

Word order variation in the Latin verb phrase: from Old to Late Latin

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1. Word order variation in the (extended) verb phrase This paper deals with word order variation in Latin clauses with a transitive predicate and at least one auxiliary. More specifically, I concentrate on the relative order of the lexical verb (V, a past participle or an infinitive), the direct object (O) and the auxiliary (Aux). In Classical Latin, the (statistically) predominant order in which these three elements appear is as in (1a), with the direct object preceding the non-finite verb, and both of these appearing to the left of the clause-final tensed auxiliary, yielding the order 'OVAux'. This order is the mirror image of the most typical order found in the later Romance language, which typically exhibit the pattern 'AuxVO', as in the example in (1b):

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|-----|----|--|--------------|
| (1) | a. | utilitas amicitiam secuta est. | OVAux |
| | | 'Advantage has followed friendship.' (= Cic. Lael. 51) | |
| | b. | un cavaler, que el pare de Corrali avia fet gran be. | AuxVO |
| | | 'a knight, to whom the father of Corrali had done great good.' | |
| | | (Old Catalan, ex. from de Dardel 1996: 94) | |

The main goal of this talk is to reconstruct (part of) the evolution that has led to the establishment of the order 'AuxVO' as the predominant one in the Romance languages. More specifically, I will look at the diachronic frequencies of the above two patterns as well as of the four other logically possible orders in which the elements V, O and Aux can appear. All of these four additional orders are attested in (Classical) Latin:

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|-----|----|---|--------------|
| (2) | a. | ulta suas iniurias est. | VOAux |
| | | 'She has avenged the injustices afflicted upon her.' (= Cic. Fam. 12.1.2) | |
| | b. | aspernatus est omnem cunctationem. | VAuxO |
| | | 'He scorned every kind of hesitation.' (= Tac. Hist. 1.89) | |
| | c. | nisi editicios iudices es secutus. | OAuxV |
| | | 'unless you wanted to obtain the judges of your choice.' (= Cic. Planc. 36) | |
| | d. | qui suo iudicio essent illam condicionem uitae secuti. | AuxOV |
| | | 'who on the basis of his judgment followed this way of life.' (= Cic. Rab. Post.16) | |

The patterns in (2) are interesting because they can be considered to be intermediate stages in the evolution from predominant OVAux (with 2 head-final sequences) to predominant AuxVO (with 2 head-initial sequences): they all have either VO (but not AuxV) or AuxV (but not VO), i.e. one head-final and one head-initial sequence. The Latin data to be discussed will involve analytic verb forms of transitive deponent verbs: in this particular case it is certain that the entire structure is monoclausal. To the extent possible, I will keep apart genuine AuxV-orders from cases where the BE-auxiliary surfaces leftward due to its clitic-like character (or its functioning as a focus particle, cf. Adams 1994). Time permitting, a comparison will be drawn between (i) the patterns observed in the case of analytic deponent verbs and (ii) word order in clusters involving a modal auxiliary (*uolo, debeo, possum, soleo,...*) complemented by a transitive infinitive (where it is not inconceivable that the structure is to be analyzed as biclausal, *pace* Zennaro 2006).

2. Description of the corpus I will concentrate on prose texts from the period from Old (ca. 200 BC) to Late Latin (ca. 550 AD). The corpus for Old and Classical Latin consists of the annotated texts of the LASLA database: the available texts of Cato, Sallustius, Caesar, ps.-Caesar, Cicero, Quintus Curtius, Seneca, Petronius and Tacitus will be taken into account. For authors later than Tacitus, I manually treat the texts of Gaius (*Institutiones*, ca. 180 AD), Gargilius (*Medicinae ex oleribus et pomis*, ca. 250), *Mulomedicina Chironis* (ca. 350-400 AD(?)), Palladius (*Agricultura* and *Veterinaria medicina*, ca. 350 AD(?)), Apicius (*De re coquinaria*, ca. 400 AD), Vegetius (*Epitoma rei militaris* and *Mulomedicina*, ca. 383-450 AD), *Gesta Conlotionis Carthaginiensis* (411 AD), Victor Vitensis (*Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae*, ca. 490 AD), Anthimus (*De obseruatione ciborum*, ca. 535 AD), Iordanes (*Getica* and *Romana*, ca. 550 AD) and Egeria (*Itinerarium*, ca. 550). These texts are taken from the online databasis www.brepolis.net; a selection of deponent verbs will be treated (based on Flobert 1975).

3. Theoretical framework The analysis is couched in the theoretical framework of generative grammar, and more specifically the so-called 'cartographic' variant thereof, which assumes a richly articulated universal structure to underlie all clauses (see Cinque & Rizzi 2010; Shlonsky 2010). Special attention will be paid to the position of functional (as opposed to circumstantial) adverbs with respect to the elements that form the focus of this paper (viz. Aux, V and O). The adverbs involved include modal (*certe* 'surely', *profecto* 'certainly', fortasse 'maybe',...), manner (*clam* 'secretly', *lente* 'slowly', *diu* 'a long time'), aspectual (*iterum* 'again', *breuiter* 'briefly', *nondum* 'not yet') and temporal (*iam* 'already', *olim* 'once') adverbs. Assuming that the position of these elements does not vary crosslinguistically nor diachronically (Cinque 1999), I take it that they can be used as a reliable probe into clause structure. Especially the position of past participles seems to be subject to diachronic variation:

- (3) a. si ei iuncta semper est [...].
'if it (sc. virtue) is always connect with that (sc. pleasure).' (= Sen. Ep. 85.18, ca. 65 AD)
b. a. quia filii alieni semper mentiti sunt mihi.
'because foreign sons have always lied to me.' (= Vict. Vit., Pers. Afr. 65, ca. 490 AD)

4. References • Adams, James. 1994. *Wackernagel's law and the placement of the copula esse in classical Latin*. Cambridge: Philological Society • Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads*. Oxford: U.P. • Cinque, Guglielmo & Luigi Rizzi. 2010. The cartography of syntactic structures. In: Heine, B. & H. Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*. Oxford: U.P., 51-65 • de Dardel, Rober. 1996. *A la recherche du protoroman*. Tübingen: Niemeyer • Flobert, Pierre. 1975. *Les verbes déponents latins des origines à Charlemagne*. Paris: Belles Lettres • Shlonsky, Ur. 2010. The cartographic enterprise in syntax, *Language and Linguistics Compass* 4, 417-429 • Zennaro, Luigi. 2006. *La sintassi dei verbi a ristrutturazione in Latino*. Ph.D. diss., Università di Venezia Ca' Foscari