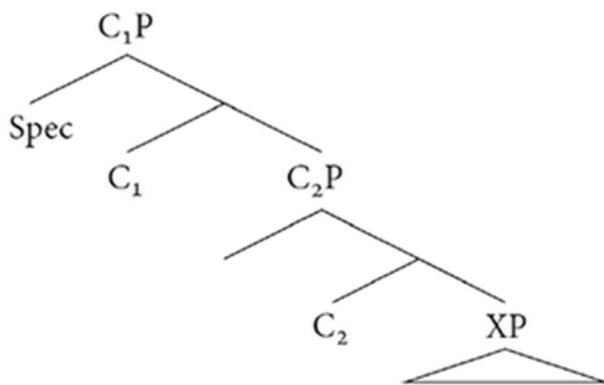


Alfred Toth

Double COMP positions in the language of Petronius

1. One of the important results of Functional Grammar, the discovery, that the word order of a sentence is depending from the context of other sentences, became an inherent part of Generative Grammar, too, especially after the theory of complementizers had been introduced (cf. Rosenbaum 1967). Since syntactic cartography had been discovered, the knot of the so-called Force Phrase has been found responsible for the anchoring of a sentence in the context of discourse. ForceP is defined as «the highest position of the Left Periphery, connected with previous discourse in main clauses» (Rizzi and Bocci 2017). However, the idea of context dependency is already present, e.g., in the old standard work on Latin stylistics by von Nägelsbach: “Aber die Hauptsache ist, daß sich die Wortstellung des Satzes in der Regel nicht innerhalb seiner selbst, sondern durch sein Verhältniß zu anderen Sätzen bestimmt» (1876, S. 441).

2. In the present study I shall do some research on double COMP positions in the language of Petronius. The linguistic examples given here are taken from the edition by Müller (1995), together with the translations by Heseltine (1925). As for the theoretical framework, I'll start with the derivational tree (cf. Leu 2017):



with the corresponding phrase structure

$[_{C1P} X [\dots [_{C2P} Y]]]$.

Special emphasis will be placed on the order of the particles which appear in COMP positions and their exchangeability. Combinations which are not present in Petronius, are marked by an asterisk.

1. [SPEC(C1)=CONJ, C2=CONJ]

- (1.a) ut si nollet alienam
so-that if not-want foreign- ACC

rem domino reddere, ad interdictum
thing- ACC owner- DAT give-back to prohibition

veniret
come-INF.SUBJ.3.SG (13, 4)

I thought we should proceed openly by civil process, and obtain a decision in the courts if they refused to give up other people's property to the rightful owners.

(1.b) *si ut

- (2.a) et si, inquam, ursus homuncionem
and if I-say bear little-human

comest (66, 6)
eat- IND.PRES.3.SG

What I say is this, since bears eat up us poor men

(2.b) *si et

However, note:

quid, si etiam mercennarius praesenti felicitate lassus indicium ad amicos detulerit (125, 3)

Or supposing the servant grows weary of his present luck and gives his friends a hint

- (3.a) aut si quaesieris (109, 3)
or if ask-IND.FUT-II.2.SG

or if you do inquire

(3.b) *si aut

- (4.a) vel si quid plus venit (47, 5)
or if something more come-IND.PRES.3.SG

But if the matter is serious

(4.b) *si vel

- (5.a) sed si nos coleos haberemus,
but if we testicles- ACC have-SUBJ.PRET.1.PL

non tantum sibi placeret (44, 14)

not so-much REFL gefallen-SUBJ.PRET.3.SG

If we had any spunk in us he would not be so pleased with himself.

(5.b) *si sed

(6.a) et postquam veni in illum
and after come-PERF.1.SG in that-ACC

locum (62, 12)

place-ACC

and when I came to the place

(6.b) *postquam et

(7.a) sed postquam precibus etiam iracundiam
but after request-DAT.PL also anger-ACC

miscui (9, 3)

mix-PERF.1.SG

but I added threats to entreaties

(7.b) *postquam sed

We can summarize up:

COMP 1	COMP 2	COMP 1	COMP 2
ut	si	*ut	si
et	si	*et	si
aut	si	*aut	si
vel	si	*vel	si
sed	si	*sed	si
et	postquam	*et	postquam
sed	postquam	*sed	postquam

Thus, every particle (in Petronius) has its fixed, determined placed. Inversions do not appear (and some of them may be ungrammatical).

2.a. [SPEC(C1)=CONJ, C2=ADV]

(1.a) si modo coronis aliquid credendum est
if only Kranz-DAT etwas glauben-PART.FUT.PASS.N. is
(83, 8)

if one can reckon at all by crowns of honour

(1.b) *modo si

(2.a) ac modo nosmet ipsos modo
and soon we-ACC.-OURSELVES self-ACC soon
mulieres intueremur (19, 1)
women-ACC look-at-SUBJ.PRET.1.PL

while we kept looking first at each other and then at the women

(2.b) *modo ac/atque

(3.a) et modo fit aries (39, 5)
and soon become-IND.PRES.3.SG ram

and at one time becomes a ram.

(3.b) *modo et

(4.a) ac subito exanimatus conticuit. (12, 4)
and suddenly exanimated fall-silent-PERF.3.SG.

and was suddenly struck dumb with astonishment

(4.b) *subito ac

(5.a) et subito lupus factus est (62, 6)
and suddenly wolf become-PART.PERF.PASS is

and suddenly turned into a wolf.

(5.b) *subito et

(6.a) et forsitan pernoctassemus in limine (79, 6)
and perhaps stay-over-night-PLQPF-1.PL

We might have had to sleep on the doorstep

(6.b) *forsitan et

Therefore, the mappings of pairs of functionally differentiated particles onto COMP positions are bijective, too:

COMP 1	COMP 2	COMP 1	COMP 2
si	modo	*si	modo
ac	modo	*ac	modo
et	modo	*et	modo
ac	subito	*ac	subito
et	subito	*et	subito
et	forsitan	*et	forsitan

An unclear case is:

(7.a) et iam non loquebatur Menelaus (27, 5), where Müller has changed to «etiam num».

(7.b) iam et tricliniarhes experrectus
 already also butler get-up-PART.PERF.ACT
 lucernis occidentibus oleum infuderat (22, 6)
 lamp-DAT go-down-PART.PRES.ACT oil-ACC.SG pour-in-PLQPF.3.SG

By this time the butler had got up and refilled the flickering lamps.

Thus, given that «et iam» in (7.a) is the correct reading, *iam* will be the only Latin particle (in the work of Petronius) which can change COMP positions (i.e, where there is no bijection from particle onto COMP position).

2.b. [SPEC(C1)=ADV, C2=CONJ]

(8.a) postquam itaque omnis bacalusias
 after TOP all-ACC nonsense-ACC
 consumpsi (41, 2)
 use-up-PERF.1.SG

After turning the problem over every way

(8.b) *itaque postquam

(9.a) postquam ergo omnes bonam
 after TOP all-NOM.PL good-ACC
 mentem bonamque valetudinem
 Geist- ACC good- ACC-and health-ACC
 sibi optarunt (61, 1)
 onself-DAT wish-PERF.3.PL

So after they had all wished themselves good sense and good health

(9.b) **ergo postquam*

(10.a)	utique	postquam	virguncula	cervicem
	certainly	after	little-girl	neck-ACC
	eius	invasit (20, 8)		
	sein-GEN	attack-PERF.3.SG		

I mean when the little girl took him by the neck

(10.b) **postquam utique*

We thus get the additional table:

COMP 1	COMP 2
postquam	itaque
postquam	ergo
utique	postquam

In this case the mapping of the markers onto the COMP places is not bijective, because *postquam* can take the first or the second COMP position, depending on the lexical context.

3. In (2.b), we marked the functions of *ergo* and *igitur* als TOP. More precisely, we are dealing here with discourse topics (cf. Toth 1994 for the language of the Itala and the Vulgata). As Kroon (1995) has shown, discourse particles like *nam/enim*, *ergo/igitur* etc., despite having a certain semantic similarity, are differentiated by pragmatic functions. We can now show this also by using our generative phrase structure.

nam

[_{C1P} *nam* [... [_{C2P} Y]]]

nam repente lacunaria sonare coeperunt (60, 1)

suddenly there came a noise from the ceiling

**repente nam*,

but cf.

enim

[_{C1P} X [... [_{C2P} *enim*]]]

Primum enim sic ut omnia, spes quoque suas ambitioni donant (4, 1)

To begin with they consecrate even their young hopefuls, like everything else, to ambition

**enim primum*

Thus, *nam* and *enim* are complementarily distributed as for their positions in CPs.

ergo

[_{C1P} X [... [_{C2P} *ergo*]]]

dum ergo iuvenes sententias rident (6, 2)

So while the young men were laughing at his epigrams

**ergo dum*

For *igitur* we also have the phrase structure

[_{C1P} X [... [_{C2P} *igitur*]]],

In the language of Petronius, *igitur* never occurs together with another complementizer, i. e. $X = \emptyset$. However, in Plautus we find both

igitur tum specimen cernitur, quo eueniat aedificatio (Plaut. Most. 132)

then one can see an example of how the building is to turn out.

and

tum igitur tibi aquae erit cupido (Plaut. Trin. 676)

then you'll be (with emphasis) yammering for water

(cf. Leumann/Hofmann/Szantyr 1965, p. 512 f.). So *igitur*, like *postquam* (v.s.), can change COMP positions.

at

at is behaving even more restrictive than *igitur* and *autem*. It is regularly mapped to the first COMP position

[_{C1P} *at* [... [_{C2P} Y]]],

since, in Petronius' work, the second COMP position is always empty and *at* is not focusing new (or resumptive) topical NPs of the type "intravit NP".

However, in Plautus, we find examples like

i intro atque inspice. at enim mulieres — (Most. 922)

Go on in and inspect it. Yes, but the women —

Ita enim vero, ne qua causa subsiet. vel mihi denumerato, ego illi porro denumeravero. At enim ne quid captioni mihi sit, si dederira tibi.

By all means, sir, so that he'll have no excuse to back out. Or you might pay it over to me, and then I'll see he's paid. Only there must be no catch in it for me, if I should give it to you,

where we even found a triple COMP structure.

In the majority of the 33 cases in Petronius, *at* is either followed by PRO («ego», «ille», «nos»), by a proper name (“Giton”) or by the focal *non*.

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