

## Latin adverbs and layered structure

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### 1. Adverbs, conjunctions, particles, connectors.

table 1: Classification of a number of words in the Oxford Latin Dictionary

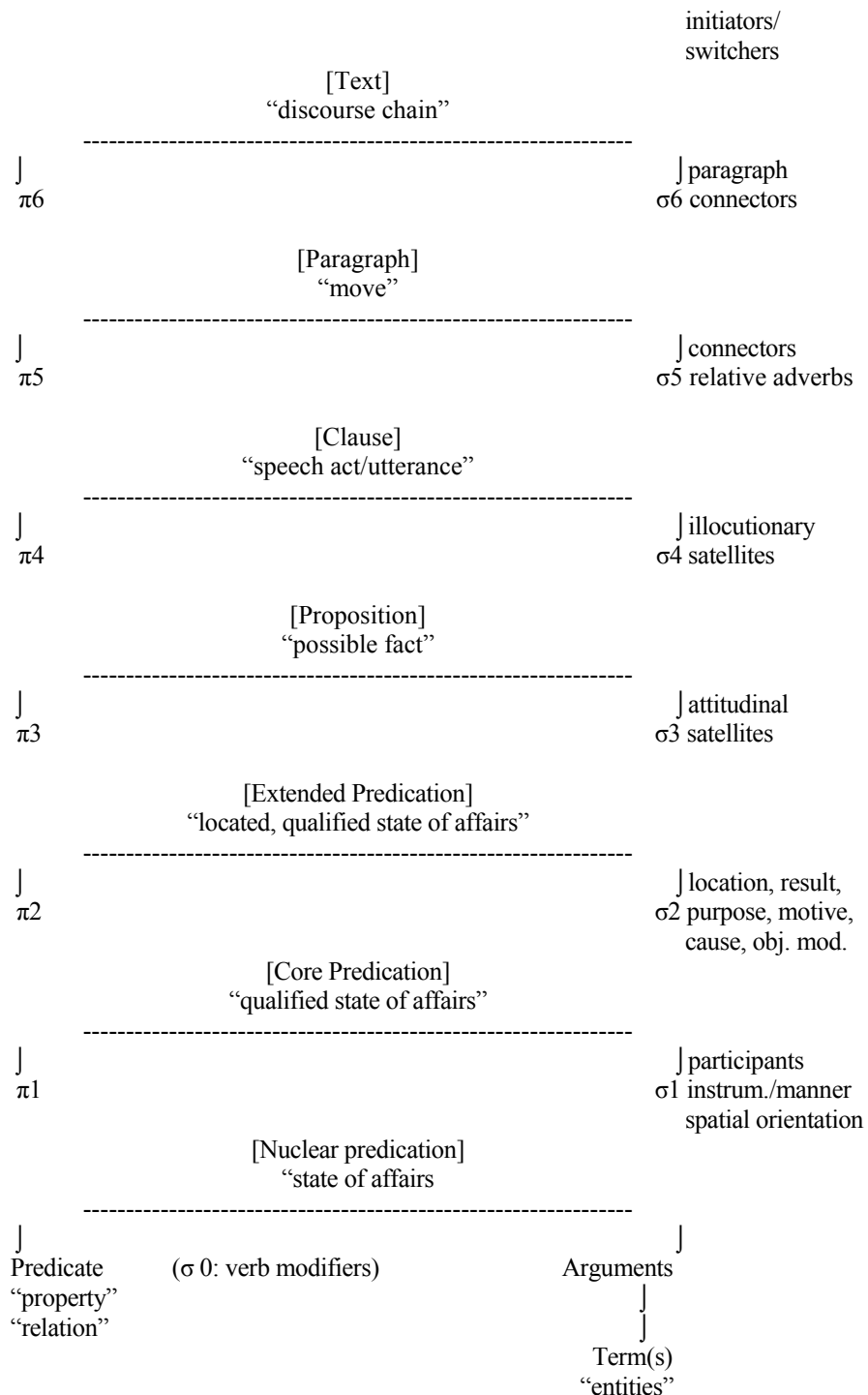
adverb	conjunction	particle
itaque	at	autem
	atqui	ergo
quidni	attamen	enim
quoque	etenim	enimvero
	igitur	ergo
	namque	nam
utique		nempe
tamen		nimirum
		quidem

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## 2. Hierarchical / “layered” structure

figure 1: “Adverbial” entities in a model of textual cohesion, adapted from FG (Dik 1997), using Nøjgaard (1992)



### 3. Methodology

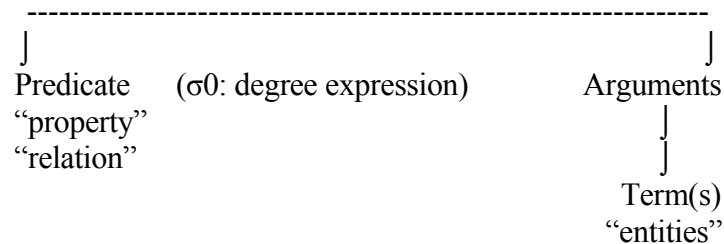
- (i) One sentence may contain several expressions belonging to different levels.
- (ii) All expressions discussed may be combined with one of the coordinators (*et, sed, aut*) with the exception of pure connectors (*at, autem, ergo, igitur, nam*).

	$\sigma 5$	$\sigma 4$	$\sigma 3$	$\sigma 2$	$\sigma 1$	$\sigma 6$
$\sigma 6$						
$\sigma 5$	-----	nam meo iudicio	certe igitur	iure igitur	ultus igitur graviter	
$\sigma 4$	-----	-----	certe ... denique	nusquam quod sciam	tibi denique	
$\sigma 3$	-----	-----	-----	fortasse iure	Ita certe inde	
$\sigma 2$	-----	-----	-----	-----	merito male dicat	
$\sigma 1$	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	

- (iii) Expressions belonging to the same level have to be coordinated.

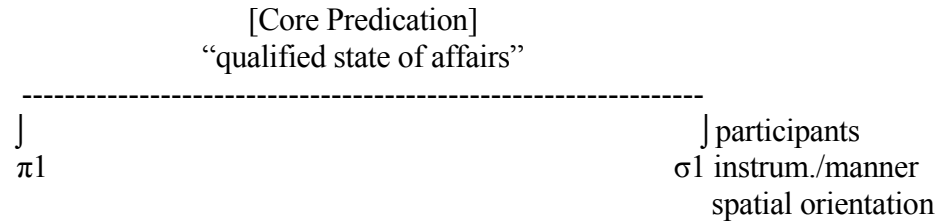
### 4. The adverbial expressions on the various levels

#### 4.0 $\sigma 0$ : degree expression



- (1) ... ut me, quem ego amarem **graviter**, sineret cum eo vivere. (Pl. *Cist.* 85)
- (2) ... facile quod cuiusque temporis officium sit poterimus, nisi nosmet ipsos **valde** amabimus, iudicare. (Cic. *Off.* 1.30)
- (3) **graviter** noxia mala futura (Aug. *Civ.* 2.24)
- (4) res Hispanienses **valde** bonae, modo Balbillum incolumem videam, subsidium nostrae senectutis. (Cic. *Att.* 15.13.4)

#### 4.1 $\sigma$ 1: State of Affairs satellites



##### 4.1.1 *beneficiary*

- (5) Vici te, pater, sed nempe vici **tibi**. (Sen. *Con.* 10.2.14)  
 (6) **Tibi** aras, **tibi** occas[us], **tibi** seris: **tibi** item metes, / **tibi** denique iste pariet laetitiam labos. (Pl. *Merc.* 71-2)

##### 4.1.2 *manner*

###### 4.1.2.1 controller oriented manner

- (7) **Leniter** hominem **clementer**que accepit. (Cic. *Ver.* 4.86)  
 (8) ... praesertim cum mihi deliberatum et constitutum sit *ita* gerere consulatum, quo uno modo geri **graviter** et **libere** potest, ut neque provinciam neque ...appetiturus sim. (Cic. *Agr.* 1.25)

###### 4.1.2.2 goal-oriented manner

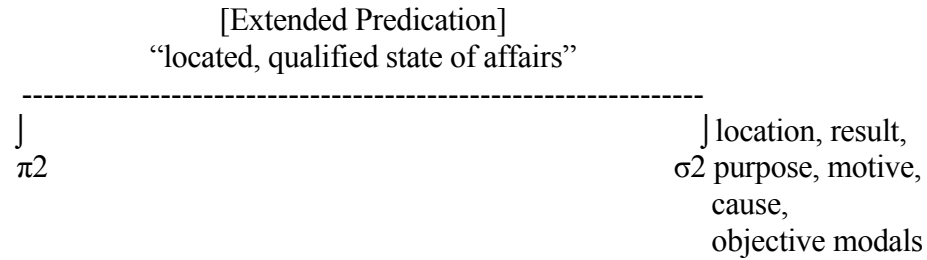
- (9) Sed unde / vos ire cum uvida veste dicam, obsecro, / tam **maestiter** vestitas? (Pl. *Rud.* 263-5)  
 (10) ... **graviter** se vulnerat occursuque satellitum inhibitus perfertur in regiam. (Curt. 6.7.29)  
 (11) **Recte** et *vera* loquere: sed neque uere neque <tu> recte adhuc / fecisti umquam. (Pl. *Capt.* 960-1)

###### 4.1.2.3 State of Affairs oriented manner

- (12) ... collem **clementer** et **molliter** adsurgentem ... maxime probaverunt. (Col. 2.2.82)  
 (13) ... si (modiolus) **leviter** imprimitur, parum proficit; si **graviter**, non movetur. (Cels. 8.3)  
 (14) Quinque consulatus eodem tenore gesti vitaeque omnis **consulariter** acta verendum paene ipsum magis quam honorem faciebant. (Liv. 4.10.9)

....

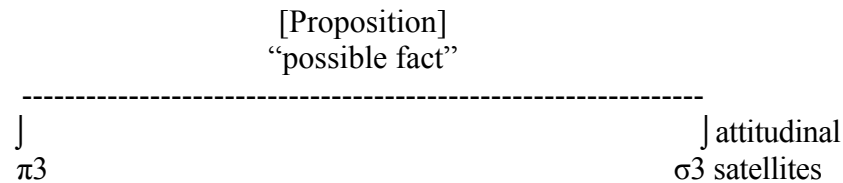
## 4.2 $\sigma_2$ : “predication satellites”



### 4.2.1 *objective modal expressions*

- (15) Res *tamen* ab Afranianis huc erat **necessario** deducta ut ... (Caes. *Civ.* 1.70.2)  
 (16) Illud quidem *certe* nostrum consilium **iure** laudandum est ... (Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.13)  
 (17) ... a tantis laudibus, quibus te omnes in caelum **iure** et **vere** ferunt? (Cic. *Fam.* 10.26.2)  
 ...

## 4.3 $\sigma_3$ : “attitudinal satellites” / “subjective modal” and “evaluative” expressions



typical examples:      certainly, allegedly, hopefully  
    unfortunately  
    wisely

### 4.3.1 *subjective modal expressions.*

- (18) Erit **fortasse**, immo **non dubie** huius propositi mei et minor laus et obscurior fama ... (Plin. *Ep.* 5.13.10)  
 (19) At Sulla, at Marius, at Cinna *recte*. Immo iure **fortasse**. (Cic. *Att.* 9.10.3)  
 (20) Illud quidem **certe** nostrum consilium *iure* laudandum est ... (Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.13)  
 (21) **Certe igitur** ignoratio futurorum malorum utilior est quam scientia. (Cic. *Div.* 2.23)  
 (22) **nimirum** illi *non* ingenio solum his patronis, sed fortuna etiam praestiterunt. (Cic. *Ver.* 2.191)  
 (23) Nam lege Caesaris iustissima atque optima populi liberi **plane** et *vere* erant liberi ... (Cic. *Pis.* 37)  
       - Visan est ea esse? # Immo edepol **plane** east. (Pl. *Mil.* 462) ‘duidelijk’, ‘clearly’, ‘obviously’.

- Difficultatem annonae summam que inopiam rei frumentariae, ut homines non iam diuturnam caritatem, sed ut famem **plane** timerent, nemo negat. (Cic. *Dom.* 12)

- (24) **Profecto** nostro commeatu privati *necessario* ad dimicandum descendent. (*B. Hisp.* 26.6)
- (25) Ac nunc quidem otium est, sed si paulo plus furor Pulchelli progredi posset, **valde** ego te istinc excitarem. (Cic. *Att.* 2.1.4)
- (26) Quid enim diceres? Damnatum? **Certe** non. (Cic. *Dom.* 51)
- (27) **Probabile est** igitur praestantem intellegentiam in sideribus esse ... (Cic. *N.D.* 2.43)

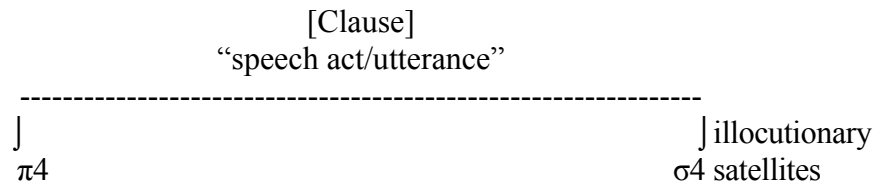
#### 4.3.2 *event evaluation*

- (28) **Opportune** te mihi, / Phidippe, in ipso tempore ostendis. (Ter. *Hec.* 626-7)
- (29) In hoc casu, quo **infeliciter** incidit ut talem civem amitteremus, haerent. (Liv. 38.49.9)
- (30) In paucis diebus quam Capreas attigit piscatori, qui sibi secretum agenti grandem mullum **inopinanter** obtulerat, perfricari eodem pisce faciem iussit ... (Suet. *Tib.* 60.1)

#### 4.3.3 *participant evaluation*

- (31) Principio **male** reprehendunt praemeditationem rerum futurarum. (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.34)
- (32) Num **stulte** anteposuit exilii libertatem domesticae servituti? (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.109)
- (33) **recte** ego has semper fugi nuptias. (Ter. *An.* 766)
- Binas centesimas ab sese ablatas ferendum non putant, et **recte** non putant. (Cic. *Ver.* 3.168)
  - Vir autem acerrimo ingenio - sic enim fuit - multa et in se et in aliis desiderans neminem plane qui **recte** appellari eloquens posset videbat. (Cic. *Or.* 18)
- (34) Hunc sensum non **imprudenter** Silo Pompeius improbabat (Sen. *Con.* 2.3.21)
- Novisti n' hominem? # **Ridicule** rogitas, quocum una cibum / capere soleo. (Pl. *Trin.* 905-6)

### 3.4 $\sigma_4$ : “illocutionary” / “interactional” satellites, “style disjuncts”, “hedges”



Typical examples:      briefly  
                                 frankly, between us  
                                 personally, in my view

4.4.1 *qualifying the form (style) of the utterance.*

- (35) Narbonensis provincia ... amplitudine opum nulli provinciarum postferenda **breviterque** Italia verius quam provincia. (Plin. *Nat.* 3.31.1)
- (36) Tu igitur si Servilia venerit, si Brutus quid egerit, etiam si constituerit quando obviam, quicquid **denique** erit quod scire me oporteat, scribes. (Cic. *Att.* 13.11.2)
- (37) **Denique ut breviter includam quod sentio**, et istos satagios ac sibi molestos describam tibi, tam intemperantes in ipsis miseriis quam sunt ante illas. (Sen. *Ep.* 98.8)

4.4.2 *qualifying how the speaker wants the utterance to be understood*

- (38) Brevitas tuarum litterarum me quoque brevior in scribendo facit et, **vere ut dicam**, non satis occurrit quid scribam. (Cic. *Fam.* 12.9.1)
- (39) Fecisti mihi pergratum quod Serapionis librum ad me misisti; ex quo quidem ego, **quod inter nos liceat dicere**, millesimam partem vix intellego. (Cic. *Att.* 2.4.1)  
- sed mehercules, **extra iocum**, homo bellus est (Cic. *Fam.* 7.16.2)

4.4.3 *restricting the scope of the utterance*

- (40) Quapropter ego, **quod ad me attinet**, iudices, vici. (Cic. *Ver.* 1.21)
- (41) Ex his Cotta et Sulpicius cum **meo iudicio** tum omnium facile primas tulerunt. (Cic. *Br.* 183)
- (42) Abundantia quadam ingenii praestabat, **ut mihi quidem videtur**, Aristoteles ... (Cic. *Ac.* 1.18)@
- (43) Me quidem praesente numquam factumst, **quod sciam**. (Pl. *Am.* 749)
- (44) Haec actio ei creditur competere cuius **pecuniariter** interest. (Gaius *Dig.* 10.4.13)
- (45) 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)

4.5 **σ5: intersentential satellites**

[Paragraph]  
“move”

-----  
} π5

} connectors  
σ5 relating adverbs

4.5.1 *connectors*

- (46) Iure **igitur** alter populi iudicio damnatus est, alter mortem sibi ipse conscivit. (Cic. *Div.* 2.71)

4.5.2 *relating adverbs*

- (47) Ita enim vero: *sed tamen* tu, *nempe* eos asinos praedicas ... (Pl. *As.* 339)
- (48) **Nempe igitur** ea restant, quae, cum et factum constat et nomen, qualia sint vocatur in dubium? Pater: Est ita, ut dicis. (Cic. *Part.* 42)
- (49) Quod ergo ideo in iudicium addi voluisti ut de eo tibi apud reciperatores dicere[t] liceret, eo non addito **nihilo minus tamen** ita dicis, quasi id ipsum a quo depulsus es impetraris? (Cic. *Tul.* 39)
- (50) **Interea** e portu nostra navis solvitur. (Pl. *Bac.* 288)

#### 4.6 σ6: paragraph connectors

initiators/  
switchers

[Text]  
“discourse chain”



- (51) **Quod ad me scribis de sorore tua**, testis erit tibi ipsa quantae mihi curae fuerit ut Quinti fratris animus in eam esset is qui esse deberet. (Cic. *Att.* 1.5.2)
- (52) **At** pius Aeneas, per noctem plurima volvens, / ut primum lux alma datast, exire locos que / explorare novos, quas vento accesserit oras, / qui teneant (nam inculta videt), homines ne ferae ne, / quaerere constituit sociis que exacta referre. (Verg. *A.* 1.305-9)

#### 5. “Subjuncts”

- (53) “Absque te” inquit “uno **forsitan** lingua *profecto* Graeca longe anteisset. (Gell. 2.26.20)
- (54) Et peractis omnibus, quae constant ingenio arte naturam faciente, succurrit mirari nihil **paene** non igni perfici. (Plin. *Nat.* 36.200)
- (55) Hoc si operarum penuria facere prohibebit, in malleolo, quem et ipsum pampinare censemus, at *certe* in ordinariis vitibus **utique** optinendum est ... (Col. 4.6)
- (56) Non est vera sicut haec: “insidiator iure occiditur. Nam cum vitae vim adferat ut hostis, debet etiam repelli ut hostis. Recte igitur Clodius ut hostis occisus est”. *Non utique*. Nondum enim Clodium insidiatorem ostendimus. (Quint. *Inst.* 5.14.22)
- (57) Quum igitur talis res incidit, medicus aliquid oportet inveniat, quod *non utique fortasse, sed saepius tamen etiam* respondeat. (Cels. 1.pr. 51)
- Eripe mihi hunc dolorem aut minue **saltem** (Cic. *Att.* 9.6.5) ‘althans’, ‘at least’
  - tubera ... nullis ... fibris nixa aut **saltem** capillamentis (Plin. *Nat.* 19.33) ‘zelfs’, ‘even’
  - Egone istuc non ausim facere, **praesertim** tibi? (Pl. *Poen.* 149) ‘vooral’, ‘especially’
  - Sera gratulatio reprehendi non solet, **praesertim** si nulla negligentia praetermissa est. (Cic. *Fam.* 2.7.1)

#### 6. Quo usque tandem?

“We decided not to consider Latin since our kind of questionnaire presupposes not only knowing the word formation rules for Latin (sentence) adverbs, but also requires the pragmatic competence and the Sprachgefühl of a (cultivated) native speaker. How are we to decide whether in (20) the adverb refers to the speaker (‘I ask you confidentially’) or to the hearer (‘Please answer me confidentially’). Could both usages be expressed by the

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same adverb? Including Latin data on a necessarily intuitive basis would risk altering the statistical figures.” (Ramat & Rica 1998: 199)

“en réalité, la plupart des adverbes apparaissent dans plus d’une fonction adverbiale.”  
(Nøjgaard (1992: I.8)

Oxford 28-05-2004