

# THE OXFORD LATIN SYNTAX

VOLUME 2

THE COMPLEX SENTENCE  
AND DISCOURSE



HARM PINKSTER

OXFORD

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LATIN SYNTAX

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VOLUME II

*The Complex Sentence and Discourse*  
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HARM PINKSTER

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## PREFACE

This second (and final) volume of *The Oxford Latin Syntax* appears six years after the first. My considerations for writing this Syntax can be found in the Preface to the first volume and they are still valid. Inevitably, I changed my mind on some minor points (for example, on the use of the notion 'subjunct' and of the term 'comparative clause') and some of the things promised in the first volume I decided not to deal with at all.

The title of this volume is 'The complex sentence and discourse', but in reality this volume contains more, for example word order. A number of items might also have been dealt with in the first volume. I hope that the two volumes together are a useful instrument for people working with Latin texts and/or interested in how Latin works.

The first volume has been received very positively and I am grateful to the reviewers for their reports and for their suggestions. I am also grateful to readers who have sent me their suggestions. In preparing this volume I myself have noted several minor mistakes and omissions. Some of these have been corrected silently in the second impression and others will be corrected in a later one. In addition, I have collected more serious corrections and references to publications which are not in the Bibliography of the first volume in a list of *addenda and corrigenda* at the end of this volume.

Most of the work for this volume was done at home in Amsterdam and sometimes in the Library of the University of Amsterdam, but I have also spent much time in the Regenstein Library of the University of Chicago and in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. I am very grateful for their support and hospitality.

It is time now to thank a number of people who greatly contributed to my work, in the first place, PhD students of the University of Chicago. I have been very fortunate to profit from Branden Kosch's acumen for most chapters in this volume, even after he finished his PhD and started his own academic career. Of other graduate students of the University of Chicago who assisted me I thank especially David (Douglas) Williams for his work on the final chapters. I also thank Stephen van Beek in Amsterdam for his assistance in the final stage.

Jim Adams, James Clackson, Cynthia Damon, Helma Dik, Andy Dyck, Daan den Hengst, Alex Mazzanti, Josine Schrickx, and Jaap Wisse discussed various items with me, asked questions, and sent suggestions. A number of colleagues read one or more chapters and sent me their comments. Esperanza Torrego organized a wonderful discussion day in Madrid with the community of Spanish Latin linguists, which was followed by written comments by several participants. I mention especially Olga Álvarez Huerta, José Miguel Baños, Conchita Cabrillana, Antonio Revuelta, Eusebia

Tarriño, Luis Unceta, and Jesús de la Villa. Esperanza herself sent me her comments on several chapters, as did Caroline Kroon, Hannah Rosén, and Peter White. Guus Bal and Roland Hoffmann read the whole work and contributed detailed comments. In the final stage of proof reading, several friends mentioned above contributed much more than just reading the proofs, as did Rodie Risselada and Hans Smolenaars. Olga Spevak not only generously commented on several versions but also undertook the making of the *Index of grammatical terms and Latin words*. I thank them all, not only for their learned comments, but also for the moral support it implied. Last but not least I thank my daughter Akke Pinkster, who again did the *Index locorum* and helped me with the bibliography.

I thank Julia Steer, commissioning editor at OUP, Vicki Sunter, assistant editor, and Clare Jones, production editor, for their efficient and competent support. I have greatly benefitted from the acribia, learning, and good advice of Malcolm Todd, copy-editor, and Ginny Catmur, copy-editor and proof-reader. It was a privilege to work with them.

At the end of my Odyssey of twenty-four chapters I thank my daughters Fenne and Akke and their families, Willy van Wetter, and all my friends for their support and their patience.

Like the first, this volume is dedicated to the memory of Machtelt Bolkestein and Simon Dik.

Amsterdam and Chicago  
October 2019 / January 2021

## SIGNS AND OTHER CONVENTIONS

*	indicates a nonexistent or ungrammatical expression
?	indicates an expression that may be ungrammatical
∅	indicates a missing element
<	originating from
>	A > B means: A comes before B
[ ]	indicates portions of a text that should be removed
< >	indicates portions of a text that should be inserted
	<b>NB:</b> in editions of inscriptions the practice is the other way around: in those editions [ ] means 'insertion'; this practice is ignored in this book
† ... †	'obel' or 'daggers' indicate that the text between them is regarded as corrupt
* *	indicates a lacuna in the Latin text.
/	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 an interpunct: ‘.’.



## ABBREVIATIONS

AcI	accusative and infinitive ( <i>accusativus cum infinitivo</i> )
<i>add.</i>	<i>addidit</i> ‘added by scholar X’
<i>ad loc(c).</i>	<i>ad locum/locos</i> ‘at the passage(s) quoted’
<i>alii alia</i>	‘different solutions proposed’
<i>ap.</i>	<i>apud</i> ‘quoted in’
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i> ‘approximately’
<i>cj. X</i>	conjecture (proposed by X)
<i>cod(d)</i>	codex (codices)
<i>corr.</i>	<i>correxit</i> ‘corrected’
<i>deest X</i>	manuscript X is not available here
<i>del. X</i>	deleted by X
<i>dett.</i>	<i>deteriores</i> ‘worse manuscripts’
<i>ed(d).</i>	editor(s)
<i>edd. nonnulli</i>	some editors
<i>ex(x).</i>	example(s)
<i>fin.</i>	<i>in fine</i> ‘at the end’
Gramm.	Grammatici (Latini)
LLT	Library of Latin Texts
<i>ms(s).</i>	manuscript(s)
N	number of instances
NcI	nominative and infinitive ( <i>nominativus cum infinitivo</i> )
NP	noun phrase
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
<i>om.</i>	<i>omisit</i> or <i>omiserunt</i> ‘left out by X or by X and Y’
<i>p.c.</i>	personal communication
PHI	Packard Humanities Institute
<i>pler.</i>	<i>plerique</i> ‘most (editors)’
Rep.	dating from the Republican era
<i>recc.</i>	<i>recentiores</i> ‘the more recent (manuscripts)’
<i>sc.</i>	<i>scilicet</i> ‘to wit’
<i>secl.</i>	<i>seclusit</i> ‘regarded as an intrusion by X’

xxxii *Abbreviations*

<i>suppl.</i>	<i>supplevit</i> 'supplied by X'
<i>s.v(v).</i>	<i>sub voce (vocibus)</i> 'under the specified word(s)'
<i>tr.</i>	translated by X
<i>v(v).l(l).</i>	<i>varia(e) lectio(nes)</i> 'alternative reading(s) in (an)other manuscript(s)'
Eng.	English
Fr.	French
It.	Italian

## CHAPTER 14

# Subordinate clauses: common properties and internal structure

### 14.1 Subordinate clauses and other forms of clause combining

Latin has various means by which simple clauses can be combined with other constituents to form larger units. We will start with the distinction made in § 2.2 between the two ways of combining ‘simple’ clauses to form ‘multiple’ clauses, viz. the use of ‘subordination’ to form ‘complex’ clauses and of ‘coordination’ to form ‘compound’ clauses. After that attention will be given to clauses of comparison and to secondary predicates.<sup>1</sup>

#### (i) Complex clauses (subordination)

Examples of complex clauses are (a)–(c), repeated from § 2.2.

- (a) ...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)
- (b) **Postquam peperit**, pueros lavere iussit nos.  
(‘After she gave birth, she told us to wash the boys.’ Pl. *Am.* 1102)
- (c) Miser est **qui amat**.  
(‘Wretched is the man who is in love.’ Pl. *Per.* 179)

In (a), the constituent between double square brackets [[...]] is an accusative and infinitive clause which is an obligatory argument (the object) of the governing verb *sinam*. In (b), the *postquam* clause is an optional constituent which is not required by the meaning of the verb *iussit*, that is, it is a satellite in the terminology of this Syntax. Whereas (a) has a non-finite clause, the one in (b) is finite. Different again is (c): here the relative clause *qui amat* is an obligatory constituent (the subject) required by the meaning of *miser (est)*. These three clauses differ from each other in many respects, but what they have in common is that they are part of another clause, together with

<sup>1</sup> For a typological analysis of Latin subordination, see Lehmann (1989).

## 2 Subordinate clauses: properties and internal structure

which they form a complex sentence. For that reason they are called SUBORDINATE CLAUSES. By contrast, the clauses containing *sinam*, *iussit*, and *miser est* are called SUPERORDINATE CLAUSES. In all three cases, since the superordinate clauses are not themselves again part of another clause, they are also MAIN CLAUSES.

(ii) Compound clauses (coordination, also called: conjunction)

The situation is entirely different with compound clauses. An example is (d). Here two grammatically independent clauses (indicated by curly brackets) are combined into a whole by the coordinator *et*, which, unlike *postquam* and *qui* in (b) and (c), does not belong to the clause that follows:<sup>2</sup> whereas from a grammatical point of view the order of the clauses in (b) and (c) could be switched, it would be impossible to put the sequence *et...proficisci* in front. Also in compound sentences in which the events themselves could be inverted, as in (e)—*amo et odi* is quite well possible—inversion is excluded: \**et amo odi*.

(d) {Haec evincit in consilio sententia} et {prima luce postridie constituunt proficisci.}

(‘This opinion prevailed in the meeting, and they decided to set out the following day at first light.’ Caes. Civ. 1.67.6)

(e) Odi et amo.

(‘I hate and love.’ Catul. 85.1)

So both in (a)–(c) and in (d) and (e) simple clauses are combined into larger units, but the two types of clause combining are different.<sup>3</sup>

There are two further differences between subordination and coordination. In the first place, some of the coordinating devices, notably *et*, can also be used to connect independent sentences, as in (f). As the example shows, it is not always clear whether we are dealing with coordination of clauses that belong to the same sentence or connexion of different sentences, and editors vary sometimes in their decisions. In the domain of subordination only relative clauses can be used as independent sentences (see § 18.28 on relative connexion).

(f) Hac oratione habita (*sc.* Caesar) concilium dimisit. Et (*del.* Meusel) secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret...

(‘With this speech he dissolved the convention. And straightway many considerations induced him to suppose that he must take thought and action in the matter.’ Caes. Gal. 1.33.2)

<sup>2</sup> Editors put a comma after *sententia*, probably to suggest that there is a semantic relation of consequence between the second conjoin and the first. In English a comma would be normal.

<sup>3</sup> The notions of subordination and coordination are relatively recent in the history of grammar. See Pfister (1995).

More importantly, *et* is often used to coordinate constituents within clauses, for which no parallel exists in the case of subordinators. Examples are (g) and (h), with two coordinated pronouns and adjectives, respectively.

- (g) Quid? Auspicia, quibus ego **et** tu, Crasse, cum magna rei publicae salute praesumus.  
(‘What of augury, over which you and I, Crassus, preside, greatly to the welfare of the Republic?’ Cic. *de Orat.* 1.39)
- (h) Iustam rem **et** facilem esse oratam a vobis volo.  
(‘I want to ask you for a just and a small favour.’ Pl. *Am.* 33)

### (iii) Comparison

Another category of expressions that are usually regarded as subordinate clauses are ‘clauses of comparison.’<sup>4</sup> These clauses are usually divided into two types: ‘clauses of manner’ and ‘clauses of degree.’ The first type is illustrated by (i), the second by (j) and (k) below.

- (i) **Ut** sementem feceris, ita metes.  
(‘As ye sow, so shall ye reap.’ Cic. *de Orat.* 2.261—*tr.* May and Wisse)

The *ut* clause in (i) resembles the *postquam* clause in (b) in that (i) it is an optional constituent (a satellite) with respect to *metes*; (ii) *ut* belongs to the clause with *sementem feceris* and the whole clause could be placed after (*ita*) *metes*. For these reasons such manner clauses are discussed in the Chapter on satellite clauses in this Syntax (§§ 16.33–6).

The ‘clauses of degree’ in (j) and (k) are different. There is no indication of subordination. In addition, as the examples suggest, it is very rare to find a verb like the supplied *est* in the part after *quam*. The comparison is rather between two constituents within the same clause. In this respect comparison of this type resembles coordination. Such comparative expressions have a chapter of their own (Chapter 20).

- (j) Meus equus **tam** celer est **quam** tuus (est).  
(‘My horse is as fast as yours is.’)
- (k) Meus equus celerior est **quam** tuus (est).  
(‘My horse is faster than yours is.’)

### (iv) Secondary predicates

There is one more type of expressions which are usually not described as ‘clauses’ that are part of a larger unit, but which are often regarded as more or less equivalent to subordinate clauses proper. The clearest examples are so-called ‘predicatively used’ participles, for which in this Syntax the term ‘secondary predicate’ is used. An example

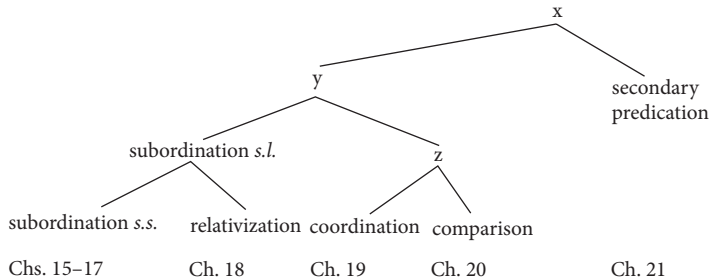
<sup>4</sup> For this paragraph, see Woodcock (1959: 205), from whom the examples are taken. They are called ‘Vergleichende Adverbialsätze’ in K.-St.’s (II.448) terminology.

#### 4 Subordinate clauses: properties and internal structure

is (l).<sup>5</sup> Although Woodcock's paraphrase with 'while' suggests that we are dealing with a satellite clause comparable with the *postquam* clause in (b), in reality *scribens* is related in some way to the subject *qui* (see Chapter 21). Grammatically speaking *scribens* has nothing to do with subordination nor with clause-combining proper.

- (l) ...Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno **scribens** est mortuus...  
 ('...of Plato, who died writing in his eighty-first year...' Cic. *Sen.* 13—'while he was writing')

Figure 14.1 indicates the various forms of combining discussed above and their relative similarity: secondary predicates, at least the participles, are only semantically related to the other types of clauses. Subordinate clauses in the broad sense (*sensu lato*) are different from coordinate and comparative expressions. A further distinction can be made between subordinate clauses in the narrow sense (*sensu stricto*) and relative clauses (see (v) below).



**Figure 14.1** Subordination and other forms of clause combining

The signs 'x', 'y', and 'z' are used to mark nodes in the tree; they have no particular meaning.

#### (v) Subordination *sensu stricto* and relativization

The relationship between subordination *sensu stricto* and relativization needs some additional discussion. Both *postquam* in (b) and *qui* in (c) are part of the clause in which they occur (as a relocation test easily shows) and both form the link between the superordinate clause and their own. But there is a difference as well: *qui* has a function of its own (subject) in its clause, as appears among other things from the agreement between the subject and the finite verb *est*; however, nothing similar can be said about *postquam*. For a speaker of English, the interpretation of a relative pronoun in its clause can be quite complicated, as in (m). Here, the relative clause *inter se quos nunc credo dicere* is the subject in the main clause with *sunt hic*. The relative clause is complex itself: the relative pronoun *quos* is subject in the accusative and infinitive clause, which is as a whole the object of *credo*.

<sup>5</sup> The example is also used by Woodcock (1959: 72), where a clear exposition of the standard description can be found.

- (m) Sunt hic inter se **quos** nunc credo dicere:...

(‘There are (people) here who I believe are saying to each other:...’ Pl. *Cas.* 67)

In (c) and (m) the relative clauses fulfil a function in the main clause. For this kind of use this Syntax introduces the term ‘autonomous relative clauses’ (see § 18.2). However, relative clauses are more often used at the noun phrase level, as in (n). Here, the relative clause *qui puellam ab eo emerat* is a modifier (attribute) of the noun *adulescenti* and fulfils no function at the clause level (this type of relative clause is called ‘adnominal’ in this Syntax—see § 18.2).

- (n) Adulescenti **qui** puellam ab eo emerat / ait sese Veneri velle votum solvere ...

(‘To the young man who had bought the girl from him he said he wanted to fulfil a vow to Venus...’ Pl. *Rud.* 59–60)

(vi) Finite and non-finite subordination

Examples (a) and (b) above illustrate two forms of subordinate clauses, the non-finite accusative and infinitive clause and the finite *postquam* clause. Most scholars nowadays would agree in regarding these clauses as subordinate. Not everyone, however, will classify the so-called ablative absolute construction *me vivo* in (a), repeated here as (o), as a subordinate clause (which itself is part of another subordinate clause). However, in this Syntax the ablative absolute, along with a few other constructions not typically classified as subordinate clauses, will be treated as such. The reason for regarding *me vivo* as a clause is that the relationship between *me* and *vivo* resembles that between *ego* and *vivus* in a finite clause (*ego sum vivus*) and because the ablative absolute clause potentially shares many of the properties of such a finite clause, for example the possibility of adding satellites, such as *adhuc* to form *me adhuc vivo* ‘with me still being alive.’ For further details, see § 14.14.

- (o) ...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)

(vii) The history of subordination

Subordination is found in all periods of Latin and in all sorts of texts written in all sorts of registers. However, there are changes over time in the subordinating devices used; further, the degree to which these devices are used varies from author to author and from text to text.<sup>6</sup> Generally speaking, subordination is less frequent and less complex in interactive texts (comedy and dialogue, for example) but more frequent and more complex in literary narrative and in didactic texts. Details are given in the following chapters.

It is often assumed that Indo-European did not possess subordinating devices and that as a consequence the structure of complex sentences has to be explained starting

<sup>6</sup> For quantitative data, see Denooz (2013).

from two so-called paratactic, or juxtaposed, simple clauses. Since all known languages have complex sentences, such an assumption is not very helpful, and even though specific devices of historic times may go back to originally paratactic structures, 'the paratactic stage had been passed centuries before Plautus.'<sup>7</sup>

## 14.2 Formal and semantic properties of subordinate clauses

Latin possesses a wide array of subordinate clauses in the narrow sense discussed in the preceding section. A distinction can be made between verbal clauses, which can be either finite or non-finite, and verbless nominal clauses. Table 14.1 presents a survey of the various possibilities.

Table 14.1 Survey of subordinate clauses

Verbal clauses					Nominal clauses	
Finite clauses		Non-finite clauses			'substantival'	'adjectival'
various interrogative clauses	various clauses with (or without) a subordinator	accusative and infinitive (nominative and infinitive)	'fused' clauses: infinitive and gerund supine	'participial' clauses: participle gerundive	clauses (see § 14.14)	clauses (see § 14.14)

The properties of these clauses are discussed from § 14.6 onwards.

Subordinate clauses, whatever their formal structure, have a number of properties (not the same for all) which show their subordinate status. In the first place, subordinate clauses that function as argument, such as the accusative and infinitive clause in (a) and, in a similar way, the *ut* clause in (b), must be subordinate because they are required by another constituent, *dixit* and *dignos*, respectively.<sup>8</sup>

- (a) **Te pro filio / facturum dixit rem esse divinam domi, / quia Thebis salvos redierit.**  
(‘He said you were going to offer sacrifice at home for your son, because he returned safely from Thebes.’ Pl. *Epid.* 414)
- (b) ...**quos ut socios haberes dignos duxisti, haud indignos iudicas quos in fidem receptos tuearis.**  
(‘...men whom you have considered worthy to be your allies you do not judge unworthy for you to guard after they have been taken under your protection.’ Liv. 23.42.13—NB: parallelism of the *ut* and the relative clause)

Apart from this indirect clue, there are also a number of positive indicators.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> So Bennett: I.255, discussing the use of the simple subjunctive as a subordinating device. See also Pinkster (1972: 167–9) and Sznajder (2003: 14–16) on ‘le mythe de la “parataxe primitive”’.

<sup>8</sup> For this argument, see Bennett: I.244–5.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of these properties applied to clauses with a simple subjunctive, see Sznajder (2003: 37–69).

(i) Most subordinate clauses are formally marked as such. For non-finite clauses, such as the accusative and infinitive clause in (a), the fact that the verb form is an infinitive and the subject an accusative (and not a finite form and a nominative) is a clear signal of its subordinate status. With regard to the ablative absolute, the participial clause naturally lacks a finite verb form, as in (c), and the participle is marked by the regular case for satellites, the ablative.

(c) Victores **victis hostibus** legiones reveniunt domum...

(‘With the enemy conquered, our legions are returning home as conquerors...’ Pl. *Am.* 188)

Finite clauses, in turn, are almost always marked by a subordinator (for exceptions, see below), like *postquam* in (b) in § 14.1.

(ii) Moreover, the finite verb forms are often subjunctives for which a regular semantic explanation along the lines of § 7.8 can hardly be given. See §§ 7.130 and 7.138.

(iii) The tense of finite subordinate clauses in the subjunctive is often determined by the tense of the superordinate clause (according to the ‘rules of the sequence of tenses’, *consecutio temporum*—see § 7.85). This is the case with *haberes* in (b), where the imperfect tense is adjusted to the perfect form *duxisti* of the superordinate clause, if one assumes that *haberes* is contemporaneous with *duxisti*.

(iv) Negator climbing (see § 8.6) is another form of ‘domination’ of a subordinate by the superordinate clause, as can be seen in (d). Here, the negator *non* precedes the verb *puto*, but it has in fact *esse venalis* in its scope, not *puto*.

(d) Clodiae (sc. horti) sane placent, sed **non** puto esse venalis.

(‘Clodia’s gardens would be admirable, but I don’t think they’re for sale.’ Cic. *Att.* 12.38a.2)

(v) Sometimes constituents that semantically belong to a finite subordinate clause function as pseudo-object in the superordinate clause, as in (e), where *te* is syntactically the object of *faciam*, but semantically the first argument of *miserrimus...sis* (see § 9.17).

(e) ...ego **te** faciam miserrimus mortalis uti sis.

(‘I’ll make sure you’re the most wretched mortal on earth.’ Pl. *Aul.* 443)

(vi) A feature shared by finite and non-finite subordinate clauses concerns the use of the reflexive pronoun and the reflexive possessive adjective to refer to a constituent, usually the subject, of the superordinate clause. This use of the so-called indirect reflexive is shown for an accusative and infinitive clause in (f) and for an *ut* clause in (g) (see § 11.127).<sup>10</sup>

(f) Me **sibi**<sup>x</sup> epistulas dedisse dicit<sup>x</sup>.

(‘He says that I have given him the letters.’ Pl. *Trin.* 896)

<sup>10</sup> The exponent <sup>x</sup> marks coreferentiality.

- (g) *Nam illa mulier<sup>x</sup> lapidem silicem subigere ut se<sup>x</sup> amet potest.*

(‘That woman could force a flintstone to love her.’ Pl. *Poen.* 290)

(vii) In addition, there are a number of tests to prove the subordinate status of a clause. A subordinate clause can be given in answer to a question word or phrase, as the accusative and infinitive clause is given in reply to *quid* in (h), the object of its clause. Also, a subordinate clause may be announced by a preparative (or: cataphoric) expression, as in (i). Here *hoc*, the object of *dicito*, announces the accusative and infinitive clause *facturum me...*, which functions as object as well. A subordinate clause may be coordinated with a noun phrase, as in (j), where the *quia* clause is coordinated by means of *non...sed* with the cause adjunct in the ablative *iactantia*.<sup>11</sup>

- (h) *Quid dicis? An bello fugitivorum Siciliam virtute tua liberatam?*

(‘What are you saying? That Sicily was saved from the war with the revolted slaves by your courage?’ Cic. *Ver.* 5.5)

- (i) *Quin etiam illi hoc dicito, / facturum <me> ut ne etiam aspicere aedis audeat...*

(‘Well now, you just tell him this—that I shall see to it he does not dare give that dwelling so much as a glance.’ Pl. *Mos.* 422–3)

- (j) *Quod non iactantia refero, sed quia collegio quindecimvirum antiquitus ea cura...*

(‘A fact which I recall not out of vanity, but because from of old this responsibility belonged to the College of Fifteen...’ Tac. *Ann.* 11.11.1)

(viii) Finally, it should be mentioned that in indirect speech main clauses become accusative and infinitive clauses and subordinate clauses as a rule stay more or less as they are (see § 2.2 and, for exceptions, § 15.109).<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not have access to the best criterion for determining the status of clauses, namely intonation. Just as in contemporary languages, the intonation contour must have been the best indicator for determining whether a given sequence of clauses constituted a single complex sentence or several independent sentences.

As for pragmatic and semantic aspects of the subordinate clauses in Table 14.1, the various types differ in the degree to which they allow and exhibit the characteristics that are typical of independent sentences. Most of them lack an illocutionary force of their own and do not contain connectors or interactional particles that belong to the clauses themselves (and not to the complex sentence to which they belong). Finite clauses in the left hand column of the Table exhibit many of the internal properties of independent sentences. Although there are certain constraints on tense and mood, especially for argument clauses, and although the governing verb may also constrain the category voice (see § 15.2), these clauses are less restricted in terms of type and number of obligatory and optional constituents than non-finite and nominal clauses.

<sup>11</sup> For more instances from Tacitus, see Sánchez Martínez (2000: 244–53).

<sup>12</sup> For this test and some exceptions, see Pfister (1995: 245).

Of the non-finite clauses the accusative and infinitive clause allows for relative tense distinctions, but the category of mood is irrelevant. For the other non-finite clauses the number of constraints is higher. The nominal clauses in the right hand column lack most sentential properties. There are, therefore, considerable differences between the various clauses in their degree of ‘desententialization.’<sup>13</sup> Further details are provided in the following sections.

### 14.3 Ambiguous or hybrid instances of clause combining

Whereas in most cases identifying subordinate clauses (and also main clauses) as such is unproblematic, there are also cases where two different analyses are possible and even cases which seem to have a status in-between one complex sentence and two independent simple sentences.<sup>14</sup> First person singular forms of a number of cognition verbs (which may also govern an accusative and infinitive clause) can be used as qualified truth disjuncts (see § 10.101) to modulate the illocutionary force of declarative (§ 6.2), interrogative (§ 6.21), and imperative sentences (§ 6.29). Examples of the verb *credo* used in the sense of ‘presumably’ are (a) and (b). In the former *credo* is usually described as a parenthesis, a more or less independent structure that is inserted in another structure, without being syntactically a part of that structure. It functions as a modulator of the assertive illocutionary force of the sentence. In (b) *credo* is best taken as modifying *ad uxorem meam*. In the case of (c), where *credo* precedes a complete sentence, it is more difficult to regard it as unrelated to what follows: the fact that it is the first word creates the expectation that something will follow expressing what the I believes, so the sequence may have been perceived as a single sentence. In this particular case, however, one cannot be sure, since it is impossible to know what the intonation contour was.

- (a) Pol ea ipsa **credo** ne intro mittatur cavet ...  
(‘She herself avoids being let in, I suppose...’ Pl. *Aul.* 101)
- (b) Intro edepol abiit, **credo** ad uxorem meam.  
(‘He went inside, to my wife I believe.’ Pl. *Am.* 1045)
- (c) **Credo** aurum inspicere volt, ne surruptum siet.  
(‘I think he wants to look at his gold to make sure that it hasn’t been stolen.’ Pl. *Aul.* 39)

In (d) the segment *ni nocias meos* might be taken as a subordinate imperative clause with *rogo* (see § 15.67), but comparison with (e) and (f) may also suggest that it should be regarded as an independent prohibition: *nolei* (= *noli*) and the perfect subjunctive *feceris* signal independent prohibitions. See also (g) with an imperative.

<sup>13</sup> On ‘desententialization’, see Bolkestein (1989a; 1989b) and Lehmann (1989).

<sup>14</sup> For the problem in general, see Pfister (1995: 243–5).

- (d) **ROGO** · TE · VIATOR · NI NOCIAS (= ne noceas) · MEO<S>  
 ('I ask you, traveller, not to harm my family.' *CIL* X.4053.1 (Capua)—NB: for the exceptional use of the accusative instead of the dative, see § 12.31)
- (e) **ROGO** · TE / VIATOR · NOLEI / ME · NOCEREI  
 ('I ask this of you, traveller: do not harm me.' *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.3121.4–6 (Capua, 1st cent. BC (mid))—NB: *nocerei* is a deponent form)<sup>15</sup>
- (f) **ROGO** · TE · VIATOR · MONUMENTO · HUIC · NIL · MALE · FECERIS /  
 ('I ask this of you, traveller: do not damage this tomb.' *CIL* VI.9545.3 (Rome, Rep.))
- (g) **Rogo**, inquam, domina, ... celerius confice.  
 ('I ask,' I said, 'madam, be quick with it.' Petr. 20.1)

*Faxo* 'I will bring about', the sigmatic future of *facio*, serves as another illustration of the difficulty involved in determining whether a sequence of clauses should be regarded as two independent sentences or as one complex sentence.<sup>16</sup> The clause which tells us what is brought about may be in the future indicative, as in (h), or in the present subjunctive, as in (i). In Early Latin the future is much more common than the subjunctive, and there is only one instance of *faxo* + an explicit subordinator (*ut*) + a subjunctive, viz. (j).<sup>17</sup> The (*ut* +) subjunctive clauses in (i) and (j) seem to be the object of *faxo* and can be compared to instances of the normal future *faciam* with either the simple subjunctive or (more common) *ut* + subjunctive (see § 15.75). Semantically there seems to be no difference between (h) and (i), both meaning roughly 'I shall bring it about that ...', but taking *iam...hic erit* as an object clause in the indicative with a verb of causation is very problematic. Instead, it seems better to assume that *faxo* in (h) had developed into an idiomatic parenthetical expression meaning something like 'certainly'. This interpretation seems inevitable in a case like (k). The clauses with *erit* in (h) and *amabit* in (k) must then be described as independent.

- (h) *Iam faxo* (*sc. machaera*) *hic erit*.  
 ('I'll make sure it's here in a second.' Pl. *Mil.* 463)
- (i) *Faxo hau quicquam sit morae*.  
 ('I'll make sure that there won't be any delay.' Pl. *Am.* 972)
- (j) *Sine, revenias modo domum, faxo ut scias / quid pericli sit dotatae uxori vitium dicere*.  
 ('Well then! Just come home, I'll make sure that you know what danger there is in speaking badly about a wife with a dowry.' Pl. *As.* 897–8)
- (k) *Sane sapit / atque ob istanc industriam etiam faxo amabit amplius*.  
 ('He's just doing the smart thing and because of your officiousness he will surely make love to her even more.' Pl. *Men.* 790–1)

<sup>15</sup> So Solin (in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.iv.1, p. 1009).

<sup>16</sup> This discussion of *faxo* is based on de Melo (2007: 180–9). See also Sznajder (2003: 35–7).

<sup>17</sup> There are also a few future perfect and perfect subjunctive instances, which are not relevant to the problem discussed here. There are also instances of *faxim* + simple subjunctive.

## 14.4 The levels at which subordinate clauses can be used

Just as with constituents of simple clauses, a distinction is made between argument clauses, required by the meaning of a governing verb of the superordinate clause, and satellites, optional constituents from the perspective of the governing verb of the superordinate clause. These two types of clauses will be treated in detail in Chapters 15 and 16. Satellite clauses will be distinguished by semantic function and, where applicable, will be divided into adjunct and disjunct clauses. This threefold distinction is illustrated by the *ut* clauses in (a)–(c), all three of which are related to a main clause together with which they form a sentence. In (a), the *ut* clause is the object argument, governed by the three-place verb *imperat* in the main clause (for details, see § 15.66). In (b), it is a purpose adjunct. In (c), it is an illocutionary disjunct that serves as a justification for why the speaker tells the addressee that he was born in Carthage (for details, see § 16.48).

- (a) *Ecce, Apollo mihi ex oraclo imperat / ut ego illic oculos exuram lampadibus ardentibus.*  
 ('Look, Apollo tells me through a divine utterance to burn out that woman's eyes with flaming torches.' Pl. *Men.* 840–1)
- (b) *Quam mox navigo / in Ephesum, ut aurum repetam ab Theotimo domum?*  
 ('How soon shall I sail to Ephesus to take my money back home from Theotimus?' Pl. *Bac.* 775–6)
- (c) *Carthagini ego sum gnatus, ut tu sis sciens.*  
 ('Just so you know, I was born in Carthage.' Pl. *Poen.* 1038)

Subordinate clauses can also function at a lower level, as constituents of noun, adjective, and adverb phrases (details in Chapter 17). Examples of an *ut* clause functioning as an adnominal argument in a noun phrase are (d) and (e), governed by *de voluntate tua* and *officium meum*, respectively. Note that an *ut* clause may also be used in combination with the same noun at the clause level: in (f) *ut facerem* is the subject of the clause, *meum officium* the subject complement. The *ut* clause in (d) can be compared with the one in (g), which is the object of the verb *volo*.

- (d) *De voluntate tua ut simul simus... non dubito.*  
 ('Of your desire for us to be together... I have no doubt.' Cic. *Att.* 12.26.1)
- (e) *Quamquam ego serva sum, / scio ego officium meum ut quae rogitur vera, ut accepi, eloquar.*  
 ('Even though I'm a slave girl, I know my duty: to say the truth about what I'm asked, just as I've heard it.' Pl. *Per.* 615–16)
- (f) *Fuit meum officium ut facerem, fateor.*  
 ('It would have been my duty to do so, I admit it.' Pl. *Ps.* 913)

(g) **Dimidium / volo ut dicas.**

(‘I want you to say half.’ Pl. *Rud.* 960–1)

Examples of a subordinate clause with an adjective are (h) and (i): in the former an *ut* clause and in the latter a gerundival clause function as the argument of two-place *dignus* (see § 4.101); the whole expression ((*vir dignus...credamus*) is in apposition to *Cornelius Celsus*.<sup>18</sup> In (j) the gerundial clause *ad persuadendum* is required by the two-place adverb *apte* with which it forms a manner adjunct.

(h) ...*Cornelius Celsus, mediocri vir ingenio,...dignus vel ipso proposito ut eum scisse omnia illa credamus.*

(‘...*Cornelius Celsus*, a man of very ordinary ability, because of his plan alone is worthy of our trusting him in the claim that he knew all those things.’ Quint. *Inst.* 12.11.24)

(i) ...*Agrippina...testaretur adultum iam esse Britannicum, veram dignamque stirpem suscipiendo patris imperio...*

(‘...*Agrippina* testified that *Britannicus* was now mature, the true and worthy stock for undertaking his father’s command...’ Tac. *Ann.* 13.14.2—tr. Woodman)

(j) *Hi fere aut in persuadendo aut in dicendo apte ad persuadendum positum orandi munus sunt arbitrati.*

(‘They almost all believe that the function of oratory lies in persuading or in speaking in a way adapted to persuade.’ Quint. *Inst.* 2.15.3)

All the examples in the preceding two paragraphs concern subordinate clauses that are required by the valency of the nouns, adjectives, and adverbs involved. It is less common for subordinate clauses that resemble satellites at the clause level to be used at the phrase level, although gerundial and gerundival clauses at that level are common, as in (k).

(k) *Decemviros legibus scribendis intra decem hos annos et creavimus et e re publica sustulimus.*

(‘Within the past ten years we have elected decemvirs for drawing up the laws, and removed them from the commonwealth.’ Liv. 4.4.3)

The various types of clauses mentioned in Table 14.1 are very diverse as far as their distribution is concerned. Whereas supine clauses can only be used as purpose adjuncts and accusative and infinitive clauses only as arguments (with specific governing expressions), other classes of clauses can be used in all sorts of functions at the clause level (see the examples of *ut* clauses above). Verbs and other governing expressions vary in the types of clauses that can function as arguments with them. This is illustrated by the following examples of second arguments with the verb *volo*. In (l) the agent of *accipere* is identical with the subject of *volo*; this is the typical context for a prolative infinitive clause. However, in the same situation an accusative and

<sup>18</sup> For the relatively rare instances of *ut* clauses with *dignus*, see TLL s.v. 1152.24ff.

infinitive is not excluded, as is shown by (m).<sup>19</sup> For different subjects in the main and the accusative and infinitive clause, see (n). When the subjects are different, it is also possible to use a finite clause with or without *ut*, as in (o) and (p), respectively.

- (l) [Immo] hoc primum volo, / **quaestioni accipere servos.**  
(‘This I want first, to accept his servants for questioning.’ Pl. *Mos.* 1091–2)
- (m) **Magnifice volo me viros summos accipere,** ut mi rem esse reantur.  
(‘I want to entertain some high-class gentlemen in grand style so that they think I have money.’ Pl. *Ps.* 167)
- (n) **Vera volo loqui te,** nolo assentari mihi.  
(‘I want you to tell the truth, I don’t want you simply to agree with me.’ Pl. *Am.* 751)
- (o) Quid vis? # **Hos ut accipias coquos...**  
(‘What do you want? # That you take these cooks...’ Pl. *Aul.* 351)
- (p) **Le/no argentum hoc vo/lo a me accipiat...**  
(‘I want the pimp to receive this money from me...’ Pl. *Ps.* 1121a–23)

Details concerning the distribution of argument clauses are discussed in Chapter 15.

## 14.5 The internal properties of subordinate clauses

Sections § 14.6 up to and including § 14.14 deal with the internal structure of subordinate clauses. The order of treatment follows to some extent the order in Table 14.1.

### 14.6 Finite subordinate clauses

A common feature of finite clauses is, of course, that they have finite verb forms and therefore can be marked for tense, mood, and person/number. The rules for the use of the tenses and moods in the individual types of subordinate clauses are discussed in §§ 7.85ff. and §§ 7.128ff., respectively. Historic infinitives are exceptional.

In most finite clauses the identity of the subject is inferrable from the verb form (notably for the first and second person) and/or is expressed explicitly. Examples in which the subject has to be inferred are (a) and (b). The subject of *fieret* in (a) is identical to *is* in the main clause; in (b) the subject of *curet* is Naevius, to be inferred from the object of the main clause.

- (a) **Is speculatum huc misit me,** ut quae fierent **fieret** particeps.  
(‘He sent me here to watch out so that he’d have his share in knowledge of what’s happening.’ Pl. *Aul.* 605)

<sup>19</sup> For such instances in Plautus, see Lodge *s.v.* volo 909 § 2a.

- (b) Naevium certiozem facit, rogat ut
- curet**
- quod dixisset.

(‘He informed Naevius, and asked him to provide for the payment, a thing which he had said he would do.’ Cic. *Quinct.* 18)

Another common feature of finite subordinate clauses is that they have a recognizable linking device, that is a particle, a subordinator, or a special pronoun, determiner, adjective, or adverb (for clauses without such a device, see the end of this section). However, there are differences in the role these linking devices play in their own clause. This is illustrated for each class of finite subordinate clauses below. Examples of interrogative subordinate clauses (indirect questions) are (c)–(e). In (c) the interrogative particle *-ne* marks the clause as an interrogative clause; the particle belongs to the clause as a whole and in this respect differs from the subordinating devices in (d) and (e). The interrogative adverb *quo* and the interrogative determiner *quas* in (d) and the interrogative pronoun *quis* in (e) not only mark their clauses as subordinate and interrogative but also fulfil a function within these clauses: *quo* is a direction argument in its clause, *quas* is the attribute of the noun *aedis* within another direction argument, and *quis* is the subject complement in its clause (for details on the function of these interrogative words in their clauses, see §§ 15.45ff.; for the corresponding types of direct questions, see §§ 6.6ff.).

- (c) Rogato servos venerit
- ne**
- ad eum tuos.

(‘You must then ask whether your slave has come to him.’ Pl. *Poen.* 181)

- (d) Ill’ clam opservavit servos <qui eam proiecerat> /
- quo**
- aut
- quas**
- in aedis haec puellam deferat.

(‘That slave who’d abandoned her observed secretly where and into which house the woman was taking the girl.’ Pl. *Cist.* 168–9—NB: the lines are deleted by Degering, followed by de Melo)

- (e) Verbero, etiam
- quis**
- ego sim me rogitas...

(‘You thug, you even ask me who I am...’ Pl. *Am.* 1029)

A similar distinction exists between relative clauses and clauses with a subordinator. This is shown in (f), repeated from § 14.1, and in (g). In (f) the relative pronoun *qui* functions as subject in its clause and at the same time marks the clause as subordinate. By contrast, *ut* in (g), repeated from § 14.4 (a), has no function in its clause; it only marks it as a subordinate clause. Note that in (h), repeated from § 14.4 (b), *ut* not only marks the clause as subordinate, but also contributes to the interpretation of the clause as a purpose adjunct.

- (f) Miser est
- qui**
- amat.

(‘Wretched is the man who is in love.’ Pl. *Per.* 179)

- (g) Ecce, Apollo mihi ex oraclo imperat /
- ut**
- ego illic oculos exuram lampadibus ardentibus.

(‘Look, Apollo tells me through a divine utterance to burn out that woman’s eyes with flaming torches.’ Pl. *Men.* 840–1)

- (h) *Quam mox navigo / in Ephesum, ut aurum repetam ab Theotimo domum?*  
 ('How soon shall I sail to Ephesus to take my money back home from Theotimus?' Pl.  
*Bac.* 775–6)

Finite clauses can also be incorporated into their superordinate clause by means of prepositional expressions, both as argument and as satellite. An example of an argument is shown in (i), with the two-place verb *versor in* (see § 4.42); the *ut...defenderet* clause functions as the second argument. Since prepositions cannot directly govern clauses, the pronoun *eo* serves as a support. Together the prepositional phrase and the subordinating device form a complex subordinator.<sup>20</sup> In (j), *cum (eo)* marks the *quod...fiat* clause as an adjunct of accompanying circumstances (see §10.76). The combination of *cum eo...quod* with *tamen* makes it more or less equivalent to a stipulative adjunct clause (see § 16.53). In (k) the autonomous relative clause is marked by *cum* (with the anaphoric determiner *eo*) as the associative argument of *cohaereo* (see § 4.38). As the examples show, the regular expression is with the anaphoric pronoun/determiner *is* in the case form required by the preposition. For relative pronouns, see § 18.16. For a rare instance of an indirect question in combination with a prepositional phrase, see (l). Of the combinations exemplified below those with *cum*, *de*, *ex*, and *in* are relatively common from Cicero's time onwards. For further examples of satellite clauses, see § 16.84. This use of *is* should not be confused with the preparative use of pronouns and related expressions that is discussed in § 14.16.

- (i) *Nempe eius omnis oratio versata est in eo ut scriptum plurimum valere oportere defenderet.*  
 ('Surely his entire address was concerned with defending the claim that the written word ought to prevail to the uttermost.' Cic. *de Orat.* 1.244)
- (j) *Sit sane, quoniam ita tu vis, sed tamen cum eo, credo, quod sine peccato meo fiat.*  
 ('So be it, since you will have it so, but with the proviso surely that it come about without any fault on my part.' Cic. *Att.* 6.1.7)
- (k) *Simplex autem conclusio reprehenditur, si hoc quod sequitur non videatur necessario cum eo quod antecessit cohaerere.*  
 ('A simple conclusion is refuted if that which follows does not seem to be necessarily consistent with that which precedes.' Cic. *Inv.* 1.86)
- (l) *Equidem pro eo quanti te facio quicquid feceris approbabo.*  
 ('For my part, in accordance with how greatly I esteem you, I shall approve of whatever you have done.' Cic. *Fam.* 3.3.2)

Instances of the combination of a preposition with a subordinator are all (very) Late. An example is (m).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See Herman (1963: 74–116) on these 'locutions conjonctives'.

<sup>21</sup> See Sz.: 583, Norberg (1943: 232–42), and especially Herman (1963: 88–104) for combinations of prepositions with *quod*, much less often *quia* and *ut*—e.g. *ante*, *de*, *post*, *pro*, *propter* (taken as an adverb in TLL s.v. 2117.43ff.), *secundum*—in Late Latin. See also TLL s.v. *pro* 1435.51ff. (very late).

- (m) ...et cibum recusat et multum bibet, **propter quod** ardorem siccum pulmonis patitur.  
(‘...and he rejects food and drinks a lot, because he suffers a dry burning of the lungs.’  
*Mulom. Chir.* 170)

Scholars have had difficulty describing combinations such as *praeter quod*, that is combinations in which a word that is used as both a preposition and an adverb is followed by a subordinator. *Praeter* in the combination *praeter quod* ‘except that’ is described as an adverb by TLL s.v. *praeter* 1001.33ff. The OLD makes a distinction between *praeter* adverb (§ B) and *praeter* conjunction (§ C) and calls it a conjunction in the cases under discussion (*praeter id quod* is attested earlier, from Mela onwards). For other combinations meaning ‘except that’, see § 16.84.

A number of verbs that govern argument clauses with *ut* are also used with subordinate clauses in the subjunctive without a subordinator, and with some verbs this is quite common (with *facio*, for example). Two examples are (n) and (o) (the null sign ‘Ø’ indicates the missing *ut*). In this Syntax such clauses are called ‘clauses with a simple subjunctive’. For further illustrations of this type of clause, see § 15.83, and, for exceptional instances of satellite clauses, § 16.4.

- (n) Rogo vos Ø quam primum mihi rescribatis.  
(‘I beg you to answer this letter as promptly as possible.’ D. Brut. *Fam.* 11.15)
- (o) Qui Summanus? Fac Ø sciam.  
(‘How come you’re Summanus? Let me know.’ Pl. *Cur.* 414)

**Appendix:** The use of an infinitive in an *ut* subordinate clause is twice attested in Livy and a few times in later texts. However, most instances are emended, as in (p).<sup>22</sup>

- (p) Tribuni plebis appellati ab L. Scipione ita decreverunt **ut**, si morbi causa excusaretur, sibi **placere** accipi eam causam diemque a collegis prodici.  
(‘The tribunes of the people, when appealed to by Lucius Scipio, thus decreed: that, if the plea of illness were submitted, it was their pleasure that this plea should be accepted and the case adjourned by their colleagues.’ Liv. 38.52.8—NB: editors since Frobenius eliminate *ut*)

## 14.7 Non-finite subordinate clauses

The ‘non-finite clauses’ as in Table 14.1 constitute a very heterogeneous set; they are discussed separately below. The main concern here will be the internal structure of these clauses. Their distribution is discussed in Chapters 15, 16, and 17.

<sup>22</sup> Also Liv. 5.15.11, Gaius *Inst.* 3.160, Cypr. *Ep.* 57.5. See Panchón (2007: 166–9). See also § 7.71, Appendix.

## 14.8 The internal structure of accusative and infinitive clauses

A distinction must be made between ACCUSATIVE AND INFINITIVE CLAUSES (abbreviated: AcI clauses) that are used with verbs of perception, cognition, and communication, and AcI clauses with manipulation verbs. Only the first class is discussed in detail in this section.

Examples of the first class are (a)–(h). The subjects of the clauses are in the accusative (*me, hanc, Marcellum, clipeum, se, hoc, gratias, and nihil*). In (a)–(d) and in (f)–(h) the subjects of the accusative and infinitive clause are different from those of their main clause; in (e), the reflexive pronoun *se* is coreferential with the subject of *praedicat*. See also *suo* and *sibi* in (g). All three infinitives (present (a), perfect (b), or future (c)) are possible.<sup>23</sup> The AcI clause may be active or passive. Examples of a passive accusative and infinitive clause are (f) and (g), both with the agents expressed (*ab accusatore, ab his*) (though this is relatively rare). The nominal parts of complex verb forms, such as *natam* in (b), and subject complements, such as *salvum* in (d), agree with the subject of the accusative and infinitive clause in the usual way. Apart from arguments required by the verb or a comparable expression the AcI clause may contain adjuncts of various kinds, like *Athenis* in (b) and *in pompam* and *ludis aedilibus* in (e). Ex. (g) also has a disjunct, *sine dubio*, a sign that the clause is declarative. An AcI clause may contain modal expressions, as in (h). Note that in (e) part of the AcI clause precedes the governing verb *praedicat* (see also § 23.66).

- (a) *Audivistin' tu me narrare haec hodie?*  
(‘Did you hear me tell her about this today?’ Pl. *Am.* 748)
- (b) *Quid ego ex te audio? # Hanc Athenis esse natam liberam.*  
(‘What do I hear from you? # That this girl was born free in Athens.’ Pl. *Rud.* 739)
- (c) *Quid...spectans deus ipse diceret Marcellum...in mari esse periturum?*  
(‘What consideration could lead the god himself to say that Marcellus was going to die at sea?’ Cic. *Fat.* 33)
- (d) *...ei percontanti dictum est clipeum esse salvum...*  
(‘When he asked, it was related to him that his shield was safe...’ Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.5)
- (e) *Non audis? Mures Africanos praedicat / in pompam ludis dare se velle aedilibus.*  
(‘Can’t you hear? He states that he wants to present African mice for the parade at the games of the aediles.’ Pl. *Poen.* 1011–12)
- (f) *At hoc ab accusatore ne dici quidem audistis.*  
(‘You have not heard this so much as mentioned by the accuser.’ Cic. *S. Rosc.* 39)

<sup>23</sup> For the increase of the use of (active and passive) future infinitives in Classical Latin as compared to Early Latin, see Perrochat (1932b: 1–83).

- (g) ...Scipio cum existimasset **pro suo beneficio sine dubio ab his gratias sibi actum iri**, potestatem iis dicundi fecit.  
(‘Since Scipio had determined that gratitude would undoubtedly be expressed by them for his kindness, he gave them permission to speak.’ *B. Afr.* 45.1)
- (h) ...videbat re publica oppressa nihil **posse** decerni.  
(‘...he saw that with the Republic crushed nothing could be decreed.’ *Cic. Phil.* 8.5)

In (a) the accusative and infinitive clause functions as the object of active *audivistin*; it could be replaced by *id* or something similar. This can be seen from (b), where the AcI clause as a whole constitutes the answer to the preceding question, replacing the object *quid* in that question. The subject of the accusative and infinitive clause fulfils no function in the main clause, nor does the infinitive. In this respect the accusative and infinitive clause differs from the accusative and prolativ infinitive construction (see § 14.11). When the governing verb is in the so-called impersonal passive, the AcI clause functions as the subject, as in (d), where *clipeum esse salvum* is the subject. The fact that *dictum (est)* is neuter singular shows that the accusative and infinitive clause counts as neuter singular.

#### Supplement:

**Modal expression:** ...cum (sapiens) sibi cum capitali adversario, dolore, **depugnandum** videret... (*Cic. Fin.* 4.31)

**Passive infinitive with explicit agent:** ...sophistas...lusos videmus **a Socrate**. (*Cic. Fin.* 2.2); ...ut ab ipsis Stoicis scriptum videmus... (*Cic. Fin.* 4.15); ...ne fando quidem auditum est crocodillum...violatum **ab Aegypto**. (*Cic. N.D.* 1.82).

Accusative and infinitive clauses have their own illocutionary force, as was shown in (g) above by the use of the disjunct *sine dubio*. Most often they are declarative. For interrogative AcI clauses, see § 15.105. For the use of the AcI in relative clauses, see ex. (m) in § 14.1 and § 15.107.

When the context offers sufficient support, the subject of the AcI clause is quite often not expressed.<sup>24</sup> The unexpressed subject is easier to supply if it is identical with the subject of the main clause, as in (i), but sometimes it must be inferred from the context, as in (j), where *eum* has to be supplied referring to the barber in his shop who is mentioned before. Implicit subjects are particularly common in comedy, but they are also found in early tragedy, in Cicero (most examples one finds quoted are from the letters, but see (k) and (l)), Caesar, and other authors. There is no reason to assume that it was typical of a lower variety of (spoken) Latin.<sup>25</sup> In the examples below the null sign ‘Ø’ indicates an unexpressed subject.

<sup>24</sup> For a survey of accusative and infinitive clauses without an explicit subject in Early Latin, see Bennett: I.383–8. For other authors, see the references in Sz.: 362.

<sup>25</sup> See de Melo (2006). For Cicero, see Lebreton (1901b: 378). For Tertullian, see Hoppe (1903: 49–50= 1985: 101).

- (i) ...neque ego hau committam ut, si quid peccatum siet, / Ø fecisse dicas de [me] mea sententia.  
(‘I won’t run the risk that if any mistake is made you might say that you had done it according to my verdict.’ Pl. *Bac.* 1037–8)
- (j) Sed utrum strictimne Ø adtonsurum dicam esse an per pectinem, / nescio.  
(‘But whether I should say that he’s going to give him a close shave or one through the comb, I don’t know.’ Pl. *Capt.* 268–9)
- (k) Hic alios negasse Ø audere, alios respondisse Ø non putare id perfici posse.  
(‘At this, some of them had said they would not dare to try it, others had replied that they did not believe it could be managed.’ Cic. *Ver.* 23)
- (l) Qui negare noluit esse in eo numero Sullam ...Ø nescire dixit.  
(‘The man who did not like to deny that Sulla was among that number said he did not know.’ Cic. *Sul.* 39)

**Supplement:**

Id ego aecum ac iustum fecisse expedibo atque eloquar. (Enn. *scen.* 148J); Pol si istuc faxis, hau sine poena feceris, / si ille huc rebitet, sicut confido affore. (Pl. *Capt.* 695–6); Ut, si sequentur me, hac abiisse censeant. (Pl. *Men.* 556); Nisi forte illud quod dicturum te esse audio, quaestorem illius fuisse. (Cic. *Div. Caec.* 59); Iam ne nocte quidem turba ex eo loco dilabebatur refracturosque carcerem minabantur, cum remisso eo, quod erepturi erant, ex senatus consulto Manlius vinclis liberatur. (Liv. 6.17.6); Certe enim oblitos (*sc. esse*) agitis. (Tert. *Apol.* 10.6); Meminerat certe, nisi circumcisum scirent, non admittendum in sancta sanctorum. (Tert. *Marc.* 4.7.7)

The subjects of present active infinitives with a future reference (quite common in Early Latin, see §§ 7.68–9) are relatively often identical to the subject of the main clause, which explains why they are more often implicit than in accusative and infinitive clauses that contain another infinitive. Another facilitating factor is the endings of the participial elements of perfect passive and future active infinitives, as well as adjective endings (de Melo 2006). An example is (m), where the ending *-am* makes it clear that the speaker is talking about his daughter.

- (m) Postremo etiam, si voles, / **desponsam** quoque esse dicito.  
(‘And finally, if you want, even say that my daughter is engaged.’ Ter. *Hau.* 865–6)

Sometimes one may have difficulty in deciding whether the infinitive is part of an accusative and infinitive clause (without a subject) or a prolative infinitive.

With manipulation verbs, the use of an AcI clause is for most governing verbs restricted to their use as a two-place verb. The AcI clause may be active or passive, but it is restricted in other ways. For details, see § 15.100.

Accusative and infinitive clauses can be used as subject or object at the clause level (see § 15.93), and as argument with certain nouns and adjectives (see § 17.13 and § 17.28). For rare instances of AcI clauses in a satellite position, see § 14.16, ex. (f).

There has been extensive debate in the literature on the origin and structure of the AcI (see § 12.5). For the distinction between the accusative and infinitive and the prolativative infinitive clauses, see Bolkestein (1976a, 1976b, 1977b, and 1979) and, from a diachronic perspective, Hettrich (1992). See also Adams (2005a) on documentary data.

### 14.9 *The nominative and infinitive construction*

The NOMINATIVE AND INFINITIVE construction (*nominativus cum infinitivo*, abbreviated: NcI), illustrated by (a), is often regarded as a personal passive counterpart of the use of the accusative and infinitive clause in (b), which itself is often labelled an ‘impersonal’ passive construction. In (a), *habitare* has no explicit subject of its own: the person living in the house is *Demaenetus*, the subject of the passive verb form *dicitur* or, in other words: the agent of *habitare* is coreferential with the subject of *dicitur*. In (b), the accusative and infinitive clause is as a whole the subject of *dictum’st*. The Latin expression in (a) resembles the English expression *John was said to be in Birmingham*, where the entity to which *be in Birmingham* applies manifests itself as subject of the passive expression *was said*.

- (a) ...hasce aedis esse oportet / **Demaenetus ubi dicitur habitare.**  
 (...it ought to be this house here where Demaenetus is said to live.’ Pl. As. 381–2)
- (b) In hac habitasse platea **dictum’st** Chrysidem...  
 (‘It is said that Chrysis lived on this street.’ Ter. An. 796)

There is a second type of nominative and infinitive construction with a passive infinitive, illustrated by (c). Here, the patient of *captus esse* is coreferential with the subject of *dici*. A corresponding ‘impersonal’ construction with a passive accusative and infinitive clause functioning as the subject is (d).

- (c) Hoc commode reprehenditur, si **dici possit ex hostibus equus esse captus...**  
 (‘A proper answer is made to this if the horse can be said to have been captured from the enemy...’ Cic. Inv. 1.85)
- (d) ...mihi et **dictum est et scriptum** vehementer consilium vestrum reprehendi...  
 (...it was both said to me and written that your tactics were being strongly criticized...’ Cic. Att. 3.24.1)

Just as with the accusative and infinitive clause all three active infinitives are possible in the nominative and infinitive construction, as can be seen in (e) and (f), with a future and a perfect infinitive, respectively (for further examples, see § 15.110). For a present passive infinitive in the ‘patient’ type of nominative and infinitive construction, see (g).

- (e) Is nunc dicitur / **venturus** peregre.  
 (‘Now he’s said to be about to come from abroad.’ Pl. Truc. 84–5)

- (f) (*sc. Pelias*)...quem medicamento et suis venenis (*sc. Medea*) dicitur / fecisse rursus ex sene adulescentulum ...  
 (('sc. Pelias)...whom she's said to have turned from an old man into a young one again with her medicine and potions...' Pl. *Ps.* 870–1)
- (g) Amplissime **laudari** existimabatur qui ita laudabatur.  
 ('One so praised was thought to be praised most honourably.' Cato *Agr. praef.* 2)

Apart from the formal differences, the AcI and NcI constructions differ in many other respects as well. Firstly, unlike the accusative and infinitive clause, the nominative and infinitive construction cannot be said to fulfil a function within a superordinate clause; it thus resembles the 'fused' clauses discussed in §§ 14.10–13 in the requirement of identity of the subject of the main verb and the agent or patient of the infinitive. Secondly, it seems unlikely that attitudinal disjuncts were allowed with the nominative and infinitive. Thirdly, there are differences in the contexts in which the AcI and NcI can be used (see § 15.111). For these reasons the NcI will be regarded as a distinct construction in this Syntax.

#### 14.10 'Fused' clauses

Infinitival, gerundial, and supine clauses have in common that the first argument of the clause has to be inferred from the superordinate clause. These clauses are called FUSED CLAUSES in this Syntax. In (a), for example, the first argument that is understood with the (prolative) infinitive *monere* (object) is identical to the subject of *volo*. In (b), the first argument of the gerundial clause is identical to the subject of *abrogant*; the gerundial clause functions as means adjunct in its sentence. In (c), the agent of the supine clause (a purpose adjunct) is identical to the subject of *isse*. The clausal character of these expressions appears from the fact that they contain arguments and in (b) and (c) also satellites.

- (a) At hoc volo, **monere te**.  
 ('But what I want is to warn you.' Pl. *Ps.* 915)
- (b) **Male fidem servando** illis quoque abrogant etiam fidem / qui nil meriti.  
 ('By keeping faith badly they take away faith even from those who haven't done anything wrong.' Pl. *Trin.* 1048–9)
- (c) Alii di (*sc. Iovem*) isse ad villam aiebant **servis depromptum cibum**.  
 ('The other gods said he'd gone to his country estate to deal out rations to his slaves.' Pl. *Trin.* 944)

Whereas in (a)–(c) the first argument of the subordinate clause is the same as the subject of the main verb, identity with another argument is common as well, as is shown in (d) and (e): in (d) the first argument of the infinitive *adsentari* is identical to *mihi*, the indirect object of the three-place verb *imperavi*; in (e), the first argument

of *reverti* is identical to *eum*, the object of *rogo*. A comparable example of the supine is (f).

- (d) Postremo imperavi egomet *mihi* / **omnia adsentari**.  
(‘Finally I ordered myself to agree with them in everything.’ Ter. *Eu.* 252–3)
- (e) Sed nunc quoque *eum reverti* / **maturius ex Dalmatia rogo**.  
(‘But now I appeal to him to hasten his return from Dalmatia.’ Stat. *Silv.* 4.pr.20)
- (f) *Pamphilam* / **cantatum** provocemu’.  
(‘Let’s summon Pamphila to sing.’ Ter. *Eu.* 442–3)

#### 14.11 *Prolative infinitive clauses*

Prolative infinitive clauses are of several types.<sup>26</sup> The examples used in the preceding section and repeated here illustrate two types: those functioning as object with two-place verbs, as in (a), and those functioning as object with three-place verbs, as in (b). The object status of *monere te* in (a) appears from the presence of the cataphorically used pronoun *hoc*. With so-called impersonal verbs like *licet* ‘it is permitted’, the prolative clause functions as the subject, as in (c).

- (a) At hoc volo, **monere te**.  
(‘But what I want is to warn you.’ Pl. *Ps.* 915)
- (b) Postremo imperavi egomet *mihi* / **omnia adsentari**.  
(‘Finally I ordered myself to agree with them in everything.’ Ter. *Eu.* 252–3)
- (c) Nunc licet *mi libere quidvis loqui*.  
(‘Now it is permitted to me to say anything freely.’ Pl. *Am.* 393)

If the prolative infinitive clause contains the copula *sum*, the subject complement agrees with a constituent of the superordinate clause: in (d), *callidus* and *veterator* agree with *homo luteus*, the subject of *vult*; in (e), *quieto* agrees with *tibi*, the second argument of *licet*. The same goes for secondary predicates, like *tacitus* with *os tuum praeberere* in (f). (For the rules of agreement involved, and some exceptions, see § 13.18.)

- (d) Deinde in hoc homo luteus etiam **callidus** ac **veterator** esse vult...  
(‘In the second place, this dirty fellow wants even in this to seem cunning and wily...’ Cic. *Ver.* 3.35)
- (e) Per hanc curam **quieto** tibi licet esse.  
(‘As far as that worry is concerned, you can be calm.’ Pl. *Epid.* 338)
- (f) ...iis (sc. testibus) **tacitus** os tuum praeberere malueris...  
(‘...you who preferred to show them your face without speaking a word...’ Cic. *Ver.* 3.41)

<sup>26</sup> ‘The infinitive used in this way with a finite verb is called the *Prolative Infinitive* because it “carries on” or extends the sense of the finite verb.’ (Woodcock 1959: 16).

With three-place verbs such as *rogo*—see (e) in § 14.10—the second argument functions as object; accordingly, when the verb is passive, the second argument functions as subject, as in (g).

- (g) Et sane cum quis **rogatur** accepta certa quantitate portionem restituere, duplex est fideicommissum...

(‘Certainly, when a man is asked, after he has accepted a certain sum, to restore his portion, the *fideicommissum* is double...’ Ulp. *dig.* 32.11.3)

Formally, *quis rogatur restituere* in (g) resembles the first type of nominative and infinitive construction illustrated by *Demaenetus dicitur habitare* in ex. (a) in § 14.9. However, there is a semantic difference: whereas *quis* in (g) is the person the question is addressed to, *Demaenetus* is not the addressee of *dicitur*. The addressee with the verb *dico* is in the dative and can also be expressed in a nominative and infinitive construction with *dico*, as in (h).

- (h) Dicitur **mihi** tuus servus anagnostes fugitivus cum Vardaeis esse.

(‘They tell me that a runaway slave of yours, a reader, is with the Vardaei.’ Vat. *Fam.* 5.9.2)

Another important difference between (g) and the nominative and infinitive construction is that the infinitive in a prolative infinitive clause is usually restricted to the present (see §§ 7.68–9, where there are also examples of a few other infinitives). In addition, with three-place *rogo* the second type of nominative clause with a passive infinitive (see § 14.9) is excluded. For further details concerning the prolative infinitive at the clause level, see §§ 15.114ff.<sup>27</sup>

With three-place verbs of accusing and convicting there are no restrictions, as is shown in (i) and (j) (for accusative and infinitive clauses with these verbs when meaning ‘to prove’ or ‘to allege’, see § 15.130).

- (i) ...insimulant eum (sc. Ulixem) tragoediae simulatione insaniae militiam subterfugere **voluisse**.

(‘...the tragedies charge him (sc. Ulysses) with having wanted to escape a soldier’s service by feigning madness.’ Cic. *Off.* 3.97—perfect infinitive)

- (j) ...incusabatur facile **toleraturus** exilium...

(‘...the charge was made that he would carry his exile lightly...’ Tac. *Ann.* 6.3.3—future infinitive)

The combination of a prolative infinitive clause and *volo* in (a) and *vult* in (d) looks like but is actually not an auxiliary + infinitive phrase; for the difference, see § 4.98. Prolative infinitive clauses are also used with nouns and adjectives (see § 17.15 and § 17.29, respectively).

In Early Latin and in poetry infinitive clauses can also be used as adjuncts with verbs of movement, as in (k), and with the verb *do* ‘to give’ and related verbs, as in (l). The

<sup>27</sup> For the restrictions that hold for prolative infinitive clauses, see Bolkestein (1976a and 1976b).

term ‘prolative’ is not used for such infinitive clauses in this Syntax. For further details, see § 16.86.

- (k) *Illa autem in arcem abiit aedem visere / Minervae.*  
 (‘She has gone to the acropolis to visit the temple of Minerva.’ Pl. *Bac.* 900–1)
- (l) Age, circumfer mulsum, **bibere** da usque plenis cantharis.  
 (‘Go on, pass the honey-wine round, give us to drink from full goblets.’ Pl. *Per.* 821)

#### 14.12 Gerundial clauses

Gerundial clauses can be used as arguments (see §§ 15.136–8) and as satellites (see § 16.99–104) at the clause level, as well as with nouns, adjectives, and adverbs at a lower level (see §§ 17.17–20; 31–4). They cannot, however, function as subject (see § 5.42). In Late Latin they can also be used as secondary predicates in more or less the same way as present participles (see § 21.14). Gerundial clauses may contain arguments and/or adjuncts, as in (a), two arguments; in (b), a (contextually given) argument and an adjunct (*saepius*); and in (c), one argument with each gerund (see also (b) in § 14.10). However, instead of a gerundial clause containing an object, gerundival clauses are preferred (see § 15.140). Satellites are very uncommon. Disjuncts and connectors and interactive particles are not allowed.

- (a) *Homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando.*  
 (‘For in nothing do men more nearly approach the gods than in doing good to their fellow-men.’ Cic. *Lig.* 38—NB: parallelism with *nulla re*)
- (b) *Deinde saepius dando (sc. munus gladiatorum) et modo vulneribus tenuis, modo sine missione, etiam [et] familiare oculis gratumque id spectaculum fecit...*  
 (‘Then by frequent repetitions, by sometimes allowing the fighters to go only as far as wounding one another, sometimes permitting them to fight without giving quarter, he made the sight familiar and even pleasing...’ Liv. 41.20.12)
- (c) *...duorum labori ego hominum parsissem lubens, / mei te rogandi et tis respondendi mihi.*  
 (‘...I’d have been happy to spare two people from trouble, me from asking you and you from answering me.’ Pl. *Ps.* 4–5)

The first argument of the gerundial clause is almost always identical to the subject of the superordinate clause. When *ipse* is used in the gerundial clause, it agrees with this subject, as in (d). An exception to the rule of coreferentiality is (e): with the zero-valent verb *pluit* (see § 4.90) coreferentiality is excluded. For further exceptions, see § 16.101 *fin.*, (f).

- (d) Sed eos Ser. Sulpicius Galba...prensando **ipse**...stimulaverat ut frequentes ad suffragium adessent.  
(‘But Servius Sulpicius Galba had egged on the men to appear for voting in full numbers, by buttonholing the men himself.’ Liv. 45.35.8)
- (e) ...Mucius...diceret omnem aquam oportere arceri quae **pluendo** crevisset.  
(‘...Mucius would come to argue that all water which has risen because of rain should be excluded.’ Cic. *Top.* 38)

### 14.13 Supine clauses

For the categorial status of the two supines and their relation, see § 3.21. The first supine (in *-um*) functions as a purpose adjunct at the clause level, whereas the second supine (in *-u*) is almost restricted to adjectives. With the first supine arguments are not uncommon nor is it difficult to find adjuncts, as in (c) in § 14.10 and in (a) below, with an object and a beneficiary adjunct. With the second supine arguments and satellites are rarely attested, which may be due to its infrequency. A rare instance of a satellite is *Latino sermone* in (b). With both supines disjuncts and discourse particles are excluded. For further details, see §§ 16.111–13.

- (a) Iam hercle ego per hortum ad amicam transibo meam / **mi hanc occupatum noctem**.  
(‘Now I’ll go over to my girlfriend through the garden in order to secure this night for myself.’ Pl. *St.* 437–8)
- (b) Ex his (*sc. oppidis*) digna **memoratu** aut *Latino sermone dictu* facilia, a flumine Ana litore Oceani oppidum Ossonoba...  
(‘Worthy of mention in this district, or easy to say in Latin, are: on the ocean coast beginning at the river Guadiana, the town Ossonoba...’ Plin. *Nat.* 3.7)

### 14.14 Participial, gerundival, and nominal clauses

The four remaining classes in Table 14.1 above (p. 6), both the verbal and the nominal ones, differ considerably from those discussed so far. With regard to their internal structure, they consist of an element that corresponds to the subject in a simple finite clause and an element that functions like a subject complement. This is shown in (a). The internal structure of *me...auctore*, an ablative absolute clause, resembles that of *(ego) auctor sum* in (b), where *ego* is the subject and the noun *auctor* the subject complement.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, the roles of the content of the advice and the person acting as adviser are inverted: in (a) the content of the advice is the main clause and the person acting as adviser subordinate; in (b) the content of the advice is governed by the person acting as adviser.

<sup>28</sup> Latin has no present participle of the verb *sum*.

- (a) Non **me quidem** / faciet **auctore** hodie ut illum decipiat.  
(‘Not with me advising him will he bring about the deception of that man today.’  
Pl. *St.* 602–3)
- (b) ...Lysimache, **auctor sum** ut me amando enices.  
(‘Lysimachus, I give you permission to kill me by loving me.’ Pl. *Mer.* 312)

In (a) the subject complement-like constituent is a noun. This function can also be fulfilled by constituents that belong to other lexical categories. Ex. (c) contains two coordinated ablative absolute clauses, one with a present participle (*dicente*), the other with an adjective (*vivo*). This adjective might theoretically be taken as an attribute modifying *Sulla* (which would then be its head), thus making it a noun phrase instead of a clause. However, the coordination with *contra dicente Cotta* proves that this analysis is incorrect.

- (c) Atque hoc et **contra dicente Cotta** et **Sulla vivo** iudicatum est.  
(‘And this verdict was given though Cotta opposed it and Sulla was still alive.’ Cic. *Caec.* 97)

Further support for the treatment of *Sulla vivo* as a clause and not as a phrase (and consequently for the treatment of *vivo* not as an (optional) attribute of *Sulla*, but as a subject complement-like constituent, as in *Sulla vivus erat*) can be found in the observation that *Sulla* alone would be difficult to understand. As for *dicente* in (c), this can be compared with the use of a finite verb, as in *Cotta contra dicebat*. Present participles rarely function as subject complement (see § 7.78 and § 9.23). Of the other participles the use of the perfect passive participle in participial clauses is very common, the perfect deponent rare, and the future participle extremely rare. In Early Latin nouns and adjectives are much more common than participles. An indication of the relative frequency of the various categories used in ablative absolute clauses is given in Table 14.2.<sup>29</sup>

**Table 14.2** Categories of subject complements in ablative absolute clauses in the letters of Cicero, Seneca, Pliny the Younger, and Fronto

	Perfect participles	Present participles	Adjectives	Nouns	Total
Cicero	58%	23%	10%	9%	741
Seneca	52%	40%	7%	1%	204
Pliny	58%	32%	6%	4%	279
Fronto	60%	33%	2%	5%	85

Another type is the gerundival clause *lamentando...filio* in (d). Here, too, *filio* alone would be difficult to interpret.

<sup>29</sup> For the development of the use of the various categories in the ablative absolute, see Flinck-Linkomies (1929). For numerical data, see Steele (1902: 298; 1904: 315) on Livy and the letters used for Table 14.2 respectively, partially repeated in Flinck-Linkomies (1929: 138).

- (d) Thetis quoque etiam **lamentando** pausam fecit **filio**.

(‘And even Thetis stopped lamenting for her son.’ Pl. *Truc.* 731)

In accordance with the rules of agreement (see § 13.2) the subject complements, participles, and gerundives in these clauses agree with their subject constituents.

There are a few exceptions to the rule of agreement between the two constituents of the ablative absolute that already drew the attention of ancient commentators. Examples are: *absente nobis* (Ter. *Eu.* 649); *praesente amicis* (Pompon. *com.* 47); *praesente multis* (*Rhet. Her.* 4.16); POSUIT · / TITULUM DE SUO · ASTAN- / TE CIVIBUS · SUTS / IMPENSI · ... (CIL V.895 (Aquila, Imperial period)).<sup>30</sup>

As for the subject of these clauses, it is usually a noun or a noun phrase (or a proper name). However, the subject may also be a pronoun, and this is the most frequent category in Early Latin. Interrogative and relative pronouns and phrases functioning as subject of a participial phrase deserve special mention. Two examples of interrogative expressions are given in (e) and (f). For autonomous relative clauses and for argument clauses functioning as subject of participial clauses, see § 16.91.

- (e) ...tu vero **quibus rebus** gestis, **quo hoste** superato contionem donandi causa advocare ausus es?

(‘But what victory had you won, what enemy had you defeated, that you should dare to summon a public meeting at which to make such presentations?’ Cic. *Ver.* 3.185)

- (f) Musa, mihi causas memora, **quo numine** laeso / quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus / insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores / impulerit.

(‘Tell me, O Muse, the causes; wherein thwarted in will or wherefor angered, did the Queen of heaven drive a man, of goodness so wondrous, to traverse so many perils, to face so many toils.’ Verg. *A.* 1.8–12)

The clausal character of the expressions under discussion deserves some further elaboration. In (g), the combination of the participle *occisus* and the noun *dictator* functions as the subject of the subordinate clause.

- (g) ...cum **occisus dictator** ...pulcherrimum facinus videretur.

(‘...when the slaughter of the dictator...seemed the finest of acts.’ Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.6—tr. Woodman)

This combination, just like *Sulla vivo* in (c), has at first sight all the properties of a noun phrase. The perfect passive participle *occisus* agrees with the human common noun *dictator* in the same way as an attributive participle, and the unit as a whole is singular, as can be seen from its agreement with the third person singular verb form (*videretur*). Semantically, however, the unit does not refer to a human being with the property of being dead, but to the fact that this particular human being has been killed. Thus the unit behaves as an event noun from the semantic point of view (for

<sup>30</sup> See TLL s.v. *praesens* 838.55ff.

example *occisio dictatoris*—note the translation),<sup>31</sup> and accordingly can be described as a most beautiful action. This analysis of the combination is corroborated by the existence of a few instances of coordination of a participial clause and a noun phrase containing a deverbal noun, as in (h).<sup>32</sup>

- (h) *Decuriatio tribulium, discriptio populi, suffragia largitione devincta severitatem senatus et bonorum omnium vocem ac dolorem excitarunt.*

(‘It was the dividing of the men of a tribe into decuries, the classification of the whole people, and the attempt to bind men’s votes by bribes, that provoked the severity of the senate and the energetic indignation of all good men.’ *Cic. Planc.* 45)

Further evidence that these clauses behave as one unit can be seen in the fact that they can be replaced by a clause of some sort. Thus the ablative absolute clause in (i) can be replaced by a *postquam* clause, as is shown in (j).<sup>33</sup> A participial clause can also be pronominalized, as it is by *quod* in (k).<sup>34</sup>

- (i) *(Cethegus) ...recitatis litteris (a me, sc. Cicerone) ...repente conticuit.*

(‘(Cethegus) ...after his letter was read out (by me) ...suddenly fell silent.’ *Cic. Catil.* 3.10)

- (j) *Postquam litteras recitavi (ego {Cicero}), Cethegus repente conticuit.*

- (k) *Plerique amicorum Alexandri non tam criminum quae palam obiciebantur atrocitatem quam memoriam occisi per illos Parmenionis, quod tacitum prodesse reis apud regem poterat, intuebantur ...*

(‘Very many of Alexander’s friends had an eye, not so much to the atrocity of the crimes that were openly laid to the charge of these men, as to the memory that they had killed Parmenion, which might secretly help the accused with the king...’ *Curt.* 10.1.6—NB: *quod tacitum* is also a participial clause)

The clausal character of participial clauses appears also from the possibility of adding arguments and satellites. This possibility is fully exploited by authors like Livy, especially for the ablative absolute clause, as in (l). The ablative absolute clause between the square brackets [[...]] contains two satellites, *prius* and a subordinate ablative absolute clause (*agro ...diviso*), which in turn contains the satellite *viritim*. Its subject *agro* is expanded by a participial phrase functioning as its attribute (between curly brackets). (For similar cases of complexity, see § 16.91.)

<sup>31</sup> However, participial clauses differ from deverbal nouns in several respects. See Spevak (2018).

<sup>32</sup> Holland (1986) discusses the various forms of absolute constructions in older Indo-European languages. He suggests that absolute constructions are essentially nominal sentences that have been grammaticalized and received different case forms in the various languages. The idea that the ablative absolute functions as a clausal unit and not as an expanded noun phrase has been supported *inter alios* by Flinck-Linkomies (1929: especially 92–6), Heick (1936), Pinkster (1972), Helander (1977: 28–9 and *passim*), Serbat (1979), Bolkestein (1981a), Lavency (1986), Hoff (1989), Longrée (1995), Nikitina and Haug (2016), and Spevak (2018).

<sup>33</sup> The equivalence of the ablative absolute clause with a finite temporal clause was already noted by Priscianus (18.14ff.): *me vidente puerum cecidisti = dum ego video, puerum cecidisti*. See also § 16.88 and § 16.89.

<sup>34</sup> This point is illustrated by Storme (2010: 126–7).

- (l) Servius...[[**conciliata prius voluntate plebis** (*agro {capto ex hostibus} viritim diviso*)]] ausus est ferre ad populum vellent iuberentne se regnare.  
 ('Servius...with the goodwill of the commons having first been obtained through a division among all the citizens of the land captured from the enemy, made bold to call upon the people to vote whether they were desiring or ordering him to rule.'  
 Liv. 1.46.1)

Another proof of the clausal character of participial clauses is the use of negators, as in (m).<sup>35</sup>

- (m) **Atque ex omnibus illa plaga est iniecta petitioni tuae non tacente me maxima...**  
 ('And the greatest of all these blows against your campaign fell not without a warning from me.' Cic. *Mur.* 48)

The examples discussed so far showed clauses functioning at the sentence level. However, participial and gerundival clauses can also be used at the noun phrase and the adjective phrase levels, as in (n), repeated from § 3.20. Here the gerundival clause is in the genitive, just like the noun phrase with which it is coordinated. The clauses discussed in this section are as a whole marked by the case or the preposition that is suitable in the context. (For further details, see Chapter 17.)

- (n) ...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)

Table 14.3 presents a survey of the various functions participial and nominal clauses may fulfil in their sentences. There are not attestations for all the structurally possible

**Table 14.3** Syntactic functions of participial and nominal clauses

function	verbal (participial)			nominal	
	perf. pass.	perf. dep.	pres. act.	noun	adjective
argument	<b>occisus dictator</b> (o)		fugiens Pompeius (p)	<b>filius orator</b> (q)	<b>gnarus hostis</b> (r)
satellite: bare case	recitatis litteris (s)	orta luce (t)	nullo hoste prohibente (u)	me auctore (v)	civibus salvis (w)
satellite: preposition	ob amicitiam servatam (x)			ante me consulem (y)	
attribute in a noun phrase	conservatae rei publicae testimonium (z)				

<sup>35</sup> For the use of negators with participles in general, see Flinck-Linkomies (1929: 39–44).

expressions, and some attested expressions are rare and only found in mannered literary texts, for example in the works of Tacitus. These expressions are printed in bold. Examples follow below.

- (o) ...**occisus dictator** ...pulcherrimum facinus videretur.  
(‘...the slaughter of the dictator...seemed the finest of acts.’ Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.6—tr. Woodman)
- (p) **Fugiens** ...**Pompeius** mirabiliter homines movet.  
(‘The picture of Pompey on the run affects people marvellously.’ Cic. *Att.* 7.11.4)
- (q) ...**filius legati orator publicae causae** satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.  
(‘...the sight of their general’s son pleading the common cause showed plainly enough that the things which they could not have obtained by orderly methods had been extracted by force.’ Tac. *Ann.* 1.19.5)
- (r) Augebat metum **gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis**.  
(‘To add to the alarm, the enemy was cognizant of the disaffection of the Roman ranks, and invasion was certain if the Rhine bank was abandoned.’ Tac. *Ann.* 1.36.2)
- (s) (*sc.* Cethegus) **recitatis litteris** ...repente conticuit.  
(‘(Cethegus,) after his letter was read out...suddenly fell silent.’ Cic. *Catil.* 3.10)
- (t) ...**orta luce** sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit (*sc.* Caesar).  
(‘...at sunrise (Caesar) sighted Britain left behind on the port side.’ Caes. *Gal.* 5.8.1)
- (u) ...**nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante** incolumem legionem in <N>antuates...perduxit ibique hiemavit.  
(‘...as there was no enemy to hinder him or delay his march, he brought the legion safely into the territory of the Nantuates...and there wintered.’ Caes. *Gal.* 3.6.4)
- (v) Nicias...etsi **invito me** tamen eodem **me auctore**, profectus est.  
(‘Nicias..., on my advice though against my will, set out.’ Cic. *Att.* 13.28.3)
- (w) **Hostibus victis, civibus salvis**.../ ...vobis gratis habeo atque ago, quia probe sum ultus meum inimicum.  
(‘Now that the foes are conquered, the citizens safe...I say and give thanks to you...because I have taken proper revenge on my enemy.’ Pl. *Per.* 753–6)
- (x) Amicitiam nonne facile (*sc.* defendere fuit) ei qui **ob eam summa fide, constantia iustitiaque servatam** maximam gloriam ceperit?  
(‘Would not the defence of friendship be easy for that man who on account of his preserving it with the utmost fidelity, constancy and sense of justice has gained the greatest renown?’ Cic. *Amic.* 25)
- (y) ...mortuus est annis LXXXVI ipsis **ante me consulem**.  
(‘...he died...exactly eighty-six years before my consulship.’ Cic. *Brut.* 61)

- (z) Sibi enim **bene gestae**, mihi **conservatae rei publicae** dat testimonium.  
 ('He bears witness to the state having been by him well served, by me saved.' Cic.  
*Att.* 2.1.6)

Grammarians have used various terms and notions for these clauses. This Syntax will use the expression DOMINANT (PARTICIPLE) CONSTRUCTION.<sup>36</sup>

## 14.15 Means of tightening and making more explicit the relationship between subordinate and superordinate clauses

The relation between subordinate and superordinate clauses can be strengthened by various devices. CORRELATIVE expressions in the superordinate clause, either preparing for a subordinate clause to come or referring back to one that has preceded, are shown in § 14.16 and § 14.17.<sup>37</sup> These expressions serve several purposes, one of which is to make the structure of the sentence more transparent, especially when it is long. They can also serve to draw attention to a salient element. A second device is the use of various particles and adverbs that clarify the relationship between the two clauses (§ 14.18). A third device is the use of various forms of INTERLACING: the integration of elements that semantically belong to one clause into the syntactic structure of the other clause (§ 14.19).

## 14.16 Preparative elements in the main clause

Subordinate clauses can be announced in the superordinate clause by means of preparative expressions of various types.<sup>38</sup> Very common are neuter (almost always singular)<sup>39</sup> forms of the pronouns *hic*, *ille*, *is*, and (rarely) *iste*, in that order of frequency.<sup>40</sup> Examples of each of these pronouns are (a)–(d). For their cataphoric use in general, see § 11.139. The use of cataphoric pronouns is particularly frequent in interactive texts (e.g. letters, orations, and drama).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The term 'dominant participle' was introduced by A.G. de Man in his Dutch school grammar *Accipe ut reddas* (1965). A more common term is *ab urbe condita* construction. See Woodcock (1959: 75–7), Bolkestein (1980b; 1980c; 1981b; 1983), Lambertz (1982: 568–86), and Haspelmath (1987).

<sup>37</sup> For a very complete survey of correlative devices, see Herman (1963: 74–104).

<sup>38</sup> See Bodelot (2000: 41–158) on 'complétives et construction appositionnelle'. Also Bodelot (2003: 201–5; 2010; 2016) and Lavency (2003: 115–25).

<sup>39</sup> For a few exceptional instances of the plural, see TLL s.v. *ille* 348.40f. (e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 5.17).

<sup>40</sup> In the corpus used by Bodelot (2000: 121). See also her p. 139 for the use of the individual words in various text types. For her description of their meanings, see pp. 122–38.

<sup>41</sup> See Bodelot (2000: 122).

- (a) Quid si **hoc** potis est, *ut* tu taceas, ego loquar?  
(‘What if we do this: you keep quiet, I’ll do the talking.’ Pl. *Bac.* 35—subject clause)
- (b) Eheu, huic **illud** dolet, / *quia* nunc remissus est edendi exercitus.  
(‘Oh, oh, oh, this one (*points to his stomach*) is in pain because the army for eating has been dismissed now.’ Pl. *Capt.* 152–3—subject clause)
- (c) Quaeso ut sat habeas **id**, pater, *quod* Chrysalus / me obiurigavit plurimum verbis malis...  
(‘I beg you to consider it enough, father, that Chrysalus has scolded me with a great many harsh words...’ Pl. *Bac.* 1019–20—object clause)
- (d) Idem ego **istuc** quom credebam credidi, / *te nihil esse redditurum*.  
(‘When I trusted you with that money, I trusted that the very same thing would happen, that you wouldn’t return anything.’ Pl. *Cur.* 541–2—accusative and infinitive clause functioning as object)

Exx. (a)–(d) illustrate the use of these pronouns with argument clauses. The verbs of the main clauses can also govern these argument clauses without the preparative pronoun.<sup>42</sup> The pronouns can therefore be considered optional and serve to emphasize the content of the clause. However, there are also cases like (e): without *hoc* the *quod* clause seems difficult to interpret as the object with *sollicitudo habet*. More difficult is *id* in (f). It has generally been regarded as an ‘internal object’<sup>43</sup> but it is actually a satellite in its clause. Different again is (g), where *hōc* (ablative) marks the *quod* clause as a means adjunct (or is it a third argument?).<sup>44</sup> Note that in this last case the ablative pronoun is necessary for ensuring a correct interpretation of the subordinate clause (*quod* does not mean ‘because’). The function of the pronouns in these cases is not so much to prepare for the following subordinate clause, but to offer grammatical support. This use resembles the use of prepositional phrases to integrate subordinate clauses in a superordinate clause, for which see § 14.6.

- (e) Habet **hoc** sollicitudo, *quod* omnia necessaria putat.  
(‘Anxiety has this quality, that it supposes all things necessary.’ Plin. *Ep.* 6.9.2—object clause)
- (f) ...**id** nunc his cerebrum uritur, / *me esse hos trecentos Philippos facturum lucri*.  
(‘Their brains are now suffering this annoyance, namely that I am going to make a profit of these three hundred Philippics.’ Pl. *Poen.* 770–1—accusative and infinitive clause functioning as reason adjunct)
- (g) ...**hoc** me tamen consolor *quod* posthac ad ludos venies nosque vises...  
(‘I console myself with the thought that henceforth you will come to the shows and visit us...’ Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.6—means adjunct)

<sup>42</sup> See Bodelot (2000: 76–7).

<sup>43</sup> So TLL *s.v.* is 479.33.

<sup>44</sup> For more instances of means adjuncts (or third arguments) with *consolor*, see TLL *s.v.* 480.25ff.

A second type of preparative expression consists of noun phrases containing one of the cataphorically used determiners *hic*, *ille*, *is*, and *iste*. Examples with the semantically rather ‘vague’ event noun *res* ‘act’ are (h) and (i). In these instances the subordinate clauses would also be possible without the *res* expressions.

- (h) Digne autem coqui / nimis lepide **ei rei** dant operam, *ne* cenet senex.  
 (‘And the cooks for their part take care ever so charmingly that the old man won’t get his dinner.’ Pl. *Cas.* 772–3—third argument)
- (i) Sed in hac difficultate **illa me res** tamen, iudices, consolatur, *quod* vos de criminibus sic audire consuestis ut ...  
 (‘But in the face of this difficulty, judges, this thing still consoles me—that you have been accustomed to hear accusations in such a way that ...’ Cic. *Clu.* 3—subject)

Cataphorically used determiners can also be used as preparative devices with nouns that may govern a subordinate clause, as with *mos* ‘custom’ in (j) and *consuetudo* ‘custom’ in (k), both with *ut* clauses. In these cases the determiners have an emphasizing function.

- (j) Habent **hunc** morem plerique argentarii, / *ut* alius alium poscant, reddant nemini ...  
 (‘Most bankers have the following custom: they demand money from each other while they themselves don’t repay anything to anyone.’ Pl. *Cur.* 377–8)
- (k) Habuit et **hanc** consuetudinem, *ut* octo calvos rogaret ad c[a]enam ...  
 (‘He had this custom, moreover, of asking to dinner eight bald men ...’ Hist. Aug. *Heliog.* 29.3)

Pronouns can also be used as preparative devices in combination with nouns that function as subject or object complement and are followed by an appropriate subordinate clause, as in (l). Here *hunc* and *hanc* are subject of their clauses and *sermonem* ‘talk’ and *opinionem* ‘opinion’ are subject complements.

- (l) Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitror, iudices, **hunc** per hosce dies sermonem volgi atque **hanc** opinionem populi Romani fuisse, C. Verrem altera actione responsurum non esse ...  
 (‘Gentlemen, I think that none of you is unaware that it has during these last few days been the common talk, and the belief of this nation, that Gaius Verres would make no defence at the second hearing ...’ Cic. *Ver.* 1.1)
- (m) Populi Romani **hanc** esse consuetudinem, *ut* socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse.  
 (‘This was the tradition of the Roman people, to desire that its allies and friends should not only lose none of their possessions, but should enjoy increase of influence, dignity, and distinction.’ Caes. *Gal.* 1.43.8)

The same preparative devices are available for most satellite clauses: a pronoun in (n), a determiner + *res* in (o), and a determiner + *causa* in (p). Note that the *quod* clause

(a reason adjunct) suits the meaning of *causa* ‘reason.’ In addition there are preparative adverbs, as in (q). In all these cases the preparative device is optional and merely gives emphasis, since the subordinators have a clear enough meaning for ensuring the correct interpretation even without it.

- (n) At non **eo**, *quia* tibi non cupiam quae velis ...  
 (‘But not because I wouldn’t wish you to have what you want...’ Pl. *As.* 844–5)
- (o) Sed ego apud me te esse **ob eam rem**, miles cum veniat, volo, / *quia*, quom tu aderis, huic mihi que haud faciet quisquam iniuriam.  
 (‘But when the soldier comes, I’d like you to be with me for the simple reason that when you’re there, no one will wrong her or me.’ Pl. *Bac.* 58–9)
- (p) Is dicere solebat **ob hanc causam** praestare nostrae civitatis statum ceteris civitatibus, **quod** in illis singuli fuissent fere quorum suam quisque rem publicam constituisset ...  
 (‘Cato used to say that our constitution was superior to those of other States on account of the fact that in those it had generally been down to individuals, each of whom had established his own state...’ Cic. *Rep.* 2.2)
- (q) Nam partim **ideo** fortes in decernendo non erant, *quia* nihil timebant, partim *quia* timebant <omnia>.  
 (‘Thus, some were disinclined to take firm measures because they were not afraid of anything, others because they were afraid of everything.’ Cic. *Mur.* 51)

In (n)–(q) the preparative expression and the subordinator are semantically more or less equivalent. However, there are also combinations of a preparative device and a subordinator where this is not the case. Examples are (r)–(t).<sup>45</sup> In all these instances, the *si* clauses are prepared by an expression that functions as argument in the main clause. (In (r), the *si* clause seems also possible without a preparative element; in (s) and (t) this looks more problematic.)

- (r) **Idne** irascimini, *si* quis superior est quam nos?  
 (‘Are you mad about it, if someone is more arrogant than we are?’ Cato *orat.* 169)
- (s) Sed totum est **in eo**, *si* ante quam ille ineat magistratum.  
 (‘But everything depends on this, whether (you come) before he starts his term of office.’ Cic. *Att.* 2.22.5)
- (t) ...plus esse **in eo** iudicabant, *si* uxor et soror tua quam *si* Augustae dicerentur.  
 (‘...they believed there was more in this, whether they were spoken of as your wife and sister, than in whether (they were spoken of as) Augustae.’ Plin. *Pan.* 84.6)

<sup>45</sup> Examples (r) and (t) are taken from the OLD *s.v.* *si* § 12c. See also TLL *s.v.* in 779.16ff. for *in eo cum* and *in eo dum* combinations in translations of the Bible.

Noun phrases without a determiner can also function as preparative expressions, as *secundis rebus nostris* in (u), which prepares the accusative and infinitive clause *duos...missos* (and its sequence); *glorior* can also be used with an accusative and infinitive clause without such a preparative phrase (see § 15.97). The relationship between the accusative and infinitive clause and *secundis rebus nostris* is the same as the one between appositive noun phrases: the accusative and infinitive clause can be interpreted as a more precise indication of what is meant by *secundis rebus nostris* (this relationship is sometimes called ‘explicative’).

- (u) Non ego **secundis rebus nostris** gloriabor duos consules ac duos consulares exercitus ab nobis sub iugum missos et si qua alia aut laeta aut gloriosa nobis evenerunt.

(‘I shall not boast of our successes, that two consuls and two consular armies were sent under the yoke by us, nor of any other events which have brought us either joy or fame.’ Liv. 23.42.7)

Another common device is illustrated by (v). Here, the *quod* clause is preceded by an autonomous relative clause with the determiner *illud*, the content of which is specified by the *quod* clause.<sup>46</sup> Note that in the Classical period *recordor* usually governs an accusative and infinitive clause and not a *quod* clause.<sup>47</sup>

- (v) ...recordamini *illud* etiam *quod* *nondum est relatum*, **quod** eodem fere tempore factus in agro Piceno Potentiae nuntiatur terrae motus horribilis...

(‘...recall, too, what was not discussed before, that an awful earthquake is reported to have occurred at about the same time at Potentia in Picenum...’ Cic. *Har.* 62)

It is difficult to draw a borderline between the preparative devices discussed above and the use of non-restrictive appositive clauses discussed in § 11.82 *fin.*

The adverbs *sic* and *ita* can be used as preparative devices with argument clauses, as in (w) and (x), with accusative and infinitive clauses.<sup>48</sup>

- (w) **Sic** enim sentio ius legatorum, cum hominum praesidio munitum sit, tum etiam divino iure esse vallatum.

(‘For my feelings are that the privileges of ambassadors are not only fenced round by human protection, but are also guarded by divine laws.’ Cic. *Har.* 34)

- (x) (*sc. Verres*) Qui **ita** dictitat, iis esse metuendum qui quod ipsis solis satis esset surripissent...

(‘Whose favourite saying it is that they have got to fear who have stolen only as much as is enough for themselves...’ Cic. *Ver.* 4)

<sup>46</sup> See Bodelot (2000: 54–9) for this use of relative (and other types of) clauses.

<sup>47</sup> *Quod* seems to be first attested in Suet. *Tit.* 8.1, according to the *OLD*.

<sup>48</sup> See Lavency (2004). For the use of *ita* with *facio ut*, see Taillade (2019: 174–5).

### 14.17 Resumptive elements in the main clause

The same expressions that are used as preparative elements (see § 14.16) can also be used as resumptive expressions. However, the resumptive use of pronouns and determiners is much less frequent than the preparative use. Most common is the anaphoric pronoun/determiner *is*, as is to be expected, followed by *hic*; *ille* and *iste* are very rare.<sup>49</sup> Examples of resumptive pronouns and of a resumptive determiner (+ *res*) referring to argument clauses are given in (a)–(c) and (d), respectively.

- (a) Nondum egressum esse eum, **id** miror tamen.  
(‘That he has not come out yet, that surprises me.’ Pl. *Rud.* 1201)
- (b) Nos secundum ferri nunc per urbem haec omnia, / ne quis tibi **hoc** vitio vortat.  
(‘All this stuff now being carried behind us throughout the city, I’m afraid that someone might find fault with you for it.’ Pl. *Mil.* 1349–50)
- (c) Ut filius / cum illa habitet apud te, **hoc** vostrum consilium fuit?  
(‘That my son lives with her in your house, was that your scheme?’ Ter. *Ph.* 933–4)
- (d) Nisi forte quod apud publicanos gratiosus fuisti, in **ea re** spes te aliqua consolatur.  
(‘Unless by chance some hope consoles you in the fact that you were popular with the revenue contractors.’ Cic. *Ver.* 2.169)

Examples of the same devices with satellite clauses are (e)–(h).

- (e) *Quia* tam misere hoc esse cupio verum, **eo** vereor magis.  
(‘I so desperately want this to be true; for that reason I’m all the more nervous.’ Ter. *Ad.* 698)
- (f) Acrius ex ira *quod* enim se quisque parabat / ulcisci quam nunc concessumst legibus aequis, / **hanc ob rem** est homines pertaesum vi colere aevom.  
(‘For because each man in his wrath would make ready to avenge himself more severely than is permitted now by just laws, for this reason men were utterly weary of living in violence.’ Lucr. 5.1148–50)
- (g) Videte igitur quam inique accidat, *quia* res indigna sit, **ideo** turpem existimationem sequi; *quia* turpis existimatio sequatur, **ideo** rem indignam non vindicari.  
(‘See, then, how iniquitously it happens, that because an action is infamous, therefore a discreditable reputation should attach to it, because a loss of reputation would ensue, for that reason a scandalous action is not punished.’ Cic. *Caec.* 8)
- (h) *Quamquam* gravatus fuisti, non nocuit **tamen**.  
(‘Even though you objected, nevertheless it still didn’t hurt you.’ Pl. *St.* 722)

<sup>49</sup> In the corpus of Bodelot (2000: 121). See also Bodelot (2016).

The resumptive use of *id* in (a) above resembles its anaphoric use to refer to all or part of the content of a preceding clause or even passage (see § 11.136). In (i) *id* refers to the content of the *quamquam* clause, whereas *tamen* resumes the subordinator itself. In (j), *illud* refers to the content of the *postquam* clause.

- (i) Quorum autem officiorum praecepta traduntur, ea *quamquam* pertinent ad finem bonorum, tamen minus **id** apparet ...  
 ('But as regards special duties for which positive rules are laid down, though they are affected by the doctrine of the supreme good, still that is not so obvious ...' Cic. *Off.* 1.7)
- (j) Ceterum *postquam* parte muri arietibus decussa per ipsas ruinas transcenderunt in urbem armati, **illud** principium velut novi atque integri laboris fuit.  
 ('But when a section of the wall was thrown down by the battering-rams and the soldiers had entered the city over the ruins, that was, so to speak, the beginning of new and fresh toil.' Liv. 32.17.6)

#### 14.18 Particles and adverbs tightening or clarifying the relationship between subordinate and superordinate clauses

Certain particles can also be used to tighten the relationship between superordinate and subordinate clauses. An example is the use of *iam* in main clauses that are accompanied by subordinate clauses of manner or time, and especially with conditional clauses, as in (a)–(d). Here *iam* puts emphasis on the specific semantic relation between the subordinate clause and its main clause.<sup>50</sup> For a similar use of *demum*, see (e).<sup>51</sup>

- (a) **Iam** iurgio enicabit (*sc.* uxor), *si* intro rediero.  
 ('Now she'll kill me with her nagging if I go back in.' Pl. *Mer.* 557)
- (b) Nam *si* cogites, remittas **iam** me onerare iniuriis.  
 ('For if you were to think about it, you would now stop troubling me with your unjust demands.' Ter. *An.* 827)
- (c) *Ut* igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita **iam** corpus passim distrahendum dabis.  
 ('Therefore, just as a little while ago you bore a heart divided between the interests of Fidenae and Rome, so now you'll give up your body to be torn apart.' Liv. 1.28.9)
- (d) Id tu, Brute, **iam** intelleges, *cum* in Galliam veneris.  
 ('You will understand presently what I mean, Brutus, when you come to Gaul.' Cic. *Brut.* 171)

<sup>50</sup> For this use of *iam* as an emphasizing particle, see Kroon and Risselada (1998; 2002: 73–5). For critical comments, see Rosén (2009: 360). See also § 22.40.

<sup>51</sup> For *demum*, see Rosén (1993, especially p. 178) and § 22.39.

- (e) Servata res est **demum**, *si* illam videro.  
(‘Things are safe at last if I see her.’ Pl. *Mer.* 909)

Just like other constituents, certain subordinate clauses (adjunct clauses and autonomous relative clauses) may contain the emphasizing particle *quidem*, which follows the subordinator or relative pronoun. Examples of subordinators and of a relative clause are (f)–(g) and (h), respectively. See also the use of the scalar particle *etiam* with a *quia* reason adjunct clause in (i). This particle seems to be excluded with a *quoniam* reason disjunct clause.<sup>52</sup>

- (f) Haeret haec res, *si* **quidem** haec iam mulier facta est ex viro.  
(‘This is a sticky matter, if he really has now become a woman instead of a man.’ Pl. *Am.* 814—*tr.* Christenson)
- (g) Cedo sis dexteram. / # *Ut* **quidem** tu huius oculos illutis manibus tractes aut teras?  
(‘Lend me a hand, please. # So that you can handle or rub her eyes with dirty hands?’ Pl. *Poen.* 315–16)
- (h) Sed <opsecro> te, nullusne est tibi amator alius quisquam? / # Nisi tuos modo unus filiu’st, *quem* **quidem** ego amem alius nemo est.  
(‘But please don’t you have any other lover? # Apart from your only son, there’s no one else whom I can love at least.’ Pl. *Cist.* 369–70)
- (i) Sed qui non modo *quia* necesse est mori, verum **etiam** *quia* nihil habet mors quod sit horrendum, mortem non timet, magnum is sibi praesidium ad beatam vitam comparavit.  
(‘But the man who is without fear of death, not simply because it is unavoidable but also because it has no terrors for him, has secured a valuable aid towards rendering life happy.’ Cic. *Tusc.* 2.2)

Adverbs are another means to make the relationship between a subordinate clause and its superordinate clause more precise. Examples are *nisi* ‘except’, *praesertim* ‘especially’, *praeterquam* ‘apart from’, as in (j)–(l), respectively. Note that *nisi* and *praeterquam* can also be used as subordinators by themselves. (For more *si* clauses, see § 16.57; for *cum* clauses, see § 16.10.) The same adverbs can also be used in combination with various participial constructions, as in (m) and (n), with present participles.

- (j) ...nec mi umbra hic usquam’st, **nisi** *si* in puteo quaepiam’st.  
(‘...and I haven’t any shade here anywhere, unless there’s a bit in the well.’ Pl. *Mos.* 769)
- (k) Quo usque negotiaberet *cum* **praesertim** sis isto loco natus?  
(‘How long are you going to continue in business, especially since you were born in that place?’ Cic. *Flac.* 70)

<sup>52</sup> For further examples of the use of particles and adverbs with subordinate clauses, see Rosén (2008: 220–1). For *etiam*, see also § 22.22.

- (l) De classe Carthaginiensibus remissum, **praeterquam** si navium ex foedere deberent.  
 ('The Carthaginians were released from their promise about the fleet, except if they had a treaty obligation to provide ships.' Liv. 36.4.9—NB: see Briscoe *ad loc.*)
- (m) ...breviter, quoniam non consulto sed casu in eorum mentionem incidi, **quasi praeteriens** satisfaciam universis.  
 ('...but since I have come to mention them not intentionally, but by chance, I will briefly, as though in passing, satisfy them all in a few words.' Cic. *Div. Caec.* 50)
- (n) E diverso niger est Alabandicus (sc. lapis) terrae suae nomine, **quamquam** et Miletu nascens...  
 ('On the other hand, the stone named after Alabanda, its place of origin, although it occurs also at Miletus, is black...' Plin. *Nat.* 36.62)

A number of connectors can be used in a main clause that follows a subordinate clause and in this way serve as a 'superordinator'.<sup>53</sup> Examples are (o) and (p). In (o), *atque* 'at once'<sup>54</sup> follows a temporal clause. In (p), the contrast between the contents of the conditional clause and the main clause is marked by *at*.

- (o) **Quoniam** convocavi, **atque** illi me ex senatu segregant.  
 ('When I've assembled them, they exclude me from the senate meeting at once.' Pl. *Mos.* 1050)
- (p) **Si** tibi est machaera, **at** nobis veruina est domi.  
 ('If you have a sword, we have a spit at home.' Pl. *Bac.* 887)

## 14.19 Forms of interlacing of superordinate and subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses behave like self-contained units: constituents of superordinate and subordinate clauses are usually confined to their own domain. For most types of subordinate clauses, it is rare to find elements of them within the boundaries of a superordinate clause or the other way around. However, sometimes a constituent that belongs semantically to a subordinate clause fulfils a function in the superordinate clause: this is the case for the pseudo-object constituents discussed in § 9.17, an example of which is (a), taken from § 14.2. There are also other types of ANTICIPATION and POSTPONEMENT, illustrated by (b) and (c), respectively (see § 18.14 for parallels of ex. (c)). In (b) *meliozem* in the main clause is in fact a modifier of *condicio* in the relative clause; in (c) it is the other way around: *lignum* in the relative clause is in fact the

<sup>53</sup> The term is used by Rosén (1989b: 398–9; 2009: 343–6), from whom the examples are taken. For further examples of conditional clauses, see § 16.57.

<sup>54</sup> 'Forthwith', 'lo and behold' are the translations of OLD *s.v.* § 6. See also TLL *s.v.* *atque* 1075.82ff. 'et statim'.

modifier of the noun *equos* in the main clause. Note that in both instances the form of the modifier is determined by the clause to which it syntactically belongs.

- (a) ...ego **te** faciam miserrimus mortalis uti sis.  
(‘I’ll make sure you’re the most wretched mortal on earth.’ Pl. *Aul.* 443)
- (b) Nisi qui *melio*rem afferet / **quae** mi atque amicis placeat **condicio** magis, / quasi fundum vendam ...  
(‘Unless anyone offers a better deal, which I and my associates like more, as if I were selling a plot by auction...’ Pl. *Capt.* 179–81)
- (c) ...non sunt tabellae sed *equos* **quem** misere Achivi **ligneum**.  
(‘These aren’t tablets, but the wooden horse which the Achaeans sent.’ Pl. *Bac.* 936)

Whereas in the examples above the form of the ‘transposed’ constituent is adjusted to suit the structure to which it belongs, in another form of interlacing no such adjustment occurs. In (d) *eri lenitas* belongs to a subordinate clause together with *quorsum evaderet*, from which it is separated by the governing verb *verebar*. *Semper*, which belongs with *verebar* to the superordinate clause, separates *eri* (topical information) from *lenitas*. The forms are the same as if the order had been: *semper verebar quorsum eri lenitas evaderet*. (For further discussion, see § 23.65.)

- (d) Mirabar hoc si sic abiret et **eri** semper **lenitas** / verebar quorsum evaderet.  
(‘I was surprised if it could end this way, and I’ve been afraid all the time of where our master’s calmness was leading.’ Ter. *An.* 175–6)

Subordinators are often preceded by constituents that form a link with a preceding sentence, notably relative and anaphoric pronouns and determiners. See § 23.20–8.

## 14.20 Subordinators

Latin offers a broad spectrum of subordinators, some of which have a very precise meaning, for example *postquam* ‘after’, while others have a broader meaning, for example *cum* (*quom*) ‘when’, ‘since’, ‘although’. In addition, their interpretation may vary depending on the context in which they are used (in the case of *cum* one can think of its purely temporal, its causal, or its concessive interpretation). Some subordinators are only used in satellite clauses (for example the two just mentioned, although there is some doubt about the status of *cum* clauses with verbs of praising and thanking—see § 15.23), while others are used in both argument and satellite clauses (notably *ut*). Some of the words involved belong to only one lexical category (e.g. *postquam*: subordinator—see also below),<sup>55</sup> others have homonyms in one or more other categories (e.g. *ut* (*uti*): subordinator and interrogative/relative manner

<sup>55</sup> For Late instances of the use as adverb, see TLL s.v. 250.8ff.

adverb ‘how’).<sup>56</sup> Some of them are more or less stable over the period covered by this Syntax, others undergo significant changes: in Early and Classical Latin there are instances in which *post* and *postea* are combined with *quam* even though particles or full words intervene between them, as in (a). This shows the development of the combination of adverb + comparative particle into a subordinator. Another example is *licet*, the development of which from an ‘impersonal’ verb ‘it is permitted’ into a concessive subordinator can be seen from Cicero’s time onwards; this development is shown in (b), where *licet* is on its way to becoming a subordinator (for further details, see § 16.81).<sup>57</sup>

- (a) Itaque Calpurnius cum...cognosset...Claudium aedes **postea** proscrisisse **quam** esset ab auguribus demoliri iussus, arbitrum illum adegit...
- (‘And so, when Calpurnius...had discovered that Claudius had advertised his house for sale only after the augurs had ordered them (*sc.* the parts of the house obstructing the augurs’ view) to be pulled down, he summoned the former owner before a court...’ Cic. *Off.* 3.66)
- (b) **Licet** iste dicat emisse, sicuti solet dicere, credite hoc mihi, iudices.
- (‘Verres may say, as he usually does say, that he bought everything; but believe me, gentlemen.’ Cic. *Ver.* 4.133)

## 14.21 Subordinators used with both argument and satellite clauses

Several subordinators are used both with argument and with satellite (adjunct and disjunct) clauses. The four most prominent ones in all periods of Latin are *quod*, *ut* (*uti*) and *ne*, and *si*. The question of how to distinguish formally between, for example, an *ut* argument and an *ut* satellite clause has received considerable attention in the last few decades.<sup>58</sup> Apart from the fact that an *ut* argument clause occupies one of the obligatory positions required by the meaning of the governing verb, there are a number of objective tests that one can use to determine the status of a particular clause. One such test is to determine which type of correlative device can be used with a given subordinate clause (see §§ 14.16–17), for example *id...ut* (argument clause) vs *ideo...ut* (a satellite purpose clause). Another test consists in determining which question words may trigger the subordinate clause as an answer, for example *quid?* vs *cur?* A third one is to determine whether clauses of both types are found juxtaposed in one complex sentence, as in (a) with an *ut* argument and an *ut* satellite purpose clause.<sup>59</sup> For a similar instance of a *quod* argument and a *quoniam* reason clause, see (b).

<sup>56</sup> For the use of the form *uti*, see Panchón (2013). For Ennius and Vitruvius, see Adams (2016: 9–10).

<sup>57</sup> For a study of subordinators in satellite clauses from a typological perspective, see Hoffmann (2013, also in: 2018a: 191–224).

<sup>58</sup> For *ut*, see Bolkestein (1977a), LSS § 7.4.1, and Bodelot (2000: 210–42; 2002a); for *si*, see Bodelot (2000: 161–210).

<sup>59</sup> For another instance of two *ut* clauses (‘at first sight puzzling’ (Dyck *ad loc.*)), see Cic. *Cael.* 8.

- (a) ...intellexi...nihil mihi optatius cadere posse quam **ut** tu me quam primum consequere, *ut*, cum ex Italia profecti essemus..., tuo tuorumque praesidio uteremur...
- (‘I see that nothing could be more desirable to me than that you should overtake me as soon as possible, so that when I leave Italy I may have the protection of you and your people...’ Cic. *Att.* 3.1.1)
- (b) Sane gaudeo **quod** te interpellavi, *quoniam* quidem tam praeclarum mihi dedisti iudicii tui testimonium.
- (‘I am very glad indeed that I interrupted you, since you have given me so fine a proof of your good opinion.’ Cic. *Leg.* 3.1)

Another question which has received attention for a much longer period of time than the preceding one is how to explain the use of the same subordinator in both argument and subordinate clauses. Here *ut* may again serve as an illustration.<sup>60</sup> It can be used as a subordinator in argument clauses with manipulation verbs, as in (c), and as a subordinator in various satellite clauses, for example in purpose clauses, as in (d).

- (c) Impero auctorque <ego> sum **ut** tu me quoivis castrandum loces.
- (‘I order and command you to hand me over to anyone you like for castration.’ Pl. *Aul.* 251)
- (d) Explicari mihi tuum consilium plane volo, **ut** penitus intellegam.
- (‘I certainly do want to have your advice set out for me so that I thoroughly understand it.’ Cic. *Att.* 8.12.1)

In (c), the person who gives the order indicates to the ‘you’ that the latter is responsible for the action *me quoivis castrandum loces* and has to perform it. Completely different is the situation in (d). The *ut* clause is optional from the point of view of the main clause. The person who is asked to explain his plan clearly has no control over the ‘I’ who has to understand the matter; the ‘I’ could not be ordered to understand things, because he would have no control over this. So on first sight *ut* argument and *ut* purpose clauses may be thought to share a semantic feature like ‘working towards the achievement of a future state of affairs’, but in reality they are different from a semantic point of view. Whereas *ut* in (d) contributes to the interpretation of the subordinate clause as ‘purpose’, *ut* in (c) is ‘only’ a linking device, and the interpretation of the subordinate clause depends on the governing expression.<sup>61</sup>

The difficulty involved in finding a common explanation for the use of *ut* on the argument and satellite levels is even greater for so-called *ut temporale*, as in (e) (for details, see § 16.24).

<sup>60</sup> For an extensive discussion of the etymology and the diversity of use of *ut*, see Panchón (2003: 335–66).

<sup>61</sup> See also Bodelot (2000: 215–18), who discusses ex. (d), and Panchón (2003: 461–6).

- (e) Principio **ut** illo advenimus, ubi primum terram tetigimus, / continuo Amphitruo delegit viros primorum principes.

(‘First, when we arrived there, as soon as we touched the shore, Amphitruo immediately chose the leading men among those of high rank.’ Pl. *Am.* 203–4)

Temporal *ut* and purpose *ut* clauses differ from each other in several respects. The former usually precede the superordinate clause, are in the indicative, and there are no restrictions on the tense of the clause. Purpose clauses, by contrast, usually follow, are always in the subjunctive, and are subject to the rules of the sequence of tenses.

## 14.22 Subordinators and relative adverbs

Spatial satellite clauses (see § 16.6) are linked to the superordinate clause by means of a relative adverb. In (a) the second *ubi* ‘where’ marks the (independently used) clause as the location where the *ego* in the previous sentence will be: (*eris*) *ubi maxime esse vis*. In its own clause *ubi* functions as the space argument with *esse* in its meaning ‘to be somewhere’. Like the other space adverbs, relative *ubi* has interrogative and indefinite homonyms (see the first *ubi?* in (a)). *Ubi* clauses may also function as adnominal relative clauses with a noun (phrase), as in (b) with *aedis*. In addition, *ubi* may introduce autonomous relative clauses, which can fulfil various functions in the superordinate clause, for example as the object with *invenires* in (c). For details, see § 18.16.

- (a) **Ubi** ego ero? # **Ubi** maxime esse vis.  
(‘Where will I be? # Where you want to be most.’ Pl. *Mos.* 392)
- (b) ...hasce aedis esse oportet / Demaenetus **ubi** dicitur habitare.  
(‘...it ought to be this house here where Demaenetus is said to live.’ Pl. *As.* 381–2)
- (c) **Ubi** habitaret invenires saltem, si nomen nequis.  
(‘You should have at least found out where he lives, if you can’t find out his name.’ Pl. *Mer.* 636)

The situation is less clear with the linking devices of temporal satellite clauses (§ 16.7). *Quando* ‘when’ resembles spatial *ubi* in the coexistence of relative, interrogative, and indefinite homonyms. Also, just like spatial adverbs, *quando* can be combined with *cumque* (*quandocumque*). However, *cum* (*quom*) is different. Etymologically it is related to the relative/indefinite pronoun/determiner *qui, quae, quod*,<sup>62</sup> but it has no interrogative and indefinite homonyms, and it cannot be combined with *cumque*.<sup>63</sup> It can be used in the same way as an adnominal relative clause with words denoting time (*tempus cum* ‘a time at which’) (see § 18.38), but there are no instances of autonomous

<sup>62</sup> See de Vaan (2008) s.v.

<sup>63</sup> With the exception of *cum...cumque* in Lucr. 2.114. See Bailey *ad loc.*

*cum* clauses parallel to the autonomous *ubi* clause in (c). In this Syntax *cum* is treated as one of the broad variety of temporal subordinators of various origins.<sup>64</sup>

*Ut* is even more complicated. In the OLD it is labelled an adverb and a conjunction. There are two adverbial homonyms (interrogative/exclamative ‘how?!’ and relative ‘in the same way as’). In its temporal use *ut* (see (e) in § 14.21) is described as being a ‘temporal conjunction’. Apart from that OLD distinguishes *ut* as a ‘conjunction’ in argument and purpose and other satellite clauses. In this Syntax two adverbial *ut*’s and one subordinator *ut* (including the temporal use) will be distinguished.<sup>65</sup>

### 14.23 Developments in the system of subordinating devices from Latin to the Romance languages

In the period covered by this Syntax a number of major changes took place in the system of subordinating devices.<sup>66</sup> Some of these are mentioned here, but detailed discussion is provided in the following chapters. First of all one can observe the decrease in the use of a number of non-finite clauses: the accusative and infinitive clause lost ground—very slowly—to *quod* (and also to *quia*) as the subordinating device with verbs of perception, cognition, and communication (see § 15.9 and § 15.113). *Quod* clauses and accusative and infinitive clauses were already competitors in several other contexts. Supine clauses gradually disappeared and so did gerundival clauses. The present infinitive replaced the gerund in certain contexts (see § 16.86). Of the subordinators (and relative adverbs) used in finite clauses *ut* as an interrogative/relative adverb of manner lost ground to *quomodo* (and *qualiter*) (see § 16.33) and as a subordinator to *quod* (see §§ 15.25–7). There is no trace of it in the Romance languages. *Cum* as a temporal subordinator was gradually replaced by *dum* (see § 16.17) and *quando*; it too left no trace in the Romance languages. *Quod*, which already in Cicero’s works is used in a broad spectrum of contexts (see Figure 15.1, p. 60), expanded its functions and so became a ‘general’ subordinator.<sup>67</sup> At the same time the number of combinations of *quod* with prepositional phrases and adverbs increased considerably (see § 14.6). Although there is no direct etymological relation, *que* in French and *che* in Italian play a role in the Romance languages similar to *quod* in Latin.

**Appendix:** The common Romance subordinator (French) *que*, (Italian) *che*, etc. cannot be derived from *quod*, nor from *quia*. Especially in Merovingian Latin (relatively well documented) one finds forms which must be the predecessor of the Romance subordinator, spelled as *que*, but also found as *quae* or *quem*, pronounced [ke], as in (a).

<sup>64</sup> OLD *s.v.* calls *cum* a relative adverb.

<sup>65</sup> For the unclear etymology of *ut*, see de Vaan (2008) *s.v.*

<sup>66</sup> For the major developments, see Herman (1963: 120–2).

<sup>67</sup> The term is taken from Rosén (1989a).

- (a) ...dicens **que** Neptuno munera daret.  
 ('...saying that he was giving gifts to Neptune.' Fredeg. *Chron.* 4.63)

These forms are most likely some sort of merger of relative *quae* and *quem*. Note that synchronically *quod* was not only a subordinator, but also a relative pronoun.<sup>68</sup>

## 14.24 The period

The term 'period' goes back to Greek *περίοδος* (lit. 'way round'), translated by Cicero in various ways,<sup>69</sup> and adopted as *periodus* from Quintilian *Inst.* 9.4.125 onwards. In Antiquity it is not defined in syntactic terms, but as a balanced sequence of cola (*κῶλα*, Lat. *membra*) and/or (smaller) commata (*κόμματα*, Lat. *incisa*) which together form a semantically coherent whole.<sup>70</sup> In addition, a period is usually described as a rhythmically well structured utterance. Whereas in modern descriptions the period is defined as a complex sentence with at least one subordinate clause, the discussion by Cicero in (a) of his own text (*pro Scauro* 45) shows that the term *comprehensio* was also used for something longer than a *membrum*,<sup>71</sup> in fact, for a longer simple sentence. In the terminology of this Syntax we would describe the quotation in (a) as three asyndetically coordinated sentences or clauses, of which the last is longer (or: 'heavier') than the other two.

- (a) ...at membratim (*sc. efferuntur*) quae secuntur duo: 'Incurristi amens in columnas, in alienos insanus insanisti.' Deinde omnia tanquam crepidine quadam comprehensione longiore sustinentur: 'depressam, caecam, iacentem domum pluris quam te et quam fortunas tuas aestimasti'—dichoreo finitur.  
 ('...but the following falls into two *membra*: 'You have madly dashed against the columns; you have raved wildly against strangers.' Then the whole passage is set, as it were, on the foundation of a longer period: 'a fallen, dark and prostrate home you thought more valuable than yourself and your fortunes.' It ends in a ditrochee.' Cic. *Orat.* 224)

The complexity of a sentence can be increased in various ways: In the first place a speaker is to some extent free to add optional information in the form of satellites to the information provided by the verb and its arguments. Next, the positions of the arguments and satellites can be filled by finite or non-finite clauses and these clauses can themselves contain finite and non-finite clauses. Thirdly, nominal constituents

<sup>68</sup> Discussion can be found in Herman (1963: 123–5), with special reference to Jeanjaquet (1894).

<sup>69</sup> For example: *ambitus*, *circuitus*, and *comprehensio* (Cic. *Brut.* 162; *Orat.* 204).

<sup>70</sup> Compare the requirement in K.-St.: II.629 that a period must represent one unified idea ('die Einheit eines Gedanken'). See also Sz.: 732.

<sup>71</sup> In fact, periods consisting of one *membrum* were also accepted. For the ancient ideas about period, colon, and comma, see Lausberg (1990: §§ 923–47).

(both at the clause level and below) can be modified by adnominal relative clauses and can be expanded by appositions and secondary predicates, which can be complex as well. Finally, at all these points the complexity can be increased by coordination. In spontaneous spoken language there is a certain limit, both for the speaker and for the hearer, to the number and the type of clauses that can be incorporated within one sentence. In prepared speeches, however, and in writing sentences can be extended considerably. The period in Cicero's oration *pro Archia* 3, for example, contains some twenty-five clauses. (We are dealing with grammatically correct and fully understandable sentences, not with anacoluthons.)

In the examples of periods that follow, the clauses of which they consist are numbered.<sup>72</sup> Some of the clauses are interrupted, which explains why the same number returns at different places. The first example, (b), is used twice by Quintilian as an illustration and is still much discussed.<sup>73</sup> The sentence consists of three coordinated *si* clauses, each with its own internal complexity, and a heavy main clause at the end (in **bold**). The structure of (c) is completely different. Here the short main clause encompasses a sequence of a secondary predicate (*circumsessa*), a *cum* temporal clause, and two ablative absolute clauses, of which the first is complex in itself. These four segments are arranged in chronological order to illustrate the sequence of events leading to the surrender of the town. For again a different structure in a different type of text, see (d), where the main clause is followed by a complex ablative absolute clause.<sup>74</sup>

(b)

1. Si quid est in me ingeni, iudices,
2. quod
3. sentio
2. quam sit exiguum,
4. aut si qua exercitatio dicendi,
5. in qua me
6. non infitior
5. mediocriter esse versatum,
7. aut si huiusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta,
8. a qua
9. ego
8. nullum
9. confiteor
8. aetatis meae tempus abhorruisse,

<sup>72</sup> For a discussion and graphical presentation of these and other complex sentences, see Coleman (1983).

<sup>73</sup> For an analysis of this sentence, see Gotoff (1979: 96–100). For the rhetorical effect, see von Albrecht (2003: 198–202).

<sup>74</sup> For Pliny's sentence structure, see Pinkster (2005: 248–50).

10. **earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo iūrē dēbet.**

(‘Gentlemen of the Jury: Whatever talent I possess (and I realize its limitations), whatever be my oratorical experience (and I do not deny that my practice herein has been not inconsiderable), whatever knowledge of the theoretical side of my profession I may have derived from a devoted literary apprenticeship (and I admit that at no period of my life has the acquisition of such knowledge been repellent to me),—to any advantage that may be derived from all these my friend Aulus Licinius has a pre-eminent claim, which belongs to him almost as of right.’ Cic. *Arch.* 1)

(c)

1. **Ea urbs**
2.     circumsessa
3. cum a Celtiberis auxilia arcessisset,
4. morantibus iis,
5.     non quia ipsi cunctati sunt,
6.     sed quia
7.         profectos domo
6.     inexplicabiles continuis imbris viae et inflati amnes tenebant,
8. desperato auxilio suorum
1. **in deditionem venit.**

(‘When this town was besieged, it sent for assistance from the Celtiberians but they were slow to arrive, not from any hesitation on their part but because after leaving home they were held up by roads made impassable by incessant rain and by swollen rivers. Thus, losing hope of receiving aid from its friends, the town surrendered.’ Liv. 44.33.2)

(d)

1. **Nilus**
2. incertis ortus fontibus,
3.     ut per deserta et ardentia et immenso longitudinis spatio ambulans
4.     famaque tantum inermi quaesitus sine bellis,
5.     quae ceteras omnes terras invenere,
1. **originem,**
6. ut Iuba rex potuit exquirere,
1. **in monte inferioris Mauretaniae non procul Oceano habet**
7. lacu protinus stagnante,
8. quem vocant Nilidem.

(‘The sources from which the Nile rises have not been ascertained, proceeding as it does through scorching deserts for an enormously long distance and only having been explored by unarmed investigators, without the wars that have discovered all other countries; but so far as King Juba was able to ascertain, it

has its origin in a mountain of lower Mauretania not far from the Ocean, and immediately forms a stagnant lake called Nilides.' Plin. *Nat.* 5.52)

Sentences with such a degree of complexity are common in prose from Cicero onwards. The frequency with which they are used and the types that are used vary between authors and text types. In Cicero there is a difference between his personal and official letters, between his judicial and political orations, and even between parts of the same oration, depending upon the audience and the intended rhetorical effect. Periods are not limited to prose. However, the use of periodic sentence structure is mainly a matter of individual style and this short introduction must suffice.<sup>75</sup>

## 14.25 Direct and indirect speech

A person's words (written or spoken) or thoughts may be reported by a speaker or writer in two different ways. It may be in the form of an (often fictitious) repetition of the words that were actually used (or will be used). This is called **DIRECT SPEECH** (also 'direct discourse', *oratio recta*). Alternatively, the words (or rather a paraphrase or a summary of them) may depend on a verb of speaking or thinking, which may be explicit or implicit. This is called **INDIRECT SPEECH** (also 'indirect discourse', *oratio obliqua*). Examples of direct speech are the sentences in quotation marks of (a,ii) and of (c), with the very common verb *inquit*; examples of indirect speech are the accusative and infinitive clauses in the first sentence of (a) and in (b).

- (a) (i) ...dico **med esse atriensem**. (ii) Sic hoc respondit mihi: / 'Ego pol Sauream non novi neque qua facie sit scio. / Te non aequom est suscensere. Si erum vis Demaenetum, / quem ego novi, adduce. Argentum non morabor quin feras.'  
(. . . I said that I am the steward. He answered me like this: "I don't know Saurea or what he looks like. It wouldn't be fair of you to be angry. Do bring along your master Demaenetus, whom I do know, if you please. I won't delay you getting the money."  
Pl. *As.* 352–5)
- (b) Hospes respondit **Zacynthi ficos fieri non malas**.  
(‘My friend has replied that there are decent figs in Zacynthus.’ Pl. *Mer.* 943)
- (c) ‘Immo duas dabo,’ inquit ille adulescens, ‘una si parum est. Et si duarum paenitebit,’ inquit, ‘addentur duae.’  
 (“No, I’ll give you two,” says that young man, “if one is too little; and if you’re not content with two,” he says, “two more will be added.” Pl. *St.* 550–1)

<sup>75</sup> For a historical survey, see Sz.: 732–9 and Wilkinson (1963: 167–88). For Cicero's style in general, see von Albrecht (2003).

Both (a,ii) and (b) contain the verb *respondeo*. In (a,ii) the direct speech is not syntactically related to *respondit*, whereas in (b) it is (it is the object). In (a,ii) the direct speech is prepared by *hoc*. It could also have been used in (b).

In principle each text in direct speech can be also be expressed in indirect speech, albeit with some limitations. The indirect AcI clause corresponding to *Ego pol...scio* in (a,ii) could not contain *pol* (\**respondit se pol Sauream non novisse neque qua facie esset scire*), nor could *immo* in (c) be used in a corresponding indirect expression.<sup>76</sup> Apart from these limitations there are also a number of formal differences. In the indirect version the accusative *se* corresponds to the nominative *ego* in the direct version and the infinitive *novisse* to the finite verb form *novi*. Furthermore, the imperfect *esset* in the relative clause has *respondit* as its reference point, whereas the present *sit* in the direct speech has the time of speaking as its reference point (for details on the use of the tenses in indirect speech, see § 7.113). The indirect version of *Si erum vis...adduce* would be *Si erum vellem Demaenetum, quem ipse novit, adducerem*, where the past subjunctive *adducerem* corresponds to the present imperative *adduce* (see § 7.62). (For interrogative and exclamatory sentences in the AcI, see §§ 15.105–6. For interrogative sentences in the subjunctive, see § 7.61.)<sup>77</sup>

Due to its ‘indirectness’ the preferred contexts for indirect speech are words or opinions of crowds and rumours, accusations, and summaries of spoken or written texts. The content of the indirect speech can be coloured or characterized by the choice of governing verb. The range of verbs governing indirect speech is accordingly much wider than the range of verbs introducing direct speech.<sup>78</sup>

The term ‘indirect speech’ is used in various ways. Some grammarians do not include verbs of thinking, others include manipulation verbs like *hortor* ‘I urge’, which do not necessarily imply verbal behaviour at all.

It is important to realize that the speech presented as ‘direct’ is usually not what was actually spoken and is almost always fictitious. This is not only the case in literary dialogue, but is shown by Cicero’s and Sallust’s quotations of a letter in the Catilinarian affair.<sup>79</sup>

- (d) Erant autem sine nomine, sed ita: ‘Quis sim scies ex eo quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis, et cogita quem in locum sis progressus. Et vide quid tibi iam sit necesse et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adiungas, etiam infimorum.’

(‘The letter was unsigned but read as follows: “You will know who I am from the man whom I have sent to you. Be resolute and take stock of your position. See what you must now do and take care that you get the support of everyone, even the lowest.”’ Cic. *Catil.* 3.12)

<sup>76</sup> For ‘unreportable entities’ in indirect speech, see Bolkestein (1990a; 1990b). See also Rosén (2013: 243–5), who, however, incorrectly suggests that *certe* and similar words cannot occur in indirect speech.

<sup>77</sup> For a discussion of the linguistic properties of indirect speech, see Adema (2017: 32–75; 2019a: 295–6, with references).

<sup>78</sup> See the lists of verbs in Lambert (1946: 56–7) and Wiesthaler (1956: 79–83).

<sup>79</sup> For Cicero’s way of reporting, see Wiesthaler (1956: 23–8).

- (e) ‘Qui sim ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse. Consideres quid tuae rationes postulent. Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infumis.’  
 (“My present situation you will learn from the person I have sent you. See to it that you bear in mind in what a desperate situation you are, and remember that you are indeed a man. Consider what your interests demand; seek help from all, even the lowliest.” Sall. *Cat.* 44.5)

Indirect speech is also regularly used without an introductory verb of speaking or thinking. The term used for this in this Syntax is FREE INDIRECT SPEECH.<sup>80</sup> A common English term is ‘implied indirect discourse’. In such cases there is some contextual information from which the notion of speaking or thinking can be inferred. A simple form is when an accusative and infinitive with a governing verb precedes (so that it is not always clear whether we are dealing with free indirect speech), but there are also less direct ways. Ex. (f) has the free indirect speech preceded by an exhortation. In (g), there is a verb of refusing; in (h), the noun *mandata*. Here an imperative sentence in the subjunctive is followed by a declarative sentence in the AcI. In (i), the free indirect speech continues the command *vox... ut*.

- (f) Pro quibus rebus **hortatur** ac postulat ut rem publicam suscipiant atque una secum administrent. Sin timore defugiant illis se oneri non futurum et per se rem publicam administraturum.  
 (‘For all these reasons he exhorted the senators and asked them to take charge of the state and administer it with him. “But if fear makes you shirk the task, I will not be a burden to you but will administer the state myself.” Caes. *Civ.* 1.32.7)
- (g) In senatum venit. Mandata exposuit. Sententiam ne diceret **recusavit**. Quamdiu iure iurando hostium teneretur non esse se senatorem.  
 (‘He came into the senate and stated his mission; but he refused to give his own vote on the question; for, he held, he was not a member of the senate so long as he was bound by the oath sworn to his enemies.’ Cic. *Off.* 3.100)
- (h) Illi <re> deliberata respondent scriptaque ad eum **mandata** per eos remittunt. Quorum haec erat summa: Caesar in Galliam reverteretur, Arimino excederet, exercitus dimitteret; quae si fecisset Pompeium in Hispanias iturum...  
 (‘After deliberation they replied in writing and sent the message to Caesar through Roscius and Lucius Caesar. The gist was this: Caesar was to return to Gaul, leave Ariminum, dismiss his army. If he did this, Pompey would go to Spain.’ Caes. *Civ.* 1.10.2–3)
- (i) Nam non multo ante urbem captam exaudita vox est a luco Vestae, qui a Palatii radice in novam viam devexus est ut muri et portae reficerentur; futurum esse, nisi provisum esset, ut Roma caperetur.

<sup>80</sup> For properties of free indirect discourse, see Adema (2017: 22–30, esp. p. 29).

(‘Not long before the capture of the city by the Gauls, a voice, issuing from Vesta’s sacred grove, which slopes from the foot of the Palatine Hill to the New Road, was heard to say, “the walls and gates must be repaired; unless this is done the city will be taken.”’ Cic. *Div.* 1.101)

There are other indirect ways in which a speaker or writer can allude to another person’s words or thoughts. Two illustrations are (j) and (k). In (j), the sentence with the three imperfect forms reflects Curtius’ story about what Caesar was doing at the time of Curtius’ visit to Cicero. In (k), Virgil reports Aeneas’ deliberations, resulting in the *sententia* mentioned a few lines later (the subjunctive is deliberative; usually it is first person—see § 7.42).<sup>81</sup> In instances like these formal clues are absent, and the interpretation is purely contextual.

- (j) Vixdum epistulam tuam legeram cum ad me currens ad illum (*sc.* Caesarem) Postumus Curtius venit, nihil nisi classis loquens et exercitus; **eripiebat** Hispanias, **tenebat** Asiam, Siciliam, Africam, Sardiniam, confestim in Graeciam **persequabatur**.

(‘I had hardly read your letter when Curtius Postumus arrived at my door hurrying to join Caesar and with nothing but fleets and armies on his tongue. He (Caesar) was snatching Spain, holding Asia, Sicily, Africa, Sardinia, pursuing Pompey hot-foot into Greece.’ Cic. *Att.* 9.2a.1–2)

- (k) (*sc.* Aeneas) ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras / attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum. / Heu quid **agat**? Quo nunc reginam ambire furentem / **audeat** adfatu? Quae prima exordia **sumat**?...Haec alternanti potior sententia visa est.

(‘He burns to flee away and quit that pleasant land, awed by that warning and divine commandment. Ah, what to do? With what speech now dare he approach the frenzied queen? What opening words choose first?...This, as he wavered, seemed the better counsel.’ Verg. *A.* 4.281–7)

The interest of Latinists in indirect ways of representing the words (or thoughts) of characters in a narrative started with the publications of Bayet (1931; 1932), which were stimulated by studies on the frequent use of this narrative mode in modern literature.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> The interpretation of (j) is disputed. See Rosén (2013: 234–6). For instances like (k) in Virgil, see Laird (1999: 167–83).

<sup>82</sup> See Hyart (1954—sceptical), Laird (1999: 84–102), Biraud and Mellet (2000), Sznajder (2005), Rosén (2013; 2015), and Adema (2017). See also Nölke et al. (2004: 57–83).

## CHAPTER 15

# Subordinate clauses filling an argument position

With certain types of verbs or comparable expressions (see below) one of the arguments may or must be a clause belonging to one of the classes indicated in Table 15.1 (p. 58). These clauses are called ARGUMENT CLAUSES in this Syntax; they are also referred to in the literature as ‘nominal’ or ‘noun’ clauses, as ‘substantive’ clauses, and as ‘complement’ clauses. The argument clauses themselves consist of a verb or a comparable expression together with its argument(s) and possibly other constituents.

The best-known contexts in which argument clauses are used are those in which they function as argument of a verb. An example is (a), where the accusative and infinitive clause is the object of the verb *spero* ‘to hope (that)’.

- (a) *Speroque me ob hunc nuntium aeternum adepturum cibum.*  
(‘And I expect that for this message I’ll get food forever.’ Pl. *Capt.* 780)

However, accusative and infinitive clauses can also be used with various expressions containing the related noun *spes* ‘hope’: for example, *spes est* (b), *spem habere* (c), and *in spem venire* (d). The verbs in these combinations can be regarded as support verbs (see § 4.4), and the combinations can be regarded as alternate expressions for *spero*, more or less equivalent to *sperare potes* in (b), *aliquantum sperare* in (c), and *valde sperare* in (d). The accusative and infinitive clauses with these expressions are argument clauses.

- (b) ...aliquid aliqua aliquo modo / alicunde ab aliqui aliqua **tibi spes est fore mecum fortunam.**  
(‘...you have some hope to have a fortune with me, something, somehow, in some way, from somewhere, from someone.’ Pl. *Epid.* 332–3)
- (c) ...tu mihi videris *spem non nullam habere* **haec aliquando futura meliora.**  
(‘...you appear to cherish a hope that things will one day get better.’ Cic. *Fam.* 5.13.3)
- (d) ...*magnamque in spem veniebat* pro suis tantis populique Romani in eum beneficiis... **fore uti pertinacia desisteret.**  
(‘...he began to have a good hope that, in consideration of the signal benefits conferred upon him by Caesar and the Roman people,...(sc. Ariovistus) would abandon his obstinacy.’ Caes. *Gal.* 1.42.3)

Whereas in (b)–(d) the accusative and infinitive clauses depend on the combination of *spes* and the verbs involved, this analysis is excluded for (e). Here the accusative and infinitive clause *sibi id utile futurum* depends solely on *spe*, in a way that is comparable to *largitionis* further on. Cases like these are discussed in Chapter 17. Note also in (e) the *ne* clause depending on *metu*.

- (e) Ducuntur enim aut benivolentia aut beneficiorum magnitudine aut dignitatis praestantia aut **spe sibi id utile futurum** aut metu ne vi parere cogantur aut *spe largitionis* promissisque capti... aut... mercede conducti.  
 ('They may be influenced by good-will; by gratitude for generous favours conferred upon them; by the eminence of that other's social position or by the hope that their submission will turn to their own account; by fear that they may be compelled perforce to submit; they may be captivated by the hope of gifts of money and by liberal promises... or... they may be bribed with money.' Cic. *Off.* 2.22)

The difference between (b)–(d) on the one hand and (e) on the other is rather clear-cut. Some other cases are not so easy to classify as belonging to one or the other types discussed above.<sup>1</sup>

Another familiar context in which argument clauses can be used is with neuter forms of adjectives that function as subject or object complement, as in (f) and (g), respectively. Argument clauses with adjectives in other functions are dealt with in Chapter 17.

- (f) ... in urbes Campaniae, **quas** satis certum erat **non mutasse fidem**, perfugerunt.  
 ('... they fled for refuge to those cities of Campania of which it was known that they had not changed sides.' Liv. 23.17.6)
- (g) (*sc.* consules) Certum habere **maiores... dimicationem subituros fuisse**...  
 ('They felt certain that their forefathers... would have faced any conflict whatsoever...' Liv. 4.2.9)

## 15.1 The functions of argument clauses

Subordinate clauses of various classes can be used in the function of subject with one-place verbs and comparable expressions. First, they can be used with the so-called impersonal one-place modal verbs *licet* and *oportet* discussed in § 4.14. An example of this use is (a), where an accusative and infinitive clause functions as the subject of *oportet*. Secondly, they can be used with a variety of third person singular forms of one-place verbs, such as *abest*, *constat*, and *accidit*, as in (b)–(e) (see also § 4.12). Thirdly, they can be used with combinations of third person singular forms of copular verbs and adjectives or nouns that function as subject complement, as in (f) and (g), respectively. These combinations function as support verbs. As the examples show,

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the problems involved, see Bodelot (1995; 2010), Lavency (2003: 115–25), from whom exx. (d) and (e) are taken, and especially Hoffmann (2015; 2018b).

certain verbs or other governing expressions can be used with more than one class of subordinate clause. (Autonomous relative clauses are different; they can be used as subject with all sorts of verbs. Ex. (h) will suffice. Further illustrations of these relative clauses can be found in § 18.16.)

(In the examples, subordinators are shown in italics; the class to which clauses without a subordinator belong is indicated in the translation line.)

- (a) Aut pol haec praestigiatrix multo mulier maxuma est / aut pateram hic inesse oportet.  
(‘Either this woman is by far the greatest trickster or the bowl ought to be in here.’ Pl. *Am.* 782–3—accusative and infinitive clause)
- (b) ... quo id factum nomine appellari oporteat **constat** ...  
(‘...it is clear by what term the act should be defined...’ Cic. *Inv.* 1.12—indirect question)
- (c) Prorsus nihil **abest** *quin* sim miserrimus.  
(‘There is really nothing wanting to make me the most miserable of mankind.’ Cic. *Att.* 11.15.3)
- (d) Hoc loco percommode **accidit** *quod* non adest is qui paulo ante adfuit..., C. Aquilius.  
(‘Now it happens most conveniently at this point that there is absent from the court one who was here but recently...’, Gaius Aquilius.’ Cic. *Caec.* 77)
- (e) Interdum **accidit** *ut* non habeat furti actionem is cuius interest rem salvam esse.  
(‘It sometimes happens that there is no action for theft available to the person who has an interest in the safety of the thing.’ Gaius *dig.* 47.2.49)
- (f) Non fuisse ei **grave** nec **difficile** eam causam excipere ...  
(‘It was not hard or difficult for him to make an exception of the excuse...’ Cic. *Inv.* 2.130—prolative infinitive clause)
- (g) Videtur **tempus** esse *ut* eamus ad forum ...  
(‘It seems to be time for us to go to the forum...’ Pl. *Mil.* 72)
- (h) **Quem di diligunt** / adulescens moritur, dum valet, sentit, sapit.  
(‘He whom the gods love dies young, while he has his strength, senses, and wits.’ Pl. *Bac.* 816–17—autonomous relative clause)

Subordinate clauses can be used as second argument with a variety of two- and three-place verbs. Examples from various classes are (i)–(p).

- (i) **Audivistin’** tu me narrare haec hodie?  
(‘Did you hear me tell her about this today?’ Pl. *Am.* 748—accusative and infinitive clause)
- (j) Nemo fere vestrum est *quin* quemadmodum captae sint a M. Marcello Syracusae saepe **audierit** ...

(‘There can hardly be any among you who has not often heard how Syracuse was captured by Marcus Marcellus...’ Cic. *Ver.* 4.115—indirect question)

- (k) Abs quivis homine... beneficium accipere **gaudeas**.  
(‘You should be happy to receive a kindness from anybody.’ Ter. *Ad.* 254—prolative infinitive clause)
- (l) **Metuo** in commune *ne* quam fraudem frausit sit.  
(‘I’m afraid he might have got into some mischief involving the two of us.’ Pl. *As.* 286)
- (m) Sane **gaudeo** *quod* te interpellavi...  
(‘I am very glad indeed that I interrupted you...’ Cic. *Leg.* 3.1)
- (n) ...nonnumquam interdium, *s<a>epius* noctu *si* perrumpere possent **conati**..., hoc conatu destiterunt.  
(‘(the Helvetii)...having attempted sometimes by day, more often by night to see if they could break through..., abandoned this attempt.’ Caes. *Gal.* 1.8.4)
- (o) **Curabo** *ut* praedati pulchre ad castra convertamini.  
(‘I’ll make sure that you return to the camp after acquiring booty in fine style.’ Pl. *Per.* 608)
- (p) ...obiurgavit Albius Granius quod...valde absoluto Scaevola **gauderet**...  
(‘...Granius reproved Albius because the latter was much delighted by Scaevola’s acquittal.’ Cic. *de Orat.* 2.281—participial clause)

Examples of subordinate clauses that function as third argument are (q)–(w).

- (q) Tantum te **admonebo**, si illi (*sc.* Ligario) absentem salutem dederis, praesentibus te his daturum.  
(‘I will merely remind you that if you grant life to the absent Ligarius you will grant it to all these here present.’ Cic. *Lig.* 38—accusative and infinitive clause)
- (r) **Rogabis** me *ubi* sit.  
(‘You’ll ask me where he is.’ Pl. *Bac.* 189—indirect question)
- (s) Nonne te... Quinta illa Claudia aemulam domesticae laudis in gloria muliebri esse **admonebat**...?  
(‘Did not even...that celebrated Quinta Claudia admonish you to emulate the praise belonging to our house from the glory of its women...?’ Cic. *Cacl.* 34—prolative infinitive clause)
- (t) Qua re *ut* ad me omnia quam diligentissime perscribas te vehementer **rogo**.  
(‘Therefore I earnestly beg of you to write everything to me in full detail.’ Cic. *Fam.* 2.10.4)
- (u) Sed iam **impedior** egomet, iudices, dolore animi *ne* de huius miseria plura dicam.  
(‘I am now prevented by my mental anguish, Judges, from saying more about his misfortune.’ Cic. *Sul.* 92)

- (v) ...ne quid **inpediare** *quin* ad hanc utilitatem pariter nobiscum progredi possis.  
(‘...so that you may in no way be kept from being able to make equal progress with me towards the mastery of this useful art.’ *Rhet. Her.* 3.1)
- (w) ...quos ad capiendam fugam naturae et virium infirmitas **inpediret**.  
(‘...whom weakness of nature and strength hampered from taking flight.’ *Caes. Gal.* 7.26.3—gerundival clause)

Whereas in the examples discussed so far the argument clauses fulfil functions that would be marked by the nominative, accusative or other case if we were dealing with argument noun phrases, the following examples concern arguments that are marked by prepositions or similar expressions. In (x) *id* functions as a pronominal support for the *ut* clause, which cannot be governed by a preposition directly. The combination *ad id ut...simillimi* functions as the second argument of *accedunt*. Similarly, the *eo...ut* clause in (y) functions as the second argument of *pertinet*. (For this use of prepositions, see § 14.6, with further references.) Comparable is the role of the adverb *huc* in (z), with an indirect question.<sup>2</sup>

- (x) Qui proxume accedunt **ad id ut** omnia habeant eadem vocantur gemini, simillimi.  
(‘Those who come nearest to having them all alike, are called most like, as it were, twins.’ *Var. L.* 10.4)
- (y) Hoc **eo** pertinet **ut** nihil existiment esse tam difficile quod non pro te mihi susceptum iucundum sit futurum.  
(‘The point is that they must think nothing too difficult for me to undertake with pleasure on your behalf.’ *Cic. Fam.* 6.10a.3)
- (z) Ubi friget, **huc** evasit quam pridem pater / mihi et mater mortui essent.  
(‘When the conversation flagged, she turned off to this point, asking how long ago my father and mother had died.’ *Ter. Eu.* 517–18)

**Supplement:**

Desunt omnino ei populo multa, <qui> sub rege est, in primisque libertas, quae non **in eo** est **ut** iusto utamur domino, sed **ut** nul<lo>. (*Cic. Rep.* 2.43); Tamen tantum afruit **ab eo ut** ulla ignominia iis exercitibus quaereretur ut et urbs Roma per eum exercitum... reciperaretur... (*Liv.* 25.6.11–12); Hoc autem **ad id** pertinet **quod**, qui fida gratia inter se iuncti sunt, numquam ab amicitia resolvuntur. (*Porph. Hor. Carm.* 3.21.22)

## 15.2 Types of argument clauses

Just as sentences can be assigned to sentence types in accordance with their communicative function, one can also distinguish between declarative, interrogative, imperative, and

<sup>2</sup> The example is taken from Bodelot (2003: 202–3), where further discussion can be found.

exclamatory subordinate clauses. The last mentioned are difficult to distinguish from interrogative clauses.<sup>3</sup> These clause types share certain properties with the sentence types discussed in Chapter 6. An important distinction between declarative and interrogative argument clauses on the one hand and imperative clauses on the other is the use of the negator. Characteristic of declarative and interrogative clauses is that their negation is by *non* (and not by *ne*); one of the zero quantifiers, such as *nemo* ‘nobody’ and *nihil* ‘nothing’; or by a negative verb, such as *nolo* ‘to wish not.’ Another characteristic of these clauses is that there are no restrictions on tense. Finally, in imperative argument clauses true passive verb forms are exceptional, due to the fact that their content is ‘controlled’; in declarative clauses, by contrast, these verb forms are not uncommon.

Some of the classes mentioned in Table 15.1 are typical of a specific clause type: The accusative and infinitive clause is typical of declarative clauses; *ut* (negation *ne*) clauses are typical of imperative clauses; clauses with a question particle or question word are typical of interrogative clauses.<sup>4</sup>

### 15.3 Finite argument clauses

For ease of exposition finite and non-finite clauses are discussed separately. Finite argument clauses contain an indicative or a subjunctive verb form; there are no argument clauses containing an imperative verb form. For finite argument clauses a distinction is made according to type: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory.

#### 15.4 Finite declarative argument clauses

Table 15.1 contains an overview of the contexts in which the main classes of declarative finite argument clauses can be used. Also included are the accusative and infinitive clause and the nominative and infinitive construction. Some of the contexts are determined by the meaning of the governing verb (emotion verbs, for example), others are of a different kind: in (a), for example, the clause is anticipated by the preparative pronoun *hoc* (on this example, see § 14.16); in (b), the main clause is negated.

- (a) Habet *hoc* sollicitudo, **quod** omnia necessaria putat.  
(‘Anxiety has this quality, that it supposes all things necessary.’ Plin. *Ep.* 6.9.2—object clause)
- (b) ...*non* dubitabam **quin** te ille aut Dyrrachi aut in istis locis uspiam visurus esset.  
(‘...I didn’t doubt that he would be seeing you at Dyrrachium or somewhere else over there.’ Cic. *Att.* 1.17.2)

<sup>3</sup> For independent exclamatory accusative and infinitive sentences, see § 6.35.

<sup>4</sup> See Torrego (1986). She relates the use of the subordinator *quod* with a verb like *gaudeo* to exclamatory clauses.

**Table 15.1** Survey of classes of declarative clauses and their governing expressions (selected)

Semantic classes of governing verbs	Classes of subordinate clauses										
	Finite clauses								Non-finite clauses		
	<i>quod</i>	<i>quia</i>	<i>quoniam</i>	other	<i>ut (non)</i>	<i>ut (ne)</i>	<i>ne (non)</i>	<i>quin</i>	<i>si</i>	AcI	NcI
'to be added to' ( <i>accedit</i> )	+	L	L		+					(+)	
'to leave unmentioned' ( <i>mitto, praetereo</i> )	+	(L)								+	
'emotion' ( <i>gaudeo</i> )	+	?	L	+						+	
'fearing' ( <i>timeo</i> )	L						+			L	
'perception', 'cognition', 'communication' ( <i>video, scio, dico</i> )	+	L	L							+	+
'praising', 'blaming', 'congratulating' ( <i>laudo, arguo, gratulor</i> )	+	(+)L		+						+	+
'to be surprised' ( <i>miror</i> )									+	+	
'to wait', 'to try' ( <i>exspecto, conor</i> )					?	+			+		
'to happen' ( <i>evenit, fit, accidit</i> )					+	(+)				(+)	
'to conclude', 'to follow' ( <i>relinquitur</i> )					+					+	
transition expressions ( <i>reliquum est, restat</i> )					+						
various other verbs and expressions ( <i>refert, satis</i> )	+				+					+	
verbs of happening ( <i>bene accidit</i> )	+									+	
preparative pronouns and other expressions ( <i>illud, hoc</i> )	+				+				+	+	
negated main clauses ( <i>non dubito</i> )	(L)	(L)						+		+	(S)

**Legend:** + = attested throughout; L = Late Latin ; S = Silver Latin; ? = unclear; () = rare

As observed above, a feature that declarative clauses have in common is that there are no restrictions on the tense of the verb and that they are negated by *non*. Exceptions to these general properties will be signalled below. The established subordinating form for most classes of declarative clauses is, from the beginning of our records onward, the accusative and infinitive clause (for its description see §§ 15.92ff.).<sup>5</sup> This remained the dominant subordinating construction for the entire period covered by this Syntax, although in Late Latin finite constructions became more frequent in certain types of expression and also are preferred more generally by certain authors. Finite declarative clauses are discussed according to the subordinators. The internal order of the discussion of each subordinator will be the same as that given in Table 15.1.

### 15.5 *The use of quod in argument clauses*

The subordinator *quod* is used from our earliest texts onward in various types of subordinate clauses. Its use as a subordinator of argument clauses can also be traced from Early Latin onwards, in a range of contexts that varies in the course of time. These contexts are discussed separately in the sections that follow. In addition to this usage, it is found as a subordinator marking disjuncts describing the sphere of applicability of the main clause ‘as to...’ (see § 16.38—respect clauses),<sup>6</sup> also from Early Latin onwards. Its use as a subordinator of reason clauses meaning ‘because’ can also be found in all periods (see § 16.41). Apart from its being used as a marker of reason adjuncts, it came to be used in other types of adjuncts as well: in Cicero’s time it is not infrequently used in combination with prepositional phrases, such as *in eo quod* ‘in respect of the fact that’, and in the Post-Classical period it is used on its own in a wide range of satellites (see § 16.84). Figure 15.1 gives an impression of the frequency of use of *quod* and *quia* in each of these categories in Cicero’s orations.<sup>7</sup> As Figure 15.1 shows, *quia* is almost entirely restricted to reason adjunct clauses, with or without a correlating expression.<sup>8</sup> *Quod*, by contrast, is used in many more contexts; its use as a marker of arguments (on the right in the graph) constitutes about a third of all its uses in subordinate clauses.

### 15.6 *The use of quod clauses with the verb accedit ‘to be added to’ or ‘to constitute an addition to’*

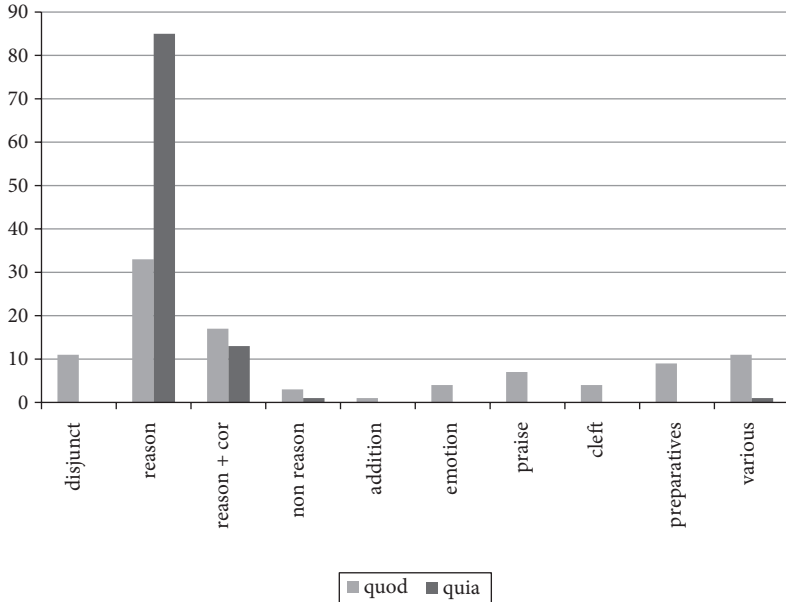
*Quod* is used in argument clauses with *accedit* ‘to be added to’ or ‘to constitute an addition to’. In (a) the *quod* clause refers to a factual situation, which accounts for the use of the indicative *habent*. In (b) the subjunctive *esset* is counterfactual (*sc. si istic*

<sup>5</sup> For statistical data concerning Pl. As., see Serbat (2003: 529).

<sup>6</sup> For the etymology and development, see Sz.: 572–3. For a synchronic sketch of the relation between the various uses, see Taylor (1951).

<sup>7</sup> Based on Merguet (*Reden*). For more numerical data, see Herman (1963: 108–11) and Serbat (2003: 734–8).

<sup>8</sup> For *quia*, see Baños (1991a) and (2014: 54–6).



**Figure 15.1** Distribution of *quod* and *quia* clauses in Cicero's orations (in percentages)

*Quod* N = 935; *quia* N = 200

*non sederes*). The main clause may contain a prepositional expression, as in (c). For the semantic difference from *accedit ut*, see § 15.26.

- (a) *Accedit quod* orationis etiam genus habent fortasse subtile et certe acutum...  
 ('There is the further point that they have a way of speaking that is perhaps subtle and undoubtedly penetrating...' Cic. *de Orat.* 3.66)
- (b) *Huc accedit quod* paulo tamen occultior... ista cupiditas esset.  
 ('There must be added to this, that that cupidity of yours should have been a little more concealed.' Cic. *S. Rosc.* 104)
- (c) *Accedit illa quoque causa quod* a ceteris forsitan ita petatum sit ut dicerent ut...  
 ('There is this reason, also, that perhaps the request to undertake this cause was made to the others so that...' Cic. *S. Rosc.* 4—subjunctive because of *forsitan*)

**Supplement:**

*Accedit etiam quod*... T. Annio devota et constituta ista hostia esse videtur. (Cic. *Har.* 7);...cum ad has suspiciones *certissimae res* accederent *quod* per fines Sequanorum Helvetios traduxisset, *quod* obsides inter eos dandos curasset, *quod* ea omnia... inscientibus ipsis fecisset, *quod* a magistratu Haeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitrabatur... (Caes. *Gal.* 1.19.1); Ceterum *id* quoque ad gloriam accessit *quod* cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. (Liv. 1.48.8); Eo accedit *quod* Enoch apud Iudam apostolum testimonium possidet. (Tert. *Cult. fem.* 1.3)

### 15.7 The use of *quod* clauses with verbs and expressions meaning 'to leave unmentioned'

*Quod* is used with a variety of verbs and expressions meaning 'to pass over', 'to leave unsaid'. There are two Early Latin examples of this usage which was to become a common rhetorical device in Cicero. Examples are (a) and (b). With this type of expression the accusative and infinitive is used as well (see § 15.96).

- (a) Nam ut mittam **quod** ei amorem difficillimum et / carissimum, a meretrice avara virginem / quam amabat, eam confeci sine molestia...  
(Not to mention that I've secured for him without trouble a very difficult and very expensive love affair, since the girl he loved belonged to a greedy courtesan... Ter. *Eu.* 926–8)
- (b) Praetereo **quod**... eam sibi domum sedemque delegit...  
(I pass over the fact that... she chose as her own residence and home the very house... Cic. *Clu.* 188)

#### Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):

Suo loco **praeteritum**'st **quod** equites ex Italia cum Asprenate ad Caesarem venissent. (*B. Hisp.* 10.2); **Taceo** enim **quod** princeps civitatis filiam ei nuptum dedit, cuius pecunia tam ieiunos penates videbat. (*V. Max.* 4.4.9); Non **tango quod** avarus homo est, quodque improbus, mitto. (*Lucil.* 1224M=1248K);... **transeamusque quod** Archimedes unus obsidionem Syracusarum in longius traxit. (*Quint. Inst.* 1.10.48)

### 15.8 The use of *quod* clauses with verbs and expressions of emotion

*Quod* is used from Early Latin onward as a marker of object and subject clauses with verbs of emotion such as *gaudeo* 'to be glad', *doleo* 'to be grieved at', *miror* 'to be surprised', *moleste fero* 'to be annoyed at', *me pudet* 'to be ashamed'.<sup>9</sup> However, it is used much less often than the accusative and infinitive in this context (see § 15.97), and in Early Latin it is also less frequent than both *quia*, which itself is not used that frequently (see § 15.18), and *quom* (see § 15.23).<sup>10</sup> Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether the *quod* clause is an argument or a reason adjunct. It is not easy to tell what determines the choice between the accusative and infinitive clause and the finite subordinate clause. According to K.-St.: II.277 the *quod* clause is used to emphasize the factuality of the emotion, but there is no objective evidence for this.<sup>11</sup> Examples are (a)–(e). For the (indicative) mood, see § 7.131.

- (a) **Quod** male feci crucior.  
(I am tormented by the thought that I treated him badly. Pl. *Capt.* 996)

<sup>9</sup> There are a few instances of *metuo* and *timeo* 'to fear' in Late Latin.

<sup>10</sup> For the development from Early to Classical Latin—increase of the accusative and infinitive—see Perrochat (1932b: 95–131).

<sup>11</sup> For discussion, see Bolkestein (1989b: 47–8).

- (b) Sane gaudeo **quod** te interpellavi, quoniam quidem tam praeclarum mihi dedisti iudicii tui testimonium.  
(‘I am very glad indeed that I interrupted you, since you have given me so fine a proof of your good opinion.’ Cic. *Leg.* 3.1)
- (c) Doluisse se **quod** populi Romani beneficium sibi per contumeliam ab inimicis extorqueretur.  
(‘He was indignant that a benefit to him from the Roman people was being insolently wrested from him by his enemies.’ Caes. *Civ.* 1.9.2)
- (d) Molestissime autem fero **quod** te ubi visurus sim nescio.  
(‘I am very upset, however, that I don’t know where I will see you.’ Cic. *Fam.* 3.6.5)
- (e) Nunc quoque ne pudeat **quod** sis mihi nupta...  
(‘Even now be not ashamed that you are wedded to me.’ Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.61)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

... ad officium pertinere **aegre ferre quod** sapiens non sis... (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.68); **Angebatur** tamen animi necessario **quod** domum eius exornatam atque instructam fere iam iste reddiderat nudam... (Cic. *Ver.* 2.84); ... neque te tam **commovebat quod** ille cum toga praetexta quam quod sine bulla venerat. (Cic. *Ver.* 1.152); Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae... fama **delectat**... quam **quod** amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam fore... (Cic. *Amic.* 15—NB: coordination with *fama*); Nunc me delectat **quod** fugerunt treceni. (Sen. *Suas.* 2.8); Sed de maiestatis iudicio duo mihi illa ex tuis litteris **iucundissima** fuerunt: unum **quod** te ab ipsa re publica defensum scribis... (Cic. *Fam.* 3.11.3); Atque illud in primis mihi **laetandum** iure esse video **quod** in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis oblata est in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. (Cic. *Man.* 3); Ergo **mirabar quod** dudum scapulae gestibant mihi (Pl. *As.* 315); **MIROR QUOD MIHI TOT TEMPUS NIHIL RESCRIPISTI** (*CEL* appendix Vindol. η 4–6 (Vindolanda, c. AD 105)); ... mirabar quod non mitterentur mihi bestiae. (*Passio Perp.* 10.5—NB: unmotivated subjunctive); Mirum **quod** (*sc.* a certain plant) eodem die germinat quo iniectum est. (Plin. *Nat.* 13.129); Eho an te **paenitet** / in mari **quod** <semel> elavi... (Pl. *Rud.* 578–9); Pol haud **perit quod** illum tantum amo. (Pl. *Truc.* 581); **Placet** tamen inter haec **quod** inaestuas et pio metu antevertis necessitatem. (Symm. *Ep.* 4.54.3); Adiutorium hoc ad causam putatis? Me **pudet quod** rogatus sum. ([Quint.] *Decl.* 9.9); Eho tu, inpudens, non **satis habes quod** tibi dieculam addo...? (Ter. *An.* 710)

It is common to include in this semantic class of emotion verbs the verbs *queror* ‘to complain’, *conqueror* ‘to complain’, and *glorior* ‘to boast’, although they would better be described as denoting the verbal manifestation of emotions (TLL *s.v.* *glorior*: ‘plerumque fere i.q. gloriose loqui’), since they seem to behave more like communication verbs (proportionally they are found more often with the accusative and infinitive than the emotion verbs proper). Examples are (f) and (g).

- (f) Sed... (*sc.* Scipio) querebatur **quod** omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores essent.  
(‘But (*sc.* Scipio) used to complain that men were more painstaking in all other things.’ Cic. *Amic.* 62)

- (g) ...qui gloriantei cuidam mercatori **quod** multas navis in omnem oram maritimam demisisset... inquit...  
 ('...who, ... when a certain trader boasted that he had dispatched a great number of ships to every distant coast, remarked...' Cic. *Tusc.* 5.40)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):**

...indignatione **conquerimur quod** ab iis a quibus minime conveniat male tractemur... (Cic. *Inv.* 1.109); Seneca missum ad se Natalem conquestumque nomine Pisonis **quod** a visendo eo prohiberetur... (Tac. *Ann.* 15.61.1); Nunc autem, cum prope **gloriantur** sint **quod** se hostibus dediderint... (Liv. 22.60.7); Socrates, deorum hominumque <iudicio sapientissimus>, gloriari solebat **quod** numquam neque in tabernam conspexerat nec... (Petr. 140.14); ...gloriantem **quod** illa pusillitas... in manus Dei... pervenit... (Tert. *Res.* 6.1); Is mihi etiam **queritur quod** ab nobis novem solis diebus prima actio sui iudicii transacta sit... (Cic. *Ver.* 1.156); Quam multi **quod** nati sunt queruntur. (Sen. *Ben.* 1.1.11)

15.9 *The use of quod clauses with verbs and expressions of perception, cognition, and communication*

*Quod*, just like *quia* (see § 15.19), is also used in subordinate clauses with verbs and expressions indicating perception, cognition, and communication, which in Early and Classical Latin normally govern an accusative and infinitive clause (see § 15.98).<sup>12</sup> There are very few instances before the second century AD, but ecclesiastical authors from Tertullian onwards use it with increasing frequency (together with *quia* and—much less frequently—*quoniam*, later also *quomodo*, *quemadmodum*, and *qualiter*) as an alternative for the accusative and infinitive expression.<sup>13</sup> However, the accusative and infinitive clause remained the normal expression throughout the period taken into account in this Syntax. The spread of *quod*, *quia*, and *quoniam* was stimulated by ὅτι (*hóti*) and διότι (*dihóti*) in Greek texts, although the accusative and infinitive is also found in translations of Greek. The 'advantages' of the finite *quod* clause over the accusative and infinitive are first that it avoids potential ambiguity about which entity is the subject and which the object, and second that it allows for the expression of grammatical mood. These 'advantages' may indeed be the explanation for the use of the subjunctive in the very first attested instances of *quod* clauses, with the cognition verb *scio* 'to know' in Plautus, (a), and with the communication verb *renuntio* 'to report', (b): the speaker/author of the main clauses does not necessarily subscribe to the truth of the content of the *quod* clauses (see my paraphrase of (a); for (b), see the continuation of the story in *B. Hisp.* 37).<sup>14</sup>

- (a) Equidem scio iam filius **quod amet** meus / istanc meretricem...  
 ('Well, I already know that (people say that) my son is in love with that prostitute...'  
 Pl. *As.* 52–3)

<sup>12</sup> Statistical data can be found in Mayen (1889: 47–8).

<sup>13</sup> For the use of *quod* in the old Latin gospels and the use of the moods, see Burton (2000: 189–90).

<sup>14</sup> Discussion in Cuzzolin (1994: 106–7), (2013a), and (2013b).

- (b) ...legati...renuntiaverunt **quod** Pompeium in potestatem *haberent*.  
(‘...envoys reported that they had Pompeius in their hands.’ *B. Hisp.* 36.1)

Although proper verbs of communication are exceptionally found with a *quod* clause, the verb *addo* ‘to add’ in its meaning ‘to add (orally or in writing)’ is used with a *quod* clause (in the indicative) from Terence onwards, as in (c).<sup>15</sup> (For the AcI, see § 15.98.)

- (c) ...ut ne addam **quod** sine sumptu ingenuam, liberalem nactus es / quod habes, ita ut voluisti, uxorem sine mala fama palam.  
(‘...to say nothing of the fact that without any expense you’ve got yourself a respectable freeborn woman and have married her, just as you wanted, all in the open and without any harm to your reputation.’ *Ter. Ph.* 168–9)

**Supplement:**

**Adde quod** inbecilla nimis primordia fingit. (*Lucr.* 1.847); Adde huc quod perferri litterae nulla condicione potuerunt (*Pol. Fam.* 10.31.4); **Adicite** ad haec **quod** foedus aequum deditis... (*Liv.* 23.5.9)

*Quod* is initially more frequent than *quia*, but the latter increases in frequency from the Bible translations found in Cyprian’s writings onwards (c. AD 250). Of the pair *quia* and *quod* the former seems to be used by less educated language users more often than the latter. This distinction between the two can be seen as early as Petronius, and it becomes particularly apparent later on from the way Augustine uses them. He strongly prefers *quod* in his more formal writings, *quia* in his more popular *Sermones*.<sup>16</sup> *Quod* (+ subjunctive) is strongly preferred by Jerome and is also used in his Vulgate Bible translation when he translates from the Hebrew (Old Testament). *Quia* is used to translate Greek *ὅτι* in the New Testament.<sup>17</sup> A regional difference has been suggested between the use of *quod* and *quia* in very Late writings of the fifth and sixth centuries. *Quod* is used more frequently in Merovingian Latin texts, *quia* in Italy and Spain. However, these differences probably have other explanations.<sup>18</sup> For the use of the moods in these clauses, see § 7.131.

*Quod* clauses normally follow the main verb, both for pragmatic reasons (usually non-topical information) and because *quod* is a polysemous subordinator. By contrast, the subjects of accusative and infinitive clauses are often topical and coreferential with

<sup>15</sup> Examples in TLL s.v. *addo* 590.6ff.

<sup>16</sup> Further details can be found in Sz.: 577. Recent quantitative data can be found in Cuzzolin (1994) and in Stotz (1998: 397); see also Raviolo (2002) on Augustine. For Petronius, see Herman (2003) and Adams (2005a). *Quod/quia* clauses are absent in the *Passio Perp.* (Adams 2016: 328). For Priscian’s frequent use of *quod* (often in stereotyped expressions like *sciendum est quod*), see Biville (2014; 2015). For the historical development, see Scivoletto (1962), Cuzzolin (1994), Serbat (2003: 650–6), Touratier (2005), and Calboli (2012). For ‘hybrid’ use of these subordinators with direct speech in Bible translations, see Sznajder (2017b).

<sup>17</sup> For the variation in the distribution of *quod*, *quia*, and *quoniam* in the works of Jerome and in the Vulgate, see Bejarano (1975), García de la Fuente (1981), Calboli (2012), Sznajder (2017a; 2017b), and Greco and Ferrari (2019). For the *Peregrinatio*, see Bejarano (1983). For Symmachus, see Haverling (1988: 242–3).

<sup>18</sup> Regional variation has been suggested by Herman (1963: 40–3), but see Adams (2007: 456).

an entity that is already present in the preceding context, especially if the AcI clause precedes the main clause.<sup>19</sup>

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

**Perception:** ...et cum **audisset quod** iam evenerat... (*Pass. Perp.* 20.9); Unde in Plinio Secundo **legimus quod** (Mazzarino; *quoniam* Keil) nominativus singularis non debet esse 'iuger', sed hoc 'iugerum'. (Pomp. V. 193.36sq. K); Dein cum metuens sibi quisque mussaret **monstraretque** perspicua veritas **quod** repulsus forsitan ariditate vel altitudine montium ad aquas redire non poterit miles... (Amm. 24.7.5); At illa gaudio exultans 'vides' inquit 'Chrysis mea, **vides quod** aliis leporem excitavi?' (Petr. 131.7); (Pharao)...quando vidit **quod** filii Israhel dimiserant eum... (*Pereg.* 8.5)

**Cognition:** Omnium est **aestimare...quod** (*sc.* fama) ab uno aliquando principe exorta sit necesse est. (Tert. *Apol.* 7.11); Adiuuro enim tuum mihi carissimum caput nulli me prorsus ac ne tibi quidem ipsi adseveranti posse **credere quod** tu quicquam in meam cogitaveris perniciem. (Apul. *Met.* 3.14.3—NB: subjunctive);...et nos credimus **quod** tu sis Christus (Tert. *Prax.* 21.18 (paraphrasing *Joh.* 6.69)—NB: subjunctive);...credo **quod** litteras meas libenter accipias... (Symm. *Ep.* 9.1—NB: subjunctive); Nec Hiberum pro ea re **debitare** puto **quod** rem non permissam facit... (Proc. *dig.* 8.2.13);<sup>20</sup> **Malo quod** illum talem inveni quam si multiplicatum hoc ad me de quo loquebar alia via pervenisset. (Sen. *Ben.* 2.3.3);...affirmans et **praescisse** se olim et praedixisse **quod** centenario iam contiguus sepelietur in solo Romano. (Amm. 24.1.10); **Puto quod** nec ipse audeas adversum talem ac tantum virum, tibi veritatem, illi mendacium reputare. (Hier. *C. Iohan.* 10—NB: subjunctive); Atque etiam **recordatus** quondam super cenam **quod** nihil cuiquam toto die praestitisset, memorabilem illam meritoque laudatam vocem edidit: amici, diem perdidit. (NB: subjunctive) (Suet. *Tit.* 8.1); Illic **reputans** ideo se fallacibus litteris accitam et honore praecipuo habitam **quodque** litus iuxta non ventis acta, non saxis impulsa navis summa sui parte veluti terrestre machinamentum concidisset. (Tac. *Ann.* 14.6.1—NB: coordination of an accusative and infinitive and a *quod* clause (in the subjunctive)); **Scis enim quod** epulum dedi binos denarios. (Petr. 71.9 (Trimalchio speaking)); Sciendum **quod** hodie is <qui> praevaricati sunt poena iniungitur extraordinaria. (Ulp. *dig.* 47.15.2); Sciendum etiam **quod** de capillis his qui cum homine nascuntur certiora sint signa (*Physiogn.* 13—NB: subjunctive);...sciens **quod**, si remanserit usquam, exsectis cruribus relinquetur. (Amm. 23.5.21); Unum sane sciendum est **quod** Germani omnes cum ad auxilium essent rogati a Proculo, Pro<bo> servire maluerunt quam cum Bonoso et Proculo <imperare>. (Hist. Aug. *Prob.* 18.7)

**Communication:** Non **commemoro quod** draconis saevi sopivi impetum, / non **quod** domui vim taurorum et segetis armatae manus. (Enn. *scen.* 274–5V—NB: for the attribution of this text to Ennius, see Jocelyn, p. 350); **Denuntiavi** enim litem moventi **quod** ad me causa pertineat nec defuturum eis meae actionis auxilium. (Symm. *Ep.* 9.24.2—NB: subjunctive);... non sine causa **dicetur quod** usuras quoque percipere debeat... (Paul. *dig.* 17.2.67.2—NB: subjunctive); In summa autem dicendum

<sup>19</sup> For the pragmatic differences between the AcI and *quod* (and *quia*) clauses, see Herman (1989), Cuzzolin (1994), Greco (2008), and the summarizing discussion in Greco (2012: 44–50). For Merovingian texts, see Greco (2014).

<sup>20</sup> For later instances, also with the subjunctive, see TLL s.v. 2088.1ff.

est **quod** omnibus stellis noceat vicinitas Solis. (Firm. Mat. 2.8.2—NB: subjunctive); ... **docetque quod** apud Parisios natus in Galliis et equestri militans turma vindictam quondam commissi facinoris timens ad Persas abierat profugus exindeque morum probitate spectata sortita coniuge liberisque susceptis speculatorem se missum ad nostra saepe veros nuntios reportasse. (Amm. 18.6.16—NB: parallelism with accusative and infinitive); **Fama est quod** Ampelium et quosdam alios de Sardinia, ut adseritur, senatores in crimen adductos forum competens observare praeceperis. (Symm. Ep. 2.33a—NB: subjunctive); Deinde cum esset in Asia bellum Mithridaticum gerens, per Lucium Titium ei **mandatum** est a Iove **quod** esset Mithridatem superaturus, et factum est. (August. Civ. 2.24—NB: subjunctive); **Promiseras enim quod** non dares sanctum tuum videre corruptionem, et nunc in sepulcro tegitur. (Hier. Tract. psal. 88.272—NB: subjunctive); Veritas... sanctis fidelibusque promittit **quod** erunt aequales angelis Dei. (August. Civ. 11.13); At hercule nemo **refert quod** Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie volvitur. (Tac. Ann. 3.54.4)

For exceptional instances of *eo quod* in the same context as *quod*, see (d). In some cases the interpretation of the *eo quod* clause as a reason clause is not excluded.<sup>21</sup>

- (d) Nam dicent **eo quod** filii Israhel in honore ipsorum eas (*sc.* statuas) posuerint.

(And the people will tell you that the children of Israel set them up in their honour.' *Pereg.* 8.2—*tr.* Wilkinson)

For the use of *quod*, *quia*, and *quoniam* as introducers of direct speech in ecclesiastical authors, see Sz.: 578–9.

**Appendix:** *Quod* in the following much-debated fragment of Cato can be taken as an interrogative determiner modifying *bonum*.

- (e) Dicam de istis Graecis suo loco, Marce fili, *quid* Athenis exquisitum habeam, et **quod** bonum sit illorum litteras inspicere, non perdiscere.

(‘I shall speak about those Greek fellows in their proper place, Marcus, my son, and point out the result of my enquiries at Athens, and convince you what benefit comes from dipping into their literature, and not making a close study of it.’ Cato *Fil.* 1(J))

### 15.10 *The use of quod clauses with verbs and expressions of accusing and convicting and of blaming, excusing, praising, congratulating, and thanking*

A *quod* clause (and—less often—*quia*) is the regular construction that is used with verbs and expressions of blaming, excusing, praising, congratulating, and thanking. These verbs can be found with a second argument which is either the addressee who

<sup>21</sup> See Herman (1963: 47–9), Väänänen (1987: 73), and Baños (2014: 158–9). For a causal interpretation of *eo quod* in (d), see Griffe (2011).

is blamed, praised, etc. or the content of the blame, as in (a). They can also be found with three arguments, with both the addressee and the content. With some verbs the addressee is in the accusative, as in (b), with others in the dative, as (c). There are also related expressions with which the *quod* clause is the subject, as in (d). As illustrated by (e), it is not always easy to decide whether the *quod* or *quia* clause is the content of the praise, blame, etc. or the reason for praising or blaming somebody.<sup>22</sup> In Early Latin *cum* (*quom*) is relatively common as an alternative to *quod* (see § 15.23). With some verbs the accusative and infinitive clause is also possible (see § 15.99).

- (a) Nec vos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quas / iunximus hospitio dextras.  
(‘Yet I would not blame you, Trojans, nor our covenant, nor the hands we clasped in friendship.’ Verg. *A.* 11.164–5)
- (b) ...cum obiurgavit Albium Granius **quod**...absoluto Scaevola gauderet...  
(‘...when Granius reproached Albius with being delighted by Scaevola’s acquittal...’ Cic. *de Orat.* 2.281)
- (c) Tibi...tamen **quod** abes gratulor, vel *quia* non vides ea quae nos, vel *quod* excelso et illustri loco sita est laus tua...  
(‘But all the same, I congratulate you on your absence. On the one hand, you do not see what we are seeing; on the other, your renown is situated in a lofty and distinguished place...’ Cic. *Fam.* 2.5.1—NB: co-occurrence of a *quod* argument clause and reason adjunct clauses with *quia* and *quod*)
- (d) **Quod** te in tanta hereditate ab omni occupatione expedisti valde mihi gratum est.  
(‘It is very good news to me that you have freed yourself from business although you have so large an inheritance to think of.’ Cic. *Att.* 3.20.2)
- (e) Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes **quod** non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret...  
(‘Amid the alarm all condemned Germanicus for not going to the upper army...’ Tac. *Ann.* 1.40.1)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb or comparable expression):**

**Without an addressee:**...*accusabat* quidam vilitate ipsa despectus **quod**, cum imperium Procopius affectasset, aliqua pro eo locuti sunt bona. (Amm. 29.3.7); ‘Nihil aliud scio’, inquit, ‘nihil **arguo**, nisi **quod** cum ferro comisatum venerunt.’ (Liv. 40.14.5); Non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui **quod** tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus. (Tac. *Ann.* 4.8.3);...*criminabatur* etiam **quod** Titum filium, qui postea est Torquatus appellatus, ab hominibus relegasset... (Cic. *Off.* 3.112); *Hoc* tu igitur in **crimen** vocas **quod** cum iis fuerit C. Rabirius...? (Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 24);...(*sc. litterae*) videntur...quasi **exprobrare quod** in ea vita maneam in qua nihil insit nisi propagatio miserrimi temporis. (Cic. *Fam.* 5.15.3); *Gaudeo* et gratulor **quod** Fusco Salinatori filiam tuam destinasti. (Plin. *Ep.* 6.26.1);...**quod** te intro misi *gratiam referat* mihi.

<sup>22</sup> For *gratias ago*, see Ros (2005), with arguments in favour of considering *quod* clauses with this expression as reason adjuncts. See also Ripoll (2012).

(Lucil. 835M=904K); **Gratulemur quod** iam nulla civitas fame laborat. ([Quint.] *Decl.* 12.10); **Quod** minuit auctionem decemviralem **laudo, quod** regi amico cavet non **reprehendo, quod** non gratis fit **indignor**. (Cic. *Agr.* 2.58); **Quod** bene cogitasti aliquando laudo; **quod** non indicasti **gratias** ago; **quod** non fecisti **ignosco**. (Cic. *Phil.* 2.34)

**Accusative addressee:** Accusat eos **quod** eius modi de se sermones habuerint. (Cic. *Ver.* 5.102); Pacem petebat **excusabatque** sese **quod** per Aetolos recuperasset patrum regnum. (Liv. 38.3.2); **Laudor quod** osculavi privignae caput. (Titin. *com.* 155—NB: unless to be regarded as causal *quod*); Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem... **vituperat quod** tantam pecuniam in praeclara illa propylaea coniecerit. (Cic. *Off.* 2.60)

**Dative addressee:** Criminique ei tribunus inter cetera **dabat quod** filium iuvenem... prope in carcerem atque in ergastulum dederit... (Liv. 7.4.4); Quod bene fecisti **referetur gratia**. (Pl. *Capt.* 941); **Fecisti mihi pergratum quod** Serapionis librum ad me misisti. (Cic. *Att.* 2.4.1);... cum laetor tandem longi erroris vobis finem factum esse, tum **quod** secundis potissimum vestris rebus hic error est sublatus et vobis et propter vos rei publicae **gratulor**. (Liv. 5.3.3); **AGO TIBI GRATIAS QUOD ME DIGN<UM> HABUISTI ET SEQRUM FECISTI**. (*CEL* 142.7–8 (Karanis, c. AD 115)); **Obicio tibi quod** occidisti hominem... (Sen. *Con.* 7.2.8); **Vitio mihi dant quod** mortem hominis necsari graviter fero atque eum quem dilexi perisse indignor. (Matius *Fam.* 11.28.2)

*Damno* and *condemno* ‘to condemn’ are included in this semantic class by K.-St.: II.276. However, the *quia* and *quod* clauses in (f)–(i) are better taken as reason adjuncts.<sup>23</sup>

- (f) ...C. Decianus, de quo tu saepe commemoras, **quia**, cum hominem omnibus insignem notis turpitudinis, P. Furium, accusaret summo studio bonorum omnium, queri est ausus in contione de morte Saturnini, condemnatus est. At Sex. Titius, **quod** habuit imaginem L. Saturnini domi suae, condemnatus est.

(‘But take the case of Gaius Decianus, whom you are so fond of quoting: he was condemned because—while with the entire approval of all good citizens he was accusing Publius Furius, a man notorious for every kind of infamy—he dared to lament in the course of his speech the death of Saturninus. And Sextus Titius also was condemned because he had a portrait of Saturninus in his house.’ Cic. *Rab. Post.* 24)

- (g) Et ii qui Fabrici libertum, **quia** minister in maleficio fuerat, patronum, **quia** conscius esset condemnasset, ipsum principem atque architectum sceleris absolverent?

(‘And could those who had condemned the freedman of Fabricius, because he had been an agent in the crime, and his patron, because he had been privy to it, acquit the principal and original contriver of the whole wickedness?’ Cic. *Clu.* 60—see also *Clu.* 61)

- (h) In qua cognitione magis ultra pars Romanis, ultra regi favisset quaesitum est quam ultra fecisset iniuriam aut accepisset;... A. Baebius unus est damnatus, **quod** milites Romanos praebuisset ad ministerium caedis.

<sup>23</sup> Examples taken from TLL s.v. *condemno* 124.65f.; s.v. *damno* 15.49ff.

(‘In this investigation, the question was more which side had favoured the king and which the Romans, than which had done wrong or had been wronged;... only Aulus Baebius was condemned for furnishing Roman soldiers to help carry out the slaughter.’ Liv. 45.31.1–2)

- (i) ...arguimus nos ipsi penitusque re visa atque inspecta damnamus, **quod** humanitatis iure deposito naturalis initii consortia ruperimus.  
 (‘... we ourselves accuse and condemn ourselves when the thing is seen and looked into thoroughly, because, neglecting the law which is binding on men, we have broken through the bonds which naturally united us at the beginning.’ Arn. *Nat.* 7.4—tr. Bryce)

### 15.11 The use of *quod* clauses in combination with a subject or object complement

In (a)–(c) the *quod* clauses function as subject of a clause whose verb consists of a form of *sum* in combination with a subject complement; in the first two examples the subject complement is an adjective (neuter singular form), in the last a noun phrase. A *quod* clause functioning as object in combination with an object complement is shown in (d). The main clause can have a preparative pronoun as its object, as in (e). Note that the nouns and adjectives involved are semantically related to the verbs discussed above.

- (a) ... nihil *praeclarius* quam **quod** eosdem... praesse voluerunt...  
 (‘...but no action of theirs was ever more wise than their desire that the same men should superintend...’, Cic. *Dom.* 1)
- (b) Est autem in hoc genere *molestum* **quod** in maximis animis... existunt honoris, imperii... cupiditates.  
 (‘But the trouble about this matter is that it is in the greatest souls that lust for honour and power emerges.’ Cic. *Off.* 1.26)
- (c) *Parumne* est *malai rei* **quod** amat Demipho...?  
 (‘Is it not enough of a bad thing that Demipho is in love...?’ Pl. *Mer.* 692)
- (d) Maximum vero eius *beneficium* numero **quod** hoc animo in rem publicam est...  
 (‘But I count it as his greatest benefaction that he is of this mind toward the Republic...’ Cic. *Phil.* 13.7)
- (e) Nisi *hoc* indignum putas **quod** vestitum sedere in iudicio vides quem tu e patrimonio... nudum expulisti.  
 (‘Unless you think it scandalous to see in this court sitting fully clothed the man whom you have driven naked out of his patrimony.’ Cic. *S. Rosc.* 147)

#### Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):

Sed *causa* erat iudici postulandi **quod** ex edicto professus non esset. (Cic. *Ver.* 3.39);  
**Praecipuum** destinationis meae **documentum** habete **quod** de nemine queror. (Tac. *Hist.* 2.47.3); Tot luctibus funesta civitate **pars maeroris** fuit **quod** Iulia Drusi filia,

quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in domum Rubellii Blandi... (Tac. *Ann.* 6.27.1); **Alterum est vitium quod** quidam nimis magnum studium multamque operam in res obscuras atque difficiles conferunt... (Cic. *Off.* 1.19)

Fuerit **verecundiae tuae quod** nihil hactenus nobis adloquii detulisti. (Symm. *Ep.* 8.8)

Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem iocum, **magno argumento** est me in utroque fuisse moderatum. (Cic. *Phil.* 2.40);... nisi etiam **quod** omnino coluit **crimini** fuerit. (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 49); Cn. Octavio... **honori** fuisse accepimus **quod** praeclaram aedificasset in Palatio... domum... (Cic. *Off.* 1.138);... **indicio** fuit **quod** ipse expulso Dionysio imperium dimittere noluit. (Nep. *Tim.* 2.3); **Voluptati** mihi est **quod** vales. (Symm. *Ep.* 7.37)

Cuius ex omni vita nihil est **honestius** quam **quod** cum mima fecit divortium. (Cic. *Phil.* 2.69); **Optimum** vero **quod** dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti (Cic. *Phil.* 2.91)

**Quod** Thebae cecidere **meum** est (Ov. *Met.* 13.173); **Nostrum** est **quod** evocavimus ad causam dicendam eos... (Liv. 39.36.13)

Quam ob rem etsi **magis** est **quod** gratuler tibi quam quod te rogem, tamen etiam rogo... (Cic. *Att.* 16.5.2)<sup>24</sup>

**With a preparative pronoun:** Nec vero **illud** non eruditorum temporum **argumentum** est **quod** et deorum pulvinaribus et epulis magistratum fides praecinunt... (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.4)

Quamquam **illud** est **egregium quod** hac lege ante omnia veneunt... (Cic. *Agr.* 2.71); **Id** vero **egregium quod** provisu deum vidua iungeretur principi sua tantum matrimonia experto. (Tac. *Ann.* 12.6.2); **Hoc** quidem hau **molestum** est iam quod collus collari caret. (Pl. *Capt.* 357)

### 15.12 *The use of quod clauses with a variety of other expressions*

Apart from the more or less precise semantic contexts dealt with in the preceding sections, *quod* argument clauses are used with a broad range of other expressions, which by their meaning allow a *quod* argument clause referring to a factive content. It is this enormous variety that testifies to the role of *quod* as a 'general' subordinator, even in Cicero's time. A few examples must suffice.<sup>25</sup> In (a) and (b), the *quod* clauses function as subject with the two-place verbs *habeo* and *adiuvo*, respectively. In (c), the *quod* clause functions as subject of two-place (so-called impersonal) *refert*.<sup>26</sup> In many instances some form of preparative expression anticipates the *quod* clause.

- (a) **Quod** vero ita avocatur a Mutina... quam *habet* ignominiam...!  
(‘Now he is ordered off from Mutina in such a fashion... what a disgrace does that entail!’ Cic. *Phil.* 6.6)
- (b) Quam ad spem multum eos *adiuvabat quod* Liger ex nivibus creverat...

<sup>24</sup> For the various expressions with *magis est*, see TLL s.v. *magis* 64.47ff.

<sup>25</sup> One can get a good impression by browsing through Merguet's lexicons to Cicero's Orations and Philosophica s.v. *quod*. For the relationship between these various uses, see Taylor (1951) and Woolsey (1953).

<sup>26</sup> For more instances of verbs of advantage, importance, etc., see Serbat (2003: 579–82).

(‘The fact that the Loire was so swollen from the melting of the snows contributed greatly to this hope.’ Caes. *Gal.* 7.55.10)

- (c) Nec *refert quod* inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant.  
(‘It matters nothing that they differ in special points, seeing that they are generically alike.’ Tac. *Dial.* 25.4)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

**Quod clause as object:** Ille dedit *quod* non anima haec Cyclopi in ora / venit... (Ov. *Met.* 14.174–5—NB: *ut* or a prolativative infinitive would be normal); **Quid** habet mea domus **religiosi nisi quod** impuri et sacrilegi parietem tangit? (Cic. *Har.* 33); Neque **satis** habuit **quod** eam in occulto vitiaverat, quin eius famam prostitueret. (Cato *hist.* 36=27C); At quo teste, di immortales, non **satis quod** uno, non **quod** ignoto, non **quod** levi. (Cic. *Scaur.* 29)

**Quod clause as subject:** Interfecit Opimius Gracchum. **Quid** facit causam? **Quod** rei publicae causa (*sc.* interfecit), cum ex senatus consulto ad arma vocasset. (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.132)

**Appendix:** *Quod* clauses are also used in headings in Cato’s *Agr.* An example is (d).

- (d) De brassica **quod** concoquit.  
(‘About cabbage that it promotes digestion.’ Cato *Agr.* 156.1)

### 15.13 The use of *quod* clauses with verbs of happening

*Quod* clauses are used as subject with a variety of main clauses which have in common that they contain an expression that, from a semantic point of view, can be understood as an evaluation of the content of the *quod* clause. The phenomenon is particularly common with verbs and expressions of happening when the superordinate clause contains an evaluative expression. Examples are *perincommode* in (a) and *bene* in (b).<sup>27</sup> In these examples the adverbs *perincommode* and *bene* constitute the salient information; the content of the *quod* clause is ‘factive’ and known information. For the combination of *accidit* and an evaluative adverb with a non-clausal subject, see (c).<sup>28</sup>

- (a) Sed accidit *perincommode quod* eum nusquam vidisti.  
(‘It is most unfortunate that you did not see him at all.’ Cic. *Att.* 1.17.2)
- (b) Magna me, inquit, spes tenet, iudices, *bene* mihi evenire **quod** mittar ad mortem.  
(“I entertain, gentlemen of the jury, high hopes,” said he, “that it is for my good that I am sent to death.” Cic. *Tusc.* 1.97)
- (c) **Quod consilium** etsi in eiusmodi casu reprehendendum non est, tamen *incommode* accidit.  
(‘This plan, though not reprehensible in such an emergency, had an unfortunate result.’ Caes. *Gal.* 5.33.4)

<sup>27</sup> See TLL s.v. *incommode* 988.57ff.

<sup>28</sup> For *quod* clauses with verbs of happening and with *facio*, see Bolkestein (1989b), Rosén (1989a), Cuzzolin (1996), and Panchón (2003: 407–11; 421–6).

The verbs with which such *quod* clauses are attested are the verbs of happening *accidit* ‘to happen’, *cadit* ‘to happen’, *evenit* ‘to happen’, and *fit* ‘to occur’. With these verbs *ut* is normal when there are no evaluative expressions present (see § 15.27). For accusative and infinitive clauses in similar contexts, see § 15.94.<sup>29</sup>

A counterpart of subject clauses with verbs and expressions of happening are object clauses with the verb *facio* ‘to do’, as in (d) and (e).

- (d) *Bene facis, inquit, quod me adiuvas...*  
 (“You do a service to me,” he said, “in helping me...” Cic. *Fin.* 3.16)
- (e) *Sed fecit humaniter Licinius quod ad me misso senatu vesperi venit...*  
 (‘Licinius acted kindly toward me in calling on me this evening after the Senate had risen.’ Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.1.1)

The expressions involved are mainly adverbs like the ones in (a)–(e). Less common are noun phrases in the ablative expressing cause, as in (f) and (g).

- (f) *Num tu, inquit, harum rerum natura accidere arbitraris, quod ‘unam terram’ et ‘plures terras’... dicamus...*  
 (‘Surely you do not think that it happens from the nature of these things that we say “one land” and “several lands”.’ Caes. *gram.* 3a—*tr.* Garcea)
- (g) *Noli putare pigritia me facere quod non mea manu scribam...*  
 (‘You must not suppose it is out of laziness that I do not write in my own hand...’ Cic. *Att.* 16.15.1)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):**

Hoc loco percommode **accidit quod** non adest... C. Aquilius. (Cic. *Caec.* 77); Sed hoc tamen **cecidit** mihi peropportune **quod**... ad Antonium audiendum venistis. (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.15); Numquam edepol quicquam iamdiu quod mage vellem evenire / mi **evenit** quam **quod** modo senex intro ad nos venit errans. (Ter. *Eu.* 1002–3);... scripseras velle te bene <e>venire **quod** de Crasso domum emissem... (Cic. *Fam.* 5.6.2);... dicere est solitus benigne sibi a populo Romano **esse factum quod** nimis magna procuratione liberatus modicis regni terminis uteretur (Cic. *Deiot.* 36); Itaque sive casu accidit sive consilio, percommode factum est **quod**... de morte et de dolore... disputatum est. (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.64)

Pervorse **facis**. # **Quod**ne amem? (Pl. *Mer.* 573); **Quod** scribis scire te mihi illam rem fore levamento, bene facis. (Cic. *Att.* 12.43.2);... cave suspiceris contra meam voluntatem te facere **quod** non sis mecum. (Cic. *Fam.* 16.22.1); Qua re facis tu quidem fraterne **quod** me hortaris... (Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.14.2); Tu autem Fanni, **quod** mihi tantum tribui dicis quantum ego nec adgnosco nec postulo, facis amice. (Cic. *Amic.* 9); Bene facitis **quod** abominamini. (Liv. 6.18.9); Bene fecisti, **quod** libertum aliquando tibi carum reducentibus epistulis meis in domum, in animum recepisti. (Plin. *Ep.* 9.24)<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For the use of *quod* clauses and the difference from *ut* clauses with these verbs, related to *quod*’s causal meaning, see Baños (1990).

<sup>30</sup> More instances in TLL s.v. *facio* 106.84ff.

...nec mehercules possum dicere inhumanitate tua fieri **quod** non audeo... (Sen. *Con.* 10.1.1); Non magnam rem facis **quod** vivere sine regio apparatu potes... (Sen. *Ep.* 110.12)

An exceptional Late Latin instance of a *quia* clause in a similar context is (h). Ex. (i) is different: there *quia* means ‘because’ (compare Pl. *Aul.* 643).<sup>31</sup>

- (h) Et bene accidit **quia** nos laboraturos Dominus sciebat...  
 (‘And it is fortunate that the Lord knew that we were going to work...’ Ambr. *Virgin.* 130)
- (i) *Istuc* male factum arbitrator, **quia** non latus fodi.  
 (‘I think that (threatening you) was a mistake because I should have stabbed you in the side.’ Pl. *Aul.* 418)

There are a few instances with *quom* in Plautus, as in (j).

- (j) ...et bene et benigne facitis, **quom** ero amanti operam datis.  
 (‘...and you are acting well and kindly...by helping my lovesick master.’ Pl. *Poen.* 588)

Noteworthy instances of combinations of *accidit* and *quod* are (k) and (l). In (k) the context shows that *fortuitum* (which would require *ut*—see § 15.27) must be interpreted as ‘as an accident’.<sup>32</sup> In (l) *nihil novi* looks like the subject of *accidisse*, with the *quod* clause as its explanation, but it is probably better to take the *quod* clause as the subject and *nihil novi* as equal to *non aliquid novi*, ‘not as something new’.<sup>33</sup>

- (k) Accidit *fortuitum*, sed non tamquam fortuitum, **quod**... Certus... implicitus morbo decessit.  
 (‘It happened by coincidence, though it seemed no mere coincidence,... that Certus fell ill and died.’ Plin. *Ep.* 9.13.24)
- (l) ...*nihil novi* accidisse respondit, **quod** duo senatores in re publica dissentirent...  
 (‘...he said that it was nothing strange for two senators to hold different views in the state...’ Tac. *Hist.* 2.91.3)

#### 15.14 The use of *quod* clauses in combination with a preparative or interrogative pronoun or similar expressions

*Quod* argument clauses are used with preparative and—less frequently—resumptive expressions from Early Latin onwards (see also §§ 14.16–17). Examples are (a)–(c). In (a) *illuc* is the subject complement of the main clause; it prepares for the *quod* clause. The sentence would be acceptable without the preparative pronoun, and the *quod*

<sup>31</sup> K.-St.: II.275, Sz.: 579, and Panchón (2003: 408–9) take this as an instance of *quia* as a marker of a clause with *male facere*. Baños (2014: 54) and Taillade (2019: 168–9) take it as a reason adjunct.

<sup>32</sup> See Ehlers (1971) and Cuzzolin (1996: 230).

<sup>33</sup> See Gerber and Greef *s.v.* *quod* 1342, § γ; OLD *s.v.* *quod* § 6. For a different analysis, see Cuzzolin (1996: 228) and Serbat (2003: 575).

clause would serve as an argument on its own (see § 15.11). However, the pronoun is not always omissible, as can be seen in (b) (repeated from § 15.4), since *habeo* does not govern an argument clause.<sup>34</sup> Ex. (c) shows the use of the determiner *illa* as a modifier of *antiqua*. *Illa* can either be understood as cataphoric or—more likely—as exophoric (see § 11.107), ‘the well-known ancient story’. According to this interpretation, the *quod* clause functions as an appositive clause specifying *illa antiqua* (see § 14.16). In (d) the *quod* clause is prepared for by the pronoun *id* (for *quod* clauses with *vitium* as their subject complement, see § 15.11). The use of the interrogative pronoun *quid* in (e) can be compared with the use of the preparative pronouns in (a) and (b). Ex. (f) can be compared with (c). For a resumptive pronoun, see (g).

- (a) *Quid illuc est quod illi caperrat frons severitudine?*  
(‘What’s the reason that his forehead is wrinkled from grave thoughts?’ Pl. *Epid.* 609)
- (b) *Habet hoc sollicitudo, quod omnia necessaria putat.*  
(‘Anxiety has this quality, that it supposes all things necessary.’ Plin. *Ep.* 6.9.2)
- (c) *Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium novis rebus studentem manu sua occidit.*  
(‘I pass over that well-known ancient story that Gaius Servilius Ahala with his own hand killed Spurius Maelius, who was pursuing revolution.’ Cic. *Catil.* 1.3)
- (d) *Id illi vitium maxumum est / quod nimis tardus est advorsum mei animi sententiam.*  
(‘It’s his greatest fault that he’s too slow, against my heart’s wishes.’ Pl. *Mer.* 596–7)
- (e) *Quid quod Staienus est condemnatus?*  
(‘What of the fact that Staienus was condemned?’ Cic. *Clu.* 99)
- (f) *... miretur profecto quae sit tanta atrocitas huiusce causae quod diebus festis... hoc iudicium exerceatur...*  
(‘... he would in truth wonder what great atrocity there is in this particular cause such that this trial alone should proceed during these days of festival and public games...’ Cic. *Cael.* 1)
- (g) *Quod discordis dispersasque Vitellii legiones... fudisset, id pulcherrimum et sui operis.*  
(‘As to the fact that he had put to rout the discordant and scattered legions of Vitellius, Antonius called that a most beautiful achievement and the work of his own hand.’ Tac. *Hist.* 3.53.2)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by preparative expression):**

NB: In some of the instances cited below we find both some sort of preparative device, on the basis of which they have been placed in this category, and a main verb that fits in with one of the categories in the preceding sections.

<sup>34</sup> For the preparative use of *ille*, see TLL s.v. 348.36ff.; for *is*, TLL s.v. 477.66 (*quia*) and 478.1ff. (*quod*); for *iste*, TLL s.v. 508.28ff. See also Merguet (*Phil.*) s.v. *quod* 332B; (*Reden*) 221A. Ex. (b) is taken from Bodelot (2000: 76).

Sed quid *hoc* est **quod** foris concrepuit proxima vicinia? (Pl. *Mos.* 1062); Sed *hoc* inter me atque illum interest **quod** ille... inimicos suos ultus est... (Cic. *Red. Pop.* 20); *Hoc* enim uno praestamus vel maxime feris **quod** conloquimur inter nos et quod exprimere dicendo sensa possumus. (Cic. *de Orat.* 1.32—NB: for *praesto*, see § 4.57)

Quaeso ut sat habeas *id*, pater, **quod** Chrysalus / me obiurigavit... (Pl. *Bac.* 1019–20);...semperque *id* valuisse plurimum quod in se auctoritatis habuisset aequitatisque plurimum... (Cic. *Caec.* 80); Ceterum *id* quoque ad gloriam accessit **quod** cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. (Liv. 1.48.8); At Pallas *id* maxime in Agrippina laudare **quod** Germanici nepotem secum traheret. (Tac. *Ann.* 12.2.3)

Hoc nimirum est *illud* **quod** non longe a gradibus Aureliis haec causa dicitur. (Cic. *Flac.* 66); An *illa* non gravissimis ignominiis monumentisque huius ordinis ad posteritatis memoriam sunt notanda **quod** unus M. Antonius in hac urbe post conditam urbem palam secum habuerit armatos? (Cic. *Phil.* 5.17); Non ego *illud* parvi aestimo, milites **quod** nemo est vestrum cuius... (Liv. 21.43.17)

Quid *istuc* est **quod** meos te dicam fugitare oculos, Tyndare... (Pl. *Capt.* 541)

In contexts like (b) the preparative pronoun functions as a grammatical device to mark the function of the clause in its sentence. This resembles the use of pronouns with *quod* clauses functioning as satellite, as in (h). Here, *eo* is obligatory: the combination of a preposition and a subordinator (*pro quod*) is ungrammatical until (very) Late Latin (see also § 16.84).

- (h) Sin autem pro magnitudine iniuriae **proque eo quod** summa res publica in huius periculo temptatur haec omnes vindicarent...

(‘But if, in consideration of the greatness of the injustice, and of the fact that the highest interests of the State are being attacked in the peril by which he is threatened—if all were to punish these acts...’ Cic. *S. Rosc.* 148)

A different phenomenon is the combination of a preparative pronoun + *est* + *quod*, for example *hoc est quod*, in examples like (i). Here, *quod* is not a subordinator, but the accusative neuter of the relative pronoun functioning as a reason adjunct ‘why’. Similarly, *quid est quod* ‘what is it why’ in (j). See also § 18.39 for the use of the relative adverb *cur* in the same configuration. Compare also (k), with *id* in the same function. Scholars vary in the way they deal with *quod* in these cases. Some regard it as a subordinator, others as a relative pronoun functioning as ‘adverbial accusative’ or ‘internal accusative’.<sup>35</sup>

- (i) *Hoc* ecastor est **quod** ille it ad cenam cottidie.  
(‘Yes, that explains why he has to go to dinner every day.’ Pl. *As.* 865)
- (j) Nam *quid* est **quod** haec huc timida atque exanimata exsiluit foras?  
(‘What on earth is the reason why she’s rushed out here, all fearful and anxious?’ Pl. *Cas.* 630)
- (k) **Id** nos ad te, si quid velles, venimus.  
(‘That’s why we have come to you, to see if you want anything.’ Pl. *Mil.* 1158)

<sup>35</sup> I follow Baños (1991b), with extensive discussion.

**Supplement:**

*Hoc, / hoc est quod* <cor> peracescit. / *Hoc est demum quod* percrucior... (Pl. *Bac.* 1099–1101); *Hoc erat, alma parens, quod* me per tela, per ignis / eripis...? (Verg. *A.* 2.664–5)

Sed *quid est quod* tuo nunc animo aegre'st? (Pl. *Cas.* 178); Sci'n *quid est quod* ego ad te venio? (Pl. *Men.* 677); *Quid est quod* tu exanimatus iam hos multos dies / gestas tabellas tecum... (Pl. *Ps.* 9–10); *Quid est quod* de voluntate caelestium dubitare possumus? (Cic. *Phil.* 4.10); *Quid est quod* diligenter conficiamus tabulas? (Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 7); *Quid erat quod* confirmabat se abs te argentum esse repetiturum...? (Cic. *Ver.* 4.43)<sup>36</sup>  
**NB:** *Quid* fecerat *quod* eum totiens per insidias interficere voluistis? (Cic. *Dom.* 59)

15.15 *The use of quia in declarative argument clauses*

*Quia* is relatively uncommon as a subordinator in declarative argument clauses until its expansion with certain classes of governing expressions in Late Latin.

15.16 *The use of quia clauses with the verb accedit 'to be added', or 'to constitute an addition to'*

*Quia* is used with *accedit* 'to constitute an addition to' from Augustine onward. An example is (a).

- (a) Huc *accedit quia* ipse dies...incertus est.  
 ('To this fact is added that the day itself... is uncertain.' August. *Serm.* 17.7)

15.17 *The use of quia clauses with verbs and expressions meaning 'to leave unmentioned'*

*Quia* with verbs and expressions meaning 'to leave unmentioned' is very rare and Late. An example is (a).<sup>37</sup>

- (a) *Non praeterimus quia* aliqui nec in Hebraeo putant esse, nec in ceteris interpretationibus...  
 ('We do not fail to record the fact that some do not believe that it is either in the Hebrew or in other versions...' Ambr. *Hex.* 3.5.20)

15.18 *The use of quia clauses with verbs and expressions of emotion*

There are only a few instances in Early Latin and in later periods of *quia* as a marker of clauses with verbs and expressions denoting emotion (*verba affectuum*). An example is (a). Since with this class of verbs the reason for the emotion is sometimes expressed, there are instances where one may interpret the *quia* clause as a reason adjunct. The

<sup>36</sup> See Lebreton (1901a: 318–19). For more instances in Cicero, see Merguet (*Phil.*) s.v. quis 312A; (*Reden*) s.v. quod 223, § 7c; Bennett: I.136–7. See also Löfstedt (1966: 262–4; 2000: 85–6).

<sup>37</sup> See TLL s.v. praetero 1020.74ff.

accusative and infinitive is—by far—the normal construction with emotion expressions, of which *gaudeo* is the only representative with a considerable number of instances of *quia* clauses.

- (a) ... ut mi *volup est* ... **quia** vos ... / *rediisse video* ...  
(‘... as it is a pleasure for me to see that you’ve both ... returned home ...’ Pl. *St.* 506–7)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):**

*Sin autem †sicut† hinc discesseras, lacrimis ac tristitiae te tradidisti, doleo quia* doles... (Lucc. *Fam.* 5.14.2); Nam **quia** vos tranquillos video, **gaudeo** et *volup est* mihi. (Pl. *Am.* 958); Romae **quia** postea non fuisti quam discesseras **miratus sum**, quod item nunc miror. (Lucc. *Fam.* 5.14.1); ... non oportere nos mirari super haereses istas sive **quia** sunt... sive **quia** fidem quorundam subvertunt... (Tert. *Praescr.* 1.1); Non dedisse istunc pudet: me **quia** non accepi **piget**. (Pl. *Ps.* 282); At nos **pudet quia** cum catenis sumus. (Pl. *Capt.* 203)

As with *quod* (see § 15.8), instances of *queror quia* are often included in this class of verbs. An example from Cicero is (b).

- (b) ... secum Titinium et Servium *questos esse quia* non ... remisisset ...  
(‘... that Titinius and Servius have grumbled to him for not making the concession ...’ Cic. *Att.* 10.3a.2)

### 15.19 The use of *quia* with verbs and expressions of perception, cognition, and communication

The first two instances of *quia* marking an argument clause with a perception and a communication verb are found in Petronius (the freedman Echion speaking in his substandard variety of Latin),<sup>38</sup> one of which is (a). This use became more common in ecclesiastical authors, probably stimulated by the use of ὁτί (*hóti*) with comparable verbs in Greek. However, just like *quod*, it always remained a minor competitor of the accusative and infinitive, except in the Bible translations in Cyprian (c. AD 250) and in the *Peregrinatio*, where it is more frequent than the accusative and infinitive. (For the relative development of *quia* and *quod*, see § 15.9.)

- (a) Sed *subolfacio quia* nobis epulum daturus est Mammaea ...  
(‘I scent that Mammaea is going to give us a meal ...’ Petr. 45.10 (Echion speaking))

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

**Perception expressions:** Sed et haec **audivi quia** daemonium illos occidit. (Vulg. *Tob.* 6.14); ... **quia** ubi legebant venturum Christum, ibi **legebant quia** occisuri erant Christum. (Aug. *Serm.* 92.1)

**Cognition expressions:** ... et nos **credimus et cognovimus quia** tu es Christus ... (Vulg. *Joh.* 6.70); ... hoc **intelligis quia** ... (Mulom. *Chir.* 118); **Novit enim quia**, si dederit illam viro alio, morte periet ... (Vulg. *Tob.* 6.13); An **opinatus es quia** aurum

<sup>38</sup> See Herman (2003), Adams (2005a), and Cuzzolin (2013b).

tuum desiderarem? (Ambr. *Ep.* 4.14); ... **et putans quia** ex potu calicis inimicae gentes interficerentur et ruerent calicem meri libenter accepit non intellegens in omnibus gentibus etiam Hierusalem comprehendi. (Hier. *Ep.* 18A.15); **Scio enim quia** valde me bene ames. (Scaev. *dig.* 44.7.61.1); Scit enim **quia** mortis est fabricatrix voluptas. (Lact. *Inst.* 6.22.3); Scias **quia** his oculis aestimatur etiam Alexander magnus fuisse. (*Physiogn.* 33); **Spero** autem de deo **quia** dabit tibi ... ampliorem laetitiam. (*Hist. Apoll.* RA 40)

**Manifestum est ergo quia** homines dixit deos ex gratia sua deificatos, non de substantia sua natos. (August. *Psal.* 49.2)

**Communication expressions:** Ego illi iam tres cardeles occidi, et **dixi quia** mustella comedit. (Petr. 46.4 (Echion speaking)); ... **prophetavit quia** Iesus moriturus erat pro gente ... (Hier. *Is.* 15.56.8.9)

### 15.20 *The use of quia clauses with verbs and expressions of blaming, praising, congratulating, and thanking*

With verbs and expressions meaning 'to blame', 'to praise', 'to congratulate', and 'to thank' *quia* is rarely found before ecclesiastical authors started using it. Just as with *quod* (see § 15.10) it is not always clear whether the *quia* clause is an argument or a reason adjunct clause.

- (a) Quod **laudat quia** oblivisci me scripsi ante facta et delicta nostri amici, ego vero ita facio.

(‘As to your praising me for writing that I forget the past actions and errors of our friend, indeed I do forget them.’ Cic. *Att.* 9.9.1)

#### **Supplement (by verb in alphabetical order):**

Id **quia** non est a me factum, **agi gratias?** (Ter. *Ad.* 596—NB: unless it is a reason adjunct); ... **gratulamini mihi quia** inveni ... drachmam quam perdideram. (Vet. Lat. *Luc.* 15.9); Respondens autem archisynagogus **indignans quia sabbato** curasset Iesus dicebat turbae ... (Vulg. *Luc.* 13.14); Invenimus apostolum tamquam crimen **obiecisse hominibus quia** homines sunt. (August. *Serm.* 166.2); **Vitio vertunt quia** multa egeo; at ego illis **quia** nequeunt egere. (Cato *orat.* 173=174M)

### 15.21 *The use of quia clauses in combination with a preparative pronoun or determiner*

Instances of *quia* in argument clauses combined with a preparative pronoun are found from Early Latin onward, but this use of *quia* is relatively infrequent, *quod* being the normal subordinator in this function. An example is (a). In some cases *quia* is used with the same verbs without a preparative element.

- (a) Eheu, huic **illud** dolet / **quia** nunc remissus est edendi exercitus.

(‘Oh, oh, oh, this one (*points to his stomach*) is in pain because the army for eating has been dismissed now.’ Pl. *Capt.* 152–3)

**Supplement:**

Idne pudet te quia captivam genere prognatam bono / in praeda es mercatus? (Pl. *Epid.* 107–8); An id doles, soror, quia illi suom officium / non colunt, quom tu tuom facis? (Pl. *St.* 34–6)

Sin ea'st causa retinendi apud vos / quia aegra'st, te mihi iniuriam facere arbitror... (Ter. *Hec.* 255–6)

15.22 *The use of quoniam in declarative argument clauses*

*Quoniam* is found as a subordinator introducing subject and object clauses with verbs and expressions of perception, cognition, and communication from Tertullian and the early Bible translations in his writings onward, as in (a).<sup>39</sup> However, whereas *quod* and *quia* are increasingly found in various subordinate clauses from Early Latin onward, this is not the case with *quoniam*, the spread of which in ecclesiastical and other later authors may therefore well be ascribed to the influence of the Bible (especially in imitation of the use of Greek *διότι* (*dihóti*)). An early instance is (b), clearly translating Gk. *γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι* (*gignóskein se thélo hóti*). It seems that *quoniam* followed the development of *quia*, with which it also occasionally overlaps in reason clauses (see § 16.42). Like *quia* it is more common than *quod* in the New Testament.<sup>40</sup> *Quoniam* was used much less frequently than *quod* and *quia*, with some individual variation.<sup>41</sup>

- (a) Si Deus *videt quoniam* propter ipsum feci, pariter *videt quoniam* propter ipsum fecisse me nolui ostendere...

(‘If God sees that I have done it for his sake, He equally sees that I have been unwilling to show that I did it for his sake...’ Tert. *Idol.* 22.3)

- (b) SCIRE TE VOLO CONIA NON ACC/EPI A QURATORI ESOPERA (= supra) CO/NTUBERNIO.

(‘I wish you to know that I have not received (anything) from the curator concerning the lodging (?).’ O. *Did.* 417 (Didymoi, c. AD 120–5)—NB: the meaning of *contubernium* is not clear)<sup>42</sup>

- (c) Nemo cum temptatur *dicat quoniam* a Deo temptor.

(‘Let no one say, when he is tempted, that he is tempted by God.’ Vulg. *Jac.* 1.13)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):**

... ut *cognoscatis et credatis et intellegatis quoniam* ego sum. (Vet. Lat. *Is.* 43.10—NB: Vulg. has *quia*); Nam mihi credat volo affectio vestra *quoniam* nullus Christianorum est qui non se tendat illuc. (*Pereg.* 17.2); ... intellexit... *quoniam* angelus... est. (Vet. Lat. *Iud.* 13.21—NB: Vulg. has *AcI*); ... et nos credimus et cognovimus *quoniam* tu es filius... (Cypr. *Ep.* 59.7—NB: *quod* in Vet. Lat. *Joh.* 6.69; *quia* in Vulg.); Et scribae qui ab Hierosolymis descenderant *dicebant quoniam*

<sup>39</sup> For Tertullian, see Hoppe (1903: 76–7 = 1985: 148–9).

<sup>40</sup> See Sznajder (2019).

<sup>41</sup> Irenaeus shows an idiosyncratically strong preference for *quoniam*. See Svennung (1948: 46).

<sup>42</sup> See Bülow-Jacobsen in Cuvigny (2012: 352–5).

Beelzebub habet et *quia* in principe daemonum eicit daemonia. (Vulg. *Marc.* 3.22—NB: coordination); ... **legitur** in domo tua de minore filio tuo **quoniam** ‘mortuus erat et revixit’, perierat et inventus est. (August. *Conf.* 8.6); ... **scitote quoniam** me primo odit. (Cypr. *ad Fort.* 11.7); Dic tu aliter ut scias **quoniam** necessitate hoc fit. (Pomp. V.253.32K)

**NB:** ... **laetati sunt quoniam** siluerunt ... (Vet. Lat. *Psal.* 106.30—NB: Vulg. has *quia*)

### 15.23 *The use of cum (quom) in declarative argument clauses*

In Plautus’ comedies, and in Early Latin in general, *cum (quom)*<sup>43</sup> is found in subordinate clauses with some of the verbs with which *quod* begins to be used in that period, viz. emotion verbs and verbs of praising, blaming, congratulating, and thanking (cf. § 15.8 and § 15.10, respectively). Examples are (a) and (b). *Cum* in such cases functions basically as a temporal subordinator (see § 16.10), denoting (*inter alia*) the concomitance of two events (see § 7.125). Note in (c) the parallelism of a temporal *cum* adjunct clause and a conditional *si* adjunct clause.

- (a) **Quom** istaec res tibi ex sententia / pulchre evenit **gaudeo**.  
(‘I’m happy this turned out well for you, according to your wish.’ Pl. *Rud.* 1365–6)
- (b) **Gratiam habeo** tibi / **quom** copiam istam mi et potestatem facis.  
(‘I’m grateful to you for giving me the chance and opportunity...’ Pl. *Capt.* 373–4)
- (c) ... nec minus **laetabor cum** te semper sordidum, quam **si** paulisper sordidatum viderem.  
(‘...nor shall I rejoice less at seeing you in constant and unceasing distress, than I should if I saw you for a short time in the mourning robe of a criminal on his trial.’ Cic. *Pis.* 99)

#### **Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

Primumdum, **quom** tu es aucta liberis / **quomque** bene provenisti salva **gaudeo**. (Pl. *Truc.* 384–5); **Metuo quom** illic opscaevavit meae falsae fallaciae. (Pl. *As.* 266); **Volup est quom** istuc ex pietate vostra vobis contigit. (Pl. *Rud.* 1176)

Di deaeque omnes, vobis **habeo** merito magnas **gratias** / **quom** hac me laetitia affecistis tanta et tantis gaudiis... (Pl. *Poen.* 1274–5); **Quom** tu recte provenisti **quomque** es aucta liberis / **gratulor, quom** mihi tibi que magnum peperisti decus. (Pl. *Truc.* 516–17); Gratulor igitur mihi **cum** et ego tot ac tantis viris adnumeror. (Apol. *Apol.* 27); **Laudo** malum **quom** amici tuom ducis malum. (Pl. *Capt.* 151)

### 15.24 *The use of quomodo and quemadmodum in declarative argument clauses*

*Quomodo* and *quemadmodum* ‘how’ are manner adverbs, which can be found in clauses depending on perception and cognition verbs, where sometimes two different

<sup>43</sup> I follow the orthography of the Library of Latin Texts.

perspectives on reality can compete: ‘I saw how he fell’ presupposes ‘I saw that he fell’. An illustration is (a). There are a few borderline cases mentioned in the literature, especially of *quomodo*, one of which is (b). The parallelism with the context makes it likely that this is still a case of strained use of the interrogative adverb and not a subordinator *in statu nascendi*. There are, however, from the fourth century onward cases that cannot be interpreted as interrogative at all. Apart from the semantic overlap mentioned above, this evolution of *quomodo* may have been stimulated by its becoming the substitute for interrogative *ut* as well (see § 15.60). The equivalent use of *quemadmodum* is less frequent.<sup>44</sup>

- (a) Non *meminisse* nos ratu’s, / **quo modo** trecentos Philippos Collybisco vilico / dederis...  
(‘Didn’t you think we’d remember how you gave your overseer Collybiscus three hundred Philippics...’ Pl. *Poen.* 557–9)
- (b) Scis Gnaeum *quam* sit fatuus, scis **quomodo** crudelitatem virtutem putet, scis quam se semper a nobis derisum putet.  
(‘You know how foolish Gnaeus is, how he takes cruelty for courage, how he thinks we always made fun of him.’ Cas. *Fam.* 15.19.4)

### 15.25 *The use of ut in declarative argument clauses*

The subordinator *ut* is used in declarative subject clauses with a number of governing expressions. These clauses are often called ‘consecutive noun clauses’,<sup>45</sup> although in reality from the semantic point of view no ‘result’ is involved in most cases (in contrast to result adjunct clauses). Examples are (a) and (b).

- (a) Etenim mihi ipsi *accidit ut* cum duobus patriciis... peterem.  
(‘For indeed it happened to me myself that along with two patricians... I was candidate.’ Cic. *Mur.* 17)
- (b) *Restat ut* de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur.  
(‘It remains, I think, to speak of the choice of a general to direct the war and of his appointment to a command of such importance.’ Cic. *Man.* 27)

The regular negation is *non*, which distinguishes these clauses from imperative *ut* argument clauses, in which the negator is *ne* (the latter clauses are often called ‘final noun clauses’). In the case of coordination of multiple clauses, the negator in the second (or following) clause is *neque*. In declarative *ut* clauses the subordinator *ut* cannot be omitted (but see § 15.30). These clauses are discussed in § 7.130 (v) from the point

<sup>44</sup> Examples can be found in TLL *s.v.* modus 1283.10ff; 1290.75ff. For a discussion of the evolution of *quomodo*, see Herman (1957; 1963: 58–9); for its development in the Romance languages, see Herman (1963: 166–74).

<sup>45</sup> ‘Konsekutive Substantivsätze’ in K.-St.: II.234–47.

of view of the use of the subjunctive mood.<sup>46</sup> In contrast to imperative *ut* clauses, there are no restrictions on the tense of the verb of a declarative *ut* clause (see § 7.101).

A common feature of the expressions governing these declarative *ut* clauses is that normally no agent is implied: they are, for example, third person singular verb forms (often called ‘impersonal’), such as *accidit* ‘it happens’ and *restat* ‘the possibility remains that’, combinations of copular *est* with a subject complement, either an adjective (*verisimile est* ‘it is likely’) or a noun (*caput est* ‘the main point is’), or third person singular passive forms (*relinquitur*). When the context does contain information on the basis of which ‘control’ by some human entity or other external force must be assumed, the *ut* clause is treated as imperative and, if it is negated, *ne* must be used. A common feature of the declarative *ut* clauses is that they usually present the actions and processes as virtual and non-factive. With most of the governing expressions accusative and infinitive clauses can be used and with many of them *quod* clauses can be used as well.

K.-St.: II.246–7 draw attention to the fact that the relationship between the *ut* clause and what seems to be the governing verb can sometimes only be understood by assuming some form of ‘brachylogy’, that is that one has to mentally insert a link to understand the precise relationship. Examples are (c) and (d).

- (c) ...ne in cogitationem quidem cadit **ut** fuerit tempus aliquod nullum cum tempus esset...

(‘...since it is inconceivable that there was ever a time when time did not exist.’ Cic. *N. D.* 1.21—NB: *ut fuerit tempus* instead of *ut fuisse tempus existimemus*)

- (d) Ille (*sc. dixit*) et tibi et sibi visum et ita se domi ex tuis audisse **ut** nihil esset incommodi.

(‘He said that you and he both thought, and he heard from your people at home that there was nothing wrong.’ Cic. *Att.* 6.9.1—NB: *ut nihil esset incommodi* instead of *ut audiret nihil esse incommodi*)

### 15.26 *The use of ut clauses with the verb accedit ‘to be added to’ or ‘to constitute an addition to’*

With the verb *accedit* the subject clause is more often a *quod* clause (see § 15.6). The difference in meaning between a *quod* and an *ut* clause is not always obvious. A much-discussed example is (a), where there can be no doubt that Appius Claudius was indeed blind, the typical context for factive *quod*. The common explanation, reflected in the translation below, which follows Powell *ad loc.*, is that the *ut* clause indicates that the content is of relatively major importance.<sup>47</sup> However, this is difficult to prove.

- (a) Ad Appi Claudii senectutem accedebat etiam **ut** caecus esset. Tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere...

<sup>46</sup> For discussion, see Potůček (2000) and Panchón (2003: 361–5).

<sup>47</sup> See K.-St.: II.273 and Panchón (2003: 426–8).

(‘In addition to Appius Claudius’ old age *it was his misfortune that he should be* (italics Powell) blind; yet when the sentiment of the senate was inclining towards making peace and an alliance with Pyrrhus, he did not hesitate to say...’ Cic. *Sen.* 16)

- (b) Accedit eodem **ut** etiam ipse candidatus totum animum atque omnem curam, operam diligentiamque suam in petitione **non** possit ponere.

(‘A further result is that even the candidate himself cannot devote all his attention, all his care and all his unremitting effort to the campaign.’ Cic. *Mur.* 45)

**Supplement:**

Accedit **ut** accusatorum alterius crudelitate, alterius indignitate conturber. (Cic. *Deiot.* 2); Huc accedit **uti** quicque in sua corpora rursus / dissolvat natura... (Lucr. 1.215–16); Nam ad cetera id quoque accesserat **ut** ne alendi quidem exercitus nisi ex Bruttio agro spes esset... (Liv. 28.12.7)

**NB:** TLL *s.v.* accedo 269.83 and K.-St.: II.242 refer to an exceptional negation by *ne* in Cels. 4.8.1, but the text seems uncertain.

The verbs *addo*, *adicio*, and *adiungo* are also mentioned in this context, but for those verbs the *ut* (or *ne*) clause must be explained as with *dico* (see § 15.64).

### 15.27 *The use of ut clauses with verbs and expressions of happening and befalling*

*Ut* (*non*) is the regular subordinator with verbs and expressions of happening and befalling. Examples are (a)–(c). A few ‘deviant’ negated clauses are given in the Supplement alongside normal ones with *ut non*. The use of *ne* is required if human participation or some external force is implied in the context, as it is for example by *procuracione* in (d).<sup>48</sup> *Non* is required when the negation is local (see § 8.7), as in (e), where *non* goes with *casu incideret*, in contrast with *iudicio perveniret*.<sup>49</sup> For the use of *quod* with these verbs, see § 15.13. Whereas the *quod* clause is usually factive and contains known information, the *ut* clause is usually non-factive (or ‘virtual’) and contains new information (but see ex. (a)).<sup>50</sup>

- (a) Velut / mi evenit **ut** ovans praeda onustus incederem.  
(‘Just as it has become my lot to be marching along rejoicing and weighed down with booty.’ Pl. *Bac.* 1068–9)
- (b) ‘Inesperanti’, inquit, ‘mihi et Cottae, sed valde optanti utriusque nostrum, cecidit **ut** in istum sermonem, Crasse, delaberemini.’  
(‘“We never looked for it,” exclaimed Sulpicius, “but it has fallen out, Crassus, just as both I and Cotta earnestly hoped, I mean that you two should slip into this particular conversation.’ Cic. *de Orat.* 1.96)

<sup>48</sup> See Calboli (1995/6: 147), who also mentions the relative frequency of instances of *ne* in the jurists.

<sup>49</sup> For statistical information concerning the distribution of *ut non* and *ne* with *fitio* ‘to happen’, see Kirk (1923: 263), with further discussion.

<sup>50</sup> See Bolkestein (1989b: 48–9), Rosén (1989a), and Greco (2012: 36–7).

- (c) ... cum accidere possit **ut** (sc. curator) negotio... habilis **non** sit...  
(‘...for it could happen that he is not suited to the business...’ Nerat. *dig.* 27.10.9)
- (d) Nihil autem est pro certo futurum, quod potest *aliqua procuratione* accidere **ne** fiat.  
(‘But nothing is “certain to happen” which there is some means of dealing with so as to prevent its happening.’ Cic. *Div.* 2.21)
- (e) Gallus Vibius... cui hoc accidisse uni scio **ut** <in> insaniam **non** casu incideret, sed iudicio perveniret.  
(‘Vibius Gallus, to whom alone, as far as I know, the following happened: he did not fall into madness by chance but rather came to it by an act of judgement.’ Sen. *Con.* 2.1.25)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

Eadem nocte **accidit ut** esset luna plena... (Caes. *Gal.* 4.29.1—NB: factive); Id cum appareretur, priusquam classis exiret, **accidit ut** una nocte omnes Hermae, qui in oppido erant Athenis, deicerentur... (Nep. *Alc.* 3.2); Ac forte acciderat **ut** eam gentem Rhenum transgressam avus Agrippa in fidem acciperet. (Tac. *Ann.* 12.27.1); Quod numquam opinatus fui neque alius quisquam civium / sibi eventurum, **id contigit ut** salvi poteremur domi. (Pl. *Am.* 186–7); Quoniam autem tecum **ut** essem non contigit, utinam tui consili certior factus essem! (Cic. *Att.* 8.11d.5); ...ni antehac vidissemus **feri / ut** apud lenones rivales filiis fierent patres. (Pl. *Bac.* 1209–10); Cum hoc, **ut** fere fit, in via sermonem contulit; ex quo factum est **ut** illud iter familiarius facere vellent. (Cic. *Inv.* 2.14); Locos quidem quosdam, si videbitur, transferam, et maxime ab iis quos modo nominavi, cum **inciderit ut** id apte fieri possit... (Cic. *Fin.* 1.7); ...cum... Marco Metello **obtigisset ut** is de pecuniis repetundis quaereret... (Cic. *Ver.* 1.21); Sed ex eo credo quibusdam **usu venire ut** abhorreant a Latinis, quod... (Cic. *Fin.* 1.8)

**Negated clauses:**... cum ipsius vitio **acciderit ne** mandatori possit actionibus cedere. (Papin. *dig.* 46.3.95.11.pr.); De possessore quoque furioso quaeri potest, si quid **ne** in rerum natura esset *per furorem eius* accidisset. (Pomp. *dig.* 26.7.61); Tam facile innocens occisus est in ea civitate in qua sibi putat aliquis tam facile *posse contingere ne* reus fiat? (Quint. *Decl.* 294.8); Nam si multi gavisi sunt ibi se habuisse divitias suas, quo contigit **ut** hostis **non** accederet... (August. *Civ.* 1.10); *Quo evenit ne* Hasdrubal cum duobus se consulibus proeliaturum prius sciret quam utriusque virtute prosterneretur. (V. Max. 7.4.4); Sed ob id quod furtum fecit servus aut noxam nocuit evenit **quo minus** eum habere domino liceat, sicuti ob id quod obligatus est fundus accidere possit **ut** eum habere domino **non** liceat. (Pomp. *dig.* 30.45.1); In hoc genere saepe **feri** potest **ut** non plane par numerus sit syllabarum... (*Rhet. Her.* 4.28);<sup>51</sup> Id **ne** fieri posset *obsidione* atque oppidi *circummunitione* fiebat. (Caes. *Civ.* 1.19.5); Ita fit **ne** decidunt fructus. (Plin. *Nat.* 17.253); *Forte ita inciderat ne* duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur *fortuna*, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset constituique civitatis mores possent. (Liv. 1.46.5)<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> TLL s.v. *possum* 135.34ff. mentions two instances of *ut ne* in Terence (*An.* 699; *Ph.* 245), but they seem to be wrongly analysed.

<sup>52</sup> See Ogilvie *ad loc.* and Panchón (2003: 457–8).

15.28 *The use of ut clauses as subject with the verb sum*

*Ut* clauses can function as subject of a third person singular form of *sum*, meaning ‘to be the case’ (see also § 4.15). An example is (a). Future forms are relatively common, as in (b). The combination looks like the ‘periphrastic’ use of *facio* and *committo* discussed in § 15.36.<sup>53</sup>

- (a) ...quando denique fuit **ut** quod licet non liceret?  
(‘...when, in fact, was it that what is allowed was not allowed?’ Cic. *Cael.* 48)
- (b) Quodsi esset aliquando futurum **ut** aliquis de L. Flacci pernicie cogitaret...  
(‘And if it was fated ever to happen that any one should devise mischief to Lucius Flaccus...’ Cic. *Flac.* 2)

**Supplement:**

Non erat **ut**, qui modus <a>moribus fuerat, idem esset iniuriae. (Cic. *Dom.* 65—*add.* Nisbet); Ille erat **ut** odisset primum defensorem salutis meae... (Cic. *Mil.* 35—*illi cj.* Clark); Non est igitur **ut** mirandum sit ea praesentiri a divinantibus quae nusquam sint. (Cic. *Div.* 1.128); Qui fuit **ut** tutas agitaret Daedalus alas, / Icarus immensas nomine signet aquas? (Ov. *Tr.* 3.4.21–2); Neque est **ut** putemus ignorari ea ab animalibus. (Plin. *Nat.* 18.3)

**Future forms:** Quodsi diutius alatur controversia, fore **uti** pars cum parte civitatis confligat. (Caes. *Gal.* 7.32.5); Ipse parat sese porro speratque futurum / **ut** videat quod consequitur rem quamque. (Lucr. 4.805–6); Quod si permittatur, perpaucis lustris futurum **ut** deserta oppida deserti agri nullum militem dare possent. (Liv. 41.8.7); Sed si hoc optinuerit, futurum est **ut** in potestate eius... sit compromissum eludere. (Ulp. *dig.* 4.8.30)

**Negation by ne:** Continuo enim rex *adfirmavit* fore **ne** amplius de se Ptolomaeus quereretur... (V. Max. 6.4.3)

Sometimes the main clause has a preparative pronoun or determiner as the subject (so-called ‘explicative’ *ut*). An example is (c). Another way of announcing the *ut* clause is shown in (d).

- (c) Sed fuit *hoc* in utroque eorum **ut** Crassus non tam existimari vellet non didicisse, quam...  
(‘There was nevertheless this point of difference between the two men, that Crassus did not so much wish to be thought to have learned nothing, as...’ Cic. *de Orat.* 2.4)
- (d) Sed si *ita* est **ut** tu sis Iahonis filius, / signum esse oportet in manu laeva tibi...  
(‘But if it’s true that you are Iahon’s son, you should have a mark on your left hand...’ Pl. *Poen.* 1072–3)

**Supplement:**

In qua velim sit *illud* quod saepe posuisti **ut** non necesse sit consumere aetatem atque **ut** possit is illa omnia cernere qui tantummodo aspexerit. (Cic. *de Orat.* 3.145); **Cf.:**

<sup>53</sup> For more examples, see OLD *s.v.* *sum* § 7.

Tum Catulus 'est', inquit, 'ut dicis, Antoni, **ut** plerique philosophi nulla tradant praecepta dicendi... Sed Aristoteles... (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.152); Quod si *ita* est **ut** neque quisquam nisi bonus vir et omnes boni beati sint, quid philosophia magis colendum aut quid est virtute divinius? (Cic. *Fin.* 3.76)

### 15.29 *The use of ut clauses with verbs and expressions meaning 'the conclusion is', 'it follows'*

*Ut* is used in argument clauses with verbs and expressions meaning 'the conclusion is' or 'it follows'. Examples are (a)–(c).

- (a) Relinquitur **ut** id quod dicitis **non** modo **non** fecerim, sed ne potuerim quidem facere.  
(‘It follows that I not only did not do what you say, but that I was not even able to do it.’ Cic. *Inv.* 1.45)
- (b) Restat **ut** aut summa negligentia tibi obstiterit aut unica liberalitas.  
(‘The only alternative is that extreme negligence or unparalleled generosity prevented you.’ Cic. *Quinct.* 41)
- (c) ...consequens esse videtur **ut** scribas tu idem de legibus.  
(‘...I consider it a logical thing that...you should also write about its laws.’ Cic. *Leg.* 1.15)

#### **Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

At si tu possideas, **consequens est ut** utilis mihi actio adversum te dari debeat. (Gaius *Inst.* 2.78); Ex quo **efficitur ut** quod sit honestum, id sit solum bonum. (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.45); **Linquitur ut** merito maternum nomen adepta / terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata. (Lucr. 5.795–6—NB: presence of the attitudinal disjunct *merito* within the *ut* clause); **Reliquum est ut** per servos id admiserit. (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 77); Quod si fit, **ut** me excutiam atque egrediar domo / id **restat**. (Ter. *Ph.* 586–7); Nec enim **sequitur ut**, cui cor sapiat, ei **non** sapiat palatus. (Cic. *Fin.* 2.24); **Superest** ut nec te consilii nec me paeniteat obsequii. (Plin. *Ep.* 1.1.2)

**NB:** exceptional negation: **Reliquum est ne** quid stulte, ne quid temere dicam aut faciam contra potentis. (Cic. *Fam.* 9.16.5); **Sequitur enim ne** ultra velis id te esse quod, si prius scisses, non fuisses. (Tert. *Apol.* 8.9)

### 15.30 *The use of ut clauses with verbs and expressions meaning 'it remains to be done', 'it is sufficient'*

With verbs and expressions meaning 'it remains to be done' and 'it is sufficient' *ut* subject clauses can be used alongside *quod* clauses and accusative and infinitive clauses, usually with a clear difference in meaning. Examples are (a)–(c).

- (a) Sequitur **ut** de frumento empto vos, iudices, doceam...  
(‘My next business, gentlemen, is to put before you the purchase of corn...’ Cic. *Ver.* 3.163)

- (b) Relinquitur **ut** si vincimur in Hispania quiescamus.  
(‘There remains the possibility that if we lose in Spain I do nothing.’ Cic. *Att.* 10.8.2)
- (c) Sati’n **ut** quem tu habeas fidelem tibi aut quoi credas nescias?  
(‘Is it enough for you not to know who to regard as reliable and who to trust?’ Pl. *Bac.* 491)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

**Proximum est ut** doceam deorum providentia mundum administrari. (Cic. *N.D.* 2.73); **Relinquebatur** Caesari nihil nisi **uti** equitatu agmen adversariorum male haberet et carperet. (Caes. *Civ.* 1.63.2); Relinquebatur **ut** neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Caesar pateretur. (Caes. *Gal.* 5.19.3); **Reliquum est ut** de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. (Cic. *Man.* 59); Illud etiam **restiterat**, quod hesterno die fecerunt, **ut** te in ius adducerent, ut nobis tempus quam diu diceremus praestitueres. (Cic. *Quinct.* 33—NB: the second *ut* clause is a result adjunct clause); Restat ut pauca de eis in quos praerogativae favor inclinavit dicam. (Liv. 24.8.9); **Satis est igitur ut** nihil finxerit, nihil cupiditate revertendi mentitus sit... (Quint. *Decl.* 254.16); Hunc si retinere velis, **sufficit ut** moreris. ([Quint.] *Decl.* 17.16); **Superest ut** ad extremas partes corporis veniam, quae articulis inter se conseruntur. (Cels. 4.29.1); **Tertium est ut** caveamus ut ea quae pertinent ad liberalem speciem et dignitatem moderata sint. (Cic. *Off.* 1.141)

There are two attestations of a subject clause with *reliquum est* without *ut*, emended by earlier editors (Cic. *Fam.* 15.21.5 and Dolab. *Fam.* 9.9.3). See also in the preceding section Cic. *Fam.* 9.16.5 with *ne*.

15.31 *The use of ut clauses with various third person singular verb forms (so-called impersonal verbs)*

Subject *ut* clauses can be used with a few other verbs. Examples are (a)–(c). In (c) the first *ut* clause is the subject of *abest*, the second depends on *tantum*. Note in (a) the use of the preparative pronoun *hoc* as subject. With some of these verbs the accusative and infinitive is more common.

- (a) Quodsi *hoc* apparet in bestiis... **ut** se ipsae diligant...  
(‘Now if it is evident in animals... that they love themselves...’ Cic. *Amic.* 81)
- (b) Quomodo, oro te, convenit **ut** et Diogenem mireris et Daedalum?  
(‘How, I ask, is it consistent that you admire both Diogenes and Daedalus?’ Sen. *Ep.* 90.14)
- (c) ...tantumque abest **ut** aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar, *ut* multas me etiam simultates... intellegam... suscepisse.  
(‘It is so far from being the case that I have sought any popularity for myself, that I am aware of having even incurred many enmities...’ Cic. *Man.* 71)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

In quo tantum **abest ut** nostra miremur *ut* usque eo difficiles ac morosi simus *ut* nobis non satis faciat ipse Demosthenes. (Cic. *Orat.* 104); Iudicis igitur officio **convenit ut** aut satisfactione interposita absolvat maritum aut habita ratione compensationis eum condemnet... (Ulp. *dig.* 24.3.24.2); Neque posse principem sua scientia cuncta complecti neque **expedire ut** ambitione aliena trahatur. (Tac. *Ann.* 3.69.3); Expedire omnibus dicunt **ut** singulae civitates... suas leges habeant. (Justin. 34.1.7); **Potest ut** alii ita arbitrentur et ego **ut ne** credam tibi. (Pl. *Ps.* 633)

**With a preparative pronoun as subject:** Non enim *hoc* **convenire** Antagoni prudentiae **ut** sic deuteretur victo. (Nep. *Eum.* 11.3); *Id* Sabino **convenire ut** imperium fratri reservaret, *id* Vespasiano **ut** ceteri post Sabinum haberentur. (Tac. *Hist.* 3.64.2); At *id* quoque **potest ut non** dent homini, ipsi habeant. (Cic. *Div.* 2.106)

**Bene habet ut** ea quae Dei sunt circa sacrificium eius agere valeamus. (August. *Ep.* 213.7)

An exceptional instance of 'raising' of the subject of a subject clause with *abest* to the position of subject of the main clause is (d). The second argument of *absum* may also be filled by an *ut* clause, in that case in combination with the prepositional expression *ab eo*, as in (e) (see also § 14.6).<sup>54</sup>

- (d) Hoc detrimento milites nostri tantum afuerunt **ut** perturbarentur, *ut* incensi atque incitati magnas accessiones fecerint in operibus hostium expugnandis.  
(‘Our troops were so far from being dismayed by this reverse that, impassioned and stimulated, they carried out large-scale sallies in the course of storming the enemy’s defence-works.’ *B. Alex.* 22.1—NB: cf. *tantum afuit ut milites nostri hoc detrimento perturbarentur ut...*)
- (e) Tantum autem **abest ab eo ut** malum mors sit... *ut* verear ne homini nihil sit non malum aliud certius...  
(‘So wide of the truth, however, is the view that death is an evil... that I incline to think that nothing else is more assuredly not an evil for a human being...’  
Cic. *Tusc.* 1.76)

### 15.32 *The use of ut clauses with expressions consisting of the copula and an adjective functioning as subject complement*

There is a large number of neuter singular forms of adjectives which function as subject complement with the copula or a copular verb and which have an *ut* clause as the subject. Examples are (a)–(e). In many of these combinations the accusative and infinitive is possible as well or even more common (see § 15.102), not always with a clear difference in meaning. With many of these adjectives a prolative infinitive is also possible (see §§ 15.127–8), and in some cases an imperative interpretation is possible as well (see § 15.78). Some of these adjectives resemble the meaning classes discussed in the

<sup>54</sup> Another instance is Liv. 25.6.11.

preceding sections but others do not. Several of them are bivalent adjectives; many are evaluative. The main clause often has a preparative pronoun as subject, as in (f).

- (a) *Iustum est* <ut> tuos tibi servos tuo arbitrato serviat.  
(‘It’s only just that your slave serves you according to your wishes.’ Pl. *Bac.* 994)
- (b) *Aequom videtur tibi ut* ego alienum quod est / meum esse dicam?  
(‘Does it seem right to you that I should say that something belonging to someone else belongs to me?’ Pl. *Rud.* 1230–1)
- (c) Non est *veri simile ut* Chrysogonus horum litteras adamarit...  
(‘It is improbable that Chrysogonus took a fancy to their culture...’ Cic. *S. Rosc.* 121—NB: perfect subjunctive)
- (d) ...*consentaneum* est huic naturae *ut* sapiens velit gerere et administrare rem publicam...  
(‘...it follows from this natural disposition that the Wise Man should desire to engage in politics and government...’ Cic. *Fin.* 3.68)
- (e) *Difficile* est quidem *ut* ad haec hilariora studia tam vehementer percussus animus tam cito possit accedere.  
(‘It would be difficult indeed for a mind so severely smitten to approach so quickly this lighter kind of literature.’ Sen. *Dial.* 11.8.3)
- (f) Mi illud videri *mirum ut* una illaec capra / uxoris simiai dotem ambederit.  
(‘It seemed strange to me that that one goat should have eaten up the monkey’s wife’s dowry.’ Pl. *Mer.* 240–1—NB: perfect subjunctive)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by adjective):**

Erat enim sane *absurdum ut* X servorum domino quinque liberare liceret... (Gaius *Inst.* 1.45); *Aecum* est *ut* cum alienis dividamus liberos quos non dividimus cum matribus? (Sen. *Con.* 9.3.1); Quo mihi nihil videtur *alienius* a dignitate disciplinaque maiorum quam *ut*, qui consul Kalendis Ianuariis habere provinciam debet, is ut eam desponsam non decretam habere videatur. (Cic. *Prov.* 36); ... non videtur esse alienum *uti* caute summaque diligentia, antequam instituuntur opera, eorum expediantur rationes. (Vitr. 10.*pr.*4); Quocirca *arduum* est *ut* unius sermo compenset quod tantorum contraxit adfectio. (Symm. *Ep.* 4.4.1); ... ut omnium artium recte dici potest *commune* esse *ut* in aliqua scientia versentur... (Cic. *Fin.* 5.26); Non par videtur nec sit *consentaneum*, /.../ praesentibus illis paedagogus una *ut* siet. (Pl. *Bac.* 139–42—NB: textually uncertain); Est enim *inconveniens* Deo *ut* huiusmodi potestate sit praeditus qua noceat et obsit... (Lact. *Ir.* 3.1); Atque ei ne *integrum* quidem erat *ut* ad iustitiam remigraret, civibus libertatem et iura redderet. (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.62); Aequissimum quidem ac *iustissimum* esse *ut* populo detur summa rerum potestas... (Quint. *Decl.* 339.7); *Longum* est ut Deum meum bonum ostendam... (Tert. *Scorp.* 5.1); Nec quicquam *melius* tibi mihi, / ut opinor, quam ex me *ut* unam faciam litteram / longam... (Pl. *Aul.* 76–8); *Mirum* satis *ut* infantia naturaliter animosa sit... (Tert. *An.* 19.9); ... nihil mihi fuit *potius* quam ut Masinissam convenirem regem... (Cic. *Rep.* 6.9); Qui eam secat *rarum* est *ut non* vulneret sese. (Plin. *Nat.* 25.69); Rarum est autem *ut* in foro

iudicia propter id solum constituentur... (Quint. *Inst.* 3.10.3); **Rectum**'st, ego **ut** faciam; non est te **ut** deterream. (Ter. *Hau.* 79); Quid tam **singulare** quam **ut** ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? (Cic. *Man.* 62); Quid porro in Graeco sermone tam **tritum** atque **celebratum** est quam, si quis despiciatui ducitur, **ut** 'Mysorum ultimus' esse dicatur? (Cic. *Flac.* 65); Si **verum** est, quod nemo dubitat, **ut** populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute superarit... (Nep. *Han.* 1.1—NB: perfect subjunctive)

**With a preparative pronoun as subject:** De ipso Roscio potest *illud* quidem esse **falsum** ut circumligatus fuerit angui, sed **ut** in cunis fuerit anguis, non tam est mirum... (Cic. *Div.*—NB: perfect subjunctive); Magnificum *illud* etiam Romanisque hominibus **gloriosum ut** Graecis de philosophia litteris non egeant. (Cic. *Div.* 2.5); Semper tu hoc facito, Lesbonice, cogites, / **id optimum** esse tute **uti** sis optumus. (Pl. *Trin.* 485–6);... cum *hoc proprium* sit animantium ut aliquid adpetant quod sit naturae accommodatum... (Cic. *N.D.* 1.104); Praeclarum *illud* est et, si quaeris, rectum quoque et **verum ut** eos qui nobis carissimi esse debeant aequae ac nosmet ipsos amemus. (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.73)

### 15.33 *The use of ut clauses with expressions consisting of the copula and a noun or noun phrase functioning as subject complement*

*Ut* subject clauses can be used as subject with various combinations of nouns and noun phrases (cf. §§ 9.22, 9.29–35) that function as subject complement. Examples are (a) and (b). Quite often the main clause has a preparative pronoun as the subject, as in (c). The accusative and infinitive (see § 15.102) and the prolativum infinitive (see § 15.128) are possible as well. In some cases an imperative interpretation is also possible (see also § 15.79).<sup>55</sup>

- (a) Fuit occasio, si vellet, iam pridem argentum **ut** daret.  
(‘There was an opportunity for him to give me the money long ago if he’d wanted to.’ Pl. *Ps.* 285)
- (b) Caput autem est in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici **ut** avaritiae pellatur etiam minima suspicio.  
(‘But the chief thing in all public administration and public service is that even the slightest suspicion of self-seeking should be avoided.’ Cic. *Off.* 2.75)
- (c) Sed mos numquam <ille> illi fuit patri meo / **ut** exprobraret quod bonis faceret boni.  
(‘It was never my father’s habit to cast in good people’s teeth what good turns he was doing them.’ Pl. *Am.* 46–7)

#### **Supplement (in alphabetical order by noun (phrase)):**

**Consuetudo** eorum omnium est **ut** sine utribus ad exercitum non eant. (Caes. *Gal.* 1.48.7); Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum, / testor, in occasu vestro nec tela nec ulla / vitavisse vices, Danaum et, si **fata** fuissent / **ut** caderem, meruisse manu.

<sup>55</sup> Most examples are taken from K.-St.: II.244–6, where more can be found.

(Verg. *A.* 432–4); Sed est **mos** hominum **ut** nolint eundem pluribus rebus excellere. (Cic. *Brut.* 84); **Natura rerum** est **ut** qui balbutiunt plus loquantur. (Symm. *Ep.* 1.76); **Satis** est enim certe in virtute **ut** fortiter vivamus. (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.53)

Est **miserorum ut** malevolentes sint atque invideant bonis. (Pl. *Capt.* 583); ... negavit **moris** esse Graecorum **ut** in convivio virorum accumberent mulieres. (Cic. *Ver.* 1.66); Nam et **sapientis** est consilium *explicare* suum de maximis rebus et **honesti et disertis ut** mente providere, auctoritate probare, oratione persuadere possis. (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.233—NB: parallelism of infinitive and *ut* clause)

**With a preparative pronoun as subject:** *Ea causa* fuit <ut> aedis haec dedicare<ur>. (Cic. *Leg.* 2.58); Est enim *hoc* Gallicae **consuetudinis uti** et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant... (Caes. *Gal.* 4.5.2); In propriis igitur est verbis *illa laus* oratoris **ut** abiecta atque obsoleta fugiat... (Cic. *de Orat.* 3.150); Non ignoro omnium fere qui abdicantur *hunc* esse **morem ut** acta iam causa ad preces convertantur... (Quint. *Decl.* 258.10); *Ea natura rerum* est, patres conscripti, **ut** qui sensum verae gloriae ceperit... nihil cum hac gloria comparandum putet. (Cic. *Phil.* 5.49); **Summa** denique huius generis *haec* est **ut**, si in refellendo adversario firmior esse oratio quam in confirmandis nostris rebus potest, omnia in illum conferam tela. (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.293); *Id* erat forte **tempus anni ut** frumentum in areis Hispani haberent. (Liv. 34.9.12); Est enim *hoc commune vitium* magnis liberisque civitatibus **ut** invidia gloriae comes sit... (Nep. *Cha.* 3.3)

### 15.34 The use of *ut* clauses with expressions consisting of the copula and other categories that function as subject complement

*Ut* subject clauses are also found with other combinations of subject complements with the copula. Examples are (a), a possessive adjective (neuter singular form), and (b), a prepositional phrase.

- (a) Hoc meum est **ut** faciam sedulo.  
(‘This is my task: to do my best.’ Pl. *Per.* 46)
- (b) In rem hoc tuam est. # **Ut** quidem emoriar prius quam ducam.  
(‘It’s for your own good. # Certainly, that I die before I marry.’ Pl. *Aul.* 154)

#### Supplement:

**Adverb:** Quibus si finitum malum non fuerit, **prope** est **ut** perpetuum sit. (Cels. 3.23.8).

**Prepositional phrases:** Ex tua re est **ut** ego emoriar. (Pl. *Ps.* 336); Est igitur **in tua potestate ut** ille in me satis sibi praesidi putet esse. (Cic. *Fam.* 13.39.1); Nos **uti** per otium tuti simus, **in vostra manu** est, patres conscripti. (Sal. *Jug.* 14.13)

A cleft-like example is (c), more or less equivalent to *magis ipse moleste fert*.<sup>56</sup> (For ‘cleft’ constructions, see § 22.12.)

<sup>56</sup> See Löfstedt (1966: 273–5; 2000: 100) and Norberg (1937: 112ff.).

- (c) ... magis est **ut** ipse moleste ferat errasse se... quam ut istius amicitiae crimen reformidet.

(‘...there is more reason that he should himself be troubled that he made a mistake... than that he should be in fear of such a friendship being made a matter of accusation.’ Cic. *Cael.* 14)

**Supplement:**

Quin etiam quanto in partes res quaeque minutas / distrahitur magis, hoc **magis** est **ut** cernere possis / evanescere paulatim stinguique colorem. (Lucret. 2.826ff.); Sed **prius** est **ut** vobis, quod initio facere debueram, vel nunc saltem referam, quis iste vel unde fuerit. (Apul. *Met.* 10.18.1); **Vix** est **ut** occurrat talis oratio... (August. *Psal.* 85.7); ... **ante** est **ut** ostendat et probet esse illic ecclesiam. (Cypr. *Sent.* 55); **Prope** est **ut** veniat tempus. (Vulg. *Is.* 14.1)

15.35 *The use of ut clauses with verbs and expressions of perception, cognition, and communication*

Instances of *ut* without a preparative pronoun in declarative clauses governed by perception, cognition, and communication verbs are found in Late Latin but are very rare.<sup>57</sup> An early example is (a). When used with a preparative pronoun, such clauses can already be found in Cicero, as in (b). For the use of *ut* with semantically related nouns like *opinio* ‘opinion’, see § 17.6. This use is not uncommon in later periods.<sup>58</sup>

- (a) De hoc fertur **ut** sit Arcas nomine...  
(‘It is said concerning this that its name is Arcas...’ Hyg. *Astr.* 2.4.1)
- (b) Iam *hoc* non ignoratis, iudices, **ut** etiam bestiae fame monitae plerumque ad eum locum ubi aliquando pastae sunt revertantur.  
(‘Now you are not unaware of this fact, gentlemen, that even brute beasts, when prompted by hunger, generally return to the place where they have at some time previously found food.’ Cic. *Clu.* 67)

**Supplement:**

...non esse credendum **ut** in id genus mortis exposuerit Creator filium suum quod ipse maledixerat. (Tert. *Marc.* 3.18.1); Quis *hoc* crederet **ut** barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quaereret veritatem... (Hier. *Ep.* 106.1)

Much discussed is the use of *ut* in (c), a quotation of Protagoras. *Ut* corresponds to *ὥς* (*hōs*) in the Greek original and can be viewed as Cicero’s ‘overliteral’ rendering.<sup>59</sup>

- (c) Nam Abderites quidem Protagoras, cuius a te modo mentio facta est, sophistes temporibus illis vel maximus, cum in principio libri sic posuisset ‘de divis neque **ut** sint neque **ut** non sint habeo dicere’, Atheniensium iussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus...

<sup>57</sup> See Sz.: 645–6. For the use of *ut* in imperative clauses with *dico* and other verbs, see § 15.66.

<sup>58</sup> For discussion and references, see Greco (2012: 36–9).

<sup>59</sup> So Pease *ad loc.* See also Coleman (1971: 215) and Panchón (2003: 371).

(‘Since as for Protagoras of Abdera, perhaps the greatest sophist of that age, to whom you just now alluded, for beginning a book with the words ‘About the gods I am unable to affirm either that they exist or that they do not exist,’ he was sentenced by a decree of the Athenians to be banished from the city and the country...’ Cic. *N.D.* 1.63)

**Appendix:** Gregory of Tours has a few instances of verbs of this class governing a clause with a simple subjunctive, as in (d).<sup>60</sup>

- (d) Quod credo  $\emptyset$  providentia Dei fecisset.  
(‘I believe that the providence of God did this.’ Greg. Tur. *Hist.* 8.20)

### 15.36 *The use of ut clauses in ‘periphrastic’ constructions*

In a way that resembles its use with imperative sentences (see § 6.29), *facio* can be used to emphasize the active involvement of a person in the action that he is (was, will be) undertaking.<sup>61</sup> Examples are (a) and (b). Another verb used in a similar way is *ago* ‘to bring it about that’, as in (c). Compare also *committo* ‘to perpetrate’ in (d). Most instances come from Cicero. This use is sometimes called ‘periphrastic’.

- (a) Etsi...videbam te hanc epistulam cum ad urbem esses esse lecturum,... tamen...faciendum mihi putavi **ut** tuis litteris brevi responderem.  
(‘Although...I see that you won’t read this till you are at the gates of Rome..., yet...I thought I ought to be careful to give your letter a brief answer.’ Cic. *Fam.* 3.8.1)
- (b) *Inventus* feci **ut** fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flaminium e senatu eicerem...  
(‘Against my will I brought it about that I expelled from the Senate Lucius Flamininus, the brother of that most valiant man, Titus Flamininus...’ Cic. *Sen.* 42)
- (c) Atqui ne ex eo quidem tempore id egit Sestius **ut** a suis munitus tuto in foro magistratum gereret...  
(‘But not even since that time has Sestius worked towards being able to discharge the duties of his magistracy safely in the forum under the guard of his own men.’ Cic. *Sest.* 79)
- (d) Nam profecto non est meum...committre **ut** negligens <non> scribendo fuisse videar...  
(‘It would hardly be in character...to commit the error of appearing negligent through failure to write...’ Cic. *Fam.* 3.9.3)

#### **Supplement:**

Heia, Megadore, *haud decorum facinus* tuis factis **facis** / **ut** inopem atque innoxium abs te atque abs tuis me inrideas. (Pl. *Aul.* 220–1); Quapropter et his qui eos ludos habent et his qui eo venire consuerunt visum est faciendum **ut** ostenderemus nostram

<sup>60</sup> See Bonnet (1890: 667–9) and Sznajder (2003: 34; 90–1).

<sup>61</sup> See Bodelot (2000: 68–73) and Panchón (2003: 407–8).

sententiam, nobis non placere. (Edictum adversos Latinos rhetores *apud* Gel. 15.11.2); ... negavi me esse facturum **ut** de periculo publico **non** ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. (Cic. *Catil.* 3.7); ... fecimus *et alias saepe et nuper in Tusculano ut* ad eam consuetudinem disputaremus. (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.11); Euntibus vero, domesticis praesertim, **ut nihil** ad te dem litterarum facere non possum... (Cic. *Att.* 8.14.1); Eo feci **ut** [eo] celeriter eunti darem. (Cic. *Att.* 11.23.2); Faciebat hoc Sextius, ut consummato die... interrogaret animum suum. (Sen. *Dial.* 5.36)

Id **agis ut**... effugas ex urbe inanis. (Pl. *Trin.* 699–701); Id egit **ut** amicos observantia, rem parsimonia retineret. (Cic. *Quinct.* 59); Non ergo id agitur **ut** aliquid adsensu meo comprobem... (Cic. *Luc.* 126); Adice nunc quod id **agis ut** et iram feras et iniuriam. (Sen. *Dial.* 5.26)

Neque ego hau **committam ut**, si quid peccatum siet, / fecisse dicas de [me] mea sententia. (Pl. *Bac.* 1037–8); Id me commissurum **ut** patiar fieri ne animum induxeris. (Pl. *Trin.* 704); At vero posthac frustra potius dabo quam, si recte dari potuerint, committam **ut** non dem. (Cic. *Att.* 5.11.1); ... Volumnius ‘Quoniam in collegae voluntate interpretanda’ inquit ‘erravi, non committam **ut** quid vos velitis obscurum sit: manere an abire me velitis clamore significate.’ (Liv. 10.19.11)

### 15.37 *The use of ne in declarative argument clauses with verbs and expressions of fearing and worrying*

*Ne* is used in declarative argument clauses with verbs and expressions of fearing and worrying or when fear or worry is implied in the context. When used with such verbs it has no negative meaning. This is also reflected in the fact that coordination of another clause is usually by *et*, *-que*, or *atque*, as in (c), or *aut*, and not by for example *neque* (for which, see § 8.36; for *aut*, see § 19.45). Negation by *non* is shown in (a) and (b). Note the occurrence of verb forms that refer to states of affairs posterior and anterior to the main verb in (d) and (e), respectively. Posteriority is normally not expressed explicitly: in (c) *augeam* is understood as pertaining to the future (see § 7.39). The periphrastic future forms are normally interpreted as ‘prospective’ (see § 7.24).

- (a) **Ne non** sat esses leno, id metuebas miser, / impure, avare...?  
(‘You wretch, were you afraid that you would not be enough of a pimp, you dirty, greedy creature...?’ Pl. *Per.* 686–7)
- (b) Verebamini / **ne non** id facerem quod recepissem semel?  
(‘Were you afraid that, once I’d given an undertaking, I wouldn’t do it?’ Ter. *Ph.* 901–2)
- (c) Sed vereor **ne**, dum minuere velim laborem, augeam *atque* ad illam causarum operam... adiungatur haec iuris interpretatio...  
(‘But I fear that, while endeavouring to lessen my labour, I may only increase it, and find that, in addition to my usual pleading of cases... this interpretation of the law is imposed upon me.’ Cic. *Leg.* 1.12)
- (d) Sed non vereor **ne** aut meae vitae modestia parum *valitura* sit in posterum contra falsos rumores aut ne...

(‘However, I’m not afraid that the moderation of my career will be too little a defence against false reports in time to come; nor am I afraid that...’ *Mat. Fam.* 11.28.8)

- (e) *Accepi tuas litteras, quibus intellexi te vereri ne superiores mihi redditae non essent.*

(‘I got your letter, through which I found out that you were afraid that your earlier letters had not been delivered to me.’ *Cic. Fam.* 14.5.1)

From Early Latin onwards *ut* is used in argument clauses with verbs and expressions of fearing. The origin and the meaning of *ut* is disputed: in about half of the instances in Plautus, Terence, Cicero, and Caesar the interpretation of the *ut* clause as an indirect question with *ut* meaning ‘how’ is perfectly possible, as in (f) (‘I’m afraid how I would be able...’), but in other instances it is preferable to interpret *ut* as *ne non*, as in (g) and (h). In Early Latin *ut* was four times commoner than *ne non*, whereas in Cicero’s works the proportion is the reverse.<sup>62</sup>

- (f) *Ornamenta quae locavi metuo ut possim recipere.*

(‘I’m afraid I might not be able to get back the costumes I hired out.’ *Pl. Cur.* 464)

- (g) *Id paves (vv.ll.) ne ducas tu illam. Tu autem ut ducas.*

(‘You fear that you’re going to marry her, you (to *Charinus*) that you’re not.’ *Ter. An.* 349—NB: Donatus *ad loc.*: pro *ne non ut* posuit)

- (h) *Quod enim tu afuisti, vereor ut satis diligenter actum in senatu sit de litteris meis.*

(‘For I’m afraid that because of your absence the deliberation in the Senate concerning my letter was not careful enough.’ *Cic. Att.* 6.4.2)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

*Eo plus horreo ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas.* (*Liv.* 34.4.3); *Metuo in commune ne quam fraudem fraus sit.* (*Pl. As.* 286); *At metuo ut satis sis subdola.* (*Pl. Mil.* 355); *Metuo te atque istos expiare ut possies.* (*Pl. Mos.* 465); *Ehem, te hercle ego circumspectabam, nimis metuebam male ne abiisses.* (*Pl. Ps.* 912); *Primum omnium iam hunc comparem metuo meum / ne deserat med atque ad hostis transeat.* (*Pl. Ps.* 1026–7—NB: with pseudo-object, see § 9.17); *Metui ne non, quom velis, convincas esse illum tuom?* (*Ter. Hau.* 1017); *Ecquid paves ne scelus feceris?* (*Quint. Decl.* 340.7); *Quod mihi ne eveniat non nullum periculum est.* (*Pl. Capt.* 91); *Numquid subtimes ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur?* (*Cic. Phil.* 2.36); *...rem frumentariam ut satis commode supportari posset timere dicebant.* (*Caes. Gal.* 1.39.7); *...timeo ne male facta antiqua mea sint inventa omnia.* (*Pl. Truc.* 774); *Timere non debeo ne non unus iste civis Romanus illa cruce dignus, ceteri omnes simili periculo indignissimi iudicentur.* (*Cic. Ver.* 5.171); *... sed firmae haec vereor ut sint nuptiae.* (*Ter. Hec.* 101); *Sed quod vereor ne plures sint futuri qui de hoc genere me quod nimium multa [re]scripserim reprehendant...* (*Var. L.* 7.109); *... ne verendum quidem est ut tenere se possit, ut moderari, ne honoribus nostris elatus intemperantius suis opibus*

<sup>62</sup> So Woodcock (1959: 144–5). OLD *s.v.* *ut* § 3 classifies the use of *ut* with verbs of ‘anxiety or misgiving’ as indirect interrogative adverb. For the various explanations offered for the use of *ut*, see Sz.: 534–5 and Ripoll (2012: 303–5).

utatur. (Cic. *Ph.* 5.48); Quorum si nemo verum vidit de natura deorum, verendum est **ne nulla** sit omnino. (Cic. *N.D.* 1.94); Unum vereor **ne** senatus propter urbanarum rerum metum Pompeium **nolit** dimittere. (Cic. *Att.* 5.18.1); Si manet, vereor **ne** exercitum firmum habere **non** possit. (Cic. *Att.* 7.12.2)

**NB:** Me nihil magis **pudebat** quam **ne** Eumolpus sensisset, quicquid illud fuerat, et homo dicacissimus carminibus vindicaret... (Petr. 113.12)

**Further examples of coordination:** Pertimuerunt **ne** caritate patriae ductus aliquando ab ipsis descisceret **et** cum suis in gratiam rediret. (Nep. *Alc.* 5.1); O colonia, quae... vereris... **ne** supinus eat cava**que** in palude recumbat. (Catul. 17.1–8); Etenim vereor **ne aut** celatum me illis ipsis non honestum **aut** invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum. (Cic. *Phil.* 2.32);... veriti **ne** noctu impediti sub onere confluere cogentur **aut ne** ab equitatu Caesaris in angustiis tenerentur... (Caes. *Civ.* 1.66.2)

**Exceptional forms of coordination:** Magis curae est magisque affirmido **ne** is pereat **neu** corrumpatur. (Pl. *Bac.* 1078); Eos nunc homines metuo mihi **ne** opsint **neve** opstent uspiam... (Pl. *Mil.* 996);... non possumus <non> vereri **ne** male comparati sitis **ne** tantum rei publicae prosit... (Liv. 40.46.4)<sup>63</sup>

Problematic is the use of *ut* in (i). Various explanations have been suggested,<sup>64</sup> but Madvig's emendation *ne* may be the best solution. Much discussed also is *ut* in Hor. S. 1.3.120–1, which is best taken as ironic.

- (i) Neque erat ulla satis firma statio opposita, quia nihil minus quam **ut** egredi moenibus auderent timeri poterat.

(And no outpost in sufficient strength had been stationed to face them, since nothing less could be feared than that they should venture to sally out from the walls.' Liv. 28.22.12)

### 15.38 *The use of quin in declarative argument clauses with a negative main clause*

The subordinator *quin* is used in declarative argument clauses with main clauses that contain negative expressions, or which are negative by implication (rhetorical questions, for example); with impersonal *abest* 'to be far from'; and with verbs and expressions of doubt (see § 8.27 (ii) and (iii)).<sup>65</sup> The content of these *quin* clauses is positive (for clauses with a negative content, see below).

Examples of a *quin* argument clause with a main clause containing *abest* are (a)–(c). The only clear instance of a *quin* clause with a negative expression is (b), repeated from § 8.27. Ex. (c) has a passive form in the argument clause.

- (a) Aberit non longe **quin** hoc a me discerni velit...

('It won't be long before he wants me to sanction this...' Cic. *Att.* 9.9.3)

<sup>63</sup> For further combinations, see K.-St.: II.252–3.

<sup>64</sup> See K.-St.: II.256; Orlandini (2003: 495–6); Gowers *ad* Hor. S. 1.3.120–1.

<sup>65</sup> For the contexts in which *quin* is used, see Moussy (1987; 1998; 2012), Fleck (2008: 204–30).

- (b) ...quid abest **quin** actum nobis *nihil* sit quod a Philippo liberavimus Graeciam...?  
(‘...how does this differ from saying that nothing was accomplished by us in freeing Greece from Philip...?’ Liv. 35.16.12)
- (c) ...haud procul afuit **quin** *violarentur*.  
(‘...they weren’t far from suffering violence.’ Liv. 25.1.11)

**Supplement:**

**Abesse** non potest **quin** eiusdem hominis sit probos improbare qui improbos probet. (Gracch. *orat.* 24); ...naves... longas XXVIII invenit instructas neque multum abesse **ab eo quin** paucis diebus deduci possint. (Caes. *Gal.* 5.2.2); ...quid abest **quin** proditis Sidicinis non Romanorum solum sed Samnitium quoque dicto pareamus...? (Liv. 8.4.2); Sed re prospere gesta non multum afuit **quin** a Bructero quodam occideretur... (Suet. *Tib.* 19.1)

**NB: Paene factum** est quin castra relinquerent atque cederent hosti. (Quad. *hist.* 58=59C)<sup>66</sup>

For argument clauses dependent on expressions of doubt, declarative status is easier to prove, as is shown by the examples (d)–(f), with (d) and (e) negated and (f) containing an anterior tense. Further examples are provided in the Supplement.

- (d) Sibi non fuisse dubium **quin nullo** foedere a re publica bene gerenda impeditur.  
(‘That he never doubted for a moment that he could not be hindered by any treaty from doing anything which was to the advantage of the republic.’ Cic. *Balb.* 47)
- (e) Sed non est dubium **quin non** debeat (*sc.* praedo) melioris esse condicionis quam bonae fidei possessor.  
(‘But there is no doubt that he (*sc.* one who takes illegal possession) ought not to be in a better position than the possessor in good faith.’ Paul. *dig.* 5.3.36.3)
- (f) Numquid, Gnatho, tu dubitas **quin** ego nunc perpetuo *perierim*?  
(‘Can you have any doubt at all, Gnatho, that I am now finished forever?’ Ter. *Eu.* 1043)

**Supplement:**

Quid ergo dubitas **quin** lubenter tuo ero meus quod possiet / facere faciat male... (Pl. *Poen.* 881–2); Nam *hoc* haud dubium’st **quin** Chremes / tibi **non** det gnatam. (Ter. *An.* 391–2—NB: with preparative *hoc*); Equidem non dubito **qui**<**n**> animadverteris item in ea[m] innumerabilem similitudinum numerum... (Var. *L.* 9.32); ...dubitandum non est **quin numquam** possit utilitas cum honestate contendere. (Cic. *Off.* 3.11); Quis igitur...dubitet **quin** in virtute divitiae sint? (Cic. *Parad.* 48—NB: the *quin* clause expresses a state); An dubium est **quin nihil** sit habendum in eo genere quo vita beata compleatur, si id possit amitti? (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.40); Non enim dubitabat Xeno **quin** ab Ariopagitis invito Memmio impetrari **non** posset. (Cic. *Att.* 5.11.6); Itaque

<sup>66</sup> For discussion, see Orlandini (2003: 518–19).

non dubito **quin** ad Pisonem, **quin** ad Servium scripserit. (Cic. *Att.* 7.17.3); <Vi>de quam turpi leto pereamus, et dubita, si potes, **quin** ille, seu victus seu victor redierit, caedem facturus sit. (Cic. *Att.* 10.10.5); *Illud* non dubito **quin**, si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adiunxerint, res publica nos inter nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit. (Cic. *Fam.* 5.7.2—NB: with preparative *illud*); Nam de equitibus hostium, **quin nemo** eorum progredi modo extra agmen audeat ne ipsos quidem debere dubitare. (Caes. *Gal.* 7.66.6); Dubitas ergo **quin** sedendo *superaturi simus* eum qui senescat in dies... (Liv. 22.39.15); Numquid enim dubium esse cuiquam potest **quin nihil** sit tam inquietum quam aër, tam versabile et agitatione gaudens? (Sen. *Nat.* 6.16.4); Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, **quin** magis pro re publica  *fuerit* manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum quam in tantum ea intellegi et **quin** hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico  *fuerit* convenientior. (Vell. 1.13.5—NB: coordination by *et*); Nemo dubitat **quin** substitutus ultimum diem additionis exspectare non solet. (Paul. *dig.* 29.2.72)

**Related expressions (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**<sup>67</sup>... neque **ambigitur quin** Brutus idem qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit pessimo publico id facturus fuerit... (Liv. 2.1.3); Nec diu **anquirendum quin** Agrippina claritudine generis anteiret. (Tac. *Ann.* 12.6.1); At **controversia non erat quin** verum dicerent. (Cic. *Caec.* 31); Nemo enim est qui **aliter dixerit quin** omnium naturarum simile esset id ad quod omnia referrentur... (Cic. *Fin.* 4.32); Nec **discrepat quin** dictator eo anno A. Cornelius  *fuerit*. (Liv. 8.40.1); Si istaec vera sunt, divinitus / non **metuo quin** meae uxori latae suppetiae sient. (Pl. *Am.* 1105–6);...nec iam **aliter sentire... quin** paene circumvallati atque omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi viderentur. (Caes. *Gal.* 7.44.4)

**NB: no overt negation in the main clause:** Nam si quis coactus aliquid boni fecit, **quin** nos **non** obliget, **manifestius est**. (Sen. *Ben.* 6.7.2)

The various expressions of ‘no doubt’ have a strong assertive illocutionary force. Possible alternatives for the *quin* clause are the accusative and infinitive clause (from Terence onwards—see § 15.98), the nominative and infinitive construction (from Tac. *Ann.* 3.8.2 onwards), the *quod* clause (see § 15.9), and also the *quia* clause (a few Late Latin instances).<sup>68</sup>

*Quin* argument clauses are also found with a few other negated expressions of cognition and communication, with which the accusative and infinitive clause is regular. Examples are (g) and (h).<sup>69</sup>

- (g) Atqui alterum dici non potest **quin** i qui nihil metuant... beati sint...  
(‘Well at any rate there can be no question of the one point—that those who have no fear... are happy...’ Cic. *Tusc.* 5.17)
- (h) Nec pol me multum fallit **quin** quod suspicor sit quod velit.  
(‘And I can’t be too far from the mark in thinking that what I have in mind is what he wants.’ Ter. *Hec.* 728)

<sup>67</sup> Examples taken from K.-St.: II.264, where more can be found.

<sup>68</sup> For details, see TLL *s.vv.* dubito; dubius.

<sup>69</sup> The *quin* clause in (g) is regarded as an indirect question in TLL *s.v.* dico 983.50f.

**Supplement:**

Non potest dici **quin** commode fiat... (*Rhet. Her.* 4.39); Quamquam quis ignorat, qui modo umquam mediocriter res istas scire curavit, **quin** tria Graecorum genera sint vere? (*Cic. Flac.* 64); Illud te non arbitrator fugere **quin** homines in dissensione domestica debeant, quam diu civiliter sine armis certetur, honestiorem sequi partem. (*Cael. Fam.* 8.14.3); Itaque negare non posse **quin** rectius sit etiam ad pacatos barbaros... exercitum mitti. (*Liv.* 40.36.2)

**Noteworthy:** Neque eum consilium suum fefellit **quin** hostes eo proelio audito **nihil** iam de bello *essent cogitaturi*. (*B. Alex.* 32.2—NB: alongside the subject *consilium suum*)

In a way that resembles the use of *ut* in ‘periphrastic’ constructions (see § 15.36), *quin* can also be used in argument clauses with expressions like *non possum quin* ‘I cannot but’,<sup>70</sup> *facere non possum* ‘I cannot bring it about that...’ and *fieri non potest* ‘it is not possible that...’, where it is almost equivalent to *ut non*. When a *quin* clause is used with these expressions, its content is negative. Examples are (i) and (j). For a parallel with a more emphatic negation by *ut non*, see (l).

- (i) Video non potesse **quin** tibi eius nomen eloquar.  
(‘I see that it’s not possible for me not to tell you his name.’ *Pl. Bac.* 559)
- (j) Ut mihi rem narras, Callicles, nullo modo / potest fieri prosus **quin** dos detur virgini.  
(‘The way you tell me the story, Callicles, it’s absolutely impossible that a dowry not be given to the girl.’ *Pl. Trin.* 729–30)
- (k) Tamen facere non possum **quin** cottidie ad te mittam ut tuas accipiam.  
(‘Still I can’t resist sending you a daily letter so as to get your replies.’ *Cic. Att.* 12.27.2)
- (l) Fieri, inquam, Triari, nullo pacto potest **ut non** dicas quid non probes eius a quo dissentias.  
(‘It’s in no way possible’, I say, ‘that you do not say what you do not approve of in the views of the man with whom you disagree.’ *Cic. Fin.* 1.27)

**Supplement:**

Eheu, nequeo **quin** fleam, / quom ap̄s ted abeam. (*Pl. Mil.* 1342–3); Sati’n, si quis amat, nequit **quin** nihili sit atque improbis se artibus expoliat? (*Pl. Truc.* 553); Non enim faciam **quin** scias. (*Pl. Mil.* 283); Sed quom orata huius’ reminiscor nequeo **quin** lacrumem miser. (*Ter. Hec.* 385); Fieri nullo modo poterat **quin** Cleomeni parceretur. (*Cic. Ver.* 5.104);... facere non potui **quin** tibi et sententiam et voluntatem declararem meam. (*Cic. Fam.* 6.13.1)

**Related examples (in alphabetical order by governing expression):** Tribus non **conduci** possum libertatibus, / **quin** ego illis hodie comparem magnum malum / **quinque** hanc omnem rem meae erae iam faciam palam. (*Pl. Cas.* 504–6);... ut **effici** non possit **quin** eos tam oderim quam rem publicam diligo. (*Cic. Phil.* 11.36); Non possum **pati** / **quin** tibi caput demulceam. (*Ter. Hau.* 761–2);... non esse in nostra **potestate** **quin** illa eveniant quorum causae fuerint... (*Cic. Fat.* 45)

<sup>70</sup> For this expression, see Fleck (2006).

**Appendix:** An isolated idiom is constituted by the combination *mirum quin* ‘it is a miracle that not’ in Plautus, as in (m).

- (m) *Mirum quin* grex venalium in cistella infuerit una.  
 (‘It’s odd that there wasn’t a whole group of slaves in that one casket.’ Pl. *Cist.* 733)

### 15.39 *The use of si in declarative argument clauses*

The subordinator *si* is used in argument clauses with two types of expressions (§§ 15.40–1). With a third type (§ 15.42), *si* clauses are better taken as satellites. It is common in conditional satellite clauses (see §§ 16.57ff.).

### 15.40 *The use of si clauses with verbs and expressions of waiting in expectation and trying*

With a couple of verbs and expressions of waiting in expectation and trying, *si* argument clauses in the subjunctive refer to situations which are uncertain or the outcome of which is uncertain. The verbs involved are also found with *ut* argument clauses that express aiming at the realization of a state of affairs.<sup>71</sup> Examples of *si* clauses are (a) and (c); for *ut* clauses with the same verbs, see (b) and (d). In (e), *res* seems to function as a preparative device. The *si* clause normally follows the main clause; negated clauses seem not to be attested. With some of these verbs, indirect questions with an interrogative particle occur as well (see § 15.46). These argument clauses must be distinguished from the purpose *si* clauses discussed in § 16.59.

- (a) *Miror huc iam non arcessi in proximum uxorem meam, / quae iam dudum si arcessatur ornata exspectat domi.*  
 (‘I’m surprised that my wife is not yet being sent for to go next door. She’s all dressed up and has been waiting at home for a long time already in case she’s sent for.’ Pl. *Cas.* 539–40)
- (b) *Nisi exspectare vis / ut eam sine dote frater nuptum conlocet.*  
 (‘Unless you want to wait for her brother to give her in marriage without dowry.’ Pl. *Trin.* 734–5)
- (c) *Helvetii... nonnumquam interdum, s<a>epius noctu si perrumpere possent conati... hoc conatu destiterunt.*  
 (‘The Helvetii, after having made attempts sometimes by day, more often by night, to see if they could break through... abandoned this attempt.’ Caes. *Gal.* 1.8.4)
- (d) *... Caesar intellexit nihil aliud eos conari nisi ut se cogere castra eo loco ponere...*  
 (‘... Caesar realized that what they were trying to do was no less than force him to pitch camp at a spot...’ B. *Afr.* 69)
- (e) *Temptata res est si primo impetu capi Ardea posset.*  
 (‘An attempt was made to see if Ardea could be seized by an initial attack.’ Liv. 1.57.3)

<sup>71</sup> See Meini (2004) on the element of uncertainty.

**Supplement:**

Ei rei operam dare te fuerat aliquanto aequius / **si** qui probiorem facere posses, non *uti* / in eandem tute accederes infamiam... (Pl. *Trin.* 119–21); ...non recusavit quo minus vel extremo spiritu **si** quam opem rei publicae ferre posset experiretur. (Cic. *Phil.* 9.2); Haec (*sc. vipera*) cum temptaret **si** qua res esset cibo, / Limam momordit. (Phaed. 4.8.4–5); Temptemus tamen **si** adhuc sorbilia sunt. (Petr. 33.5 (Trimalchio speaking)); At Germanicus...dandum adhuc spatium ratus **si** recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent praemittit litteras ad Caecinam... (Tac. *Ann.* 1.48.1—NB: depends on *dandum spatium*)

15.41 *The use of si clauses with verbs and expressions of surprise*

*Si* clauses are used relatively frequently in combination with the verb *miror* ‘to be surprised’, with which the accusative and infinitive is more common and which is also found with a factive *quod* clause, just like emotion verbs (see § 15.8). Although one may sometimes hesitate as to whether the *si* clauses are really argument clauses, and not conditional satellites, the argument status is sometimes proved by the presence of preparative pronouns like *id* in (b) and *illud* in (c). The *si* clause normally follows the main clause. The main clause is often negative or understood as negative. The *si* expression differs in meaning from the other two expressions.<sup>72</sup> There are a few attestations of negation by *nisi*, as in (d), unless it is a conditional clause. Instances of negation by *si non* are attested in Augustine, as in (e).<sup>73</sup>

- (a) Edepol minime miror **si** te fugitat aut oculos tuos / aut si te odit, qui istum appelles Tyndarum pro Philocrate.  
(‘Seriously, I’m not surprised at all if he’s avoiding you, or eye-contact with you, or if he hates you, since you address him as Tyndarus instead of Philocrates.’ Pl. *Capt.* 545–6)
- (b) *Idne* tu mirare **si** patrissat filius?  
(‘Are you surprised if the son takes after his father?’ Pl. *Ps.* 442)
- (c) Enim vero *illud* praeter alia mira miror maxume / **si** haec habet [pateram] illam.  
(‘Honestly, I am astonished if she has that bowl more than I am astonished about the other astonishing things.’ Pl. *Am.* 772–3)
- (d) Mirarer **nisi** pro tam bono patre fuisset qui mori vellet.  
(‘I should have been surprised had there been no son who was willing to die for so good a father.’ Sen. *Con.* 9.4.8)
- (e) Ubi miror **si non** scelere graviore mercedem tantam tanto sceleri reddiderunt.  
(‘Here I wonder if it was not a greater crime for them to bestow so great a reward on so great a crime.’ August. *Civ.* 3.15.11)

<sup>72</sup> See Bodelot (1998: 179–81).<sup>73</sup> TLL s.v. *miror* 1067.14ff.

Most if not all of the instances of *si* clauses with other emotion verbs mentioned in K.-St. (II.424–5)<sup>74</sup> can be understood as conditional satellites. An example is (f). TLL *s.v.* *ignosco* 318.81 gives (g) as an illustration of *ignosco* governing a *si* clause, but the parallelism with the *quoniam* clause shows that this is incorrect. Notable is the use of the conditional clause in (h), mentioned in K.-St., but it is not the counterpart of a factive *quod* clause.

- (f) (*sc.* Demosthenes) Qui **dolere** se aiebat, **si** quando opificum antelucana victus esset industria.  
(‘(Demosthenes) who said that he was grieved if ever he had been beaten by the diligence of workmen rising before the break of day.’ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.44)
- (g) Si quid in te peccavi, ac potius quoniam peccavi, **ignosce**. In me enim ipsum peccavi vehementius.  
(‘If I have treated you badly in any way, or rather since I have done so, forgive me. I have treated myself worse.’ Cic. *Att.* 3.15.4)
- (h) **Commoti** patres vice fortunarum humanarum, **si** ille praepotens opibus populus... adeo infractos gereret animos ut se ipse suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret.  
(‘The Fathers were profoundly moved by the vicissitudes of human fortune, considering how that great and opulent people... was become so broken in spirit as to yield itself up with all its possessions to the dominion of another.’ Liv. 7.31.6)

**NB:** In (i) *si non* is local negation (see § 8.7).

- (i) Minus mirandum est illaec aetas si quid illorum facit / quam **si non** faciat.  
(‘It’s less of a surprise if a man of that age does some of those things than if he doesn’t.’ Pl. *Bac.* 409–10)

#### 15.42 *The use of si clauses in combination with so-called impersonal expressions*

*Si* clauses are also used in combination with various so-called impersonal expressions. An example is (a) with impersonal *interesse* ‘it makes a difference’. More common are combinations of *est* with a subject complement like *mirum est* ‘it is remarkable’, as in (b)–(d). With these expressions several other types of clauses are found as well (notably *quod* clauses, accusative and infinitive clauses, and indirect questions). These clauses function as arguments. The *si* clauses, by contrast, are ‘normal’ conditional satellite clauses.<sup>75</sup>

- (a) Nihil interesse autem non modo **si** omni ex parte eiusdem modi sint sed etiam **si** discerni non possint.  
(‘That it makes no difference not only if they are alike in every aspect but also if they cannot be distinguished from each other.’ Cic. *Luc.* 40)

<sup>74</sup> See also Sz.: 666.

<sup>75</sup> See K.-St.: II.425 for the examples quoted below (and more).

- (b) Nil mirum—vetus est maceria—lateres si veteres ruont.  
(‘It’s not surprising—the wall is old—if old bricks tumble down.’ Pl. *Truc.* 305)
- (c) Ecaster hau mirum si te habes carum, / hominem tam pulchrum...  
(‘Goodness, it’s no surprise if you hold yourself dear, such a beautiful man...’ Pl. *Mil.* 1041–2)
- (d) Quid mirum igitur in senibus si infirmi sint aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint?  
(‘What wonder, then, if the aged are sometimes weak, when even the young cannot escape the same fate?’ Cic. *Sen.* 35)

**Supplement:**

Plusque proficit si ponetur spes utilitatis futurae quam praeteriti beneficii commemoratio. (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.206); Quin et verba Flavi vulgabantur non referre dedecori si citharoedus demoveretur... (Tac. *Ann.* 15.65.1)

**Volup** est quod agas si id procedit lepide at<que ex> sententia. (Pl. *Mil.* 947); **Mirum** tibi videtur si tu loquendo talentum quaesisti? (Gracch. *orat.* 44); Aut, si haec dici non poterunt, dicendum erit illud extremum, non esse mirum si nunc primum deliquerit. (Cic. *Inv.* 2.34); ‘Minime mirum,’ inquit Antonius, ‘si ista res adhuc nostra lingua inlustrata non est.’ (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.55); **Obprobrio** fuisse adolescentibus si amatores non haberent. (Cic. *Rep.* 4.3); Quod si eam veniam sibi dedisset tantisque implicatum rebus sublevasset, magno ei praemio futurum. (Nep. *Paus.* 4.6); *Illud* te mihi ignoscere, P. Corneli, aequum erit, si... ne tuam quidem gloriam bono publico praeponam. (Liv. 28.41.1);... si pavetis aciem, indignum id quidem... (Tac. *Hist.* 4.58.4)

The negation in these cases is by *non*, except in the combination *mirum est/mira sunt ni*, as in (e). *Nisi* in this context is rare, but there are already three instances of *mira nisi* in Plautus.<sup>76</sup>

- (e) ... mirumque adeo est ni hunc fecere sibi Aetoli agoranomum.  
(‘... and it would be a surprise indeed if the Aetolians haven’t made him their market inspector.’ Pl. *Capt.* 824)

### 15.43 *The use of quasi in argument clauses with verbs and expressions of pretending*

In Early Latin *quasi* clauses can be used as second argument with verbs and expressions of pretending.<sup>77</sup> Although they are found again in later periods, in Classical Latin accusative and infinitive clauses are the regular expression. An example in which both expressions co-occur is (a).

<sup>76</sup> For further examples, see TLL s.v. mirus 1074.20ff.

<sup>77</sup> The material can be found in Bennett (1900: 416–17). For comparative data, see Perrochat (1932b: 89–94).

- (a) Ita praecipito mulieri atque ancillulae, / ut simulet **se tuam esse uxorem et deperire hunc militem**, / **quasi**que hunc anulum faveae suae dederit ...  
 ('Instruct the woman and her maid that the woman has to pretend to be your wife and to be madly in love with this soldier, and that she has to act as though she were giving this ring to her favourite slave girl...? Pl. *Mil.* 795–7)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):**

**Assimulato** quasi gubernator sies. (Pl. *Mil.* 1181); Adibo atque adsimulabo quasi nunc exeam. (Ter. *Eu.* 461); Sed nimium lepide **dissimulant** quasi nil sciant / fore huius quod futurum est. (Pl. *Cas.* 771–2); **Simulabo** quasi non videam. (Pl. *Per.* 84)

15.44 *The use of tamquam (si) and quasi in argument clauses with verbs and expressions of accusing and of emotion and with verbs of communication*

From Seneca the Elder onwards *tamquam* 'on the ground that' clauses are used as argument with verbs and expressions of accusing, blaming, excusing, etc. and with verbs and expressions of emotion. Semantically, the expressions differ from the more common *quod* clauses (see § 15.10) and accusative and infinitive clauses (see §§ 15.97–8) in that the author does not commit himself to the truth of the reason for the accusation or emotion to which the clause refers.<sup>78</sup> Later on, *quasi* is used in a similar way, especially by Suetonius. Examples are (a)–(c).<sup>79</sup> (For conditional comparative adjuncts, see § 16.66.)

- (a) Diligentius me tibi excusarem **tamquam** huic rei non essem natus, nisi scirem ...  
 ('I should take more pains in my defence (pleading that I was not born for such things) if I didn't know...? Sen. *Con.* 3.pr.14)
- (b) Deinde iam me pudet **tamquam** diu non seriam rem agam.  
 ('More recently I have begun to be ashamed on the ground that for a long time I haven't been doing anything of substance.' Sen. *Con.* 10.pr.1)
- (c) De reddenda re p. bis cogitavit. Primum post oppressum statim Antonium, memor obiectum sibi ab eo saepius **quasi** per ipsum staret ne redderetur.  
 ('He twice thought of restoring the republic. First immediately after the overthrow of Antony, remembering that the criticism was often laid against him by his rival on the ground that it was his fault that it was not restored.' Suet. *Aug.* 28.1)

Whereas in (a)–(c) the content of the accusation or shame is at the same time the reason for it, this is different for (d) and (e), where the governing expressions are verbs of communication.

<sup>78</sup> For the meaning of *tamquam* in these contexts, see Bodelot (2011: 271–2) and Baños (2014: 73).

<sup>79</sup> For the use of *tamquam (si)* in argument clauses and its development from satellite clauses (see § 16.66), see Bennett (1900) and Bodelot (2011; 2014b). For *quasi*, see Bennett (1900). See also Rosén and Shalev (2017).

- (d) (*sc.* Plautius Silvanus)...*turbata mente respondit tamquam ipse somno gravis atque eo ignarus et uxor sponte mortem sumpsisset.*  
(...he replied in a disturbed state of mind to the effect that he had been heavily asleep and therefore unaware and that his wife took death upon herself' Tac. *Ann.* 4.22.1—*tr.* Woodman, with adjustment)
- (e) *Nam quo pertinuit... differri... etiam per externos tamquam veneno interceptus esset...*  
(And what was the point of its being spread abroad, and among foreigners too, that he had met a premature death from poison?' Tac. *Ann.* 3.12.4—*tr.* Woodman)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by governing expression):**

*Atriplex... accusatum* a Pythagora *tamquam* faceret *hydropicos morbosque regios...* (Plin. *Nat.* 20.219—NB: following André in his Budé edition); ... **admonentibus** domesticis quasi plura polliceretur quam praestare posset... (Suet. *Tit.* 8.1); ... ut hic pauper **inputet** diviti *tamquam* praevaricatus sit. (Quint. *Decl.* 333.3); Omnes **infamaverunt** adulescentem quasi illius criminationibus factum sit ut frater abdicaretur. (Sen. *Con.* 2.4.7); At Cicero... **reprehenditur** a quibusdam *tamquam* orationem ad *rhythmos* alliget. (Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.53—unless it is an adjunct); *Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit*, *tamquam* scelera ostendi oporteat dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. (Tac. *Ger.* 12.2—NB: preparative *illuc*)

**NB:** An early example may be: At primum **sumpseras** *tamquam* interesset. (Cic. *Luc.* 44).<sup>80</sup>

## 15.45 Finite interrogative argument clauses (indirect questions)

The notion 'indirect question' covers a variety of expressions, only some of which correspond to direct questions in that they refer to a situation in which a speaker or writer wants to obtain information from an addressee (see §§ 6.5–26). This is the situation in (a), where the indirect question *sit* which is dependent on *rogas* corresponds to the immediately preceding direct question which is directed to an addressee. In (b), however, the indirect question does not presuppose an addressee. Exx. (a) and (b) do, nevertheless, share a common feature in that they both refer to a lack of information. The notion 'indirect question' is also used for indirect exclamatory argument clauses, such as (c). In such cases there is no lack of information involved (see § 15.89).

- (a) *Estne ea intu'? # Sit rogas?*  
(Is she inside? # Are you asking whether she's inside?' Ter. *Hau.* 454)
- (b) *Pol ego haud scio quid post fuat.*  
(I don't know what'll happen later on.' Pl. *Aul.* 426)
- (c) *Vide palliolum ut rugat.*  
(Look how your cloak is all crumpled.' Pl. *Cas.* 246)

<sup>80</sup> See Bodelot (2014b: 200–1).

Further details concerning the governing expressions are discussed in § 15.46.

It is often difficult to decide whether a sequence that consists of a verb of communication and a question is an instance of a complex sentence with an indirect question or of two independent sentences, one of which is a direct question. This problem is particularly acute if the question is in the indicative mood; specific contexts are discussed in § 7.133. Here an illustration with *dic* ‘tell me’ will suffice. In (d), the question is in the subjunctive (*malis*), which makes it attractive (though not necessary) to consider the sequence *si...malis* as a subordinate clause (an indirect question). In (e) *est* is indicative, which makes it attractive (though not necessary) to consider *Roscia...offert* an independent sentence (a direct question), with *dic sodes* inserted as a parenthesis.<sup>81</sup>

- (d) ‘Dic mihi’, quaeso, ‘Xenophontis uxor, 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, please tell me, wife of Xenophon, whether you would prefer that one or your own?’ Cic. *Inv.* 1.51)

- (e) Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum **est** / nenia quae regnum recte facientibus offert...

(‘Tell me, pray: is the Roscian law better or the children’s jingle which offers a kingdom to those who “do right”...?’ Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.62–3)

For the use of the moods in indirect questions see § 7.133–7; for the tenses, see § 7.98.

**Appendix:** In Late Latin the infinitive is occasionally found in indirect questions instead of a subjunctive finite form.<sup>82</sup> An example is (f).

- (f) ...non habent quid **respondere**.

(‘...they do not know what response to make.’ August. *Psal. Don.* 40)

### 15.46 *Verbs and expressions governing indirect questions*

The verbs that can govern an indirect question can be classified into four categories (see also § 15.52 and § 15.56):<sup>83</sup>

- 1 *verba interrogandi*, comprising the verbs that mean ‘to ask for information’, such as *quaero* ‘to seek to know about’ (OLD § 8) and *rogo* ‘to ask’; verbs of this class constitute 6 per cent of all expressions governing an indirect question in Bodelot’s sample. With these verbs the source of the information is often expressed.
- 2 *verba investigandi*, comprising the verbs that mean ‘to try to find out’, such as *cogito* ‘to consider’, *experior* ‘to try out’, *quaero* ‘to examine’ (OLD § 9), *tempto*

<sup>81</sup> This is the way the two examples are treated in the TLL *s.v.* dico 983.46 and 983.18f., respectively. In TLL *s.v.* an 6.47 (e) is treated as an independent question.

<sup>82</sup> Examples are discussed by Martínez-Pais (1994).

<sup>83</sup> Following Bodelot (1987: 25–51; 2003: 211–14).

‘to find out by trial’ (OLD § 3c), *viso* ‘to go and look at’; verbs of this class constitute 11 per cent of the expressions governing an indirect question.

- 3 *verba declarandi*, comprising verbs of communication, such as *dico* ‘to say’, *narro* ‘to tell’, *scribo* ‘to write’, and *statuo* ‘to make up one’s mind’ (OLD § 14); verbs of this class constitute 20 per cent of the expressions governing an indirect question.
- 4 *verba sciendi, sentiendi*, etc., comprising verbs of perception and cognition, such as *dubito* ‘to be in doubt’, *existimo* ‘to think’, *intellego* ‘to understand’, *miror* ‘to be surprised’, *paenitet* ‘to give reason for regret’, *scio* ‘to know’ and *nescio* ‘not to know’, *timeo* ‘to fear’, and *video* ‘to see’; verbs of this class constitute 63 per cent of the expressions governing an indirect question.

It is only for verbs of the first class that the indirect questions may reflect real questions, but even with these verbs this is often not the case: the reported words are so general that it is difficult to reconstruct a particular utterance from them, for example in (a), where the original wording of the question cannot be determined with any precision.

- (a) Rogant me servi **quo** eam. Dico me ire quo saturi solent.

(‘The servants asked me where I was going. I said I was going where those who are full normally go.’ Pl. *Cur.* 362)

As for the distribution of the two types of indirect questions, viz. clausal questions (corresponding to ‘sentence questions’ in § 6.8) and ‘constituent questions’ (see § 6.19), the former are relatively uncommon with verbs and expressions belonging to classes (iii) and (iv), and certain combinations are excluded for obvious reasons. Typical combinations are (b) and (c), whereas something like (d) is not attested or conceivable.<sup>84</sup>

- (b) Requirereres, / rogitares **quis** esset aut **unde** esset, **qua** prosapia, / civisne esset **an** peregrinus.

(‘You should have inquired and asked who he was or where he was from, from what family, and whether he was a citizen or a foreigner.’ Pl. *Mer.* 633–5)

- (c) Scio **quam** rem agat.

(‘I know what he’s up to.’ Pl. *Aul.* 574)

- (d) \*Scio civisne sit.

#### 15.47 Types of interrogative argument clauses (indirect questions)

Just as with interrogative sentences, a distinction must be made between two types of interrogative clauses: simple indirect questions and multiple (or: disjunctive) indirect questions (see § 6.6).

<sup>84</sup> See Bodelot (2003: 220–5).

15.48 *Simple interrogative argument clauses (indirect questions)*

Again, just as with direct questions (see § 6.7), simple indirect questions can be subdivided into clausal questions, exemplified by (a), and constituent questions, exemplified by (b). The same verb may govern coordinated pairs belonging to these two types of clauses, as in (c).

- (a) Rogato servos veneritne ad eum tuos.  
(‘You must then ask whether your slave has come to him.’ Pl. *Poen.* 181)
- (b) **Quid** nos opinemur audietis ex iuratis.  
(‘What we think, you will learn from the evidence of witnesses on oath.’ Cic. *Cael.* 4)
- (c) ... cum ex me quidam quaesisset **quo die** Roma exissem *et* **num** quidnam esset novi.  
(‘... when someone asked me on what day I had left Rome, and whether there was any news.’ Cic. *Planc.* 65)

15.49 *Indirect clausal questions*

Indirect clausal questions usually contain one of the question particles or *ec-* compounds that are common in direct questions. The absence of such devices is rare for indirect questions, in notable contrast to direct questions, where they are very frequently omitted. The most common particles are *-ne*, *num* (and its compounds) and *an(ne)*; by contrast, *nonne*, *si*, *utrum*, and *nē* (not clitic!) are very rare. Livy has two instances of the interjection *en* in indirect questions (for its use in direct questions, see § 6.15). For the Late Latin use of *ne*, see § 6.11 Appendix.

15.50 *Indirect clausal questions without a question particle*

Indirect questions without an interrogative particle are very rare<sup>85</sup> and accordingly the instances in question have sometimes been emended, as in (a). The best early example is (b), but there are a few more in combination with other clearly marked indirect questions, as in (c).

- (a) Hic nunc volo scire eodem pacto<n’> sine malo fateamini.  
(‘I want to know now whether you admit it here in the same way without a beating.’ Pl. *Truc.* 779—*add.* Studemund)
- (b) Estne ea intu’? # **Sit** rogas?  
(‘Is she inside? # Are you asking whether she’s inside?’ Ter. *Hau.* 454)
- (c) Quom ipsi interea **vivant, valeant**, / ubi sint, quid agant, ecquid agant / nec participant nos nec redeunt.  
(‘That they aren’t returning and don’t let us know whether in the meantime they themselves are alive and in good health, where they are, what they’re doing, if they’re doing anything.’ Pl. *St.* 31–3)

<sup>85</sup> See Sz.: 542. For a problematic passage in Cic. *Tusc.* 1.60, see Lundström (1986: 32–6).

**Supplement:**

De Theopompo, summo homine, negleximus, qui ubi terrarum sit, quid agat, vivat denique an mortuus sit, quis aut scit aut curat? (Cic. *Phil.* 13.33); Rure<ne> iam redierim quaeris. (Hirt. *Att.* 15.6.2—*add.* Wesenberg); Debes hoc etiam rescribere sit tibi curae (si tibi curae <est> *cj.* Chabot) / quantae conveniat Munatius. (Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.30–1); Tu pande vivat coniugis frater mei / et pande teneat quas soror sedes mea. (Sen. *Ag.* 404–5)

It is not surprising that there are so few attestations: with most governing verbs a subordinate clause without a subordinating device would be ambiguous.

*15.51 Indirect clausal questions with a question particle*

Of the three most frequent interrogative particles in indirect clausal questions in Early and Classical Latin (*-ne*, *num*, and *an*), *an* is mostly restricted to contexts of uncertainty (*haud scio an*, *nescio an* ‘I don’t know if’, *dubito an* ‘I am wondering whether’). The particle *-ne* is the most frequent of the three: in Cicero there are more instances of indirect *-ne* than of *num* and *an* together. After Terence it is rare in poetry.<sup>86</sup> Whereas in Classical Latin *-ne* and *num* when used in direct questions have different meanings (*-ne* neutral as to the response expected, *num* expecting a negative response), this is less obvious in the case of indirect questions. In (a) and (b) the two particles are used in identical contexts, which is taken as proof of their interchangeability.<sup>87</sup> However, in (b) the *num* clause refers to a situation that is considered undesirable by the person who requests the information, so here *num* seems to be fully justified (for further discussion, see below § 15.54).

- (a) *Atque etiam ante iudicium de constituendo ipso iudicio solet esse contentio, cum aut sitne actio illi qui agit aut iamne sit aut num iam esse desierit aut illane lege hisne verbis sit actio quaeritur.*

(‘And even before the trial begins there is usually a dispute about the institution of the trial itself, when the question is raised whether the party taking proceedings has the right to do so, or has the right to do so yet, or has now ceased to have it, or whether action is open to him under the law cited, or in the terms employed.’ Cic. *Part.* 99)

- (b) *Ac facti quidem controversia in omnia tempora potest tribui. Nam quid factum sit, potest quaeri, hoc modo: occideritne Aiace[m] Ulixes; et quid fiat, hoc modo: bonone animo sint erga populum Romanum Fregellani; et quid futurum sit, hoc modo: si Carthaginem reliquerimus incolumem, num quid sit incommodi ad rem publicam perventurum.*

(‘As to the dispute about a fact, this can be assigned to any time. For the question can be “What has been done?” in the following way “Did Ulysses kill Ajax?” and “What is being done?” e.g. “Are the Fregellans friendly to the Roman people?” and what is

<sup>86</sup> For the general decrease of *-ne*, especially in prose, see TLL *s.v.* 261.25ff.; for its decrease in indirect questions, see 271.71f. For quantitative and distributional data concerning these question particles, see Bodelot (2002b).

<sup>87</sup> So K.-St.: II.513.

going to occur, e.g. ‘If we leave Carthage untouched, will any harm come to the Roman state?’ Cic. *Inv.* 1.11)

After the classical period *-ne* and *num* are gradually replaced by *an*. To give one example, whereas in Classical Latin there are numerous instances of *-ne* and *num* with the verb *quaero* ‘to inquire’, with no sure attestation of *an*,<sup>88</sup> in Seneca, by contrast, *an* is normal, as in (c).<sup>89</sup> Instances of variation of the two particles as in (d) provide further evidence for their equivalence in Post-Classical Latin.

- (c) Hoc tam invisum vitium **an** inpunitum esse debeat quaeritur...  
 (‘Some raise the question whether a vice so odious as this ought to go unpunished...’  
 Sen. *Ben.* 3.6.1)
- (d) Ubi in balneum venit, paulisper resistere expeririq[ue] **num** tempora adstringantur *et an* sudor aliqui oriatur.  
 (‘On arriving at the bath, he should sit for a while to try whether his temples become tightened, and whether any sweat arises.’ Cels. 2.17.6)

**15.52 The use of *-ne* in indirect clausal questions** The regular context of *-ne* is with verbs and expressions that indicate or imply a request for information: examples are (a)–(b). However, other governing verbs are also found from Plautus onwards, as in (c). Examples for the four classes of governing verbs mentioned in § 15.46 can be found in the Supplement. The particle is normally attached to the first full word of the indirect question, as in (a). That word is usually the verb of the clause, but it can be another word that constitutes the scope of the question (for scope, see § 6.8). The particle is occasionally attached to a question word, as in (d).

- (a) Quid tu igitur rogitas **tene** obiurigem?  
 (‘Then why do you ask if it’s you that I’m reproaching?’ Pl. *Trin.* 70)
- (b) ... ex quibus quaererem signa scirent**ne** fuisse quae non essent.  
 (...I would make them say whether they knew of the previous existence of statues that were no longer there.’ Cic. *Ver.* 1.51)
- (c) Contempla, amabo, mea Scapha, sati’**n** haec me vestis deceat.  
 (‘Look me over, please, my dear Scapha, to see if this dress suits me nicely.’ Pl. *Mos.* 166)
- (d) ... Teutonorum legatus respondit interrogatus *quantine* eum aestimaret donari sibi nolle talem vivum verumque.  
 (...the Teuton envoy when asked what he thought was the value of it said that he would rather not have even the living original as a gift.’ Plin. *Nat.* 35.25)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):**

**Class 1 (see § 15.46):** Ecaster equidem te certo heri advenientem ilico / et salutavi et valuisses**ne** usque **exquisivi** simul... (Pl. *Am.* 714–15); ... commilitones appellans et

<sup>88</sup> For a few (apparent) exceptions, most textually uncertain, see K.-St.: II.522.

<sup>89</sup> For the use of *an* in Seneca, see Brodmuehler (1914: 45–6).

magna verborum contumelia **interrogans** solerentne veterani milites fugere... (Caes. *Civ.* 3.71.4); **Quaero** autem...iturine ad Pompeium et, si sunt, qua quondove ituri sint. (Cic. *Att.* 9.1.2); Volo uti mihi **respondeas**...fecerisne ante rostra pontem... (Cic. *Vat.* 21); Ac ne subito a me obprimantur, haec **sum rogaturus**: navem populo Romano debeantne? (Cic. *Ver.* 4.150); Illa (*sc. mater*) rogare, quantane (*sc. belua fratres elisisset*). (Hor. *S.* 316–17)

**Class 2: Tui consili est**, si tempus, si senatus coget, si honeste a nobis recusari non poterit, velisne perseverare; mei officii est *meminisse* qua obstatione decedens mihi ne paterer fieri mandaribus. (Cic. *Fam.* 8.10.5—NB: parallelism with infinitive); Primum, sitne ambiguum, **quaerendum**'<s>; (*Rhet. Her.* 2.16); Abi intro ad vos domum / continuo, **vide** sitne istaec vostra intus. (Pl. *Mil.* 535–6)

**Class 3:** Tu igitur ne de Persarum quidem rege magno potes **dicere** beatusne sit. (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.35); Sed tamen velim **scribas** ad me, primum placeatne tibi aliquid ad illum, deinde, si placebit, hocne potissimum. (Cic. *Att.* 13.6.2); Haec consensu produntur. Aspexeritne matrem exanimem Nero et formam corporis eius laudaverit, sunt qui **tradiderint**, sunt qui **abnuant**. (Tac. *Ann.* 14.9.1—NB: instead of an accusative and infinitive clause)

**Class 4:** ... alterum fortasse **dubitabunt**, sitne tantum in virtute, ut ea praediti vel in Phalaridis tauro beati sint, alterum non dubitabunt, *quin* et Stoici convenientia sibi dicant et vos repugnantia. (Cic. *Fin.* 5.85); Verum homines notos sumere odiosum est, cum et illud **incertum sit** velintne hi sese nominari, et... (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 47); Sed haec ipsa **nescio** rectene sint litteris commissa. (Cic. *Fam.* 2.5.2); ... **parum constitit** bellone publico gentis universae tuendi Veientes essent. (Liv. 4.61.2); Hoc primum ex te, de quo modo Antonius exposuit, quid sentias, **quaerimus**, existimesne artem aliquam esse dicendi. (Cic. *de Orat.* 1.102)

15.53 *The use of nonne in indirect clausal questions* *Nonne* is only attested six times, and only in Cicero, as in (a), expecting the answer 'yes'.

- (a) Quaero igitur a te, L. Piso, **nonne** oppressam rem publicam putes, si tot tam impii, tam audaces, tam facinerosi recepti sint.

(‘Then I ask you, Lucius Piso, whether you would not regard the Republic as crushed if so many who are so wicked, so bold, and so vicious are taken back.’ Cic. *Phil.* 12.15)

15.54 *The use of num in indirect clausal questions* In Cicero about half of the instances of indirect questions with *num* depend on verbs and expressions that indicate or imply a request for information. In most of these the *num* clause refers to a situation that is viewed as negative in some way by the person who requests the information, as in direct questions. Examples are (a) and (b). Sometimes in a similar context it is difficult to see a negative implication, as in (c). For a rare example of another type of governing verb with which a *num* clause is used, again with a negative implication, see (d). Normally with such verbs the negative implication is absent.<sup>90</sup>

- (a) Tum (*sc. Sophocles*) senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, *Oedipum Coloneum*, recitasse iudicibus quaeissequae

<sup>90</sup> For a discussion of all the Ciceronian instances of *num*, see Stegmann (1890: 25–9).

**num** illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus.

(‘Thereupon, it is said that the old man read to the jury his play, *Oedipus at Colonus*, which he was carrying with him and had just written, and that he inquired whether that poem seemed to be the work of an imbecile. When he had finished reciting it he was acquitted by the verdict of the jury.’ Cic. *Sen.* 22)

- (b) Quaerit ex proximo vicino **num** feriae quaedam piscatorum essent, quod eos nullos videret. ‘Nullae, quod sciam’ ille...
- (‘He asked his next-door neighbour whether it was a fishermen’s holiday, since he did not see a sign of them. “Not so far as I know,” he said...’ Cic. *Off.* 3.59)
- (c) Velim...alicui des negotium qui quaerat Q. Staberi fundus **num** quis in Pompeiano Nolanove venalis sit.
- (‘Please...commission someone to find out whether there is a farm belonging to Q. Staberius for sale in the district of Pompeii or Nola.’ Cic. *Att.* 13.8.1)
- (d) Nunc huc intro ibo, visam hesternas reliquias, / quierintne recte necne, **num** infuerit febris, / opertaen’ fuerint, ne quis obreptaverit.
- (‘Now I’ll go in here and check on yesterday’s leftovers to see whether they have slept well or not, whether they’ve caught a fever, and whether they’ve been covered, so that no one could have approached them stealthily.’ Pl. *Per.* 77–9—NB: *infuerit* is often emended)

*Num* becomes less frequent from the Augustan period onwards, its place being taken by *an*—already normal in Silver Latin—and by *numquid*, for example in Seneca (see also § 6.13). An example is (e).

- (e) Observa te itaque **numquid** vestis tua domusque dissentiant, **numquid** in te liberalis sis, in tuos sordidus, **numquid** cenes frugaliter, aedifices luxuriose.
- (‘Observe yourself, then, and see whether your dress and your house are inconsistent, whether you treat yourself lavishly and your family meanly, whether you eat frugal dinners and yet build luxurious houses.’ Sen. *Ep.* 20.3)

#### Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):

**Class 1 (see § 15.46):** A quibus si qui **quaereret** sedissentne iudices in C. Fabricium, sedisse se dicerent. Si **interrogarentur num** quo crimine is esset accusatus praeterquam veneni eius quod quaesitum Habito diceretur, negarent. (Cic. *Clu.* 105); Hic iam de ipso accusatore quaero, qui P. Sestium queritur cum multitudine in tribunatu et cum praesidio magno fuisse, **num** illo die fuerit? Certe non fuit. (Cic. *Sest.* 78); An Lacedaemonii Philippo minitante per litteras se omnia quae conarentur prohibitorum quaesiverunt **num** se esset etiam mori prohibitorum. (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.42); Interrogatusque a Tiberio **num** se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse respondit... (Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.4)

**Class 2:** Quaeso, **reputate** cum animis vostris **num** id mutare melius sit... (Sal. *Jug.* 85.10); Simul circumvehi procul castra iubet **specularique num** auctum aliqua parte sit vallum, et ut attendant semel bisne signum canat in castris. (Liv. 27.47.3); **Vide ergo num** satius sit aut invulnerabilem animum dicere aut animum extra omnem

patientiam positum. (Sen. *Ep.* 9.2); Nequeo mirari satis / quo ille abire ignavo' possit longius, nisi si domum / forte ad nos rediit. # **Vise** amabo **num** sit. # **Iam** faxo scies. (Ter. *Eu.* 661–3)

**Class 3:** Et haud facile **dixerim num** illa tanto expeditiora sint discentibus artificia, quanto minus ampla sunt. (Col. 11.1.9); Tu tamen **mitte**, quaeso, mihi obviam **litteras numquid** putes rei publicae nomine tardandum esse nobis. (Cic. *Att.* 6.7.2); ... **perscribe** ad me omnia, sed diligentissime in primisque **num** quid iudiciorum status aut factorum aut futurorum etiam laboret. (Cic. *Att.* 5.13.3); Volo uti mihi **respondeas num** quis ex toto collegio legem sit ausus ferre praeter unum te? (Cic. *Vat.* 17—NB: editors assume a lacuna at this point, with various proposals to emend)

**Class 4:** **Dubito num** idem tibi suadere quod mihi debeam. (Plin. *Ep.* 6.27.1); Opperiar, ut **sciam num** quid nam haec turba tristitiae adferat. (Ter. *An.* 235); Sed velim scire *quid* adventus Octavi, **num** qui concursus ad eum, **num** quae νεωτερισμοῦ suspicio. (Cic. *Att.* 14.5.3)

The precise contribution of *num* to the meaning of the indirect question is much disputed. The presentation given above follows essentially Stegmann (1890). For a more sceptical view of the negative interpretation of *num* clauses, see Bodelot (2003: 251–5).

Noteworthy is the use of *num* expecting a negative answer 'whether by any chance' in combination with *permoveor* 'I am filled with concern' in (f).

- (f) ... plerumque permoveor **num** ad ipsum referri verius sit...  
(‘I have often been moved <to consider> whether it might be more probable for it to be ascribed to the man himself...’ Tac. *Ann.* 4.57.1—*tr.* Martin and Woodman)

15.55 *The use of utrum in indirect clausal questions* *Utrum* alone is used in simple indirect questions in literary Late Latin.<sup>91</sup> An example is (a).

- (a) **Utrum** Mediolani etiam nunc posito pagina ista reddenda sit in ambiguo conloco.  
(‘I am in doubt whether, on the assumption that you are still in Milan, this page should be sent to you there.’ Symm. *Ep.* 1.86)

15.56 *The use of an in indirect clausal questions* In Early and Classical Latin, indirect questions with *an* very rarely reflect true questions. Its usual contexts are expressions of uncertainty (*haud scio*, *nescio*, *dubito*) (class 4), as in (a)–(c). The verb *rogo* is used with *an* only from Ovid onwards, as in (d), a request to obtain information (class 1). Verbs of communication (class 3) are exceptional.

- (a) Nunc hunc hau scio **an** colloquar.  
(‘Now I don’t know if I should talk to him.’ Pl. *Mos.* 783)
- (b) De accessione dubito **an** Apronio ipsi data sit merces operae atque inpudentiae.  
(‘As for the fee, it may possibly have been given to Apronius himself as the pay for his trouble—and his unblushing knavery.’ Cic. *Ver.* 3.76)

<sup>91</sup> See Haverling (1988: 237–8).

- (c) Qui scis **an** tibi istuc eveniat prius quam mihi?  
(‘How do you know that won’t happen to you rather than to me?’ Pl. *Mos.* 58)
- (d) At si forte roges fecundam Amathunta metallis / **an** genuisse velit Propoetidas, abnuat...  
(‘But if you should chance to ask Amathus, rich in veins of ore, if she is glad that she gave birth to the Propoetides, she would repudiate...’ Ov. *Met.* 10.220–1)

**Supplement (in alphabetical order by verb):**

**Class 1 (see § 15.46):** Cum versus facias, te ipsum **percontor an** et cum / dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli? (Hor. *S.* 1.10.25–6); ... te **quaerere** ex iis... iubebat **an** ferrum habuissent... (Liv. 40.14.7); ... quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine per ludibrium **rogitantes an** tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret. (Tac. *Ann.* 1.20.1)

**Class 2:** Non **quaeritur** nunc **an** profueris mihi sed **an** beneficium dederis. (Sen. *Ben.* 5.19.6); Et ipsum dolorem **scrutamur an** aliquid habeat iucundum circa se et voluptarium. (Sen. *Ep.* 99.28); Itane? **Temptas an** sciamus? (Pl. *Poen.* 557); **Vide an** sub his exemplis patri fortius loqui liceat. (Sen. *Con.* 10.3.8)

**Class 3:** **An** priores coeperint Alexandriae et Pergami reges, qui bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile **dixerim**. (Plin. *Nat.* 35.10); Diplomata, domine, quorum dies praeterit, **an** omnino observari et quam diu velis rogo **scribas**... (Plin. *Ep.* 10.45)

**Class 4:** **An** dolo malo factum sit **ambigitur**. (Cic. *Tul.* fr. 1b); Tum M. Curtium, iuvenem bello egregium, castigasse ferunt **dubitantes an** ullum magis Romanum bonum quam arma virtusque esset. (Liv. 7.6.3); Haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc **fluctuat** illuc, / **an** sese mucroni ob tantum dedecus amens / induat et crudum per costas exigat ense, / fluctibus **an** iaciat mediis et litora nando / curva petat Teucrumque iterum se reddat in arma. (Verg. *A.* 10.680–4); Moriendum enim certe est et **incertum an** hoc ipso die. (Cic. *Sen.* 74); **Nescio an** noris hominem, quamquam nosse debes... (Plin. *Ep.* 6.21.3); Atque **haud scio an** quae dixit sint vera omnia, / sed parvi pendo. (Ter. *An.* 525–6)

**Other:** Di te perdant, si te **floci facio an** periisses prius. (Pl. *Trin.* 992); Nam quid id **refert** mea / **an** aula quassa cum cinere effossus siet? (Pl. *Cur.* 395–6)

**Verb to be supplied (brachylogy):** (*sc.* Latro) Divisit in ius et aequitatem, **an** abdicari possit, **an** debeat. (Sen. *Con.* 1.1.13)

In the Classical period the combinations *haud scio an* and *nescio an* functioned as idioms, meaning more or less ‘perhaps’. An example is (e). The idiomatic status of these expressions appears also from their use below the clause level, for example as a modifier of an adjective, as in (f). They resemble the expressions *fortasse an*, *forsitan*, *fors fuat an* (for which see (g)).

- (e) Constantiam dico. **Nescio an** melius patientiam possim dicere.  
(‘I call it constancy. Perhaps it would be better to say “endurance”’ Cic. *Lig.* 26)
- (f) Quorum quidem testem non mediocrem, sed **haud scio an** gravissimum Regulum nolite quaeso vituperare.  
(‘And pray do not disparage Regulus, as no unimportant witness—nay, I am rather inclined to think he was the very best witness—to the truth of their doctrine.’ Cic. *Off.* 3.105)

- (g) Nam istaec quae tibi renuntiantur, filium / te velle amantem argento circumducere, / **fors fuat an** istaec dicta sint mendacia.  
 ('Well, as for the things reported to you, that your lovesick son wants to swindle you out of your money, perhaps those words are lies.' Pl. *Ps.* 430–2)

15.57 *The use of si in indirect clausal questions* The use of *si* in indirect clausal questions is first attested with verbs and expressions of seeing, in rare instances like (a) and (b). It is much more common for these verbs to be used with indirect question particles such as *-ne*. Note the instances with *-ne* in (c) and with *num* in (d). Ex. (e) shows *si* clauses functioning in basically the same way as the *-ne* clauses in the following sentence, with both being governed by the verb *quaero* 'to inquire', 'to examine' in the preceding text. Ex. (f) has the *si* indirect question preceded by preparative *id*, which shows beyond doubt that it is an argument clause, and not a satellite.<sup>92</sup> Note that here the *si* clause is in the indicative (more examples in the Supplement). By the time of Vitruvius, *si* is firmly established as an indirect question particle. It survives in the Romance languages.<sup>93</sup>

- (a) Viso huc amator **si** a foro rediit domum...  
 ('I'm popping by here to see if our lover has come back home from the market...'  
 Pl. *Cas.* 591)
- (b) Vide vero **si** tibi satis placet.<sup>94</sup>  
 ('But see if you like it well enough.' Pl. *Per.* 825)
- (c) Abi, vise redierit**ne** iam an nondum domum.  
 ('Go and see if he's returned home yet or not.' Ter. *Ph.* 445)
- (d) Vide **num** moratur.  
 ('See if he keeps you waiting.' Pl. *Mos.* 614)
- (e) (quaeritur) De expetendo et fugiendo huius modi: **Si** expetendae divitiae, **si** fugienda paupertas. De aequo et iniquo: Aequum**ne** sit ulcisci a quocumque iniuriam acceperis.  
 ('Questions about what to seek and what to avoid are like this: Whether riches should be sought? Whether poverty should be avoided. A question about right and wrong: Whether it is right to take vengeance on whomsoever has wronged you.' Cic. *Top.* 84)
- (f) Nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est. *Id* modo quaeritur, **si** maiori parti et in summam prodest.  
 ('No law is entirely convenient for everyone; this alone is asked, whether it is good for the majority and on the whole.' Liv. 34.3.5)

Indirect questions with *si* normally follow the main clause. However, (g) has the reverse order, which is the normal one for *si* conditional clauses; a translation 'in case

<sup>92</sup> So Bräunlich (1920: 96).

<sup>93</sup> For discussion, see Bräunlich (1920: 201–4), Arias (1995), Herman (1996b), and Bodelot (2013).

<sup>94</sup> This example is taken as an instance of purpose *si* clauses (see § 16.59) by Bodelot (2013: 369).