remarked on Cicero's penchant for short-range matrix verbs, while also noting that, despite the possibility of interaction, the domains generally remained autonomous. That changed in the pronominal examples, especially the OS data set

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[453] It would be a worthwhile endeavor to investigate the semantic and pragmatic properties of other such instances in Cicero, especially those with future participles and *fuisse*. A Diogenes search reveals 15 total examples (including the two in our data set) of discontinuous future participle and *fuisse*. In 12 of the 15 it is the participle that raises while the auxiliary *fuisse* remains in final position. In this respect, at least, our two examples are outliers in that the auxiliaries raise. Particularly interesting is the instance at *Att.* 14.14.2, where two participles are explicitly contrasted in a *non modo…sed etiam* construction and the second particple is further marked by *ne…quidem*: *nam quae ille facturus non fuit ea fiunt, ut de Cloelio, de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non* **facturum** *sed etiam ne* **passurum** *quidem* **fuisse** ("Things are being done which he did not intend to do, concerning Cloelius for example, concerning whom I am quite sure that that man not only would not have done them but would not even have allowed them to be done").

where a third of the examples had compromised propositional domains (plus a sixth drawn from the object hyperbaton set). In these six cases, one or more constituents from the AcI domain raised above the matrix verb, which suggested that the superordinate and subordinate domains had collapsed into one. The raised constituents could have pragmatic functions or not. For example, the object *onus* in (159) topicalized to initial position, while the adverbial satellite raised to the NFoc slot. The subject pronoun, however, lacked pragmatic marking and cliticized to the first available host, *onus*:

170)    quae (*sc.* senectus) plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut *onus* <u>se</u> Aetna gravius <u>dicant</u> **sustinere**.

and this (*sc.* old age) to most old people is so vexing that they say they are carrying a burden heavier than Aetna. (*Sen.* 4)

This feature, like the previous two, was also largely absent from our Caesar data, where long-range matrix verbs were preferred. In the few cases where we did have short-range matrix verbs, the domain boundaries almost always held strong like a properly mustered battle line. Only two such exceptions were to be found, but only one of those really matched the examples from Cicero:[454]

171)    (=40) saepe numero <u>sese</u> cum his (*sc.* Germanos) congressos *ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum* dicebant **ferre potuisse**…

they were saying that, having encountered them (*sc.* the Germans) on many occassions, they were able to bear not even their countenance and fierceness of their eyes…. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.39.1)

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[454] The other is at *Gal.* 1.41.2: *id silentio noctis conati non magna iactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant*. The raising here is more a syntactic than pragmatic feature since *id* is a shared object of both the participle and the infinitive. See above, n. 444.

In the next and final chapter, we will apply the insights gained in chapters 2–4 on constituent ordering in AcI clauses to the theoretical and practical questions that were raised in the beginning of this work. Most fundamentally, we will aim to provide a more comprehensive explanation and description of the mechanisms by which the linear order of accusative constituents in AcI clauses is determined and through which the syntactic roles of the accusative constituents are interpreted. We will reconsider, in light of our previous discussions, Quintilian's advice concerning the use of a passive construction to avoid the *accusativi geminatione facta amphibolia*. However, we will also review the handful of issues that remain unanswered, either because we were unable to arrive at a satisfying conclusion given our data sets—e.g. the use of *se* versus *sese*—or because, despite being worthwhile research topics, their answers lay beyond the scope of the current work.

**CHAPTER 5: FINAL THOUGHTS**

## 5.1 Where Did We Come From?

This project grew from the recognition that the *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction poses a unique challenge for any account of Latin word order. The difficulty, in part, stems from an often overlooked inconsistency: On the one hand, traditional descriptions of Latin word order employ the nomenclature of syntactic typology, i.e. SOV, which implicitly assumes that syntactic role is the underlying ordering principle—in other words, that the schema SOV can be restated as a "rule" that subjects precede objects and objects precede verbs; at the same time, however, it is acknowledged that Latin word order is variable and *not* beholden to syntactic roles. In finite clauses, one can generally skirt this issue by reference to declension and conjugation since Latin's inflectional endings typically code for nuclear syntactic functions like subject and object, and finite verbs distinguish person and number. But when those inflectional and conjugational categories are neutralized, as they are in AcI clauses, the latent inconsistency resurfaces and reveals the fundamental explanatory limitations of this syntactic description.

For some AcI clauses, assuming an SOV order works, but, without other linearization mechanisms to invoke, a sizeable number of AcI clauses (e.g. those with OS order) would be largely unintelligible. Since we can assume that Roman authors/speakers generally wanted to be understood and since we lack evidence—outside of a few instances of oracular double-speak— that there was a widespread inability to properly construe the accusative arguments within AcI clauses, there must be something other than the rule "subjects precede objects" at play. To that end, the fundamental goal of this project was to understand how Latin authors avoided

grammatical ambiguity in AcI clauses with two accusative arguments, or, put another way, to determine what those other linearization mechanisms might be.

I am far from the first person to recognize the existence of this problem. As we noted at the beginning of this work (§1.2 History of a Problem), Latin writers, and Greeks before them, were aware of the *accusativi geminatione facta amphibolia*. The solution given by Quintilian (et al.), however, does not address the fundamental problem, i.e. *how* to disambiguate the accusative arguments; rather, he instructs students to avoid the problem from the first by switching to a passive construction (*amphibolia solvitur ablativo*). Therefore, in our analysis we sought to provide a more comprehensive description of the mechanisms by which the linear order of accusative constituents in AcI clauses is determined and through which the syntactic roles of the accusative constituents are disambiguated.

## 5.2 Where Did We Go?

Ultimately, our investigation determined that divergence from the statistically more common SOV order was pragmatically motivated, but, regardless of the constituent order, the syntactic functions of the nuclear constituents were, with perhaps one exception, determined by the personal-animacy hierarchy, with higher-agency positively correlating to subject role and lower-agency correlating to object role. That is, in an AcI clause with a bivalent SoA or two-participant event structure, e.g. *Caesarem oppidum cepisse*, the entity with the higher level of agency, animacy, and individuation will have the semantic role Agent and the syntactic function subject. As the entities get nearer one another in animacy and agency, individuation and noun

class become more salient.[455] For example, while both nominal entities in *Caesarem exercitum cepisse* are animate and can be agentive, *Caesarem* is a highly individuated proper name, i.e. singular and discrete, and thus still higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy than the collective noun *exercitum*.[456] Ambiguity, we found, was induced by the presence of two accusatives with equal positions on the personal-animacy hierarchy (e.g. *Caesarem Catulum cepisse*), but such a situation was rarely encountered due to the strong preference for pairing high-agency entities with low-agency or inanimate entities. In terms of linear order alone, we found that we could effectively account for both SO and OS orders by invoking two pragmatic movement processes: Topicalization and Focus raising. These two processes are different manifestations of a single underlying process whereby a constituent raises to a specific pragmatic function slot, which is structurally above and linearly to the left of the base VP layer. The processes are named according to the pragmatic functions on which they operate; they manifest in slightly different ways and have different restrictions, but, in short, Topicalization denotes selection and subsequent movement of a constituent to a Topic slot, while Focus raising denotes the same for the Narrow Focus. But let us also review how we arrived at these conclusions.

An initial analysis and comparison of the quantitative data that were gathered for this study revealed some salient points that ultimately guided our more in-depth discussions of the target AcI construction (i.e. transitive infinitives with explicit SOV). We not only found that AcI clauses occurred at roughly similar frequencies in our Caesar and Cicero corpora, but we also

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[455] For a more detailed description of noun classes, see Spevak (2014) 2–35. A similar, but condensed description can be found in Pinkster *OLS* 1, §3.6.

[456] Further complications arise in Latin specifically due to the lack of definite and indefinite articles. Often it is context alone that allows us to differentiate between "*an* army" and "*the* army," which have different positions on the personal-animacy hierarchy. See Spevak (2014) 6–8.

discovered that the target construction itself constituted around the same percentage (12%–13%) of the total AcI tokens in the respective data sets. On the one hand, it is a useful observation in itself that these two different authors, across different genres, employ such a specific construction with such a similar frequency. On the other hand, these figures also bear on our larger question about constituent order and ambiguity. Since these target AcI represent only a small percentage of the total AcI, we can establish up front that the subset of clauses where grammatical ambiguity is even theoretically possible is also fairly small. Moreover, were we to find that the number of such clauses is artificially low when compared to figures for finite verbs, it could suggest, perhaps, that native writers (intuitively, if not purposefully) avoided these types of AcI clauses, i.e. where grammatical ambiguity was a possibility.

The quantitative data also brought to light a crucial difference between Caesar's and Cicero's methods of introducing indirect speech. Although we found a slightly higher number of AcI tokens and target AcIs in our Caesar examples, his penchant for long-range matrix verbs—i.e. matrix verbs that governed multiple subordinate infinitives—meant that there was relatively little variety in his matrix constructions and fewer instances where the matrix and subordinate AcI domain came into contact. Cicero, on the other hand, had fewer overall AcI clauses and fewer target AcIs, but a wider variety in his matrix constructions. Consequently, Cicero also had far more short-range matrix verbs, which had downstream effects on the interactions between superordinate and subordinate domains and therefore on constituent order.

Critical to our study were the pragmatic concepts Topic, i.e. the person, idea, or entity about which a clause will give information, and Focus, i.e. the salient, new information that the speaker wishes to communicate to the audience. The linear order of constituents in most of our

examples that had articulated pragmatic structures could be explained as an expression of the Topic>Focus pragmatic structure (generally described by the familiarity hierarchy, that is, given>new). Broadly speaking, we posited a default SOV clause structure (pragmatically speaking, Sentence Focus or thetic) and a number of pragmatic function slots above (to the left of) the base VP layer to which constituents could raise. The most prominent pragmatic function projections adopted in this study were Setting, Sentence Topic, Discourse Topic, and Narrow Focus.[457] In this way, with a limited number of pragmatic movement rules, we were able to motivate most of the serial orders we encountered.[458]

Equally important, however, was the personal-animacy hierarchy, a linearization meta-hierarchy that describes the relationship between 1) intrinsic features such as animacy, individuation, and referentiality, 2) the semantic roles to which entities bearing those features are most suitable, and 3) the argument slots to which certain semantic roles are most likely to be assigned. It was the personal-animacy hierarchy that largely controlled the assignment of syntactic roles in our data sets, with entities higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy having subject roles and lower-ranked entities having object roles. More than that, though, both Caesar and Cicero showed a strong preference for pairing high-agency subjects with low-agency or inanimate objects, and an equally strong aversion to the reverse situation or even equally-agentive entities. The regularity with which this situation held true—particularly in the OS data

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[457] We should remember that the identification of a constituent as Discourse Topic or Sentence Topic was primarily of value when both projections were filled. In other words, when a single constituent has Topic function, there was not a reliable way to determine whether it had raised to the DiscTop or the SentTop slot.

[458] For Topicalization, see below (172) and (173); for Focus raising, see below (175) and (176).

sets—meant that the personal-animacy hierarchy was a meaningful proxy for syntactic role, which was a key finding for purposes of disambiguating the syntactic roles of the two accusatives.

Our investigations of the SO data sets (cf. §§2.4 Nominal Subjects in SO Order, 3.2 Subject-*Sese* in SO Order, 3.4 Subject-*Se* in SO: Nominal Objects, 3.6 Subject-*Se* in SO: Pronominal Objects, 3.8 Non-Reflexive Subject Pronouns, 4.4 Nominal Subjects in SO, 4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO) revealed that subjects were regularly Topics, Topics were regularly clause- or colon-initial, and Topics preceded the Focus constituent(s). Moreover, subjects tended to be highly agentive, individuated entities, and in the case of nominal subjects very often proper names.[459] Since the two linearization hierarchies—i.e. the familiarity hierarchy (Topic>Focus) and personal-animacy hierarchy (higher agency>lower agency)—chose the same constituent for linear priority, we were not able to determine from the SO examples alone which hierarchy was the dominant conditioning factor for the constituent order. In other words, the first argument had both higher topicality and higher agency, and there was no clear evidence that one feature was more determinative than the other.

It was the corresponding OS data sets that ultimately proved more useful in identifying the factors that determine constituent order in that the familiarity and personal-animacy hierarchies conflicted: that is, either linear priority was no longer granted to the higher-agency entity, or the lower-agency entity was more topical. After contrasting the SO and OS data sets, we were able to identify two pragmatic movement rules that were particularly productive: Topicalization and Focus raising. In short, we found that divergence from the statistically more

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[459] For nominal subjects in Caesar, see Table 7 and n. 158 as well as the surrounding discussions of both; for pronominal subjects in Caesar, see §3.9 Pronominal Subject Conclusions; for subjects in Cicero, see §§4.4 Nominal Subjects in SO and 4.6 Pronominal Subjects in SO.

common SOV order was motivated by pragmatics.[460] We were also able to posit a fairly simple pragmatic clause structure for Broad Focus and Narrow Focus:

| | |
|---|---|
| **Broad Focus** | [Setting] – [Sentence Topic] – [Discourse Topic] – [Broad Focus (focal argument(s) + verb)] |
| **Narrow Focus** | [Setting] – [Sentence Topic] – [Discourse Topic] – [Narrow Focus] – [Presupposed Material] |

*Table 14: Pragmatic Configurations for Broad Focus and Narrow Focus*

Though variations were found, with these diagrams and the two pragmatic movement rules we were able to account for virtually all of our examples.[461]

Topicalization was an extremely important pragmatic movement process that motivated the lion's share of our OS-ordered examples. We defined Topicalization (*pace* Spevak (2010)) as the selection of a constituent—nominal, pronominal, or verbal—as Sentence Topic and the subsequent raising of that constituent out of the base VP layer to the pragmatic SentTop slot, which usually, but not necessarily, is clause initial or follows a Setting constituent. Importantly, when the subject constituent is selected as Topic and raised to the functional Topic slot, there is often no effect on the linear order, that is, the movement is string vacuous ([SOV] > [$S^{Top}$][OV]). For this reason, we used the term Topicalization far more often in reference to the selection of non-subject constituents as Topic.

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[460] Recall, however, that the syntactic order SOV can represent multiple underlying pragmatic structures, e.g. a Sentence Focus or thetic SoA with no articulated pragmatic structure (i.e. [SOV]) or string-vacuous pragmatic movement (i.e. where structural movement is not reflected in linear movement: [$S^{Top}$][OV] or [$S^{Top}$][$O^{NFoc}$][V]).

[461] One is right to note the similarity between the two schemata, especially as the Topic slots are the same in both. In fact, one could potentially have combined the two, but for the sake of clarity and to highlight the structural movement of the NFoc constituent I have presented them as two separate configurations. Note also, as per the previous footnote, that pragmatic movement is often string vacuous, meaning that not only is there not a one-to-one relationship between linear order and pragmatic structure, but there is also often no *surface* difference between a Broad Focus clause, i.e. [$S^{Top}$][OV], and a Narrow Focus one, i.e. [$S^{Top}$][$O^{NFoc}$][V].

The majority of the OS orders in our data sets were due to Topicalization of the object constituent. In such cases, the subject constituent could, but need not, still fill the Discourse Topic slot, but Sentence Topics, which operated at a more local level, regularly preceded the Discourse Topics, which operated within the larger narrative. For example, in the following we see that the Sentence Topic and grammatical object *hanc legem* receives linear priority over the Discourse Topic and grammatical subject *P. Clodium*:

172)  (=113) novi est in lege hoc…. Dixi *hanc legem*<sup>SentTop</sup> <u>P. Clodium</u><sup>DiscTop</sup> iam ante **servasse**; pronuntiare enim solitum esse et non dare.

  This is the new part of the law…. I said that P. Clodius had already been following this law, for he was wont to promise to pay and not pay. (Cic. *Att*. 1.16.13)

Other constituents could also topicalize, in which case they also preceded the subject constituent. The movement need not alter the order of the nuclear arguments, though, as in the following example where the Recipient *Aeduis* topicalizes without disturbing the nuclear SO order:

173)  (=58) Ariovistus respondit…Aeduis<sup>SentTop</sup> <u>se</u> *obsides* **redditurum non esse**, neque his neque eorum sociis iniuria bellum inlaturum.

  Ariovistus responded…that, to the Aedui, he was not going to give back the hostages, but neither would he wrongfully make war upon them or their allies. (Caes. *Gal*. 1.36.5)

We even had a handful of intances in Cicero, due to his affinity for short-range matrix verbs, where the matrix domain and AcI domain merged, which increased the scope of the pragmatic movement rules (e.g. Topicalization) such that constituents could raise out of the AcI domain and ahead of a pre-AcI short-range matrix verb. Below, the object *onus* topicalizes, *Aetna gravius* raises to the Narrow Focus slot, and the subject *se* has likely cliticized to the fronted Topic constituent; importantly, all precede the matrix verb *dicant*.

174)  (=159) quae (*sc.* senectus) plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut [*onus*]<sup>SentTop</sup> <u>se</u> [Aetna gravius]<sup>NFoc</sup> <u>dicant</u> **sustinere**.

and this (*sc.* old age) to most old people is so vexing that they say they are carrying a burden heavier than Aetna. (Cic. *Sen.* 4)

Focus raising was a second important concept in our analysis and was also identified as a motivator of OS constituent order. Most basically, Focus raising describes the process of a constituent being selected as Narrow Focus and raising to the NFoc slot; quite often, especially when the object has Focus, this movement is string vacuous, but sometimes clitics or additional presuppositional material make the raising clear, as was the case with *Aetna gravius* in the previous example and is the case in the following two examples. In (175) the heavy object constituent has Focus. Its movement to the NFoc slot would be string vacuous were it not for the the weak pronoun *se*, which either forms a clitic string with *-que* or has simply remained in the base VP layer as presupposed material; either way, its position is key to marking the raising of the object to the NFoc slot.[462] Conveniently, there is also a (heavy) topicalized element, so we can see both processes at once:

175)   (=65) dicit (*sc.* Vercingetorix)…perfacile esse factu frumentationibus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere, aequo modo animo sua ipsi frumenta corrumpant aedificiaque incendant, [qua rei familiaris iactura]^SentTop [*perpetuum imperium libertatemque*]^NFoc <u>se consequi</u> videant.

He (Vercingetorix) says…that it is quite easy to stop the Romans from foraging or scouring for fodder, provided that they steadfastly ruin their own crops and burn their homes, by which sacrifice of property they would see that they would obtain perpetual command and freedom. (Caes. *Gal.* 7.64.2–3)

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[462] Again, weak pronominal *se* (and other weak subject pronouns to some degree) have complicated matters in certain instances since it is not always clear why one host is chosen over another. For example, in (174) *se* follows the topicalized object *onus*, but in (175) *se* does not follow the topicalized constituent, but rather the focal object constituent *perpetuum imperium libertatemque*. In this instance, constituent weight may condition the Topic's suitability as host, that is, *se* can join the prosodic domain of the single word *onus* in (174) more easily than the complex constituent *qua rei familiaris iactura* in (175). Though *se* follows the complex object NP in (175) and could be enclitic, it is also possible that it has stayed *in situ* in the base VP layer and is proclitic on the verb. For extended consideration of the position of *se*, see the full discussion of passage (65) above.

Since the unmarked pronoun *se* is immediately preverbal, this example further underscores that the *linear* position of the Narrow Focus is not the salient factor, but rather the structural position of the NFoc slot above the base VP layer, which then translates into leftward movement. This clarification was also pertinent for Cicero, who allowed constituents other than the nuclear arguments or infinitive, such as Source phrases (e.g. *Athenis* in (176)), to remain stranded in the base VP layer in Narrow Focus constructions (here the correlated objects have Focus):

176)  (=137) novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, <u>teque</u> *non cognomen solum* Athenis **deportasse**, *sed humanitatem et prudentiam* intellego.

For I know the moderation and evenness of your mind, and I understand that you brought back from Athens not only a cognomen, but also culture and judgment. (Cic. *Sen.* 1)

Moreover, this process explains the position of the matrix verbs in those cases when the matrix and AcI domains have merged, such as (174), in which all other constituents have raised to a pragmatic function slot or cliticized to a pragmatic constituent (*onus se Aetna gravius*) and the matrix verb and infinitive remain in the base VP layer (*dicant sustinere*).

More importantly, this same Focus raising process could result in an OS constituent order if the focal object was the only constituent with a pragmatic function (called elsewhere a Focus-first construction). In other words, the object raises to the NFoc slot, but the subject, verb, and any other material (aside from conjunctions and some adverbs) remain in the VP layer as unmarked, presupposed material: schematically, $[O^{NFoc}][SV]$. Our two authors employed this pragmatic structure most often with preparative expressions, typically semantically empty dummy pronouns that cataphorically referred to a second argument clause, the true "focus."

177)  (=118) …Nam *hoc* <u>Verrem</u> **dicere** aiebant, te non fato, ut ceteros ex vestra familia, sed opera sua consulem factum.

…For this is what they said that Verres was saying: that you were made consul not by fate, like other members of your family, but by his own agency. (Cic. *I Verr.* 29)

178)   (=76) Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est: …Ipsorum esse consilium, velintne… milites aut ad Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere… *Illud* se **polliceri** et iure iurando **confirmare**, tutum iter per finis daturum. Quod cum faciat…

Ambiorix spoke to this effect: …that the choice was theirs whether to lead off their soldiers either to Cicero or to Labienus… that this he promised and confirmed by a solemn oath, that he would provide safe passage through their lands. When he did this… (Caes. *Gal.* 5.27.10)

One could argue that this particular Focus construction with a cataphoric preparative pronoun loosely resembles a cleft construction, another common Focus marking strategy, in that it foregrounds the pragmatic function and leaves the semantic information to be filled in later. Further research on the pragmatic functions of preparative expressions could improve our understanding of information packaging strategies in Latin authors.

Regardless of the serial order of constituents, we found very few examples where the potential for grammatical ambiguity was anything more than hypothetical; the small number we did find were confined to the SO examples, those where a minor increase—if any—in the cognitive load required to identify subject and object would not be coupled with other complicating factors (e.g. a fronted object).[463] Moreover, it is important to note that even in these cases of potential ambiguity the positional relationship between the two arguments on the personal-animacy hierarchy was merely *narrowed*, not reversed, and so, by and large, the personal-animacy hierarchy was still in effect. In other words, we were not dealing with a situation in which the relative agency of the arguments had been inverted and a low-agency subject was acting upon a high-agency object. What this means is that the potential for syntactic

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[463] See above exx. (50), (70), (100), and to a lesser extent (78) and (124).

ambiguity in an AcI—the concern that motivated this study—stems neither from the use of two accusatives as such nor from their constituent order, but from the two accusatives having insufficiently distinct positions along the personal-animacy hierarchy. In short, the smaller the gap between the agency levels, the higher the possibility of a grammatically ambiguous clause. In fact, this is the true source of the *amphibolia* in the example provided by Quintilian where *Lachetem* and *Demean* both are individuated, volitional, agentive entities.

Fortunately, instead of examples like this with a high potential for ambiguity, in Caesar we found at most a few cases in which a subject was slightly less individuated or in which an object constituent could plausibly have been agentive. The situation was more common in Cicero, where, for example, in the pronominal-subject data set we found four objects that were not at the bottom of the personal-animacy hierarchy. In no instance, though, in either author did ambiguity arise. The reasons varied, but ultimately boiled down to two points. First, the personal-animacy hierarchy still operated in such cases either outright or because features of the nouns in context reduced their animacy and agency levels. For example, the object *hominem* in (166) above, although potentially agentive, had an indefinite reading and was lower on the personal-animacy hierarchy than the subject *se* (=*C. Verrem*); likewise, in (173) *se* (=*Ariovistum*) was more agentive and individuated than the object *obsides*, which is a collective noun.

Second, given the frequency of periphrastic infinitives in Latin AcI clauses, we should not overlook the role that simple grammatical agreement can still play in disambiguating syntactic function, even if it merely reinforces parallel semantic or pragmatic features. For instance, in the passage below, the infinitival participle *interfecturos* allows us to disaggregate the roles of the two

high-agency pronouns *me* and *se*, which is all the more important here as *se* by itself could be either singular or plural:

179)   (=127) Reperti sunt duo equites Romani qui te ista cura liberarent et <u>se</u> illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem *me* in meo lecto **interfecturos esse** pollicerentur.

Two Roman knights were found to free you from that care and to promise that they would kill me in my own bed that very night a little before dawn. (Cic. *Cat.* 1.9)

In fact, in the only instance in our entire target AcI data set where the subject/Agent was lower on the personal-animacy hierarchy than the object—that is, where the personal-animacy hierarchy did *not* map onto the syntactic roles—grammatical agreement was a critical tool that allowed us forestall ambiguity in that *L. Pisonem* did not agree with the infinitive *secutos*:

180)   (=100) Qua quidem ex re magnum accipio dolorem, <u>homines</u> amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis <u>usos</u> *L. Pisonem ducem* optimae sententiae **non secutos**.

Indeed, from this fact I take great pain, that men who have enjoyed the most honorable distinctions of the Roman people did not second L. Piso, the sponsor of an excellent opinion. (Cic. *Phil.* 1.14)

It appears, then, that in AcI clauses our authors largely forbid lower-ranked, and thus lower-agency, semantic roles (e.g. Instrument or Force) from functioning as the syntactic subject of a transitive verb when another entity with a higher role, and thus higher agency, is also an event participant, even if the lower-ranked entities could be subjects in main clauses.

Furthermore, in those cases where both arguments are similarly agentive and either is a suitable subject, Caesar and Cicero tend to avoid pragmatic processes, like Topicalization—Caesar also avoids secondary participles and other adjuncts too—which could interrupt or alter the constituent order, place a higher cognitive load on the audience, and result in ambiguity. It is primarily for this reason that we did not encounter grammatical confusion when a low-agency object/Patient was fronted ahead of a high-agency subject/Agent: that is, there was no

communicative barrier because the difference in agency counteracted any confusion that may have arisen from the less common serial order. In other words, when the accusative arguments are sufficiently disparate on the personal-animacy hierarchy, Topicalization and other movement rules can alter the serial order without impairing the syntactic analysis.

There were also a number of questions that we were unable to answer and additional avenues for research that were identified throughout the preceding analysis. It is to these that we now turn.

## 5.3 Where Next?

In this final section, we have two goals. The first is to identify further applications of the research undertaken here or areas in which similar studies could be conducted. Our second aim is to highlight some of the more interesting questions that have arisen over the course of the preceding pages and identify the ways in which further research along these same lines could help shed light on them.

We covered considerable ground in this study, but we purposefully limited the source material for this project to two prose writers from the first century BCE. As such, the logical next step is to extend the investigation of constituent order within AcI clauses either synchronically to other near-contemporary authors such as Sallust, Varro, or Cornelius Nepos or diachronically to writers like Pliny, Tacitus, or Suetonius. Also worth considering are technical or encyclopedic works, like Vitruvius' *De Architectura* or Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, which could provide useful generic counterpoints. For our Caesar data, in particular, a comparison with Sallust who also wrote historical narratives, but who is well-known as having linguistic idiosyncrasies, could prove particularly fruitful. Likewise, an extension of this investigation to

other letter collections within Cicero's own corpus could provide valuable insights into what effects differing degrees of interpersonal relationships have on his information packaging strategies, as could incorporation of Seneca's epistles or Pliny's, in which the social and political status of the writer and recipient are often unequal (e.g. the Trajan letters in book 10).

Turning to the data themselves, despite the prevalence of *se* in our sample sets, a salient motivating factor for the choice between the simplex form *se* and the reduplicated form *sese* remains elusive. In Caesar we noted that, even though in the SO cases subject *sese* generally had Topic function, out of the fifteen total instances only two were contrastive: In (42) *non sese Gallis sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse* there was explicit contrast, and in (50) *sese illum non pro amico sed hoste habiturum* there was implicit contrast. So, while subject *sese* is not pragmatically *un*marked, a not insignificant number, including all three in OS order, would likely have represented zero anaphora in direct speech. Moreover, this situation is not entirely dissimilar from the overall picture we developed for *se*. For instance, both forms could be strong contrastive Topics in initial position; both forms could cause discontinuity of noun phrases with evaluative adjectives (*multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum* (*Gal.* 1.44.12); *magno se illum praemio remuneraturum* (*Gal.* 1.44.14)); and both forms were found in correlative constructions (*non minus libenter sese recusaturum…quam* (*Gal.* 1.44.5); *non minus se id contendere…quam* (*Gal.* 1.31.2); *nec minus se ab milite modestiam…quam virtutem…desiderare* (*Gal.* 7.52.4)). The general absence of pragmatic features—or something we might call "emphasis," at any rate—in the *sese* examples, conflicts with the common opinion that *sese* is an emphatic form of *se*.[464] The

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[464] We did tentatively hypothesize that the use of *sese* could be conditioned by a neighboring complex pragmatic domain insofar as, assuming *sese* does not cliticize while *se* can, *se* might disrupt the pragmatic domain, which could lead to a faulty analysis of the pragmatics. According to this account, *sese* was used so that the complex Topic domains *transisse Rhenum* in (51) and *legatum e suis* in (52) and the complex Focus domain *non magna iactura*

similarities in our Caesar data seemed to suggest more or less free variation between the two

pronominal forms, and since subject *sese* occurred only once in Cicero, we were unable to further

explore the issue. However, I believe an expanded inquiry of AcI clauses focused more squarely

on this problem would be quite productive.

Occasionally complications also arose regarding the binary Focus taxonomy most

commonly employed in Functional Grammar and adopted in this study.[465] While we noted these

cases *in situ*, we lacked the space and data to consider them sufficiently. One such issue

concerned the definition of constituency and its relationship to Focus classification.

Constituency is both hierarchical and recursive—similar to prosody—meaning that one

constituent can combine with another to form a higher-order constituent. Since Foci are also

partially defined by the number of constituents within the focal domain, complications arise for

both Narrow and Broad Focus. On the one hand, Narrow Focus is restricted by definition to a

single constituent, but, given the recursive nature of constituency, one might ask what the

relationship is between higher-order constituents and Narrow Focus. What exactly counts as a

"single constituent" for purposes of pragmatic analysis? Put another way, if the individual

constituents A and B can merge to form a higher-level constituent C, can we meaningfully

analyze C as Narrow Focus? To take a more concrete case, in one of our Cicero passages we

identified the focal information as an object NP and a restrictive relative clause (*…Crassum inire*

*eam gratiam quam ipse praetermisisset… (Att.* 1.14.3)). Both the object NP and the relative clause

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*suorum* in (53) would remain intact, that is, to avoid, e.g., \**transisse se Rhenum* or \**legatum se e suis*. This explanation
was somewhat undercut by the fact that *se* also occurred in OS order with complex pragmatic constituents without
causing domain discontinuity (e.g. *civitatem Biturigum se* in (66) and *perpetuum imperium libertatemque se* in (65)
and (175)).

[465] See above, e.g., n. 325 and n. 412.

are single constituents (*eam gratiam* and *quam ipse praetermisisset*) but their combination is also a single constituent. Are we, then, permitted under the existing framework to label the combined constituent as Narrow Focus?

Broad Focus has the same problem but in reverse. In our data we regularly encountered verbonominals, phrasal verbs, and otherwise semantically weak verbs whose meanings were primarily determined by the object noun. These syntagms do not form an entirely homogenous class, that is, some will have a tighter semantic bond than others, but they do resemble one another in having a semantically deficient verb govern a nonreferential object noun with a low degree of individuation.[466] However, we were obliged to categorize all instances where the OV had Focus as Broad Focus, that is, the object and verb were two constituents. The question then arises whether consideration should be given to the relative levels of semantic interconnectedness between the object noun and verb for purposes of Focus identification. In other words, are OV pairs of this type, e.g. verbonominals, definitionally restricted to Broad Focus, or, if the level of semantic interconnectedness is sufficiently high, might we, perhaps, treat the semantically bound pair as a single constituent and classify it as Narrow Focus?

While further research into pragmatic structures and constituency will likely be the purview of linguists and not classicists, these are questions worth pursuing as a means of better understanding constituent order in Latin. For instance, given the different approaches to OV/VO

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[466] We saw above that with noun phrases the semantic relationship between the elements affects the mobility of the individual lexical items, and Devine and Stephens (2006) 135 have made a similar point about verb phrases of this type, stating that "informational individuation is a subtle but pervasive factor conditioning Latin word order … A branching phrase containing a nonreferential element, particularly one which tends to be conventional and precompiled either in the language in general or in a particular discourse context, takes on some of the properties of a single (compound) word, with potentially significant repercussions for the phonology, the morphology and the syntax." As such, a comparison of statistics on the relative ordering and contiguity of various verbonominals or phrasal verbs could be used as indirect evidence of the relative levels of semantic bond.

in Caesar and Cicero, it would be quite valuable to have a firmer grasp on how the authors conceived of the VP constituent.[467] If, for example, Caesar shows a higher percentage of phrasal verbs or non-referring objects relative to Cicero, i.e. where the OV is a semantic unit and the lexical items are less mobile, perhaps it is the case that the inherent rigidity of these VPs has subtly influenced his treatment of other OV pairs. The insights gained about VP construction and the OV/VO alternation could then be applied directly to issues of information structure, discourse analysis, and narrative strategy more broadly.

Also yet to be addressed is the role of the passive in avoiding ambiguity in AcI clauses. We will remember that Quintilian and others (ancient and modern) advise switching to a passive construction to avoid potential grammatical ambiguity. More specifically, one keeps the same semantic roles—Agent and Patient—but promotes the latter to grammatical subject of a passive verb and demotes the Agent to an adjunct phrase. This directive is still invoked today as a function for the passive voice (e.g. Pinkster *OLS* 1, *OLS* 2). One wonders, however, whether Quintilian's advice is descriptive or prescriptive; simply because one *can* avoid the two-accusative ambiguity problem with a passive construction, does not mean that Latin writers purposefully used it in that way. A sizeable sample of passive AcIs was collected from our source texts, but a resolution to this problem likely requires a full-scale study unto itself in which we would have the space to lay the necessary theoretical groundwork and to present and analyze these data sufficiently. To take just one example, tackling this subject would have required a much more detailed discussion of transitivity, because, perhaps ironically, the scalar nature of transitivity

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[467] That the VP forms a constituent is by no means a given. See Danckaert (2017) 30–78, who spends the better part of the first chapter arguing for the existence of a VP constituent in Latin.

becomes especially salient in discussions of the passive since high-transitivity verbs more often require Agents and tend to be passivized more easily.

Nevertheless, our data do allow us to outline, at least tentatively, a path that such a study might take. A quick snapshot of the data collected shows that 36% (n=251) of Caesar's total AcI and 32% (n=207) of Cicero's AcI were passive infinitives.[468] Preliminary breakdowns of the animate, inanimate, and impersonal passive subjects for both authors are presented in the following table; in this case, animacy was considered as a binary concept, meaning that highly agentive, individuated entities, e.g. *Ciceronem*, and less-agentive, less-individuated entities, e.g. *copias*, are both categorized as +anim (animate).

| Subj. Type | Caesar | | Cicero | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n=* | *Percent* | *n=* | *Percent* |
| +anim | 88 | 35% | 73 | 35% |
| -anim | 120 | 48% | 118 | 57% |
| Impers. | 43 | 17% | 16 | 8% |
| Total | 251 | 100% | 207 | 100% |

*Table 15: Animacy of Subjects of Passive Verbs in Caesar and Cicero*

The most obvious difference is in Caesar's use of the impersonal passive, but elsewhere, yet again, we see only minimal variation between Caesar and Cicero in the basic quantitative data. Agent expression (not included in Table 15: Animacy of Subjects of Passive Verbs in Caesar and Cicero)

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[468] Pinkster *OLS* 1, 233 notes that the scholarly consensus is that passives make up around 16% of all verb forms, but these figures can vary widely from scholar to scholar due to the difficulties in calculating passive verbs and often include deponents, which are only formally passive (for other difficulties, see Pinkster *OLS* 1, 233–235). This figure, even if we assume a sizeable margin of error, is considerably lower than the 36% and 32% frequencies which we observed in our data set (even lower still if we exclude deponent forms). If the figures cited by Pinkster are correct, this discrepancy cries out for an explanation. In conjunction with the fact that our target AcI represent a relatively small percentage of the total AcI, one possible conclusion is that the higher percentage of passives in our AcI data does, in fact, represent some sort of intuitive or purposeful avoidance of types of AcI clauses that could pose grammatical issues. Here, though, we must content ourselves with merely remarking on its existence.

is slightly more common in Cicero, who has Agent adjuncts 44× (21%) while Caesar does so 36× (14%). However, we find Agent expressions roughly twice as often in total with non-agentive, inanimate subjects (Caesar 20×; Cicero 32×) than we do with high-agency, animate subject/Patients (Caesar 16×; Cicero 12×).[469] Although much more work would be needed to make any definitive conclusions, we can note, at least, that the number of instances that would map onto the example given by Quintilian (i.e. a high-agency Patient in the subject role and a high-agency entity as the Agent adjunct) is a relatively small percentage of the passive constructions, suggesting that other factors are at play, e.g. Topic continuity or demotion of the Agent to allow for eventive state of affairs.[470]

Finally, while not an explicit goal of this study, we did touch briefly on a slightly more philosophical aspect of indirect discourse with which scholars have wrestled for quite some time. The issue can be framed in different ways, but ultimately it boils down to deixis and the referential opacity that is an inescapable feature of indirect speech. AcI clauses in a sense exist simultaneously in multiple narrative frames each with unique pragmatic background conditions depending on which deictic center is operative for the reported speech. Moreover, as the thoughts or words of Person A are filtered through Person B, the lexical expression and pragmatic structure will likely be subtly manipulated—either intentionally or not—by Speaker B. Florian Coulmas (1986) explains the issue succinctly: "In indirect speech, the reporter is free to

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[469] According to Caboli (1990), expressed Agents are relatively rare in Latin more broadly.

[470] See Pinkster (1992), who reviews the various scholarly positions.

introduce information about the reported speech event from his point of view and on the basis of his knowledge about the world."[471]

Modern research on indirect speech has also found that matrix verbs themselves and evaluative or referring expressions more generally in a matrix construction can have subtle illocutionary effects on the reproduced speech and are important for understanding the attitudinal stance or communicative goals of the reproducer. For example, Buchstaller (2017) notes that "low-frequency verbs tend to be more specific concerning the realisation of the original utterance."[472] On the one hand, this is a simple byproduct of semantic verb classes, in that verbs denoting subtypes of a class (e.g. *complain*) have fewer use cases than the class-level verb (e.g. *say*) since they denote a more specific action. On the other hand, aside from cases where it truthfully reflects the original utterance, the use of a subtype, e.g. *complain* instead of *say*, provides the reporter with a subtle means of controlling the presentation of the utterance, either to reflect his or her own attitudes or beliefs regarding the utterance or to (attempt to) manipulate the reception of the utterance. However, because we have competing deictic centers, evaluative expressions and referring expressions, in particular codesignative terms, are always potentially unclear in reported speech and one can always wonder how accurately the matrix

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[471] Coulmas (1986) 3. This is often referred to as the problem of *de dicto* versus *de re* reported speech. See Plantinga (1969), Bakhtin (1981), Romaine and Lange (1991), Spronk (2012), Buchstaller (2017). It is also interesting to muse on the fact that, since Latin is a pro-drop language except in AcI clauses where they are grammatically required, the transformation from direct to indirect speech potentially introduces a new lexical item into the utterance that would not have been present in the hypothetical direct speech counterpart: the accusative subject. In other words, even if we assume perfect fealty to the original utterance, the subject pronoun—its lexical expression, linear position, and pragmatic function—will often be a product solely of the reporter.

[472] Buchstaller (2017) 399.

verb describes the original speech context.[473] In short, the potential for deictic ambiguity is a feature, not a bug, of indirect discourse.

Applying this issue to Latin AcI clauses in particular raises important questions. For example, given Latin's small particle inventory and deficient infinitive system[474]—and the obvious fact that we do not have access to intonation or non-verbal cues—what means are available to Latin authors to encode within an AcI clause their attitudinal stance, illocutionary strategy, or epistemic evaluation of the reported utterance?[475] Although we did not delve deeply into it since it was not directly applicable to our project, our study provides a first step along this line of inquiry and a model for how such research might be conducted. In our examples above we saw that Cicero was willing to exploit the potential for ambiguity in his use of satellites, specifically attitudinal or illocutionary disjuncts, whose deictic centers become ambiguous when

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[473] Some version of the following is an oft cited example in this regard (see Banfield (1973) 5; Coulmas (1986) 3; Spronk (2012) 108): *Oedipus said his mother was beautiful*. Given that the myth ends with Oedipus blinding himself after learning the truth, we can safely assume that Oedipus' original utterance was not "my mother is beautiful" since he does not know that they are the same person. Instead, the referring expression *his mother* must come from the reporter's deictic center for whom *Oedipus' mother* and *Jocasta* are codesignative terms. For truth values of codesignative terms, see Quine (1960).

[474] Not only is it typologically more common for reported speech to be marked by explicit subordination (e.g. *that*)—note the eventual replacement of Latin's AcI construction by complement clauses introduced by *quod* (for which, see Cuzzolin (2013))—but other world languages also have modal particles, quotative constructions, or verbal conjugations or moods for use in reported speech that allow speakers to encode such information. For example, as Romaine and Lange (1991) 232 and others have noted, "Turkish, Kwakiutl, Navajo, and Hopi have different conjugations of the verb which distinguish hearsay from what is the speaker's own knowledge," and "Japanese has a sentence suffix which, when used in conjunction with a form of the copula, indicates hearsay quality." See also Spronk (2012).

[475] Outside of the main AcI clause, the retention of an indicative in a subordinate clause within indirect speech is generally believed to have such a function, though the exact nuances are not well understood. While the subjunctive is the regular mood employed in subordinate clauses within AcIs, regardless of the "original" or direct speech form, in certain cases the indicative is retained. Generally the indicative is explained as denoting an objective fact, general truth, or a parenthetical explanation from the author, but, as Pinkster *OLS* 1, 669 notes, "attempts to give a precise description of these types have not been very successful." Moreover, Woodcock (1985) §288 reminds us that some instances in which the indicative is retained would have been ambiguous if the subjunctive had been used, e.g. *cum…videbatur* at Caes. *Gal.* 1.40.5 must be temporal whereas a subjunctive could have been taken as a concessive or adversative *cum* clause. For moods in subordinate clauses within indirect speech, see Woodcock (1985) §§272–276 and 286–288; Pinkster *OLS* 1, §§7.163–164.

situated within an AcI clause, as a means of editorializing or commenting on certain SoAs. Take, for instance, *Att.* 1.17.9, where Cicero employs both an evaluative expression and a lower-frequency matrix verb to establish his negative attitude toward the original speakers and the content of the utterance:

181)    (=131) Ecce aliae deliciae equitum vix ferendae! Quas ego non solum tuli sed etiam ornavi. Asiam qui de censoribus conduxerunt <u>questi sunt</u> in senatu <u>se</u> cupiditate prolapsos *nimium* magno **conduxisse**.

Here is another barely tolerable pretension of the equites! Which I not only have tolerated but even dressed up. Those who contracted with the censors for Asia complained in the senate that they, having erred because of greed, had contracted at far too great a cost. (*Att.* 1.17.9)

In addition to Cicero's deft injection of the illocutionary Reason disjunct *cupiditate prolapsos*, we can also note that the referring expression *deliciae…vix ferendae* and the matrix verb itself *questi sunt* lay the groundwork for the attitudinal stance evinced by the illocutionary disjunct. Though this example is somewhat over-determined in that multiple features are employed simultaneously, further analysis of Cicero's matrix constructions could unearth additional and subtler strategies that he uses to achieve illocutionary effects or to valence his reported utterances.[476] Although somewhat under-researched, the expression of attitudes and beliefs within Latin AcI clauses, I believe, would be an especially interesting and fruitful line of inquiry.

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[476] N.B. Cicero also employed verb Focus for its illocutionary side-effects. Similar inquiries could be made of Caesar's matrix constructions, but as we noted above, short-range matrix verbs were much less common in Caesar. Moreover, he rarely used attitudinal or illocutionary disjuncts within AcIs, so one might expect this aversion to editorializing to manifest in matrix verbs and evaluative expressions as well. However, smaller-scale, subtler cases were noted, such as the Focus-first construction in (38): *magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.31.5–7). Though surely an exaggeration to some degree, as was argued above, the Focus-first construction and the tricolon signal that the utterance is presented from the deictic center of the original speaker, Diviciacus, from whose perspective this could truly be a *magna calamitas* instead of a typical one.

I hope to have shown that linguistics is a useful lens through which classicists can approach even the most canonical authors and texts. Far from being merely a recondite theoretical apparatus or fleeting academic fad, it can produce lasting results and is a vital and invaluable tool for any classicist or philologist who wishes to conduct a close reading of an author. Beyond the research undertaken herein and the narrow set of proposals for future inquiry, there is much linguistic research yet to be done on Caesar and Cicero that could help us better understand these two authors, and Latin more broadly.

# GLOSSARY

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| **Accessibility** | The ease with previously given information, inferable information, or background knowledge can be recalled in subsequent discourse. Constituents with higher accessibility require less robust expressions to be reintroduced, while those with lower accessibility require stronger expressions. |
| **Argument** | An argument is an obligatory participant of a verb frame whose presence is required to complete the meaning of a verb frame or NP. For example, in *The king praised the queen at dinner*, the subject *king* and object *queen* are nuclear arguments required to complete the meaning of the verb *praise*, while *at dinner* is an optional temporal satellite. |
| **Constituent** | Units of meaning within a clause that are smaller than the clause itself. Constituency can be syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, or prosodic and is both hierarchical and recursive such that smaller constituents, e.g. single lexical items like *urbem*, combine into larger or higher-order constituents, e.g. *ad urbem*. Constituent structures are identified by various constituency tests. For example, only constituents can be coordinated (coordination test), thus both *dogs* and *cats* are separate constituents in *I like* [*dogs*] *and* [*cats*]. |
| **Conversational Implicature** | An inference that the hearer can draw on the basis of what the speaker says but which is not entailed by the words themselves. For example, from "I'm stuck in traffic" one could draw the conversational implicature "I'm going to be late to work." |
| **Deictic Center** | A point of view from which a given utterance is situated and presented. Indirect speech has dual deictic centers, that of the original speaker and that of the subsequent reporter. |
| **Discourse Configurational** | Language classification for languages that are particularly sensitive to discourse-pragmatic features and which often have special ordering rules for constituents with pragmatic functions. |
| **Familiarity Hierarchy** | Linearization meta-hierarchy that describes the relative ordering of constituents according to an array of individual scalar relationships that broadly express the speaker's personal involvement in the states of affairs, such as topicality, givenness, referentiality, accessibility, and proximity (linear, physical, temporal, etc.). Importantly, the given>new and Topic>Focus hierarchies fall under this meta-hierarchy, which were found to be the primary drivers of constituent order in our data sets. |
| **Focus** | Pragmatic function. The salient, new information the speaker wishes to communicate to the audience. Focus is typically divided into two types: Narrow Focus and Broad Focus. Narrow Focus falls on a single constituent while Broad Focus falls on the verb plus (an)other constituent(s). Broad Focus is best suited to situations where the presuppositional potential is low, while Narrow Focus requires a sufficiently robust presupposition pool from which to identify specific information to replace, reject, or correct. A single clause rarely has multiple Foci. |
| **Focus Raising** | Pragmatic movement process. The selection of a constituent as Narrow Focus and the subsequent raising of that constituent out of the base VP layer to the pragmatic NFoc slot, which often, but not necessarily, is directly above (to the left of) of the base VP layer. The movement can be string vacuous, e.g. $[SOV] > [S^{Top}][O^{NFoc}][V]$, and often there is no |

*surface* difference between a Broad Focus clause, i.e. [S$^{Top}$][OV$^{BFoc}$], and a Narrow Focus one, i.e. [S$^{Top}$][O$^{NFoc}$][V].

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| **Given Information** | Information previously supplied in the discourse context. |

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| **Identificational Focus** | A description of the communicative goal of some Foci. Identificational Foci evoke a set of alternates and assert that the utterance is both true for the identified members of the set and also not true for any other members of the set. For example, as an identificational Focus *JOHN passed the test* implies both that other students took the test and that John, and only John, passed. |

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| **Inferable Information** | Information not explicitly provided in the previous discourse but which the speaker assumes the audience can supply for themselves from various forms of bridging assumptions, relational inferences, or shared background knowledge. |

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| **Informational Focus** | A description of the communicative goal of some Foci. Informational Foci fill a real or perceived gap in the background information or presupposed Answers an explicit or implicit question. Can be exhaustive but does not evoke set of alternates. For example, if *John* is an informational Focus in *JOHN passed the test*, it informs the audience that John, indeed, did pass the test, but it does not entail that any other students who may have passed or failed the test. |

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| **Light verb** | Semantically bleached verbs that often combine with complement nouns into precompiled phrases or verbonominal compounds, e.g. *make war* or *bellum gero*. Additional event participants are usually dependent on the nominal half of the syntagm, e.g. *war on the Gauls*, not *\*make on the Gauls war*. |

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| **Matrix verb, long-range** | Matrix constructions that do not directly abut a subordinate AcI domain. They usually initiate longer stretches of indirect discourse and govern multiple subordinate infinitives. The matrix domain rarely interacts with any of the AcI domains. For example, *locutus est* at Caes. *Gal.* 1.31.3–16 governs 31 subsequent infinitives over 49 OCT lines; we categorize it as a short-range matrix verb with the first AcI *Galliae totius factiones esse duas*, but with the remaining 30 it is a long-range matrix verb. |

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| **Matrix verb, short-range** | Matrix constructions that directly abut a subordinate AcI domain. They tend to govern only a single infinitive (or a closely coordinated pair). The proximity of the matrix verb reinforces the presence of two interacting domains. For example, *sed <u>credo</u> deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana* (Cic. *Sen.* 77). |

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| **Non-Referential NP** | Noun phrase that does not refer to a concrete entity in the external world. For instance, bare plurals are non-referential, e.g. *I love <u>dogs</u>*, while definite descriptions are referential, e.g. *I love <u>the dogs</u>*. |

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| **Object Hyperbaton** | Object hyperbaton, as used in this study, is restricted to cases where the subject causes discontinuity of the object constituent or, in other words, where the relative ordering of subject and object is obscured, e.g. *magnam Caesarem iniuriam facere* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.36.4). Cases where non-subject constituents break into the object domain, e.g. *sese…tempus ipsum emisse iudici sui* (Cic. *I Verr.* 8), are not counted as "object hyperbaton" because the order of the nuclear arguments is unaffected. |

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| **Personal-Animacy Hierarchy** | Linearization meta-hierarchy composed of multiple sub-hierarchies that concern the way humans experience the world and interpret natural saliency. The two most prominent |

sub-hierarchies are the personal hierarchy, which categorizes constituents according to certain intrinsic aspects such as personhood, animacy, and referentiality, and the semantic role hierarchy, which ranks the eligibility of the different semantic roles for assignment to argument slots in a given verb frame. A constituent's position on the personal hierarchy positively correlates to its position on the semantic hierarchy and thus to its eligibility as a semantic agent; as such, high-animacy, individuated nouns are more often selected as Agents and are thus more likely to be assigned to a subject role. The personal-animacy hierarchy was found to be a meaningful proxy for syntactic function in double-accusative AcI clauses. That is, given two accusative nouns, the noun that has higher agency, animacy, and individuation (i.e. is higher on the personal-animacy hierarchy) will likely be the subject and the noun that has lower animacy, agency, and individuation will likely be the object.

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| **Polarity** | The truth value of an utterance. Replies to *yes-no* questions directly address the polarity of the utterance. |
| **Pragmatic Expression** | The lexical expressions that denote the entity bearing a certain pragmatic function and filling a certain pragmatic projection. |
| **Pragmatic Projection** | The hierarchical position or slot to which an entity with a certain pragmatic function raises, e.g. Topic slot or Narrow Focus slot. |
| **Presupposed Material** | The term used for additional background information that is previously given, discourse bound, or inferable but which does not have a unique pragmatic function. |
| **Question Under Discussion (QUD)** | A discourse analysis framework that breaks communication and discourse into a series of answers to implicit or explicit questions, i.e. the Questions Under Discussion. The discourse progresses as interlocutors raise or answer QUDs. QUDs can be maximally broad or highly specific, e.g. "What is happening?" or "What is your favorite pizza?" The QUD often corresponds to the pragmatic Focus in a clause and is thus a useful framework for analyzing languages like Latin. |
| **Satellite/Adjunct** | Non-obligatory constituent within a verb frame. The omission or removal of satellites does not tend to result in an ungrammatical sentence, although it can reduce the semantic or pragmatic felicitousness. For example, *in school* can be dropped from *I learned in school that the Sun is 93 million miles away*. Temporal, locative, means, and manner modifiers are common satellites. |
| **Scrambling** | Movement of a constituent that is presupposed information out of the Focus domain. |
| **Secondary Predicate** | Secondary predicates are optional constituents that specify the stimuli, motives, or conditions (either external or internal) involved in achieving or preventing the state of affairs of the main verb. Participial phrases are common as secondary predicates, e.g. *omnis perturbatos defectione Aeduorum fugam parare* (Caes. *Gal.* 7.61.4), but certain adjectives can also, e.g. *nudus* or *ebrius*. The precise semantic relationship of the secondary predicate to the state of affairs in the nuclear clause is often undefined. |
| **Semantic Role** | Descriptions of the ways that arguments or constituents within a particular verb frame participate in the state of affairs. For example, the Agent is the entity that actively initiates the SoA. |

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| **Separate Matrix Construction** | A term used to categorize matrix constructions. Separate matrix constructions are the individual tokens for each verb form or phrase that introduces an AcI. For example, *dixit*, *dico*, and *dictum est* each count as separate matrix construction, but collectively are a single unique root. |
| **String-Vacuous Movement** | The structural movement of a constituent that is not reflected in the linear order. For example, the raising of the subject to a Topic slot ([SOV] > [S<sup>Top</sup>][OV]) or of the object to the Narrow Focus slot ([SOV] > [S<sup>Top</sup>][O<sup>NFoc</sup>][V]). |
| **Tail** | Pragmatic function. Tails are rightward-displaced constituents that often serve to clarify or further identify a constituent in the clause. For example, *your dad* in *he is really funny, your dad* ensures the correct referent of *he*. |
| **Theme** | Pragmatic function. Themes are leftward-displaced constituents that indicate the frame of reference for the following clause. They typically are signaled in spoken language by an intonation break and in written language by a comma. For example, *as to the storyline* in *As to the storyline, I like* A New Hope *the best*. |
| **Thetic Sentence** | Clause with no articulated pragmatic structure (i.e. no Topic or Focus) whose communicative aim is to introduce an event into the discourse. Also called "event reporting," "what-happens," or "all-new." |
| **Topic** | Pragmatic function. The Topic, generally, is the entity or entities about which a speaker relates information. Topics function at different discourse levels and across different stretches of discourse. Narrowly applicable Topics are called Sentence Topics (SentTop), while Topics that stretch across long stretches are Discourse Topics (DiscTop). A clause may have both a Sentence Topic and Discourse Topic. The Topic domain is clause-initial, and Sentence Topics tend to have linear priority over Discourse Topics. |
| **Topicalization** | Pragmatic movement process. The selection of a constituent as Sentence Topic and the subsequent raising of that constituent out of the base VP layer to the pragmatic SentTop slot, which usually, but not necessarily, is clause initial or follows a Setting constituent. For example, the dative *Aeduis* has raised to the SentTop slot in *Aeduis se obsides redditurum non esse* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.36.5). Given the default SOV order, the movement of the subject to either Topic slot is often string vacuous—[SOV] > [S<sup>Top</sup>][OV]—and, thus, the term Topicalization will generally refer to the movement of non-subject constituents to this slot. |
| **Unique Root** | A term used to categorize matrix constructions. A unique root refers to each verbal root used to introduce an AcI. For example, *dixit*, *dico*, and *dictum est* are all classified under the single root *dico*, but each form counts as a separate matrix construction. |
| **Valency** | Feature of verb frames and certain NPs. The number of obligatory arguments required to complete the meaning of a given verb frame or NP. One-argument structures are called monovalent or one-place predicates; two-argument structures are bivalent or two-place; three-argument structures are trivalent or three-place. For example, murder is a two-place predicate or bivalent verb meaning that it requires two arguments to complete its meaning, i.e. the murderer (Agent) and the murdered (Patient). |
| **Verum Focus** | Focus that confirms the truth value of the proposition. Verum Focus in English employs *do*-support, e.g. *I do like fries*. |

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