

University of North Dakota UND Scholarly Commons

Theses and Dissertations

Theses, Dissertations, and Senior Projects

12-1-2021

Investigating information structure and word order in Latin poetry: An analysis of epigrams

Justin Riley Soderholm

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!

Follow this and additional works at: https://commons.und.edu/theses



Part of the Linguistics Commons

Recommended Citation

Soderholm, Justin Riley, "Investigating information structure and word order in Latin poetry: An analysis of epigrams" (2021). Theses and Dissertations. 4193.

https://commons.und.edu/theses/4193

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, and Senior Projects at UND Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UND Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact und.commons@library.und.edu.

INVESTIGATING INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND WORD ORDER IN LATIN POETRY: AN ANALYSIS OF EPIGRAMS

by

Justin Riley Soderholm Bachelor of Arts, University of Northwestern – St. Paul, 2018

> A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

> > of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

December 2021

© 2021 Justin Riley Soderholm

requirements for the Degree of Mass	Riley Soderholm in partial fulfillment of the ter of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has Committee under whom the work has been done and
	Linda Humnick, Chair
	Robert Fried
	Adam Baker
	Adam baker
This thesis is being submitted be all of the requirements of the School Dakota and is hereby approved.	y the appointed advisory committee as having met l of Graduate Studies at the University of North
Chris Nelson Dean of the School of Graduate Stud	lies
Date	

PERMISSION

Title Investigating Information Structure and Word Order in Latin Poetry: An

Analysis of Epigrams

Department Linguistics

Degree Master of Arts

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a graduate degree from the University of North Dakota, I agree that the library of this University shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor who supervised my thesis work or, in her absence, by the Chairperson of the department or the Dean of the School of Graduate Studies. It is understood that any copying or publication or other use of this thesis or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of North Dakota in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Justin Riley Soderholm December 7, 2021

CONTENTS

List of Figures	viii
List of Abbreviations	х
Acknowledgements	xii
Abstract	xiii
CHAPTER	
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Epigrams and Martial's Historical Setting	2
1.2. Significance of this study	4
1.3. Relevant Literature	5
1.4. Theoretical Background on Information Structure	6
1.4.1. Defining Topic	6
1.4.2. Defining Focus	9
1.4.3. Sentence Articulation Types and Associated Focus Structures .	9
1.4.3.1. Topic-Comment Articulation	10
1.4.3.2. Identificational Articulation	10
1.4.3.3. Presentational Articulation and Event Reporting	12
1.4.4. Contrastive Focus	13
2. Methodology	15
2.1. Corpus	15

	2.2.	Methods of annotation and analysis	16
	2.3.	Foundational principles for analyzing word order and word order variation	18
		2.3.1. Canonical Word Order	19
		2.3.2. Principle of Natural Information Flow	20
3.	Ana	lysis and Findings	22
	3.1.	Topic-Comment Articulation in Epigrams	22
		3.1.1. Canonical Topic-Comment Clauses	26
		3.1.2. Non-Canonical Topic-Comment Clauses	29
		3.1.3. Verb-only Topic-Comment Clauses	36
		3.1.4. Summary	37
	3.2.	Identificational Articulation in Epigrams	37
		3.2.1. Canonical Identificational Clauses	40
		3.2.2. Non-Canonical Identificational Clauses	41
		3.2.3. Verb-Only Identificational Clauses	43
		3.2.4. Summary	43
	3.3.	Presentational Articulation and Event-Reporting in Epigrams	44
		3.3.1. Canonical Thetic Clauses	47
		3.3.2. Non-Canonical Thetic Clauses	47
		3.3.3. Summary	54
	3.4.	Results and Comparison to Prose	54
	3.5.	Contrastive Focus	56
4.	Con	clusions	61
	4.1.	Areas for Future Research	63

References																														6	1
References	 	 •	 •	•	•	 ٠	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	 •	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	O,	4

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Beginning of Martial 1.29	3
2. Topic-comment propositions containing a subject, object, and verb	23
3. Topic-comment propositions containing either a subject and verb or an object and verb	
4. Absolute value comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in top comment propositions	
5. Percentage comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in topic-commpropositions	
6. Identificational propositions containing a subject, object, and verb	38
7. Identificational propositions containing either a subject and verb or an object and verb.	
8. Absolute value comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in identicational propositions	
9. Percentage comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in identificational propositions	
10. Thetic propositions containing a subject, object, and verb	44

11.	Thetic propositions containing either a subject and verb or an object and verb.	45
12.	Absolute value comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in thetic propositions	46
13.	Percentage comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in thetic propositions.	46
14.	Distribution of canonical and non-canonical orders in propositions with only objects and verbs	55
15.	Distribution of canonical and non-canonical orders in propositions with subjects, objects, and verbs	56
16.	Distribution of word orders across sentence articulations (absolute values)	61
17.	Distribution of word orders across sentence articulations (percentages)	62

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 first person

2 second person

3 third person

ABL ablative

ACC accusative

COND conditional

DAT dative

DEM demonstrative

FUT future

GEN genitive

IND indicative

INF infinitive

NEG negation, negative

NOM nominative

PASS passive

PL plural

POSS possessive

PRF perfect

PRS present

PROG progressive

PST past

PTCP participle

Q question particle/marker

REFL reflexive

SBJV subjunctive

sG singular

voc vocative

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I offer many thanks to the chair of my committee, Dr. Linda Humnick, who spent many hours guiding the research process and offering countless helpful words during this project. Thank you to Drs. Robert Fried and Adam Baker, both of whom also served as members of my committee. I appreciate the feedback and direction from both of you. This thesis has seen great improvements because of that. Thank you all. Of course, any error that remains in this thesis is mine, so, *poenas dare debeo* (I ought to pay the penalty).

Thank you to the various fellow linguists at SIL-UND with whom I have shared many hours of collaborative work time. I am especially grateful for the syllables I have been part of over the last several years. The camaraderie we share around linguistics encouraged me greatly toward this goal.

To Mom, thanks for getting Latin curriculum when I was in seventh grade (or so).

May God be praised in this project. He is infinitely deserving of thanks. Only by his sustaining power have I been able to move, think, and write. So, fittingly (especially in a thesis on Latin), I say: *Soli Deo Gloria!*

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the epigrammatic verses of the Latin poet Marcus Valerius Martialis (Martial). The emphasis is on the order of basic constituents and information structure, in particular, the concepts of sentence articulation and focus structure as modelled by Lambrecht (1994).

I categorize clauses from roughly 200 lines of epigrammatic verse by the sentence articulations topic-comment, in which propositions have predicate focus, identificational, in which propositions have argument focus, and thetic, in which whole propositions are in focus. For each articulation, I also present various examples demonstrating the variety of word orders in each. Additionally, this study examines some patterns found in clause pairs with contrastive focus.

The results of this study demonstrate that epigrams frequently exemplify non-canonical word orders (i.e., marked word orders) in all three types of sentence articulations. Indeed, in the data analyzed, non-canonical orders are more common than canonical word orders. Topic-comment propositions have the closest percentage comparison between canonical and non-canonical, with 33% canonical and 37% non-canonical. Identificational propositions are canonical 40% of the time and non-canonical 52% of the time. Thetic (presentational and event-reporting) propositions are canonical in 11% of cases and non-canonical in 81% of cases. For each sentence articulation, the remaining percentage of clauses contain only a verb, and thus are not categorized by canonical and non-canonical orders. Out of the roughly 200 lines of epigrammatic verse, the canonical SOV (subject-object-verb) order, where all three constituents are explicit, occurs two times in main clauses.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to present an analysis of the information structure of Latin epigrams, with exclusive attention to those written by Marcus Valerius Martialis (henceforth Martial). In this thesis, I demonstrate that the basic constituent order in Classical Latin epigrams reflects a higher tendency toward the non-canonical versus canonical word orders when compared to the prose word order standards (I discuss the terms canonical and non-canonical in detail in section 2.3.1). In prose, Latin often follows a subject-object-verb order of basic constituents, though there can certainly be variation. I found that 50% of my data employ non-canonical constructions, compared to 30% that use canonical word order. In propositions with explicit subjects, objects, and verbs, the order is SOV in only 2/43 cases (about 5% attestation).

I present a number of examples that demonstrate a pragmatic basis for constituent order variation in this thesis. I make this argument using Lambrecht (1994) and Levinsohn (2015) as primary influences for my methodology and analysis. Some of the alternate orders might also be attributed to non-pragmatic factors such as poetic style, though such factors are not analyzed in this thesis.

The sentence articulation types under analysis include topic-comment, presentational, and identificational articulation. I also analyze word order patterns in parallel lines with contrastive focus in epigrams. I examine epigrams in order to make generalizations about word order and information structure across the genre. This study also presents word order patterns and variations that correlate with the type of sentence articulation where that word order tends to occur. For example, in thetic articulations, it is far more common for the verb to precede the subject. I discuss this in greater detail in section 3.4.

¹ By basic constituents, I mean subject, object, and verb. This phrase does not refer to a "basic order" of constituents in a given language.

² The remaining 20% are clauses consisting of only a verb.

The primary background literature for this study of the information structure of epigrams is Lambrecht (1994). Lambrecht's work is helpful for the general terminology and as a theoretical model for information structure concepts. Lambrecht formally defines information structure in the first part of the excerpt below and adds further details about how information structure is expressed in a text in the second part.

That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts. Lambrecht (1994:5)

Lambrecht continues to say the following:

Information structure is formally manifested in aspects of prosody, in special grammatical markers, in the form of syntactic (in particular nominal) constituents, in the position and ordering of such constituents in the sentence, in the form of complex grammatical constructions, and in certain choices between related lexical items. Lambrecht (1994:6)

The remainder of this chapter outlines more background on epigrams and Martial specifically. It also provides critical information on background literature and defines some key terms. Chapter 2 describes the methodology of the study. Chapters 3 and 4 present my analysis and conclusions, respectively.

1.1 Epigrams and Martial's Historical Setting

Epigrams are poems comprised of minimally two lines of verse, though they can be substantially longer. The Romans based their own epigrams on the Greeks' epigrams before them; however, the Romans (Martial, most notably) made famous the satire that is characteristic of epigrams. Martial's epigrams are typically satirical and were likely used to comment on various aspects of human life, such as personal relationships, government, and other topics.

Martial lived during the 1^{st} and 2^{nd} centuries AD in the Hispania (modern day Spain and Portugal) region of the Roman Empire. He composed the majority of his poems between the late 1^{st} century AD up until his death in the early 2^{nd} century.

One of the primary influences for his epigrams was the earlier Latin epigrammatist, Catullus. Catullus lived and wrote in an era approximately a century before Martial, during the lives of notable prose authors such as Marcus Tullius Ciceronis, Julius Caesar, and others of the 1st century BC.

This study analyzes the Latin poetry written primarily in the forms of dactylic hexameter and pentameter. Dactylic refers to a metrical foot which has a stressed syllable followed by two unstressed syllables (a *dactyl*). A foot may also be a spondee, containing two stressed syllables. Hexameter and pentameter reference the number of metrical feet within a line of verse; hexameter contains six feet, while pentameter contains five. Epigrams are often two-line elegiac couplets,³ which contain one line of hexameter and one of pentameter (as seen in figure 1). The final foot in the first line has only two syllables, the first of which is long, and the second of which is either a long or short syllable. In the second line of an elegiac couplet, there are two half-feet. One is after the first two feet, and the other is at the end of the line. Additionally, there are numerous epigrams comprised of several elegiac couplets (e.g., a poem with four elegiac couplets would have eight lines).⁴

In figure 1, this epigram demonstrates the pattern of an elegiac couplet:

Fāmā rēfērt nōstrōs tē Fĭděn- -tīně lǐ- -bēllŏs	
nōn ălĭ- -tēr pŏpŭ- -lō quām rĕcĭ- -tārĕ tŭ- -	ōs.

Figure 1. Beginning of Martial 1.29.

These are the first two lines in one of Martial's poems. The meaning is 'Report says that you, Fidentinus, recite our little books to the public as none other than your own'. I have indicated where the breaks are for feet with vertical lines. The two vertical lines in the

³ There are few exceptions in my data.

⁴ The poetic terms *pentameter*, *hexameter*, *dactyl*, *spondee*, and *couplet* are used in the description of metrical and stanza form in Somerville (2013:487-488).

second line of the poem indicate a longer break that takes place in the reading after the first half-foot. The macrons and breves on the vowels in figure 1 are indicating syllable length rather than vowel length.

1.2 Significance of this study

I have identified at least three significant outcomes of this thesis. First, it fills a gap in literature on Latin discourse. There are previous in-depth studies on prose writings and on Latin in general, including at least one that discusses information structure, namely Devine & Stephens (2019). A significant work that looks at constituent order in Latin prose is Spevak (2010). Another detailed work that looks at specific discourse particles is Kroon (1995). However, less attention has been given specifically describing features and patterns of information structure in Martial's epigrams. The writings on prose provide a direct way to compare and contrast between poetry and prose. I discuss two of these studies further in section 1.3.

Second, this study introduces new information for both classicists and linguists interested in both Latin and discourse. Since the Latin language is a major component in the field of classics, discussion on a fundamental topic such as discourse structure adds an interesting and important piece to the field as a whole, including new teachable facts.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, particularly one interested in Latin or discourse, the study presents results that can be compared to other poetry which this study does not address. This would include a comparison to Latin epic poetry or even to metered poetry of other languages, particularly Greek. Especially since the original epigrams came from the Greeks, a comparison of their epigrams to the Martial's would be a topic of great interest. Typologically, it also may help in placing Latin amongst other object-verb order languages.

Third, this thesis analyzes an aspect of Latin poetry that is mostly otherwise neglected. A great portion of literature on Latin poetry, excepting the aforementioned discourse studies, emphasizes meter, basic word order, historical significance, or analysis as literature. This thesis describes the ordering of constituents within propositions, thus providing a

more linguistic analysis with an emphasis on poetry. Additionally, this thesis provides data from a corpus of a specific author the word orders attested in his writing.

1.3 Relevant Literature

This section is devoted to discussing the most relevant literature to this study.

Regarding secondary literature, these writings focus on Latin discourse related either directly to constituent and proposition order to or other aspects such as analyses of words which have interesting discourse functions. The literature in this category comes from a few authors.

The first work is Spevak's (2010) analysis of constituent order in Latin prose. This particular work is focused on prose texts from three 1st century BC Romans, during which time the canonical word order is said to be the same as when Martial wrote his epigrams. It discusses several of the same topics as brought up in Lambrecht (1994) and Levinsohn (2015) (discussed in chapter 2). Pertinent subjects include the sections on topic and focus (Spevak 2010:39-72). In addition to these, I examine key differences in sentence types, with particular attention to declarative sentences. Spevak, however, approaches the data more from the perspective of the declarative, interrogative, and imperative, then looking at the variant word orders and motivations for them, whereas my broader categorizations are into the sentence articulations. I am able to make some comparisons to her study, though.

In addition to this, Devine & Stephens (2019) is another major work that investigates Latin information structure generally (in both prose and poetry). This book includes discussion of the issue of discontinuous phrasal elements, which is a common phenomenon in epigrams that I address in chapter 3. Devine & Stephens focus more on the reporting of facts rather than studying a corpus, and thus I do not use it as a basis of comparison to my corpus study. This particular work does include analysis of some of Martial's epigrams, but there there is no in-depth analysis specifically focusing on Martial's work. The present thesis focuses on a particular author's style, rather than attempting to make claims about the corpus of Latin poetry generally.

Another key work that I reference is Lunn's word order analysis and information structure analysis of Biblical Hebrew poetry (2006). Lunn's analysis is relevant in that it applies the theory of information structure to a genre for which it had not previously been applied, thus demonstrating the usefulness of the theory and analytical approach. Lunn also makes claims about differentiating between pragmatic and poetic motivation for unexpected word orders. I only focus on the issue of pragmatics. Lunn also compares his findings to pragmatic analyses done with an emphasis on Biblical Hebrew prose. My methodology follows Lunn's model in the classification of propositions into topic-comment, identificational, and presentational articulation as a foundation for looking at potential reasons for any word order variations.

1.4 Theoretical Background on Information Structure

The theoretical framework I use in this study comes primarily from Lambrecht (1994), Dooley & Levinsohn (2001), and Levinsohn (2015). The former provides critical background for information structure generally as well as topic and focus pragmatic relations. The ideas of topic and focus with a pragmatic perspective will also provide various opportunities to compare epigrams to the prose analysis in Spevak (2010) and Devine & Stephens (2019), two works which have a particular emphasis on pragmatics and functional grammar. Lambrecht's work is also foundational to pragmatics generally, and specifically to information structure. Both Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) and Levinsohn (2015) are useful for identifying pragmatic motivations for word-order phenomena and sentence articulations.

1.4.1 Defining Topic

Due to conflicting uses of the term *topic* in linguistics, it is critical to define it in the context of this thesis. In this study, I adopt the description as used by Lambrecht (1994) who gives the following definition: "A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e., as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of the referent" (1994:131). Furthermore, *topic* in this study refers to the idea of a sentence

topic as opposed to a discourse topic. Lambrecht notes that the idea of a discourse topic "has more to do with discourse understanding and text cohesion than with the grammatical form of sentences" (1994:117). Since epigrams are often short, there is more attention to potential sentence topics as opposed to the tracking of topics across a text.

Lambrecht considers it critical that a topic must be *accessible*, saying "The fact that it is necessary for a referent to have a degree of accessibility in order to be interpretable as a topic follows from the very definition of topic in terms of pragmatic aboutness and relevance" (1994:164). Additionally, Lambrecht makes a clear distinction between the terms *active* and *accessible*, citing the activation states from Chafe (1987:22). The *active* state refers to something that is at the center of consciousness; the *semi-active* (or *accessible*) state refers to something that is still available as "background" in the minds of the interlocutors (Lambrecht 1994:94).

Lambrecht describes three factors that determine the accessibility of referents: "...de-activation from an earlier state, inference from a cognitive schema or frame, or presence in the text-external world" (1994:100). Lambrecht cites Chafe (1987:29) in his discussion of the first two. The third falls into the category of what Lambrecht calls "situationally accessible" referents (1994:100), which would include the speaker, the addressee, and other entities present in the speech context. In the case of Martial's epigrams in my study, these entities independent of the content of the text would include the book itself, the words and lines within it, addressees, and Martial himself.

Lambrecht (1994:120-121) illustrates his concept of *topic* with the example as appears in (1):

(1) Q: What did the children do next? A: The children went to school.

The referent "children" is already active in both interlocutors' mental representations (at least from the question, though perhaps earlier in the discourse), and is thus a candidate for functioning as a topic of the proposition (in this case, topic-comment articulation, as

further discussed in section 1.4.3). The new information introduced about the children is that they "went to school."

Given that many of the epigrams in this study are only two lines long, with minimal propositions, an issue arises with identifying topics. For example, if the first line of the poem constitutes a single clause, in most cases the referent of the subject of that clause could not automatically be considered a topic in a linguist's view since it is new information added to the reader's mental representation (presumably) and thus could be considered to be in focus (i.e., the entire proposition is new information, as discussed further in section 1.4.2).⁵ The reason this becomes an issue is because, according to Lambrecht, for a referent to be considered a topic, it must be pragmatically accessible (1994:164). A topic need not be the grammatically explicit (or implicit) subject of the clause; it may, for example, be a direct object.⁶

Since some epigrams are addressed to specific people (with a vocative), it could be argued that the addressee would have pragmatic grounds to consider something a "topic" of a particular clause. For example, this is true in cases where the words *our* or *your* are used with a word such as *friend* or even a proper name. It can be inferred pragmatically from these specific possessive pronouns that the speaker considers the possessed entity to be in the mental representation of the addressee.⁷ The criteria I use in my analysis include that the topic be accessible in the mental representations of the interlocutors, or the speaker's and hearer's. In epigrams, there are circumstances when Martial opens a poem speaking to an addressee with a vocative, and this can be a clue as to considering a topic in the opening line. For instance, if there is second person marking on a main verb

⁵ This excludes the text-external (situationally accessible) entities in the third category of determining the accessibility of referent, as described by Lambrecht (1994:100).

⁶ For example, in a situation where a cat is introduced into the discourse in a manner such as "There was once a cat that lived on the street." If the following sentence said something like "Every day, a man fed the cat..." the given information is *the cat*. If the second sentence answered the question *who fed the cat*?, then it would be identificational. But that question is not easily inferred from the first sentence. A question that follows from the first sentence may be more like *what did the cat do?* or *what happened to the cat?* The second sentence answers the second question, thus commenting on an accessible entity. Since topic-comment articulation has *predicate focus*, it cannot be said that a sentence where the topical element as an object has topic-comment articulation. A sentence such as "Every day, a man fed the cat" would be an event-reporting sentence with a topical element as an object.

⁷ I cannot conclusively claim that the listeners in the 1st century AD did not have people or events within their cognitive reach. I have the drawn the line such that a possessive pronoun that is either first person plural or second person signals that the possessed entity is more accessible than simply the name of an ancient Roman who may or may not be known to the reader (or the addressee, for that matter).

and reference to that person with a vocative (or only second person marking on a main verb), then that person could be considered a topic. First and second person reference do not necessitate that a clause has a topic, though, even if one assumes that the referents of the first and second person forms have met any criterion of accessibility. Additionally, reference to something that can be assumed to be visible can function as topic (including Martial's references to his poems or books, which the reader is likely holding or looking at while enjoying the poetry).

Additionally, a topic can be in an initial clause if the author is speaking to an addressee about a third person who is already accessible in both interlocutors' mental representations, for example, in some cases when the author uses a first person plural possessive pronoun to modify the subject, it is a signal that the referent is assumed already to exist in the mental representation of both the interlocutor and addressee, as in the case of *our friend*.

1.4.2 Defining Focus

Focus refers to the part of a proposition which adds new information to the reader's mental representation. Lambrecht notes "...if we assume...that focus has to do with the conveying of new information, and that all sentences convey new information..., all sentences must have focus. However, not all sentences have a topic"(1994:206). Thus, in the analysis of information structure, it is critical to observe what information is new in a sentence versus what is old. There are three primary types of focus structure. These are discussed in greater detail in section 1.4.3.

1.4.3 Sentence Articulation Types and Associated Focus Structures

In this section, I present the main types of sentence articulations: topic-comment, identificational, and thetic (presentational and event-reporting) articulations. In each of these sections, I also address the focus structure which Lambrecht associates with each articulation (1994:222).

1.4.3.1 Topic-Comment Articulation

The first, topic-comment articulation, requires an accessible entity to function in the role of topic (Lambrecht 1994:164). According to Levinsohn, a comment is information presented about the topic; he provides the answer in the second sentence as seen in example (2), where the question is "What did Dog and Hare do?" (2015:25).

(2) Q: What did Dog and Hare do?

A: Dog and Hare made an agreement.

In the second sentence (the answer), Dog and Hare are the topic and the predicate "made an agreement" is the comment (i.e., the information about the topic, namely, what they did).

Closely associated with the idea of sentence articulation is that of focus structure. A clause which has predicate focus is one in which the predicate is the portion that contains the new information to be added to the mental representation. Lambrecht associates this focus structure with topic-comment articulation (1994:222). As this is the case, we can say that example (2) has predicate focus, since the comment (the predicate "made an agreement") is the new information.

1.4.3.2 Identificational Articulation

According to Lambrecht, identificational sentences "serve to identify a referent as the missing argument in an open proposition" (1994:122). The missing argument is often the focused element in the proposition following that open proposition. An argument would be any of the constituents in a clause used to complete the meaning of its verb (e.g., subject, direct object, etc.). He notes that this category is also comprised of "terms expressing place, time, and manner" (1994:224). Thus, argument focus is not restricted to a subject or an object, necessarily.

Furthermore, Lambrecht calls the focus structure associated with identificational articulation "argument focus" (1994:222). In each example below, the identified argument

is the new information added into the hearer or reader's mental representation. Therefore, these arguments would be in focus.

Thinking again of the example with the children and the school, Lambrecht's example includes a different question-answer set to that of the topic-focus example. See example (3) below, again from Lambrecht (1994:121).

(3) Q: Who went to school?

A: The children went to school.

In this example, the word "children" in the answer answers the question "who?" Thus, the subject argument of the verb "went" is identified in the answer and is the constituent which represents the focus. Also, "children" may be accessible in the interlocutors' minds, but since it is in focus, it is not being commented on, and is thus not topic.

Levinsohn provides another example with the Dog and Hare in which he also introduces the idea of a presupposition: "a proposition that, except for one element, is assumed to be known" (2015:26). Example (4), which takes its answer portion from Levinsohn (2015:26), further helps to exemplify the notion of presupposition.

(4) Q: (Who made an agreement?)

A: It was Dog and Hare who made an agreement.

Levinsohn labels "who made an agreement" as the presupposition, noting that "...the speaker and hearer must already know that some participants have made an agreement" (2015:26). Looking again at example (3), "[someone] went to school" would be the presupposition.

It could also be assumed that in a scenario such as in example (5), "agreement" should be considered the identified argument that is left out in the previous sentence.

(5) Q: (What did Dog and Hare make?)

A: Dog and Hare made an agreement.

In this case, the noun phrase functioning as a direct object argument is identified instead of the subject.

1.4.3.3 Presentational Articulation and Event Reporting

This section gives examples of presentational articulation and event reporting, noting

the differences between the two. Lambrecht calls this categorical grouping of presenta-

tional articulation and event reporting "thetic" (1994:144). Levinsohn summarizes the

meaning of this as follows: "A thetic sentence is one that introduces a new element (be it

an entity or an event) into a text without linking its introduction to an established topical

subject or to some presupposed proposition" (Levinsohn 2015:27).

First, I will discuss presentational articulation. It is identified as a presentational

sentence since it introduces a new entity (Levinsohn 2015:26), as opposed to an event.

In example (6) below, used by Levinsohn (2015:26) illustrates this sentence articulation

in two contexts:

(6) • Once there lived a dog and a hare.

• Now some water jars were there.

Levinsohn says that in the first sentence there is an animate entity (i.e., dog and hare)

"introduced at the beginning of a story..." and in the second sentence, an inanimate entity

which is added "to an existing story" (2015:26). In both cases, the added entities would

have not previously been established in the readers' mental representations.

Second, an event reporting sentence differs from a presentational sentence in that it

introduces an event (Lambrecht 1994:144) with no background context. This sentence

may also include the introduction of a new entity. Example (7) is a representation one of

the examples that Levinsohn uses (2015:27):

(7) Q1: What's happening?

A1: It's raining.

In this example, the entire answer "It's raining" is the new element added to the mental rep-

resentation. There is no linking "to an established topical subject or to some presupposed

proposition" (Levinsohn 2015:27).

12

Lambrecht calls the focus structure of both presentational and event-reporting sentences sentence focus; however, he excludes "topical non-subject elements" (1994:222) from the entirety of the focus. So, in example (6), the focused elements would be "lived a dog and a hare" and "some water jars were there," respectively. The focus in A1 from example (7) is "It's raining."

1.4.4 Contrastive Focus

Another type of focus is contrastive focus. Dooley and Levinsohn describe two types of contrastive focus: single- and double-difference contrast. In each scenario, "a contrastive statement...differs in one or more particulars from an already-activated propositional framework" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:71). This first example (8) below illustrates this principle for a single difference contrast, in which the contrastive statement is specified by the bold word in the response (2001:72).

- (8) a. Was it my son or my daughter that killed the bear?
 - b. (C) Your **DAUGHTER**

In (8)a, there are multiple potential answers which are already presented to stand in for the answer. This is significant because if the question, as Dooley and Levinsohn note, had been "Who killed the bear?'...the underlying proposition has an empty slot but with no apparent list of alternatives in view. Example (8)b makes a selection from an activated list of alternatives" (2001:72). In this case, the two alternatives were "my son" and "my daughter." The presence of alternatives is what distinguishes between single difference contrastive focus and identificational focus.

Double-difference (or multi-difference) contrasts have more than one already-activated element which are expanded upon in the contrastive statement(s). Example (9), as seen in Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:72), illustrates this.

- (9) a. There was a man [P] and a woman [P], newlyweds.
 - b. The husband leaves, he goes, travels.
 - c. The wife stays at home happily...

In this example and in the following discussion, I use Dooley and Levinsohn's labels C and P to refer to contrastive statments and activated propositional frameworks (2001:71). The two activated elements are "man" and "woman." The following two sentences (both of which could be labeled "C") demonstrate contrastive focus. In example (9)b, the first activated "man" is realized now as "husband" and is said to do something different than the woman in (9)c, who is now realized as "wife." In this example, "husband" and "wife" are contrastive topics, and "leaves...goes, travels" and "stays at home happily" are contrastive focus parts (i.e., those parts of sentences with *predicate focus*, discussed in section 1.4.3.1).

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

In the following section, I present the methodology for this study. In section 2.1, I describe my corpus, including the process by which I selected poems from Martial's entire corpus. Section 2.2 is a description of how I annotated my data, prepared my corpus selection, and carried out my analysis. Finally, in section 2.3.1, I discuss the key word-order variation parameters in this study. This final section includes an introduction to the idea of natural information flow and a discussion of the proposed basic order of constituents in Latin.

2.1 Corpus

All data was compiled through online corpora, specifically from a website called The Latin Library (www.thelatinlibrary.com). This database was started by William L. Carrey of George Mason University. I took samples of data from a variety of Martial's books of epigrams. In total, I used 180 lines from Martial's epigrams, comprised of just over 50 poems. A *line* here refers to a line of poetry, not necessarily a sentence. So, in a two-line epigram, while it is often the case that there may be two sentences, there are sometimes more or fewer.

Over the course of the selection of data, I preferred selecting epigrams with less complexity in terms of clausal embedding or combining. Since my aim was to have data from more main clauses, avoiding chains of embedded clauses was helpful; however, my data is not completely devoid of these. In some cases, I went back to the larger corpus to look for data that included more explicit subjects and objects, since having more of the basic constituents in a proposition helps to see the broader picture of word order variation. Latin frequently elides subjects if subject agreement on the verb is sufficient for disambiguating their referents (hence the large proportion of verb-only clauses).

Another benefit of translating extra lines is that I can investigate the distribution of the non-canonical word orders. While this study did not describe the entirety of the poetry of Martial, the smaller sample may yield generalizations that will be useful for guiding further research.

2.2 Methods of annotation and analysis

A basic step in the methodology consisted of preparing the texts for analysis through glossing and translation. I glossed most of these sentences in detail using Fieldworks Language Explorer 8 (FLEx). In the process of glossing, I translated the selected texts or adapted previous translations from Bohn's Classical Library (1897).

After translating and glossing, I use an adapted form of the text-charting method presented in Levinsohn (2015:9-21) to evaluate where clauses and constituents are placed relative to one another within clauses. In this adapted method, each poem is divided into sentences, then furthermore into clauses and constituents. The division into clauses was the most important part of this process. Subjects, objects and verbs are labeled specifically. Example (10) below exemplifies this method for one of Martial's epigrams. A single forward slash indicates a constituent boundary; I did not always mark off individual constituents. A set of two slashes indicates a clause boundary. Three forward slashes indicate a proposed sentence boundary. The numbers 1 and 2 indicate that there are two sentences.

The word *natare* in example (10) is part of a large verb phrase with the initial verb *vis* in the sentence. Other situations like this may be denoted by angled brackets. It is a common occurrence for phrasal constituents to be separated from their other parts in Martial's epigrams. Levinsohn's text-charting method facilitates the analysis of word order patterns in several ways.

I used the text-charting method for various reasons. First, it provides a way to observe the word order of clauses quickly. Once I have important constituents labeled, it is easier to see which clauses follow canonical order and which do not (these canonical and non-canonical orders are discussed further in section 2.3.1). In example (10) specifically, I am able to quickly identify the arrangement of the verbs and objects relative to one another. This is especially relevant in the first two clauses, where there is a verb-object//verb-object pattern.

The annotation of the data also included analyzing elements of the information structure of each line of poetry. I analyzed each proposition independently in terms of sentence articulations (topic-comment, identificational, and thetic), identifying the constituents that function as the focus of a given proposition and, for topic-comment articulations, the constituents that are topics. I used the theory from Lambrecht (1994) described in section 1.4.3 to come to these conclusions. During this process, I used the methods of asking questions based on the context of propositions to help determine which parts were in focus, and, when applicable, which parts functioned as topics.

Again, the criteria I use for identifying topics include that it must be something that is accessible in the mental representations of the interlocutors, or the speaker's and hearer's. For example, if there is second person marking on a main verb and reference to that person with a vocative (or only second person marking on a main verb), then that person could be considered a topic. First and second person reference in any manner does not necessitate that the proposition has topic, though. Additionally, reference to something that can be seen or conceptualized can function as topic (including Martial's references to his poems or books).

I also consider words that have first person plural or second person possessive function to potentially indicate that the word possessed can be topical. First person plural possession would indicate that the speaker thinks both he and the addressee have the possessed entity in common (e.g., *our friend*). In the case of second person possessives, the speaker at least knows that the entity is in some way possessed by the addressee; it can be inferred that the addressee has this information accessible. This principle does not apply

to third person possessives, since they do not naturally imply something that is accessible to the interlocutors.

After having assessed this data, I compiled tables that demonstrate tendencies within epigrams. I kept data from imperatives and interrogatives separate from the other clauses. Often what I considered to be the focus of these constructions was something that had not yet taken place or had not even been answered, since the nature of imperatives and interrogatives is to evoke a response, not to state a fact.

The combination of looking at word order and sentence articulations allowed me to make generalizations about which word orders were more common in each sentence articulation and which articulations have a higher percentage of non-canonical orderings attested. Lunn (2006), as mentioned earlier, uses Lambrecht's framework as well, to talk about Biblical Hebrew poetry. In a similar manner, I follow his logic in looking at both information structure and word order to account for the various non-canonical word orders found in epigrams. One key difference between this study and Lunn's study is that I use writings from only one author, while Lunn's corpus expands further.

Finally, I also made some direct comparisons between epigrams and prose as described in the previous literature, primarily concerning the order of basic constituents. The comparison focused primarily on the word order generalizations that Spevak (2010) found in her study of prose texts from Caesar, Cicero, and Sallust. Since we present our results in a slightly different manner, the main comparison is between the overall occurrences of word orders, rather than the sentence articulation associated with those word orders. This is still beneficial, as is discussed in further detail in section 3.4, since the epigrams of Martial in my corpus contain a higher rate of non-canonical orders.

2.3 Foundational principles for analyzing word order and word order variation

In this section, I discuss the notions of canonical word order and natural flow of information. The idea of canonical word order is significant because it allows me to look at certain word orders as being most attested in Latin generally, thus giving me categories to separate results into. The principle of natural information flow is significant in that when

information does not follow an expected ordering pattern, I can then assess the variation according to this principle as a *violation*. Furthermore, I can make generalizations about the purpose for the rearrangement of words in a clause.

2.3.1 Canonical Word Order

In this study, I use the terms "canonical" and "non-canonical" instead of what others refer to as "default/unmarked" and "marked" orders of basic constituents, respectively. Both of these dichotomies have a similar intent: to distinguish between word orders that are basic and those that deviate from basic. This terminology is adopted also by Lunn in his work on Hebrew poetry, noting that he favors the positive term *canonical* to be used for the basic word order as opposed to the negative *unmarked* (2006:4). Furthermore, Lambrecht (1994) uses these terms (1994:16).

It is typical, when speaking of Latin prose, to assume a canonical (unmarked) ordering of subject-object-verb. There are varying opinions on whether to classify Latin as an SOV language, since there is such variety. Pinkster (1990), for example, has reservations in this regard. An assumption of SOV also presupposes that prose should be considered the prime candidate for deciding the canonical ordering. This is my assumption and presupposition in this study. It is also important to note that, as said by Whaley, sentences which are neutral in terms of pragmatics better represent the basic order of the language's constituents, as opposed to a sentence "highlighting a particular constituent" (1997:104). However, within any given sentence articulation, it is possible that a non-canonical order may occur more frequently. For example, in my data, the non-canonical order verb-subject occurs much more often than subject-verb in thetic propositions. Thus, while it is a non-canonical order, verb-subject could more often be the *expected* order.

It should also be noted that during the 1st century BC and 1st century AD, SOV seems to have been the most common basic constituent ordering according Skopeteas (2011:172). Martial died in the early 2nd century AD. Stavros also notes that between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD, there are fewer attested occurrences of SOV constituent order in general Skopeteas (2011). Another point to note comes from the Roman orator

Quintilian, who also lived during Martial's time. He made comments about how a verb at the end of a sentence would be fitting in that it comes with great force (Quintilian 9.4.26).

Earlier, in section 1.1, I noted that Martial died in the early second century AD. It is for this reason I am able to place him during the time period in which SOV was much more common. However, since Martial frequently uses non-canonical orders in his epigrams (e.g., OVS, VO, etc.), it is possible that the shift away from SOV could be described as starting slightly earlier.

2.3.2 Principle of Natural Information Flow

One key idea that has prevalence in an information structure analysis of epigrams is the principle of natural information flow. The main idea in the Principle of Natural Information Flow (Comrie 1989:127f, Levinsohn 2015:55) is that given information tends to precede new information in a clause. Given this assumption about the natural ordering of constituents based on their status as established or non-established, one can analyze and see the influence of the variation present in Martial's epigrams. In cases when a non-established object precedes an established subject (e.g., OVS), the principle would be broken. The order SOV usually abides by the principle of natural information flow (in which the S is given information and the O is new). Whaley's notion of word orders that are neutral in terms of pragmatics is also again key in this discussion. Sentences, such as seen in example (11)b are not neutral, since they give prominence to a "particular constituent" (Whaley 1997:104).

Since a topic—at least in my analysis—must be some entity that is already easily accessible in the discourse, it could be assumed that it must precede non-established information in the sentence. Example (11) below demonstrates this within English. Whaley uses a similar example to this (1997:102).

⁽¹¹⁾ a. Tom ate an apple. (Default/Canonical)b. An apple, Tom ate. (Marked/Non-canonical)

Levinsohn uses the following example, seen in example (12), in English, in which he contrasts the placement of the noun phrases 'knife' and 'boy' (Levinsohn 2015:55):

(12) a. John gave the knife to a boy.b. John gave the boy a knife.

In (a), the established information is *knife*, and in (b), it is *boy*. In English, the use of specific definite/indefinite articles also helps demonstrate which piece of information is established and which is new.

CHAPTER 3

Analysis and Findings

In this chapter, I present the findings from this study. Each section contains an examination of one of Lambrecht's three sentence articulation types (1994) or another phenomenon that influences word order. Sections 3.1-3.3 provide a detailed analysis of the different sentence articulation types as attested in epigrams.

As I present the data in this chapter, I devote a separate section to each articulation and present both canonical and non-canonical examples (where applicable). In propositions which only contain a verb (and no subject or object), I still discuss pragmatic motivations for the placement of the verb relative to other words. These verb-only examples still have pragmatic value, and there is still potential for other given/new information to be involved in the proposition.

3.1 Topic-Comment Articulation in Epigrams

Topic-comment propositions are clauses which have predicate focus. In these clauses, there is a topic, some already-established information, and a comment, that which is being said about that topic. The comment is the part of the clause that is in focus, i.e, the most salient information, as discussed in section 1.4.3.1. Typically, topic-comment sentences are associated with the order of basic constituents in a language or unmarked (canonical) order (Lambrecht 1994:16). While there may be a general tendency in discourse for initial sentences of a text not to be topic-comment, since it is more common for them to contain all new information, this analysis classifies some initial propositions of epigrams as having topic-comment articulation.

While some initial propositions may be considered presentational (i.e., *sentence* focus, as opposed to *predicate* focus) by virtue of containing all new information, others can

be considered as having topic-comment articulation. The latter is true especially when the author is addressing a particular person about something both he and the addressee already have accessible in their mental representations. Specifically, when first and second person pronouns are used or implied by verb marking, there is a stronger argument for the referent's having been previously activated. For example, the use of the possessive *our* instead of *my* when referring to a friend implies that the interlocutors have that entity accessible. Since epigrams are often two lines long, and texts do not often begin with already-established information, I had to make careful decisions about what I could consider as a topic in an opening proposition; I discuss this dilemma in section 2.3.2.

Devine & Stephens specify a category called broad focus, a category under which both sentence (presentational articulation) and predicate (topic-comment articulation) focus can exist (2019:22). They note that in these broad focus sentences, there is a tendency for the order of the basic constituents to be subject-object-verb (as I noted in section 2.3.1 on canonical word order), but they furthermore imply a generalized order of subject-direct object-indirect object-directional argument (2019:24). I found frequent attestation of non-canonical word orders in Latin epigrams.

I analyzed a total of 101 clauses as having topic-comment articulation. The description of their word order distribution (i.e., canonical versus non-canonical) is divided between 14 clauses that contain all 3 constituents explicitly (S, O and V), and 56 that contain only 2 of the 3 constituents. Another 31 clauses are V-only, which I do not classify as either canonical or non-canonical. Figures 2 and 3 present the distribution of the orderings of subjects, objects, and verbs in topic-comment clauses.

Topic-Comment Articulations with explicit S, O, and V		
Order of basic constituents	Number attested in data (14)	
SOV	2	Canonical
SVO	3	Non-canonical
OVS	3	Non-canonical
OSV	3	Non-canonical
VSO	2	Non-canonical
VOS	1	Non-canonical

Figure 2. Topic-comment propositions containing a subject, object, and verb.

Topic-Comment Articulations with Explicit S and V OR O and V		
Order of basic constituents	Number attested in data (56)	
SV	9	Canonical
VS	10	Non-canonical
OV	22	Canonical
VO	15	Non-canonical

Figure 3. Topic-comment propositions containing either a subject and verb or an object and verb.

Perhaps most notably, in cases when a clause contains a subject, object, and verb, they are only ordered in the canonical order subject-object-verb two times out of the fourteen.¹ Twenty-one clauses have a canonical ordering of object-verb. Fifteen have the non-canonical order of verb-object. In clauses with at least a verb and subject, nine have the canonical order subject-verb, and ten have the non-canonical order of verb-subject.

The following graphs demonstrate the distribution of canonical and non-canonical word orders in topic-comment propositions in general. Figure 4 shows the results in absolute values. Figure 5 shows the results in percentages. Regarding the large quantity of verb-only propositions, this is a result of Latin's tendency to elide explicit subjects. Since a verb can be marked for person, the subject may not be explicit.

¹ It should also be noted that in one of these cases the object is direct speech. There are very few cases of this in my data. Although there is the possibility that a different order is usually present in this type of case, I have chosen to include it in these counts.

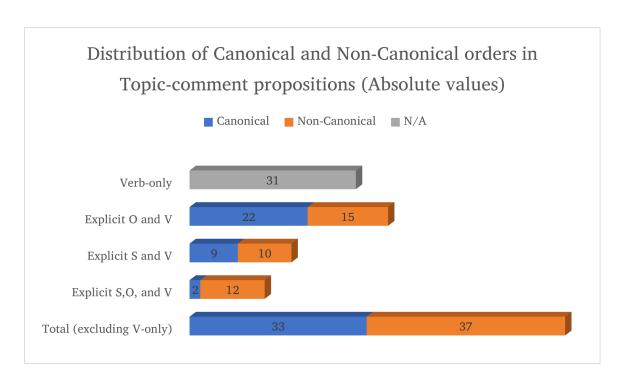


Figure 4. Absolute value comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in topic-comment propositions.

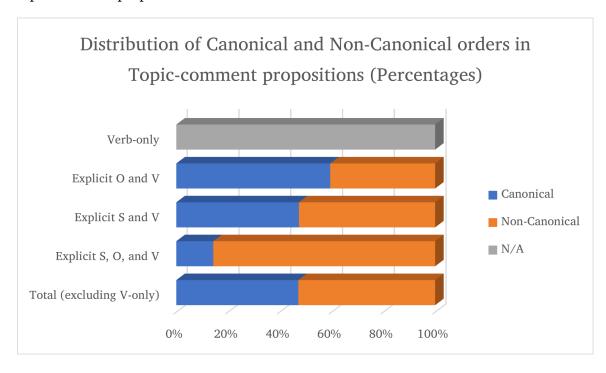


Figure 5. Percentage comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in topic-comment propositions.

In my corpus, there are 70 topic-comment propositions containing at least a subject and verb or object and verb (there are 31 clauses with only a verb, bringing the total to 101). 33 of the 70 propositions that have at least a subject and verb or object and verb are canonical, constituting approximately 33% in that category; about 37% are non-canonical. Of the three sentence articulation types, topic-comment propositions have the closest percentage of canonical compared to non-canonical orders overall. I discuss these comparisons in greater detail in section 3.4.

In the following section (3.1.1), I present examples that follow the canonical SOV order. Since it is often the case that a subject is implicit (or there may be no object), I also look at the order within propositions with just an object and verb or a subject and verb. In the section following that (3.1.2), I present and discuss the various non-canonical topic-comment articulations that appear in my data.

3.1.1 Canonical Topic-Comment Clauses

Two topic-comment clauses in the data that have an explicit subject, object, and verb, exhibit canonical order. The first example of the order subject-object-verb is shown in example (13).²

(13) sed tu <causatus amici adventum> but 2.SG.NOM allege.SG.NOM.PRF.PASS.PTCP friend.SG.GEN arrival.SG.ACC

lancem pauca = que vasa rogas dish.sg.acc few.pl.acc = and vase.pl.acc ask.2.sg.prs

'[When you asked a thousand sesterces for yourself, Caecilianus, for six or seven days I said "I don't have."] **But you, alleging the arrival of a friend, ask for a dish and a few vases.** [Are you a fool? Perhaps you consider me a fool, friend? I refused you a thousand sesterces... Will I give you five thousand?]' (Martial 4.15)

In this example, the subject is *tu* 'you' which is preceded only by *sed* 'but'. The subject refers to *Caecilianus*, who is addressed in the preceding clause. A participial construction *causatus amici adventum* 'alleging the arrival of a friend' comes between the subject and the object.

² The square brackets used in this example and elsewhere in this thesis include free translations of text that precedes or succeeds the text of the example. It is provided for context. The angled brackets in the vernacular line indicate syntactic units that interrupt others (in this case, it is a participial construction inserted between the subject and the objects).

There are two object constituents, both of which precede the verb. They are *lancem* 'dish' and *pauca*[*que*] *vasa* 'a few vases'. Notably, these objects (as part of the focus) contrast with *mille...nummos* 'a thousand sesterces' in the opening clause; however, the purpose of the of the proposition here is to explain what Caecilianus (who is already accessible in the discourse due to the implication of the second person reference and vocative used at the beginning) did next, and so the focus is on the whole predicate. In many epigrams, a second person subject is implicit, but here Martial uses the explicit pronoun *tu* 'you'. Since *Caecilianus* is already established, the second person pronoun can be assumed to be a topic expression. I consider this proposition to be topic-comment. As further evidence that *tu* 'you' is topical, I consider this whole proposition as an answer to a question that makes the proposition to be about a specific person. The question might ask *what does Caecilianus do after being denied his request?*

In the following example (14), there are two consecutive canonical clauses with the order object-verb (where the subject is implicit).

```
(14) Sexte nihil debes// nil debes// Sexte
Sextus.SG.VOC nothing owe.2.SG.PRS nothing owe.2.SG.PRS Sextus.SG.VOC

fatemur
confess.1.PL.PRS
```

'Sextus, you owe nothing, you owe nothing, Sextus, we confess. [Anyone does owe if he is able to pay back, Sextus.]' (Martial 2.3)

In addition to the fact that these canonical clauses are consecutive, they are nearly identical to one another. In the first clause, the object *nihil* 'nothing' is followed by the verb *debes* 'you owe'. In the second clause, the object *nil* 'nothing' is followed by the same verb *debes* 'you owe'. In those two clauses the most salient information is that Martial's addressee, Sextus, owes nothing, thus there is predicate focus. The second person, singular, present marking -s on the verbs denotes that the topic is 'you'. Since a second person agreement marking is available to be commented on (i.e., it can have something predicated about it), it can function as a topic. The purpose of both of the propositions in this example is to say something about the addressee, Sextus.

A topic-comment clause may follow an identificational sentence and further specify the focus of the previous clause. Example (15) demonstrates this.

(15) te Line non video
2.SG.ACC Linus.SG.VOC NEG see.1.SG.PRS

[What does my Nomentan field yield for me, you ask, Linus? This is what it yields for me:] 'I do not see you, Linus.' [Martial 2.38]

The clause preceding *te Line non video* 'I do not see you, Linus' or, more literally, 'You, Linus, I do not see' further specifies the demonstrative pronoun *hoc* 'this'. This is in answer to the question *What does [it] yield for me?* The topic 'I' is implicit based on the verb *video* 'I see'. The information predicated about the topic is *te...non vide[o]* '[I] do not see you'. This clause does abide by the canonical basic constituent order of object-verb. The word *Line* 'Linus', a vocative, interrupts the flow of the sentence, adding a greater degree of emphasis to *te* 'you'. Here, this vocative is referent with *te* 'you'. I believe the placement of *Line* indicates that *te* should be treated as the most relevant change to the hearer's mental representation that Martial is introducing. Thus, in this case, the vocative is used to separate a dominant focal element from the rest of a clause. Since Martial (referent with the first person marking) is accessible and able to be commented on, and the purpose of this proposition is to further enlighten the addressee and reader as to what benefit Martial receives from his field, the sentence can be said to be *about* 'I'.

The following example (16) has two distinct clauses, the first of which is a relative clause functioning as subject; the order of the constituents is subject-verb.³

³ In cases with an explicit subject and predicate nominal, the word functioning as the subject generally precedes the predicate nominal. See example (30) for a simpler representation of the predicate nominal phenomenon (i.e., of a sentence with a copula, subject, and predicate nominal). In only five propositions in my data, the predicate nominal precedes the subject; four of these cases are seen in examples (36) and (37). In these examples, I determined *Diaulus* to be the subject given that a proper name is more specific than a common noun, such as *vispillo* 'undertaker' in example (36). The other proposition in my data with this ordering references an already-established entity (specific) and links it with new (non-specific) information. This analysis is based on the principle of proper inclusion, as described by Payne (1997:114).

(16) quem recitas// meus est <0 that.which.SG.ACC recite.2.SG.PRS 1.POSS.SG.NOM be.3.SG.PRS O!

Fidentine > libellus
Fidentinus.SG.VOC small.book.SG.NOM

'That which you are reciting, o, Fidentinus, it is my little book. [But as you read it badly, it begins to be yours.]' (Martial 1.38)

The relative clause *quem recitas* 'that which you recite' serves as the topic and subject of the proposition. The thing being read is accessible to both Martial and the addressee; this is implied in Martial's case since he knows to mention it. In the addressee's case, the second person reference on *recitas* 'you recite' clarifies the accessibility. The third person marking on the verb *est* 'it is' refers to *quem* 'that which' in the first clause. The predicate *meus es[t]...libellus* '...[it] is my little book' is the focus; its purpose is to comment on the topic, in this case to clarify a feature of the thing being read.

3.1.2 Non-Canonical Topic-Comment Clauses

As is further discussed in section 3.4, non-canonical topic-comment sentences constitute 37 out of the 70 sentences that contain more than a verb in terms of basic constituents. So, about 53% have non-canonical orders.

Example (17) demonstrates that the opening line of a poem can have topic-comment articulation. The subject *Caecilianus* can be assumed as an accessible entity, thus I can analyze it as a topic-comment proposition. Because of the possessive adjective *noster* modifying *Caecilianus*, it can be inferred that *Caecilianus* already exists in the mental representations of the "interlocutors" (in this case, Martial and Titus). The order of the basic constituents is verb-subject.

(17) non cenat sine apro noster Tite

NEG dine.3.SG.PRS without boar.SG.ABL 1.PL.POSS.SG.NOM Titus.SG.VOC

Caecilianus

Caecilianus.SG.NOM

'Our [friend] Caecilianus does not dine without a boar, Titus. [Caecilianus has a beautiful table companion]' (Martial 7.59)

Notably, while topic-comment articulation is more often associated with canonical word order cross-linguistically, this is a non-canonical ordering, specifically verb-subject, where the verb *cenat* 'he dines' precedes the subject *noster Caecilianus* 'our [friend] Caecilianus'. This example thus demonstrates that epigrams may violate the principle of natural information flow. In this case, it is likely violated in order to give final emphasis to Caecilianus. The topic of the proposition is *Caecilianus*, and it can function so since it is preceded by a possessive first person plural pronoun *noster*. If the possessive pronoun were not present, then I would have considered this to be an event-reporting proposition. The information predicated about *noster Caecilianus* 'our Caecilianus' is *non cenat sine apro noster* 'he does not dine without a boar', which is the predicate.

The second clause in this poem, as seen in example (18), also has topic-comment articulation, and a non-canonical order, the order of the basic constituents being object-subject-verb (*convivam-Caecilianus-habet*).

(18) bellum convivam Caecilianus habet
beautiful.SG.ACC table.companion.SG.ACC Caecilianus.SG.NOM have.3.SG.PRS
'[Our Caecilianus does not dine without a boar, Titus.] Caecilianus has a beautiful
table companion.' (Martial 7.59)

The topic once again is *Caecilianus*, and the focus is *bellum convivam...habet*. Epigrams—at least those by Martial—appear to be more free in ordering of topic-comment articulations. I propose that the object *bellum convivam* 'beautiful table-companion' is fronted in order to give it prominence. This object further specifies, and in a sense changes, the readers' perceptions of *apr*[o] 'boar' in the first clause. The entity *Caecilianus* was already made accessible and active to be commented on, and the purpose of this proposition was to provide further information about him.

Example (19) below also has the order object-subject-verb.

(19) vacuo se leo dente putat
empty.SG.ABL 3.REFL.SG.ACC lion.SG.NOM tooth.SG.ABL think.3.SG.PRS
'[Hare, although you enter the wide mouths of the savage lion...] The lion considers
himself empty (lit. The lion considers himself with an empty tooth).' (Martial 1.60)

In this example, the order, again, is object-subject-verb, which is another non-canonical order. The subject is *leo* 'lion,' the verb is *putat* 'he thinks,' and the object is the reflexive pronoun *se* 'himself'. Since the lion was pragmatically accessible already (and active in the discourse), and the clause is stating what the lion thinks, I can assume that this clause has predicate focus (i.e., the purpose of the proposition is to expand the reader's knowledge of the lion, and the predicate is the means by which that happens). The topic is *leo* 'lion' and the focus is *vacuo se...dente puta[t]* 'he considers himself with an empty tooth [mouth]'.

In example (20) below, there is an alternation between canonical and non-canonical ordering with the object and verb. This poem is interesting in the sense that it uses non-canonical ordering for two topic-comment clauses; the only canonical ordering (O-V) is in the third clause, *hoc tantum possum* 'this is all I can say', which has identificational articulation (the second clause also has identificational articulation). The orderings of the constituents in the clauses of this poem are V-O [NON-CAN], V-O [NON-CAN], O-V [CAN], V-O [NON-CAN], respectively.

```
(20) non amo
                         te//
                                   <Sabidi>
                                                   nec possum
                                                                        dicere
     NEG love.1.SG.PRS 2.SG.ACC Sabidius.SG.VOC nor be.able.1.SG.PRS say.PRS.INF
                              tantum possum
                                                      dicere//
       quare//
                 hoc
                                                                   non
       why
                  this.SG.ACC only
                                      be.able.1.SG.PRS say.PRS.INF NEG
       amo
                     te
       love.1.SG.PRS 2.SG.ACC
     'I do not love you, Sabidius, nor can I say why. This is all I can say: I do not love
       you.' (Martial 1.32)
```

The first clause has topic-comment articulation. The subject "I" (implicit, though inferred by the first person marking on the verb *amo* 'I love') can function as topic since the speaker already exists in his addressee's mental representation, an argument I have addressed previously. The purpose of the proposition is to comment on the first person referent. The predicate "do not love you" is in focus. The second clause is virtually the same; *quare*, while technically adverbial, functions essentially as the object argument of the verb phrase *possum dicere* 'I am able to say'. The word *quare* 'why' is in focus. In both propositions, the

purpose is to comment on an accessible (furthermore *active*) participant, namely Martial (again, indicated by the first person marking on the verbs).

In the first clause of the second line, *hoc tantum possum dicere*, there is identificational articulation. The word *hoc*, a demonstrative standing for the one thing that Martial is able to say to Sabidius, is the object. This clause also has contrastive focus with the previous clause; the contrast is between *quare* and *hoc*. The final clause *non amo te* reverts back to topic-comment. It is identical to the first clause in the poem.

Epigrams frequently break apart phrasal constituents with pieces of other phrases creating an interesting form of word order variation. Example (21) demonstrates this in a topic-comment clause. The first part of this poem is addressed in example (36) in section 3.3 on presentational articulation.

(21) coepit quo poterat clinicus begin.3.SG.PRF which.SG.ABL be.able.3.SG.PST.PROG physician.SG.NOM

esse modo be.prs.inf manner.sg.abl

[Diaulus used to be a physician, now he is an undertaker] 'The physician [of a bedridden patient] began to be [existing] in the manner he was able.' (Martial 1.30)

The implied meaning in this poem is that Diaulus had always had the inclination toward the work of a mortician rather than a doctor. First, this proposition has topic-comment articulation and the non-canonical ordering verb-subject (*coepit...clinicus*). The phrases *quo...modo* "in the manner which" and *coepit...esse* "he has begun to be" are both separated by other words. The focus in this clause is *coepit quo poterat...esse modo* "he began to be in the manner he was able." The word *clinicus* 'physician of a bed-ridden patient' (which is topical) is coreferent with *Diaulus* in the opening line. The purpose of this proposition is to further comment on the occupation of the person Diaulus.

In examples (22) and (23), I present examples of non-canonical ordering in which nominalized clauses function as arguments of verbs of main clauses. A topic-comment construction may have a nominal clause with the function of object at the front of a sentence. Example (22) illustrates this (the order is OVS).

(22) quod vispillo facit// feceret et what.SG.ACC undertaker.SG.NOM do.3.SG.PRS do.3.SG.PST.PRF even

medicus doctor.SG.NOM

[Diaulus, who used to be a doctor, is now an undertaker] 'Whatever the undertaker does now, the doctor used to do.' (Martial 1.47)

The nominalized clause *quod vispillo facit* 'whatever the undertaker does' stands as the object, with *quod* 'whatever' as the accusative object of *feceret*. The word *feceret* 'he had done' is the main verb of the sentence, and *medicus* 'doctor' is the subject and also the topic of the sentence; thus, the apparent order is OVS, the object and verb in canonical order and the subject in a non-canonical location. The part in focus is every other word but *medicus* 'doctor'. Again, this is an example where the topic *medicus* 'doctor' is coreferent with *Diaulus* in the previous line, and the articulation of these clauses is to provide further information about *Diaulus* with the predicate.

Example (23) demonstrates that a topic-comment clause with a nominal clause functioning as an object may also have OSV ordering.

(23) nil istic <quod agat> tertia tussis nothing there what.SG.ACC do.SBJV.3.SG.PRS third.SG.NOM cough.SG.NOM

habet

have.3.sg.prs

[If I remember right, Aelia, you had four teeth (lit. there had been four teeth to you). One cough drove out two and one {other} two {more}. Now you are able to cough untroubled for all of life.] 'A third cough has nothing there to do.' (Martial 1.19)

The phrase *nil istic quod agat* 'nothing there that it can do' functions as the object argument of the verb *habet* 'it has' in the main clause. The word *nil* 'nothing' is the head word in the phrase and is technically the object. Between the aforementioned clause and verb lies the subject, and also the topic of the clause: *tussis* 'cough'. I consider *tussis* to be the topic (and thus, I consider this clause to have topic-comment articulation) because of its previous introduction into the discourse within the idea of *coughing*. This is evident in the free translation of the previous lines in the poem provided. Also, any reference to a

cough would be directly related to the person of Aelia, who is highly accessible as well. The purpose of the proposition is to state the futility of Aelia's (potential) third cough, or to further say something about the coughs.

The elements in focus include both the clause *nil istic quod agat tertia* 'a third [one has] nothing to do there' before *tussis* 'cough' and the verb *habet* 'it has' afterward. I think the object and subject are placed non-canonically to give prominence to the element of the clause that further clarifies the claim in the preceding clause (i.e., that Aelia can cough trouble-free for the rest of her life).

The final line of the poem referenced in example (19) also has topic-comment articulation. Its order is verb-subject; the subject is the demonstrative pronoun *ille* which refers to *leo* 'lion'. In this proposition, there is an adjunct phrase which begins before the verb-subject construction, followed by the remainder of that adjunct phrase. Example (24) below presents this proposition.

(24) non nisi delicta pascitur ille

NEG except choose.SG.ABL.PRF.PASS.PTCP feed.3.SG.PRS.PASS that.SG.NOM

fera

wild.sg.ABL

'[Hare, you enter the wide mouths of the savage lion. The lion considers himself to be empty. Where is that back against which he will rush or the shoulders on which he will sink down, the deep wounds of young bulls which he will fix? Why do you vainly weary the lord and king of the forests?] He is fed by none except by the wild one [animal] chosen [by him].' (Martial 1.60)

As I mentioned above, the ordering of the basic constituents in example (24) is verb-subject. The passive verb *pascitur* 'he is fed' is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *ille* 'that,' which refers to the lion and functions as topic of the clause. The focus is *non nisi delicta pasci[tur]...fera* '[He] is fed by none except the wild one chosen'. The lion entity has been highly accessible throughout the poem, and this proposition serves to give a final comment about it by means of the predicate.

This final line implies, perhaps, that the hare addressed earlier is attempting to be eaten by the lion. Martial indicates in this final line that the lion chooses whom he will eat, so the hare need not waste his time running into the mouth of the lion. Since it was not

necessarily implied in the beginning that the hare was attempting to be eaten by the lion, I consider the verb *pascitur* 'he is fed' to be the head of the constituent which represents the new information (24).

Example (25) has the order verb-object.

(25) negavi mille tibi nummos refuse.1.SG.PRF one.thousand 2.SG.DAT sesterces.PL.ACC

'[When you asked a thousand sesterces for yourself yesterday, for six or seven days I said I don't have it. But you, alleging the arrival of a friend, asked for dishes and a few vases. Are you a fool? Perhaps you consider me foolish, friend?] I refused you a thousand sesterces. [Will I give you five thousand?]' (Martial 1.60)

In the example above, the verb *negavi* 'I refused' also contains a reference to the implicit subject with its morpheme -*i*. I also assume that the implicit subject functions as topic of the clause and *negav[i] mille tibi nummos* '[I] refused you one thousand sesterces' is in focus. I have put the *i* in *negavi* in brackets to demonstrate that it is the topical factor. The object is the phrase *mille...nummos* 'a thousand sesterces'.

A topic-comment proposition with a basic constituent ordering of verb-subject may follow a contextual transition between two conditions of a participant. Example (26) below demonstrates this principle.

(26) si quis adest// iussae

COND anyone.SG.NOM be.near.3.SG.PRS appoint.PL.NOM.PRF.PASS.PTCP

prosiliunt lacrimae spring.forth.3.PL.PRS tear.PL.NOM

[Gellia does not cry for [her] lost one when she is alone, her father...] 'If anyone is near, appointed tears spring forth.' (Martial 1.33)

In this sentence, the clause *si quis adest* 'if anyone is near...' branches from the previous sentence where Gellia is described in her condition when she is *alone*. Thus, this subordinate clause stands at the front of the sentence to demonstrate a transition in Gellia's state. In the remainder of the sentence, the topic is *lacrimae* 'tears,' which is also modified by a participle *iussae* 'things appointed' preceding the verb *prosiliunt* 'they spring forth'. Since the idea of crying was introduced in the preceding sentence, *lacrimae* 'tears' can function

as topic. The tears are also closely associated with Gellia, since they are technically a part of her. The new information is thus on a deeper level about the tears and Gellia. So, the scope of focus in this proposition actually includes the clause *si quis adest* 'if anyone is near' and the main clause verb *prosiliunt* 'they spring forth'. The reason I consider *iussae prosiliunt lacrimae* 'appointed tears spring forth' to be non-canonical is because the head of the noun phrase comes after the verb *prosiliunt* 'they spring forth'.

3.1.3 Verb-only Topic-Comment Clauses

In this section, I will present topic-comment articulations in epigrams that contain neither explicit subjects nor direct objects. Since these sentences lack explicit syntactic arguments, the discussion of the ordering of basic constituents does not apply here, but these examples are presented for the sake of offering a more complete analysis. Verb-only clauses constituted 37/185 propositions in my corpus across all sentence articulations (making up 20% of the corpus).

In this first example (27), this proposition contains a subordinate clause followed by a main clause.

(27) sed male cum recitas// incipit esse tuus
but badly as recite.2.SG.PRS begin.3.SG.PRS be[PRS.INF] 2.POSS.SG.NOM
[That which you recite, O Fidentinus, it is my book.] 'But as [you] recite [it] badly,
it begins to be yours.' (Martial 1.38)

In this example, the specific element in focus in the first clause is the fact that Fidentinus is reciting Martial's book badly: *male...recita*[s] '[you] **recite badly**'. It can be inferred that the second person marking '-s' refers to Fidentinus in the previous clause, since he was the addressee. The implicit second person pronoun functions as topic. The verb phrase *male...recita*[s] '[you] recite [it] badly' is the *comment* about 'you,' and thus is the focus.

In the second clause of example (27), *incipit esse tuus* 'it begins to be yours...' the topic is implicit in the third person (-t) marking on the verb *incipit* 'it begins'. The referent of the third person marking is *libellus* 'small book' in the previous sentence; it is therefore recently activated information which can be commented on. In this case the focus is *incipi[t] esse tuus* '[it] begins to be yours'.

In example (28) below, the verb (which also implies a second person pronoun as subject) comes after a temporal adverbial and a predicate adjective.

(28) iam secura potes totis tussire now untroubled.sg.nom be.able.2.sg.prs whole.pl..Abl cough.prs.inf

diebus

lifetime.PL.ABL

[If I remember right, Aelia, there were to you four teeth. One cough drove out two and another one two more.] 'Now you are able to cough untroubled for all of [your] lifetime.' (Martial 1.19)

First, it is noteworthy that there are two phrases with non-consecutive words. The phrase potes...tussire 'you are able to cough' is separated by the word totis 'whole'. The phrase totis...diebus 'for all lifetime' is separated by the infinitive tussire 'to cough'. This clause begins with the temporal iam 'now'. The topic is implicit in the second person marking (-s) on the verb potes 'you are able'. Although you was not the topic of the previous sentence, by virtue of the fact that it is second person and therefore easily commented on, it can function as topic; the purpose of the proposition is to clarify information about Aelia. The comment (the information predicated about the topic) is secura pote[s] totis tussire diebus 'untroubled, [you] are able to cough for all lifetime'. I suspect that the adjective secura 'untroubled' is placed earlier in the clause for prominence and is dominant focal element, a term used by Heimerdinger (1999:167).

3.1.4 Summary

In this section, I have presented various canonical and non-canonical orders in topic-comment articulations in epigrams. Non-canonical orders are slightly more common by a ratio of 37:33. The orders discussed here included SOV, OV, SV, VS, OSV, OVS, and VO.

3.2 Identificational Articulation in Epigrams

Clauses which have identificational articulation have argument focus, i.e., an argument is the new information to be added to the mental representation. In my corpus, there

are 47 identificational propositions. 43 of these contain at least a subject and verb or object and verb. 19 (roughly 40%) of the 47 have canonical orders, 25 (roughly 53%) have non-canonical orders, and 3 (roughly 6%) have only a verb. Identificational propositions have the second highest percent attestation of non-canonical word orders in propositions, behind thetic propositions. Figures 6 and 7 display the distribution of basic constituent orders in identificational articulations.

Identificational Articulations with explicit S, O, and V		
Order of basic constituents	Number attested in data (14)	
SOV	0	Canonical
SVO	2	Non-canonical
OVS	3	Non-canonical
OSV	3	Non-canonical
VSO	1	Non-canonical
VOS	5	Non-canonical

Figure 6. Identificational propositions containing a subject, object, and verb.

Identificational Articulations with Explicit S and V OR O and V		
Order of basic constituents	Number attested in data (30)	
SV	12	Canonical
VS	6	Non-canonical
OV	7	Canonical
VO	5	Non-canonical

Figure 7. Identificational propositions containing either a subject and verb or an object and verb.

In my analysis, the total number of identificational clauses was much lower than that of topic-comment propositions. Notably, while there are two topic-comment subject-object-verb propositions, neither identificational nor thetic propositions have any SOV attestation. In identificational propositions with only an object and verb, canonical orders occur seven times compared to non-canonical orders, which occur five times. In clauses with only subjects and verbs, the canonical order subject-verb is more common, with eleven occurrences compared to six non-canonical.

The following graphs demonstrate the distribution of canonical and non-canonical orders in identificational articulations. These graphs show the tendencies overall, not the specific word orders. Figure 8 shows these results in absolute values. Figure 9 shows these results in percentages. These charts also show the relation of verb-only clauses to the others.

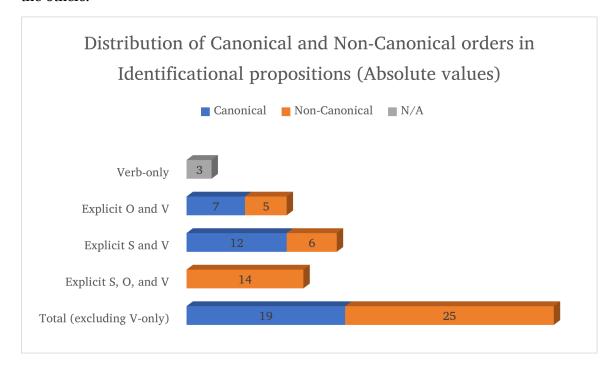


Figure 8. Absolute value comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in identificational propositions.

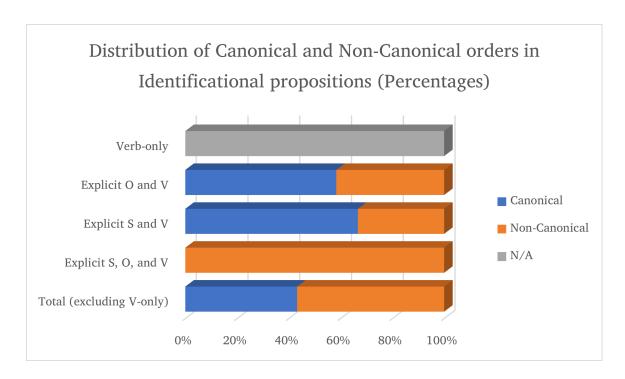


Figure 9. Percentage comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in identificational propositions.

Among identificational propositions with only an object and verb, there are an equal number of occurrences of canonical and non-canonical orderings. In clauses with only a subject and verb, it is more common for there to be a canonical ordering. In clauses with an explicit subject, object, and verb, all fourteen are non-canonical. In these clauses with explicit subject, object, and verb, the object preceded the verb in six of the fourteen cases; the subject precedes the verb in five of the fourteen cases. The argument in focus (which, again, is not necessarily a subject or direct object) occurs before the verb in twenty-seven of the forty-seven examples and after the verb in the remaining twenty.

3.2.1 Canonical Identificational Clauses

Example (29) demonstrates an ordering of object-verb, in which the object is *hoc* 'this' and the verb is *possum dicere* 'able to say'.

(29) hoc tantum possum dicere

DEM.SG.ACC only be.able.1.SG.PRS say.PRS.INF

[I do not love you, Sabidius, nor can I say why.] 'This only can I say:' [I do not love you.] (Martial 1.32)

In the above example, the demonstrative pronoun and following word *hoc tantum* 'this only' answers a question that the reader may ask after reading the first line. Since Martial says 'nor can I say why...' the implied question that follows is 'What can you say?' The answer is *hoc tantum* 'this only', which is the focused argument. The remainder of the clause, *possum dicere* 'I am able to say' is previously established information. Since the new information is an argument of the aforementioned open proposition, this proposition has argument focus.

The next example (30) also features a demonstrative pronoun with argument focus. However, in this example, its function is not as an object. The word *haec* 'this' is the subject, and *est* 'it is' is the verb. The order of the basic constituents in this clause is subject-verb, a canonical order.

(30) haec mihi mens est

DEM.SG.NOM 1.SG.DAT intention.SG.NOM be.3.SG.PRS

[You seek; I avoid; you avoid; I seek.] 'This is my intention. [I do not want what you want, Dindymus, I want what you do not want.]' (Martial 5.83)

In this example, the role of *haec* 'this' is likely that of a subject as opposed to a predicate nominative. This constituent answers the question *Why do you do that?* (i.e., perpetually contradict me). So, the single argument of the intransitive verb *est* 'it is' is *haec* 'this'. Additionally, this word is the key change that is meant to be made in the reader's mind, therefore I consider *haec* 'this' to be the focus of the clause. The word *mens* 'intention' functions as a predicate nominative.

3.2.2 Non-Canonical Identificational Clauses

The following example (31) includes the first four clauses in a poem. The third clause is an illustration of identificational articulation. The second and fourth clauses represent presentational and topic-comment articulations, respectively. In the first full sentence (which contains a conditional clause⁴ and a matrix clause), *si memini// fuerant tibi quattuor*

⁴ Lambrecht talks about a fourth category which consists of background information. The conditional here does not serve to present new information relative to given information, but rather is used for "scene-setting" (Lambrecht 1994:126).

Aelia dentes "If I remember [right], Aelia, there were to you four teeth," it is implied that Aelia no longer has her four teeth.

```
(31) si memini//
                                        tibi
                        fuerant
                                                  quattuor Aelia
     if recall.1.SG.PRF be.3.PL.PST.PRF 2.SG.DAT four
                                                           Aelia.sg.voc
        dentes//
                      expulit
                                                     duos
                                                                 tussis//
                                                                                et
                                        una
        tooth.PL.NOM drive.out.3.SG.PRF one.SG.NOM two.PL.ACC cough.SG.NOM and
                    duos
        una
        one.SG.NOM two.PL.ACC
     'If I remember [right], Aelia, there had been to you four teeth. One cough drove out
```

two [teeth], one [other cough drove out] two [more].' (Martial 1.19)

The pluperfect verb *fuerant* helps to see that Aelia is implied to no longer have these teeth. Thus, in the third clause, it can be inferred that something had to happen in order for Aelia to reach the state in which she no longer has four teeth. In the third clause in example (31), *expulit una duos tussis* (in which the order is verb-object-subject), the answer to the question "what caused Aelia's teeth to fall out?" is answered with *tussis* "cough." The final clause in this poem was discussed in example (23).

The presupposition in the first clause of the second line is *expulit*... *duos*... *duos* 'X drove out two...two' (the presupposition is that something eliminated the teeth). The focused argument of the third clause is *tussis* 'cough', since it is the new information added to the mental representations of the hearers and readers; indeed, I would say it provides the most new insight from the previous clause. Since the focus is restricted to the argument of the proposition, the clause has argument focus. The word *tussis* 'cough' identifies a "missing argument in an open proposition" (Lambrecht 1994:122). Again, it is not necessary that the argument be a subject or direct object (i.e., a syntactic argument) in order for there to be argument focus (Lambrecht 1994:224).

In the example (32) below, the order of the basic constituents is object-verb-subject, which is a non-canonical order in relation to the SOV order assumed for pragmatically neutral clauses.

(32) hoc mihi redit ager DEM.SG.ACC 1.SG.DAT return.3.SG.PRS field.SG.NOM

[What does my Nomentan field yield for me, you ask, Linus?] 'This is what the field yields for me. [You, Linus, I do not see]' (Martial 2.38)

The initial clause, which is seen in the brackets of the translation section, asks a question which is answered by the demonstrative pronoun *hoc* in the following clause. While the argument *hoc* 'this' does not specifically name the reason, it is still the focus of the clause in that it answers the question referred to in the previous line: "What does my Nomentan field yield for me..." The clause that follows is discussed in section 3.1.1 example (14). The object is given prominence in the clause, I believe, since it is specifically in focus.

3.2.3 Verb-Only Identificational Clauses

In the following example (33), there is no object or (explicit) subject in the clause. The verb is at the end.

(33) ideo < Caeciliane > rogo for.that.reason Caecilianus.SG.VOC ask.1.SG.PRS

'[I am a recent buyer of farm estates for many sesterces; you should give {me} one hundred {sesterces}, Caecilianus. You do not respond to me. I believe you secretly think, "you will not repay me."] **That, Caecilianus, is why I ask** [you].' (Martial 6.5)

In the preceding context—as seen in the bracketed portion before the bold words—discusses an interaction between Martial and Caecilianus. Martial believes the reason Caecilianus is negligent to loan in money is that he thinks he will not be refunded. The final clause (which is represented in the vernacular line) is Martial's response to that argument. The word I believe to be in focus is *ideo* 'for that reason'. This provides the most significant change in the mental representation. Notably, it is set off from the verb *rogo* 'I ask' by the vocative address.

3.2.4 Summary

In this section, I have presented various canonical and non-canonical orders in identificational articulations in epigrams. Non-canonical orders are again more common. The orders discussed here included OV, SV, VOS, and OVS.

3.3 Presentational Articulation and Event-Reporting in Epigrams

Notably, thetic articulations in Latin are similar to topic-comment sentences in their basic constituent ordering of subject-object-verb. Devine and Stephens note that this is the case, though there can be pragmatic reasons for variations of that basic order (2019:22; 24). As will be presented in section 3.4, thetic propositions most often take the non-canonical ordering verb-subject in my data, thus differing from the order proposed by Devine and Stephens.

Thetic propositions are used when all-new information is being introduced (e.g., when an entity that is unknown to the hearer is introduced or when an event is reported). In my data, thetic propositions are almost always the opening clause in an epigram (though an opening clause is not always thetic). There are a few exceptions to this. In the opening clause of an epigram, if Martial is not speaking about a referent that is accessible to a specific addressee, it is quite possible that this proposition is thetic (e.g., some of the examples presented in section 3.1.2).⁵

Figures 10 and 11 display word order variations in thetic articulations.

Thetic Articulations with explicit S, O, and V		
Order of basic constituents	Number attested in data (15)	
SOV	0	Canonical
SVO	4	Non-canonical
OVS	4	Non-canonical
OSV	2	Non-canonical
VSO	4	Non-canonical
VOS	1	Non-canonical

Figure 10. Thetic propositions containing a subject, object, and verb.

⁵ This excludes opening lines such as those discussed in example (17) and the first clause of example (20). In example (17), *Caecilianus* is accessible to Martial and to whomever he is writing to, since Martial uses the first person plural possessive *noster* to modify *Caecilianus*. In the opening clause of example (20), the arguments of the verb are a first (implicit) and second person (explicit) pronoun, and are thus two "active" (more critically, *accessible*) participants which can be commented on (i.e., it is reasonable that the predicate can be said to be *about* one of them).

Thetic Articulations with Explicit S and V OR O and V		
Order of basic constituents	Number attested in data (19)	
SV	4	Canonical
VS	15	Non-canonical
OV	0	Canonical
VO	0	Non-canonical

Figure 11. Thetic propositions containing either a subject and verb or an object and verb.

Perhaps the most notable piece of this data is the overwhelming preference for a verb to precede a subject in presentational and event-reporting propositions. In clauses where there is a subject and a verb, ten have the canonical order subject-verb, though of those ten, only four are completely canonical (when factoring in the clauses with subjects, objects, and verbs). The remaining have the non-canonical order verb-subject. There are no thetic propositions that have only an object and verb with no subject. Thetic propositions have the highest percentage of non-canonical orderings across the three articulations, at about 81%.

The following graphs demonstrate the overall distribution of canonical versus noncanonical orderings in thetic propositions. Figure 12 shows the results with absolute values. Figure 13 shows the results in percentages. These charts also show the number of verb-only thetic propositions in my data.

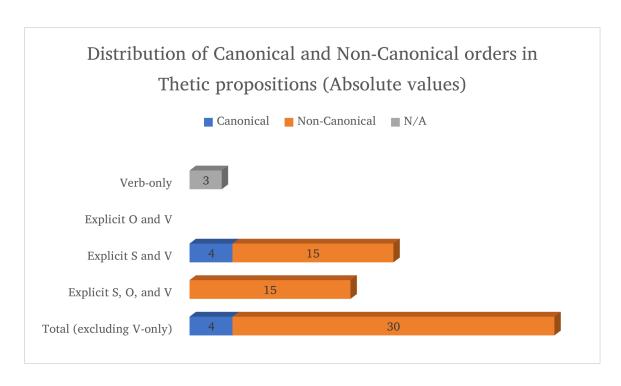


Figure 12. Absolute value comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in thetic propositions.

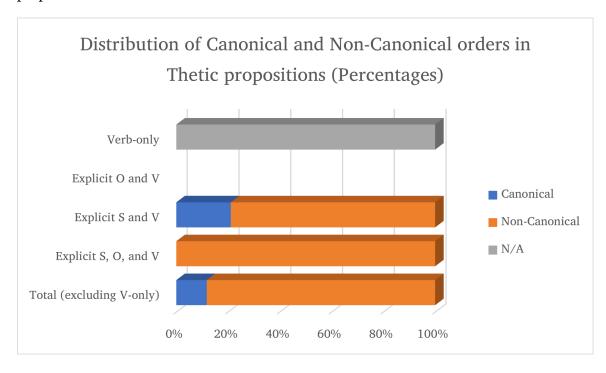


Figure 13. Percentage comparison of canonical and non-canonical orders in thetic propositions.

Thetic propositions have the highest percentage of non-canonical attestation of the three sentence articulations. Of the 37 in my data, 4 are canonical (11%), 30 are non-canonical (81%), and 3 contain only a verb (8%). Especially noteworthy is the fact that in propositions with only a verb and subject, the verb precedes the subject in the majority of cases.

3.3.1 Canonical Thetic Clauses

While few thetic clauses in my data are canonical, example (34) is an example of an event-reporting sentence that is not the opening clause of a poem and also has the canonical order subject-verb. I again give the context before this clause in brackets in the free translation line.

(34) Inuidus ecce negat envious.SG.NOM behold deny.3.SG.PRS

[You are often accustomed to praise my little books, Augustus.] 'An envious one, behold, disallows [this].' (Martial 4.27)

This example demonstrates that a subject of an event-reporting clause may precede the verb. This clause introduces a new participant *inuidus* 'envious one'. Notably, the word *ecce* 'behold' is used here, perhaps to draw attention to the introduction of a new participant.

3.3.2 Non-Canonical Thetic Clauses

In most of the thetic clauses in my corpus, it is more common for the subject of a clause to be placed non-canonically (specifically after the verb). In many cases, the subject is placed at the end of a clause. Objects and verbs tend to maintain their preverbal order in more cases.

An epigram's first clause may be a presentational proposition. In example (35), the non-canonical ordering of verb-subject is demonstrated in the opening line (where *fuerant* 'they had been' is the verb and *dentes* 'teeth' is the subject). The clause *si memini* 'if I remember' is separate from the rest of sentence as far as information structure.

(35) si memini// fuerant tibi quattuor Aelia
COND recall.1.SG.PRF be.3.PL.PST.PRF 2.SG.DAT four Aelia.SG.VOC

dentes
tooth.PL.NOM
'If I remember [correctly], Aelia, there had been to you four teeth.' (Martial 1.19)

The clause *fuerant tibi quattuor dentes* literally means 'there had been to you four teeth' but could be translated 'you had four teeth'. The former translation more accurately demonstrates that this is an example of sentence focus (i.e., this clause has presentational articulation). If this were in the format of a topic-comment articulation, it may have said *quattuor dentes habueras* 'you had had four teeth'. Since there is a verb of being with a dative in the epigram, it seems its purpose is more so to report information rather than to comment on given information, even though there is some given information in the sentence. The word *tibi* 'to you' demonstrates that Martial is making some connection to his addressee, *Aeilia*.

The following is another example (36) in which verbs of being are used in introductory propositions (two clauses). However, in this sentence, there is no addressee, and the person spoken about (i.e., Diaulus) is the subject of both verbs. Since Diaulus occurs at the end, these propositions both have the order verb-subject.

```
(36) chirurgus fuerat// nunc est vispillo surgeon.SG.NOM be.3.SG.PST.PRF now be.3.SG.PRS undertaker.SG.NOM

Diaulus
Diaulus.SG.NOM

'Diaulus, he had been a surgeon, [but] now he is an undertaker.' (Martial 1.30)
```

There is no clear reason to assume that entity *Diaulus* is old information in the listeners' mental representations. There is also no addressee assumed to know about him. Thus, I take these propositions to be presentational, in which *Diaulus* is introduced as a participant. This sentence, as was the case in example (35), also has the non-canonical order verb-subject. Indeed, it has a verb//-modifier-verb-subject order (where there are two distinct clauses, and the subject only appears at the end of the second). Lunn uses the letter *M*, standing for modifier, to refer to adverbials and prepositional phrases (2006:7).

The verb of the first clause is *fuerat* and the verb of the second is *est*. The word *nunc* "now" is a modifier.

Martial wrote a very similar poem with a slightly different modifier structure. In example (37) below, there are again two verbs of being (*erat...est*) with Diaulus as their subject. This time, however, Martial includes distinct temporal adverbials (*nuper...nunc*) associated with each verb.

```
(37) nuper erat medicus// nunc est recently be.3.SG.PST.PROG doctor.SG.NOM now be.3.SG.PRS

vispillo Diaulus undertaker.SG.NOM Diaulus.SG.NOM
'Diaulus was recently a doctor, now he is an undertaker.' (Martial 1.47)
```

The order here is modifier-V//-modifier-V-S. The word *nuper* 'recently' and *nunc* 'now' are the adverbials. These two temporal adverbials begin each focused clause (again, both clauses are distinct propositions).

An event-reporting articulation may also be characterized by a passive verb which aids in the introduction of a participant; I am not aware of any syntactic rules regarding a passive verb being placed in a different location than an active verb. In example (38), the order is object-verb-subject.

(38) versiculos in me narratur scribere Cinna | verse.PL.ACC against 1.SG[ACC] tell.3.SG.PRS.PASS write.PRS.INF Cinna.SG.NOM 'Cinna is said to write verses against me.' (Martial 3.9)

Since there is no addressee in this sentence (nor is there in the remainder of the poem), I do not assume that Martial is speaking to another person who already knows *Cinna*. Regardless, this proposition introduces completely new information, and thus there is sentence focus. The object is *versiculos* 'verses,' the verb is *narratur* 'he is said [to],' and the subject is *Cinna*, a proper name.

⁶ If this clause were translated in the order of the constituents, it would say 'verses against me he is said to write, Cinna'. It might also be translated, 'There is one person, Cinna, who is said to write verses against me'. While these are possible, the manner in which I translate it in the example seems to best represent the grammar.

In the event-reporting example (39) below, the object and verb order is O-V, but the subject is placed after both, just as in example (38). However, it may also be considered object-verb-subject-object, in which case it is also an exception. If *amissum* 'loss/lost' and *patrem* 'father' were to be considered part of the same phrase, then I would say the order is verb-subject-object (*flet...Gellia* [*amissum*] *patrem*).

```
(39) amissum non flet// cum sola est loss.SG.ACC NEG cry.for.3.SG.PRS when alone.SG.NOM be.3.SG.PRS

Gellia patrem
Gellia.SG.NOM father.SG.ACC
'Gellia does not cry for the lost one, her father, when she is alone.' (Martial 1.33)
```

Since every part of this proposition is new information, it is entirely in focus. The object amissum 'loss' is at the start of the sentence, followed by the matrix verb phrase non flet 'she does not cry for'. Then, there is a subordinate clause cum sola est 'when she is alone'. The subject of both clauses is Gellia, and it comes between the verb of the subordinate clause and the word patrem 'father'. Although it is possible to infer that patrem 'father' and amissum 'loss' are part of the same phrase, they are separated by every other word in the sentence. I look at patrem 'father' as a type of dislocated element which further specifies the word amissum 'loss'. The case the two words are part of the same phrase would consider amissum to be an accusative singular participle modifying patrem 'father'.

Thetic propositions which are event-reporting may have the order object-subject-verb, as seen in example (40) below. This is part of the opening line of an epigram.

```
(40) carmina Paulus emit poem.PL.ACC Paulus.SG.NOM buy.3.SG.PRS
```

'Paulus buys poems. [Paulus recites his own poems. For whatever you buy, you should rightly be able to call yours.]' (Martial 2.20)

The object *carmina* 'poems' precedes the subject *Paulus*, which precedes the verb *emit* 'he buys'. Since this is the opening line of an epigram, and since there is no second person reference, I consider this entire proposition to be in focus. The entire clause is a presentation of new information. Since this is the opening clause in the poem, none of its content

could be accessed in a reader's mental representation. If, however, *Paulus* had been previous information, he might be considered to be the topic. The following clause in this poem is discussed in example (48) of section 3.5, where *Paulus*, mentioned again, then functions as topic in the second clause.

In the following example (41), there are several presentational clauses in the opening sentence of an epigram. The order of each is verb-subject.

(41) sunt bona// sunt quaedam mediocria// be.3.PL.PRS good.PL.NOM be.3.PL.PRS some.certain.PL.NOM average.PL.NOM mala plura// legis sunt <quae hic> be.3.PL.PRS bad.PL.NOM more.PL.NOM any.PL.ACC read.2.SG.PRS just.now There are some good ones, there are some average ones, there are more that are bad, these you are reading right now.' [Avitus, a book does not happen differently] (Martial 1.16)

The first three clauses in this example have presentational articulation. Each clause introduces a new type of poem that exists in Martial's book. I assume all third person references in the first three clauses to refer to poems in the book that Martial has written (namely his first book of epigrams). I assume this to be the case especially since in the following clause it is implied that Martial is describing the contents of a book in the final clause of the poem. The second person marking on the verb in the final clause is likely referencing any reader of these lines. The final construction in this example *quae legis hic* 'these that you are reading right now' (a relative clause) could be considered what Lambrecht calls "right-detached" or "'topic announcing' NP" (1994:188); he also specifically uses the term "antitopic" (1994:203). An antitopic is located clause-finally and is "a lexical topic NP...containing the information about the topic-referent" (1994:202). Its function is not as a topic of a topic-comment articulation, but rather to specify what the phrases *bona* 'good', *quaedam mediocria* 'some certain average', and *mala plura* 'more bad' refer to.⁷

In example (41), each presentational clause begins with a verb of being *sunt* 'they are/there are'. In the first clause, the subject is a substantive adjective *bona* 'good ones'. In the second clause, the verb is followed by a larger phrase *quaedam mediocria* 'some certain

⁷ Lambrecht uses the following example where the phrase *your brother* would be the antitopic: "He is a nice guy, your brother" (1994:203).

average ones'. In the third clause, there is another two-word phrase *mala plura* 'more bad ones' following the verb. It is likely that the verb is placed initially in these clauses because each clause introduces something new. Spevak notes that this order is possible citing two examples from Cicero's prose in which she claims they are "What-happens sentences..." (2010:44).

The following example (42) is a clause in which the order of the basic constituents is subject-verb-object.

```
(42) fama
                     refert
                                                                  «Fidentine»
                                      < nostros
                                                        te
      report.SG.NOM report.3.SG.PRS 1.PL.POSS.ACC.PL 2.SG.ACC Fidentinus.SG.VOC
        libellos
                                           populo
                          non aliter
                                                         quam recitare
        little.book.PL.ACC NEG otherwise public.SG.ABL as
                                                                recite.PRS.INF
        tuos>
        2.SG.POSS.PL.ACC
      'Report says that you, Fidentinus, recite our little books in public as yours.' (Martial
        1.29)
```

The subject of the clause is *fama* 'report', which is followed by the verb *refert* 'it reports'. This is probably simply a way of saying something like *according to reports*; I translate it as 'report says' to maintain a subject/verb relation. I take the clause *nostros te...libellos non aliter populo quam recitare tuos* '[that] you recite our little books as your own' as being the object of *refert* 'it reports'. If this clause simply said something like *you are reciting our books as your own*, I may have considered this a candidate for a topic-comment articulation. However, given the *fama refert* 'report says' construction, I think this is written as an event-reporting articulation.

In example (43), the order of the basic constituents is verb-subject-object.

```
(43) dixerat astrologus periturum te cito say.3.SG.PRF astrologer.SG.NOM die.SG.ACC.FUT.PTCP 2.SG.ACC soon

Munna

Munna.SG.VOC

'An astrologer said that you will soon die, Munna.' (Martial 9.82)
```

The verb *dixerat* 'he said' is the first word of the clause, followed by the subject *astrologus* 'astrologer'. The embedded clause *periturum te cito* 'that you will soon be dead' functions as the object, following the subject. I do not consider this clause a candidate for topic-comment because the information reported, in particular the subject, is new to the listener or reader, and specifically to the addressee, *Munna*. This differs from clauses where the subject has a first person plural possessive that modifies a third person, as in example (17).

Something may be introduced and function as both a direct object and topic in a following clause. This is demonstrated in example (44) (the bolded words in this example are to demonstrate what is in focus, not the part that is a translation of the original language line).

(44) dum Phaethontea formica vagatur in umbra//
while Phaeton ant.SG.NOM roam.3.SG.PRS in shade.SG.ABL

inplicuit tenuem sucina gutta feram
implicate.3.SG.PRF fine.SG.ACC amber.SG.NOM drop.SG.NOM animal.SG.ACC
'While an ant roams in the shade of the Phaeton, a drop of amber implicates the
fine animal.' (Martial 6.15)

This example begins with the subordinate clause *dum Phaethontea formica vagatur in umbra* 'While an ant roams in the shade of the Phaeton...' which introduces the ant into the discourse. In the following clause the order of the basic constituents is verb-subject-object. The verb *inplicuit* 'it implicates' is at the start of the clause. It is followed by the noun phrases *tenuem...feram* 'fine animal' and *sucina gutta* 'amber drop'. Since the head of the second aforementioned noun phrase, which functions as subject (*gutta* 'drop') comes before the head of the first noun phrase (*feram* 'animal'), I consider the subject to precede the object. The given information in the clause is *tenuem...feram* 'fine animal', which is coreferent with the word *formica* 'ant' in the introductory subordinate clause. The remainder of the clause is *inplicuit...sucina gutta* 'an amber drop implicated' (which is the entire predicate).

The part of this proposition in focus is *inplicuit...sucina gutta* 'an amber drop implicated'. Since the role of the topic referent is an object, it is necessarily part of the predicate. If this were to be interpreted as topic-comment, then it would also mean there is

predicate focus, in which case the topic would be part of the focus. I consider this is an event-reporting proposition in which some of the information is given, though it is given a different description (i.e., 'fine animal' instead of simply 'ant').

3.3.3 Summary

In this section, I have presented various canonical and non-canonical orders in thetic articulations in epigrams. Non-canonical orders are more common in thetic articulations than either topic-comment or identificational. The orders discussed here included SV, VS, OVS, OSV, SVO, and VSO.

3.4 Results and Comparison to Prose

In my corpus, non-canonical orders occur more often than canonical orders. There are, however, situations in which the particular order of two constituents (e.g., object/verb and subject/verb) is canonical more often than non-canonical; therefore, in my analysis of the data, I have divided into categories beyond *subject-object-verb vs non-canonical orderings*. This further division helps to identify significant word order patterns in epigrams.

Part of the reason this study does not focus simply on basic constituent order or information structure is in order to see the distribution of word order types given a specific sentence articulation. For example, thetic propositions in epigrams (in my corpus, at least) are more likely to favor the order verb-subject than both topic-comment and identificational clauses. Therefore, one could say that, while SV is the *canonical* order of subject and verb for the language overall, VS is the more *expected* order for thetic propositions.

I now want to briefly comment on some word order statistics on prose. First, I will note that Spevak categorized her results according to declarative, imperative, and interrogative, whereas my broader categorizations were into the sentence articulations topic-comment, identificational, and presentational. Thus, an exact comparison of findings is not possible. However, Spevak does present some insightful data related to the general ordering of basic constituents. Her results show that in sentences with verbs of action, which she notes as having "high transitivity" (2010:118), 81% have either the order subject-object-verb or

object-verb (2010:118).⁸ Comparatively, throughout my data of non-imperative and non-interrogative sentences with an object and verb, 32 out of 93 are canonical (34%), while the remaining 61 are non-canonical (66%).

The following charts illustrate the differences in the ratio of canonical versus non-canonical orderings throughout my data in all sentence articulations. Figure 14 shows the distribution of object-verb versus verb-object. Figure 15 shows the distribution of subject-object-verb versus non-SOV orderings.

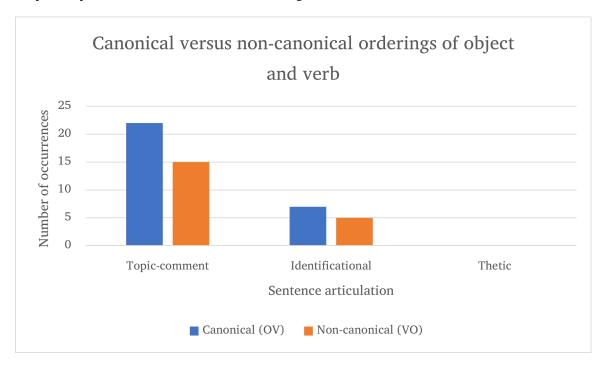


Figure 14. Distribution of canonical and non-canonical orders in propositions with only objects and verbs.

⁸ Spevak calls subjects A₁ (argument 1) and objects A₂ (argument 2) (2010:118).

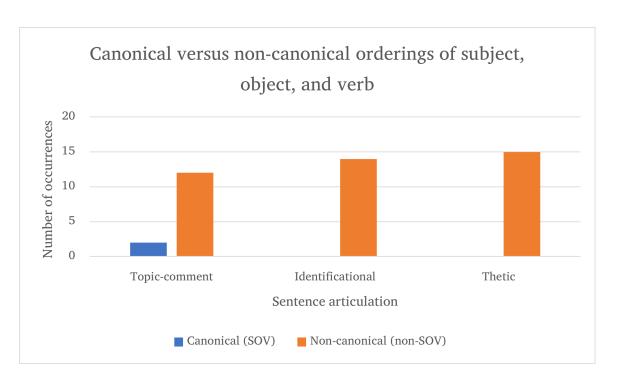


Figure 15. Distribution of canonical and non-canonical orders in propositions with subjects, objects, and verbs.

3.5 Contrastive Focus

Epigrams are rich with contrastive focal elements. These may occur in poems in which two entities are introduced with certain qualities, then their qualities are later contrasted. In the following examples, I describe these aspects, then specify the order of chiastic versus non-chiastic. Lunn addresses this in relation to Biblical Hebrew poetry, noting that there is evidence for non-chiastic constructions in contrast, and that chiastic constructions can occur absent of contrast (Lunn 2006:127-128). Both chiastic and non-chiastic structures are present in epigrams. Although I have not classified every example of contrastive focus to present word order statistics, I note the order of the basic constituents as well.

Two chiastic structures are evidenced in example (45):

⁹ Here, I mean chiastic in terms of the order of the basic constituents in a pattern such as S-O-V-O-S.

```
(45) Thais
                   habet
                                     nigros//
                                                  niveos
                                                                Laecania
     Thais.SG.NOM have.IND.3.SG.PRS black.PL.ACC white.PL.ACC Laecania.SG.NOM
       dentes.
                    Ouae
                                    ratio
                                                   est?//
       tooth.PL.ACC what.Q.SG.NOM reason.SG.NOM be.IND.3.SG.PRS
       Emptos
                                             //habet//
                                                               illa
                                 haec
       buy.PL.ACC.PRF.PASS.PTCP this.PL.NOM have.IND.3.SG.PRS that.SG.NOM
       suos.
       her.REFL.PL.ACC
```

'Thais has black ones [teeth], Laecania [has] white teeth. What is the reason? Laecania [lit. this one] has purchased ones, Thais [lit. that one] has her own.' (Martial 5.43)

This poem has two sets of double-difference contrast. Double-difference contrast involves multiple already-activated elements which are expanded upon in contrastive statements. In the above example, the two established entities in the propositional framework are *Thais* and *Laecania*. They are both introduced in the first sentence as having teeth of different colors. The propositional framework *X has Y colored teeth* is filled by *Thais* and *Laecania* for *X* and *nigros* and *niveos* for *Y*. The orders in this first set of contrast are subject-verb-object//[verb]-subject-object. Martial poses a question to the reader, to which he responds by showing a contrast. In the final sentence *emptos...habet* "has purchased ones" and [*habet*]...*suos* "has her own" are both the focus in predicate-focus clauses; these are in contrast with one another. In the second set of contrast, the orders of the two clauses are object-subject-//verb//-subject-object, ¹⁰ which is a chiastic pattern, and these are both non-canonical orders. The points of difference occur in the initial and final position in the sentence.

In the following example (46), there is contrast between the two subjects and their objects.

```
    (46) do tibi naumachiam// tu das give.1.SG.PRS 2.SG.DAT sea.fight.SG.ACC 2.SG.NOM give.2.SG.PRS
    epigrammata nobis epigram.PL.ACC 1.PL.DAT
    'I give you a sea-fight, you give us [me] epigrams.' (Martial 1.5)
```

¹⁰ I have put double slashes before and after the verb to indicate that I consider it the governing verb for both subjects.

The two pieces that are contrasted are the people giving and the items given. The verb marking -o in the word do identifies that the subject of the first clause is 'I,' while the subject of the second clause is tu 'you'. Both subjects give something, and the point of difference is between the words naumachiam 'sea-fight' and epigrammata 'epigrams'. Both direct object arguments follow their verbs. However, the indirect objects are ordered differently between the two clauses. In the first clause, do tibi naumachiam 'I give you a sea-fight...' the indirect object tibi 'to you' comes between the verb do 'I give and the direct object naumachiam 'sea-fight'. In the second clause, tu das epigrammata nobis 'you give us epigrams', the indirect object follows nobis 'to us' follows the direct object epigrammata 'epigrams'. The pattern here is verb-indirect object-direct object//subject-verb-direct object-indirect object, thus neither chiastic nor strictly parallel (though the indirect objects and direct objects have a chiastic pattern). Both of these are non-canonical orders.

In the following example (47), this poem contains multiple examples of contrast.

```
(47) insequeris//
                   fugio//
                                   fugis//
                                                  insequor///
                                                                haec
     seek.2.sg.prs avoid.1.sg.prs avoid.2.sg.prs seek.1.sg.prs dem.sg.nom
       mihi
                                               velle
                                   est///
                                                             tuum
       1.SG.DAT intention.SG.NOM be.3.SG.PRS want.PRS.INF 2.POSS.SG.ACC
       nolo//
                          <Dindyme>
                                            nolle
       not.want.1.SG.PRS Dindymus.SG.VOC not.want.PRS.INF want.1.SG.PRS
     'You seek, I avoid; you avoid, I seek. This is my intention... I do not want what you
       want, Dindymus, I want [what you] do not want.' (Martial 5.83)
```

The first four words can be split into two parts, each representing contrast between what is being said about the topic of each clause. The first set of verbs is *insequeris fugio* 'you seek, I avoid'. The focus of each is specifically the action inherent in the verb, not in the first or second person marking. The following set of verbs *fugis insequor* 'You avoid, I seek' follows the same logic. In one sense, this is a type of chiastic pattern, since the placement of the verbs is such that the first and last are from the same root and the two in the middle are from the same root. However, the order second person-first person/second person-first person is parallel.

The final sentence, *velle tuum nolo Dindyme nolle volo* 'I do not want what you want, Dindymus, I want [what you] do not want' demonstrates single-difference contrast. This time it is more specifically the object within the predicate that is the focal point of contrast. First, it is critical to note that while *tuum* 'your' is accusative, it functions as subject *velle* 'to want' and *nolle* 'to not want'. It is essentially a complementizer in this case. The pattern in this part of the poem is object-verb//object-verb (both canonical), again, not chiastic, but parallel.

In the following example (48), there is a topic that is encoded in the same manner as it was when in a thetic articulation (i.e, as a name). The order of the basic constituents is verb-object-subject. The first clause (which is event-reporting under my analysis) *carmina Paulus emit* 'Paulus buys poems...' is repeated from example (40) to demonstrate the rearrangement of the constituents.

```
(48) carmina Paulus emit// recitat sua poem.PL.ACC Paulus.SG.NOM buy.3.SG.PRS recite.3.SG.PRS 3.REFL.PL.ACC carmina Paulus poem.PL.ACC Paulus.SG.NOM 'Paulus buys poems. Paulus recites his own poems.' (Martial 2.20)
```

In this example, the topic-comment proposition is the second clause, *recitat sua carmina Paulus* 'Paulus recites his own poems'. The first constituent is the verb *recitat* 'he recites' followed by the object constituent *sua carmina* 'his own poems'. The clause ends with the subject *Paulus*, the name of an individual. The order in the previous (presentational) clause is object-subject-verb. The verb *recitat* 'he recites' is preposed in the second clause to demonstrate contrast between the poems mentioned in the first line compared to those mentioned in the second. The point of difference is the word *sua* 'his own'. Though later in this poem, Martial says *nam quod emas possis iure vocare tuum* 'for whatever you might buy, you should rightly be able to call your own'. Comparing the arrangement of the words in these two clauses, the order is object-subject-verb//verb-possessive-object-subject, both of which are non-canonical.

Contrastive focus is used frequently in Martial's epigrams. While I cannot conclude tendencies on a broader scale, epigrams may make use of parallel or chiastic structures. In parallel structures, the constituents in contrastive clauses are in the same order. In chiastic structures, the constituents of the second clause are in the reverse order compared to the first.

CHAPTER 4

Conclusions

In this study I have discussed tendencies in the word order in Martial's epigrams. As discussed throughout chapter 3, each sentence articulation type has critical distinctions from the others. Topic-comment articulations constitute the greatest portion of the data, accounting for 101 of the 185 propositions analyzed (approximately 54%). There are 47 identificational clauses, which account for approximately 25% of the total data. Finally, there are 37 thetic clauses, accounting for approximately 20% of the total data. The charts in figures 16 and 17 illustrate the overall distribution of the aforementioned percentages and absolute values.

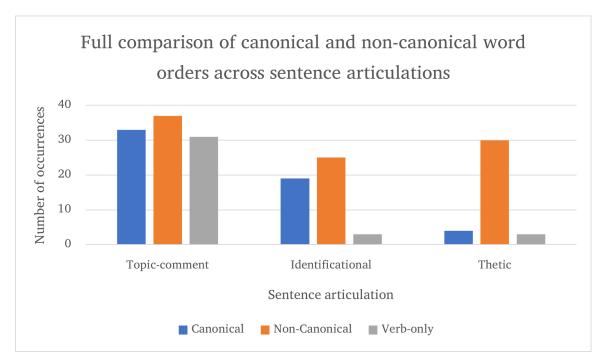


Figure 16. Distribution of word orders across sentence articulations (absolute values).

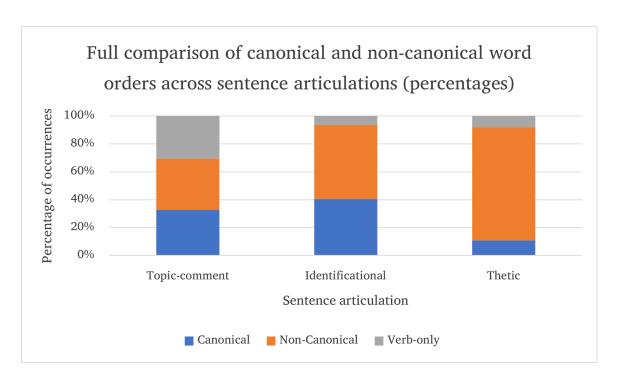


Figure 17. Distribution of word orders across sentence articulations (percentages)

The most common non-canonical order in topic-comment sentences is verb-object, though in this category, it is actually less common than the canonical order object-verb. Subject-verb-object, object-subject-verb, and object-verb-subject were the most common in topic-comment sentences with all three basic constituents.

In identificational articulations, five verb-object clauses occur compared to seven object-verb clauses. The order verb-object-subject is the most common in clauses with all three basic constituents.

Neither thetic propositions nor identificational articulations have subject-object-verb attestation. Subject-verb-object, object-verb-subject, and verb-subject-object are the most common non-canonical orders in clauses with all three basic constituents. The non-canonical verb-subject propositions (15 occurrences) have much greater attestation than subject-verb (4 occurrences). Thetic articulations not only occur the fewest number of times, but they also have the highest rate of non-canonical orders, accounting for 81% of the thirty-seven propositions.

4.1 Areas for Future Research

This thesis examined a small sample of Martial's epigrams. A deeper analysis would involve a larger data set, potentially analyzing one entire book from Martial instead of poems taken from multiple books. Also, since Martial addresses many of the same people, it would be interesting to see how he addresses specific people throughout a book. Is there cohesion of discourse in that way?

Also, there would be benefit to further analysis that accounts more deeply for the similarities and differences between epigrams and prose. In fact, this is one of the more critical next steps in the analysis of information structure in epigrams. I have presented some of this information, but not having set up my analysis exactly as previous literature, I have not been able to make more substantial comparisons.

I think that other studies of this nature on other Latin poets would prove useful as well. Perhaps applying it to epic poetry, specifically the *Aeneid* or the epigrams of other Latin authors. Additionally, Lambrecht's categories could be applied to more languages' ancient poetry or modern poetry.

Another final aspect that would be critical is the potential influence of poetic meter on the order of the words in a sentence. Looking at the meter may be one way in which the prosodic aspect of information structure is made clear to some degree, even though recorded data is non-existent. For example, one might attempt to see any correlation between the half-feet in the second lines of elegiac couplets and the placement of constituents that are in focus. I suspect that the first half-foot in second lines may be a favored location for a focal element, since it is followed by a longer pause, and thus has a greater prosodic emphasis than in other parts of the meter.

In this thesis I have presented an analysis focused on pragmatic influence of word order in Martial's epigrams. But given the nature of these poems, much more could be uncovered concerning the influence of factors such as poetic meter. A study of this nature would bring a helpful perspective to the analysis of epigrams, poetry generally, and the study of Latin syntax.

References

- Bohn's Classical Library. 1897. The Epigrams of Martial. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=msu.31293006367365&view=1up&seq=1 (June 20, 2021)
- Chafe, Wallace. 1987. Cognitive constrains on information flow. In Russell S. Tomlin, (ed.), *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse*, Typological Studies in Language 11, 21-51. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1989. *Language universals and linguistic typology*. 2nd edn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Devine, A.M. & Laurance D. Stephens. 2019. *Pragmatics for Latin: From syntax to information structure.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dooley, Robert A. & Stephen H. Levinsohn. 2001. *Analyzing discourse: A manual of basic concepts.* Dallas: SIL International.
- Heimerdinger, Jean-Marc. 1999. *Topic, focus and foreground in Ancient Hebrew narratives*. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Kroon, Caroline H. M. 1995. Discourse particles in Latin: A study of nam, enim, autem, vero, and at. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus and the mental representations of discourse referents.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2015. *Self-instruction materials on narrative discourse analysis*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Lunn, Nicholas P. 2006. *Word-order variation in Biblical Hebrew poetry: Differentiating pragmatics and poetics.* Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pinkster, Harm. 1990. Evidence for SVO in Latin? In Roger Wright (ed.), *Latin* and the Romance languages in the early Middle Ages, 69-82. London: Routledge.

- Skopeteas, Stavros. 2011. Word order in Latin locative constructions: A corpus study in Caesar's De bello gallico. *Language Typology and Universals* 64. 170-90.
- Somerville, Christina. 2013. Poetics. Kingsport, TN: Lampstand Press, Ltd.
- Spevak, Olga. 2010. *Constituent order in Classical Latin prose*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Whaley, Lindsay J. 1997. *Introduction to typology: The unity and diversity of language*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.