Alfred Toth

Topic prominence in the Latin language of the Itala and Vulgata

1. A topic marker is a particle which marks the topic of a sentence. The following examples, among many others, are given by Li and Thompson (1976, p. 462).

```
 9  siban-ín      hakkjo - ga        manse              (Korean)
    now - topic  school - subject    many
        marker               marker
    "The present time (topic), there are many schools."
10  Gakkoo - wa      buku - ga      isogasi-kat-ta    (Japanese)
    school - topic   I - subject     busy - past tense
           marker           marker
    "School (topic), I was busy."
```

In languages which are called topic-prominent, the informational or pragmatic notions of topic and comment/focus are considered more basic than the notions of subject and predicate. According to Öhl (2008, p. 243), topic-prominent languages show the following four main characteristics:

1. Existence of a canonic topic position (e.g., beginning of a sentence).

2. No connection between morphological marking and structural position of the subject.

3. Morphological topic marking (yet not to be found in all topic-prominent languages).

4. Constituent order is mainly SOV.

However, traces of topic prominence can also be found in languages which are usually considered subject-prominent. Cf. the following example of a so-called "double subject" construction in Non-Standard French (Lambrecht 1980, S. 337).
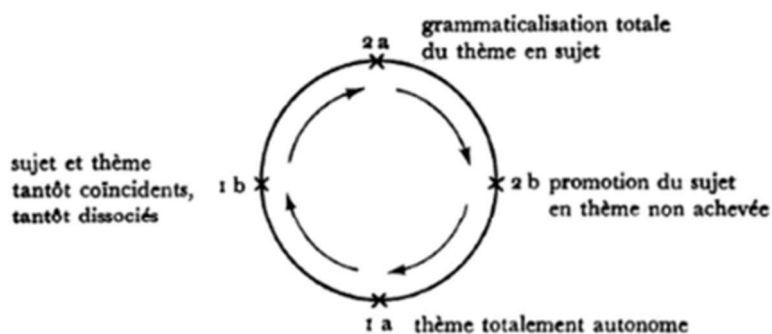
```
Moi je-mange et toi tu-bois [1]
  I   I eat  and you you drink    'I eat and you drink'
```

Li and Thompson (1976, S. 459) have shown, that subject prominence and topic prominence are just two out of four possible pragmatic types of language:

prominence of the notions of topic and subject. According to our study, there are four basic types of languages: (i) languages that are subject-prominent (a term introduced by E.L. Keenan); (ii) languages that are topic-prominent; (iii) languages that are both subject-prominent and topic-prominent; (iv) languages that are neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent. In subject-prominent (Sp) languages, the structure of sentences favors a description in which the grammatical relation <u>subject-predicate</u> plays a major role; in topic-prominent (Tp) languages, the basic structure of sentences favors a description in which the grammatical relation <u>topic-comment</u> plays a major role. In type (iii) languages, there are two equally important distinct sentence constructions, the subject-predicate construction and the topic-comment construction; in type (iv) languages, the subject and the topic have merged and are no longer distinguishable in all sentence types. In order to clarify the subject-predicate construc-

Subject-Prominent Languages	Topic-Prominent Languages
Indo-European	Chinese
Niger-Congo	Lahu (Lolo-Burmese)
Finno-Ugric	Lisu (Lolo-Burmese)
Simitic	.
Dyirbal (Australian)	.
Indonesian	.
Malagasy	.
.	
.	
.	

Subject-Prominent and Topic-Prominent Languages	Neither Subject-Prominent nor Topic-Prominent Languages
Japanese	Tagalog
Korean	Illocano
.	.
.	.
.	.

Furthermore, Hagège (1978, p. 22) has demonstrated that the four possible language types are not static, but dynamic stages in a cyclic development.

Languages therefore can change and can assume different phases concerning the codifying of subject and topic.

2. As I have shown already in Toth (1994, with older literature), first century Latin already possessed some particles which could serve as topic markers (cf. also Kroon 1994, Pinkster 1990, p. 252 ss.).

nam

> Philargyro etiam fundum lego et contubernalem suam, Carioni quoque insulam et vicesimam et lectum stratum. <u>Nam Fortunatam meam</u> heredem facio, et commendo illam omnibus amicis meis (Petron. 71,2 f.)
>
> I am making Fortunata my heir, and I recommend her to all my friends. (Rouse, Loeb)
>
> Meine Fortunata setze ich ja als Haupterbin ein (Ehlers)

enim

> Et facinus indignum, aliquis ovillam est et tunicam habet. <u>Apes enim</u> ego divinas bestias puto ... (Petron. 56,5 f.)
>
> It is a gross outrage when people eat lamb and wear shirts. Yes, and I hold the bees to be the most divine insects ... (Heseltine)
>
> Die Bienen halte ich ja für geniale Tiere (Ehlers)

autem

> Dumque loquimur, sera sua sponte delapsa cecidit reclusaeque subito fores admiserunt intrantem. <u>Mulier autem</u> erat operto capite ... (Petron. 16.2 f.)
>
> It was the veiled woman ... (Heseltine)
>
> Nun, es war eine vermummte Frau, und sie sagte: ... (Ehlers)

vero

> "Videris tamen, inquit, non ero tui similis. Si quid vis, fac iterum". <u>Ego vero</u> deposita omni offensa cum puero in gratiam redii (Petron. 87,5 f.)
>
> Ich, ja ich vergaß alle Kränkung und schloß mit dem Knaben wieder Frieden (Ehlers)

In all these examples, *nam, enim, autem* and *vero* mark a certain NP as topic. Generally, examples, in which these four particles (and probably a few others, cf. Kroon 1989) serve as topic markers, are rather scarce and colloquial (cf. Lindsay 1907, 92 ss., Hofmann 1978, *passim*). Latin is thus considered a subject prominent language. Nevertheless, the Latin which shows up in the bible translations between the 2nd and ca. the 4th century, the language of the Itala or Vetus Latina, shows topic markers and other topic strategies (cf. Toth 1994) in such an amount that the language appears to be

topic prominent. The following examples are collected from the different volumes of the Itala-edition by Jülicher (1963 ss.).

2.1. enim

2.1.1. enim = vero

Luc. 1, 18

$$
18 \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\overset{b}{\text{Ego enim sum senex et uxor mea processior in diebus suis.}} \\
\quad\text{vero } r^1 \qquad\quad \text{senes } f \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{praecedens } d \\
\qquad\quad \sim \text{senex sum } \llbracket a \rrbracket\, b \qquad\qquad \text{processit } r^1 cet \\
\qquad\qquad \text{sum senior } d
\end{array}
\right.
$$

2.1.2. enim = autem

Marc. 1, 16

$$
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
& & ff^2 & [b]\, f\, m.\, r\, ff^2\, t & & & & \\
16 & \text{eius} & \text{iactantes} & \text{retiam} & \text{in} & \text{mare.} & \text{Erant} & \text{enim} & \text{piscatores.} \\
& \text{Simonis } a\, r^1 & \text{mittentes } r^1\, cet & \text{-tias } [a]\, d & & \text{mari } r^1 & & \text{autem } d & \\
& & & \text{-tia } aur\, l\, r^1\, vg & & & & \\
& & \text{retia iactantes } c & & & & & &
\end{array}
$$

2.1.3. enim = et

Joh. 3, 14

$$
14 \left\{
\begin{array}{llllll}
14. & \text{Et} & \text{sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in} & \text{deserto,} \\
& \text{Quemadmodum enim } a & \text{Moses } vg \qquad\qquad \text{serpente } ff^2 & \text{solitudinem } b \\
& & & [\text{soli}\langle\text{tudi}\rangle\text{ne}]\, r^1 \\
14. & \text{Sicut} & \text{enim} \qquad ,, \qquad\quad ,, \qquad\quad ,, \qquad ,, & ,, \quad ,
\end{array}
\right.
$$

enim cannot only follow its NP, but also precede:

Joh. 5, 7

$$
7 \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\lceil lac.\ in\ [r^1] & & \llbracket a \rrbracket b & hact.\ lac.\ in\ [r^1]\rceil \\
\lceil \text{piscinam; dum venio enim} \quad \text{ego ,} & \text{alter ante me descendit} \rceil. \\
\quad \text{-na } f\, q \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{ego } inter\ lin.\ aur \ \ \text{alius } f\, cet \qquad \text{descendet } l\, q \\
\text{natatoriam } d\, ff^2 \qquad\quad \text{autem ego} \qquad \text{venio } d \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \sim \text{enim ego venio } \llbracket a \rrbracket\, b\, f\, q \\
\qquad\quad \text{du}\langle\text{m e}\rangle\text{nim } \langle\text{ven}\rangle\text{io} \qquad \text{ego } j \\
\text{natatoriam; ego enim dum} \quad \text{venio,} \qquad \text{alius} \quad ,, \quad ,, \text{ discendit .}
\end{array}
\right.
$$

2.2. autem

2.2.1. autem = vero

Luc. 2, 19

$$
19 \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
& & & \lceil lac.\ in\ [r^1] \\
19.\ \text{Maria autem conservabat omnia verba haec} \lceil \text{conferens in corde suo.} \\
\qquad\quad \text{vero } [a]\, c\ \text{intuebatur } r^1 \qquad\qquad \times\, \beta\, r^1\, (?)\, \llbracket\text{ista}\rrbracket\, a \ \text{committens } [a]\, d \\[8pt]
19. \quad ,, \qquad ,, \qquad \text{observabat omnes sermones istos} \qquad ,, \qquad ,, \text{ cor suum.}
\end{array}
\right.
$$

2.2.2. autem = ergo

Luc. 3, 7

```
   ⎧ 7. Dicebat      ergo          ✕       ad turbas, quae exiebant, ut baptizarentur
   ⎪        autem d f r¹   Iohannes ff² q              qui q    exibant c  ✕      baptizari d
 7 ⎨                                                             veniebant f
   ⎪                                    ✕ procedentibus⟦turbi⟧s a
   ⎪                                    ✕ qui egrediebantur populi d      ut       ⟦ab       eo
   ⎩ 7.   ·   „       autem      ✕      ✕ prodeuntibus  turbis,  cum       „
```

2.2.3. autem = enim

Matth. 3, 10

```
   ⎧                b c d q r¹
 9 ⎨ 9. Iam   ✕    autem   ✕   securis  ad     radicem    arborum   posita  est;
   ⎪     quid a enim cet   et c                radices aur c f r¹ (vg)
   ⎩ 9. „     ✕     „      ✕    „        „      radices        „        „      „ ;
```

autem = enim = Ø:

Joh. 1, 9

```
   ⎧ 9. Erat   ✕        lux   vera , quae      inluminat omnem hominem
 9 ⎨      autem f      lumen  verum, quod [a] f q   inluminabat b
   ⎪   enim aur b
   ⎩ 9. Est    ✕       lumen verum, quod           „        „       „
```

2.2.4. autem = nam

```
    ⎧       ⌈       lac. in [r¹]                                ⌉
    ⎪ 49. ⌈Nam  qui          aud⌉it   ✕   ✕ et non  facit  ✕, similis est homini
 49 ⎨   Qui autem a aur c d f v g  audivit d f v g  verba mea c      fecit d f v g  ea c            ✕ l
    ⎪ 49. Qui autem            „        ✕   ✕ „  „     „   ✕,     „    „     „
    ⎩
```

iam autem = cum autem iam = iam cum = et cum iam:

Joh. 7, 14

```
                                                              ⟦a⟧ b q [r¹] (vg)
    ⎧ 14. ✕ Iam autem  die festo mediante    ✕    ascendit Iesus in templo
    ⎪         ✕ l      dies festus  medius  esset [a] b d [r¹]        templum cet
 14 ⎨     Cum autem  iam b   „ solemnis ad medium pervenisset q
    ⎪     Iam   „   cum d r¹
    ⎪     Et   cum iam [a] q
    ⎩ 14. ✕    „      „    medio die    festo     ✕       „      „    „ templum
```

In the following text, *autem* first marks Maria as new topic (by preceding the NP) and then Elisabeth in the topic change-construction (by following the NP):

Luc. 1, 56 ss.

56

56. ⌈lac. in r¹⌉ Mansit autem Maria cum illa   ×   ⌈hact. lac. in r¹⌉ mensibus tribus⌉ et × reversa
               ea [[a]] d quasi c f vg   menses tres d
               ×   × c

56. Remansit „   „   apud illam   ×   „   „   „ tunc „

56

est ⌈lac. in [a]⌉ [b] × domi suae   ×   ×.
     in domo sua aur l q   magnificans Deum c
     in domum suam [r¹] cet

     „ in domum suam   ×   ×.

57

57. × Elisabeth autem impletum est tempus × ⌈hact. lac. in [a]⌉ [b] pariendi, et⌉ genuit filium.
   Et f   -bet aur d   × f   -tus q   ut pareret f   peperit r¹ cet
     [-bel] b   conpletum d   ut pariret d

57. × Elisabet   „   templus impletum est, ut pariret, „ peperit   „ .

2.2.5. autem = et

Luc. 1, 34

34

34. Dixit autem Maria ad angelum: Quomodo fiet istud, ᵠ   quod   ᵈ ᵠ ʳ¹ virum non novi
   Et dixit d   erit hoc   quoniam ∼ [non novi virum] a
   [Et ait] a   [illi × Maria] a   [[a]] d / q [[a]]aur cflr¹vg virum non cognovi
                            quia d   aur l
                                   virum non cognosco
                                   c f vg
                             ego enim nescio virum ff²
            × ×   × × ×   × ×   × × b

34. „   „   „   „   „   :   „   erit hoc, cum   „ × nesciam?

Post v. 34: Ecc[e ancil]la Domini, [contin]gat m[ihi secun]d[um verbum tuum]. b(∼ v. 38a)

2.2.6. autem = etiam

Luc. 1, 62

62

62. Adnuebant   autem   ×   patri eius, quem vellet vocari eum.
   Innuebant d f q r¹ vg [etiam] a et f q r¹   patrem l m. l   quid d   vult d
                                         quomodo f

62.   „   „   ×   „   „ , quid eum vellet vocari.

at NP = NP *autem* :

Luc. 5, 33

33

33. At illi   dixerunt   ad   eum :   Quare   discipuli   Iohannis
   [[× Qui]] a   [illum] a   Iohannes b
   Illi autem c f

33. Illi autem   „   „   illum :   „   „   „

et VP = VP *autem*:

Luc. 4, 32

32 {
32. Et stupebant × in doctrina eius, quia in potestate
Stupebant autem *ff²* omnes *r¹* super *ff²* -nam *ff² l m. 1* quoniam *a d* -tem *l m. 1*
Et mirabantur *d f*
32. „ admirabantur × super doctrinam „ , „ „ „

Marc. 1, 9

9
9. Et factum est, in diebus illis venit Iesus a Nazareth Galilaeae
Factum est autem *aur ff²* ~ in illis diebus *a c d ff²* Nazaret *a b d f*
× × × *a* Naiareth *r¹*
⟨Et⟩ × × *r¹* *a aur b d t* *a b d t*

Luc. 5, 3

3 {
3. Ascendens autem × in unam navem, quae erat Simonis,
Iesus *q* × *q* naviculam [*a*] *f* qui *f*
3. Et ascendit × „ × „ , „ fuit „ ,

3 {
Et sedens docebat de navicula turbas.
⟦Sedens autem⟧ *a* in nave turbas docebat *d*
„ „ in navi docebat populos.

Inversion *est autem/autem est* can be found in:

Joh. 3, 19

19 {
19. Hoc est autem iudicium × , quia lux
× *c* Dei *aur ff² l* quoniam *b d q[r¹]*
19. „ autem est „ × , quoniam „

Cf. also the inversion in:

Luc. 5, 4

4 {
4. Ut cessavit autem loqui, dixit ad Simonem: Duc in altum et
~autem cessavit *f* Adduc *d*
⟦Cumque desiit loqui⟧ *a* ⟦Leva in alto⟧ *a*
Cum autem cessasset loquens *d*
4. Cum cessaret „ loquendo, „ „ „ : Recede „ „ „

et ipse = ipse autem

Luc. 6, 20

20 {
lac. in *b*
·20. ⌈Et ipse⌉ elevatis oculis × in discipulos suos × dicebat:
Ipse autem *c* levatis *ff²* oculos *a d* [*r¹*] suis *c* [ad] *r¹* discentes *a* × *d ff²*
× *d* adlevans *a* suos *d* [discip]ulis suis *b*
lac. in [*r¹*] elevans *d*
[....aus] *r¹* (?)
20. „ × levavit oculos × ad discentes „ et dixit:

7

In the following examples, *et* has pretty much the function of a dummy (expletive):

Luc. 4, 33

```
                       a [b] ʃ
      33. Et    erat   in   synagoga  homo   habens  daemonium  inmundum,  et
33              ~erat homo in synagoga ffª                        ×  aur c
              ~in syn. erat homo aur c l q r¹ vg
            Erat autem d
      33. Erat autem   „      „      „      „        „      immundum,  „
```

Luc. 5, 29

```
      Et  erat  turba  multa  publicanorum  et  aliorum,  qui  cum  illis  erant
                ~multa turba l                ×   × q               eis c
29              magna c                                    ~⟦⟨e⟩rant cum illis⟧ a
                ⟦ingens⟧ a                                        simul ƒ
                                                          ×   ×   ×   × d
       „    „    „    magna      „      „    „    ×   ×   ×   ×
```

The following example shows resumptive topic changing, marked by *et*, where one would expect *ille autem* (which is actually used when the topic changes again).

Luc. 1, 63

```
                         ⌈lac. in ⟦a⟧           hact. lac. in ⟦a⟧⌉
      63.  × Et accepit pu⌈gillarem  et scripsit dicens: Iohannes est no⌉men eius.
           postulans pugillare l m. 1   ×              -nis aur [r¹] (vg)
63         aur ƒ vg pugillares ffª  aur c ƒ vg
           ⟦accepto    pu . . .⟧ a
         Et cum   petisset    tabulam × d          × d
      63. Ille  autem  petit  pugillaris „    „    ×  :  Iohannis „    „    eus.
```

et tu = tu autem

Luc. 1, 76

```
      76. Et tu   ×   puer  propheta Altissimi vocaberis. Praeibis enim ante faciem
76           autem infans d profetaβ q r¹(vg)           Antecedes d          facie ffª
      76. „ „   ×   „    profeta      „    vocaveris.   „      „    „    „
```

NP *autem = et* NP

Luc. 2, 8

```
      8. Pastores autem erant in  illa regione  vigilantes et custodientes  vigilias
            Et pastores c vg        ~ regione illa d  cantantes d               custodias d
8                                  eadem regione ƒ
                                   regione eadem vg
      8.   „      „      „   „  regione illa pernoctantes „      „        nocturnas
```

et VP = VP *autem*

Marc. 1, 9

Greek καί is translated by *autem*:

Marc. 2, 17

Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς

Marc. 1, 28

καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ

autem in topic introduction. Note that in cases like this the Greek text has neither καὶ nor any other particle, so that the topic marking used is genuinely Latin:

Ἦν Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σίμωνος Πέτρου

Joh. 1, 40

et ipse NP *erat = erat autem* NP

Luc. 3, 23

Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος

```
     ⎧ 23. Et ipse Iesus erat incipiens        fere     annorum triginta    ×      × ,
     ⎪        ~erat Iesus ff²   ×[[a]] d f  quasi aur d r¹ vg            XXX      incipiens [[a]] d
23  ⎨        Erat autem Iesus d                                    [[a]]⟨b⟩ c d ff² r¹ (vg)    [[filius]] a
     ⎪ 23.  „   „      „    „      ×         quasi          „      „      ×      × ,
     ⎩
```

ipse autem = ille vero

Marc. 1, 45

ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν

```
     ⎧       b q
     ⎪ 45. Ipse autem egressus coepit praedicare et  diffamare  sermonem, ita ut
45  ⎨     Ille    vero ff²                          diffamatum ff²
     ⎪     At ille [r¹] cet
     ⎪ 45. Ille    „    exiens   „      „      „      „         verbum,  „  „
     ⎩
```

2.3. ergo

2.3.1. ergo = vero

Luc. 4, 7

σὺ οὖν ἐὰν προσκυνήσῃς ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ

```
     ⎧ 7. Tu   ergo  si procidens adoraveris ×     ante    me, erunt tua omnia ×.
     ⎪      vero c ff²    procedens r¹             coram aur c vg    [eri]nt a omnia tua  haec b
7   ⎨      × aur c d vg                          × f l r¹
     ⎪                                     in   conspecto  meo d
     ⎪ 7.  „    „    si prostratus    „      in conspectu meo,  erit   „ omnes ×.
     ⎩
```

2.3.2. ergo = itaque

Luc. 3, 8

ποιήσατε οὖν καρποὺς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας

```
     ⎧ 8. Facite ergo  ×  fructus     dignos  paenitentiae  et   ne  coeperitis
     ⎪       [[ita]]que a   -tos aur b l (vg) dignus ff²       -tia r¹ [[×]] a  incipiatis d f
8   ⎨                    -tum     dignum d r¹                        [[vellitis]] a
     ⎪                                                                 ×
     ⎪ 8.  „    „   vobis fructum   dignum     „      „   „    „
     ⎩
```

Cf. also the following synopsis ap. Toth (1994, p. 204):

Matth. 22, 25:	Vulg.	erant autem apud nos septem fratres
	Vet. Lat.	ergo
Marc. 12, 20:	Vulg.	septem ergo fratres erant
	Vet. Lat. a	erant autem
	Vet. Lat. c	septem igitur fratres fuerunt

	Vet. Lat. aur/l vg	ergo
Luc. 20, 29:	Vulg,	septem ergo fratres erant
	Vet. Lat. ff²	autem
	Vet. Lat. d	Ø,

where *autem, ergo, igitur* and Ø are mutually exchangeable. Although in these cases, the Greek original text uses topic markers, too, the exchangeability of them which shows up in Latin is again genuine.

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Address of the author:

Prof. Dr. Alfred Toth, 8225 East Speedway, Apt. 1013, Tucson, AZ 85710 (USA)