THE OXFORD LATIN SYNTAX

VOLUME 1

THE SIMPLE CLAUSE

HARM PINKSTER

OXFORD

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VOLUME I

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CONTENTS

Colour versions of Figures 4.1, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 12.1, 12.2, 12.3, 12.4, and 12.5 can be found on the book's companion website at www.oup.co.uk/companion/pinkster.

PREFACE

When towards the end of the twentieth century I started working on this Syntax I wanted to have it published in 2014, one hundred years after Kühner-Stegmann's *Satzlehre* was published in two volumes as part of the *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*. It was—and is—my ambition to present an up-to-date successor to that monumental work. I mean up-to-date in several ways: Since 1912/14 new editions of most Latin texts have been published, which are based on a better knowledge of the manuscripts. In addition, texts unknown at that time have since been published and studied intensively. One also needs to take account of the numerous linguistic studies published since then, especially the large number devoted to authors and texts other than the 'classical' ones. And, finally, new methods and models have been developed in linguistics in general which make it possible to look at well-known facts from a different angle and to present them in a different way. Several excellent general grammars have been published in the recent past, and I have used them with great profit: Touratier (1994), Lavency (1997[2]), the *Grammaire fondamentale* series started by Serbat, and the *Sintaxis del latín clásico* coordinated by Baños (2009). Special mention must be made of the four volumes published by Baldi and Cuzzolin (2009–11). Apart from Kühner-Stegmann, my main sources of inspiration in organizing this Syntax were Quirk et al.'s *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, Givón's *Syntax*, and above all Simon Dik's *The Theory of Functional Grammar*.

The most conspicuous difference between this Syntax and most Latin grammars (Kühner-Stegmann is in fact an exception) is that it is not organized along the traditional (indeed ancient) lines of word classes and morphological categories. There is not, for instance, a chapter on the syntax of the adverb, nor one on all the uses of the genitive. However, the index functions very much like Kühner-Stegmann's and entries for the various uses of the adverbs and the genitive can be found there. The most conspicuous similarities are the wealth of examples and the attention devoted to textual critical problems.

The role within the discipline of a comprehensive syntax has changed considerably since 1912/14. At that time the users of such a syntax, both Latinists and scholars working in other fields, had a detailed knowledge of the language. Exceptions to the rules were more interesting than the rules themselves. Due to changes in the average user's level of knowledge, I have tried to give more attention to the rules and have added translations to the examples in the main text.

The lexical resources are now much better: many articles of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* offer detailed grammatical information; the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* is also extremely useful for the grammatical information its entries contain; there are specialized dictionaries for most authors; and finally, there are searchable electronic corpora. So, in giving examples, I have tried to make a distinction between things that can easily be found

in one of these resources (for instance, the case of the object of the verb *studeo* 'to devote oneself [to]') and things that cannot (for instance, historic presents).

I have profited from the generous help of various institutions and persons. My own Universiteit van Amsterdam granted periods of sabbatical leave in the early stage of the work, which were essential for getting it started. Wolfson College, All Souls College, and St John's College at Oxford offered housing and honoured me with visiting fellowships. The late Anna Morpurgo Davies played an essential role in introducing me to academic life in Oxford and, more specifically, to the Oxford University Press. Oxford has been my second University since then. The University of Chicago, especially its Department of Classics, has accepted me as a visitor and allowed me to use its facilities; it has also administered a generous grant from the *Salus Mundi* Foundation (Prof. A. Richard Diebold), which made it possible to employ two graduates from that University over a long period of time. So the UoC became my third University. I thank these institutions, but above all the people affiliated with them, many of whom were or have become dear friends, for their support. I am grateful to the late Prof. Diebold for his confidence in my work.

Several persons read the entire text and gave many suggestions for improving both its content and its format: Jim Adams, Guus Bal, Helma Dik, Hannah Rosén, Esperanza Torrego, and above all of Olga Spevak. Guus Bal, Roland Hoffmann, and Olga Spevak also provided many corrections of the proofs. Other friends and colleagues read chapters and/or gave advice on individual matters. I mention here Pierluigi Cuzzolin, Andy Dyck, Gerd Haverling, Daan den Hengst, Nigel Holmes, Caroline Kroon, David Langslow, Adriana Manfredini, Anna Morpurgo Davies, John Penney, Rodie Risselada, Josine Schrick, Peter White, and Jaap Wisse. Chapter 4 was the subject of a meeting with Spanish colleagues in Madrid. Akke Pinkster cleaned the electronic version of technical imperfections and produced the *Index locorum*. I thank all of these people for their support and their help.

Thanks to the grant mentioned above, a number of graduate students from the University of Chicago have assisted me by checking examples, finding translations, and commenting on the argumentation and wording. Three of them must be singled out for the duration and extent of their help: Aaron Seider in the initial stage, and Jeremy Brightbill and Branden Kosch until the completion of this volume. Jeremy also did a magnificent job in producing the Index of grammatical terms and Latin words; Branden (in cooperation with Helma Dik) did a thorough revision of the entire text. Branden also read the entire proofs; Jeremy read the proofs of the Bibliography. It was a privilege to work with them, and I am very grateful to them and the other assistants.

I thank the staff of OUP for their competent and cheerful engagement, especially John Davey (now retired), Julia Steer, Vicky Sunter, Kate Gilks, and Emma Turner, as well as Jess Smith (copy-ediding) and Lesley Rhodes (proofreading).

Finally, I thank Willy van Wetter, my daughters Fenne and Akke and their families, and my friends for their encouragement, patience, and support.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Machtelt Bolkestein and Simon Dik, with whom I would have loved to discuss numerous issues which I found and still find difficult.

Amsterdam, Oxford, Chicago
May 2014/2015

SIGNS AND OTHER CONVENTIONS

*	indicates a non-existent or ungrammatical expression
?	indicates an expression that may be ungrammatical
<	originating from
[ ]	indicates portions of a text that should be removed
< >	indicates portions of a text that should be inserted
	NB: in editions of inscriptions the practice is just the other way around: in these editions [] means 'insertion'
/	line break (in poetry and in inscriptions, etc.)
//	indicates the transition from one column to another in inscriptions
. . .	indicates that one or more words are omitted; occasionally used for incomplete quotations of texts by other authors of Antiquity (for example, Ennius quoted by Cicero)
_	indicates an illegible letter in directly transmitted texts
#	indicates change of speakers in a dialogue
↔	in contrast with
A	indicates a particular manuscript, in this case the ms. A

SMALL CAPITALS are used for directly transmitted texts (inscriptions etc.) and for definitions.

Vowel quantity is very rarely indicated, only when it is necessary for a correct understanding of the text. When necessary, long vowels are marked by a macron: ā.

Punctuation in ancient documents (when known) is indicated by a dot '·'.

ABBREVIATIONS

add.	*addidit* 'added by scholar X'
ad loc.	*ad locum* 'at the passage quoted'
ap.	*apud* 'quoted in'
c.	*circa* 'approximately'
cj.	conjecture (proposed by X)
cod(*d*)	codex (codices)
del.	*delevit* 'deleted by X'
ed(d).	editor(s)
ex(x).	example(s)
fin.	*in fine* 'at the end'
ms(*s*).	manuscript(s)
N	number of instances
NP	noun phrase
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
p.c.	personal communication
pler.	*plerique* 'most (editors)'
Rep.	dating from the Republican era
sc.	*scilicet* 'that is to say'
s.v.	*sub voce* 'under the specified word'
tr.	translated by X
v.l.	*varia lectio* 'alternative reading in (an)other manuscript(s)'
Eng.	English
Fr.	French
It.	Italian

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

1.1 Latin

Latin is an Indo-European language which was originally spoken by the *Latini* 'the Latins', the inhabitants of the region called *Latium*, present-day *Lazio*, in Italy. Among the towns of Latium, the town *Roma* 'Rome', founded in 753 BC according to tradition, emerged as the strongest. It became the capital of the area and, over the course of centuries, of the entire Roman Empire. With the political and geographical expansion of Rome, its language, Latin, expanded as well and became the language of the Empire, certainly of its Western part, and ousted the pre-existing languages of the peoples who were incorporated into the empire. When from *c.* AD 400 onwards the Western part of the empire collapsed, the new Germanic rulers adopted Latin. It also continued to be spoken and written in the former African provinces until these became part of the Arabic-speaking world, in the course of the seventh century. In the European provinces, with the exception of Britain and certain other areas, Latin continued to be the primary language and gradually evolved into the modern Romance languages. The earliest documents in Latin that we have date from *c.*650 BC; the transition from Latin to the individual Romance languages occurred at various speeds and very gradually: until well into the eighth century AD, the language used by the inhabitants of the former provinces still closely resembled Latin, and most speakers probably considered themselves Latin-speaking.[1]

1.2 The sources

Obviously, Latin is only accessible to us through written documents, divisable into two groups: those transmitted indirectly via manuscripts, most of which date from the Middle Ages, and those that have come down to us in the form in which they were originally produced. A small intermediate category consists of ancient texts which, while not the original documents, are still closer to the time of production than the

[1] See Banniard (1997) and the chapter on 'Periodization' in Wright (2002: 36–48).

manuscripts of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: for example, the papyrus containing a fragment of Cic. *Ver*. 2.3–4, dated to 20 BC (*CPL* 20). The two main groups both have their advantages and limitations for syntactic analysis. The first group, transmitted via manuscripts, constitutes the richest source, not only because of its size, but above all because of its diversity: it ranges from high literature to handbooks on farming and aqueducts, from highly to modestly educated writers. The second group, directly transmitted, contains inscriptions, graffiti, and ostraca (potsherds), which can be roughly divided into two groups: those that were intended for public use and are mostly formulaic (legal texts and funerary inscriptions, for instance) on the one hand, and individual documents (graffiti, for instance, and letters on papyri or thin wooden leaves), written by or on behalf of people with various levels of linguistic training, on the other. The advantage of these documents is that they have not been manipulated or altered over the course of transmission. Such is not the case with manuscripts, which were copied from earlier manuscripts, some over and over again. This was done with varying degrees of accuracy, by scribes and scholars whose knowledge of Latin also varied, and who were often intent on making the text (more) intelligible.

Another important source of information are the descriptions and characterizations of Latin by Romans and Greeks, notably by grammarians and writers on rhetoric.

In conclusion, although the sources may not be ideal, the amount of data and their accessibility result in a quality of Latin grammars not inferior to those of modern languages. The lack of native speakers is sufficiently compensated by the amount of the data.[2]

1.3 Written and spoken Latin

As was mentioned in the previous section, the principal sources on which we can base our description of Latin syntax are written documents. Now, writing and speaking are two different mediums (see § 2.13): writing, among other things, takes more time, allows more planning, must do without the support of gestures and facial expressions, and is usually more conventional. Consequently, certain features of the language may be more frequent in writing than in speaking, and vice versa. So the question may be asked to what extent our written sources can give us access to 'real' Latin as it was actually spoken (or, by comparison, what access English written sources from the end of the nineteenth century can give to the spoken language of that time). More specifically, are there features that were common or emerging in spoken Latin that have not come down to us: is there a 'submerged' Latin?[3] The latter question must be answered in the positive. The Romance languages present certain features that must

[2] For a characterization of the various sources, see Baldi (1999: ch. 5).
[3] The term is taken from Adams (2013: 856–62), where the problem is discussed in detail.

have originated in Latin, their common ancestor, which are, however, invisible in the sources that we have or which can only be seen in retrospect, taking into account the outcome of the evolution of the Romance languages. As for the initial question, some of our sources do give us access to spoken Latin: Plautus' comedies, for example, are a (stylized) form of speaking and so are the conversational parts of Cicero's dialogues. Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* is another example of stylized conversation. We also possess recorded texts (or texts based on protocols), such as the *Passio sanctorum Scillitanorum* (the trial took place in AD 180)[4] and the *Acta* of the conference at Carthage in 411.[5] There are, furthermore, features of orality in Augustine's *Sermones*.[6] Thus, as far as syntax is concerned, there is no need to assume that we are missing much of importance.

1.4 The diversity of the corpus

The corpus of texts analysed in this Syntax is very diverse. Four issues may be mentioned in this introduction: the texts were produced over a long period of time; they differ in content and in form; they also differ with respect to the audience for which they were produced; finally, they differ in the literary ability of the writers. Although in itself a diverse corpus has advantages, the uneven distribution of the texts that constitute it creates certain difficulties. It would be convenient if for each period we had specimens of more or less the same content and form, intended for the same audience, and with a comparable variation in linguistic competence, but this is unfortunately not the case: the corpus of texts at the beginning of the period consists to a large extent of comedies in verse (Plautus); however, there are no such plays available for later periods. Speeches actually delivered in court (though more or less revised for publication) are only represented by Cicero.[7] Private correspondence not meant for publication is also mainly limited to Cicero and his correspondents; other private letters are from a later date and very fragmentary.[8] Texts by Christian authors are late in the period under consideration. In all these cases it is difficult to distinguish the diachronic dimension from the properties of the text types[9] and the individual idiosyncrasies of the authors.[10] This Syntax tries to take the diversity outlined above into account.

[4] See the edition by Ruggiero (1991).
[5] See the edition by Lancel (1972–91) and Lancel's introduction I.309–16, 342–6.
[6] Marti (2005) deals with this both in a general sense and in reference to the *Sermones* of Augustine in particular.
[7] For the 'relation of the delivered and published speeches', see Dyck (2013: 25–6), with references.
[8] On the linguistic properties of these, see Halla-aho (2009, 2011), with references.
[9] For text type, see § 2.13. For characterizations of a number of text types, see the contributions in Part IV of Clackson (ed.) (2011).
[10] For the Christian authors, see Fredouille (1996).

1.5 Varieties of Latin

Variation is a common property of language and Latin is no exception. The Romans themselves were aware of variation in their language and wrote about it from an early date onwards.[11] Although 'standardization' has taken its toll, this variation is accessible to modern readers. In the domain of syntax the evidence is scarce, yet there are clear examples, which receive due attention in this Syntax. Plautus and Terence, for example, differentiate between the language of the genders and between that of the old and young.[12] In the so-called *Cena Trimalchonis* in Petronius' *Satyrica*, there are noticeable differences among the freedmen with respect to their competence in Latin.[13] Social variation is much more difficult to trace, certainly in the domain of syntax: while it is generally not difficult to make a distinction between educated Latin (including high literature) and non-educated or substandard Latin (at various levels), we cannot simply equate this distinction with differences in social class in light of the fact that only a minority had access to education and also because professional scribes were widely used by those who could but preferred not to write themselves. Still, usages have been identified 'that were definitely domiciled in lower social dialects'.[14] By contrast, the evidence for regional differentiation in the domain of syntax is inconclusive.[15]

1.6 Diachronic developments

A few generalizations must be made about the evolution of (literary) Latin during the period covered by this Syntax. Whereas Early Latin texts (for instance, those of Plautus) are characterized by a relative wealth of 'competing' morphological forms and, to a lesser extent, of syntactic structures, the following period can be described as reflecting a trend towards 'crystallization'[16] or 'standardization',[17] culminating in the prose of the 'Classical' authors *par excellence* Cicero and Caesar. In this trend Cicero played an important role, both through the example he set with his own writings and through his 'theoretical' works on language and style. The influence of Greek practice and theory was also significant.[18] In parallel to these changes in prose, poets followed a different path, known to us only through fragments and therefore less visible. For

[11] See the references in note 18 and Adams (2013: 12–22).

[12] For female speech, see Adams (1984, 2005a). For a broader perspective on 'feminine discourse', see Dutsch (2008). For the language of old men in Terence, see Karakasis (2005: chs 2 and 3). For general discussion and references, see Clackson (2011). For a survey of the literature, see Fögen (2004).

[13] See Adams (2013: 16), with references.

[14] The quotation is taken from Adams (2013: 848).

[15] See Adams' conclusion (2007: 727–8).

[16] The term is used by Rosén (1999) in the subtitle of that work.

[17] For the problems involved in using this term, see Adams (2007: 13–17).

[18] For the ideas of Roman writers and scholars about their own language, see Fögen (2000) and Müller (2001). For the role of Greek in Roman society, see Kaimio (1979).

inspiration they looked to the great Greek poets and dramatists, enriched their style through imitation of Greek forms of expression, and experimented with Latin syntax in other ways. For us this only becomes visible on a larger scale through the works of Lucretius and Catullus, younger contemporaries of Cicero, and it reaches its culmination in Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and other Augustan poets. These developments in poetry in turn formed a source of inspiration for historians from Sallust and Livy onwards and culminated in the almost experimental prose of Tacitus' major works. For Christian authors the language of the Bible was a point of reference, not only in their translations, but also in their own work.

1.7 The periodization of Latin

Latinists vary in the way they divide the history of the Latin language into periods. In this Syntax the following four periods are distinguished.[19]

(i) Early Latin texts, produced between *c*.240 and 90 BC.
(ii) Classical Latin texts, produced between 90 BC and AD 14 (the year of Augustus' death).
(iii) Silver Latin texts, produced between AD 14 and *c.* AD 200 (which is also roughly the limit of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*).
(iv) Late Latin texts, produced between *c.* AD 200 and AD 600.

This periodization is only meant as a chronological division. No judgement on the quality of the Latin documents in these four periods is implied in any way. The use of the term 'Classical' is quite different from its far more restrictive use in, for example, Kühner-Stegmann's grammar, where it covers essentially the language of Cicero's and Caesar's prose, sometimes called the period of the 'gute Sprache'.

There was more continuity than these labels suggest. Indeed, it is important to stress the unity of Latin in the period covered by this Syntax; elements characteristic of Early Latin did not disappear entirely in later periods. It has also been argued that the difference between Classical and Silver Latin is artificial and that the similarities are greater than the differences.[20] Nor should one conclude from the periodization adopted here that the Latin literary texts in each of these periods all share the same linguistic features, for this is manifestly not the case. In each period we find different text types (such as narrative and didactic texts), intended for different audiences, as well as other forms of variation (such as formal and literary versus informal). But there are other differences as well within the periods distinguished. There is, for instance, quite a difference between the styles of Varro, Cicero, Caesar, and Livy.

[19] This periodization follows Haverling's periodization and terminology (1988: 20–3), also used in Cuzzolin and Haverling (2009). For discussion, see Adamik (2015).
[20] Most recently, Landfester (1997: 44ff.). The distinction is not made in Clackson (ed.) (2011) either.

Likewise, it is not difficult to make a further distinction within the Silver Latin period, notably between the earlier period and the later part of it with its archaizing authors, such as Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius. In addition, within the Late Latin period (in fact already before AD 200, with the early publications of Tertullian), there is a marked difference between ecclesiastical and pagan authors. In general, when further specification is needed beyond what is provided by the chronological division adopted here, other or additional labels are used. If more precise indications are needed to characterize the text(s) for which specific features are discussed, this will be done in an ad hoc manner.

Finally, there are texts dating from before Early Latin as defined above. These texts (for which Cuzzolin and Haverling use the term 'archaic') will generally be ignored because of their often fragmentary state and/or because of the uncertainties of their date.[21]

1.8 The corpus of texts used for this Syntax

This Syntax does not cover the entire period mentioned in § 1.1. The documents that are taken into account date mostly from *c.*200 BC until *c.* AD 450. Those preceding this period are very fragmentary. Later ones either closely imitate the Latin of earlier texts or contain deviations from 'mainstream Latin' which are difficult to assess: do they represent diachronic change, are they random mistakes, are they the result of ignorance, or are they interventions by later scribes?[22] These texts are occasionally referred to when they contain elements that announce developments that became more apparent in the Romance languages. Six centuries is a very long period, during which changes may be expected to have occurred, some of which are indeed observable and are indicated in this Syntax. In comparison with Kühner and Stegmann, the balance of attention has shifted away from Ciceronian and Caesarian examples to examples taken from other texts.

For the selection of examples, the following strategy has been used. Wherever a phenomenon can be adequately illustrated with well-attested instances from the plays of Plautus, these are used, preferably together with one or more examples from the works of Cicero. This strategy has been adopted not only to add a diachronic element to the Syntax, but also because, from a functionalist point of view, examples from interactive texts are preferable. Fragmentary texts from Early Latin are not avoided, but usually not used as initial examples. I have not thought it necessary to give a representative set of examples from Late Latin texts, especially ecclesiastical ones, if the usage seems to be the same as in Classical authors.

[21] The most extensive discussion is Hartmann (2005).
[22] For interventions by scribes, see Haverling (2006b).

1.9 The approach of this Syntax

This Syntax is essentially a descriptive syntax, in the tradition of grammars such as that of Kühner-Stegmann (1912–14): it tries to define the rules underlying the utterances that are actually attested (and deviations from these rules, insofar as they are significant for future developments). It is not an attempt at systematically describing the evolution of the Latin language, but changes are noted where relevant, with occasional remarks on developments in the Romance languages. It also does not aim systematically to derive Latin constructions from reconstructed Indo-European predecessors, except for certain constructions that have raised much discussion in the (recent) past. It therefore differs fundamentally from (Hofmann and) Szantyr's *Handbuch* (1972). It also differs from that work in that it is not an attempt to record the development of Latin linguistics. Although references are made to additional material that supports the argumentation of the main text and to publications that have an essentially different explanation of a given phenomenon, no attempt is made to present a full bibliography (which need not mean that the author has not seen these publications). Apart from purely or mainly grammatical studies, I have also taken into account what commentators contribute to our understanding of particular phenomena (see the appropriate section in the bibliography).

The approach of this Syntax is 'functional' in the sense of Dik (1997): language is regarded as an instrument for human communication and not as an autonomous formal device. An adequate grammar must take this communicative aspect into account and pay due attention to the contexts and situations in which utterances are produced. The recent attention devoted to typology is a welcome source of inspiration, but the generalizations obtained by typological studies should naturally not dictate the analysis of a particular language.[23]

1.10 The organization of this Syntax

A cursory look at the Table of Contents of this Syntax will draw the attention of its user to the fact that it is organized in a way that differs greatly from traditional grammars. Most of these essentially follow the structure of an ancient grammar like the one of Priscian: The organizational principle is by word class (part of speech) and morphological category: what are the constructions in which adjectives, for example, may be used; what are the uses of the ablative; etc. By contrast, this Syntax is organized according to the constructions in which these word classes

[23] See Nocentini (2005).

and morphological categories can be used: for example, which expressions can be used as the attribute of a noun (answer: [among other things] adjectives and noun phrases in the ablative). Those users who prefer the 'traditional' organization are invited to use the Index, in which traditional terminology is used alongside less familiar terms.

This Syntax will appear in two volumes. The first volume treats 'the simple clause'; the second will deal with complex sentences and with discourse phenomena. The organization of the material will be the same in both volumes. A preliminary table of contents of Volume II is attached to the global table of contents of this volume. A detailed table of contents, which will be similar to the one in the present volume, will be presented in Volume II.

Since this is a reference work, which is not expected to be read from cover to cover, description of the Latin material has been standardized as much as possible. A typical section will start with a few introductory lines followed by a description of a number of examples. The examples that are explicitly discussed are provided with a translation. Sometimes the description of a phenomenon needs some additional comment or explanation; this is done in indented sections in small type, referred to in the text as 'Note'. Occasionally an 'Appendix', in small type, is added at the end of a section to discuss issues that are more or less narrowly related to the main text. In the body of the text SMALL CAPITALS are used to mark the place where terms and concepts are defined. References to these definitions are contained in the Index of grammatical terms and Latin words. The footnotes are almost exclusively reserved for references to other sources of information.

1.11 The examples and their ordering

A particular phenomenon is usually illustrated by a few examples from Plautus and Cicero, with translations added. I have judged that these examples suffice for explicating and illustrating the grammatical problem at hand. In so-called 'Supplements', additional examples are provided, in small type and without a translation, preferably also from other types of texts and from other periods. The number of supplementary examples varies, in part because some phenomena are better attested than others, but also because many examples can easily be found in the lexical entries of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

As for the ordering of the examples, they are in principle based on the chronology of the authors (when known—I have followed the OLD or the Index to the TLL, although I do not necessarily agree, for example in the case of Petronius). If several works of the same author are cited, the order is alphabetical. In the case of Cicero, a further distinction is made between orations, rhetorical treatises, philosophical treatises, and letters.

Examples taken from directly transmitted texts (inscriptions on stones, graffiti, ostraca, papyri, and tablets) are given in SMALL CAPITALS, when possible with an indication of the place where they were found and the time of their production.

In the examples, **bold** is used to mark the word(s) that illustrate the grammatical phenomenon discussed in the text; alternative formatting is used to draw attention to other phenomena. For example in the discussion of modifiers of a noun phrase **bold** will be used to mark the modifier, *italics*, to mark the head: *vir* **bonus** 'good man'. In the discussion of head constituents, by contrast, the head will be **bold** while the modifier will be in *italics*: **vir** *bonus*. If there are more modifiers, ***bold italics*** may be used: ***ille*** *vir* **bonus** 'that good man'.

1.12 Text editions

The examples are taken from electronic sources as often as possible. For 'Classical' texts, the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina* is used as the point of departure; for Christian texts, the Cetedoc Library of Latin Texts, now merged into the Library of Latin Texts. Once selected, the examples were compared with printed editions. For Classical texts these are usually Teubner editions, except for Plautus (it was thankfully possible to use the new edition in the Loeb series by Wolfgang de Melo) and Terence (Oxford Classical Texts). Where available, the Corpus Christianorum editions are used for Christian texts. I often deviate in my punctuation from the editions I use (see § 2.3, near the end). For the section numbering I sometimes follow other editions: for example, the Budé edition of Apuleius, which is more fine-grained than the Teubner edition. I make a distinction between a 'u' and a 'v' and have adapted texts accordingly. For the sake of clarity, where other editors print two words as one I have inserted apostrophes to mark word boundaries and elisions, e.g. *factum*'*st* instead of *factumst*, *multon*' instead of *multon* (= *multone*). I have chosen other readings when I think they are better from a grammatical point of view. Whenever I think it would be useful for the reader to know that there is a textual problem, I insert the relevant information. For the pre-Vulgate translations of the Bible, commonly referred to as the *Vetus Latina*, I specify the precise source (a manuscript, for example) if there is variation in the transmitted translations (as far as I can ascertain).

1.13 Translations

I have used existing English translations wherever possible. The main source for translations is the Loeb editions. However, I have modified existing translations when in my view they do not correspond precisely enough to the Latin structure and/or when they do not reflect my linguistic analysis of the Latin text.

1.14 Authors and works

For references to authors and their works, I follow the abbreviations in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* wherever possible. For Christian authors and texts I primarily use the abbreviations in Blaise's dictionary, which more closely resemble the form of abbreviating adopted in the OLD than do the abbreviations in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

CHAPTER 2

Basic grammatical concepts

This chapter introduces the terms used most frequently in this Syntax to describe the structure of Latin sentences and texts. Details will follow in later chapters.

2.1 Clause, sentence, phrase, word, clitic, and constituent

2.2 The clause

The CLAUSE is defined as an expression that minimally consists of a verb form or a comparable entity, such as an adjective with or without a form of the verb *sum* 'to be'—for details see below in ex. (d). Usually a clause also contains one or more other words or phrases in addition to the verb; while some of these follow necessarily from the meaning of the verb, others do not. This is illustrated by (a).

(a) At enim illi noctu occentabunt ostium . . .
('Well, they'll serenade your door at night . . .' Pl. *Per.* 569)

This clause centres on the verb form *occentabunt*. The verb *occento* 'to serenade at or to' requires two PARTICIPANTS who are directly implicated in the action of the verb: a person who performs the serenade (in this example: *illi* 'those people') and an entity the serenade is directed to (in this example: *ostium* 'door'). Accordingly, the verb *occento* is a TWO-PLACE VERB; that is, it requires two words or phrases to complete its meaning. For elements of a clause that are semantically obligatory in this way, the term ARGUMENT will be used. The arguments *illi* and *ostium* in combination with the verb, *occentabunt*, form the core or the NUCLEUS of the clause (further details and complexities follow in § 2.7 and in Chapter 4).

In this particular example, the future tense of *occentabunt* signals that the nucleus refers to a STATE OF AFFAIRS that will come into being at a time later than the communicative situation in which the speaker utters the words. Furthermore, the speaker presents his utterance as a fact by his choice of mood: he uses the indicative mood of the verb.

The clause in (a) also contains a number of words that are not required by *occentabunt*. The word *noctu* localizes the state of affairs in time. For this type of non-nuclear elements that specify in some way the state of affairs described by the core of the clause, the term SATELLITE will be used (a more traditional label is 'adverbial'). Three further examples of satellites are given in (b) and (c). In (b), *modo* is a satellite that refers to the time and *pugnis* a satellite that refers to the instrument used in the action. In (c), *per iocum* indicates the manner.

(b) Nonne hic homo **modo** me **pugnis** contudit?
('Didn't this man here beat me up with his fists just now?' Pl. *Am.* 407)

(c) Equidem haec vobis dixi **per iocum**.
('I for one said these things to you in jest.' Pl. *Poen.* 541)

The structure of clause (a) can be represented in a graph as in Figure 2.1.

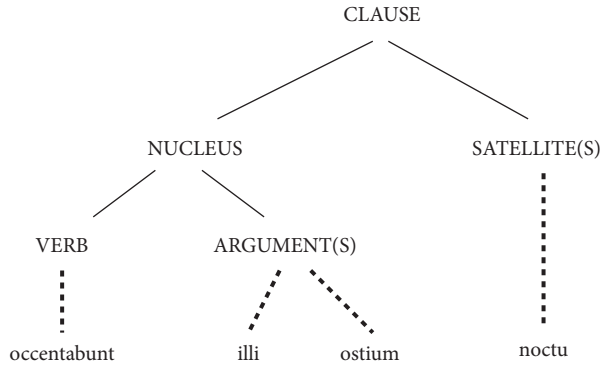


Figure 2.1 The structure of the clause (simple version)

The contribution to the meaning of the entire clause by the words *at* 'but' and *enim* 'y'know' in (a) is different. Ex. (a) is part of an EXCHANGE between the slave Toxilus and the pimp Dordalus. In the preceding context, the slave tries to convince the pimp of the advantages of buying a certain girl: he will become popular as a result. In response the pimp says he is not up for having drinking parties in his house. This is what prompts the utterance quoted as (a) above. *At* connects the slave's words to what precedes (it is a CONNECTOR) and marks them as an objection (in more common terminology *at* is called an 'adversative coordinating conjunction'). *Enim* expresses an appeal by the slave to shared knowledge between the two of them: 'you know what's going to happen if you don't let them in, don't you?' For this type of element the term INTERACTIONAL PARTICLE will be used (in more traditional terminology it is called a 'causal coordinating conjunction').

Ex. (a) centres on a finite verb form. However, there are also clauses that do not contain a finite verb form or any verb form at all. Both are exemplified by (d). The clause *illum me vivo corrumpi* is one of the arguments of the two-place verb *sinam*

(the other argument ['I'] is incorporated in the verb form *sinam*). The verb form of the clause is an infinitive; its subject *illum* is in the accusative. This type of clause, often used to complete the sense of verbs of speaking or thinking, is known as an ACCUSATIVE AND INFINITIVE clause. *Me vivo*, by contrast, is a clause with no verb form at all. It consists of an adjective *vivo* 'alive' and one argument *me* 'me', both in the ablative case. This construction is known as an ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE clause. It functions as a satellite with respect to *illum corrumpi*, since it expresses ancillary information that is not directly implicated in the action of the verb.

(d) … sine. / # Non sino neque equidem [[illum {me vivo} corrumpi]] sinam.
('Let it be. # No, I won't, and I won't let him be corrupted while I'm alive.' Pl. *Bac*. 418–19)

The clauses discussed above are part of another clause. For that reason they are called SUBORDINATE or EMBEDDED. *Neque equidem … sinam* is called the MAIN clause in relation to its subordinate clause *illum … corrumpi*; *illum … corrumpi* is the main clause in relation to its subordinate clause *me vivo*. Together, the main and subordinate clauses form what in this Syntax is called a COMPLEX CLAUSE.

Whereas the accusative and infinitive and the ablative absolute clauses in (d) have no finite verb form, most types of subordinate clauses do have a finite verb. Two major types of subordinate clauses can be distinguished, illustrated by (e) and (f).

(e) **Postquam peperit**, pueros lavere iussit nos.
('After she gave birth, she told us to wash the boys.' Pl. *Am*. 1102)

(f) Miser est **qui amat**.
('Wretched is the man who is in love.' Pl. *Per*. 179)

In (e) we have a finite subordinate clause that indicates when the order to wash the boys was given: it contains ancillary information with respect to the main clause (it is a satellite). The precise temporal relation is indicated by the SUBORDINATOR *postquam*, which serves as a link between the main clause and a subordinate clause. *Postquam* belongs to the subordinate clause without fulfilling a function of its own in that clause. In more traditional terminology it is called a temporal 'subordinating conjunction'.

In (f) the subordinate clause *qui amat* indicates the entity that is wretched. *Miser est* requires by its meaning an entity that is *miser*: *qui amat* is therefore an argument. Just like *postquam*, *qui* is the link between the two clauses. However, *qui* is also an argument in its subordinate clause: *amat* requires an entity that is in love. *Qui* is a RELATIVE PRONOUN; *qui amat* a RELATIVE CLAUSE.

The difference between a subordinate and a main clause becomes manifest when the complex clause itself is transformed into an accusative and infinitive clause: the finite subordinate clause remains a finite clause, while the main clause becomes an accusative and infinitive clause. This is shown in (g). The accusative and infinitive clause *se redhibere* corresponds to a finite clause *redhibebo*.

(g) Quid si igitur reddatur illi unde empta est? # Minime gentium. / # Dixit **se redhibere, si non placeat**.

('Then how about returning her to the man I bought her from? # Not at all. # He said he'd take her back if I didn't like her.' Pl. *Mer*. 418–19)

Exx. (d)–(g) show various ways of combining clauses to form complex clauses, where one clause is part of another clause, either as a satellite or as an argument. Another form of clause combining is illustrated by (h). Ex. (h) has two finite clauses which are linked by the COORDINATOR *et* 'and' and so form what is called a COMPOUND CLAUSE in this Syntax (a more traditional term for *et* is 'coordinating conjunction'). In contradistinction to the complex clauses dealt with above, neither of the clauses contains the other or is contained in the other. In (d) above we also had two finite clauses: *non sino* and *neque . . . sinam*. Here the two clauses were linked by *neque*, which combines the functions of a negation word and a coordinator. Another example of two coordinated clauses is (i). When a compound clause is transformed into an accusative and infinitive clause, all coordinated clauses become accusative and infinitives.

(h) {Odi} et {amo.}

('I hate and I love.' Catul. 85.1)

(i) Quia {ego hanc amo} et {haec med amat} . . .

('Because I love her and she loves me.' Pl. *As*. 631)

Coordination and subordination are two different means of forming MULTIPLE CLAUSES.[1] Where necessary, the term SIMPLE CLAUSE will be used for clauses that are not multiple (complex or compound).

2.3 The sentence

'SENTENCE' is a problematic concept in linguistic theory and is avoided in certain approaches.[2] In other approaches, 'clause' is used as more or less equivalent to 'sentence'. In this Syntax, the two terms will be used to refer to different phenomena. This difference can be illustrated by the following exchange between the slave Tranio and the old man Theopropides about what happened to a certain sum of money.

(a) Tr.: Aedis filius / tuos emit.
(b) Th.: Aedis?
(c) Tr.: Aedis.

('Your son's bought a house. # A house? # A house.' Pl. *Mos*. 637–8)

[1] The terms 'multiple', 'compound', and 'complex' are taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 987).

[2] See Longacre (2007), who defines sentences as combinations of clauses. For the definition of 'sentence', see also Bodelot (2007).

Ex. (a) is a grammatically complete clause with all the arguments required by *emit* present. In actual use (either oral or written) it is marked as a complete unit of communication. In (a), this follows from the use of the period. Although in spoken Latin there may have been something comparable to the falling tone at the end known from many languages, including English, we are not able to recover much information about Latin intonation.[3] Ex. (b) is a question (or exclamation) in reaction to the surprising preceding statement. It is an incomplete clause but a complete unit of communication (in modern texts the question mark is used to indicate this; in spoken Latin the intonation may have been different from (a), for example in having a rising tone, as in English). Ex. (c) is also an incomplete clause, but like (a), it is a statement (marked by a period). Such complete units of communication are called sentences in this Syntax.

A clause (simple or multiple) may coincide with a sentence. This is the case in (a) above and in the examples (d)–(i) cited at the end of the preceding section. Sentences may also be shorter than a complete clause, as is shown by (b) and (c) above. This is further illustrated by (d)–(g). In (d), the sentence *Vobis . . . volt* consists of a relative clause that is uttered as a reply to the preceding question and which is the subject of the verb that has to be supplied from that question (*est* 'is'). In (e), the one-word sentence consisting of the noun *malum* 'evil' is a reply to the preceding question, from which something like *dabo* 'I will give' must be supplied to govern the object *malum*. Similarly, the adjective *scitula* in (f) goes with the noun *facie* in the preceding question. In these three instances, the preceding question contains an element that offers a slot to be filled by the answer. In (g), by contrast, while the speaker probably expects an answer to his suggestion (the question mark in the OCT may be exaggerated), the precise form of the reaction is unpredictable. This is even more true for *nugae* in (h), a one-word sentence serving as a comment on the preceding words of the interlocutor.

(d) Quis est? / # Vobis qui multa bona esse volt.

('Who is it? # Someone who wants you to have lots of good things.' Pl. *Truc.* 116–17)

(e) Si huius miseret, / ecquid das qui bene sit? # Malum.

('If you feel pity for her, will you give her anything from which all will go well for her? # A thrashing.' Pl. *Cur.* 518–19)

(f) Qua sunt facie? # Scitula.

('Of what appearance are they? # Pretty.' Pl. *Rud.* 565)

(g) Fortasse tu huc vocatus es ad prandium, / ill' qui vocavit, nullus venit? # Admodum.

('Perhaps you were invited here for lunch and the one who invited you didn't come? # Exactly.' Pl. *Rud.* 142–3)

[3] Ancient grammatical and rhetorical treatises manifest a keen interest in intonation, and they also recognize various types of sentences, but they do not seem to pay attention to the relationship between these areas. Augustine (*Doctr. chr.* 3.3.6) gives instructions to pronounce information-requesting and rhetorical questions differently in order to avoid ambiguity (as pointed out by Branden Kosch, p.c.). For ideas about intonation in Antiquity, see Luque (2006).

(h) Tace modo. Deus respiciet nos aliquis. # Nugae.
('Just be quiet: some god will look after us. # Nonsense!' Pl. *Bac.* 638)

Latin has four different types of sentences (SENTENCE TYPES), three of which are illustrated above. When using a DECLARATIVE sentence the speaker asserts a state of affairs, as is illustrated by the answers in (d)–(g) and the second sentence of (h). Ex. (d)–(g) also illustrate INTERROGATIVE sentences (or 'questions'). Ex. (h) illustrates the IMPERATIVE sentence type. Finally, Latin has EXCLAMATORY sentences.

The number of utterances that can be used as sentences is infinite. However, there are certain words that cannot be used as sentences. Examples are the preposition *ad* 'to', the coordinator *et* 'and', the connector *nam* 'for', and the interactional particle *enim* 'for (as you know)'.

Application of the content of the preceding paragraph to the Latin material is not unproblematic, not least because we only have written material, and the spaces and punctuation marks that were in use served a different purpose from punctuation in modern languages. Capitals or something similar were not used to mark the beginning of sentences in a systematic way. (For details on the evidence see Chapter 24.[4]) The punctuation in our printed texts is the result of modern interpretation and varies from one national tradition to another. For the purposes of this Syntax, capitals and periods are used to demarcate words and sequences of words as sentences. Although the texts used for illustration are essentially those from the Teubner series and the Corpus Christianorum series, the punctuation has been adapted whenever necessary. Sentences start with a capital and end with a period or question mark. In practice this means that many semicolons have been replaced by periods.

Appendix: In actual pronunciation, sentences, certainly those of a greater length, were segmented into smaller units, which may, but need not, coincide with grammatical units (words, phrases, or clauses). These segments may also be sequences of grammatical units between which no immediate syntactic relation exists. A very prosaic reason for this segmentation is the need to take a breath, but it may also serve other purposes, such as giving emphasis and the production of certain rhythmical structures. We may assume that such segments were also marked by intonation. For such segments the term COLON will be used. Details are discussed in Chapter 24.

2.4 The phrase

The term PHRASE will be used for combinations of two or more words that behave as a unit with respect to other elements of the structure to which they belong. In this Syntax, four types of phrases are distinguished: noun, adjective, and adverb phrases on the one hand, and prepositional phrases on the other. The term 'verb phrase' will not be used in this Syntax. A NOUN PHRASE consists of a noun (the HEAD) and one or

[4] A good introduction to pause and punctuation in Latin texts is ch. I of Parkes (1992).

more elements modifying it, belonging to various classes. In principle, the noun phrase as a whole has the same structural potential as the head by itself.

The elements modifying a noun are called ATTRIBUTEs, but sometimes also in a more general way: MODIFIERs. At this point, it suffices to give an example of a modifying possessive adjective, as in (a), and another with a noun in the genitive, as in (b). In (a), the possessive adjective *nostrum* functions as the attribute of *hortum*, which is the head of the noun phrase *hortum nostrum*. In (b), the genitive noun *horti* modifies the noun *ostium*, which is its head. In both cases, omission of the modifying element does not make the remainder of the structure ungrammatical.

(a) Abii illac per angiportum ad *hortum* **nostrum** clanculum.
('I secretly went that way through the alley to our garden.' Pl. *Mos.* 1045)

(b) Ostium quod in *angiporto* est **horti**, patefeci fores . . .
('I opened the wings of the garden door that is in the alley.' Pl. *Mos.* 1046)

Simple illustrations of an ADJECTIVE PHRASE and an ADVERB PHRASE are (c) and (d). We see the degree adverb *valde* 'very' modifying the adjective *bonis* 'good' and the adverb *bene* 'well', respectively. Here, too, omission of the modifying element does not lead to an ungrammatical expression.

(c) Explicat orationem sane longam et verbis **valde** *bonis*.
('He unrolls a speech that is very long and characterized by very fine words.' Cic. *Agr.* 2.13)

(d) Rem te **valde** *bene* gessisse rumor erat.
('There is a report that you have had a highly successful campaign.' Cic. *Fam.* 1.8.7)

With PREPOSITIONAL PHRASEs the situation is different. In (a) above, *ad hortum nostrum* is a prepositional phrase. *Ad* seems to be the 'dominant' element in the phrase, since the accusative case form of *hortum nostrum* depends on it. However, neither the preposition *ad* nor the noun phrase *hortum nostrum* can be omitted without making the remaining structure ungrammatical. (The relation between the preposition and the other constituent in a prepositional phrase is discussed further in § 12.23 and in § 12.25.)

2.5 The word and the clitic

A familiar definition of WORD is: the smallest linguistic segment in an utterance that can (in principle) be moved independently. In this respect, a word differs from a morpheme (a word-internal segment) and from a phrase (a segment containing two or more words). More importantly, words may stand at the beginning of a sentence, which distinguishes them from CLITICs. Most clitics have a meaning of their own, but they are bound to a word that functions as their 'host' with which they form a

phonological unit. Although clitics have a certain freedom as to which words they are attached to, they can never stand in a sentence-initial position (for details see § 3.28).

Modern editions use a space to separate individual words. The Romans often marked word boundaries in some way or other, but there was both individual and diachronic variation (see Chapter 24). Sometimes the order and relative position of words in a phrase is such that one may hesitate whether a given segment is a word or a phrase. In the course of time, a phrase may develop into a word. This can be illustrated with the segment *magno opere* / *magnopere* in its meaning 'greatly' or 'particularly'. It is rare in Early Latin, but there are a few instances in Plautus. In the OCT it is printed as two words in (a) (manuscripts vary). There are also instances with the order reversed, as in (b). Obviously therefore, in Plautus' time it was still a phrase. After Plautus, the reverse order is not attested any more (except with a different meaning). Cicero has two instances of separation—(c) and (d)—but in the instances where the words occur together, editions of his texts vary in printing *magno opere* or *magnopere*. This is also the case in editions of later authors, most of which do not feature instances of separation.[5]

(a) Edictum est **magno opere** mihi, ne quoiquam hoc homini crederem . . .
('And I was ordered explicitly not to entrust this to anyone . . .' Pl. *Per.* 241)

(b) Vos omnis **opere magno** esse oratos volo . . .
('I want to appeal earnestly to you all . . .' Pl. *Cas.* 21)

(c) Cum puerorum igitur formas et corpora **magno** hic **opere** miraretur . . .
('When, therefore, he was greatly admiring the figures of the boys, and their bodies, . . .' Cic. *Inv.* 2.2)

(d) . . . **magno**que **opere** abs te peto cures ut is intellegat . . .
('. . . I earnestly request you to make him realize . . .' Cic. *Fam.* 13.34.1)

2.6 Constituents

Clause (a) below, repeated from the preceding section, may in a first analysis (ignoring *-que*) be divided into four parts, indicated by brackets.

(a) . . . [[magnoque opere]] [[abs te]] [[peto]] [[cures ut is intellegat]] . . .
('. . . I earnestly request you to make him realize . . .' Cic. *Fam.* 13.34.1)

These four parts belong to different categories: a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, a verb, and a subordinate clause, respectively. They also fulfil different functions in the clause. *Magno opere*, for example, is a manner expression and the subordinate clause functions as the object of *peto*. As a neutral term for referring to 'parts' of a

[5] For details, see TLL *s.v.* opus 854.10ff.

more complex structure without specifying to which category they belong, or which function they fulfil, the term CONSTITUENT has become common in contemporary linguistics; it will be used throughout this Syntax.[6]

In (a), some of the constituents have an internal structure of their own. The noun phrase *magno opere*, for example, consists of two constituents and the *cures* clause also consists of two constituents: *cures* and the clause *ut is intellegat*, which in turn can be analysed in more detail. A syntactic argument for regarding *magno opere* as one constituent in its clause (and not two) is that it could be replaced by one word (for example, *valde* 'strongly'); similarly, the clause *cures ut is intellegat* could be replaced by the single word *auxilium* 'help'. These replacements would still result in a correct grammatical structure: *valde abs te auxilium peto* and would leave the syntactic structure of the sentence unchanged.

2.7 The nucleus of the clause

In § 2.2 the nucleus (or core) of the clause was defined as the combination of the verb (or similar element) and its arguments. In example (a), repeated below, the verb *occento* requires two elements to create a meaningful clause. The nucleus refers to a state of affairs, in this particular case an action, in which an agent (*illi*) and a patient (*ostium*) are involved. In the next section, some further terminology is introduced concerning the nucleus of the clause.

(a) At enim illi noctu occentabunt ostium . . .
('Well, they'll serenade your door at night . . .' Pl. *Per.* 569)

2.8 Valency and verb frame

The number of arguments a particular verb requires depends upon its meaning. The term VALENCY is used to describe this. The verb *occento* is two-place or BIVALENT; as shown above, it requires an argument that performs the action (an agent), and a second argument on which the action is performed (the patient). The verb *ambulo* 'to walk' is a one-place or MONOVALENT verb: it requires only an agent to complete its meaning. The verb *do* in its basic meaning 'to give' is three-place or TRIVALENT (one entity gives another entity to a third entity). And, finally, *pluit* 'it rains' does not require any element at all to complete its meaning; hence it is ZEROVALENT.

If a verb has more than one meaning the number and the type of arguments may vary accordingly. The verb *dico*, for example, has several distinct meanings, each with

[6] The term is not found frequently in scholarship in Classics; for an exception, see Habinek (1985: *passim*).

its own constellation of arguments or, in the terminology of this Syntax, its own VERB FRAME. This is illustrated by (a)–(d). In (a) *dico* means 'to speak', 'to give a speech'; in this meaning it requires one argument (the agent) (note the parallelism with *vivendi*). In (b) it means 'to say' (two arguments), in (c) 'to tell' (three arguments), in (d) 'to appoint' (also three arguments, but of a different type and with a different pattern of case forms).

(a) . . . idem erant vivendi praeceptores atque **dicendi** . . .
('. . . the same men were teachers of ethics and of speaking . . .' Cic. *de Orat.* 3.57)

(b) *Ego*ne *istuc* **dixi**? # Ita.
('I said that? # Yes.' Pl. *Bac.* 806)

(c) *Ego*ne *istuc* **dixi** *tibi*? / # Mihi quidem hercle.
('I said that to you? # Yes, to me, by Hercules.' Pl. *Mer.* 761–2)

(d) Postero die *dictator* . . . *magistrum equitum* **dicit** *L. Tarquinium* . . .
('On the following day the dictator . . . named as his master of the horse Lucius Tarquinius . . .' Liv. 3.27.1)

The frame or frames a verb is associated with do(es) not only depend on the meaning of the verb. Even with one and the same meaning, a verb may have multiple frames. The lexical properties of the argument(s) play a role as well. Thus, with a human first argument the verb *incipio* 'begin' is usually bivalent ('a person begins something') but with another type of first argument, inanimate *autumnus* 'autumn' for example, *incipio* is monovalent, as in (e).

(e) Nam desinit aestas, / **incipit autumnus** media sub Virgine utrimque.
('For at the middle of the Virgin summer on one side ceases and autumn on the other begins.' Man. 2.176–7)

The verb *facio* in its meaning 'to make, to produce' will normally be considered bivalent ('someone produces something'), but with an emotion noun as its patient, such as *dolorem* 'grief', the resulting causative expression requires a recipient in the dative case form, as in (f).

(f) Sed augeo commemorando **dolorem** et **facio** etiam **tibi**.
('But I make the pain worse by dwelling on it, and give you pain also.' Cic. *Att.* 11.8.2)

Conversely, the verb *do* 'to give' is a typical trivalent predicate, requiring a recipient in the dative, but not so if the second argument is something like *motus* 'movements' (further details are discussed in Chapter 4).[7]

Valency is essentially a quantitative notion: it indicates how many arguments a verb normally requires. However, the arguments also have a semantic relationship

[7] For factors influencing the presence or absence of a recipient constituent with a number of verbs, see Baños (1998: 28–39).

with respect to the verb (functioning, for example, as the agent) and a syntactic function (functioning, for example, as the subject). Semantic and syntactic functions are dealt with in § 2.12.

> **Appendix:** The notion of valency is relatively recent, but can be traced back to ancient notions of transitivity and intransitivity. It was introduced into general linguistics in a systematic way by Tesnière (1959) and into Latin linguistics by Dressler (1970).[8] Although the notion is present in some form or other in most contemporary linguistic models, there remain a number of difficulties in its practical application (see §§ 4.1–4.6). It has been suggested that assigning one or more precise valencies to every verb is impossible in view of the number of borderline cases and that it is better to regard valency as a scalar concept: some entities are more obligatory or optional than others.[9] Similarly, some scholars consider the strict division between arguments and satellites impracticable and/or unnecessary.
>
> Objective tests to determine the valency of predicates have been developed for several languages, including Latin.[10]
>
> The special role assigned to the verb (or a comparable entity) is justified because the structure of the nuclear predication is determined by its meaning. This does not exclude the possibility of verbless utterances that in all other respects look like 'normal' clauses. Nor does this say anything about the prosodic status of verbs in general or of particular verbs. The fact that notably the monosyllabic forms *es* 'you are' and *est* 'he/she/it is' were elided and are also often found in the shadow of salient words, resembling the behaviour of clitics, is also irrelevant for the concept of valency.[11]

The notion of valency is also applicable to non-verbal categories, such as adjectives and nouns. The adjectives *similis* 'alike' and *dissimilis* 'unlike' in (g) are both bivalent; the same holds for the noun *dux* 'guide', 'leader' in (h), whose valency is like that of *duco*.

(g) Sic dicitur **similis** homo homini, equus equo, et **dissimilis** homo equo.

('Thus a human being is said to be like a human being, and a horse to be like a horse, and a human being to be unlike a horse.' Var. *L.* 10.4)

(h) Cuius legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano **dux** Helvetiorum fuerat.

('The leader of the deputation was Divico, who had been commander of the Helvetii in the campaign against Cassius.' Caes. *Gal.* 1.13.2)

Nouns, adjectives, and verbs that share a particular semantic feature often have the same valency and allow the same types of elements to be combined with them. This phenomenon of TRANSCATEGORIAL PARALLELISM is illustrated by (i)–(k). The verb *cupio* 'to desire' governs an infinitival clause, as in (i). The same type of embedding is

[8] References in LSS § 1.2. For Latin valency from a typological perspective, see Lehmann (2002).
[9] For the application of the concept of scalarity to valency, see Himmelmann (1986).
[10] See Happ (1976: 346–428); LSS § 2.1; Baños et al. (eds) (2003), especially the contribution by de la Villa (2003); Torrego et al. (eds) (2007), with references.
[11] On the prosodic status of verbs, see Fortson (2008: ch. 9).

found with the noun *cupido* 'desire', as in (j), and with the adjective *cupidus* 'desirous', as in (k).

(i) Cum hoc . . . cupivit . . . bellum **componere** . . .
('With him . . . he wished to arrange a truce . . . ' Nep. *Han.* 6.2)

(j) . . . si tanta cupido / bis Stygios **innare** lacus . . .
('. . . if there is such a great desire / to swim the Stygian lake twice . . . ' Verg. *A.* 6.133–4)

(k) . . . cupidus falsis **attingere** gaudia palmis . . .
('. . . yearning to touch with unreal hands his heart's delight.' Prop. 1.19.9)

2.9 States of affairs

The verb and its arguments refer to some situation in the observable or imaginary world in which we live. The structure of such situations may be quite diverse. Human beings may be actively involved, exercising their will over what is taking place, or something may take place or be the case without some form of active involvement. Further, the situation may or may not involve change (for example, *John grew old* or *John was old*), etc. From Aristotle onwards, terms have been proposed to describe and characterize the most important types of situations. As a general term for the various types of situations this Syntax will use the term STATE OF AFFAIRS (SoA). The following distinctions will be made:[12] (i) SoAs that are controlled or not controlled by some entity denoted by the first argument (usually a human being, but also animals or forces of nature may be depicted as controllers, exercising their will over some situation); (ii) SoAs that do or do not imply change (or, in other words, SoAs that are 'dynamic' or 'non-dynamic'). The combination of these two features CONTROL and CHANGE results in four types of states of affairs, as indicated in Figure 2.2.

English examples of these four types are: *John went home* (action), *John stayed home* (position), *John grew up in London* (process), and *John knows Greek* (state).

	Dynamic (+ change)	Non-dynamic (– change)
Controlled (+ control)	ACTION (*go*)	POSITION (*stay*)
Not controlled (– control)	PROCESS (*grow*)	STATE (*know*)

Figure 2.2 Typology of states of affairs (simple version)

[12] Essentially this follows LSS § 2.4 with adaptations from Haverling (2000: 22–31), where further references to the literature can be found. Some of the English examples are taken from her book. See also Haverling (2010a: 284–340). The term 'state of affairs' is taken from Dik (1997: I.105–26).

States of affairs that are controlled can occur in the imperative and may be used in subordinate clauses depending on verbs of ordering and wishing, like *impero* and *volo*. They can furthermore be combined with manner and instrument expressions and also with beneficiaries. This is briefly illustrated by (a)–(c). In (a), *abi* is an imperative form. It is combined with the manner satellite *cito*. In (b), *dormitum ut abeas* depends on *volo*, to be understood from the preceding question. Ex. (c) illustrates a beneficiary satellite (*maioribus natu*). Details and problems follow in § 6.30 (imperative) and in § 10.42 (process adjuncts).

(a) **Abi** *cito*.
('Off with you, quickly!' Pl. *Cist*. 781)

(b) Numquid *vis*? # Dormitum ut **abeas**.
('Do you want anything? # Only that you go off and sleep.' Pl. *Ps*. 665)

(c) Ut *maioribus natu* assurgatur . . .
(' . . . as, for example, rising out of respect to elders . . . ' Cic. *Inv*. 1.48)

The absence or presence of the feature 'change' is especially relevant for the combinability of an SoA with various expressions of time and for the interpretation of certain tense forms. In fact, the binary distinction +/– dynamic has to be refined further. Dynamic states of affairs either may be brought or come to a natural end (in that case they are called TERMINATIVE or 'telic') or may not (NON-TERMINATIVE or 'non-telic'). English examples are *John is walking along the beach* (non-terminative) and *John is walking to school* (terminative). A further distinction can be made into MOMENTANEOUS and NON-MOMENTANEOUS states of affairs. An example of a momentaneous SoA is *John finds a book on the beach*. The distinction +/– momentaneous operates especially within the type of terminative states of affairs, but a non-terminative SoA like *John coughed* is momentaneous as well. Non-momentaneous SoAs are called ACCOMPLISHMENTS, momentaneous ones ACHIEVEMENTS. These distinctions are represented in Figure 2.3.

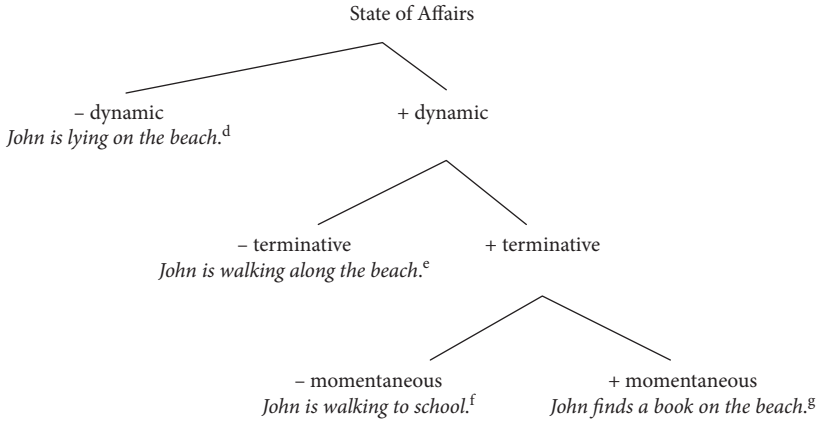


Figure 2.3 Typology of states of affairs (more elaborate version)

Latin illustrations are (d)–(g).

(d) Quis hic est senex / qui ante aedis nostras sic **iacet?**
('Who's this old man lying in front of our house like this?' Pl. *Am.* 1072–3 non-dynamic)

(e) In foro infumo boni homines atque dites **ambulant**.
('In the lower forum citizens of repute and wealth stroll about.' Pl. *Cur.* 475 non-terminative)

(f) Quo **ambulas** tu qui Volcanum in cornu conclusum geris?
('Where are you going, you who are carrying Vulcan locked up in your horn?' Pl. *Am.* 341 non-momentaneous)

(g) Interii, si non **invenio** ego illas viginti minas.
('I'm dead if I don't find those twenty minas.' Pl. *As.* 243 + momentaneous)

With non-dynamic states of affairs, an expression of duration is possible, as in (h). Such expressions are excluded with terminative states of affairs, which however allow an expression of the time within which, as in (i) (for examples, see §§ 10.31–10.38).

(h) **Duodequadraginta annos** tyrannus Syracusanorum fuit Dionysius . . .
('For thirty-eight years . . . Dionysius was tyrant of Syracuse.' Cic. *Tusc.* 5.57)

(i) Ipse . . . Tarraconem **paucis diebus** pervenit.
('In a few days he himself arrives at Tarraco . . . ' Caes. *Civ.* 2.21.4)

Momentaneous terminative states of affairs cannot be combined with phasal verbs such as *desino* 'to stop' and *incipio* 'to begin'.[13] Sentences containing a non-momentaneous terminative state of affairs in the perfect tense may be ambiguous if combined with *paene* 'almost', as in (j): was the action of destruction interrupted before final destruction was reached, or did the action not take place at all?

(j) Cogitate quantis laboribus fundatum imperium . . . una nox **paene** delerit.
('Think how one night almost destroyed the empire founded by such toil.' Cic. *Catil.* 4.19)

2.10 Satellites

Clauses often contain more than just the verb and its obligatory arguments. Ex. (a), repeated here from § 2.2, contains apart from its nucleus a connector (*at*), an interactional particle (*enim*), and a satellite (*noctu*).

(a) At enim illi noctu occentabunt ostium . . .
('Well, they'll serenade your door at night . . . ' Pl. *Per.* 569)

[13] See Vester (1983: 22–7); Haverling (2010a: 305).

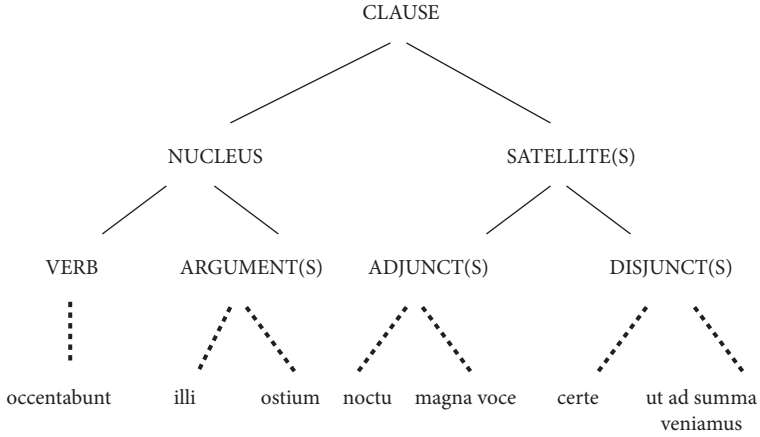
Several types of satellites can be distinguished. In the first place, there are satellites that add details to, or specify in some way, the SoA described by the verb and its arguments: in (a) *noctu* situates the action *illi occentabunt ostium* in time. In the same way, one could add that they will do this *magna voce* 'in a loud voice', *in platea* 'on the street', or *suis sodalibus* 'for the benefit of their comrades'. For this type of specifying satellites, this Syntax uses the term ADJUNCT. Some of these adjuncts occur only, or predominantly, with states of affairs of a specific type. Instrument adjuncts, for example, occur typically with controlled states of affairs. Time adjuncts like *noctu*, by contrast, have no restrictions.

Another type of satellite is illustrated by (b) and (c). *Certe* in (b) expresses the speaker's subjective evaluation of the content of the clause. The clause *ut . . . veniamus* in (c) indicates the status of the following information in the ongoing conversation and how that information has to be understood. The two expressions do not give further details about the SoA; they relate rather to the communicative situation of the speaker and hearer. For this type of satellite this Syntax uses the term DISJUNCT. Further discussion will follow in §§ 10.97–10.107.

(b) **Certe** hic insanu'st homo.
('This man is certainly mad.' Pl. *Men.* 282)

(c) **Ut vero iam ad illa summa veniamus**, quae vis alia potuit . . . homines unum in locum congregare . . .
('To come, however, at length to the highest achievements of eloquence, what other power could have been strong enough . . . to gather . . . humanity into one place . . . ' Cic. *de Orat.* 1.33)

A composite clause based on exx. (a)–(c) can be represented in a graph as in Figure 2.4, showing the hierarchical position of the various components. The verb is the most central



(Ut ad summa veniamus, certe illi noctu magna voce ostium occentabunt.)

Figure 2.4 The hierarchical structure of the clause (more elaborate version)

element, completed by its arguments. This combination is then further specified by adjuncts, and the resulting whole 'commented on' by disjuncts.

2.11 Extra-clausal constituents

Besides constituents that belong to clauses (whether complete or not), Latin has three types of EXTRA-CLAUSAL CONSTITUENTS. In combination with (complete or incomplete) clauses they form sentences, without having a syntactic relation to these clauses. The first type, so-called THEME constituents, precede the remainder of the sentence. The function of themes is to draw attention to, or to announce or introduce a new entity. An example is (a). The second type, TAIL constituents, function to give additional information about a constituent in the preceding clause. An example of a tail constituent is (b), where the tail constituent *viginti minae* gives a specification of *argentum* in the preceding clause (the traditional term is 'apposition'). Ex. (c) illustrates the third type, a PARENTHESIS, which is inserted in the middle of a sentence. In this particular instance, it justifies the repetition of the same statement.

(a) Sed **urbana plebes**, ea vero praeceps erat de multis causis.
('As for the city populace, they in particular acted with desperation for many reasons.' Sal. *Cat.* 37.4)

(b) Hercle te hau sinam emoriri, nisi mi argentum redditur, / **viginti minae**.
('By Hercules, I won't let you die, unless I'm paid the money, twenty minas.' Pl. *Ps.* 1222–3)

(c) Sumus enim natura, ut ante dixi—**dicendum est enim saepius**—studiosissimi adpetentissimique honestatis . . .
('We are by nature, as I have said before—and indeed it must be said quite often—the most eager for and desirous of honour . . .' Cic. *Tusc.* 2.58)

2.12 Semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic functions

For a full grammatical description of the way constituents function in Latin clauses and sentences and of their relation to other sentences in the context or to the extra-linguistic world, at least three types of concepts are needed. In the first place, a certain amount of terminology is required to describe the semantic relations between the constituents of a clause. In this Syntax, the following SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS of arguments will be distinguished:

(i) AGENT for entities wilfully instigating an SoA, as in (a), an active sentence, and in (b), a passive clause. Agents are especially human beings or entities equated with them, such as animals and sometimes forces of nature. Satellites may also function as agent, as in (c) with monovalent *moriuntur*, but this is very infrequent.

(a) **Pater** vocat *me* . . .
('My father calls me . . .' Pl. *Am.* 991)

(b) C. Gracchus ad M. Pomponium scripsit . . . haruspices **a patre** convocatos.
('Gaius Gracchus wrote to Marcus Pomponius that the soothsayers were called together by his father.' Cic. *Div.* 2.62)

(c) Moriuntur non alter **ab altero**, sed uterque **a patre**.
('They died, not at each other's hand, but both at their father's.' Sen. *Con.* 5.3.1)

(ii) CAUSE for entities that bring about an SoA without wilfully controlling it, as in (d). Satellites may also function as cause, as in (e).

(d) **Eius amor** cupidam *me* huc prolicit per tenebras.
('Love for him is driving my eager self out here through the darkness.' Pl. *Cur.* 97)

(e) Is **amore** misere *hanc* deperit *mulierculam* . . .
('He's dying wretchedly with love for this woman . . .' Pl. *Cist.* 131)

(iii) PATIENT for entities undergoing an SoA, as in (a)–(d). The term 'patient' covers both so-called AFFECTED objects (as in *John restored* ***the house***) and so-called EFFECTED objects (as in *John built* ***the house***). The term EXPERIENCER is used for entities that undergo a physiological or psychological SoA, as *hanc mulierculam* in (e).

(iv) RECIPIENT and ADDRESSEE for entities that function as third arguments in three-place states of affairs referring to handing over or communicating something, respectively. Examples are (f) and (g), respectively.

(f) Diabolus Glauci filius **Clearetae / lenae** dedit dono argenti viginti minas . . .
('Diabolus, the son of Glaucus, has given twenty silver minas as a gift to the madam Clearetа . . .' Pl. *As.* 751–2)

(g) Em tibi! Hic **mihi** dixit **tibi** quae dixi.
('Here you go! He told me what I told you.' Pl. *Mil.* 365)

(v) ASSOCIATIVE for entities that actively participate in a two-place SoA together with a principal agent, as with *depugno* (*cum*) 'to fight (with)' in (h). This function is also fulfilled by satellites, in combination with verbs that do not require them by their meaning, as in (i).

(h) Ter depugnavit Caesar **cum civibus**, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania.
('Three times Caesar fought it out with his countrymen, in Thessaly, Africa, and Spain.' Cic. *Phil.* 2.75)

(i) . . . ut **cum exercitu** / hinc profectus sum ad Teloboas hostis eosque ut vicimus.
('. . . since I went away with the army from here to our enemy, the Teloboians, and defeated them.' Pl. *Am.* 733–4)

(vi) DIRECTION, PLACE, and SOURCE for entities that function as arguments in SoAs implying motion or rest, like the source argument in (j). These functions are also fulfilled by satellites.

(j) Puer aberravit inter homines **a patre**.
('The boy strayed from his father among the crowd.' Pl. *Men.* 31)

The terms mentioned in (i) and (iii)–(v) are especially useful for the description of states of affairs in which human beings are involved, as the terms themselves suggest. Many linguists use different labels, and also sometimes a more extensive set of categories.[14] In this Syntax, this particular set of labels will help explain certain facts about Latin; it is not suggested that they cover all semantic relations between the verb and its arguments. More discussion will follow in Chapter 4.

The most common semantic functions of satellites (apart from agent, cause, and associative—see above) are:

(vii) BENEFICIARY (the entity to whose advantage or disadvantage an action is undertaken).
(viii) INSTRUMENT (the tool, usually inanimate, used in performing an action).
(ix) MANNER (indicates the way in which an SoA is carried out or takes place).
(x) REASON (indicates why an SoA is carried out or takes place).
(xi) PURPOSE (indicates with what goal in mind an action is performed).
(xii) Several spatial specifications.
(xiii) Several temporal specifications.

A fuller list can be found in the table of contents of Chapter 10 and Chapter 16. The number of functions (and their nomenclature) varies in the literature.

Arguments and satellites can furthermore be described in terms of their SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS. The only syntactic function on which Latinists seem to agree is that of the SUBJECT, commonly defined as the constituent in a finite clause with which the verb form shows agreement.[15] This definition is then often extended to non-finite constructions, such as the accusative and infinitive clause and the ablative absolute clause. Examples are (k)–(m). In the active clause (k) *laudat* agrees with its subject *pater*: it is third person singular. In the passive clause (l) the verb agrees with *filius*. In the (bracketed) accusative and infinitive clause in (m) there is another type of agreement (number, case, and gender) between the subject *filium* and the infinitive *laudatum esse*.

(k) **Pater** filium laudat.
('The father praises his son.')

[14] See for example Dik (1997: I.117–24) and Givón (2001: 117–61). Part of the terminology is taken from them, and some definitions are adaptations from these sources.
[15] For discussion of the status of the subject in Latin, see Lavency (1994).

(l) **Filius** a patre laudatur.
('The son is praised by his father.')

(m) Dicunt {**filium** a patre laudatum esse}.
('They say that the son was praised by his father.')

Most Latinists will call *filium* in (k) the (DIRECT) OBJECT of the clause. Some will restrict the use of the term object to instances precisely like (k), that is, to the second argument in the accusative case that can also be used as the subject in a passive counterpart, as in (l). As a consequence, in this view, the second arguments in (n) and (o) do not count as objects: *pecunia mea* in (n) is in the ablative and passivization is excluded; *magnos articulorum dolores* in (o) is in the accusative, but passivization is nevertheless excluded. Another instance of an accusative which is not passivizable is *me* in (p) with the deponent verb *sequor*. Other Latinists will take only the accusative as the defining criterion.

In this Syntax, the term 'object' will be used for all four types of second argument, (k) and (n)–(p). If necessary, for instances like (n) the term 'ablative object' is used.

(n) **Pecunia mea** tot annos utitur P. Quinctius.
('Quinctius has had the use of my money for so many years.' Cic. *Quinct.* 43)

(o) Terentia **magnos articulorum dolores** habet.
('Terentia has a bad attack of rheumatism.' Cic. *Att.* 1.5.8)

(p) Num illa **me** nunc sequitur?
('She isn't following me, is she?' Pl. *Cas.* 936)

The term INDIRECT OBJECT is commonly used for the third argument of verbs of transfer or communication, that is, for an argument that functions semantically as a recipient or an addressee (see above). Examples are (q) and (r). Some scholars also use it for the second argument of verbs that govern a dative, such as *faveo*, as in (s). In this Syntax, however, that constituent is called a 'dative object'.

(q) Prandium uxor **mihi** perbonum dedit…
('My wife gave me a very good lunch.' Pl. *Mos.* 692)

(r) Em tibi, hic **mihi** dixit **tibi** quae dixi.
('Here you go! He told me what I told you.' Pl. *Mil.* 365)

(s) Hominum nobilium non fere quisquam **nostrae industriae** favet.
('There is hardly one member of the old families who looks kindly on our activity.' Cic. *Ver.* 5.182)

Adopting the traditional term 'indirect object' raises the question of what to call other third arguments—for example, the ablative constituent with verbs of supplying, as in (t). (NB: this verb is also used with an accusative + dative [object + indirect object]

pattern.) There is no generally accepted term available. In this Syntax, the description of such structures will be given in an ad hoc way.[16]

(t) Ubi igitur est crimen? Quod eum Pompeius **civitate** donavit.
('Wherein then does the accusation consist? In this: that Pompeius has honoured him with citizenship.' Cic. *Balb.* 7)

The remaining syntactic function of arguments is that of the COMPLEMENT. Two types of complements are distinguished, the SUBJECT COMPLEMENT and the OBJECT COMPLEMENT.[17] In some English grammars these constituents are called 'predicates'. Examples are (u) and (v). In (u), *uliginosum* and *lutulentum* are used in combination with the copula *sum* (which requires two arguments). Being adjectives, they show agreement with the subject (*caprile*). In (v), *lutulentos* is the third argument of *reddo* and shows agreement with the object *multos homines*.

(u) Id, ut pleraque, lapide aut testa substerni oportet, caprile quo minus sit **uliginosum** ac **lutulentum**.
('That, and in fact most of them, should be floored with stone or tile, to prevent the goat-house from being wet and muddy.' Var. *R.* 2.3.6)

(v) Scio ego, multos iam lucrum **lutulentos** homines reddidit.
('I know that profit has already made many men corrupt.' Pl. *Capt.* 326)

As for the syntactic functions of satellites, two types of satellites are distinguished in § 2.10, those functioning as ADJUNCT and those functioning as DISJUNCT.

The last syntactic function of clause constituents to be discussed in this section is the SECONDARY PREDICATE. Two examples are (w) and (x), the first with a present participle, the second with an adjective. The terminology for these constituents varies from language to language and from author to author.[18] They are optional constituents, which makes them resemble satellites. While they often refer to properties of nouns and other nominal constituents, they are not part of the noun phrase. In (w), for instance, *flentes* is related to *principes* but it is not an attribute—for which see § 2.4. Secondary predicates also occur with implied constituents (especially subjects), such as 'we' in (x). In (y), *flens* is related to the relative pronoun *quae*, the subject of its clause. Details are discussed in Chapter 21.

(w) Postridie in castra ex urbe ad nos veniunt **flentes** principes.
('The next day their leaders came from the city to our camp, crying.' Pl. *Am.* 256)

(x) . . . scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae [et] Hannibalem **laeti** spectamus.
('. . . but now that Hannibal is scaling the walls of a Roman colony, we look on with indifference.' Liv. 22.14.7)

[16] In LSS the term 'complement' was used, but this has its own disadvantages. In this Syntax, complement will be used differently, as described immediately below.

[17] The terms are taken from Quirk et al. (1985).

[18] They are called 'praedicativa' in LSS: ch. 8.

(y) Is amore misere hanc deperit mulierculam / quae hinc modo **flens** abiit.
('He's dying wretchedly with love for this woman who went off crying a moment ago.' Pl. *Cist*. 131–2)

The third type of function used in this Syntax are PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS. Three factors play an important role in the structure of a sentence and in the choice of specific expressions. The first is the role of a particular constituent in its surrounding context—for example, whether it is already present in the preceding context or will be continued in the following context. The second factor is the speaker's or writer's estimate of what the addressee already knows. The third factor concerns the importance attached to a particular constituent by the speaker and/or addressee for their communicative interaction. Constituents of a clause therefore differ in their form and degree of TOPICALITY and FOCALITY: normally a clause contains at least one entity that the speaker considers to some extent known to, or at least accessible for, the addressee (the TOPIC of the clause), and which is therefore a good starting point for providing new or unexpected information (the FOCUS of the clause).

In this Syntax, various types of TOPIC and FOCUS are distinguished. These pragmatic functions are especially relevant for word order, the choice between active and passive voice, and the selection of anaphoric expressions. Exx. (z)–(ab) illustrate the use of these terms for describing word order phenomena. In (z), *Terentia*, Cicero's wife, is of course well-known to Atticus, the addressee of the letter, so it is unproblematic for Cicero to take her as the starting point for the new information given in the remainder of the sentence. The initial position in the sentence is very common for topical constituents. In the immediately following sentence—here (aa)—there is no need to mention Terentia, duly introduced, again. That Cicero's daughter *Tullia* joins in for the greetings is an additional (see *et* 'also') and salient piece of information and placed at the end of the sentence. Ex. (ab) illustrates a specific focalizing structure to emphasize the role of *Clodium* (by contrast with *alios*) (a so-called cleft construction).

(z) **Terentia** magnos articulorum dolores habet.
('Terentia has a bad attack of rheumatism.' Cic. *Att*. 1.5.8)

(aa) Et te et sororem tuam et matrem maxime diligit salutemque tibi plurimam adscribit et **Tulliola, deliciae nostrae**.
('She is very fond of you and of your sister and mother, and sends her best love, as does my darling little Tullia.' Cic. *Att*. 1.5.8)

(ab) Neque tu eras tam excors tamque demens ut nescires **Clodium** esse qui contra leges facere, **alios** qui leges scribere solerent.
('And yet you were not so senseless and so infatuated as not to know that it was Clodius' part to act in defiance of the laws, and the business of others to formulate them.' Cic. *Dom*. 48)

Details on pragmatic functions (and some of the problems involved) are given in Chapters 5, 23, and 24.[19]

> In other studies in which systematic attention is paid to the pragmatic structure of clauses and sentences other terms are used for 'topic' and 'focus', for example 'theme' and 'rheme'. The term 'focalization' also plays a role in narratological studies, in a sense that is not entirely unrelated to its use in this Syntax, but with which it should not be confused.

2.13 Discourse and text type

Generally speaking, people communicate with one another in units that consist of more than one sentence. Alternatively, in the case of an exchange between two or more participants in a communicative interaction, people form sentences together with the sentences of the interlocutor(s) (e.g. question–answer pairs). For all units above the level of the individual sentence, this Syntax uses the term DISCOURSE. Viewed from the top down, a discourse unit (a poem, a letter, a chapter, a book) may consist of smaller subunits (EPISODES and PARAGRAPHS), which themselves consist of a coherent set of sentences.

The linguistic properties of a unit of discourse (and hence ultimately of its sentences, clauses, words, etc.) depend upon a number of factors. In the first place, there are external factors related to its time and place, to the properties of its participants (sex and age, for example), and to their mutual relations. As illustrations of what is meant by properties of the participants, one may think of the intellectual level and/or linguistic ability of the participants (for example, Augustine's use of Latin in his *Sermones* differs from the use in his works for an audience of intellectuals whom he assumed knew 'Classical' Latin).[20]

Next, there are internal factors, depending on certain decisions made by the language participant(s). Among these are:

(i) MEDIUM (spoken or written), indirectly relevant to the study of Latin (even though we have only written material, think of drama and orations vs narrative and letters);
(ii) PARTICIPATION (monologue vs dialogue): in his *Partitiones Oratoriae* Cicero chooses the form of a dialogue between himself and his son;
(iii) FORMALITY, as imposed by social (including literary) convention: Cicero's orations against Antony are quite different from his orations before a jury;

[19] For a description of Latin word order along pragmatic lines, see Spevak (2010a) and Hoffmann (2010).
[20] See, for example, Dokkum (1900).

(iv) COMMUNICATIVE PURPOSE, which results in various TEXT TYPES, such as narrative texts, argumentative texts, didactic texts, poetic and prose texts of various types (this coincides partly with 'literary genre'). The effect of text type on the linguistic features of texts is vastly underestimated in Latin scholarship; one example: *quoniam* 'since' occurs some hundred and forty times in Lucretius and 'only' less than fifty times in Livy's much longer work. Lucretius' is an argumentative text, Livy's a narrative; almost all his instances occur in the orations, the most argumentative parts of his work;

(v) STYLE, defined as the set of individual choices made by the speaker/writer(s) within limits imposed by items (i)–(iv), such as periodic vs non-periodic sentences, archaic vs contemporary expressions, analogy vs anomaly, adopting foreign elements (for example, Greek) vs purism.[21]

The coherence of discourse derives in the first place from the fact that the 'world' it describes has its own internal coherence, which is manifested in the semantic relations that exist between the individual sentences and paragraphs. These must share some overarching DISCOURSE TOPIC. But there are also specific linguistic devices that enhance discourse coherence. In (a) at the beginning of this chapter, the connector *at* was mentioned. Connectors play an important role in marking intersentential relations and relations between other discourse units, such as paragraphs. A few further devices were mentioned in the paragraph on pragmatic functions in § 2.12. Anaphoric expressions, active/passive variation, the use of the tenses, etc. contribute to discourse coherence. Further discussion will be found especially in Chapter 24.

[21] For a discussion of such 'discourse decisions' see Dik (1997: II.415–22).

CHAPTER 3

Latin word classes and inflectional categories

This chapter serves as an introduction to the various word classes (also called 'lexical categories' or 'parts-of-speech') of Latin and to the morphosyntactic and morphosemantic categories that are relevant to them. It covers only those aspects that are relevant to the chapters on syntax that follow; references indicate the subsequent sections where each word class is discussed in greater detail. As an introduction to word classes, its contents will for the most part be familiar to readers of Latin, although some of the terminology may be new.[1]

In the first description of the Latin language that has come down to us (Varro's *De lingua Latina* 6.36), Varro observes that from a 'root' word like *lego* 'I read', which is not itself derived from another 'root', four types of 'declined words' can be formed:

(i) those that signal *tempora* 'times' but not *casus* 'cases'—*leges* 'you will read' and *lege* 'read' (both are finite verb forms in modern terminology);
(ii) those that signal cases but not times—*lectio* 'a reading' and *lector* 'a reader' (both nouns);
(iii) those that signal both times and cases—*legens* 'reading' and *lecturus* 'being about to read' (both participles);
(iv) those that signal neither case nor time—*lecte* and *lectissime* 'choicely' and 'most choicely' (both adverbs).

Case and tense (in modern terminology) have been essential criteria for the classification of Latin words ever since.[2] In this chapter a threefold distinction is made between classes of words that have (mainly) 'nominal' characteristics, classes of words that have (mainly) 'verbal' characteristics, and classes of words that lack these characteristics.

[1] For a discussion of word classes from a typological perspective, see Bisang (2011).
[2] Varro's linguistic ideas stand in a long tradition of Greek philosophers and grammarians. See Swiggers and Wouters (2001).

3.1 Nominal word classes

Words belonging to the nominal word classes are usually marked for NUMBER (*numerus*) and CASE (*casus*) (as is true for nouns) or for number, case, and GENDER (*genus*) (as is true for adjectives, certain numerals, and the various categories of pronouns and pronominals, as well as for participial and gerundival verb forms). Before the individual nominal word classes are discussed, attention will be given to these inflectional categories.

3.2 The inflectional categories of number, case, and gender

3.3 The inflectional categories of number and case with nouns

Nouns (also called 'substantives'—*nomina substantiva*) are marked for the inflectional categories 'number' and 'case'. Table 3.1 shows what this marking looks like for the nouns *dominus* 'master' and *rex* 'king'.

Table 3.1 Paradigms of the nouns *dominus* and *rex*

	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Nominative	dominus	dominī	rēx	rēgēs
Genitive	dominī	dominōrum	rēgis	rēgum
Dative	dominō	dominīs	rēgī	rēgibus
Accusative	dominum	dominōs	rēgem	rēgēs
Ablative	dominō	dominīs	rēge	rēgibus
Vocative	domine	dominī	rēx	rēgēs

Latin in the Classical period had six cases, here indicated vertically, and two numbers (*numerus singularis* and *numerus pluralis*), here indicated horizontally. The word *dominus* is the nominative singular form; the word *dominōs*, the accusative plural. In the paradigm of *dominus* it is easy to identify the part that all the forms have in common, the so-called 'root' or 'stem' *domin-*. One could say that this part carries the lexical meaning 'master'. (Determining the stem of *rex* is slightly more complicated—see below.) However, in the remaining portion of the forms (the so-called INFLECTIONAL ENDINGS) it is not possible to identify, for example, a nominative element and a singular element, or an accusative and a plural element. In Latin the information concerning case and number is 'fused' into one form, as in other so-called 'inflecting languages'. In Table 3.1 there are twelve boxes (6 × 2) for each noun, but the actual number of distinct forms is eight, and the boxes that coincide are not the same between the two paradigms. In the paradigm of *dominus* the datives and ablatives (singular and plural) are identical, so one might ask what is the reason for

distinguishing them. The distinction is based on the paradigm of *rex*, where the dative and ablative singular are different (*rēgī* and *rēge* respectively); further confirmation is found in other nominal classes. Nevertheless, the dative and ablative case forms are never distinct in the plural; the reason for distinguishing these two cases is that the singular forms are (sometimes) formally distinct.

In order to indicate that the eight *words* in the paradigms in Table 3.1 are all different *forms* of something that means *dominus* or *rex* linguists have introduced the term LEXEME: the words in question are forms of the lexemes *dominus* and *rex* (note that the nominative singular form is used as the label for a noun lexeme).

As Table 3.1 shows, *dominus* and *rex* differ in the form of their inflectional endings. The genitive singular of the lexeme *dominus*, for example, has the ending *-ī*; that of the lexeme *rex*, *-is*. On the basis of their inflectional endings nouns are traditionally divided into five so-called DECLENSIONS (with a number of subclasses). Details follow in § 3.6.

As for the functions of the inflectional categories number and case, NUMBER is a grammatical category by which the language user indicates whether the noun he is using concerns one entity or more than one. Number, therefore, is a semantic category. Latin has singular and plural forms of nouns. *Dominus* in (a) concerns one master, *domini* in (b) multiple masters. This singularity and plurality is also reflected in the verb forms *misit* and *absunt*, respectively, a phenomenon called 'agreement' or 'concord' (see Chapter 13).[3]

(a) **Dominus** me boves mercatum Eretriam misit.

('My master has sent me to Eretria to buy oxen.' Pl. *Per.* 322)

(b) …abeunt lavatum, perstrepunt, ita ut fit **domini** ubi absunt.

('…they all rushed out to take their baths, chattering away, as happens when the masters are absent.' Ter. *Eu.* 600)

Interestingly, singular and plural forms of a lexeme in the same case are, with very few exceptions (see note below), always formally distinct. The reason must be that 'number' is an important semantic category: it makes a difference whether we are talking about one *dominus* or several *domini*. Not surprisingly, the distinction 'singular' : 'plural' is well preserved in the Romance languages, whereas the cases (largely) disappeared.

> Not every noun has singular and plural forms. Abstract nouns, such as *iustitia* 'justice', mass nouns, such as *aurum* 'gold', and collective nouns, such as *proles* 'offspring', are never or rarely found in the plural. The Latin term for such nouns is *singularia tantum* 'only singular'. By contrast, some nouns only occur in the plural, even if only one entity is involved. The Latin term for these nouns is *pluralia tantum*; examples are *insidiae* 'ambush', *tenebrae* 'darkness', and *reliquiae* 'remains'.[4]

[3] For the generic use of singular and plural nouns, see § 11.118.
[4] For a list of 'defective' nouns, see G.-L.: 35; K.-H.: 500–19.

> The singular/plural distinction is not available for the nominative cases of *diēs* 'day' or 'days' and *rēs* 'thing' or 'things', although it may be indicated by other modifiers within the noun phrase.

Whereas number is related to the extra-linguistic world, case is a grammatical category that indicates the role of nouns within the grammatical structure in which they occur. One such structure is a clause, as in ex. (a) above, where the nominative *dominus* signals that the master is the one who sent the 'I'; by contrast, *me*, an accusative form of the personal pronoun *ego* 'I', signals that the 'I' is the person sent, and not the sender. The opposite relation would be expressed by (c), with nominative *ego* (usually not explicit) and accusative *dominum*.

(c) Ego **dominum** boves mercatum Eretriam misi.
('I have sent my master to Eretria to buy oxen.')

Two other structures in which case indicates the role of the nouns involved are illustrated by (d) and (e). In (d) *domini* is part of the noun phrase *nomen domini*; in (e) it is part of the adjective phrase *domini similis*.

(d) Sed nomen **domini** quaero quid siet.
('But I'm trying to remember what the owner's name is.' Pl. *Mos.* 661)

(e) **Domini** similis es.
('You are similar to your master.' Ter. *Eu.* 496)

In (d) *domini* is the genitive singular form, which makes it clear that it is *domini* that modifies *nomen* 'name' and not the other way around. In (e) genitive singular *domini* depends on *similis* 'similar'.

Although case provides a certain amount of information that contributes to a correct understanding of the structure in which it occurs, it is of a much more abstract character than the information number provides. Case is a MORPHOSYNTACTIC category, as opposed to number, which is a MORPHOSEMANTIC category. (For detailed discussion of the function of case, see Chapter 12.)

3.4 The inflectional categories of number, case, and gender with adjectives and comparable word classes

Adjectives, certain numerals, pronouns, and pronominals are inflected for number, case, and gender. As with nouns, Latin has two numbers and six cases for these word classes. There are three genders: feminine, masculine, and neuter. Table 3.2 shows how this works for the adjective *bonus* 'good'.

Just as with nouns (see § 3.3), the actual number of different forms of the lexeme *bonus* (fourteen) is smaller than the number of boxes in the paradigm (thirty-six—$6 \times 2 \times 3$). Here again, for each case the singular and plural forms of *bonus* are distinct from one another within each of the categories masculine, feminine, and

Table 3.2 Paradigm of the adjective *bonus*

	Masculine		Neuter		Feminine	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Nominative	bonus	bonī	bonum	bona	bona	bonae
Genitive	bonī	bonōrum	bonī	bonōrum	bonae	bonārum
Dative	bonō	bonīs	bonō	bonīs	bonae	bonīs
Accusative	bonum	bonōs	bonum	bona	bonam	bonās
Ablative	bonō	bonīs	bonō	bonīs	bonā	bonīs
Vocative	bone	bonī	bonum	bona	bona	bonae

neuter. While the lexeme *bonus* has separate forms for three genders, there are also adjectives with one set of forms for the feminine and masculine and another for the neuter (see § 3.7). Note that the singular nominative masculine form is used as a label to identify adjectival lexemes.

It is not difficult to make a distinction for the forms of the lexeme *bonus* between the stem (*bon-*) and the inflectional endings. However, just as with nouns, it is not possible to isolate within the endings separate elements for number, case, and gender.

Like nouns, adjectives belong to various declensions. Table 3.2 shows one of them, the so-called first and second declension, which contains masculine and neuter forms of the *-o* stem and feminine forms of the *-a* stem. There is another rather complex declension, containing *-i* stem and consonant stem adjectives. See § 3.7 for details.

Turning now to the function of these inflectional categories, although they bear the same names as the equivalent categories with nouns, their function is not entirely the same. The expression of these categories in the inflection of adjectives serves the purpose of showing to which noun or comparable constituent the adjective belongs. This is illustrated by (a)–(c). Ex. (a) is a textually uncertain example, accepted in this form by most editors.[5] Despite *vetus* being separated from *dominus* by *villae*, the ending (singular, nominative, masculine/feminine) shows that it modifies *dominus*, itself a singular and nominative form (and intrinsically masculine—see below). In (b) the fact that *quartus* is a singular, nominative, and masculine form helps to disambiguate *diēs* as singular and nominative (the verb ending is also singular). In (c) the fact that the form of the possessive adjective *meus* is singular, nominative, and masculine makes it clear that the *canis* 'dog' involved is a male one.

(a) . . . cum tu **vetus** (eius *cj.* Baiter) villae dominus sis cuius paulo ante fuerat Caesar.

('. . . when you were the old established master of the villa in which the master had once been Caesar.' [Cic.] *Sal.* 20)

[5] Reynolds (OCT) prints *eius* while reporting that the mss. read *vetus*. The pre-OCT editors report that almost all mss. have *veteris*, which would then go with *villae*, but this is currently rejected by all editors.

(b) Itaque expositis tridui disputationibus **quartus** dies hoc libro concluditur.
('Accordingly, now that the discussions of three days have been set out in full, the fourth day is comprised in this book.' Cic. *Tusc.* 4.7)

(c) Et praeter eos agnos **meus** est istic clam mordax canis.
('And besides these lambs my dog is secretly in there, a real biter.' Pl. *Bac.* 1146)

Exx. (a)–(c) concern adjectives belonging to a noun phrase. Adjectives that function as a constituent of a clause (for example, as subject complement) behave in a similar way. This is illustrated by (d) and (e). In (d) the subject complement *bonus* is singular, nominative, and masculine, as is the subject *hic homo*. In (e) the speaker is talking to a woman, present on the stage. As a consequence, the subject complement *bona* is feminine in agreement with the implicit feminine subject of the clause.

(d) **Bonus** est hic homo, mea voluptas.
('This man is a good one, my darling.' Pl. *Poen.* 1214)

(e) **Bona** si esse vis, bene erit tibi.
('If you're willing to be good, you'll have a good time.' Pl. *Mer.* 510)

Except in the case of the so-called substantival use of adjectives and other comparable word classes (see § 3.5), their inflectional endings depend on the nouns or other nominal constituents to which they are related. The technical term for this phenomenon is AGREEMENT or CONCORD. Details are discussed in Chapter 13.

Whereas adjectives and other words are inflected for gender, the inflectional endings of nouns do not contain an element of gender. There are a number of masculine and feminine suffixes such as *-tor* and *-trix* that can be used to derive nouns from verbal stems (e.g. *laudator* 'a male person who praises', *laudatrix* 'a female person who praises'), but the declension of these lexemes does not contain specific masculine or feminine forms. The gender of nouns is an intrinsic property and to a large extent arbitrary.[6]

Grammatical gender of nouns is partly related to sex (male animate entities are masculine; female animate entities are feminine), partly to semantic properties, but mostly to formal properties. As for semantic properties, the names of months and winds are masculine and so are most names of rivers and mountains that could be considered familiar; names of countries, islands, cities,[7] and plants and trees are usually feminine. A few illustrations are given in the Supplement.[8]

Supplement (modifiers added to indicate gender):
Ianuarius (*sc.* mensis 'month') 'January'; Auster **imbricus** 'the rainy south wind'; **flavus** Tiberis 'the yellow Tiber'; Vesuvius **noster** 'our Vesuvius';

[6] For the relationship between gender and sex in Latin, see Löfstedt (1963a).
[7] For the names of cities, see Biville (1998: 833).
[8] For more instances, fluctuation, and change, see G.-L.: 10–11; K.-H.: 258–72; Sz.: 10–12; Adams (2013: 383–452).

> . . . dilectus **tota** Italia habiti 'levies held throughout Italy'; **Latonia** Delos 'Latona's Delos'; disciplinis **erudita** Corinthus 'Corinth with her polished culture'; **alba** populus 'white poplar'.
>
> A number of nouns have the same forms for male and female animate beings. The technical term is 'common gender'. An example is *canis* 'dog' quoted in (c). There the modifier *meus* by its masculine form supplies additional information. Another solution is the addition of *mas* 'male' or *femina* 'female', as in *bos mas* 'bull'. Examples of nouns denoting human beings are *civis* 'citizen' and *comes* 'companion'.

As for formal properties, a few examples may suffice. (i) Nouns with a nominative singular form in *-a*, such as *mensa* 'table' (that is, nouns belonging to the so-called first declensional class—see § 3.6), are feminine, unless one of the semantic properties mentioned above applies. So *Anchisa* (better known as *Anchises*), *nauta* 'sailor', and *Hadria* 'the Adriatic' are masculine. (ii) Nouns with a nominative singular form in *-us*, such as *hortus* 'garden' and *fructus* 'fruit', are masculine, unless one of the semantic properties mentioned above applies. So *Corinthus* and *populus* 'poplar' in the Supplement above are feminine (there are a few more exceptions, which are not relevant to this exposition). (iii) Nouns with a nominative singular form in *-um*, such as *bellum* 'war', are neuter, unless one of the semantic properties mentioned above applies. So, for example, *amoena Stephanium* 'pretty Stephanium' (a woman's name in Greek) with a feminine adjective. (iv) Nouns with a nominative singular form in *-or*, such as *labor* 'toil', are masculine, unless one of the semantic properties mentioned above applies. So *arbor* 'tree' is feminine.

The neuter gender has a number of special functions of a different character. First there is the use of singular neuter modifiers with various linguistic entities other than nouns, illustrated by (f)–(i). In (f) the letter 'E' is taken as a neuter form, modified by *plenissimum*. In (g) the determiner *istuc* modifies the quotation *taceo*, which is treated as a neuter word. In (h) *novum* modifies the indeclinable adverb *mane* (see also §§ 11.22–11.23). In (i) the possessive adjective *tuum* modifies the infinitive *amare*, which is also treated as a neuter word (for a detailed discussion, see § 11.8).

(f) . . . ut Iota litteram tollas et *E* **plenissimum** dicas . . .
('. . . in dropping the letter I and substituting a very full E . . .' Cic. *de Orat.* 3.46)

(g) Taceo. # Si tacuisses, iam **istuc** "*taceo*" non gnatum foret.
('I'm quiet. # If you'd been quiet, your "I'm quiet" wouldn't have been born.' Pl. *Poen.* 262)

(h) . . . dum *mane* **novum**, dum gramina canent . . .
('. . . while the day is young, while the grass is hoar . . .' Verg. *G.* 3.325)

(i) Ita **tuom** conferto **amare** semper . . .
('Always handle your love in such a way . . .' Pl. *Cur.* 28)

Secondly, singular neuter forms of adjectives (including possessive adjectives) are used as subject and object complement in sentences which have an infinitive or a

clause as subject or object. Examples are (j) (an infinitive) and (k) (an accusative and infinitive clause). The infinitive and the clause are treated as a neuter constituent. For details concerning this common use, see § 15.126 and § 15.101, respectively.

(j) Facilitatis, liberalitatis . . . signa proferre **perutile** est.
('It is very helpful to display the tokens of good-nature, kindness, . . . ' Cic. *de Orat*. 2.182)

(k) . . . te meminisse id **gratum** est mihi.
(' . . . I'm thankful that you remember it.' Pl. *Capt*. 414)

Thirdly, neuter forms of a number of anaphoric, demonstrative, and relative pronouns are used to refer to pieces of discourse. The anaphoric pronoun *id* in (k) is a good example. It refers to the content of the preceding thirteen lines (details in Chapter 24). Neuter forms of these pronouns are sometimes also used to refer in an 'imprecise' way to entities that are, strictly speaking, masculine or feminine (see § 13.27).

3.5 The inflectional categories of number, case, and gender with substantively used adjectives and comparable word classes

When adjectives and comparable word classes are used substantively and thus function as nouns, their form is not determined by agreement. Number and case function in the same way as they do with nouns. As for gender, feminine and masculine correspond to the sexual properties (female or male) of animate beings, as illustrated by (a) and (b). (For further examples of substantival use, see § 11.9.) Just like nouns, substantival adjectives may be used in the generic sense to denote a class of men, both in the singular and (more often) in the plural. In that case masculine forms are normal, as in (c) and (d), respectively (for generic use, see also § 11.118).

(a) . . . si **vicina tua** melius habeat aurum quam tu habes, utrum illudne an tuum malis?
(' . . . if your neighbour had a better gold ornament than you have, would you prefer that one or your own?' Cic. *Inv*. 1.51)

(b) Sed conticiscam, nam eccum it **vicinus** foras.
('But I'll fall silent: look, my neighbour is coming out.' Pl. *Mer*. 271)

(c) . . . sicut medico diligenti, priusquam conetur **aegro** adhibere medicinam . . . natura corporis cognoscenda est . . .
(' . . . like a careful physician who, before he attempts to administer a remedy to his patient, must investigate . . . his physical constitution.' Cic. *de Orat*. 2.186)

(d) Curato **aegrotos** domi.
('Then look after the sick at home.' Pl. *Capt*. 190)

Substantival adjectives and comparable words in the neuter denote something or (in the plural) some things that have a particular property. Examples are (e)–(f).

(e) Meum **bonum** me, te tuom maneat **malum**.
('So long as my good fortune awaits me and your bad fortune you.' Pl. *Mos*. 49–50)

(f) . . . tibi multa **bona** instant a me.
('. . . a lot of good things are coming your way from me.' Pl. *Per*. 492)

3.6 Nouns

The category of nouns is usually further subdivided into COMMON NOUNS (*nomina appellativa*) and PROPER NAMES (*nomina propria*). Proper names typically refer to a particular individual entity, such as a person (*Marcus*), a river (*Tiber*), or a hill (*Aventinus*). By contrast, common nouns when not determined in some way do not refer to individual entities but denote entities as part of a class (*homo* 'man', *amnis* 'river', *mons* 'mountain'). Common nouns (henceforth typically referred to simply as 'nouns') are discussed first. Proper names are then dealt with at the end of this section.

As was said in § 3.3, nouns are assigned to different declensions on the basis of their inflectional endings. The five classes are presented below in their traditional order. The lexemes that serve as examples are given in their singular nominative and genitive forms.[9]

(i) First declension, also called *-a* stem declension, containing lexemes like *puella* (nominative singular), *puellae* (genitive singular) 'girl' and *mensa*, *mensae* 'table'.

(ii) Second declension, also called *-o* stem declension (for historical reasons that are not relevant here), containing lexemes of various types: (a) *dominus*, *domini* 'master' and *hortus*, *horti* 'garden'; (b) *puer*, *pueri* 'boy' and *ager*, *agri* 'field'; (c) *bellum*, *belli* 'war'.

(iii) Third declension, usually divided up into consonant stems of various types and vowel stems: (a) consonant stems: (i) *consul*, *consulis* 'consul', *nomen*, *nominis* 'name', and *labor*, *laboris* 'toil'; (ii) *cinis*, *cineris* 'ashes', *flos*, *floris* 'flower', and *corpus*, *corporis* 'body'; (iii) *princeps*, *principis* 'chief', *rex*, *regis* 'king', and *aetas*, *aetatis* 'age'; (b) vowel stems: (i) *collis*, *collis* 'hill', *vulpes*, *vulpis* 'fox', and *mare*, *maris* 'sea'; (ii) *grus*, *gruis* 'crane'.

(iv) Fourth declension, also called *-u* stem declension: *fructus*, *fructūs* 'fruit' and *cornū*, *cornūs* 'horn'.

(v) Fifth declension, also called *-e* stem declension: *dies*, *diei* 'day', *res*, *rei* 'thing'.

The first and second declension share a number of endings: for example, the plural genitive in *-rum* and the plural dative and ablative in *-is*. The two declensions can therefore be regarded as belonging to one 'macro' declension, as is seen with adjectives like *bonus* as well (see Table 3.2 in § 3.4).[10]

[9] For details, see G.-L.: 13–34; K.-H.: 296–471.

[10] See Dressler (2002).

Common nouns denote entities of four types. The first type concerns entities that are located in space and time and are observable, such as *vir* 'man', *equus* 'horse', *lapis* 'stone', *domus* 'house', *fluvius* 'river', *sonus* 'sound', *aqua* 'water', *aurum* 'gold', *pecunia* 'money', *exercitus* 'army', and *gens* 'clan' ('first-order' entities). Nouns of this type are often called 'concrete'. They can be subdivided into a number of semantic classes: animate nouns (*vir* and *equus*) vs non-animate nouns (*lapis*, *domus*); count (*vir*, *lapis*, and *sonus*) vs mass (*aqua*, *aurum*, and *pecunia*); individual (*vir*, *lapis*) vs collective (*exercitus*, *gens*). This type of nouns is often regarded as the most prototypical. The remaining three types of nouns are 'abstract'. The second type concerns entities that are located in time and denote an event or a situation that is observable. Examples are *dolor* 'grief', *adventus* 'arrival', *admiratio* 'astonishment', *nuntius* 'message', and *pietas* 'respect' ('second-order' entities). The third type concerns entities that are located neither in space nor in time and denote mental constructs, such as *opinio* 'opinion', *memoria* 'memory', *iudicium* 'judgement' ('third-order' entities). Many of the nouns belonging to these two classes are derivationally related to verbs that indicate an event or a situation. The fourth type concerns entities that denote a property of some entity, such as *color* 'colour', *modus* 'size', and *magnitudo* 'size' ('zero-order' entities). Property nouns are often derivationally related to adjectives.[11]

Some nouns that denote concrete countable entities, like *domus* 'house' and *malum* 'apple', may occur with all sorts of modifiers (colour, ownership, provenance, quality, etc.), but they are perfectly understandable without any specification. Other nouns like the kinship word *pater* 'father' are inherently RELATIONAL, in the sense that one is always the father of someone. So in (a), when the slave Tranio says to his young master Philolaches: '*pater adest*', *pater* is understood as 'your father', as becomes clear further on by the addition of *tuos*. Noun phrases related to these nouns can also be expressed in the dative, like *mihi* in (b) below (for details see § 10.96).

(a) Philolaches. # Quid est? # <Et> ego et tu—# Quid 'et ego et tu'? # Periimus. /# Quid ita? # **Pater** adest. # Quid ego ex te audio? # Absumpti sumus. / Pater inquam tuos venit.

('Philolaches. # What's the matter? # You and I—# What, "you and I"? # We've died. # How so? # Your father's back. # What must I hear from you? # We're done for. I'm telling you, your father has come.' Pl. *Mos*. 364–6)

(b) Ampsigura mater **mihi** fuit, Iahon pater.

('My mother was Ampsigura and my father Iahon.' Pl. *Poen*. 1065)

Comparable are nouns that denote a part (including mental capacities) of the body. These entities are INALIENABLE and the nouns that are used for them are in many languages favoured in or excluded from certain constructions. So one does not normally expect the possessive dative construction with *caput* 'head', as in (c), nor

[11] The distinction of four types of entities goes back to Lyons' distinction of first- and second-order entities (1968: 346–9). For its application to Latin, see Spevak (2014a: ch. 1).

a possessive adjective, as in (d). On the other hand, one does find such nouns in the sympathetic dative construction, exemplified by (e) (for details, see § 10.96).

(c) ?Mihi caput est.
('I have a head.'—*Mihi caput infirmum est* is permissible, see Cels. 1.4.1)

(d) ?Meum caput dolet.
('My head hurts.'—*Caput dolet* is permissible, see Pl. *Am.* 1059)

(e) . . . etiam <**mi**> **misero** nunc malae dolent.
('. . . my jaws are still hurting, dear me.' Pl. *Am.* 408)

Just like the verbs from which they are derived, abstract verbal nouns may require one or more entities to be expressed explicitly or to be understood in the context. Thus *profectio* 'departure', *navigatio* 'sailing', and *desperatio* 'despair' usually denote someone's departure, the sailing of someone (by boat), and the despair of someone concerning somebody or something, respectively (although a discussion *in abstracto* is possible). A distinction can be made between monovalent, bivalent, and trivalent nouns, with which one, two, or three 'adnominal arguments' are required, respectively. Actor verbal nouns like *actor* 'performer' and *dux* 'guide' likewise normally require an entity that might be the second argument of the verb to which these nouns are related. Further examples of nouns with a valency are *facultas* 'ability' and *necessitas* 'need'. Details concerning the valency of nouns are given in § 11.70.

> The nouns discussed above often develop more 'concrete' meanings. One may think of words like *oratio*, which rarely denotes the act of speaking[12] and more often denotes the product of speaking (an oration) or other comparable objects. In these cases these nouns have no valency.[13]

Proper names have a number of formal properties of their own (archaisms, many loan words). However, on the whole they fit in with the morphology of common nouns.[14] Although they typically refer to definite individuals, they can be used in the same way as common nouns. For example, they can be modified by the same range of categories, as in (f) by an indefinite determiner (for this term, see § 3.8). They can also be used in the plural, as in (g) (see also § 11.4).[15]

(f) Et tamen non alienum est dignitate tua . . . habere **aliquem** in consiliis capiendis **Nestorem** . . .
('And yet it detracts nothing from your prestige to have a Nestor to consult . . . ' Cic. *Fam.* 9.14.2)

(g) Eius testamentum deporto **trium Ciceronum** signis obsignatum . . .
('I am bringing his will home, witnessed by three Ciceros . . . ' Cic. *Att.* 7.2.3)

[12] See TLL *s.v.* 877.68ff. [13] See Rosén (1983) and Spevak (2014a: 33–5).
[14] For the formal properties of proper names, see Biville (1998).
[15] See Orlandini (1995: 148–68) and Biville (1998: 832–3).

3.7 Adjectives

Latin adjectives belong to two declensional classes whose inflectional endings correspond to the first, second, and third declensions of nouns. The first class, with endings from the first and second declensions, is shown in Table 3.2. The other class contains endings from the third declension. As with the nouns of the third declension, the stems of the adjectives in this class are quite diverse. Usually a distinction is made between *-i* stem adjectives and consonant stem adjectives. The *-i* stem adjectives (for example *facilis* 'easy' and *acer* 'sharp'), have ten different forms (out of a possible thirty-six), the consonant stems (for example *felix* 'lucky') only nine.[16] Singular and plural forms of an adjectival lexeme in the same case are always distinct.

> Another common division of adjectives is according to the number of different singular nominative forms for the inflectional category gender: three endings (feminine, masculine, and neuter), e.g. *bonus*; two endings (non-neuter and neuter), e.g. *facilis*; and one ending, e.g. *felix*.

Adjectives can be subdivided into a number of semantic classes. A first distinction is between descriptive adjectives and adjectives of amount. Descriptive adjectives can be subdivided into a number of semantic classes. Linguists vary in the number of classes they distinguish. The classification tentatively used in this Syntax is given in (a).[17] The '>' signs are meant to signal a hierarchy. The adjectives at the beginning of the scale are 'objective', those towards the end 'subjective'.

(a) function or purpose *onerarius* 'used for transport' > substance *ligneus* 'wooden' > origin or provenance *Romanus* 'Roman' > time and place *matutinus* 'of the early morning' > colour *ruber* 'red' > shape *rotundus* 'round' > age *vetus* 'old' > human propensity *crudelis* 'cruel' > physical property *crudus* 'raw' > dimension and size *longus* 'long' and *magnus* 'big' > evaluation *bonus* 'good', *facilis* 'easy'.

A noun can be modified by more than one descriptive adjective. If these adjectives belong to the same class they are usually coordinated. If they belong to different classes they cannot be coordinated but are juxtaposed. An example of juxtaposition is (b). For further examples, see § 11.39 and § 11.75. For coordination of adjectives, see Chapter 19.

(b) Contra haec Pompeius naves **magnas** *onerarias* quas in portu Brundisino deprehenderat adornabat.

('To meet this Pompeius fitted out some large merchant-ships which he had seized in the port of Brundisium.' Caes. *Civ.* 1.26.1)

[16] For details, see G.-L.: 37–43; K.-H.: 533–50.

[17] This classification is based on Spevak (2014a: 58), who uses Hetzron (1978: 178) and Risselada (1984). For other classifications see Dixon (1977), Givón (2001: 81–4), and Wetzer (1996).

Adjectives at the beginning of the scale usually stand closer to their head noun (*onerarias* in (b) is an exception) and more often follow that noun. They are often non-gradable (see below).

Another important semantic parameter is that of 'temporal stability': the distinction between adjectives that indicate a permanent and those that indicate a non-permanent or transient property.[18] Adjectives at the beginning of the scale usually indicate a permanent, those at the end a non-permanent property. Adjectives that indicate a non-permanent property can be used as a secondary predicate. An example is *maestus* 'sad' in (c). Adjectives that indicate an evaluation cannot be used as secondary predicates. For details, see Chapter 21.

(c) Mnesilochus eccum **maestus** progreditur foras.
('There, Mnesilochus is coming out with a sad look on his face.' Pl. *Bac.* 611)

Whereas some adjectives indicate only a property of the constituent they are related to (so, for example, *maestus* in (c)) other adjectives require a second entity. This is, for instance, the case with *cupidus* 'eager (for)', 'desirous (of)', which requires another entity in the genitive, as in (d). *Cupidus* is a bivalent adjective. Valency of adjectives is discussed in § 4.99.

(d) Leno ad se accipiet **auri** *cupidus* ilico.
('Eager for the money, the pimp will receive him at once.' Pl. *Poen.* 179)

Adjectives of amount (*multus* 'many', *paucus* 'few') share a number of properties with (some) descriptive adjectives: they are gradable and can be used as secondary predicates. In addition, they can be coordinated with some descriptive adjectives, although they are usually juxtaposed. For details, see § 11.33.

From many adjectives comparative and superlative forms can be derived that indicate that the relevant property applies to the entity in a higher or in the highest degree of intensity. Examples of the POSITIVE, COMPARATIVE, and SUPERLATIVE DEGREE OF COMPARISON of a few adjectives are given in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Degrees of comparison of four adjectives

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
bonus 'good'	*melior* 'better'	*optimus* 'best'
facilis 'easy'	*facilior* 'easier'	*facillimus* 'easiest'
acer 'sharp'	*acrior* 'sharper'	*acerrimus* 'sharpest'
paucus 'few'	*paucior* 'fewer'	*paucissimus* 'fewest'

Adjectives in the comparative degree are inflected as adjectives of the third declension; those in the superlative degree as adjectives of the first and second declension.

[18] For this parameter, see Givón (2001: I.50–4).

Comparatives indicate a higher degree of intensity of a certain property either in comparison with another entity, like *meliora* in (e) and *cariorem* in (g), or in an absolute sense (higher than generally expected), like *corpulentior* and *habitior* in (f). In a similar way superlatives indicate the highest degree of intensity of a certain property either in comparison with other entities, as *optuma* and *deterruma* do in (e), or in an absolute sense (very high), as *carissimum* does in (g), the so-called ELATIVE use of the superlative.

(e) Non **optuma** haec sunt, neque ut ego aequom censeo; / verum **meliora** sunt quam quae **deterruma**.

('This situation isn't the best or the way I consider it appropriate; yet it's better than the worst would be.' Pl. *Trin*. 392–3)

(f) **Corpulentior** videre atque **habitior**.

('You seem quite stout and heavy.' Pl. *Epid*. 10)

(g) Vale igitur, mi Cicero, tibique persuade esse te quidem mihi **carissimum**, sed multo fore **cariorem**, si talibus monitis praeceptisque laetabere.

('Farewell, my dear Cicero, and be assured that, while you are the object of my deepest affection, you will be dearer to me still, if you find pleasure in such counsel and instruction.' Cic. *Off*. 3.121)

In the case of quite a few adjectives, derivation of comparative and superlative adjectives is excluded for semantic and/or formal reasons. Excluded for semantic reasons are ungradable adjectives belonging to the following semantic classes: (i) adjectives that indicate the function or purpose of the head noun: for example, (*navis*) *oneraria* 'transport-ship'; (ii) substance: (*turris*) *lignea* 'wooden tower'; (iii) origin or provenance: (*civis*) *Romanus* 'Roman citizen', (*lac*) *ovillum* 'sheep's milk'; (iv) time: (*pruina*) *matutina* 'hoar-frost of the early morning'; (v) location: (*bellum*) *terrestre* 'war on land'; furthermore (vi) adjectives with a negative meaning: *immortale* (*monumentum*) 'imperishable monument'.[19]

Excluded or rare on formal grounds are comparatives and superlatives of adjectives with a singular nominative masculine form in *-ius*, such as *dubius* 'uncertain', and in *-eus*, such as *idoneus* 'suitable' (many 'material' adjectives such as *ligneus* would be excluded for this reason as well), and there are additional formal limitations (and exceptions).[20] As substitutes for the missing comparatives and superlatives, combinations of these adjectives with the degree adverbs *magis* 'more' and *maxime* 'most' are used. Examples are (h) and (i). Note that some of the adjectives mentioned in the previous paragraph can also be found in the immediate context of *magis* and *maxime*, as in (j), which need not mean that they function as a degree adverb with an adjective such as *Graecum*. For further details concerning comparison, see Chapter 19.

[19] For a fuller list, see K.-H.: 565–6; TLL *s.v.* magis 61.24ff.; 72.58ff. For the notion of gradability, see Bertocchi (2002); Hoffmann (1987: ch. 5).

[20] See K.-H.: 566–9; TLL *s.v.* magis 61.5ff.; 72.44ff.

(h) Non potuisti adducere homines **magis** ad hanc rem **idoneos**.
('You couldn't have brought men more suitable for this business.' Pl. *Poen*. 583)

(i) . . . iniquum est non eum legis iudicique actorem **idoneum maxime** putari . . .
('. . . it is unjust not to believe that that man is the most suitable to conduct the case in court . . .' Cic. *Div. Caec*. 65)

(j) Omnis res gestas esse Athenis autumant, / quo illud vobis **Graecum** videatur **magis**.
('They claim that everything took place in Athens, intending that it should seem more Greek to you.' Pl. *Men*. 8–9)

Gradable adjectives may be modified by adverbs indicating the degree or intensity to which the property indicated by the adjective applies, such as *vix* 'hardly', *valde* 'extremely', and *nimium* 'too', as in (k).

(k) Ah, **nimium ferus** es.
('Ah, you're too wild.' Pl. *Bac*. 73)

3.8 Pronouns, determiners, and possessive adjectives

Pronouns constitute a very diverse class both morphologically and in terms of syntactic behaviour. Personal pronouns differ from the other pronouns in many respects: Unlike the other pronouns they are not inflected for gender (with the exception of the substitute forms for the third person); this information is supplied by the context or the situation. In addition, although it is common practice to distinguish first and second person singular and plural pronouns, the plurals are not really the plural of the corresponding singulars. So with personal pronouns the category of number means something different from the inflectional category discussed in § 3.2 and has more to do with number as it applies to finite verbs. A third difference is that, whereas the other pronouns can be used both independently (their so-called substantival use) and as determiners (their so-called adjectival or attributive use), personal pronouns can only be used independently. Finally, the personal pronouns have an inflection of their own. For further details on the functioning of personal pronouns, see §§ 11.121–11.133.

The so-called possessive pronouns or possessive personal pronouns (including the reflexive possessives) are also morphologically and syntactically different from the other pronouns. With respect to their inflection they resemble adjectives of the first and second declension. Unlike the other pronouns they can only be used in the same way as adjectives: that is, as modifiers of nouns and as subject pronouns (not as secondary predicates) and not independently (except when used substantively). In this Syntax they are labelled POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES. For their syntactic properties, see § 11.10 and § 11.29.

The other pronouns have in common the fact that they can be used both independently (substantively) and as determiners (attributively). In this Syntax the terms that are used are (independent) PRONOUN and DETERMINER.[21] These two uses are illustrated for the demonstrative pronoun/determiner *ille* 'that' by (a) and (b) respectively. With a few exceptions the forms are the same for the independent and the determinative use. Exceptions are, among others, the singular nominative masculine forms *quis*? 'who?' and *qui* (*vir*)? 'which (man)?' and the singular nominative/accusative neuter forms *quid*? 'what?' and *quod* (*facinus*)? 'what (deed)?'.

(a) **Illa illum** censet virum / suom esse . . .
('She believes he's her husband . . .' Pl. *Am.* 134–5)

(b) Sed mos numquam <**ille**> **illi** fuit patri meo . . .
('But that father of mine never had that habit . . .' Pl. *Am.* 46)

These pronouns/determiners differ markedly from other nominal forms in the endings of their singular genitive and dative forms (*-ius* and *-i* respectively, for example *illius* and *illi*), with the same form for all genders. The singular nominative forms also often deviate considerably from the 'normal' nominal endings.

Within this class a further distinction is usually made between:[22]

(i) demonstrative pronouns: *hic* 'this (here)', *iste* 'that', *ille* 'that (there)';
(ii) determinative pronouns: *is* 'he', 'that'; *idem* 'the same'; *ipse* 'he', 'self';
(iii) interrogative pronouns: *quis* 'who', *qui* 'which';
(iv) relative pronouns: *qui* 'who', 'that', 'which';
(v) indefinite pronouns: *aliquis* and *quis* 'somebody', *aliqui* and *qui* 'some'; *quidam* 'a certain one', 'a certain'; *quispiam* 'someone', 'some' *quisquam* 'anyone (at all)'.

The three lexemes in (ii) are classed together for etymological reasons: *idem* can plausibly be analysed as < **is* + *dem*; for *ipse* this is less straightforward but generally accepted.[23] However, in their actual use they are quite diverse. In this Syntax the three will be designated as anaphoric (*is*), identifier (*idem*), and intensifier (*ipse*). Details are discussed in § 11.26, § 11.31, and § 11.32 respectively.

The singular genitive and dative forms that are typical of the pronouns/determiners mentioned above are also found with a number of words which for the remainder of their forms behave like adjectives of the first and second declension (*bonus*).[24] These words are the numeral *unus* 'one' (it also means 'only', 'alone' and can be used like *solus* 'alone'); the indefinite determiner *ullus* (see § 11.27); the identifiers *alius* 'other' and *alter* 'the other of two' (see § 11.31); the quantifiers *nullus* 'not any' (see § 8.33) and *neuter* 'neither' (see § 11.37); the totality expression *totus* 'whole' (see § 11.38);

[21] On determiners, see Touratier (2010: 131–2).
[22] See, for example, G.-L.: 57–62.
[23] See de Vaan (2008: *s.v.*).
[24] An exception is the singular nominative/accusative neuter form *aliud*.

the indefinite/interrogative binary quantifier *uter* 'whoever of two', 'who of two' (see § 11.37); and *solus* 'alone'. They are sometimes called PRONOMINALS or pronominal adjectives.

3.9 Numerals

The class of numeral adjectives traditionally contains three subclasses, of which two contain real quantifiers (the cardinal and distributive numerals); the third one (the ordinal numerals) contains adjectives that indicate position (in time or place), such as *primus* 'first'. Examples of cardinal numerals are *unus* 'one', *viginti* 'twenty', and *ducenti* 'two hundred'; of distributive numerals, *singuli* 'one each', *viceni* 'twenty each', and *duceni* 'two hundred each'. For their syntactic properties, see § 11.33.

Of the cardinal numerals only *unus* 'one', *duo* 'two', *tres* 'three', and the hundreds beginning with *ducenti* 'two hundred' are inflected for number, case, and gender. The neuter noun *milia* 'thousands' is a plural form and only inflected for case. The distributive numerals are inflected as adjectives of the first and second declension (*bonus*).

3.10 Verbs

Verbal lexemes have a wide variety of forms with very diverse formal, semantic, and syntactic properties. A first distinction is between so-called FINITE and NON-FINITE verb forms. Finite verb forms are inflected for a number of semantic categories that are typical of verbs. Non-finite verb forms, while sharing the meaning of the stem and some categories with the finite verb forms, have also some of the nominal features discussed in §§ 3.1–3.9. As a first illustration two forms of the lexeme *amo* 'to love' will suffice.

(a) . . . **amabat** patriam . . .
('. . . he loved his country . . .' Cic. *Att.* 4.6.1)

(b) . . . boni cives **amantes** patriae . . .
('. . . good citizens who love our country . . .' Cic. *Att.* 9.19.3)

The word *amabat* in (a) is inflected for four different semantic categories: (i) for PERSON/NUMBER: third person singular; (ii) for TENSE: past; (iii) for MOOD: indicative; (iv) for VOICE: active. These categories are discussed in § 3.11. Moreover, (v), *amabat* is a form of the stem that indicates SIMULTANEITY, the so-called *infectum* stem. *Amantes* in (b) corresponds to *amabat* in being (iv) active and (v) simultaneous. In addition, it is a participle, an adjective-like word that is inflected for number, case, and gender, in accordance with the third declension of adjectives. In (a) *amabat* governs *patriam*,

which is in the usual accusative case; in (b) *patriae* is in the genitive case, which is typical for certain adjectives that require a second argument (see *auri cupidus* in (d) in § 3.7).

Verbs can be zerovalent (*pluit* 'it is raining'), monovalent, requiring one argument (*pater ambulat* 'the father is walking'), bivalent, requiring two arguments (*pater amat filium* 'the father loves his son'), or trivalent, requiring three arguments (*pater filio librum dat* 'the father gives his son a book'). For the concept of valency, see § 2.8. For a classification of verbs according to the number of arguments they require and the form of these arguments, see Chapter 4.

The combination of a verb and its argument(s) refers to a certain situation. It is useful to distinguish a number of types of situations or, in the terminology of this Syntax, types of 'states of affairs'. Verbs can be classified for the type of states of affairs in which they can occur. In § 2.9 four different types of states of affairs are distinguished: actions, positions, processes, and states.

3.11 The inflection and the inflectional categories of the finite verb forms

Latin verb forms of the active voice are built on two different stems: the INFECTUM and PERFECTUM stem. The situation is more complicated for the passive voice: whereas for the *infectum* stem so-called SYNTHETIC forms are used, comparable to the active forms of the infectum stem, there are no special *perfectum* stem forms for the passive. Instead so-called PERIPHRASTIC forms consisting of the passive perfect participle and forms of the verb *sum* 'to be' are used. This is shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 The structure of the Latin paradigm

	Active voice	**Passive voice**
Infectum stem	*delebat* 'he was destroying'	*delebatur* 'he was being destroyed'
Perfectum stem	*deleverat* 'he had destroyed'	*deletus erat* 'he had been destroyed'

Besides different stems in the active, there are also a number of special endings used with the perfect stem, notably the person/number endings of the indicative of the perfect tense. All this shows that the distinction between the two stems is central to the structure of the verb.

There is much discussion about the semantic correlates of the distinction between the *infectum* and *perfectum* stem. Whereas some scholars consider the distinction an 'aspectual' one ('non-complete' vs 'complete'), others describe the distinction in terms of 'simultaneity' and 'anteriority'. The latter is the position taken in this Syntax. For discussion, see § 7.4. For the remainder of this section the distinction *infectum*/*perfectum* will be ignored.

On the basis of these stems, Latin verb forms are marked for four inflectional categories: person/number, voice, tense, and mood, which are discussed in that order below. Just as with nominal forms, it is to some extent possible to make a distinction between the stems and the inflectional endings: in the words *delebat* and *delebatur* in Table 3.4 it seems reasonable to separate between *dele-* and the other parts; in *deletus dele-* may be isolated; in *deleverat* the stem is *delev-* (for complications, see below). However, it is not possible to isolate formal correlates for each of the four inflectional categories. Person/number is the most recognizable element, as can be seen from the present tense forms of the verb *deleo* 'to destroy' in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Present tense forms of the verb *deleo*

	Active voice			**Passive voice**		
	Indicative	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
1 sg.	dele-o 'I destroy'	delea-m 'let me destroy'		dele-or 'I am destroyed'	delea-r 'may I be destroyed'	
2 sg.	dele-s 'you destroy'	delea-s	dele 'destroy!'	dele-ris	delea-ris	dele-re 'be destroyed'
3 sg.	dele-t 'he destroys'	delea-t		dele-tur	delea-tur	
1 pl.	dele-mus 'we destroy'	delea-mus		dele-mur	delea-mur	
2 pl.	dele-tis 'you destroy'	delea-tis	dele-te	dele-mini	delea-mini	dele-mini
3 pl.	dele-nt 'they destroy'	delea-nt		dele-ntur	delea-ntur	

NB: Length of vowels is not indicated, because it is not relevant to the present discussion. The second singular indicative was actually *dēlēs*; the third, *dēlĕt*. Such differences are due to the phonological environment: a following *-s* does not affect the vowel quantity of the stem *dēlē*; following *-t* shortens it.

Table 3.5 shows that there are different sets of endings for the active and the passive or, to put it differently, that the information concerning person/number and voice are combined in one ending. The first person singular shows variation between the indicative and the subjunctive. The *-m* and *-r* endings are used elsewhere in the paradigm for the first person singular; the *-o* ending is more restricted. The other endings are also used for the imperfect and future tense forms, as well as for the active perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect forms (with the exception of the perfect indicative).

It is much more difficult—if not impossible—to isolate in the forms information concerning tense and mood. In the imperfect form *delebat* in Table 3.4 we can separate *dele-ba-t*, and take *ba* as the bearer of the information 'imperfect tense' +

'indicative mood', but in the present form *delet* in Table 3.5 there is nothing between the stem *dele-* and the person/number/voice ending *-t*. The total meaning of the form can only be established by taking into account the other forms in the paradigm of *deleo*.[25]

Latin verbs can be assigned to four different inflectional classes (one of them consists of two subclasses) on the basis of their stem and the inflectional endings used in the *infectum* forms (for the *perfectum* they all use the same endings). The special term that is used for a verbal inflectional class is CONJUGATION. Apart from these four conjugations there are a number of irregular verbs, notably *sum* 'to be', *possum* 'to be able', *eo* 'to go', *volo* 'to want'. Whereas all conjugations (and to a large extent also the irregular verbs) have the same person/number/voice endings, they differ in other respects. These differences are partly determined by properties of the stem, partly by use of different endings. Two examples will suffice. (i) In Table 3.5 the forms of the present subjunctive have an *-a-* between the stem and the person/number/voice ending. This is the case in two other conjugations, but not in the so-called first conjugation, which contains verbs with a stem ending in *-a*, such as the verb *amo* 'to love'. Instead of **ama-am*, **ama-as*, etc. its present subjunctive forms are *amem*, *ames*, etc. (ii) For the future indicative some conjugations have endings in *-bo*, *-bis*, etc., others endings in *-am*, *-es*, etc. This is illustrated by Table 3.6. The *-ī* stem verbs (fourth conjugation) adopted the endings of the third conjugation (the consonant and *-ĭ* stems), and did the same in the case of the imperfect forms.

Table 3.6 The formation of future active and imperfect active forms

	-*a* stem	**-*e* stem**	**Consonant stem**	**-*ĭ* stem**	**-*ī* stem**
1 sg. fut. act.	ama-b-o 'I will love'	dele-b-o 'I will destroy'	em-a-m 'I will buy'	capi-a-m 'I will take'	audi-a-m 'I will hear' (Early L. *audi-b-o*)[26]
2 sg. fut. act.	ama-bi-s	dele-bi-s	em-e-s	capi-e-s	audi-e-s (Early L. *audi-bi-s*)
1 sg. impf. act.	ama-ba-m	dele-ba-m	em-eba-m	capi-eba-m	audi-eba-m (Early L. *audi-ba-m*)[27]

3.12 The inflectional categories of the finite verb forms

In this section the individual inflectional categories will be discussed. All finite verb forms are marked for PERSON/NUMBER. For the present imperative mood there are only

[25] The best discussion of this aspect of inflectional morphology is Matthews (1972).
[26] For a survey of Early Latin (and later) future forms of the fourth conjugation, see K.-H.: 727–8.
[27] For a survey of Early Latin (and later) imperfect forms of the fourth conjugation, see K.-H.: 724–5.

second person forms, in the singular and the plural (see Table 3.5). For the so-called future imperative forms there are second and third person singular and plural forms (there is no passive second plural). For the other finite verb forms the situation is as in Table 3.5: first person singular: the speaker; second person singular: the addressee; third person singular: an animate or inanimate entity which is not the speaker or the addressee; first person plural: a plurality including the speaker; second person plural: more than one addressee or a plurality including the addressee(s); third person plural: a plurality of animate or inanimate entities, not including the speaker or the addressee. In the case of the first and second person the identity of the subject is known. The use of the first and second person personal pronouns as explicit subjects serves different purposes from mere identification (see § 9.2). In the case of third person singular and plural forms, the identity of the subject must be expressed explicitly or be inferred from the context or situation. In addition, the third person singular is used with zerovalent verbs in which no subject is involved, such as *pluit* 'it is raining' in (a) (see § 4.90). It is also used in subjectless passive expressions (the so-called impersonal passive—see § 5.21), as in (b).

(a) . . . quando **pluit**.
('. . . when it's raining.' Pl. *Capt.* 336)

(b) **Itur** ad te, Pseudole.
('You are being approached, Pseudolus.' Pl. *Ps.* 453—more literally: There's an approaching towards you.)

As stated above, the information concerning VOICE (*genus verbi*) is combined with that of person/number, so all finite verb forms are marked for voice. Latin has two voices, ACTIVE and PASSIVE. Not all verbs have forms of both voices, and some have one voice for the *infectum* forms, the other for the *perfectum* forms. For those verbs that have both voices for the entire paradigm, the choice of a specific voice is related to which argument of the verb is used as subject of the clause. This is illustrated by (c) and (d). In (c)—active—the action of 'praising the son' is presented from the perspective of the father, the subject of the sentence; in (d)—passive—the same action is presented from the perspective of the son, the subject of the sentence (for discussion, see § 5.5).

(c) Pater **laudat** filium.
('The father praises his son.')

(d) Filius **laudatur** a patre.
('The son is praised by his father.')

Latin has a considerable number of verbs that only have finite verb forms in the passive voice. As far as their meaning is concerned, they do not differ from the active form of verbs that have forms of both voices. Such verbs that are 'passive in form, but active in meaning', as it is often formulated, are called DEPONENTS (*verba deponentia*). Deponents are found in all four conjugations. Some of them are one-place verbs;

some have a second argument, mostly in the accusative, but also in other cases and in prepositional phrases. Examples are given in Table 3.7. Some of these verbs have alternative active forms and some occasionally have a passive meaning (especially in the perfect participle); individual verbs also show fluctuation over time (see § 5.33).

Table 3.7 Deponents arranged according to conjugation

	-*a* stem	**-*e* stem**	**Consonant stem**	**-*i̯* stem**	**-*ī* stem**
One-place	cunctor 'to delay'		labor 'to glide'	morior 'to die'	orior 'to arise'
Two-place accusative	populor 'to ravage'	tueor 'to protect'	sequor 'to follow'	patior 'to suffer'	largior 'to bestow'
Two-place other	luctor 'to wrestle'	misereor 'to pity'	utor 'to use'		potior 'to get possession of'

Deponents have present and future participles of the active voice, as well as an active future infinitive (for example: *cunctans* 'delaying', *cunctaturus* 'going to delay', and *cunctaturus esse* 'to be going to delay').

With a small number of verbs, forms of one voice are used for the *infectum* stem, forms of the other for the *perfectum* stem. This is shown in Table 3.8. These verbs are called SEMIDEPONENTS.[28]

Table 3.8 The structure of two semideponents

	Active voice	**Passive voice**
Infectum stem	gaude-t 'he is rejoicing'	(gaude-tur 'there is rejoicing') revert-i-tur 'he is returning'
Perfectum stem	revert-it 'he returned'	gavisus est 'he rejoiced'

With many verbs that have only active finite forms there is one exception: the third person singular used in impersonal passive clauses (see (b) above and *gaudetur* in Table 3.8).

Latin has six TENSES, derived from three *infectum* and three *perfectum* stem forms: present ((*tempus*) *praesens*), imperfect (*praeteritum imperfectum*), future (*futurum* (*simplex*)), perfect (*praeteritum perfectum*), pluperfect (*praeteritum plusquamperfectum*), future perfect (*futurum exactum*). They are presented in Table 3.9. The English translations of the present, imperfect, and perfect tenses do not precisely cover the values of Latin forms. Depending on the context, a non-progressive translation of the present and imperfect ('destroys' and 'destroyed') is more appropriate; similarly, for

[28] A list of these verbs can be found in K.-St.: I.97–9.

Table 3.9 Survey of Latin tenses

	Infectum			*Perfectum*	
	Active	**Passive**		**Active**	**Passive**
Present	dele-t 'he is destroying'	dele-tur 'he is being destroyed'	Perfect	delev-it 'he has destroyed'	delet-us es-t 'he has been destroyed'
Imperfect	dele-ba-t 'he was destroying'	dele-ba-tur 'he was being destroyed'	Pluperfect	delev-era-t 'he had destroyed'	delet-us era-t 'he had been destroyed'
Future	dele-bi-t 'he will destroy'	dele-bi-tur 'he will be destroyed'	Future perfect	delev-eri-t 'he will have destroyed'	delet-us eri-t 'he will have been destroyed'

the perfect the translation 'destroyed' is often more appropriate. For discussion of the values of the tenses, see §§ 7.11–7.33.

Latin has three MOODS: the indicative (*modus indicativus*), the subjunctive (*modus subiunctivus* or *coniunctivus*), and the imperative (*modus imperativus*). The three moods are shown for the present in Table 3.5. The imperative mood is the most restricted. Apart from the present imperatives there are only the so-called future imperatives (see § 7.65). Latin verbs have no future and future perfect subjunctive forms. If in a certain context a subjunctive is required, a combination of the future participle and a subjunctive form of the verb *sum* 'to be' serves as a substitute. There are imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive forms.

The indicative mood serves as a signal that the speaker or writer commits himself to the reality or factuality of an event (see § 7.12), as in (e).

(e) In illisce **habitat** aedibus / Amphitruo . . .
('In that house there lives Amphitruo.' Pl. *Am.* 97–8)

It is much more difficult to describe the value of the subjunctive. When used in independent sentences the interpretation depends on the type of sentence: in imperative sentences the subjunctive signals that it is or was desirable or necessary that a certain state of affairs come into effect, be prevented, or stop (the so-called deontic use of the subjunctive), as in (f). In declarative and interrogative sentences, the subjunctive signals that a certain state of affairs is possible, likely, or counterfactual (the so-called epistemic use of the subjunctive, also called the 'potential' use), as in (g). For discussion, see § 7.38.

(f) **Taceas**, me **spectes**.
('Be quiet and watch me.' Pl. *As.* 680)

(g) **Videas** corde amare inter se.
('You can see that they love each other from the heart.' Pl. *Capt.* 420)

By contrast, in subordinate clauses the subjunctive often does not signal one of the values just mentioned, but serves as a sign of subordination. An example is the use of the subjunctive in indirect questions, as in (h). In conclusion, it is difficult to establish one clear autonomous value for the subjunctive. For extensive discussion, see §§ 7.128–7.164.

(h) Opservabo quam rem **agat**.
('I'll observe what he's up to.' Pl. *Am.* 270)

3.13 Non-finite verb forms

Non-finite verb forms can be subdivided into substantival and adjectival non-finite verb forms on the one hand and supines on the other. Substantival (in varying degree) are the present, future, and perfect infinitives and the gerund; adjectival are the present, future, and perfect participles and the gerundive.

3.14 Substantival verb forms

Infinitives differ from the gerund in that they participate in the morphosemantic category of tense, whereas gerunds do not. In addition, for infinitives the category of voice is relevant, whereas gerunds are active only. The degree to which these forms may be called substantival is discussed in the Appendix.

3.15 Infinitives

Latin has a total of six infinitive forms: the present (simultaneous), future (posterior), and perfect (anterior) each have an active and a passive infinitive. These are presented in Table 3.10. Deponents have only three infinitives.

Table 3.10 The infinitives of the verb *deleo*

	Active	**Passive**
Present	dele-re 'to destroy'	dele-ri 'to be destroyed'
Future	delet-urus esse 'to be going to destroy'	delet-um iri 'to be going to be destroyed'
Perfect	delev-isse 'to have destroyed'	delet-us esse 'to have been destroyed'

The simple infinitives are not inflected, nor is the periphrastic *deletum iri*. The two remaining infinitives consist of a participle and the infinitive of the verb *sum* 'to be'. The participial part is inflected for number, case, and gender (as an adjective of the first and second declension, e.g. *bonus*).

The simple forms are treated as neuter singular, as is illustrated by (a), where the neuter singular forms *totum* and *hoc* agree with the infinitive *philosophari*, which

functions as subject of the third singular verb form *displicet*. Infinitives in such functions keep their verbal characteristics, for example their valency: in (b) *petere* governs its second argument *honorem*. For further discussion of modification of the (present) infinitive, see § 11.8. For further discussion of infinitives functioning as subject, see § 9.7; as object, see § 9.15.

(a) Nam quibusdam . . . *totum* **hoc** displicet philosophari.
('Certain people disapprove of this, the study of philosophy, altogether.' Cic. *Fin*. 1.1)

(b) **Petere honorem** pro flagitio more fit.
('To seek public office as a reward for criminal behaviour is the custom.' Pl. *Trin*. 1035)

3.16 Gerund

The gerund is the name for a paradigm of four inflected forms, formed from the *infectum* stem of (most) verbs with an infix *-nd-* and the endings of the second declension of nouns. This is shown in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11 The gerund forms of the verb *deleo*

Genitive	dele-nd-i 'of destroying'
Dative	dele-nd-o 'for destroying'
Accusative	(ad) dele-nd-um 'to destroying' (only in prepositional phrases)
Ablative	dele-nd-o 'by destroying', also in prepositional phrases

In principle, all types of verbs have a gerund, whatever their valency, their morphology, and the type of state of affairs in which they participate. Thus one finds zerovalent *pluendo* (corresponding to *pluit* 'it rains'), monovalent *ambulando* (of the verb *ambulo* 'to walk', semantically an action) and *algendo* (of *algeo* 'to feel cold', a state), bivalent *delendo* (of *deleo* 'to destroy', an action, governing a second argument in the accusative case) and *utendo* (of *utor* 'to use', an action, a deponent verb governing a second argument in the ablative case). However, some verbs lack a gerund, for instance *sum* 'to be' and its compounds, *possum* 'can', and *volo* 'to want' and related verbs.

Although there is no external proof as in the case of the present infinitive, which can function as head of a noun phrase and be modified by a determiner or another modifier (see example (a) in § 3.15), gerunds are usually taken as singular neuter forms. Gerunds can be found in a variety of contexts, in argument, satellite, attribute and other positions, just like 'normal' nouns. They can be governed by prepositions as well. However, unlike the (present) infinitive, they cannot function as subject or object (for discussion of this, see § 5.42). It appears, then, that the gerund and the present infinitive active are in complementary distribution.[29] Indeed, the forms of the

[29] For contexts in which the gerund and the infinitive are in competition, see § 15.137.

gerund have from Antiquity onwards been described as genitive / dative / accusative / ablative forms of the infinitive. The main difference between the gerund and the present infinitive active is that only the latter can be modified (see above).

3.17 Appendix: How nominal (or substantival) are the gerund and the infinitive?

We have seen that the gerund and the infinitive have a number of nominal properties. Nevertheless, they must not be equated with verbal nouns proper. This may be illustrated by comparing certain properties of a gerund and a verbal noun derived from the same verb. There are several instances in which a gerund and a verbal noun are used in the same context. Examples are (a)[30] and (b)–(c).

(a) Quid ergo, si duas causas **latitandi** habuit vel plures, inter quas etiam **fraudandi creditores?** . . . si plures causae sint **latitationis**, inter quas est et **fraudationis** causa . . .

('What, then, are we to say, if the debtor has two or more grounds for hiding, among them being fraud on his creditors? . . . if he has several reasons for hiding, one being fraud on his creditors . . . ' Ulp. *dig.* 42.4.7.6)

(b) . . . qui . . . cupiditate **inimicos ulciscendi** arderent . . .

(' . . . who were fired with a desire for vengeance on their enemies . . . ' Liv. 29.6.7)

(c) Hos . . . **ultionis** cupiditas ad virtutem accendit.

('The former are fired to brave action by eager desire for vengeance.' Tac. *Hist.* 2.77.3)

When one compares the behaviour of *ulciscendi* and *ultionis* in more detail, the verbal properties of *ulciscendi* become more apparent (it is found with a second argument, as in (b)), while its nominal properties appear to be more restricted. The head nouns with which it occurs are nouns like *cupiditas* (bivalent nouns), whereas *ultionis* is also found in a combination like *solacium ultionis* ('the comfort derived from revenge' Apul. *Met.* 2.28.5). In addition, *ultio* can be modified by determiners, adjectives, and relative clauses, all of which are excluded with the gerund.

3.18 Adjectival verb forms

Two types of adjectival verb forms must be distinguished: participles, which take part in the morphosemantic category of tense, and gerundives, which do not (until in Late Latin, when they come to be used as substitutes for the lacking future passive participle—see § 7.84). Participles and gerundives are both inflected for number, case, and gender.

[30] Aalto (1949: 120–4, 133) gives many examples of gerunds and nouns in coordinate and parallel structures as a proof of the substantival properties of the gerund.

3.19 Participles

Most Latin verbs have three participles: present active, future active, perfect passive. For verbs with both an active and a passive voice the system of participles is therefore defective, as is shown in Table 3.12. There are three participles for deponents as well, all with an active meaning, as with *proficiscor* 'to depart' in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12 Participles of the verb *deleo* and *proficiscor*

	Active voice	**Passive voice**
Present	dele-ns 'destroying' proficisc-ens 'departing'	
Future	delet-urus 'going to destroy' profect-urus 'going to depart'	
Perfect		delet-us 'having been destroyed' profect-us 'having departed'

The future and perfect participles are inflected as adjectives of the first and second declension (*bonus*), the present participle as adjectives of the third declension. The future and perfect participles are used as elements of the future and perfect infinitive, in combination with the infinitive *esse*. The perfect participle is also used with forms of the verb *sum* 'to be' to form periphrastic finite forms of the *perfectum* stem (see Table 3.4). The future participle can be used with forms of *sum*, among other things as a substitute for lacking future subjunctive forms. The present participle does not become common in periphrastic expressions until very Late Latin (see § 7.78).

When used on their own, participles may fulfil various functions at the clause and noun phrase levels: (i) as subject complement, as in (a); (ii) as an equivalent of a finite verb form in a subordinate participial (ablative absolute) clause, as in (b); (iii) as secondary predicate, as in (c); and (iv) as modifier at the noun phrase level, as in (d). In addition, (v), a participle can be used substantively, as in (e). Further examples can be found in later chapters.

(a) Omnino est **amans** *sui* virtus.

('I grant that Virtue loves herself.' Cic. *Amic.* 98)

(b) Sed mirus invaserat furor . . . ut pugnare cuperent, me **clamante** nihil esse bello civili miserius.

('But a strange madness was abroad . . . . They were possessed with the lust of battle, while I cried aloud that nothing is worse than civil war.' Cic. *Fam.* 16.12.2)

(c) . . . prius quam istam adii atque **amans** ego animum meum isti dedi . . .

('. . . before I came to her and, being in love, gave her my heart . . . ' Pl. *As.* 141)

(d) Canum vero tam fida custodia **tam**que **amans** dominorum adulatio . . . quid significat aliud nisi se ad hominum commoditates esse generatos.

('Then think of the dog, with its trusty watchfulness, its fawning affection for its master . . . —what do these qualities imply except that they were created to serve the conveniences of man?' Cic. *N.D.* 2.158)

(e) Nam ubi **amans** complexu'st **amantem** . . .

('Yes, when a male lover embraces his female lover . . . ' Pl. *Ps.* 1259)

For each of these functions, parallels with an adjective instead of a participle could be given, for some more easily than for others; the most typically adjectival one is (d). Participles vary in the degree to which they can fulfil each of the five functions illustrated above. Of the four regular participles, the active future participle is the least 'adjectival' one: it is uncommon, at least in Classical Latin, for it to be used in the functions illustrated by (b), (c), and (d). The active present and passive perfect participles can—depending on their meaning—fulfil all five functions. The perfect participles of deponent verbs are uncommon in the functions illustrated by (a), (d), and (e).

Depending on the meaning of the verb, some participles can in a specific context denote a permanent property, thus behaving like an adjective, while in other contexts they maintain their verbal properties as denoting an action or a process that is anchored to the time of the main verb. The present participle *amans* in (a) and (d), for instance, denotes a permanent property, whereas the present participles in (b) and (c) denote ongoing actions. In their adjectival behaviour such participles share other features with 'normal' adjectives. This is illustrated below for the present participle. For the perfect passive participle similar examples could be given.[31]

If a present participle denotes a permanent property and has a gradable meaning, it can be used in any of the three degrees of comparison, as is shown in (f) and (g) for the comparative and superlative, respectively. Note in (f) the presence of *equino armento*, the entity with which the cow is compared (an ablative of comparison).

(f) *Omnis* tamen *externi frigoris* **tolerantior** equino armento vacca est . . .

('Cows, however, endure every outdoor cold better than horses . . . ' Col. 6.22.2)

(g) . . . L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et **amantissimus** *rei publicae* . . .

('. . . Lucius Caesar, a man most courageous and devoted to the Republic . . . ' Cic. *Catil.* 4.13)

These participles may be negated by the prefix *in-* 'un-', as in (h) and (i), and in that way become regular adjectives.[32] (See also § 8.51.)

[31] For further discussion, see § 4.102.

[32] For criteria to distinguish pure adjectives from pure verbal forms, such as participles and components of periphrastic forms like *laudatus est*, see Eklund (1970: 13–14) and Dietrich (1973). For a critique of these criteria, see Hoffmann (1997a: 10–15).

(h) De tribus **impatiens** restitit una *viri*.
('Of the three one remained, who refused to submit to a husband.' Ov. *Fast*. 6.288)

(i) ... superbia viri *aequalium* quoque, adeo *superiorum* **intolerantis**.
('... by the haughty temper of a man who could not endure even equals, to say nothing of superiors.' Tac. *Hist*. 4.80.1)

Adverbs may be derived from them as from regular adjectives—for instance, *amanter* 'lovingly' and *toleranter* 'with fortitude'.

Such present participles can govern a constituent in the genitive, the typical case for internominal relations, even though the corresponding verb governs a different case (see the introduction to § 3.10). Examples are marked in italics in (a), and (f)–(i). Another example is (j). For further examples, see § 4.102.

(j) Piaculum est miserere nos hominum *rei* male **gerentum**.
('It would be a sin for us to take pity on those who mismanage their affairs.' Pl. *Truc*. 223)

3.20 The gerundive

In principle, all two- and three-place verbs, including deponents, have gerundive forms.[33] They are formed from the *infectum* stem with an infix *-nd-* and an ending identical to the ending of adjectives of the first and second declension (*bonus*): *delendus* 'to be destroyed', *patiendus* 'to be tolerated'. The gerundive shares with the participles agreement with the noun (phrase) to which it is related. It was indeed described as a future passive participle by Latin grammarians but was not used as such before the third century AD. Although it adapted to some new uses, the form was used less and less in the course of time and, unlike the gerund, did not continue into the Romance languages. Some verbs have no gerundive: for instance, *sum* 'to be' and its compounds, *possum* 'to be able', and *volo* 'to want' and related verbs.[34]

There are several types of context in which gerundives can be used, though not all gerundives occur in all of them; for this chapter it will suffice to mention three contexts. Gerundives can, firstly, be used in combination with the auxiliary *esse* ('to be') to form a passive deontic expression, as in (a) and (b)—the latter a deponent verb. Further details concerning this use can be found in § 5.37–5.41 and § 7.84.

(a) Idem nunc vobis Naso **legendus erit**.
('You should read the same Naso now.' Ov. *Rem*. 72)

[33] For a number of notable exceptions, see § 5.39, Appendix.

[34] For ancient discussions of the gerundive, see Aalto's historical survey (1949: ch. I). For the diachronic development, see § 5.42. For the relationship between the various uses of the gerundive and the semantic value of the *-ndo-* morpheme, see Joffre (1995, 2002), who regards the various uses as contextually determined variants of a basic value 'incomplete'.

(b) (*sc.* Ianthe) . . . nec tamen **est potiunda** tibi . . .
('And yet you cannot have her . . .' Ov. *Met.* 9.753)

The second use of gerundives is in combination with nouns or noun phrases to form gerundival clauses which function to some extent as abstract verbal nouns. An example is (c), where the gerundival clause *pecoris pascendi*—a concrete noun combined with a gerundive that is in agreement with it—is coordinated with the noun phrase *agri culturae*. Both *agri culturae* and *pecoris pascendi* are attributes of *disciplinam*. Gerundival clauses are discussed in § 15.139, § 16.105, and Chapter 17.

(c) . . . habere utramque debet disciplinam, et *agri culturae* et **pecoris pascendi** . . .
('. . . he ought to have a knowledge of both pursuits, agriculture and cattle-raising . . .' Var. *R.* 2. *pr.*5)

In both these uses the gerundives do exhibit the adjectival property of agreement, but otherwise they behave as verbal forms. They can, for instance, be used with various types of arguments (depending on the valency of the verbs) and with satellites (manner adverbs, for example).

The third type of context in which (some) gerundives are used consists of the standard adjectival uses as attribute and subject or object complement. Sometimes it can be difficult to tell whether a given form should be analysed as gerundive or adjective. Examples of the gerundive used as an attribute and as a subject complement are (d) and (e), respectively.[35]

(d) Et Hasdrubalem propediem adfore cum manu haudquaquam **contemnenda**.
('And Hasdrubal, they said, would soon arrive with a force by no means to be despised.' Liv. 30.7.10)

(e) . . . quamquam est in dicendo minime **contemnendus**, prudentia tamen rerum magnarum magis quam dicendi arte nititur.
('. . . though no mean speaker, he yet relies rather on his knowledge of higher politics than on the art of oratory.' Cic. *de Orat.* 1.214)

In such cases, the gerundive resembles adjectives in *-bilis*, for example *contem(p)tibilis* 'contemptible', derived from the same verbal stem as *contemnendus*. Comparative forms of gerundives are very rare, even with those that have almost become adjectives[36] and adverbs ending in *-e* should not be derived from them according to some Latin grammarians.[37] The prefix *in-* is used to form negative forms, such as

[35] Gerundives of deponent verbs are very rare in this function.

[36] This was already noted by Augustine (V.495K). Aalto (1949: 104) gives a few superlatives: *infandissimus* (Varius *ap.* Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.45); *admirandissimus* (Salv. *Ep.* 8.2); *laudandissimus* is found in Oribas. *Syn.* 6.13.3. See also Neue-W.: II.241.

[37] Pompeius (V.36K); Cledonius (V.65). According to them, one should not say *horrende resonat*, but *horrendum*. As a translation of Greek adverbs *horrende* is found in Vulg. *Sap.* 6.6, 17.3. The TLL has another late example of *horrende* (Act. *Petr.* 15, p. 62.1). *Mirande* is found in Lucr. 4.419 and 4.462.

intolerandus 'unbearable' from the gerundive *tolerandus*; such words lack the verbal properties mentioned above. The normal negation word with gerundives is *non*.

> There is much discussion about the relationship between the gerund and the gerundive and about which of the two was the oldest form (see also § 5.42). They are both found from the earliest preserved texts onwards, in varying frequency.[38] In speculations about their prehistorical development some scholars take the gerundive as the original form,[39] others the gerund. On the whole, the latter position seems stronger.[40]

3.21 Supines

Latin has two verb forms, the so-called first and second supines, that from a historical point of view must be regarded as nominals, but have no nominal properties of the type mentioned: they cannnot be modified by determiners or adjectives. They resemble accusative and ablative forms of abstract verbal nouns of the fourth declension, ending in *-um* and *-u* respectively. Their stem is the same as that of the perfect participle: *deletum* 'with the purpose of destroying' and *deletu* 'in respect to destroying'. It is sometimes not easy to decide whether a form in *-u* is a second supine or the ablative of a verbal noun that functions as a respect expression (see § 10.91).[41]

The syntactic and semantic properties of the two supines are quite diverse (for details, see § 16.111). For the purpose of this chapter two typical examples will suffice. Ex. (a) contains a verb of movement with a first supine *irrisum* 'to ridicule', which together with its second argument *dominum* functions as a purpose clause; the first supine has clear verbal properties. The addition of satellites is also possible. The second supine is illustrated by (b). Here *factu facilem* is a modifier of the head noun *rem* (note the coordination with other modifiers). *Facilis* is an evaluative adjective; the verb *facio* has a very general meaning; semantically, *rem* is also the second argument of *factu*. The addition of further arguments and satellites is very rare.

(a) . . . nunc venis etiam ultro **irrisum** *dominum*.

('. . . now you're even coming of your own accord to ridicule your master.' Pl. *Am.* 587)

(b) Bonam atque iustam rem oppido imperas et **factu** *facilem*.

('That's an absolutely fine and reasonable suggestion—and easy enough to carry out.' Ter. *Hau.* 704)

Table 3.10 contains a future passive infinitive *delet-um iri* 'to be going to be destroyed', which is the passive counterpart of the first supine *deletum* with the infinitive *ire* 'to go'. The history of the passive infinitive is uncertain.[42]

[38] See Maltby (2005). [39] Notably Risch (1984).
[40] See Kircher-Durand (2008). [41] See Kroon (1989a) and Lambertz (1996).
[42] See Pinkster (1985b).

3.22 Non-nominal, non-verbal word classes

Under this heading a variety of word classes will be discussed, some of which are quite complex themselves. A common term for the words under this heading, with the exception of adverbs, is 'particles'.[43] Among these negatively defined classes, the adverbs stand out as a very heterogeneous class. They differ from the other classes in that they have 'sentence valence': they can be used on their own in responses to preceding questions, orders, and statements, as in (a). The other classes cannot be used in this way.[44] In addition, adverbs are not restricted as far as their position in their clause is concerned (see Chapter 23).

(a) Quam longe est hinc in saltum vestrum Gallicanum? Naevi, te rogo. # DCC milia passuum. # **Optime**.

('How far is it from here to your pastures in Gaul? I ask you, Naevius. # Seven hundred miles. # Quite right.' Cic. *Quinct.* 79)

Another word class that is relatively easy to identify are prepositions: they always are part of a prepositional phrase, usually with a noun or noun phrase in a particular case. However, the boundary between adverbs and other particles is not very clear. In particular, connectors and interactional particles share certain features with adverbs. In § 3.27 a number of remaining particles are discussed that are not easily assigned to a specific category.

3.23 Adverbs

ADVERBS constitute a very heterogeneous word class, both in respect to their forms and in respect to their meanings and syntactic functions. As far as meaning and syntax are concerned, the ancient term 'adverb' relates to its function as modifier of a verb, illustrated by (a), which is comparable to the way an adjective can function in relation to a noun, as in (b).

(a) Nunc, spectatores, valete et nobis **clare** *plaudite*.

('Now, spectators, farewell and give us your loud applause.' Pl. *Men.* 1162)

(b) Verum si voletis *plausum* fabulae huic **clarum** dare…

('But if you want to give this play your loud applause…' Pl. *Rud.* 1421)

For a manner adverb like *clare* the ancient terminology seems adequate, but for many other adverbs it is not. Time adverbs like *numquam*, for instance, situate the whole state of affairs, and not only the verb, in time, as in (c). *Fortasse* 'perhaps' in

[43] For the various uses of the term, see Pinkster (1972: 135–6).
[44] For this criterion, see Pinkster (1972: 136–7); Schrickx (2011: 9–24, 151).

(d) denotes the speaker's judgement on the content of the sentence; in the terminology of this Syntax it is a disjunct. For further details, see the various sections of Chapter 10.

(c) Sed tamen me / **numquam** hodie induces . . .
('Still, you'll never get me today to . . .' Pl. *As*. 493–4)

(d) **Fortasse** haec tu nunc mihi non credis quae loquor.
('Perhaps you don't believe what I'm saying now.' Pl. *Ps*. 888)

Whereas the functions illustrated above may be regarded as the core functions of adverbs, adverbs may fulfil other functions as well. Some can act as a cohesive device between sentences, such as *tamen* in (e) (for details, see Chapter 24); others can be used (alongside other uses) as subject or object complement in their clause, like *sic* 'so' in (f) (for details, see § 9.36).

(e) Cupis me esse nequam: **tamen** ero frugi bonae.
('You wish me to be useless; still, I'll be useful.' Pl. *Ps*. 468)

(f) Ne dixis istuc. # Ne **sic** fueris.
('Don't say that. # Don't be like that.' Pl. *As*. 839)

Adverbs that denote degree can be used as modifiers of gradable adjectives and adverbs. One example will suffice. In (g), *valde* 'extremely' modifies the manner adverb *bene* 'well'.

(g) Rem te **valde** *bene* gessisse rumor erat.
('There is a report that you have had a highly successful campaign.' Cic. *Fam*. 1.8.7)

From the point of view of morphology, adverbs can be divided into productive and non-productive groups. Typical examples of productive adverbs are those derived with the suffix *-e* from descriptive adjectives of the first and second declension, such as *clar-e* in (a), and those derived with the suffix *-(i)ter* mainly from adjectives of the third declension, such as *felic-iter* 'luckily' from *felix*. In a similar way adverbs can be formed from participles, for instance *aman-ter* 'lovingly' from *amans*. Productive adverbs typically denote manner. They are mainly formed from adjectives towards the end of scale (a) in § 3.7. If they have a gradable meaning, comparative and superlative forms are possible, such as *clarius* 'more clearly' and *clarissime* 'most clearly'. Adverbs derived from two- and three-place adjectives may require an argument. An example is *dignius* 'more worthily' in (h), where it governs the ablative *cruce*.

(h) Peccat uter nostrum *cruce* **dignius?**
('Which of us sins in a way more deserving of the cross?' Hor. *S*. 2.7.47)

Another productive category of words that behave like adverbs are those derived from adjectives of amount (see § 10.63). The actual forms are the same as the singular accusative neuter forms and indeed are often called 'adverbial accusatives' or 'internal

objects'.[45] However, an example like (i) shows that the latter term is incorrect: the verb already has its second argument position filled by *nullum adulescentem*. These words can also be used as degree expressions with adjectives and adverbs, as in (j). For the use of similar forms of descriptive adjectives, see § 10.45.

(i) Nullum adulescentem **plus** amo.
('There's no young man I love more.' Pl. *Mer.* 540)

(j) …non **multum** fuit molesta servitus…
('…slavery wasn't very troublesome for me…' Pl. *Capt.* 272)

Apart from these productive formations, there are numerous unproductive, yet analysable adverbs, such as *crebro* 'frequently', originally an ablative form from the adjective *creber*; *acerva-tim* 'in heaps' from the verb *acervo*; *dextra* 'on the right-hand side', short for *dextra manu*, a noun phrase in the singular ablative 'right hand'. Next there are many pronominal adverbs such as *ubi* 'where' and *tum* 'then', for which the etymology is more or less clear.[46] Finally, there are many adverbs of which the etymology is less certain, such as *clam* 'secretly', *palam* 'openly', and *saepe* 'often'.

Some words function both as adverb and as preposition. An example is *clam* 'secretly', 'without the knowledge of', which is used in both ways from Early Latin onwards. The history of these homonymous pairs is diverse. *Palam* is used as an adverb from Early Latin onwards; as a preposition 'openly in the presence of' it is first attested in Horace and remains rare. *Supra* 'on top (of)' is attested from Early Latin onwards in both uses. *Extra* 'outside' is attested as a preposition from Early Latin onwards; as an adverb from Cicero onwards. *Intra* 'inside' as a preposition is common from Early Latin onwards; as an adverb it is rare (it is first attested in *de Bello Hispaniensi*). For a survey of adverbs/prepositions, see § 12.24. On the relationship between adverbs and prepositions, see also § 12.25.

3.24 Prepositions

In this Syntax the term PREPOSITION is used in its traditional way to cover prepositions proper that precede the noun or noun phrase, such as *a/ab* 'from',[47] the preposition *cum* that is usually preposed, but follows in certain well-defined combinations (*cum patre* 'with the father', but *mecum* 'with me'), and the few prepositions that follow their noun or noun phrase, such as *tenus* 'as far as', 'up to'. An alternative term covering all these groups would be ADPOSITION. For details concerning the placement of prepositions, see Chapter 23.

The Latin grammarians state that prepositions had no accent of their own but functioned as proclitics and formed a prosodic unit with the word they precede.

[45] So, for instance, K.-St.: I.280–2. [46] See K.-H.: 1003–27.
[47] For very few exceptions, see TLL *s.v.* 3.51ff.

Further evidence comes from punctuation, which seems to show that it was not necessary to separate a preposition from the following word. There are a few instances of punctuation after a group consisting of a preposition and one following word, as in ex. (a).[48]

(a) ... DE HAC · RE· ...
('about this matter' *Tab. Vindol.* II.211 (*c.* AD 92–7))

For the formation of prepositions, see § 12.24. For the relationship between prepositions and adverbs, see § 12.25.

3.25 Clause and sentence linking devices

Latin has three types of clause and sentence linking devices: connectors, coordinators, and subordinators. The traditional name for them is 'conjunctions', usually divided into 'coordinating' and 'subordinating' conjunctions.

(i) 'Connectors' are words that indicate the semantic relation between successive sentences; examples are *at* 'but', *igitur* 'therefore', 'so', *nam* 'for', and *quippe* 'indeed'. For details concerning sentence connection, see Chapter 24.
(ii) 'Coordinators' are words or expressions that link clauses, phrases, or words; examples of 'conjunctive' coordinators are *atque* (*ac*) 'and', *et* 'and', the clitic *-que* 'and'; of 'adversative', *sed* 'but'; of 'disjunctive', *aut* 'or'; notably *et* and *sed* can also be used to connect sentences. For details concerning coordination, see Chapter 19.
(iii) 'Subordinators' are words that serve to make one clause a part of another; examples of 'temporal' subordinators are *cum* 'when', *postquam* 'after'; of 'causal', *quia* 'because'; of 'conditional', *si* 'if'. For details concerning subordinators, see §§ 14.21–14.23.

The morphology of these words is obscure, with the exception of the subordinators, some of which are analysable (*postquam* for example) or are etymologically clear (*cum* < *quom*, the stem of relative pronouns, for example).

3.26 Interactional particles

This term covers a group of particles traditionally included among the '(coordinating) conjunctions', as devices that link sentences in the way connectors do. Examples are *enim* 'y'know', *ergo* 'then', and *nempe* 'of course'. The difference between these words

[48] For the lack of accent, see Allen (1973: 24–5) and Probert (2002); for punctuation, see Wingo (1972: 16) and Adams (1996).

and connectors and adverbs is that they invite the addressee to subscribe to the point of view of the speaker.[49]

3.27 Various other particles

There is a residual class of particles which are difficult to subclassify. It contains words like *adeo* 'to such an extent' and *etiam* 'even', *solum* 'only', which are used in combination with other words or phrases and have no independent position in their clause. They are called 'subjuncts' in Quirk et al. (1985).[50]

3.28 Clitics

The term 'clitic' is used in various ways. In this Syntax it is used in a narrow sense for forms that cannot be used independently and have to be attached to a host word, with which they form one prosodic unit (sometimes called 'bound clitics').[51] Latin has a limited number of clitics (or, as some would prefer, 'enclitics'). Apart from *-met* and *-pte*, which are attached to certain personal and possessive pronouns,[52] and *-nam*, which is attached to question words,[53] Latin has *-ne*, *-que*, and *-ve*, which can in principle be attached to any word. These three make a distinct semantic contribution to the content of the clause. The fact that the combination of the host word and the clitic behaves as one prosodic unit appears from the position of a host–clitic combination in verse. In (a) and (b), the accent (and the ictus) is on the penultimate syllable of the unit, instead of on *grávi*, and *cálathis*.[54] For the hosts to which these clitics are attached, see Chapter 23.

(a) haec est / vita solutorum misera ambitione **gravíque**.

('Such is the life of men set free from the burden of unhappy ambition.' Hor. *S.* 1.6.128–9)

(b) …bellatrix, non illa colo **calathísve** Minervae / femineas adsueta manus…

('…a warrior maid, never having trained her woman's hands to Minerva's distaff or basket of wool…' Verg. *A.* 7.805–6)

Exx. (c)–(e) illustrate the relative mobility of *-que* in a prepositional phrase which *-que* coordinates with the preceding context. It may be attached to the preposition at

[49] These particles are called 'conversation management particles' by Kroon (2011).

[50] Another term is 'focus particles' (Kroon 2011).

[51] For a discussion of clitics in a broader sense, see Janson (1979: 90ff.) and Spevak (2006). For the shift of the accent to the penultimate syllable of the new prosodic unit (even if the vowel of that syllable is short), see Probert (2002). (NB: one cannot be entirely sure about this for Cicero's time—*ibidem*.)

[52] The material can be found in Neue-W.: II.361ff., 373.

[53] For clitic *-nam* see § 6.21.

[54] See Leumann (1977: 238–40).

the beginning, to the noun at the end if it is not modified in some way, or to the modifier of the noun in the middle. However, it cannot precede the phrase.

(c) …Cumas contulisse se dicitur **in***que* **ea urbe** senio et aegritudine esse confectus.

('…he withdrew, it is said, to Cumae, and in that city was brought to the grave by old age and distress of mind.' Cic. *Tusc.* 3.27)

(d) …et apud populum…, cum pro Milone diceret, clamore convicioque iact<at>us est **in senatu***que* a Catone aspere et acerbe inim<icor>um magno silentio est accusatus…

('…in the public meeting he was shaken by noise and abuse as he spoke in defence of Milo, and in the senate he was accused harshly and vehemently by Cato, amidst the great silence of his enemies…' Cic. *Fam.* 1.5b.1)

(e) …fruitur praesentibus **ab iis***que* **vitiis** quae paulo ante collegi abest plurimum…

('…he finds his true enjoyment in the present. Also he is entirely free from the vices that I instanced a few moments ago…' Cic. *Fin.* 1.62)

CHAPTER 4
Verb frames

This chapter deals with verb frames, described in § 2.8 as the constellation or constellations of arguments related to a verb in accordance with its meaning or meanings. The chapter begins with some general observations on the way the valency of a verb can be established and the difficulties involved.[1] After this the various frames will be presented. The first type of frame that will be discussed is that of one-place (monovalent) verbs, that is, verbs that require only one argument. Next come two-place (bivalent) and three-place (trivalent) verbs. Finally, attention will be paid to verbs that do not require an argument to complete their meaning (such as *pluit* 'it is raining') and are for that reason called zerovalent. Separate sections are devoted to the copula *sum* 'to be' and other copular verbs as well as to auxiliary (modal and phasal) verbs. The concept of valency is also relevant to adjectives and nouns. Adjectives are discussed in §§ 4.99–4.104. Nouns are discussed in the chapter on the noun phrase (see § 11.70).

Verbs not only differ in the number of arguments they require, but also in the type of arguments that may fill the position or positions in the frame. In this chapter, nominal arguments will be the focus of attention. The use of the noun as the second argument of the verb *dico* 'to tell' in ex. (a) provides an illustration. A survey of the types of arguments that can be used in the various positions in a verb frame is given in Chapter 9. Clausal arguments, such as the accusative and infinitive clause functioning as second argument of *dico* in (b), are discussed in Chapters 15 and 17.

(a) O Saturio, opportune advenisti mihi. / # **Mendacium** edepol dicis, atque hau te decet.

('O Saturio, you've come to me in the nick of time. # You're telling a lie and it isn't right of you.' Pl. *Per*. 101–2)

(b) Nempe uxor ruri est tua, **quam** dudum dixeras / **te odisse** [**aeque**] **atque anguis**.

('Surely your wife is in the country, who you said a while ago you hate as much as you hate snakes.' Pl. *Mer*. 760–1)

[1] For a typological treatment of Latin valency, see Lehmann (2002).

Within the sections on the various (one-place, two-place, three-place) verb frames a further distinction is made according to the formal marking of the arguments, by cases and/or by prepositions. Since the formal marking of the arguments is sometimes related to the meaning of the verb, further subclassifications according to the meaning of the verbs are made when this may help to understand why a particular marking is used. This means that much information on 'the use of case X or preposition Y with verb Z' that one finds in traditional grammars is found in this chapter and not in a chapter on the uses of the individual cases and prepositions.

Obviously, only a small selection of verbs can be discussed and none of them completely. For individual verbs the professional Latinist should always consult the lemmata of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* or the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

4.1 Methodological and practical problems in establishing the valency of a verb

4.2 Context

The first practical problem involved in defining the valency of a verb and establishing the verb frame(s) in which it is used stems from the fact that we are dealing with a corpus in which clauses normally do not occur in isolation. In Latin, more than in English, arguments can be left unexpressed when they have been properly introduced into the discourse. This problem is especially relevant for second and third arguments and receives some attention in Chapter 9 on arguments. For establishing the valency of a verb such contextually given but unexpressed constituents should be taken into account.

4.3 Distinguishing arguments and satellites

Once this problem is solved, the next task is to make a distinction between arguments and satellites (see § 2.2). Arguments are those constituents which are required by the meaning of the verb, in the sense that the clause would become ungrammatical (or the verb would turn out to have a different meaning) if that particular constituent were eliminated and could not be inferred from the context or situation. Usually it is not very difficult to distinguish arguments from adjuncts, that is, satellites that specify in some way the state of affairs expressed by the nucleus (the verb and its argument(s)). However, not all adjuncts can be combined randomly with any nucleus. Instrument and manner adjuncts, for example, are almost entirely restricted in their use to controllable states of affairs (see § 10.42), and there are also restrictions on the use of adjuncts of duration and of time within which (see § 10.31 and § 10.36). These types of adjuncts are 'sensitive' to the meaning of the nucleus and, in that respect, resemble arguments.

Prepositional phrases with *de* 'about' are another example. They are often used as adjuncts in combination with states of affairs that refer to the exchange of information, as in (a). In this example *dixit* and *dixerit* govern a second argument in the accusative (*quod* and *aliquid*, respectively). *De ambabus* and *de me* are adjuncts. However, when there is no such argument, as with *rogare* in (b), the *de* phrase might be regarded as an argument instead.

(a) Nimiae voluptati est quod in extis nostris portentum est, soror, / quod[que] haruspex **de ambabus** dixit. # Velim **de me** aliquid dixerit.

('What was shown in the entrails of our sacrifice, my sister, gives me enormous joy, and also what the soothsayer said about both of us. # I wish he'd said something about me.' Pl. *Poen*. 1205–6)

(b) Iam **de istoc** rogare omitte. Non vides nolle eloqui, / ne suarum se miseriarum in memoriam inducas?

('Stop asking about this now. Can't you see she doesn't want to tell, so that you won't remind her of her misfortunes?' Pl. *Per*. 642—NB: for the text, see Woytek *ad loc.*)

A further complication involved in distinguishing arguments and adjuncts results from the fact that not only the verb itself, but also its nominal arguments may have an influence on the valency of the nucleus. Source phrases with the preposition *ab* may serve as an example. They are common as adjuncts with a number of verbs.[2] Among these is *peto* in its meaning 'to fetch', 'to procure' (OLD *s.v.* § 6), for example, *argentum* 'silver' in (c). *Ab* phrases are also common with *peto* when it is combined with two-place nouns that imply the co-involvement of another entity, such as *auxilium* 'help', *beneficium* 'kindness', *pacem* 'peace', *veniam* 'pardon' (with *peto* here meaning 'to request', 'to solicit'—OLD *s.v.* § 8), as in (d).[3] The precise status of the source expression in the latter is difficult to define. It is clearly a manifestation of the involvement of a second entity in bringing about what the agent wants to achieve, so we can describe it as a source argument required by the combination *peto auxilium*. This may explain why in this combination *peto* is often translated as if equivalent to *rogo* 'to ask'. However, whereas with *rogo* co-involvement constitutes part of its meaning, *peto* in these combinations still means 'to go after', 'to try to obtain'. The nouns involved are less common with *rogo* and if they are used, they are in the double accusative expression that is common with *rogo*, as in (e). For a double accusative with *peto*, see § 4.72.

(c) Nunc hinc parasitum in Cariam misi meum / petitum argentum **a meo sodali** mutuom.

('Now I sent my hanger-on off to Caria to procure the money from a friend of mine as a loan.' Pl. *Cur*. 67–8)

[2] For the verbs which are used with *ab* in this way, see TLL *s.v.* ab 18.71ff. For the description of this use of *peto*, see TLL *s.v.* 1961.71ff.

[3] This is my paraphrase of the description of the TLL *s.v.* peto 1961.71ff.

(d) … petere *auxilium* **a Chelidone** …

('… to ask the help of Chelidon …' Cic. *Ver.* 1.136)

(e) Iano loca iuncta tenebant / naides Ausoniae gelido rorantia fonte. / **Has** rogat *auxilium* …

('Now the Ausonian water-nymphs held a spot near Janus' fane, where a cold spring bubbled forth. Venus asked aid of these …' Ov. *Met.* 14.785–7)

4.4 Support verbs

Whereas *peto* in the preceding section can still be said to have its own meaning when combined with the nouns mentioned, this is not the case, or is less clear-cut, with a number of two- and three-place verbs of a rather general meaning that are used with abstract (often verbal) nouns as their second arguments in more or less fixed (sometimes called 'analytic' or 'periphrastic') combinations. In these combinations, further arguments do not depend on the verb but rather on the noun. These verbs are called SUPPORT VERBS in this Syntax.[4] Often the meaning of the complex expression comes close to that of a simple verb that is semantically and formally related to the abstract noun. This is illustrated in (a)–(d) for combinations of verbs with an object constituent.[5]

(a) Nunc mihi certum est alio pacto Pseudolo **insidias dare** / quam in aliis comoediis fit, ubi cum stimulis aut flagris / *insidiantur*.

('Now I'm resolved to ambush Pseudolus in a different way from how it happens in other comedies, where they lie in ambush with cattle-prods or whips.' Pl. *Ps.* 1239–41)

(b) … sic onere adsueto vacuus **dat** in aere **saltus** …

('So, empty without its accustomed burden, it gives leaps into the air …' Ov. *Met.* 2.165)[6]

(c) … ad tibicinis modos saltantes, **haud indecoros motus** more Tusco **dabant**.

('… while dancing to the strains of the flautist they performed not ungraceful evolutions in the Tuscan fashion.' Liv. 7.2.4)

(d) Tardius **messim primam** eius facere oportebit …

('It will be best to make the first cutting rather late …' Col. 2.10.28)

In (a), the verb *insidior* could have been used instead, as it is two lines below. *Do* may have been used to make the involvement of the agent more explicit, or for the sake of

[4] The term 'support verbs' is an adaptation from French 'verbes de support'. In German the term 'Funktionsverb' has become common. Quirk et al. (1985: 750–2) use the term 'eventive object'. For terminology and a survey of noun/verb combinations, see Rosén (1981: 130–59). For support verbs, see also Flobert (1996) and Hoffmann (1996, forthc.). For tests for distinguishing support verb constructions, see Langer (2004), Ros (2005: 417–18), and Baños (2012). For the use of another type of verbs that 'are notoriously poor in semantic content' in Virgil, see Görler (1999).

[5] For more examples, see TLL *s.v.* do 1686.33ff.

[6] For Ovid's practice, see Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 2.165.

variation. In (b), *saltat* would have signified continuous jumping instead of incidental jumps. In (c), *movebant* alone might indicate involuntary movement; this would exclude the addition of a manner adjunct (*indecore*), whereas the support verb construction has the advantage of allowing the adjective *indecoros*. Likewise, in (d) the combination *messim facere* instead of *metere* allows the addition of *primam*.

In (b) and (c), the two-place expressions can be regarded as variations on a one-place frame, a form of 'externalizing' shown below in § 4.10 for cognate objects. In fact, these instances are often regarded as cognate objects. The most frequent support verbs are *affero* 'to bring about', *ago* 'to make', 'to do', *capio* 'to take', *do* 'to give', *facio* 'to make', *fero* 'to carry', *gero* 'to bear', and *habeo* 'to have', all of which govern an accusative object (and are thus passivizable).[7] However, other verbs are used in this way as well, such as *utor* 'to use' + ablative and various verb + prepositional phrase combinations: *sum* + *in* + ablative and *versor* + *in* + ablative 'to be involved in'; and *venio* + *in* + accusative 'to come to (mind)', 'to be included in (a category)', etc.

> An interesting instance of variation in the translation of a Greek support verb can be seen in Vulg. *I Macc.* 10.15, where the Greek text τοὺς κόπους οὓς ἔσχον is translated *labores quos laboraverunt*. The Vetus Latina has either *habuerunt* or *passi sunt*.
>
> **Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):**
> Aperite hasce ambas fores / prius quam pultando assulatim foribus **exitium affero**. (Pl. *Capt.* 831–2); . . . mentio a te facta pacis **suspicionem** multis **attulit** immutatae voluntatis. (Cic. *Phil.* 12.18); Ille contra haec omnia. / Ruri **agere vitam**, semper parce ac duriter / se habere. (Ter. *Ad.* 44–6); . . . civium **curam ago**? (Liv. 6.15.11); . . . aut ne **laborem capias** quom illo uti voles? (Pl. *Mer.* 146); Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, **initium capit** a flumine Rhodano . . . (Caes. *Gal.* 1.1.5); Cur autem (*sc.* ista auguratio) de passerculis **coniecturam facit** . . . ? (Cic. *Div.* 2.65); Antonius solus contumelia naturae **vilitatem** auro **fecit**. (Plin. *Nat.* 33.50); Si . . . res publica aliqua **faciat venditionem** . . . (Ulp. *dig.* 21.1.1.4); Simul Alcumenae, quam vir insontem probri / Amphitruo accusat, veni ut **auxilium feram**. (Pl. *Am.* 869–70); Quid mi opu'st decurso aetatis spatio cum <m>eis / **gerere bellum** . . . (Pl. *St.* 81–2); . . . ego referam **sermones** eos **quos** de agri cultura **habuimus** nuper . . . (Var. *R.* 1.1.7); Proximis diebus **habetur** extra urbem **senatus**. (Caes. *Civ.* 1.6.1); . . . quae difficilem **curationem habeant** . . . (Cels. 5.26.1.C); Interiores simplicius et antiquius **permutatione mercium utuntur**. (Tac. *Germ.* 5.3);
>
> Quo quid absurdius quam aut res sordidas atque deformis deorum honore adficere aut homines iam morte deletos reponere in deos, quorum omnis cultus **esset futurus in luctu**. (Cic. *N.D.* 1.38); Quod cum isti renuntiaretur de basi ac litteris, existimavit homines **in oblivionem totius negotii esse venturos**, si etiam basim tamquam indicem sui sceleris sustulisset. (Cic. *Ver.* 4.79); (*sc.* philosophos) quod **in veri investigatione versentur** . . . propterea iustos esse. (Cic. *Off.* 1.28);

[7] For *ago* and *facio*, see López Moreda (1987). For *do*, see Martín Rodríguez (1996a). For *affero*, see Hoffmann (1996: 204–10, 2005). For *accipio*, see Brunet (2008). For *capio*, see García González (2014). For the use of support verbs with *sermonem* and *verba*, see Roesch (2001). For *bellum gero*, see Baños (2013).

One and the same verb can be found with a variety of abstract nouns, so for example *do* 'to give' with *copiam* 'grant power/ability', *negotium* 'charge' or 'commission', *pugnam* 'fight a battle', and *spatium* 'give way' or 'make room'. In these combinations *do* does not have its literal meaning of 'transfer', and if a dative argument is present it cannot easily be regarded as the 'recipient', Moreover, the nouns themselves lose their independence to some extent in that they relatively often precede the verb and are rarely modified by a relative clause or by adjectives other than those of quantity. However, in contrast with actual idioms the resulting constructions remain fully grammatical.

Conversely, one and the same abstract noun may be used with a number of the verbs mentioned, so for example *spem* 'hope' with *affero, capio*, *do*, *facio*, *habeo*, and *pono* alongside *spero* 'to hope'. In comparison with the verb *spero*, *spem capio* can be regarded as an ingressive and *spem do* as a causative correlate of the simple verb *spero*. Apart from semantic factors that may favour the use of a complex expression there may also be a syntactic factor involved, as illustrated in (e), where an ablative absolute clause would not have been possible with the simplex verb *meto*.

(e) **Messi facta** spicilegium venire oportet . . .
('When the harvest is over the gleaning should be let . . .' Var. *R.* 1.53.1)

This type of expression is frequent in didactic texts, but not restricted to these. It has been maintained that it is typical of colloquial Latin, but it is quite common in Cicero's philosophical works as well.[8]

A verb and its object, when used together often, may develop into an idiom and create the possibility, and often the need, of adding another participant. Here are a few examples of two types of such an expansion of complex expressions. Firstly, the whole constellation may look like a three-place frame with a third argument that formally seems to be a recipient in the dative, even though semantically it functions as an experiencer rather than a recipient, as in (f). Along the same lines such complex expressions often occur with constituents which formally look like satellites, but seem to be obligatory in the combination. An example is (g). (For examples of object incorporation see § 4.79.)

(f) STOMACHUM·*MIHI*·NULLU<M> UNCQUAM·FECIT·NISI·QUOD M<ORTUA EST>
('She was never an annoyance to me, except in dying.' *CIL* X.8192 (Puteoli))

(g) Primo haec **pudice** vitam, **parce ac duriter** / agebat . . .
('At first she lived a virtuous life, sparing and thrifty . . .' Ter. *An.* 74–5)

[8] See Hoffmann (1996: 203). Schøsler (2003: 409–11) has a brief comparison of Cicero's *de Inventione* and an Early French and a Modern French translation. She shows that the Latin original and the Modern French translation have far fewer support verb constructions than the Early French one, and that support verb constructions are very unstable over time. For the use of verbal nouns in combination with a support verb instead of simple verbs, especially in didactic texts, see Langslow (2000: 408–16), with references.

Supplement:
. . . maximas **tibi** omnes gratias agimus, C. Caesar, maiores etiam habemus. (Cic. *Marc.* 33); Ego me iniuriam fecisse **filiae** fateor **tuae** . . . (Pl. *Aul.* 794); . . . **cui** maximam fidem suarum rerum habeat (Cic. *Ver.* 2.131);

The same phenomenon is also very common with the copula in combination with dative nouns functioning as subject complement (the so-called predicative dative—see § 9.34). This combination in turn governs a noun or noun phrase in the dative, as *nobis* in (h). The combination *auxilio fuit* behaves like the verb *auxilior* 'to give help', which also governs a dative. Ex. (i) is comparable, with *auxilio* functioning as a secondary predicate. The same analysis is possible in (j), but with *mitto* a dative may also be used for the recipient when there is no predicative dative. Also, in cases like (k), one may consider the combination of *sum* and the noun *curatio* a support verb construction (see § 11.71).

(h) Mi pater, tua pietas plane *nobis* **auxilio** fuit.
('My father, your piety has clearly helped us.' Pl. *Poen.* 1277)

(i) . . . si Romanus **auxilio** *suis* venisset . . .
('. . . if the Roman had come to the help of his countrymen . . .' Sal. *Jug.* 81.3)

(j) Qua re nuntiata Caesar omnem ex castris equitatum *suis* **auxilio** misit.
('Upon report of this Caesar sent the whole of the cavalry from the camp to assist his men.' Caes. *Gal.* 4.37.3)

(k) Quid tibi **hanc** *curatio* est **rem**, verbero, aut muttitio?
('Why are you interfering in this matter, you whipping stock, or why are you muttering?' Pl. *Am.* 519)

4.5 Problems in determining the valency of a verb: Expansion and reduction of the number of arguments

Quite a few verbs appear to be used in more than one argument configuration, not only when a different meaning of the verb corresponds to each configuration (see § 2.8 on *dico*), but also when the verb's meaning appears to be the same. On the one hand, one-place verbs can under certain conditions be expanded with a second argument, as is illustrated by the verb *somnio* 'to dream'. Conversely, two-place verbs can be used without their second argument; this is illustrated by the verb *bibo* 'to drink'.[9]

Some verbs that at first sight seem to be one-place verbs are sometimes combined with a second constituent, which behaves like a second argument in many respects, while the meaning of the verb seems to be the same in both situations. This is, for example, the case with the verb *somnio* 'to dream', which can also be used in

[9] For a very complete and careful study of two-place verbs in Cicero, see Lebreton (1901a: ch. IV).

combination with the accusative noun *somnium* in the meaning 'to dream a dream'. In this construction *somnium* resembles a second argument functioning as the object, like *vinum* in *bibo vinum* 'to drink wine'. The question therefore arises whether we should assign two valencies and two verb frames to *somnio* or only one. In this Syntax one frame will be assigned if a verb is used in multiple combinations, but with the same meaning.[10] Determining whether the meaning is the same to some extent depends on intuition, but corroboration can be found by studying the constituents with which the verb is combined and by comparing verbs with their (near-)synonyms and antonyms. Furthermore, statistical data (which combinations are the most frequent in our corpus?) play an important role. In order to explain the other configurations in which a verb is used, an attempt is made to describe under which conditions they are used. In this particular case, *somnio* is considered a one-place verb; the explanation for the use of *somnio somnium* is given in § 4.10 in the paragraph on the so-called cognate object. Other types of EXPANSION of one-place verbs are discussed there as well.

The reverse situation (REDUCTION of the number of arguments) can be illustrated by the verb *bibo*, already mentioned in the preceding paragraph. This verb is typically used with an animate subject and a liquid as its object (*vinum*, for example), so it is considered a two-place verb. In the OLD this is the first type of use recognized; it is labelled 'transitive'. Examples are (a) and (b).

(a) *Nauteam* / **bibere** malim . . .
('I'd rather drink puke . . .' Pl. *As*. 894–5)

(b) Deinde *aquam tepidam*, ut supra scriptum est, **bibere**.
('. . . after that drink tepid water as described above.' Cels. 1.3.22)

However, not infrequently *bibo* is used without a second argument, as in (c). The relationship between the first argument and the verb is the same in both frames and the meaning of *bibo* is also the same.

(c) (*sc*. oves) . . . eo sapore cupidinem **bibendi** *pascendi*que concipiunt.
('. . . the taste of it makes them conceive a desire to drink and eat.' Col. 7.3.21)

Grammars and dictionaries often call this the ABSOLUTE use of the verb: it is the act of drinking as such, without further specification of the entity drunk. The OLD calls this use 'intransitive'. Preferred contexts for the absolute use of two-place verbs are definitions, proverbs, and enumerations, and infinitival and gerundial forms are relatively frequent.[11] Two more examples are (d) and (e).

[10] For a different approach, in which more variants of valency are accepted for one and the same verb although there is no difference in meaning involved, see Happ (1976: 445–9).

[11] For contexts in which absolute use of two-place verbs is common, see Dressler (1970: 32), Happ (1976: 239–61, 438–41) (who uses the term 'Ellipse'), and Sznajder (1998). For a detailed discussion of the absolute use of two-place *amo* in Ovid and the conditions for its correct interpretation, see Hoffmann (1997a: 57–9).

(d) C. deinde Piso statarius et sermonis plenus orator, minime ille quidem tardus in **excogitando**, verum tamen voltu et simulatione multo etiam acutior quam erat videbatur.

('Then there was Gaius Piso, an orator of the stationary or quiet type; his manner of speaking was wholly conversational; by no means slow in invention, yet by countenance and expression he gave the appearance of greater acumen than he possessed.' Cic. *Brut*. 239)

(e) Nam et in grammatice et in arte **medendi** aut **gubernandi** videmus bona humillimis quibusque contingere.

('For both in the scholar's art and in the art of healing or of navigating, we notice that goods fall to the lot of the very lowest sort of men.' Sen. *Ep*. 87.15)

Supplement:
Senatorum enim urna copiose **absolvit**, equitum **adaequavit**, tribuni aerarii **condemnarunt**. (Cic. *Q. fr*. 2.5.4); Nemo apud eos (*sc*. Hunnos) **arat** . . . (Amm. 31.2.10); FACITIS·VOBIS·SUAVITER·EGO CANTO. (*CIL* IV.3442a (Pompeii)); . . . illum identidem monere ut **caveret** . . . (Cic. *S. Rosc*. 110); St! / Tace atque abi. Nec **paro** neque hodie coquetur . . . (Pl. *Cas*. 149–50); Ad quem fruendum non modo non **retardat**, verum etiam **invitat** atque **adlectat** senectus. (Cic. *Sen*. 57);

Bibo is also found with other entities as its arguments.[12] Instead of an animate first argument we find, for example, *metreta* 'jar' and *hortus* 'garden'. In combination with a liquid as its object (e.g. *oleum* 'oil') *bibo* means 'absorb'. In this meaning it can be used absolutely as well. Especially in poetry, the range of second arguments can extend from liquids to other concrete entities, so that *bibo* comes to mean something like 'swallow'. Finally, poets can use an abstract entity for the second argument, as in (f) and (g). Note that in (f) the interpretation is facilitated by the use of *aure*. This use is manifestly two-place. There is no need to set up separate frames for these cases of *bibo*. The specific interpretations are entirely brought about by the combination of these 'abnormal' entities with *bibo*.

(f) . . . sed magis / **pugnas et exactos tyrannos** / densum umeris bibit aure volgus.

('. . . but the crowd, packed shoulder to shoulder, drink in more eagerly with their ears the tales of battles and banished tyrants.' Hor. *Carm*. 2.13.30–2)

(g) Nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat / infelix Dido **longum**que bibebat **amorem** / . . .

('No less did unhappy Dido prolong the night with varied talk and drink deep draughts of love . . .' Verg. *A*. 1.748–9)

Other verbs that denote 'consuming liquid' are *sorbeo* 'to suck up' and *haurio* 'to swallow'. With these two verbs, which denote a special manner of drinking, the

[12] See OLD *s.v*. bibo §§ 7–10.

absolute use is uncommon (see note below). *Bibo*, by contrast, is the neutral form of drinking and perhaps for this reason it is used relatively often without a further specification of the entity drunk. The existence of other verbs with roughly the same meaning which are clearly two-place verbs may be taken as support for considering *bibo* a two-place verb as well.

> An instance of an absolute use of *sorbeo* is Pl. *Mos.* 791: Simul flare **sorbere**que hau factu facile est ('Whistling and drinking at the same time is a difficult thing to do.'). TLL mentions two instances of the absolute use of *haurio* ('to drink', 'to swallow') in Curtius (7.5.15) and Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 13.139). In both cases, the context supplies the necessary information.

The OLD distinguishes a second type of intransitive use of *bibo*, as illustrated in (h) and (i).

(h) DUM·VIXI / **BIBI**·LIBENTER·**BIBITE**·VOS / QUI·VIVITIS

('While I lived, I drank freely. Drink, you who live.' *CIL* III.6825.2–4 (Pisidia, AD 100))

(i) Iam bis **bibisse** oportuit.

('You ought to have had two drinks already.' Pl. *Bac.* 759)

In these examples the object of *bibo* is understood by convention: 'to drink intoxicating liquor' (OLD) (CONVENTIONAL REDUCTION of arguments). In English, *drink* in this sense is used in a number of special expressions: 'John drinks too much', 'John is a drinker'. The Latin noun *bibitor* 'drinker', 'toper' is used in the same specialized way. In this case it is doubtful whether the meaning of *bibo* is the same as in (a)–(c), so one might regard this use as a separate one-place frame.

4.6 Final remarks

This section has shown that determining the valency of a verb is not always an easy task. In one of the earliest and most complete discussions of valency in Latin, a distinction is introduced between 'obligatory' and 'facultative' arguments, to deal with, for example, the *de* expressions in § 4.3.[13] Other scholars think that there is a gradient between highly obligatory and weak arguments.[14] Finally, there are some scholars who are highly critical of using the concept of valency at all.[15] In this chapter due attention will be paid to borderline cases.

[13] See Happ (1976: 226–38).

[14] For this approach, see Hopper and Thompson (1982). For an application to Latin, see Johnson (1991) and Spevak (2010a: 115–25).

[15] See, for example, Serbat's discussion (1981: 150–4) of Happ (1976) and Jacobs (1994).

4.7 Some statistical information

Before dealing with the individual frames, it is useful to give some statistical information concerning their overall frequency. Different types of text deal with different situations in the real world and therefore contain different verbs and arguments. This is shown in Figure 4.1. In four different passages of text of roughly the same length (taken from comedy, didactic prose, a letter, and epic poetry, respectively) the proportion between *sum*, one-place, two-place, and three-place verbs varies. Nevertheless, it is clear that two-place verbs are the most common by far.[16] They fulfil a central role in human communication, which often deals with the way human beings are engaged with other entities. Zerovalent verbs are statistically almost negligible and are absent from these samples.

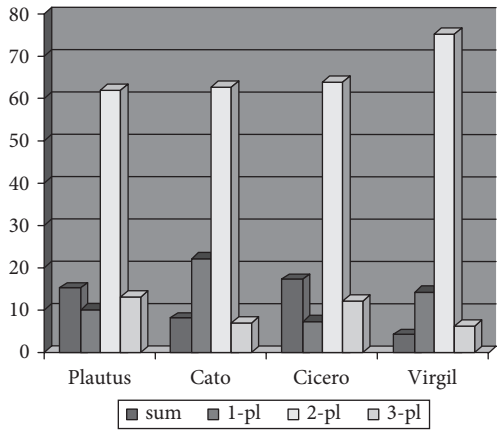


Figure 4.1 Percentual frequency of verbs

Pl. *Mil.* 1–78	N = 116
Cato *Agr.* 1.1.1–1.2.3	N = 132
Cic. *Att.* 1.5	N = 105
Verg. *A.* 1.1–75	N = 99

4.8 One-place verbs

One-place verbs include both verbs like *curro* 'to run' and *dormio* 'to sleep', which are traditionally called 'intransitive' verbs, and verbs like *licet* 'it is permitted'. The latter verb is usually called impersonal,[17] although it has a subject (viz. a subordinate clause). The (historical) reason for calling *licet* impersonal is that it occurs almost

[16] See also Happ's summary of his Ciceronian sample (1976: 473–6).
[17] Some scholars use the term 'unipersonal'.

exclusively in the third person singular form and without a personal subject. The two types of one-place verbs ('personal' and 'impersonal') are discussed separately.

4.9 Personal one-place verbs

Personal one-place verbs have only one argument, which fulfils the function of subject in the clause and with which the verb agrees in person/number (and gender, where applicable). As will be seen, many verbs that usually require only one argument can be extended in some way with a second argument or stand in a systematic semantic and formal relationship to other uses of the same lexeme. One-place verbs can be active or deponent.[18]

Prototypical one-place verbs—that is, ones that almost always occur in one-place constructions—are mainly of the following types:

(i) Processes in which human beings (for some verbs also non-human entities) are involuntarily involved: the first argument fulfils the semantic function of patient. To some of these verbs an (animate) agent or (inanimate) force may be added.

(a) Cave ne **cadas**…

('Watch out so you don't fall…' Pl. *Mos.* 324)

(b) Et quod in stipulatione est 'sive quid ibi ruet', non videri sibi ruere quod aut *vento* aut omnino *aliqua vi* extrinsecus *admota* **caderet**, sed quod ipsum per se concideret.

('In his view, the phrase in the stipulation "if something falls on it" applies not to material that comes down because of wind or any externally applied force, but to what collapses for intrinsic reasons.' Alf. *dig.* 39.2.43.*pr*)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
…sus usque adeo pinguitudine **crescere** solet… (Cato *Orig.* 39); …ut homines, cum viderent, aut ipsam videre se Cererem aut effigiem Cereris non humana manu factam, sed de caelo **lapsam** arbitrarentur… (Cic. *Ver.* 5.187); …ut *fame* senatores quinque **morerentur**. (Cic. *Att.* 6.1.6); M. Marcello circa mortem, cum **periit** *ab Hannibale*, defuit in extis. (Plin. *Nat.* 11.189); AGER… QUEI ROMAE PUBLICE VENIEI<T> VENIERITVE. (*CIL.* I^2.585.75 (*Lex Agr.*, Rome, 111 BC));

(ii) States in which animate beings or inanimate entities are involved: the first argument fulfils the semantic function of patient. Verbs in *-sco*, like *calesco* 'to become hot', which denote a process in which an animate or inanimate entity is involved as a patient, are derivationally related to some of them.

[18] As is shown in § 5.5, passivized two-place verbs are often to be interpreted as agentless and so, in a sense, are also one-place. However, because we are dealing with a productive phenomenon, they are excluded from this section.

(c) Os **calet** tibi, nunc id frigefactas.
('Your mouth is on fire; now you're cooling it.' Pl. *Rud*. 1326)

(d) Si os exulceratur, **rubet** facies . . .
('If the mouth becomes ulcerated, the face turns red . . . ' Cels. 2.8.33)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
Nihil mihi . . . interesse **ardeat** balineum an **caleat**. (Sen. *Ep*. 86.10); Ille suae contra non immemor artis omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum, ignemque horribilemque feram fluviumque **liquentem**. (Verg. *G*. 4.440–2); . . . venae et arteriae **micare** non desinunt quasi *quodam igneo motu* . . . (Cic. *N.D*. 2.24); . . . folia eius (calthae) **olent**, non flores. (Plin. *Nat*. 21.28);

(iii) Psychological and physiological states which animate beings (rarely other entities, e.g. with *sudo*) involuntarily undergo as experiencers.

(e) Tu amas, ego **esurio** et **sitio**.
('You're in love; I am hungry and thirsty.' Pl. *Cas*. 725)

(f) Pro monstro extemplo est quando qui **sudat tremit**.
('It is immediately an omen when someone who is sweating is shivering.' Pl. *As*. 289)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
Familiae male ne sit, ne **algeat**, ne **esuriat**. (Cato *Agr*. 5.2); . . . leges . . . Lycurgi laboribus erudiunt iuventutem venando currendo, **esuriendo sitiendo**, **algendo**, **aestuando**. (Cic. *Tusc*. 2.34); . . . qui valetudinis vitio **furerent** . . . (Cic. *Div*. 1.81); . . . sanu' sim anne **insaniam**! (Ter. *Eu*. 556); Si quando incidit pecus in spem nascentis, hoc deprehenditur signo: ove, cum comederit, dormiente protinus, capra **sternuente** crebrius. (Plin. *Nat*. 19.40); . . . **stomachor** vero cum aliorum non me digna in me conferuntur. (Cic. *Planc*. 35);

(iv) Physiological activities in which animate beings are voluntarily involved as agents.

(g) Mane me iussit senex / conducere aliquam fidicinam sibi huc domum, / <quae>, dum rem dinam faceret, **cantaret** sibi.
('Early in the morning the old man told me to hire some lyre girl to come here to him to his house, to sing for him while he offers sacrifice.' Pl. *Epid*. 314–16)

(h) . . . provocat me in aleam, ut ego **ludam**.
('He asked for dice and challenged me to play a game.' Pl. *Cur*. 355)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
. . . pueri . . . **saltare** et **cantare** . . . didicerunt. (Cic. *Catil*. 2.23); . . . neque **dormire** excitatus neque **vigilare** ebrius poterat . . . (Cael. *ap*. Quint. *Inst*. 4.2.124); . . . (piscem) in aqua sinito **ludere** . . . (Ter. *Ad*. 377);

(v) Movements (moving in a specific way) in which animate beings are involved as agents, inanimate entities as patients.

(i) Face rem hanc cum cura geras. / **Vola** curriculo.
('Do carry this out carefully. Fly at a run.' Pl. *Per*. 198–9)

(j) Quin tu istas omittis nugas ac mecum huc intro **ambulas**?
('Why won't you stop that nonsense and come in here with me?' Pl. *Mer*. 942)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
Curre . . . et quam primum haec risum **veni** . . . (Cael. *Fam*. 8.14.4); Himantopodes . . . quibus **serpendo** ingredi natura sit. (Plin. *Nat*. 5.46); . . . **volat** vapor ater ad auras. (Verg. *A*. 7.466);

(vi) Activities in which two or more animate beings are voluntarily involved as agents and associatives (see § 4.38 and § 4.69).

(k) Tum isti Graeci palliati, capite operto qui ambulant / qui . . . / **constant**, conferunt sermones inter sese . . .
('Then those Greeks in their cloaks, who wander around with their heads covered, who . . . stand together, palaver among each other . . . ' Pl. *Cur*. 288–90)

(l) Ii denique qui tum armati dies noctesque **concursabant** . . .
('Finally, these very men who at that time were running about armed day and night . . . ' Cic. *S. Rosc*. 81)

Supplement:
Heri aliquot adulescentuli **coiimus** in Piraeo / in hunc diem ut de symbolis essemus. (Ter. *Eu*. 539–40);

(vii) Verbs of existence (also in use as copular verbs—for more details see § 4.91).

(m) Quid pater? **Vivit**ne?
('What about his father? Is he alive?' Pl. *Capt*. 282)

(n) Nam etsi res sunt fractae, amici **sunt** tamen.
('Well even if his position is ruined, there's always friends.' Pl. *Per*. 655)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
. . . mulieres / iam ab re divina credo **apparebunt** domi. (Pl. *Poen*. 617–18); Qui **sunt**, qui **erunt** quique **fuerunt** quique **futuri sunt** posthac, / solus ego omnibus antideo, facile miserrumus hominum ut vivam. (Pl. *Per*. 777–8);

4.10 Expansion of the number of arguments of one-place verbs

There are several ways of expanding the frame of a one-place verb with a second argument. This is often called the transitive use of intransitive verbs. It can be illustrated with two types of expansion, both of which are prevalent in poetry and in poetically inspired prose, but are not restricted to these types of text. In the first place, verbs may be used not according to their central or basic meaning, but in a way that plays upon certain components of that meaning. The verb *fleo*, for example,

meaning 'to cry', implies the production of sound and the expression of an emotion, and this it has in common with communication and emotion verbs. We therefore find it with an accusative and infinitive clause which is typical of communication and cognition verbs (see § 15.97), as in (a). Similarly, we find *furo* 'to rage', hence 'to behave like a madman', used as a cognition verb, again with an accusative and infinitive, as in (b). *Sternuo* 'to sneeze' involves the production of a sound and so Catullus uses it with *approbationem* 'approval' as its object, as in (c).

(a) Nam **me discedere** flevit…
('For she wept at my leaving…' Verg. *Ecl.* 3.78)

(b) Furebat **a Racilio se contumaciter urbaneque vexatum**.
('He was infuriated by Racilius' insulting and witty attack.' Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.1.3)

(c) Hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra ut ante / dextra sternuit **approbationem**.
('As he said this, Love on the left, as before on the right, sneezed goodwill.' Catul. 45.8–9)

At least some of the instances of the so-called adverbial accusative (see § 10.45) can be explained along these lines. An example of *furo* is (d). *Infanda* may be taken as: 'in his rage he produced unspeakable utterances' and not adverbially as 'he manifested an unspeakable rage' or 'he raged in an unspeakable manner'.

(d) At fessi tandem cives **infanda** furentem / armati circumsistunt…
('But at last, outworn, his citizens in arms surround the man hurling, in his rage, unspeakable invective…' Verg. *A.* 8.489–90)

Supplement:
Stabat **acerba** fremens… (Verg. *A.* 12.398); … insanire putas **sollemnia** me… (Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.101); … **vix credenda** furentem… (Sil. 15.452);

Furthermore, verbs may be expanded with an argument because they are in some way associated with another straightforward (group of) two-place verb(s). For example, since *tremo* 'to tremble' may occur as a physiological symptom of emotion, poets first (and then Livy and others) use it with an object noun phrase in the accusative case, like *timeo* 'to fear'. Examples are (e) and (f).

(e) Quid est enim cur ego hominem aut feram, quid est cur **sagittam** aut **lanceam** tremam?
('Why should I tremble at a man or wild beast, why should I tremble at an arrow or spear?' Sen. *Nat.* 6.32.2)

(f) …in eadem civitate in qua magistri equitum **virgas** ac **secures dictatoris** tremere atque horrere soliti sint.
('…in that very state in which masters of the horse had been used to tremble and shudder at the rods and axes of the dictator.' Liv. 22.27.3)

The examples above illustrate the expansion of the number of arguments on the basis of specific semantic features of the verb. Another productive way of expanding the

number of arguments similar to those above but with the verb used in its 'normal' meaning is the use of the so-called COGNATE object[19] in the accusative case. As the term 'cognate' indicates, the meaning of the noun phrase is closely related to the meaning of the verb. It 'externalises' the meaning of the verb. Most of the verbs involved belong to controlled and non-terminative states of affairs. Examples are (g) and (h).

(g) Prius quam **istam pugnam** pugnabo, ego etiam prius / dabo aliam pugnam claram et commemorabilem.

('Before fighting this fight, I'll also put up some other impressive and memorable fight.' Pl. *Ps.* 524–5)

(h) **Hunc**, oro, sine me furere ante **furorem**.

('Let me first, I beg, give vent to this madness.' Verg. *A.* 12.680)

The term 'cognate object' is here used in a limited sense for what others sometimes call the *figura etymologica* within the category of the 'internal object' (German: 'Akkusativ des Inhalts'). The 'internal' object is often defined in the same way as the term 'effected' object is used in this Syntax (see § 4.20), but in reality it covers more.[20]

This use of the cognate object is frequent in Plautus and in poetically inspired texts but is certainly not restricted to these. Just as with many two-place verbs that govern an accusative object, the cognate constituent with these one-place verbs can be the subject in the passive. However, this is not a very frequent phenomenon. A good example of a passive construction is (i).

(i) **Haec** est pugnata **pugna** usque a mani ad vesperum . . .

('This fight was fought there without interruption from morning till evening . . .' Pl. *Am.* 253)

Although formally, and judging from its behaviour under passivization, the accusative constituent looks like a normal object, it has distinctive semantic properties. The noun phrase does not refer to some real, existing or future, entity, but specifies in some way or other either the way an event takes place or the result produced by the action.

- Often there is an attributive adjective or another type of attribute.[21]
- The noun (phrase) has a more specific meaning than the meaning of the verb itself (e.g. *Graecanicam Pyrricam saltare* 'to dance a Greek Pyrrhic (dance)', cf. Apul. *Met.* 10.29.4). A good example of this is the noun **servitutem** in the expression **servitutem servire**. A specific way of *servire* is meant, as is shown by . . . *aliud est servum esse, aliud servire* . . . '. . . to be a slave and to be in servitude are different . . .' (Quint. *Inst.* 5.10.60).

[19] On the cognate object, see Rosén (1981: 101–27, 1996b) and de la Villa (2007, 2014). For the type of verbs, see Baños (2014a: 772–6).

[20] For a survey of 'figura etymologica' combinations, see Müller (1908: 12–34).

[21] For cognate accusatives without an attribute, see Landgraf (1881: 14–18).

- The cognate object contains information about the result of the action (e.g. **miserabile** *certamen currere* 'to run a lamentable match' cf. Stat. *Theb*. 3.116).

Sometimes the use of the cognate object is triggered by coherence between the situation described in the clause and the preceding context. In (i) above, *haec pugna* refers to the previous context, summarizing it as a 'battle'. It is therefore topical information and a suitable candidate to be subject in its clause (hence *pugno* is in the passive). Another constellation in which constituents occur in the passive is the ablative absolute, as in (j). *Depugnato* by itself is impossible and needs 'support'.

(j) Sed metuo ne sero veniam **depugnato proelio**.
('But I'm afraid that I'm coming too late, after the battle's been fought.' Pl. *Men*. 989)

Supplement:
Active: . . . dum **vitam** / vivas. (Pl. *Per*. 494–5); **Pulmoneum** edepol nimis velim **vomitum** vomas. (Pl. *Rud*. 511); . . . **consimilem** luserat / iam olim ille **ludum** . . . (Ter. *Eu*. 586–7); . . . cur non **eosdem cursus** . . . cucurrerunt? (Cic. *Agr*. 2.44); . . . prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa, Chimaera / ore foras **acrem** flaret de corpore **flammam**? (Lucr. 5.905–6); . . . ut **suum gaudium** gauderemus. (Cael. *Fam*. 8.2.1); . . . multa **basia** basiare . . . (Catul. 7.9); Lynceus ipse meus **seros** insanit **amores**. (Prop. 2.34.25); Vides autem **quam malam** et **noxiosam servitutem** serviturus sit . . . (Sen. *Dial*. 7.4.4); . . . qui . . . pro servis **servitutem** servierunt . . . (*Leg. pub*. (*Font. iur*. p. 47) 5);
Passive: . . . **illa militia** militatur . . . (Pl. *Per*. 232); **Proelium** factum depugnatumque pro castris . . . (Cato *Hist*. 82—NB: *depugnatum* is coordinated with *factum*); . . . pro qua mihi sunt **magna bella** pugnata . . . (Catul. 37.13); . . . mea sunt populo saltata **poemata** saepe . . . (Ov. *Tr*. 2.519);[22]

Whereas in the examples above the object constituents are not only semantically but also morphologically related to the governing verbs, there are also instances where there is only a semantic relation between the object and the governing verb. Examples are (k) and (l).

(k) Multa ego possum **docta dicta** et quamvis facunde loqui . . .
('I could say many wise words, and that as eloquently as you like.' Pl. *Trin*. 380)

(l) Pergam quo coepi **hoc iter**.
('I'll be on my way along here.' Ter. *Hec*. 194—*tr*. Brown)

Supplement: Soleo hercle ego garrire **nugas**. (Pl. *Aul*. 830); Sed metuo ne sero veniam depugnato **proelio**. (Pl. *Men*. 989); . . . semper **longam** incomitata videtur / ire **viam** . . . (Verg. *A*. 4.467–8); . . . populus frequens / **laetum** theatris ter crepuit **sonum**. (Hor. *Carm*. 2.17.25–6);

Another viable means of expanding the number of arguments is by neuter pronouns. Examples are (m) and (n).

[22] The fullest survey of examples is Müller (1908). For its use in comedy, and especially its frequency in the 'Langvers' in Plautus, see Haffter (1934: 10–43).

(m) Sed memento, si **quid** saevibunt senes, / suppetias mihi cum sorore ferre.
('But remember to come to my assistance with your sister if the old men are a bit grumpy.' Pl. *Epid.* 658–9)

(n) Ain tu, laeta'st? # Non tam ipso quidem / dono quam abs te datum esse: **id** vero serio triumphat.
('What do you say? Is she delighted? # Not so much with the gift itself but with the fact it comes from you. That really and truly is a triumph for her.' Ter. *Eu.* 392–3)

Occasionally, one-place verbs are used with a second argument in parallel contexts, next to regular two-place verbs. A striking example is (n).

(o) Dies noctesque me ames, me desideres, **me** somnies, me expectes, de me cogites, **me** speres, me te oblectes, mecum tota sis.
('Day and night love me, miss me, dream of me, look for me, think of me, hope for me, delight in me, be entirely with me.' Ter. *Eu.* 193–5)

Appendix: This means of 'externalizing' the meaning of the verb is also available with two-place verbs, when they are used as one-place verbs, that is, when their normal object is neither expressed nor can be understood from context (see § 4.21).

Another way of externalizing the meaning of the verb is the so-called cognate manner adjunct in the ablative (see § 10.44).

With a number of one-place verbs that refer to processes involving liquid material, an adjunct in the ablative may be added that specifies the type of liquid (commonly labelled 'instrumental'). This is the case with e.g. *fluo* 'to flow' and *mano* 'to flow' (if combined with an ablative noun usually translated as a state 'to be wet'), *stillo* 'to drip', and *sudo* 'to sweat' (also zero-place *pluit* 'it is raining'—see § 4.90). It occurs especially in poetry, as in the Ennian example (p), but see also (q) from Cicero. (Mainly) poets also venture a two-place use of these verbs with the liquid as an accusative object (usually labelled 'cognate'), as in (r) and (s), even in the passive, as in (t).

(p) Aes sonit, franguntur hastae, terra sudat **sanguine**.
('Bronze clatters, spears are snapped, Earth sweats with blood.' Enn. *scen.* 181V=165J)

(q) . . . natabant pavimenta **vino**, madebant parietes . . .
('. . . the pavement swam with wine, the walls were wet with it . . .' Cic. *Phil.* 2.105)

(r) Fidis enim manare **poetica mella** / te solum, tibi pulcher.
('Fair in your own eyes you are, and believe that you, and you alone, distil the honey of poesy.' Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.44–5)

(s) . . . pallescet super his, etiam stillabit amicis / ex oculis **rorem** . . .
('He will change colour over them; he will even distil the dew from his friendly eyes . . .' Hor. *Ars* 429–30)

(t) Mollis erat tellus rorata mane **pruina**.
('Soft was the earth with hoar frost spread like dew at morn . . .' Ov. *Fast.* 3.357)

4.11 One-place verbs that also occur in a two-place frame

(i) Many one-place verbs that denote a psychological or physiological state are also found with a second argument in the accusative, or occasionally in the passive with a nominative argument. With some of these verbs the accusative is more normal than with others.[23] Two relatively common examples with *doleo* 'to be grieved at' and *miror* 'to be surprised at' are (a) and (b). Less common is (c) with the verb *gaudeo* 'to rejoice'. With these verbs accusative and infinitive clauses and finite *quod* clauses are also common (see § 15.8).

(a) …**meum casum luctum**que doluerunt…

('…they grieved for my misfortune and sorrow…' Cic. *Sest*. 145)

(b) In quo **eius temeritatem** satis mirari, iudices, non queo.

('In this, gentlemen, I cannot sufficiently admire his audacity.' Cic. *Sest*. 134)

(c) Nunc furit tam gavisos homines **suum dolorem** unumque m<e Curi>one<m> studiosiorem Antoni.

('Now he is furious over the general rejoicing over his discomforture and at the fact that Antony had only one more ardent supporter (Curio) than myself.' Cael. *Fam*. 8.14.1)

Supplement:
Egone **illum** non fleam? (Pl. *Capt*. 139); Quis somniavit **aurum**? (Pl. *St*. 666); Ergo **hominis desperati et proditoris rei publicae casum** lugebunt fortasse qui volent. (Cic. *Sest*. 33); Nemone igitur umquam alius **ovum** somniavit? (Cic. *Div*. 2.134);

The two-place frame is especially common when these verbs are used metaphorically. This is illustrated in (d)–(g) for *esurio* and *sitio*.

(d) Pater **liberos** esurit…

('The father wants to eat his children.' [Quint.] *Decl.* 12.27)

(e) Nil ibi **quod** nobis esuriatur erit.

('Nothing will be there that excites my hunger.' Ov. *Pont*. 1.10.10)

(f) Fastidit vinum quia iam sitit iste **cruorem**.

('That man does not care for wine, since now he is thirsty for blood.' *Vers. pop.* in Suet. *Tib*. 59.1)

(g) Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt **iustitiam**…

('Happy are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness.' Vulg. *Mat.* 5.6)

A number of verbs denoting an emotion or the manifestation of an emotion are also used with an ablative constituent indicating the cause of the emotion (the so-called

[23] See Baños (2007: 27–31).

ablativus causae). Prepositional expressions (notably with *de*) are found with some of them as well. The most representative verbs are given in Table 4.1. One may hesitate whether the ablative constituent is an argument or a cause adjunct (see § 10.79) combined with a one-place frame. The latter position is taken in this Syntax. A few illustrations are given in (h)–(k).

Table 4.1 One-place emotion verbs that combine with an ablative constituent

Emotion	*angor* 'to be distressed'	*doleo* 'to grieve (at)'	*maereo* 'to be sad'	*delector* 'to be delighted'	*gaudeo* 'to be glad'	*laetor* 'to delight (in)'	
Manifestation of emotion	*ardeo* 'to rage'	*flagro* 'to burn (with)'	*furo* 'to rage'	*gestio* 'to exult'	*exsulto* 'to exult'	*glorior* 'to glory (in)'	*triumpho* 'to exult'

(h) Qui **sociorum iniuriis provinciarumque incommodis** doleat…

('One who deplores our allies' wrongs and our provinces' misfortunes…' Cic. *Ver.* 3.6)

(i) Atque ita me di ament, ut ego nunc non tam **meapte causa** / laetor quam illiu'…

('As heaven is my witness, I am delighted not so much for my own sake as for hers.' Ter. *Hau.* 686–7)

(j) Ah / me miserum, vix sum compos animi, ita ardeo **iracundia**.

('Oh misery! I can scarcely control myself, I'm so on fire with anger.' Ter. *Ad.* 309–10)

(k) **Nominibus veterum** gloriantur.

('They pride themselves on the names of their ancient models.' Cic. *Orat.* 169)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
Filia quae non solum **illo communi dolore muliebri** in eius modi viri iniuriis angeretur …(Cic. *Clu.* 13);…cum **poeticis multis verbis** magis delecter quam utar, antiquis magis utar quam delecter. (Var. *L.* 5.9);…ut exsultare **victoria nobilitatis** videretur… (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 16);…**incredibili quodam** nostri homines **dicendi studio** flagraverunt. (Cic. *de Orat.* 1.14); Numquam illum 'aspectum' dicebat, quin mihi Telamo iratus furere **luctu filii** videretur. (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.193); *Haec* qui gaudent, gaudeant **perpetuo suo** semper **bono**. (Pl. *Mos.* 306);…quorum alter **laetitia** gestiat, alter *dolore crucietur* …(Cic. *Fin.* 2.14); Nemo enim maeret **suo incommodo**. (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.30);…ne **triumviratu suo** nimis superbiat Antonius paene histrioni comparatus…(Plin. *Nat.* 9.122); <At>que erupit e senatu triumphans **gaudio**…(Cic. *Mur.* 51);

Appendix: Emotion verbs are often expanded with a prepositional phrase with *in* indicating the area to which the emotion pertains (it is an abstract place adjunct).[24] Examples are (l) and (m).

[24] For *in* + ablative expressions, see Baños (2007: 31–4).

(l) Nam epistula Leonidae quam ad me misisti quid habet, quaeso, **in quo** magno opere laetemur?
('As for that letter of Leonides' you sent me, pray, what does it contain that we could be very delighted at?' Cic. *Att.* 14.16.3)

(m) *Propter virtutem* enim iure laudamur et **in virtute** recte gloriamur.
('For we are praised on account of virtue justly and we rejoice in our virtue rightly.' Cic. *N.D.* 3.87—Note the parallelism with *propter virtutem*)

The verb *laboro* 'to suffer' is usually mentioned in the same context, and indeed combinations with noun phrases in the ablative are common, as in (n) and (o). These expressions are rather cause adjuncts, as with the verb *aegroto* 'to be ill'. The part of the body where the pain is felt may be specified with a prepositional phrase (in Cicero with the preposition *ex*), as in (p).

(n) Vestrum nemo est quin intellegat populum Romanum . . . hoc tempore **domestica crudelitate** laborare.
('There is no one among you who does not know that the Roman people . . . are suffering today from cruelty towards their own citizens.' Cic. *S. Rosc.* 154)

(o) Nec vero quisquam stultus non **horum morborum aliquo** laborat.
('Yet there is no foolish man but is afflicted by some one of these diseases.' Cic. *Fin.* 1.59)

(p) Nam cum **ex renibus** laboraret, ipso in eiulatu clamitabat falsa esse illa quae antea de dolore ipse sensisset.
('For upon an attack of kidney trouble, even amid his shrieks, he kept on crying out that the opinions he had himself previously held about pain were false.' Cic. *Tusc.* 2.60)

(ii) Some verbs denoting the production of a smell, a taste, or a sound (*oleo* 'to smell', *sapio* 'to taste', *sono* 'to sound') have both a one-place frame, with the person or object producing the smell, etc. in the nominative, as in (q), and a two-place frame ('to smell of', etc.) with a second argument in the accusative case referring to the kind of smell, taste, or sound produced, as in (r). There are also metaphorical instances. This two-place frame is often dealt with in the same way as the cognate object, but one important difference is that the constituent occurring as the second argument in the two-place frame may also occur as the only argument in the one-place frame, as the comparison of (q) and (r) shows. The source of the smelling may also be expressed by a satellite in the ablative (rare), as in (s). Another difference between these two types of frame is that, whereas verbs whose second argument is a cognate object can be passivized, those discussed in this section cannot.

(q) Unde hic, amabo, **unguenta** olent?
('Please, where is this smell of perfumes coming from?' Pl. *Cas.* 236)

(r) Non omnes possunt olere **unguenta exotica** . . .
('Not everybody can smell of exotic ointments . . .' Pl. *Mos.* 42)

(s) … perque lacus altos et olentia **sulphure** fertur / stagna …

(‘… he was borne through deep lakes and pools reeking with sulphur …’ Ov. *Met.* 5.405–6)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
Two-place: Murram olet (Pl. *As.* 928); Agedum odorare hanc quam ego habeo pallam. **Quid** olet? (Pl. *Men.* 166); … mulier recte olet, ubi **nil** olet. (Pl. *Mos.* 273); … magis laudari quod **ceram** quam quod **crocum** olere videatur. (Cic. *de Orat.* 3.99); … in odore agri, **quem** olebat … Jacob … (Ambr. *Job* 4.1.3); … multa … mella **herbam eam** sapiant. (Plin. *Nat.* 11.18); … nec vox **hominem** sonat. (Verg. *A.* 1.328);
One-place: Aurum huic olet. (Pl. *Aul.* 216—NB: status of the dative not clear[25]); Nihil est delectabilius odore domini, sic oleant **omnes qui credunt**. (August. *Serm.* 140.4, l. 18); … curamque adhibere ut praeolat mihi **quod tu velis**. (Pl. *Mil.* 41); … nec dubium quin fici ramulis glaciatus **caseus** iucundissime sapiat. (Col. 7.8.2);
Metaphorical: … homini, **servitutem paternam** redolenti … (V. Max. 6.2.8);

Appendix: *Sono* is also used with the meaning ‘to produce a sound’, ‘to utter’, as in Hor. *Epod.* 9.5 *sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra*. In this meaning it is a two-place verb. Examples of the so-called adverbial accusative (see § 10.45) like *mortale sonans* (Verg. *A.* 6.50) and *pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum* (Cic. *Arch.* 26) may belong here as well.

(iii) With verbs of motion several expression types in the accusative are used. One is a satellite indicating the distance covered (see § 10.23), another is the cognate object construction as in (t), a third one is a so-called ‘locative’ object, exemplified by (u).

(t) … passim / quisque suas avidi ad lacrimas **miserabile** currunt / **certamen** …

(‘… everywhere, each running eager to find their own sorrow, a pitiful contest.’ Stat. *Theb.* 3.115–17)

(u) … cernebant imperatorem **longam viam** sub gravium armorum onere currentem …

(‘… they saw the emperor running a long way under the burden of heavy arms …’ Paneg. 3.6.4)

The difference between the two is that the ‘locative object’ is interchangeable with a prepositional expression or compound (*per viam currentem* or *percurrentem* ‘along the road’) whereas this alternative does not exist for the cognate object. Like cognate objects, they rarely occur in passive constructions.

Supplement:
… itque reditque **viam** totiens. (Verg. *A.* 6.122); … sciat **indociles** currere lympha **vias**. (Prop. 1.2.12); Nempe abruptis turbata procellis / nocte natat **caeca** serus **freta** … (Verg. *G.* 3. 259–60);

[25] For parallels, see Stockert *ad loc.*

> **Passive**: . . . quia **Oceanus** navigari non potest. (Sen. *Suas.* 1.1); Qui sustinet hamos / novit **quae** multo pisce natentur **aquae**. (Ov. *Ars* 1.48–9); . . . **campus** curritur . . . **mare** navigatur . . . (Quint. *Inst.* 1.4.28); . . . **via** curritur . . . (August. *Serm.* 159.1.1);
> **NB:** autocausative passive (for the term, see § 5.19): . . . nunc **Satyrum**, nunc **agrestem Cyclopa** movetur. (Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.125);

(iv) With some verbal lexemes a one- and two-place frame go side by side in a particular semantic relationship. *Moveo* 'to move', for example, can be used of animate and inanimate entities in the meaning 'to make movements'. As such, it is one-place and may be compared to verbs like *tremo* 'to tremble'. An example is (v). The two-place frame, in its meaning 'to create movement in someone or something', behaves like *quatio* 'to shake' and is exemplified by the passives in (w) and (x).

(v) Terra dies duodequadraginta **movit**.
('The earth trembled for thirty-eight days.' Liv. 35.40.7)

(w) . . . sedatoque eam tumultu **moveri** vetuisse puerum . . .
('. . . she stilled the uproar and commanded that the boy should not be disturbed . . .' Liv. 1.39.2)

(x) . . . terram . . . quamvis levissimo dente **moveri** satis est.
('. . . the soil is stirred sufficiently with the lightest plough-point.' Col. 2.2.25)

In the case of two-place *moveo* the first argument is an agent, voluntarily involved in an action, the second a patient undergoing that action. With one-place *moveo*, however, the argument is rather a patient involved in some (involuntary) process. This use of *moveo* can be described as the 'decausative' counterpart of two-place *moveo*. More examples are given in § 5.30 (intransitivization). However, the second arguments of the two-place frame cannot always occur as the single argument of the one-place frame (and vice versa).

> Some of the verbs involved, for example *moveo*, also occur in the autocausative passive construction (see § 5.19) and in the autocausative reflexive construction, as well as in the same meaning without the reflexive pronoun (see § 5.31).

4.12 One-place verbs with a clause as the subject

A number of the verbs listed in the beginning of this section are used with a clause or an infinitive as the subject. This phenomenon is often called 'impersonal', but the verbs also have, and sometimes more frequently, 'personal' constructions. Examples are *apparet* 'it appears', *constat* 'it is plain', *dolet* 'it is a cause of grief', *latet* 'it is concealed', *liquet* 'it is clear', *patet* 'it is clear', *stat* 'it is fixed'.

A very common class of 'impersonal' verbs that have a clause or infinitive as the subject are verbs of happening like *accidit*, *cadit*, *evenit*, and *fit* 'it comes about that'.

The various types of clauses are dealt with in Chapter 15.

4.13 Impersonal one-place verbs

As is mentioned in § 4.8, the reason for calling the verbs to be discussed in this section 'impersonal' is that they are usually restricted to third person singular verb forms without a personal subject. They often have a subordinate clause (an accusative and infinitive clause or a finite clause of some form) as their subject.

4.14 The modal verbs licet *and* oportet

Typical examples of the one-place frame of *licet* 'it is permitted' are (a) and (b), with an accusative and infinitive and a finite subjunctive clause as the subject, respectively. With the same modal meaning *licet* is also used as a two-place verb, with an infinitive as the subject and a second argument that is involuntarily involved in the state as an experiencer (in the dative), as in (c). The experiencer (*mihi*) is coreferential with the agent of the infinitive *dicere*. Very rare are instances of two-place *licet* with a nominal subject, as in (d) (with an unspecified experiencer).[26]

(a) … qui mage licet … / **puerum supponi**, **falli per servom senem** …
('… how is it any more possible … [to present] … babies being substituted or an old man being deceived by his slave.' Ter. *Eu.* 36–9)

(b) Mea quidem hercle causa **salvos sis** licet.
('So far as I am concerned you can be in good health.' Pl. *Rud.* 139)

(c) … nec **causam** liceat **dicere** mi …
('… I wouldn't be allowed to plead my case …' Pl. *Am.* 157)

(d) Quaedam **quae** licent tempore et loco mutato non licent.
('Some things that are permissible become impermissible if time and place alter.' Sen. *Con.* 9.2.17)

The one-place modal verb *oportet* 'it is proper' is used with either an infinitive or with a clause as the subject. It is usually an accusative and infinitive, rarely a finite subjunctive clause (for a Late Latin *ut* clause see § 15.69). Nominal subjects are rare, but see (e) and (f). Unlike *licet*, *oportet* has no two-place frame with a dative experiencer.[27]

(e) … quae adsolent **quae**que *oportent* [*v.l.* oportet] signa esse ad salutem omnia huic esse video.
('… all the usual symptoms which ought to exist toward recovery, I perceive in her.' Ter. *An.* 481)

(f) **Latitudines** autem earum ita oportere fieri videntur …
('The width of the colonnades should be arranged as follows …' Vitr. 5.9.2)

[26] See TLL *s.v.* liceo 1362.53ff.

[27] For nominal subjects, see TLL *s.v.* oportet 745.38ff.

4.15 'Impersonal' est

From Early Latin onwards, the third person singular form of *sum* in its existential meaning is found with infinitives or clauses (accusative and infinitive or finite *ut* + subjunctive) as its subject, sometimes meaning 'it is the case that', more often 'it is possible', 'it is allowed'. Although the number of early instances is very small, grammarians and editors seem to have been too eager to get rid of some of them.[28] Its increased use in (post-)Augustan poetry and in ecclesiastical authors was probably stimulated by the existence of a parallel Greek expression. An early example is (a).

(a) Scire **est** (scire et **A**) liberum ingenium atque animum.

('It's obvious that their natures and inclinations are fundamentally honourable . . . ' Ter. *Ad.* 828—NB: Editors read *scires* or *siris*)

Supplement:
Infinitive: Quid narrat? # Quid ille? Miserum se esse. # Miserum? Quem minu' credere'**st** [*crederes* edd.] (Ter. *Hau.* 192); **Est** interdum praestare mercaturis rem quaerere . . . (Cato *Agr.* praef. 1);[29] Inter duas filias regum quid mutet, inter Antigonam et Tulliam, **est** animadvertere. (Var. apud Gel. 18.12.9); Sed cum etiam nunc quid facturus Caesar sit magis <**sit**> opinari quam scire . . . (Balb. Opp. *Att.* 9.7A.1); . . . cernere **erat** . . . (Verg. *A.* 8. 676 —NB: Servius *ad loc.*: Graeca figura est); . . . quae verbo obiecta verbo negare **sit** [<*satis*> or <*par*> *sit* edd.] (Liv. 42.41.2); **Est** autem maxime id considerare Ravennae, quod . . . (Vitr. 2.9.11); . . . quantum dinoscere **erat** . . . (V. Max. 2.6.8); **Est** te, inquit, videre? (Petr. 67.5 (Fortunata speaking)); De nostris moribus bene sperare **est** . . . (Plin. *Nat.* 17.50); Nam nisi (*sc.* terra) in medio esset, aequales dies noctesque habere non posse deprehendere **e<s>t** . . . (Plin. *Nat.* 2.176); Non **est** fateri rerum natura largius mala an remedia genuerit. (Plin. *Nat.* 8.87); Aliter non **est** occidere et tergori parcere. (Plin. *Nat.* 8.135); . . . ut coniectare **erat** intentione vultus . . . (Tac. *Ann.* 16.34.1); . . . **est** videre . . . vasa . . . (Tac. *Germ.* 5.3); **Est** adeo invenire apud nobiles poetas huiuscemodi suavitatis multa . . . (Gel. 6.20.4); Per haec . . . floribus frui **est** . . . (Tert. *De cor.* 10); Pudet, sed aliter exprimere non **est**. (Tert. *Val.* 17.1); Ante **est** enim scire quibus rescribere habeam. (Cypr. *Ep.* 33.2); . . . per quas ubique vastitates multa ferarum nomina multasque eiusmodi saevitudinis facies **erat** videre . . . (Jul. Val. *Res Gestae Alex. M.* 3.17, 372–4); Vix **est** carere istis malis . . . (August. *De gest. Pel.* 18); At nunc videre **est** per eos omnes tractus violenta et rapacissima genera hominum . . . (Amm. 30.4.8; cf. 31.8.7); **Erat** videre permixtos rusticis servos haurire vel de expresso vel de sponte fluente mustum nec tamen ebrietate capi. (Macr. *Sat.* 7.7.14);
Accusative and infinitive: Hoc illum me mutare—# Confido **fore**. [various suggestions by edd.] (Pl. *Capt.* 171); . . . quae . . . recognosci **est**. (Tert. *De cor.* 8);

[28] The most complete collection of examples and a defence of 'impersonal' *est* can be found in Svennung (1922: 78–81).
[29] For a convincing alternative reading and additional examples, see Gratwick (2002). See also Adams (2005b: 94).

***ut*:** Si **est** ut velit redducere uxorem, licet. (Ter. *Hec.* 501; cf.: 558, 637; Manere adfinitatem hanc inter nos volo, / si ullo modo **est** ut possit. [723–4], 796; *Ph.* 925); . . . non **erat** ut fieri posset mirarier . . . (Lucr. 5.979); Namque si lex perite fuerit scripta, **erit** ut sine captione uterque ab utroque liberetur. (Vitr. 1.1.10); Sin autem (aedificia) inpedientur ab angustiis aut aliis necessitatibus, tunc **erit** ut ingenio et acumine de symmetriis detractiones aut adiectiones fiant, uti non dissimiles veris symmetriis perficiantur venustates. (Vitr. 6.3.11); See also § 15.28;
***quod*:** Quod ultra mihi molesti sitis, non **est**. (Sen. *Con.* 10.*pr.*1);

The third person singular form of *sum* is also used in expressions of the type *recte est* 'it is OK' and *sero est* 'it is late', where no subject is present and the adverbs characterize 'the situation'. Examples are (b)–(d).[30] A dative beneficiary can be added, as in (b). (For *est* with an expression of distance, see § 4.84.)

(b) Ubi tu **lepide** voles esse *tibi*, 'mea rosa,' mihi dicito . . .
('When you want to have a lovely time, say to me, "my rose," . . . ' Pl. *Bac.* 83)

(c) Apud Herum **recte** erat.
('All was well at Herus.' Cic. *Q.fr.* 3.1.1)

(d) **Sero** est: si sexta tibi placet, venibo.
('It is late. If the sixth hour suits you, I will come.' Pompon. *com.* 65)

Supplement:
Belle erit . . . (Petr. 46.2 (Echion speaking)); . . . in libertate est ad patrem in patria <domo>. **Bene** est . . . (Pl. *Capt.* 699–700); Patria est ubicumque est **bene**. (Pac. *trag. inc.* 92); Fuit enim **periucunde**. (Cic. *Att.* 13.52.1); De Attica pergratum mihi fecisti quod curasti ut ante scirem **recte** esse quam non **belle** fuisse. (Cic. *Att.* 14.16.4); Sed tamen **suaviter** fuit . . . (Petr. 65.11 (Habinnas speaking));
With a dative beneficiary (in alphabetical order by adverb): Sed hoc **mihi** aegre est . . . (Pl. *Capt.* 701); . . . **mi** bene est et **tibi** male est. (Pl. *Mos.* 52); . . . ne qui deterius **huic** sit quam **quoi** pessume est. (Pl. *Capt.* 738); I hac mecum intro, ubi **tibi** sit lepide victibus, vino atque unguentis. (Pl. *Bac.* 1181); **Animo** male est. (Pl. *Cur.* 312); Numquam tam male est **Siculis** . . . (Cic. *Ver.* 4.95); . . . cum meliuscule **tibi** esset . . . (Cic. *Fam.* 16.5.1);
Hoc de genere nihil te nunc quidem moneo (**sero** est enim . . .) (Cic. *Q.fr.* 1.2.9);

Appendix: In Plautus and Terence impersonal *est* is used in combination with a prepositional phrase with *absque* 'without' in some form of conditional clause, as in (e).

(e) Nam **apsque** foret **te**, sat scio in alto / distraxissent . . . satellites tui me miserum foede . . .
('Had it not been for you, I know well enough that your attendants would have . . . dragged me apart in the sea in a frightening way . . . ' Pl. *Trin.* 832–3)

[30] On these expressions, see Ripoll (2007: 146–7).

4.16 'Impersonal' habet

Resembling the use of impersonal *est* in the preceding section is the use of the third person singular of *habeo* 'to have', as in (a).

(a) **Bene** habet. Iacta sunt fundamenta defensionis.
('That's good. The foundations of his defence have been laid.' Cic. *Mur.* 14)

Supplement:
Bene habet, sic tene. (Sen. *Con.* 10.5.10); **Bene** habet, peractum est. (Sen. *Oed.* 998); **Bene** habet, inquam, prorsus nihil amplius optavi. (August. *C. Acad.* 3.5.12); Nam pro malis **recte** habebat. (Cic. *Att.* 12.14.3);

In Late Latin, the third person singular active forms of *habeo* 'to have' and *facio* 'to do' are used as 'impersonal' one-place verbs with an accusative argument. Examples are (b)–(e). In (b) *librum elephantinum* resembles the 'sujet réel' in French *il y a un livre*. Ex. (c) shows an extent of space argument (see § 4.84); (d) an extent of time argument.[31]

(b) ...habet in bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto **librum elephantinum**, in quo...
('...in the sixth chest in Ulpian's library, there is a book consisting of ivory tablets, in which...' Hist. Aug. *Tac.* 8.1)

(c) Habebat autem de eo loco ad montem Dei **forsitan quattuor milia**...
('From that place to the mountain of God was perhaps four miles.' *Pereg.* 1.2)

(d) Pater eius...ex quo hinc profectus est habet **annos XIIII**...
('It has been fourteen years since her father left here...' *Hist. Apoll.* RA 31)

(e) Numquam fecit **tale frigus**. Numquam fecit **tales aestus**.
('Never did such cold occur. Never did such heat occur.' August. *Serm.* 25.3.3)

4.17 Two-place verbs

It is often difficult to ascertain the valency of a verb that seems at first sight to be two-place. In the first place, second arguments can be omitted if they can easily be inferred from the context or situation. This is discussed in more detail in § 9.16. Secondly, due to frequent use in a specific context, mention of the second argument may become superfluous. This phenomenon is particularly frequent in didactic texts but can occur

[31] For more instances of personal and impersonal forms of *habeo*, see TLL *s.v.* habeo 2461.56ff.; for *facio*, TLL *s.v.* facio 99.45ff. For a discussion of the prehistory of Spanish *hay*, see Luque (1978). Other developments, and Greek influence on these, are discussed by García Hernández (1992). For *habeo* in the *Peregrinatio*, see Stengaard (2008).

in any conventional setting. In addition to what is said about *bibo* in § 4.5, this may be illustrated by an example of the verb *moveo* 'to move' in its meaning 'to move somebody or something from its original position to another position'.[32] In (a), *movi* governs *castra* and is two-place, with a satellite indicating from where the camp was moved. In (b), *castra* is not expressed. In military contexts like this, when the commander is the subject, as Pompeius is, *castra* 'camp' is easily understood as the entity to be moved. This use of *moveo*, which we might call an instance of CONVENTIONAL REDUCTION of arguments, has to be distinguished from one-place *moveo* in its meaning 'to make movements', as in (c) (see § 4.11), and from its one-place use meaning 'to depart' (see § 5.31).

(a) Ita confirmato illo ex eo loco **castra movi**.
('Having encouraged him so far, I struck camp from there.' Cic. *Fam.* 15.2.8)

(b) Haec autem scribebam prid. Non., XIIII die postquam ille Canusio **moverat**.
('…I am writing this on the 6th, thirteen days after he marched from Canusium.' Cic. *Att.* 9.1.1)

(c) Terra dies duodequadraginta **movit**.
('The earth trembled for thirty-eight days.' Liv. 35.40.7)

Conventional reduction of arguments is quite common. Other instances are *mereo* (*sc.* stipendia) 'to draw pay as a soldier', *appello* (*sc. navem*) 'to bring to shore', *solvo* (*sc. navem*) 'to set sail', and *teneo* (*sc. cursum*) 'to continue on a course'. Latin grammars often use the term ELLIPSIS for such cases.[33]

Supplement:
…**adpellit** ad eum locum qui appellatur Anquillaria. (Caes. *Civ.* 2.23.1); Quodsi <e> portu **solventibus** ei qui iam in portum invehuntur praecipere…solent… tempestatum rationem…(Cic. *Mur.* 4); Tum primum equis suis **merere** equites coeperunt. (Liv. 5.7.13);

Appendix: Instances of conventionally reduced valency are often disputed, as in (d) and (e). In (d), the manuscripts vary. In (e), *movere se* is found in early editions. Madvig proposed to read *moveri*.[34]

(d) …nocte super castra in montes evadere ac silvis se occultare iubet neque inde ante **movere** (*v.l.* moveri), quam ab se acceperint signum.
('…and ordered them to go by night on to the mountains above the camp and conceal themselves in the woods, and not to stir from thence until they received a signal from him.' Liv. 7.14.8)

[32] Joffre (1995: 44), following Feltenius (1977), deals with such cases as instances of intransitivization (see § 5.30).
[33] See Happ (1976: 234–6) for Latin and Larjavaara (2000) for French.
[34] See TLL *s.v.* moveo 1546.9ff. and Oakley *ad loc.*

(e) . . . nec tamen iniussu **movere** auderent . . .
(' . . . yet they dared not stir without the orders of their leader . . . ' Liv. 10.4.9)

The verb *appello*, which lost an argument (*navem*) through institutionalization, is at a later stage found with that noun, but now as a satellite, as in (f).

(f) Quare . . . cum . . . Puteolos **oneraria nave** appulisset . . .
('Because of this . . . , putting in at Puteoli in a transport ship . . . ' Suet. *Tit.* 5.3)

4.18 Personal two-place verbs

The prototypical two-place frame refers to an action, in which a (typically human) agent and a (human or non-human) patient are involved (see § 2.9). This type is very well represented in our corpus, much of which deals with the actions of human beings.[35] However, there are many other semantic frames of arguments, more easily found outside the literary works that form the basis of older grammars. Table 4.2 and the following quotations serve as illustrations of the many frames that are possible (for definitions of semantic functions, see § 2.12). It is impossible to give a representative classification of all the frames found. Attention will be given to a few more remarkable cases.

Table 4.2 Frames of semantic functions with two-place verbs

2nd arg. → **↓ 1st arg.**	**Patient**	**Experiencer**	**Recipient**	**Associative**	**Location**
Agent	*vulnero* homo/multos			*pugno* nos/cum legionibus	*appropinquo* hostes/urbi
Cause	*occido* fulmen/ hominem	*placeo* cena/mihi	*contingo* malum/mihi	*confluo* Panticapes/ cum Borysthene	
Patient	*habeo* Priamus/filios		*sum* nymphae/mihi		
Experiencer	*cognosco* hic/nos				

(a) . . . **occidunt** *non nullos*, **vulnerant** *multos*.
(' . . . they kill some, wound many.' Cic. *Sest.* 75)

(b) '*homo* si ***fulmine*** **occisus est** . . . '
('If a man is struck down by a lightning bolt . . . ' Fest. 190.9L)

[35] They are 'high' on the 'transitivity scale' of Hopper and Thompson (1982). For the semantic frames of two-place verbs, see Dik (1997: I.120–4) and Givón (2001: I.126–36).

(c) ***Hic** nos* **cognovit** modo / et hunc sui fratris filium.
('He's just recognized us and this nephew of his.' Pl. *Poen.* 1324–5)

(d) Non *quinquaginta* modo, / *quadrigentos filios* **habet** atque equidem omnis lectos sine probro.
('He doesn't just have fifty sons, but four hundred, and all of them genuine and without blemish.' Pl. *Bac.* 973–4)

(e) Non **placet** *mi* ***cena*** quae bilem movet.
('I don't like a dinner that stirs my bile.' Pl. *Bac.* 537)

(f) . . . quam *mihi* maxime hic hodie **contigerit** ***malum*** . . .
(' . . . how utterly has ruin befallen me here on this day . . . ' Enn. *scen.* 360V=307J)

(g) **Sunt** *mihi* ***bis septem praestanti corpore nymphae*** . . .
('Twice seven nymphs have I of wondrous beauty . . . ' Verg. *A.* 1.71)

(h) Postridie signis conlatis aequo fronte peditatu, equitibus atque alis *cum hostium legionibus* **pugnavimus**.
('On the following day in open combat, with straight front we fought with the enemy's legions with foot, horse and auxiliary troops on the flanks.' Cato *hist.* 99)

(i) Quidam ***Panticapen*** **confluere** . . . *cum Borysthene* tradunt . . .
('Some authorities say that the Somara flows into the Dnieper . . . ' Plin. *Nat.* 4.83)

(j) . . . ***hostes*** . . . **appropinquare** *urbi* non ausi . . .
(' . . . the enemy . . . did not venture to approach Rome.' Liv. 3.8.8)

4.19 The form of second arguments

As is apparent in the examples given to illustrate Table 4.2, the second arguments with two-place verbs exhibit a variety of forms and this will be shown in more detail in the following sections. As far as case marking is concerned, the following patterns occur with active (including deponent) two-place verbs. By far the majority of active two-place verbs govern a second argument in the accusative case (see § 12.2).

Table 4.3 Case patterns of personal two-place verbs

nom. N_1	V	acc. N_2
		dat. N_2
		abl. N_2
		gen. N_2
		prep. N_2

'nom.', 'acc.', etc. = nominative, accusative, etc.; 'N' = noun (phrase); N_1 = first argument; N_2 = second argument; 'V' = verb; 'prep.' = preposition

4.20 Personal two-place verbs governing an accusative object

With a large number of accusative-governing verbs, the second argument is a pre-existing entity that is affected by the action in which it is involved (it is, in traditional terms, an AFFECTED object). An example is *brassica* in (a), implied with the verb *coquo* 'to cook'. With the same verb, the second argument can be the result or the product of the action of the verb (it is, in traditional terms, an EFFECTED or 'resultant' object), as in (b). A less concrete parallel with both types of objects is (c). Only when governing an affected or effected object in the accusative can the verb be used in the passive. A few illustrations of objects that are called effected are given in the Supplement. In some cases, their status is not immediately obvious.[36] Objects of two-place verbs that are in a case other than the accusative are never effected.

(a) Sumito **brassicam**, coicito in aquam ferventem, coquito paulisper, uti subcruda siet.

('Take cabbage, place it in hot water and boil it until it is half-done.' Cato *Agr*. 156.7)

(b) Volo scire, sinas an non sinas nos coquere hic **cenam**?

('I would like to know, are you letting us cook dinner here or not?' Pl. *Aul*. 431)

(c) . . . ut edormiscam *hanc crapulam* / **quam** potavi . . .

('. . . in order to sleep off my hangover which I got drinking . . .' Pl. *Rud*. 586–7)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
Nec mirum quod divina natura dedit agros, ars humana aedificavit **urbes** . . . (Var. *R*. 3.1.4); Eo nunc commenta est **dolum**. (Pl. *Truc*. 85); . . . lignis congestis **maximam** in medio foro **pyram** construxerat . . . (*B. Afr*. 91.2); Eundem **mira quaedam** excogitare **genera furandi**. (Cic. *Ver*. 2.134); Illi impediendae reliquae munitionis causa hora circiter VIIII signo dato legiones educunt **aciem**que sub castris instruunt. (Caes. *Civ*. 1.82.1); . . . cum eadem lucerna **hanc epistulam** scripsissem qua inflammaram tuam . . . (Cic. *Att*. 8.2.4); . . . ab illo tempore nullum locum praetermisit in quo non strueret **insidias aliquas** . . . (Cic. *Clu*. 190);

However, the accusative objects of two-place verbs need not be either affected or effected. Especially in the case of inanimate subjects and objects and of abstract entities, such distinctions as 'affected' and 'effected' are irrelevant, as in (d) and (e).

(d) Virtus **omnia** in sese habet, omnia assunt / bona quem pene'st virtus.

('Courage has all goods within itself, all goods are with the man who has courage.' Pl. *Am*. 652–3)

(e) Stadium **CXXV nostros** efficit **passus**, hoc est **pedes DCXXV**.

('A stade is equivalent to 125 Roman paces, that is 625 feet.' Plin. *Nat*. 2.85)

[36] The best survey of effected objects can be found in Müller (1908: 4–12, 34–55).

4.21 Cognate accusative arguments with two-place verbs

Cognate objects (which are allowed with most one-place verbs—see § 4.10) also occur with two-place verbs. This is the case in (a) and (b). Deponent verbs allow cognate objects as well, as in (c).

(a) Quam magis in pectore meo foveo **quas** meus filius **turbas turbet** . . .
('The more I ponder in my heart what trouble my son's stirring up . . . ' Pl. *Bac.* 1076)

(b) Eorum licet iam **metere messem maxumam**.
('You can now harvest an enormous crop of it.' Pl. *Trin.* 33)

(c) Metuo in commune ne **quam fraudem** frausus sit.
('I'm afraid he might have got into some mischief involving the two of us.' Pl. *As.* 286)

Supplement:
. . . queror **haud faciles** . . . **questus** . . . (Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.32); . . . ex stipulatione **quam** extraneus qui dotem dederit stipulatus fuerit . . . (Pap. Just. *dig.* 24.3.42.3); . . . ulciscar **ultionem tuam** . . . (Vulg. *Jerem.* 51.36);

4.22 Two-place compound verbs of motion governing the accusative

With many two-place compound verbs of motion the location involved is marked by the accusative case. Most of these accusative-governing compounds are formed with a preverb related to a preposition that governs the accusative, but compounds with other preverbs may govern the accusative as well, as *exirem* in (c). Passivization is possible, as in (d) and (e).

(a) Etenim **quam** tu **domum**, **quam urbem** adisti, **quod fanum** denique quod non eversum atque extersum reliqueris?
('What house or town or sanctuary did you ever visit without verily sweeping and scrubbing it?' Cic. *Ver.* 2.52)

(b) Sed adire certum est **hanc amatricem Africam**.
('But I'm resolved to approach my African lover-girl.' Pl. *Poen.* 1304)

(c) Iam ut **limen** exirem, ad genua accidit / lacrumans misera.
('As I was going out of the door, she fell to her knees, weeping miserably.' Ter. *Hec.* 378–9—various emendations suggested by edd.)

(d) Circumiri enim **sese** ab aperto latere procurrentibus singulis arbitrabantur.
('For as the enemy kept charging singly they thought that they were being surrounded on their exposed flank.' Caes. *Civ.* 1.44.3)

(e) Per epistulam aut per nuntium, quasi regem, adiri **eum** aiunt.
('They say he's approached by letter or by messenger, like a king.' Pl. *Mil.* 1225)

4.23 Two-place verbs governing a non-accusative object

What two-place verbs governing a non-accusative object have in common is that the object cannot become the subject in a passive construction. This is obvious in the case of deponent verbs such as *utor* 'to use', but this restriction also holds for formally active verbs like *noceo* 'to harm', with very few exceptions. The form of passivization that is allowed is the impersonal one with the case form of the object remaining intact, as is shown in (a) and (b), where *ponti* in the active and *iis* in the passive are both datives. The occasional personal passive forms are discussed in § 5.6.

(a) . . . ut . . . his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur neu **ponti** nocerent.
('. . . so that . . . these fenders might lessen the force of such shocks, and prevent them from damaging the bridge.' Caes. *Gal.* 4.17.10)

(b) . . . Caesar ubi intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi neque **iis** noceri posse, statuit exspectandam classem.
('When Caesar perceived that all his labour availed nothing, since the flight of the enemy could not be checked by the capture of towns, nor damage done to them, he determined to await the fleet.' Caes. *Gal.* 3.14.1)

The active verbs are rarely combined with a cognate object (in the accusative!). One instance with the verb *servio* is (c). *Servitutem* is modified by the adjectives *privatam* and *publicam*. Another example is (d), where *noceo* is unspecified. Note that *noxam* is not modified by an attribute.

(c) Sed is **privatam servitutem** servit *illi* an publicam?
('But is he the slave of a private citizen or of the state?' Pl. *Capt.* 334)

(d) Quandoque hisce[37] homines iniussu populi Romani Quiritium foedus ictum iri spoponderunt atque ob eam rem **noxam** nocuerunt, ob eam rem . . . hosce homines vobis dedo.
('Whereas these men, unbidden by the Roman People of the Quirites, have guaranteed that a treaty should be ratified, and by so doing have committed an injury, I therefore . . . deliver up these men to you.' Liv. 9.10.9)

Supplement:
Si servus furtum faxit **noxiam**ve noxit . . . (*Lex XII.*2);

Whether the use of a specific case with specific verbs is semantically determined is a question that has received much attention. Although there are certain lexical classes that have a particular case form for their second argument, attempts to generally explain the use of a non-accusative have not been very satisfactory (see §§ 12.6–12.9).

[37] For this nominative plural form, see TLL *s.v.* hic 2699.69ff.

4.24 Two-place verbs governing a dative object

The dative is regularly used for arguments of two-place verbs belonging to the following four semantic classes:

(i) verbs of helping, caring, and their opposites
(ii) verbs of pleasing, flattering, and threatening
(iii) verbs of ruling, obeying, and serving
(iv) verbs of approaching and befalling.

A few verbs belonging to these classes are given in Table 4.4. Some of these verbs have more than one frame (*impero*, for example, also has a three-place frame in its meaning 'to order', as does *minor* in its meaning 'to hold out the menace of') and/or more than one case frame (*ausculto*, for example, governs an accusative in its meaning 'to listen to'). However, some verbs are found both with the dative and the accusative, without a clear difference in meaning (*curo*, for example, in its meaning 'to care about', in which case a prepositional construction with *de* exists as well). Finally, there are diachronic developments in frames and case patterns (*noceo*, for example, is found in the personal passive in Vitruvius and later, which suggests the existence of an accusative object—see § 5.6). Instances of these verbs can be found in all periods of Latin and in every type of text.

Other verbs belonging to the same semantic classes do not govern a dative at all or only exceptionally. The best example is *iuvo*, which governs the accusative

Table 4.4 Classes of two-place verbs governing a dative

helping	*auxilior* 'to give help'	*noceo* 'to injure'	*consulo* 'to look after'	*adversor* 'to oppose'	*resisto* 'to make a stand (against)'	*cedo* 'to yield to'	*ignosco* 'to forgive'	*expedit* 'it is useful'
pleasing	*placeo* 'to be pleasing (to)'	*blandior* 'to flatter'	*faveo* 'to show favour to'	*irascor* 'to become angry (at)'	*minor* 'to threaten'	*fido* 'to trust (in)'	*diffido* 'to have no trust (in)'	*credo* 'to believe (someone)'
ruling	*impero* 'to rule over'	*pareo* 'to obey'	*oboedio* 'to obey, to submit to'	*morem gero* 'to gratify (someone)'	*servio* 'to serve'	*ausculto* 'to obey'	*audio* 'to obey' (Apul.)	
approaching	*occurro* 'to meet'	*obviam eo* 'I face up (to)'	*appropinquo* 'to approach'	*praesto sum* 'to be available (to)'	*coeo* 'to come together' (Hor.)	*accido* 'to happen to'		

both in its meaning 'to help' and in its meaning 'to delight'.[38] See below for a few exceptions.

(a) . . . nec commodius ullo pacto **ei** poteris auxiliarier.
('. . . and you won't be able to help him more agreeably in any way.' Pl. *Trin.* 377)

(b) . . . si **segetibus** aut **vinetis** cuiuspiam tempestas nocuerit . . .
('. . . if a storm has damaged a man's cornfields or vineyards . . .' Cic. *N.D.* 2.167)

(c) Nam **illi** aequom est me consulere qui causa mea / mendacium ei dixit.
('Yes, it's only fair if I look after the man who told him a lie for my sake.' Pl. *Bac.* 524–5)

(d) Non hic placet **mi** ornatus.
('I don't like this outfit.' Pl. *Bac.* 125)

(e) Bellus blanditur **tibi**.
('Your beau is buttering you up.' Pl. *Men.* 626)

(f) **Mihi**n' equis iunctis minare?
('Are you threatening me with a span of horses?' Pl. *Men.* 868)

(g) Si **huic** imperabo, probe tectum habebo, / malum quom impluit ceteris ne impluat mi.
('If I command this one (*sc.* hand), I'll have my hide protected properly, so that when it blows rain on others they won't rain on me.' Pl. *Mos.* 870–1)

(h) Memini et **praeceptis** parebo.
('I remember it and I'll obey your instructions.' Pl. *Mil.* 1036)

(i) Meo me aequom est morigerum patri, **eius studio** servire addecet.
('It's appropriate for me to be obedient to my father, it's proper for me to serve his desire.' Pl. *Am.* 1004)

(j) Scripsi ad eum ut **mihi** Heracleam occurreret.
('I have written to him to meet me at Heraclea.' Brut. *ad Brut.* 1.6.1)

Occasional intrusion of the dative with verbs that normally govern an accusative can be illustrated by the following examples.

(k) Insipiens, semper tu **huic verbo** vitato aps tuo viro—# **Quoi verbo**?
('Stupid, always avoid this word from your husband—# Which word?' Pl. *Cas.* 211)

(l) **Amori** haec curat (*sc.* Venus). **Tritico** curat Ceres.
('The latter takes care of love, but Ceres takes care of wheat.' Pl. *Rud.* 146)

[38] For very Late Latin instances of *iuvo* + dat., see TLL *s.v.* 747.74ff.

(m) 'Si ante . . . venisses, saltem **nobis** adiutasses.'

('If you had come earlier you might at least have helped us.' Petr. 62.11 (Niceros speaking))

(n) . . . SI POTES AIUTARE **PTOLEMAEO PATRI / MEO.**

('. . . if you are able to aid my father, Ptolemaeus.' *CEL* 146.28–9 (Karanis, early II AD))

4.25 The use of the dative with two-place compounds

Among the verbs that govern a dative for their second argument are a large number of compounds, especially those formed with the preverb *ob-*, but also those formed with *ad-*, *ante-*, *in-*, *inter-*, *sub-*, *super-*, and *re-*. The compounds that have a preverb corresponding to a preposition are often also found with a prepositional object that is regularly, but not exclusively, related to that preverb. The prepositional expression is more common when physical motion is at stake; however, in non-local meanings either expression can be used, with varying frequency. In poetry and in poeticizing prose the dative is preferred. Examples (a)–(d) of the verb *accedo* illustrate the range of variation. Some of these compounds are also found with the accusative, as in (e). For a discussion of why the dative is used with these verbs, see § 12.7.[39]

(a) Num **tibi** aut stultitia accessit aut superat superbia?

('Has either foolishness taken hold of you or is your pride overflowing?' Pl. *Am.* 709—*tr.* Christenson)

(b) . . . voluntas vostra si **ad poetam** accesserit.

('. . . if your blessing will come to the playwright.' Ter. *Ph.* 29)

(c) Itaque **iis** unctus qui accessit pungunt, non, ut muscae, li[n]gurriunt . . . .

('So one who approaches them smelling of perfume they sting, and do not, as flies do, lick him.' Var. *R.* 3.16.6)

(d) Sed ita totus errat, ut in eodem sermone dicat **in senatum** se Caesare consule non accedere . . .

('But he fell into such complete confusion as to say in the same dialogue, that during Caesar's consulship he did not go near the senate . . .' Cic. *Brut.* 219)

(e) Eo praemio inlectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine **Iugurtham** adcedit.

('Tempted by this prize, Bocchus joined Jugurtha with a great throng.' Sal. *Jug.* 97.3)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by compound):
Nam si hanc rem illa sequitur, hanc autem non sequitur, aut si **huic rei** illa antecedit, **huic** non antecedit, aut si **huic rei** repugnat, **illi** non repugnat . . . (Cic. *Top.* 88); Instatis **mihi** cotidie de Albucio. (Sen. *Con.* 7 *praef.* 1); Ergo his **laboriosis exercitationibus** et dolor intercurrit non numquam . . . (Cic. *Tusc.* 2.36); Quae ne ira obstaret **bono publico** . . . (Liv. 9.38.11); CA(S)IUS LONGINU(S)·QUEI·**CATILINAE** / SUFRAGATUR

[39] The most complete discussion is Serbat (1996b). See also Pinkster (2011).

(*CIL* VI.8.3.40897 (Rome, 63/2 BC)); Postquam satis diu adversarios ab se ad dimicandum invitatos supersedere **pugnae** animadvertit . . . (*B. Afr*. 75.2);
Typically poetic instances: . . . fortis equus **visae** semper adhinnit **equae**. (Ov. *Rem*. 634); Aspirat **primo** Fortuna **labori**. (Verg. *A*. 2.385); . . . <sorsum> sapor insinuatur / **sensibus**. (Lucr. 2.684);

Dative objects are also found with compounds formed with the preverbs *ex-* and *de-*, examples of which are (f) and (g). With such compounds, the bare ablative or various prepositional expressions are found as well (see § 4.83). The dative in (g) is a poetic extension by Ovid instead of the ablative. Ex. (h) is morphologically ambiguous. The dative with compounds with the preverb *co-*/*com-*/*con-* is relatively less common than prepositional expressions with *cum* (see § 4.38).

(f) Numqui nummi exciderunt, ere, **tibi** / quod sic terram optuere?
('Did you lose the money, master, since you're staring at the ground like this?' Pl. *Bac*. 668–8a)

(g) . . . **lateri** cervina **sinistro** / vellera dependent, umero levis incubat hasta.
('. . . a deer-skin hung from her left side, a light spear rested on her shoulder.' Ov. *Met*. 6.592–3)

(h) . . . **laevo** dependet parma **lacerto**.
('. . . and the shield hangs from the left arm.' Verg. *A*. 11.693)

4.26 The verb sum *in the so-called possessive construction*

The verb *sum* is found in a number of frames. One of the two-place frames, in which *sum* means 'to be worth', is discussed in § 4.32. For a survey of other uses see §§ 4.91–4.95. A much discussed two-place frame is illustrated by (a)–(d).

(a) Erant **minori illi adulescenti** *fidicina et tibicina*.
('That younger man had a lyre-girl and a flute-girl.' Pl. *St*. 542)

(b) **Mihi** quidem uno te *plus* etiam est quam volo . . .
('In you I have one more than I want already . . .' Pl. *Am*. 610)

(c) Certe **huic homini** *spes nulla salutis* esset . . .
('This man would certainly have no chance of escape . . .' Cic. *Ver*. 3.168)

(d) . . . **Menelao Laconi** *quaedam*fuit *suaviloquens iucunditas* . . .
('. . . as Menelaus of Sparta possessed a certain pleasing and charming eloquence.' Cic. *Rep*. 5.11).

Such constructions with a dative noun phrase, a form of *sum*, and a subject noun phrase are usually called POSSESSIVE DATIVE (*dativus possessivus*) constructions. The notion of possession, however, is problematic: the dative NP is most often an animate being and the subject an abstract entity, but we cannot be sure that these are real semantic restrictions on the construction. Furthermore, many of the subject

constituents cannot really be said to be in the possession of the dative constituent. The semantic function of the dative constituent is much disputed. If it is taken as an argument (that is the position taken in this Syntax), it is either a recipient or an experiencer. As for the function of the verb *sum*, that is not clear either: in these constructions *sum* is definitely neither a copula nor an auxiliary. Some scholars take it as the existential use of *sum* (on which see § 4.94) and regard the dative as an adjunct (for example, a beneficiary adjunct).[40] We are on more solid ground when it comes to the information structure: pragmatically, the dative NP is usually the topic and the subject constituent the focus of the clause. As a corollary, the dative constituent is usually definite—often a personal pronoun—and the subject constituent is most often indefinite.

> For the focal function of the subject in this construction, see already Priscian 18.11 (III.213.16–23K): Virgilius in VII (*sc.* 268): 'Est mihi nata viro gentis quam iungere nostrae' pro 'possideo natam'. Sed magis dativo quasi ad ignorantes utimur, ut in supra dicto versu. Nam ad scientes esse natam, nomen autem proprium ignorantes, dixisset 'mea' vel 'mei nata Lavinia est', subdistinctione posita post 'natam'. Contra autem nomine quidem cognito, ignorata vero cuius esset nata, dixisset 'Lavinia mea nata est', post 'Laviniam' subdistinguendo . . . ('Virgil in book 7: 'I have a daughter; to marry her to a man of our race . . . ' (est mihi nata) is for 'I possess a daughter'. But we use the dative more to those who are in ignorance, as in the verse cited above. To those who know that there is a daughter but do not know her name he would have said 'My daughter [*mea* or *mei*]—she is Lavinia', with a break after *nata*. But in contradistinction, if her name were known but if it were not known whose daughter she was, he would have said, 'Lavinia—she is MY daughter' with a break after *Lavinia*.')[41]

The possessive dative construction is often equated with the construction of *habeo* 'to have' or *possideo* 'to possess' with an object constituent, but the pragmatic and semantic characteristics do not fully overlap with those mentioned above. As to the relative frequency of the possessive dative construction and the *habeo* + object construction, the information one finds in the literature varies. This is partly due to choices of corpus, partly to the definition of the construction. Although in one publication the possessive dative is described as decreasing after the Classical period, it seems to be quite common in Pliny the Elder.[42] The possessive dative is also often

[40] For the function of the dative as experiencer, see Bolkestein (1983, 2001a). Scherer (1975: 126), Stassen (2009: 49–50), and others regard the dative constituent as a satellite and *sum* as locative or existential. Statistical, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics of the possessive dative construction can be found in Baldi and Nuti (2010: 254–305). See also Bennett (1910/14: II.159–66), Löfstedt (1963b), Bolkestein (1983a; 2001a), García Hernández (1993, 1994: 383–9, 1995), Magni (1999), and Cabrillana (2003) [on the differences between genitive and dative], (2006) [a diachronic study], and (2010a: 100–2). For individual authors, see Schenk (1892) on Cicero, Schunck (1900) on Plautus and Cicero, and Önnerfors (2002) on Pliny the Elder.

[41] The translation is by Jim Adams (p.c.).

[42] On the gradual replacement of the possessive dative, see Ramos (1998). Önnerfors (2002) mentions 760 possessive dative constructions versus 232 *habeo* + object constructions in Plin. *Nat.* 7–11.

considered interchangeable with the so-called possessive genitive, but this is certainly wrong (see § 9.30).

The use of the dative with the verb *sum* can be compared to its use with the antonymic compounds *absum* 'to be lacking' and *desum* 'to be wanting', as in (e) and (f); and to its use with verbs that refer to something coming into someone's possession, like *contingo* 'to fall to one's lot' and *evenio* 'to fall by lot (to)', as in (g). Alongside these two-place verbs there are three-place verbs of giving and taking away that also govern a dative recipient.

(e) 'Quid **huic** abest nisi res et virtus?'
('What does this gentleman lack—except cash and character?' Cic. *de Orat*. 2.281)

(f) Pol magis metuo ne defuerit **mi** in monendo oratio.
('Heavens, I am more afraid that words might fail me when giving you advice.' Pl. *Bac*. 37)

(g) Quodquomque optes **tibi** velim contingere.
('I'd like you to get whatever you wish for.' Pl. *Cist*. 497)

Supplement:
(a) Regular instances: Pol si est animus aequos **tibi**, sat habes qui bene vitam colas. (Pl. *Aul*. 187); Quid **tibi** mecum est commerci, senex? (Pl. *Aul*. 631); Paullisper, Lyde, est lubido **homini** suo animo opsequi. (Pl. *Bac*. 416); **Mihi**n' si umquam filius erit, ne ille facili me utetur patre. (Ter. *Hau*. 217); . . . <ad> Admetum, Molossum regem, cum quo **ei** hospitium erat, confugit. (Nep. *Them*. 8.3); Belli gerendi ius **Antiocho** ne esto cum illis qui insulas colunt, neve in Europam transeundi. (Liv. 38.38.3); Iter est **iis** per hospitia certa. (Plin. *Nat*. 10.65); **Leoni** tantum ex feris clementia in supplices. (Plin. *Nat*. 8.48); Gignit tota vita, quae est **ei** ad tricensimum annum. (Plin. *Nat*. 8.168—if it belongs here.);

(b) Less frequent instances:
Non-abstract subject: Ecquid in mentem est tibi / patrem **tibi** esse? (Pl. *Bac*. 161–2); Sed **illi patruo** huius qui vivit senex / Carthaginiensi duae fuere filiae; / altera quinquennis, altera quadrimula. (Pl. *Poen*. 83–5); . . . est ager sub urbe hic **nobis**: eum dabo / dotem sorori. (Pl. *Trin*. 508–9); Non hercle <ego omnino> occidi, sunt **mi** etiam fundi et aedes. (Pl. *Truc*. 174); Samia **mihi** mater fuit. Ea habitabat Rhodi. (Ter. *Eu*. 106); Erant **illi** compti capilli et madentes cincinnorum fimbriae et fluentes purpurissataeque buccae dignae Capua, sed illa vetere. (Cic. *Pis*. 25); Sunt **mihi** bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae . . . (Verg. *A*. 1.71); Est **mihi** nata viro gentis quam iungere nostrae / non patrio ex adyto sortes, non plurima caelo / monstra sinunt. (Verg. *A*. 7.268–70);
Inanimate dative constituent: Quid est enim iam non modo **pudori**, **probitati**, **virtuti**, **rectis studiis**, **bonis artibus** sed omnino **libertati** ac **saluti** loci? (Cic. *Fam*. 5.16.4); Tum neque nomen erat neque honos aut gloria **monti**. (Verg. *A*. 12.135); Praeterea quasdam proprietates **quibusdam locis** esse . . . (Plin. *Nat*. 2.153); Duo sunt montes iuxta flumen Indum: **alteri** natura ut ferrum omne teneat, **alteri** ut respuat . . . (Plin. *Nat*. 2. 211); **Tergori** tanta duritia ut thoraces ex eo faciant. (Plin. *Nat*. 8.124);
Definite subject: Sunt tibi **regna patris** Dauni, sunt oppida capta/ multa manu . . . (Verg. *A*. 12.22–3);

Finally, the dative is also used in more or less the same way with a number of copular verbs discussed in § 4.97. Examples are (h) and (i). In addition, these verbs are used with an existential meaning and some of them also as impersonal verbs of happening (see § 4.12).

(h) Id quidem *tibi* hercle **fiet**, / ut vapules . . .
('That'll happen to you, getting beaten . . .' Pl. *As.* 478–9)

(i) Cuius quidem *tibi* fatum, sicuti C. Curioni, **manet** . . .
('Whose fate awaits you, as it awaited Gaius Curio . . .' Cic. *Phil.* 2.11)

4.27 The verb libet *governing a dative argument*

The most common use of *libet* 'it pleases' is with an infinitive or a clause as the subject and an experiencer argument in the dative. Neuter pronouns and adjectives are found as subject as well. Examples are (a)–(d). In Late Latin nouns are used as subject and the accusative is used for the second argument, following the frame that is normal with *iuvat* and *delectat*.[43]

(a) Verum lubet etiam **mi** *has pellegere denuo*.
('But I want to read through these here again.' Pl. *Bac.* 923)

(b) At **mihi** nunc sic *esse hoc verum* lubet.
('But in fact I'm glad for it to be true.' Ter. *An.* 958)

(c) *Quod* lubet non lubet iam *id* continuo . . .
('What I like I dislike at once . . .' Pl. *Cist.* 213)

(d) Cetera item *quae* **cuique** libuissent dilargitus est . . .
('He freely granted everything else that anyone took it into his head to ask . . .' Suet. *Jul.* 20.3)

4.28 Two-place verbs governing an ablative object

4.29 Two-place verbs of abundance and lacking governing an ablative object

With two-place verbs of abundance (used as an inclusive term for literal and figurative uses), the second argument is regularly expressed in the ablative (the so-called *ablativus copiae*), rarely in the genitive. The same goes for their antonyms, verbs of lacking, again with the genitive found as well (see below). The most frequent verbs can be found in Table 4.5.

This use of the ablative is consistent with its use with three-place verbs of the same meaning class (see § 4.53) and with adjectives of the same meaning class (see § 4.101). The use of the ablative with verbs of abundance is productive and is extended in poetry and in later prose to other verbs such as *helluor* 'to spend immoderately',

[43] For instances, see TLL *s.v.* libet 1325.77ff., 1326.12ff.

Table 4.5 Verbs of abundance and lacking governing an ablative object

abundance	*abundo* 'to be rich (in)'	*redundo* 'to abound (in)'	*affluo* 'to abound (in)'	*circumfluo* 'to be abundantly supplied with'	*floreo* 'to blossom'	*niteo* 'to be bright (with)'	*valeo* 'to be superior (in)'	*vigeo* 'to excel (in)'
lacking	*egeo* 'to need, to lack'	*indigeo* 'to need, to lack'	*careo* 'to lack'					

luxurior 'to live immoderately', *scateo/scato* 'to gush', and *gemmo* 'to put out buds'. Regular examples are (a)–(d).

(a) **Amore** abundas, Antipho.
('You're spoiled for love, Antipho.' Ter. *Ph.* 163)

(b) …villaque tota locuples est, abundat **porco haedo agno gallina lacte caseo melle**.
('His entire farmhouse has an air of plenty and abounds with pork, goat's meat, lamb, poultry, milk, cheese, and honey.' Cic. *Sen.* 56)

(c) …atque adeo ut **frumento** afluam…
('…and so much that I overflow with corn…' Pl. *Ps.* 191)

(d) …mare **velis** florere videres.
('…you might have seen the sea bloom with sails.' Cato *orat.* 31)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
Itaque ille noster amicus, insolens infamiae, semper in laude versatus, circumfluens **gloria**, deformatus corpore, fractus animo quo se conferat nescit. (Cic. *Att.* 2.21.3);… QUEM P/RIMA·AETATE·FLORENT/EM ·MORS·DIRA·SUBRIP/UIT (*CIL* XII.3559.3–6 (Nîmes, AD III)); Scilicet **arte** madent simulacra et docta vagantur, / nocturno facere ut possint in tempore ludos. (Lucr. 4.792–3);…(Capua) **optimorum civium mihique amicissimorum multitudine** redundat. (Cic. *Pis.* 25);…si **vino** scatat…(Pl. *Aul.* 558); Caelum **caligine** stat. (Sis. *hist.* 130);
Occasional genitives: In populo scelus est et abundant cuncta **furoris**. (Man. 2.600); Ita ad satiatem terra **ferarum** / nunc etiam scatit…(Lucr. 5.39–40);

Examples of verbs of lacking are (e)–(g).[44] With *egeo* and *indigeo* the genitive is regular before Cicero (who prefers the ablative, certainly with *egeo*) and it is also used in later authors. The genitive is very rare with *careo*. Occasional accusative alternatives (other than neuter pronouns) are found mostly in Late Latin.

[44] For the relative frequency of these verbs, see TLL *s.v.* egeo 233.48ff.

(e) …haec multa ei esto **vino** viginti dies / ut careat.

('…then this shall be her punishment: she shall not have wine for twenty days.' Pl. *As.* 801–2)

(f) Sed si omissis his rebus quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, **senatu**, **equitibus Romanis**, **populo Romano**, **urbe**, **aerario**, **vectigalibus**, **cuncta Italia**, **provinciis omnibus**, **exteris nationibus**…

('If, however, we were to ignore all these resources with which we are supplied and which Catiline lacks, the Senate, the equestrian order, the people of Rome, the capital itself, the treasury, the revenue, all Italy, all the provinces, the foreign nations…' Cic. *Catil.* 2.25)

(g) **Precibus nostris** et **cohortatione** non indiges.

('You don't need me to entreat or urge you.' Cic. *Att.* 2.22.5)

Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):
…quia praemature **vita** careo. (Pl. *Mos.* 500); (*sc.* Tullia) Spernere sororem, quod virum nacta **muliebri** cessaret **audacia**. (Liv. 1.46.6—NB: rare); C. Macer **auctoritate** semper eguit… (Cic. *Brut.* 238);… milites **iis rebus** indigebant quae ad oppugnationem castrorum erant usui. (Caes. *Civ.* 2.35.4);
Genitives:…praeter quam **tui** carendum quod erat. (Ter. *Hau.* 400); Saltem, tute si **pudoris** egeas, sumas mutuom. (Pl. *Am.* 819);…si quis…*commodis omnibus* abundabit, si **virtutis** <et **artium**>…egebit…(*Rhet. Her.* 4.60); **Suarum opum** nos volunt esse indigentis. (Pl. *Cist.* 28);
Accusatives: Tandem non ego **illam** caream, si sit opu', vel totum triduom? (Ter. *Eu.* 223); Dives a divo qui ut deus **ni**[**c**]**hil** indigere videtur. (Var. *L.* 5.92);

4.30 The use of the ablative with fido *(and its compounds) and* nitor

The verb *fido* 'to have confidence in' and its compounds regularly have a dative object, especially when referring to an animate being (see § 4.24). However, they are also found with an ablative object denoting the source of the confidence (a so-called *ablativus causae*), which is also regular with *fretus* 'relying on'. In Late Latin, on the other hand, prepositional expressions become regular. *Nitor* 'to rely on' is also normally found with an ablative object (but also with a prepositional object with *in*), and so are *sto* 'to stand by' and a few other verbs with more or less the same meaning. Examples are (a)–(d).

(a) …sententiae quam ille se habiturum **pecunia** fidens non dubitabat.

('…and that advice he felt sure of securing, trusting to the power of money.' Nep. *Lys.* 3.5)

(b) …si **de adiutorio Dei** fideret bonus homo…

('…if as a good human being he trusted in God's help…' August. *Civ.* 14.27)

(c) …magnanimi viri freti **virtute et viribus** / superbe nimis ferociter legatos nostros increpant…

('…those bold men, trusting in their valour and strength, upbraided our envoys very haughtily and aggressively.' Pl. *Am.* 212–13)