

„in der Konzeption des *fatum*-Erlebnisses . . . echt römische religiöse Vorstellungen wirksam“ waren⁹⁹). b) Nicht nur das Ergebnis des *fari*, *fatum* birgt das Problem der richtigen Einordnung in eine größere Perspektive in sich, sondern auch das Verb *fari* selbst. Unsere Untersuchungen, insbesondere der hier rekonstruierte Text scheinen darauf hinzudeuten, daß Varro ein Vierphasensystem der kindlichen Sprachentwicklung vorschwebte: 1) *Vagire*; 2) *Infans* (= *fatuus* = *quasi-fari*); 3) *Fari*; 4) *Loqui*. Eine Einteilung, die bemerkenswerterweise mit den Ergebnissen einer so modernen sprachwissenschaftlichen Disziplin wie die Pädolinguistik übereinstimmt: 1) Vorstadium (Schreien); 2) Lallperiode; 3) Einwortsätze; 4) Vollentwickelte Sprachfähigkeit¹⁰⁰). Auch dieses Problem der kindlichen Sprachentwicklung sahen die Römer zugleich als ein religiöses Problem, dadurch, daß sie jeder Phase einen besonderen Schutzgott zuordneten. Auffälligerweise kennt Varro deren auch vier: 1) *Vaticanus*; 2) *Fabulinus*; 3) *Farinus*; 4) (*Aius*) *Locutius*¹⁰¹). Die Zuordnung des 1., 3. und 4. zu der entsprechenden kindlichen Entwicklungsphase ist ziemlich eindeutig; problematisch ist auch hier der Stellenwert des zweiten, *Fabulinus*. Im Lichte des neuen Textvorschlags scheint uns ein erneutes Durchleuchten auch dieses größeren Problemkomplexes, mit all seinen wenig geklärten Einzelheiten, ein Desiderat zu sein.

Word Order, Genre, Adstratum: The Place of the Verb in Caesar's Topographical Excursus

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In the three topographical excursus in Caesar, *B. G.* 1,1,5–7; 5,13; and 6,25,2–3, the verbs are predominantly non-final and find their place in the communicative theme-rheme organization of the sentence according to their degree of Communicative Dynamism (see theory of Functional Sentence Perspective and Panhuis 1982). Final verbs are mostly explained as adhering to the general tendency of the verb in Caesar's military/administrative

⁹⁹) W. Pötscher, *Grazer Beiträge* 2 (1974) 186, 171ff. = ANRW 2,16, 1,408,394f. P. Boyancé, *La religion de Virgile*. Paris 1963, 39ff.

¹⁰⁰) E. Oksaar o.c. 158ff., 187f.

¹⁰¹) *Rer. div. frg.* 107, 108, Appendix XIV a (Nonius 532) Cardauns.

reporting style. Caesar's Greek sources have influenced the place of the verb in the topographical excursus, but not the structure of Latin. The verbs in scattered topographical clauses which occur in reporting passages do not adhere to the style of the topographical genre, but to Caesar's classical verb-final reporting style.

1. *Introduction*

Very little notice has been taken of the fact that in the topographical excursus of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* the verb occurs mostly in non-final position, whereas Caesar's work in general is characterized by a very strong tendency of the verb to occur in final position. The percentage of final verbs, given by Linde (1923: 154) on the basis of *B. G. II*, is 84% for main clauses, and 93% for subordinate clauses. This remarkable exception to the general tendency of the verb in Caesar's work constitutes a problem which needs an explanation. This problem is studied here in relation to the order of all the sentence constituents in Colloquial and Classical Latin, to the particular genre of the topographical excursus, and to the Greek sources for these excursus.

Before discussing the place of the verb in the topographical excursus, it is necessary to provide a general view of the communicative perspective in the order of the constituents in the Latin sentence. This view has been exposed in Panhuis (1982), and is presented here very briefly.

2. *The Communicative Perspective in the Latin Sentence*

The order of the sentence constituents in Latin has to be understood, not through a syntactic approach (subject, object, . . .), but from a communicative perspective, as developed in the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (e.g., Firbas 1971; summary of the theory of FSP in Panhuis 1982: 7-17). In Colloquial Latin, as reflected in Plautus' comedies, the communication in the sentence starts from the thematic elements. These elements connect the rest of the sentence with the preceding context, with the participants in the conversation, or with something in the speech situation: they are the elements about which something is said. In the second segment of the sentence, some comment, *ῥῆμα*, is made about the thematic elements. The rheme or rhemes (R) add sense, predicate something about the theme(s) (T), "push the communication forward" (Firbas 1966: 240), have a greater degree of Communicative Dynamism (henceforth: CD) than the thematic ele-

ment(s). In a normal, non-emotive sentence, the various constituents are thus organized in a T-R perspective.

In the Classical Latin of Caesar, the verb has a very strong tendency to occur in final position, whatever its degree of CD is. (The origin of this tendency is discussed in Panhuis 1982, Ch. V.) The unmarked order of the constituents in Caesar is thus not S-O-V (as most traditional Latin grammars have it), nor T-R (as is the case in Colloquial Latin), but T-R, V. In this formula, I capture both the neutralization of the communicative perspective in the verb, which by literary convention tends to occur in final position, and the communicative perspective in all the other constituents of the sentence.

3. *The Place of the Verb in Caesar's Topographical Excursus*

3.1 Apart from occasional topographical information contained in scattered sentences or clauses (to be discussed below), three passages in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* can properly speaking be defined as topographical excursus. An excursus is a digression which provides a more extended exposition of a particular topic within a larger piece of discourse. Greek and Latin historical works often contain, and are expected to contain, such excursus on the geography, ethnography, topography, economy, etc. of newly mentioned countries, tribes, etc. (Norden 1920:8-41; Rasmussen 1963).

Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* contains several ethnographic excursus of various length. The exceptional position of the verb, however, is confined to the purely topographical passages in *B. G.* 1,1,5-7; 5,13; and 6,25,2-3. The first of these passages is part of a larger geographic introduction, the second and the third of a larger ethnographic excursus.

The excursus on the topography of Gaul (*B. G.* 1,1,5-7) contains 8 non-final verbs and 3 final verbs, the topographical excursus on Britain (*B. G.* 5,13) 15 non-final verbs and 8 final verbs, and the topography of the Hercynic forest (*B. G.* 6,25,2-3) 3 non-final verbs and 1 final verb. In total: 26 non-final verbs and 12 final verbs, or a ratio of 2:1.

3.2 The occurrence of final and non-final verbs in these excursus can be illustrated and discussed by means of *B. G.* 1,1,5-7, which follows here. 5. *Eorum una pars, quam Gallos optinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano, continetur Garunna flumine, Oce-*

ano, finibus Belgarum, attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum, vergit ad septentriones. 6. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem. 7. Aquitania a Garunna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

The order in a typical topographical sentence like *B. G.* 1, 1, 5 is to be explained from a communicative perspective. The first noun phrase *eorum una pars quam Gallos optinere dictum est* 'one part of them, which, as said, is occupied by the Gauls' is the theme to be described in the second segment of each of the four main clauses of sentence 5. The communication in the first main clause is advanced by the expression *initium capit* 'starts' and by *a flumine Rhodano* 'from the river Rhône'. These two constituents are rhematic, but the first less so than the second, because the first needs an obligatory complement, and it is this obligatory complement *a flumine Rhodano* which is the major piece of information this main clause is providing: viz., one of the boundaries of the territory of the Gauls. In the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP), *initium capit* is thus called a rheme, *a flumine Rhodano* a rheme proper (Rp) or the rheme with the highest degree of CD. The communicative perspective in the second and third clauses of sentence 5 runs parallel to the one in the first main clause. The theme is still the same (and understood), the rheme is a verb, semantically suggesting a limit (*continetur* 'is bordered', *atingit* 'reaches'), but what the limits of the territory of the Gauls are, is communicated by the complements *Garunna flumine* 'by the river Garonne,' *Oceano* 'by the Ocean,' *finibus Belgarum* 'by the territory of the Belgians,' *flumen Rhenum* 'the Rhine.' These limits are the rhemes proper in the respective clauses. In the fourth and last clause as well, the verb *vergit* 'is oriented' is rhematic, but the rheme proper is *ad septentriones* 'to the north,' the real point to be made in this clause.

In 4 of the clauses that follow in sentences 6 and 7, the verbs are non-final, and the clauses display the same communicative structure as in 5: Theme (*Belgae, Aquitania*) — Rheme (*pertinent, spectant, est, spectat*) — Rheme proper (the various complements to these verbs). The order of the sentence constituents in this topographical excursus is thus in most cases the same as the order in Colloquial Latin. In particular the verb finds its position in the sentence in accordance with its degree of CD.

3.3 This topographical excursus on Gaul contains three instances of final verbs. The first final verb phrase occurs in the relative clause *quam Gallos optinere dictum est*. This clause, however, does not give a topographical description of an area, but simply names the area and, for that purpose, also refers back (*dictum est*) to an earlier mention of that area. The clause, therefore, cannot be said to belong to the topographical genre, but is written in regular Classical Latin of the kind used by Caesar.

The second exception to the topographical T-R style in this excursus is the verb *pertinet* in sentence 7. From a communicative perspective this verb has a lower degree of CD than its complements *a Garunna flumine, ad Pyrenaeos montes, and eam partem Oceani etc.*, and, hence, is expected to occur before its complements. The final position of *pertinet* is thus at variance with the topographical style, but in conformity with the Classical Latin word order in Caesar. The explanation of its position has to be seen in its occurrence after the preceding sentence, which contains the (non-final) verb *pertinent*. The three sentences of the excursus run parallel to each other, each defining the territory of a population: the Gauls (*stricto sensu*), the Belgians, and the Aquitanians. Each sentence contains the same or similar verbs, denoting borders. It seems that, after sentence 6 with *pertinent* the similar sentence 7 with the same verb *pertinet* is easier to process, and that Caesar may have reverted to his normal Classical word order T-R, V.

Although this explanation of the place of *pertinet* is somewhat tentative, it seems to be supported by a parallel case in *B. G.* 1,3,5: *Dumnorigi . . . ut idem conaretur persuadet* 'he persuades Dumnorix to try the same thing.' The verb *persuadet* in Caesar is normally followed by the *ut*-clause. However, since the preceding sentence (*B. G.* 1,3,4) is very similar in structure and content (*persuadet Castico . . . ut regnum . . . occuparet* 'he persuades Casticus . . . to seize power . . .') the second *persuadet* is somehow expected and apparently adapts to the general tendency of the verb to occur in final position, even though its complement is an *ut*-clause. (See also my remark in Dryer 1979:242, fn. 48.)

The third final verb in this excursus is *oriuntur* in the first clause of sentence 6. The explanations given for the final positions of the two earlier exceptions do not apply to *oriuntur*. This verb does occur in a typical topographical sentence, and even elsewhere in Caesar, *oriri* occurs less frequently than other verbs in final position (see below). An explanation for its position can be found with the

help of the theory of FSP. In sentence 5, the Gauls (*stricto sensu*) are the theme of the sentence. In sentence 6, the new theme is *Belgae*. It is the theme proper (Tp) of the sentence. However, the territory of the Gauls, described in 5, is also a starting point, a (topographical and linguistic) reference point for sentence 6 (*ab extremis Galliae finibus*). The only piece of information in the first clause of sentence 6 that “pushes the communication forward” is *oriuntur*. The verb *oriuntur* is thus final, not because of the general tendency of the verb in Caesar’s Classical Latin, but because it is the rheme or most dynamic piece of information in the clause. The interpretation-translation of this clause, therefore, is not: ‘Belgium begins at the END OF THE TERRITORY OF THE GAULS, goes till the LOWER RHINE, and is oriented to the NORTH and the EAST’ (where the upper cases indicate the major sentence stress in English), but rather: ‘Belgium BEGINS at the end of the territory of the Gauls, etc.’ or with Constans: “La Belgique commence où finit la Gaule.” The stress on ‘BEGINS’ in the English translation reflects the rhematic character of *oriuntur* and the thematic character of the two other constituents of the clause.

3.4 In sum, the order of the constituents in this topographical excursus is:

- a) generally T–R, or more precisely T–R–Rp for most of the sentences, and Tp–T–R for the first clause of sentence 6. All the constituents of the sentence are sensitive to the communicative perspective.
- b) exceptionally T–R, V. In this pattern the verb is not sensitive to the communicative perspective, and, like in Caesar’s Classical Latin, occurs in final position, whatever its degree of CD is. In sentence 5 the relative clause with *optinere dictum est* does not give a topographical description; in 7 the preceding *pertinent* may be responsible for the return to the Classical sentence-final position of the verb *pertinet*.

3.5 The second excursus, about twice as long as the first, is the topographical description of Britain (*B. G.* 5, 13). It contains 8 final verbs and 15 non-final verbs, not counting the parenthetical clause *ut existimatur* ‘as is thought.’ Since the reason for the positions of the verbs are very similar to the ones in *B. G.* 1, 1, 5–7, the description of Britain is not quoted in full, and a brief discussion of a few sentences will suffice.

The T-R organization is found in topographical sentences like . . . *unum latus est contra Galliam* 'one side faces Gaul,' and *alterum vergit ad Hispaniam atque occidentem solem* 'the second is oriented toward Spain and the west' (*B. G.* 5,13,1-2). One more example of the communicative perspective on different levels in the grammatical hierarchy is seen in *B. G.* 5,13,3: *In hoc medio cursu est insula quae appellatur Mona* 'In between [i.e., between Britain and Ireland] lies the island which is called Man.' The place complement is thematic; it refers to the distance between Britain and Ireland, mentioned in the preceding sentence. The verb *est* is semantically very weak and communicatively not very dynamic: it is a verb of existence. Much more dynamic for the development of the communication is the thing that exists: *insula quae appellatur Mona*. This noun phrase is the rheme proper of the sentence. Within this rheme proper, the relative clause seems to be more rhematic than the head noun *insula*. Within the relative clause, *quae* is the theme (it refers back to *insula*), *appellatur* is rhematic, but the most dynamic element or rheme proper is *Mona*, the name of the island. It should be repeated that the verbs are sensitive to the communicative perspective and find their place in the T-R organization of the sentence in accordance with their degree of CD.

Of the eight final verbs in this excursus, five do not give a topographical description and adhere to the general tendency of the verb in the Latin of Caesar to be final (*appelluntur* in *B. G.* 5,13,1; *existimantur* and *scripserunt* in 3; *reperiebamus* and *videbamus* in 4).

Two final verbs in this excursus occur in *B. G.* 5,13,6: *Tertium est contra septentriones; cui parti nulla est obiecta terra, sed eius angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat. Hoc milia passuum octingenta in longitudinem esse existimatur*. 'The third side faces the north; in front of it there is no land, but one angle of that side DOES LOOK directly to Germany. This side is estimated to be 800 miles long.' After stating that there is nothing to the north of the third side of Britain, Caesar may want to say that at one angle of that side of the triangle, there is indeed land. In that case, not the direction (*ad Germaniam*) is the rheme proper of the sentence, but the fact that it DOES LOOK in the direction of land. Hence, the final position of *spectat*. The argument for such an interpretation resides thus in the contrast ("sed") with *nulla est obiecta terra*. The position of the second final verb phrase *esse existimatur* in the same passage quoted is difficult to explain.

The last final verb in this excursus is *spectat* in *B. G.* 5,13,1. It is certainly not the most rhematic constituent of the sentence, since the two directions (east and south) are the rhemes proper. *Huius lateris alter angulus, qui est ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves appelluntur, ad orientem solem, inferior ad meridiem spectat.* 'One angle of this side, the one near Kent, where almost all the boats from Gaul land, is oriented to the east, the lower angle to the south.' It should be noticed that the verb *spectat* gaps in accordance with the direction of Gapping posited by Ross (1970), and examined for Latin by Panhuis (1980): identical final verbs in coordinated clauses with sets of two opposing constituents gap backward or to the left, as is the case here with *spectat*, non-final verbs gap forward or to the right. According to this Gapping-Rule, the verb *spectat* normally would not occur after *inferior*, nor after *ad orientem solem*, but only in its actual position or before *ad orientem solem*. This last position (a non-final position) would thus normally be the only alternative to the clause and sentence-final position which *spectat* now occupies. One may speculate about the reasons why *spectat* does not occur in that alternative position before *ad orientem solem*, as expected by our theory.

3.6 The third topographical excursus is the one on the Hercynic forest (*B. G.* 6,25,2-3). It contains three non-final verbs (*oritur, pertinet, flectit*), which find their positions in the respective clauses in accordance with their degrees of CD. The reason for the final position of the verb *attingit*, on the other hand, is not clear.

3.7 Conclusions. The gross figures (26 non-final verbs and 12 final verbs) and the ratio 2:1 indicate a remarkable exception to the general tendency of the verb in Caesar's Classical Latin to occupy the final position. It is clear from the gross figures and from the discussion of the communicative perspective in the sentences of these topographical excursus that in general the verb does not adhere to the Classical Latin convention to be final. It finds its place in the T-R organization in accordance with its degree of CD.

Among the final verbs two are final because they are the most rhematic elements in their respective topographical clauses. As such they too conform to the T-R organization of the sentences in a topographical excursus (*oriuntur* in *B. G.* 1,1,6; *spectat* in *B. G.* 5,13,6).

One final verb (*pertinet* in *B. G.* 1,1,7) occurs in a topographical sentence, but seems to be final under influence of the preceding

pertinere and to conform to the general tendency of the verb in Caesar's Latin to be final.

Six verbs are final because they occur in non-topographical sentences (*optinere dictum est*, *B. G.* 1, 1, 5; *appelluntur*, *existimantur*, *scripserunt*, *reperiebamus*, and *videbamus* in *B. G.* 5, 13). They follow the general tendency of the verb in Caesar's Latin.

The final position of three verbs is hard to explain (*spectat* in *B. G.* 5, 13, 1; *esse existimatur* in *B. G.* 5, 13, 6; *attingit* in *B. G.* 6, 25, 3).

4. *The Place of the Verb in Isolated Topographical Sentences*

Outside the three topographical excursus, discussed so far, topographical information is found in isolated clauses and sentences throughout Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*. However, in these scattered occurrences, the verb does not fit in the T-R organization according to its degree of CD, but tends to occur in final position, as is generally the case in Caesar's Classical Latin. The verbs that are found more than once in the topographical excursus (except *esse*) are surveyed in the *Bellum Gallicum* and appear to occur almost always in a clause-final position, as can be seen from Table 1.

	Topographical Excursus		Isolated Topogr. Sentences		Non-topogr. Sentences	
	Non-final	Final	NF	F	NF	F
<i>attingere</i>	1	1	0	6	0	4
<i>oriri</i>	1	1	2	1	4	4
<i>pertinere</i>	3	1	0	4	0	13
<i>spectare</i>	2	2	0	1	0	2
<i>vergere</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0
TOTALS	9	5	2	14	4	23

Table 1

This table shows that the non-final position of the verb is not a lexical idiosyncrasy of some "topographical" verbs, but a characteristic of the topographical genre. Indeed, when the five verbs

surveyed occur in isolated topographical sentences, they tend to be final with the same frequency as when they occur in non-topographical sentences. Or in other words, the verbs in isolated topographical sentences do not follow the word order rules of the topographical genre but those of Caesar's Classical Latin.

One reservation has to be made for *oriri* (topographically) 'to begin at,' (genealogically) 'to descend from,' which appears to be non-final with a much higher degree than the other verbs. Probably, because of its semantics its complements are more rhematic to the point that *oriri* is often non-final, even in Caesar's Classical Latin. The verb *oriri* is thus a lexical "leak" in the Classical Latin tendency of the verb to be final.

5. *The Greek Sources*

For much of his topographical information, Caesar relies on Posidonius, a Greek philosopher and geographer (ca. 135–51 B.C.), whose works have not been preserved, but who has also been an important source for Strabo (63 B.C.–25 A.D.), particularly for Strabo's Book 3 (on Iberia) and 4 (on Gaul and Britain [Norden 1920:100, 103, 170; Aujac I, 1, 1969:xxxviii–xl; Lasserre II, 1966:4–7, 102, 106–109]).

This is not the place to make general statements about the position of the verb in Greek. The only observation to be made is that in Strabo's *Geography* the verb occurs much less frequently in final position than in Caesar's Classical Latin. An example is the verb *ὀρίζει* 'limits' in the following sentence on Transalpine Gaul: *εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ταύτην ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δύσεως ὀρίζει τὰ Πυρρηναῖα ὄρη, προσαπτόμενα τῆς ἐκατέρωθεν θαλάττης, τῆς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ὁ Ῥῆνος, παράλληλος ὢν τῇ Πυρρήνῃ* (Strabo 4, 1, 1).

In the clause introduced by *ὅτι* 'that,' the first position is occupied by the theme proper (Transalpine Gaul, a theme brought up in the preceding sentences), and the second by a thematic setting element ('on the west').¹ The communication advances with the verb 'limits' (rhematic element), but the point is only really made with the mention of the limit ('the Pyrenees Mountains:' the rheme proper). Notice that the analysis of this clause is not based on the syntactic functions (subject, object, . . .), but on the communi-

¹) On thematic setting elements, cf. Panhuis 1982:36, 121–2, 126; Grimes 1975:51 ff.

cative structure (theme proper–theme–rheme–rheme proper), and that in order to preserve the communicative structure of the Greek original, the English translation replaces the Greek active Object-Verb-Subject order by a passive construction. (Lasserre 1966, *ad locum*, also uses a passive in his French translation.)

Caesar wrote his *Bellum Gallicum* hastily in the last months of the year 52 B.C. (Constans 1958:x). For most of his work he could rely on his own reports to the senate, reports of his officers, and on his own memory or notes (Constans 1958:xiii). He could write in the conventional military and administrative reporting style with its final verbs (Fraenkel 1956; Rambaud 1966:25–27). Since his work was destined for the general educated public in Rome (Schanz-Hosius 1927:341), he had to add at the last moment some excursus on the exotic regions of Gaul, Britain, and Germany. For these geographical excursus, he relied on Greek sources such as Posidonius. As a result, the *Bellum Gallicum* contains not only the errors of his sources, but also “des hellénismes et des tours inattendues qui sentent la traduction” (Constans 1958:xiv). Constans does not elaborate, but the position of the verb certainly fits his observation: the non-final position of the verb in the topographical excursus is a result of the translation from the Greek sources, and is an exception to the general tendency of the verb to be final in Caesar’s Latin.

While the verbs are generally non-final in Caesar’s topographical excursus under the influence of the Greek sources, they tend to be final in the ethnographical parts of his geographical excursus and in the isolated topographical sentences. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that a topographical excursus constitutes a foreign technical genre. Since topography has not been developed in Rome as a literary genre, it retains foreign language structures in Caesar’s hurried translations, whereas less technical ethnological sentences are more easily adapted to the mould of Classical Latin.

Furthermore, the non-final verbs are maintained only if they occur in a coherent discourse of the topographical genre, as is the case in the three excursus studied. This condition is not fulfilled in the isolated topographical clauses or sentences, which occur in pieces of discourse of a different genre. For instance, the topographical information contained in the relative clause . . . *Oceanum attingunt* ‘they border on the Ocean’ occurs in a military/administrative report: *Eodem tempore a P. Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismos, Coriosolitas, Esvivos,*

Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritimae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in dicionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas. 'At the same period, Publius Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion to the Veneti, Venelli, Osismi, Coriosolitae, Esuvii, Aulerci, and Redones—which are maritime tribes and border on the Ocean—, informed him that all those tribes had been subjected to the authority of the Roman people.' (*B. G.* 2, 34). This report is written in Caesar's Classical style with predominantly final verbs. The verb in the topographical clause adapts itself to the style of the genre in which it occurs.

From the different positions of the verb in Caesar it appears thus that word order phenomena are linked to genres, and that it may be difficult to characterize adequately a language typologically as SOV, SVO, etc.

6. *Adstratum*

From the Greek influence on the position of the verb in Caesar's topographical excursus one should not deduce that this Greek influence caused, or at least contributed to, a historical change in the position of the verb in Latin. The Classical Latin language with its tendency of the verb to be final did not under Greek influence change to a verb medial language, which is then continued in Romance.

On the contrary, the (reconstructed) Proto-Indo-European OV pattern (Lehmann 1974)²) has disappeared from Latin before the time of Plautus (Adams 1976:72). Early Colloquial Latin, as reflected by Plautus, is not verb-final, although final verbs do occur, when the communicative organization of the sentence requires it. Only in the late third century B.C. does the clause-final tendency of the verb emerge again in the written language. (For more details, see Panhuis 1982, Ch. V.) This tendency then becomes a characteristic of Classical Latin, to varying degrees for different authors (cf. Panhuis 1982:151–152). This archaizing trend in Classical Latin later also disappears when the standards of the classical language give way to the colloquial patterns.

²) I sidestep the issue how consistently verb-final PIE may have been. For instance, Dressler (1969) surveys the initial verbs in the older IE languages, and Gonda (1959:7–69) the medial verbs in Vedic. See also Watkins (1976), Strunk (1977:16–22), and Baldi (1979:49–53).

Against the background of the history of Latin with regard to the place of the verb, the Greek influence detected in Caesar's topographical excursus is not significant for the evolution of the language. The topographical excursus are not written in Classical Latin, as far as the position of the verb is concerned, but are written in a register which is close to the colloquial speech of the Romans. The Greek geographers have influenced Caesar's topographical excursus but not the structure of Latin. "La langue n'accepte des éléments de structure étrangers que quand ils correspondent à ses tendances de développement" (Jakobson 1938:54; cf. also Coleman 1975:147). The verbs from the Greek sources could continue to occupy a non-final position in Caesar's topographical excursus, because non-final verbs are normal in Latin, except in Classical Latin.

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