

Evolution of Direct Discourse Marking from Classical to Late Latin

# The Language of Classical Literature

*Series Editors*

Irene J.F. de Jong  
Caroline H.M. Kroon

*Editorial board*

Rutger J. Allan  
Mark A.J. Heerink

VOLUME 37

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/tlcl*

# Evolution of Direct Discourse Marking from Classical to Late Latin

*By*

Jana Mikulová



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Funding: This work was supported by the Czech Science Foundation [grant number GA18-01878S].

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>  
LC record available at <http://lccn.loc.gov/2022042123>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](http://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 2590-2709

ISBN 9789004524996 (hardback)

ISBN 9789004525009 (e-book)

Copyright 2022 by Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts. Published by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau, V&R unipress and Wageningen Academic.

Koninklijke Brill nv reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill nv via [brill.com](http://brill.com) or [copyright.com](http://copyright.com).

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

# Contents

List of Figures and Tables VII

Acknowledgements IX

## 1 Introduction 1

1.1 Corpus of Examined Texts 2

1.2 Data Set for the Analysis 6

## 2 Theoretical Preliminaries 9

2.1 Direct Discourse 11

2.1.1 *Deictic Centres and Deictics* 12

2.1.2 *Syntactic Characteristics* 13

2.1.3 *Compatibility with Certain Expressions* 15

2.1.4 *Literalness of Quotations* 16

2.1.5 *Number of Speech Situations* 16

2.1.6 *Summary* 18

2.2 Structures Similar to Direct Discourse 19

2.2.1 *Pure Quotations* 19

2.2.2 *Mixed Quotations* 21

2.2.3 *Strengthening Illocutionary Force* 24

2.3 Direct Discourse Markers 27

2.3.1 *Verbal Markers* 28

2.3.2 *Non-verbal Markers* 30

2.3.3 *Zero Markers* 32

2.3.4 *Punctuation* 34

2.4 Grammaticalization: How New Quotative Markers Arise 35

## 3 The Marking of Direct Discourse in the Examined Texts 38

3.1 Verbal Markers 39

3.1.1 *Inquit* 40

3.1.1.1 Frequency of Use 40

3.1.1.2 Forms 42

3.1.1.3 Addressees, Modifiers, Cataphoric Expressions 43

3.1.1.4 Position of *Inquit* 44

3.1.1.5 Expressions before Interposed *Inquit* and Reporting  
Clause Patterns 45

3.1.1.6 Agreement of *Inquit* 50

3.1.1.7 Generalized Interlocutor 51

3.1.1.8 Summary 52

3.1.2	<i>Ait</i>	53
3.1.2.1	Frequency of Use, Forms	53
3.1.2.2	Position and Adjacency	55
3.1.2.3	Patterns of Reporting Clause	56
3.1.2.4	Summary	59
3.1.3	<i>Dicere</i>	59
3.1.3.1	Forms	59
3.1.3.2	Frequency of Use	60
3.1.3.3	Position and Adjacency	64
3.1.3.4	Patterns of Reporting Clause	64
3.1.3.5	Dicens quia, dicens si	69
3.1.3.6	Summary	69
3.1.4	<i>Loqui and Compounds</i>	70
3.1.5	<i>Other Verbal Markers</i>	71
3.1.5.1	Respondere	75
3.1.5.2	Clamare and Compounds (-Clam- Verbs)	77
3.1.5.3	Remaining Verbal Markers	80
3.2	Non-verbal Markers	85
3.3	Zero Markers	90
3.4	Multiple Marking and Redundancy	94
3.4.1	<i>Frequency of Use and Typical Patterns</i>	99
3.4.2	<i>Degrees of Redundancy</i>	101
3.4.3	<i>Reasons for the Use of Redundant Multiple Marking</i>	105
4	Discussion	107
4.1	Overview of the Use and Characteristics of Direct Discourse Markers	107
4.2	Factors in Use and Development	112
4.2.1	<i>Factors for Diachronic Trends</i>	113
4.2.2	<i>Subjective Factors</i>	118
4.3	Grammaticalization	124
5	Conclusions	128
	References	133
	Index Locorum	144

# Figures and Tables

## Figures

- 1 Frequency of the verb *inquit*. 41
- 2 Frequency of the verb *ait*. 54
- 3 Ratio of *dico* to *dicens*. 62
- 4 *Dico* and *dicens* by authors and the percentages of these forms out of all quotations in the given author. 62
- 5 Single and combined other verbs by author. 75
- 6 Frequency of remaining verbal markers by author. 81
- 7 Frequency of zero marking. 93
- 8 Multiple marking by author. 100
- 9 Percentages of quotations marked by *inquit*, *ait*, *dico*, *dicens*, and *dicere* in individual periods. 108
- 10 Verbal, non-verbal, and zero markers by author. 119
- 11 Individual verbal markers within all verbal markers in a given author. 119

## Tables

- 1 Texts selected for analysis. 3
- 2 Periodization of Latin. 5
- 3 Quotations and quotations per 1,000 words. 6
- 4 Quotations marked by *inquit* in individual periods. 40
- 5 The use of dialogical *inquit* in selected texts. 42
- 6 The frequency of *ait* by period. 54
- 7 Comparison of the use of *inquit* and *ait* in dialogues. 55
- 8 The most frequent forms of the verb *dicere*. 60
- 9 The frequency of *dico*, *dicens*, and *dicere* by period. 61
- 10 *Dicere* for marking dialogical turns. 63
- 11 Differences between *dico* and *dicens*. 70
- 12 Overview of the most frequent other verbs that function as single markers. 72
- 13 Overview of the most frequent other verbs that are combined with another verb of speech. 73
- 14 Other verbs by period. 74
- 15 The frequency of *respondere* by period. 76
- 16 Frequency of *-clam-* verbs by period. 78
- 17 Frequency of formal patterns. 101

- 18 Types of markers by period. 108
- 19 Ratio of monological to dialogical instances introduced by individual markers. 110
- 20 The most frequent markers in Jerome's and Augustine's narratives. 124



## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my anonymous reviewers for providing useful comments to earlier versions of the paper.