Attitudinal and Illocutionary Satellites in Latin

Harm Pinkster
University of Amsterdam

In their very interesting article 'Sentence adverbs in the languages of Europe' Ramat and Ricca left Latin out of account for the following, understandable, reason:

> 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) [*Confidentially, will you accept the proposal*?] 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 same adverb? Including Latin data on a necessarily intuitive basis would risk altering the statistical figures. (Ramat & Rica 1998: 199).

'Sentence adverbs' are well recognized in our Latin grammars, but relevant distinctions in Functional Grammar such as the level of clause structure at which they operate (cf. Dik 1997a,b) and the semantic subclasses that may operate at each of these levels are not at all or at least not systematically made. However, the question whether the same adverb can be used in Latin for the two usages given by Ramat and Rica can be answered. No. Latin does not normally use adverbs to express such content at all. The way to do this would probably be to use a main clause or an illocutionary satellite clause with a first person finite verb form for the first interpretation and a directive sentence with a second person finite verb form for the second, as illustrated by (1-3).

(1) **Vere tecum agam**, ut necessitudo nostra postulat. ('I will deal frankly with you, as our close friendship demands', Cic. *Fam.* 12.22a.2)

(2) Et, **vere ut dicam,** non satis occurrit quid scribam. ('And, to tell you the truth, I have no clear conception as to what I am to write', Cic. *Fam.* 12.9.1)

(3) **Dic mihi vero serio**. Vi'n dare malum illi? ('But tell me in earnest. Do you want to give him something he'll hate?', Pl. *Poen.* 160-1)

Productive use of adverbs on the higher (attitudinal and illocutionary) levels of the clause, comparable with the use of *–ly* adverbs in English or *–ment* adverbs in French, is rare, certainly in the Classical Period. It is my intention in this article to explore the use of some of the adverbs and adverbial phrases (I will henceforward call them adverbs only) that we do find and see what empirical evidence we have to assess their

functioning. I will also pay some attention to expressions with an intersentential function.[1]

I will start with subjective modal adverbs of the type *certainly*, in using which 'the speaker […] takes personal responsibility for the content of the proposition and signals how certain he is about its truth' (Dik 1997a: 242). Latin words and phrases of this type are *forsitan* and *fortasse* ('perhaps'), *certe* and *profecto* ('certainly') and various expressions based on the stem *dub* in combination with some negation element meaning 'beyond doubt', such as *haud/nec/non dubie*, *procul/sine dubio*, and in later periods, especially in Tertullianus and in legal texts from the third century A.D. onwards *indubitate* ('undoubtedly'). What is characteristic of this class of adverbs is that

- they may be used as one word sentences in answer to an open question (as in (4));
- they do not occur in imperative sentences[2], and are very rare in interrogative ones (*certe* is found a few times in questions with the question particle *–ne* [see ex. 4]; a very odd instance is (5));
- they are found in affirmative and negative statements, and with the exception of *forsitan* and *fortasse* the truth value of the statement is the same if the adverb is omitted (check (6));
- they cannot be under the scope of negation themselves (see below);
- they are found in combination with other evaluative adverbs and adverbial phrases of the subjective type such as *recte* ('rightly') and *falso* ('wrongly'), which in FG are probably also situated on the third level of satellites. Just as with negators, such expressions fall under the scope of the truth value adverbs (check (7 and 8));
- Unlike all other evaluative adverbs and many adverbs occurring on the first and second level, truth value adverbs are not found in the second member of a coordination pair of the type *et feci X* ('and I did it in X manner') or *atque id X*

---

[2] A notorious exception is *profecto* in Verg. *A*. 8. 532 Tum memorat 'Ne vero, hospes, ne quaere **profecto**, / quem casum portenta ferant. Ego poscor Olympo.' ('Then he cries: "Ask not, my friend, ask not, I pray, what fortune the portents bode; 'tis I who am summoned of Heaven"') The ancient commentator Servius already oberved: NE VERO HOSPES NE QVAERE PROFECTO ambae particulae ad ornatum pertinent tantum ('both particles serve only an ornamental function'). One modern editor (Ladewig) recognizes the problem and tries to solve it (unconvincingly) by taking it as the dative masculine form of the participle *profectus*, with *Pallanti* understood. Others say that *profecto* 'repeats' *vero*, which is found in a prohibition in Verg. *A*. 11.278 (imitated twice by Silius Italicus), but how could that be? Gransden in his commentary also says that *profecto* 'strengthens' 'the sense of *vero*', an equally puzzling observation. In the directive sentence Pl. *Am*. 370 Nunc **profecto** vapula! ('Now surely get beaten!') *profecto* is a quote of the preceding sentence (and repeated in the next).

('and this in the X way'). Compare for the contrast (9) and (10) and note that in (10) *et iure* is under the scope of *fortasse*.

(4) Visum'st. # **Certe'n**? # **Certe**. ('Sure I am.' # Absolutely? # Absolutely', Ter. *Hec*. 843-4)

(5) Dixit autem ius non diligentia modo summa sed et lenitate, siquidem manifesti parricidii reum, ne culleo insueretur, quod non nisi confessi adficiuntur hac poena, ita fertur interrogasse: **Certe** patrem tuum *non* occidisti? ('In his administration of justice he was both highly conscientious and very lenient; for to save a man clearly guilty of parricide from being sewn up in the sack, a punishment which was inflicted only on those who pleaded guilty, he is said to have put the question to him in this form: You surely did not kill your father, did you?', Suet. *Aug*. 33.1)

(6) Quid enim diceres? Damnatum? **Certe** *non*. ('For what could you say? That I had been condemned? Assuredly not that', Cic. *Dom*. 51)

(7) At Sulla, at Marius, at Cinna *recte*. Immo *iure* **fortasse.** ('It may be that Sulla or Marius or Cinna acted right. Legally perhaps', Cic. *Att*. 9.10.3)

(8) Sed tum exspectabantur Kalendae Ianuariae, **fortasse** non *recte*. ('But then the Kalends of January were being waited for, perhaps not wisely', Cic. *Phil*. 5.31)

(9) Ego autem illos ipsos laudo **idque merito** quorum se isti imitatores esse dicunt … ('I, on the other hand, praise precisely those whom they profess to imitate, and I am quite right in doing so', Cic. *Or*. 171)

(10) Illam enim oderas, **et iure** fortasse ('For her you hated and maybe for good reason', Cic. *Tusc*. 3.26)

I said above that these adverbs do not fall under the scope of negation themselves. The negator *non* normally immediately precedes the word or phrase it has in its scope. There are very few examples of one of these adverbs preceded by *non*, whereas there are plenty the other way around. Here are the examples of *fortasse* and *profecto*, found with the help of the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina* cd-rom.

(11) Tribunus plebis fuit *non* **fortasse** tam vehemens quam isti quos tu iure laudas, sed certe talis, quales … ('He was perhaps not as energetic a tribune as those whom you rightly praise, but we may without hesitation affirm that he was such as …', Cic. *Planc*. 28)

(12) Et ille, si vicisset, non idem fecisset ? *non* **profecto** tam sapiens fuisset. ('But had he prevailed, he would not, would he, have done the same? No, no doubt he would have been less wise', *Rhet. Her.*, 4.23), also Quint. *Decl*. 323.16.

It is evident that in these cases *non* is part of the adjectival phrases *tam vehemens* and *tam sapiens* and that *profecto* is not under its scope.[3]

Given the characteristics of these adverbs mentioned above it is clear that they do not function on the level of the state of affairs, together with location, circumstance, result, reason, and cause satellites. Another reason for not grouping them together with these is that the other level two satellites can be given as answers to Q-word questions and not to Yes/no questions. With the truth value adverbs it is just the other way around. A final proof of the difference is that truth value adverbs can freely co-occur with second level satellites. The members of this class of truth value adverbs are found in parallel expressions such as (13), which shows their similarity.

> (13) Erit *fortasse*, immo **non dubie** huius propositi mei et minor laus et
>   obscurior fama … ('Perhaps I shall lose some of the credit and
>   reputation I won from my resolve — in fact I am sure to do so …',
>   Plin. *Ep*. 5.13.9)

Other adverbs belonging to this class of adverbs are probably *nimirum* ('of course'), *plane* ('obviously'), and *videlicet* ('evidently'). The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae also has a section 'pertains to the whole sentence' for *probabiliter*, but I believe that the examples given are all Manner satellites, meaning 'in a convincing way' or 'with convincing results'. The normal way to express 'probably' was as in (14), with a complement clause as the Subject of the expression *probabile est* ('it is probable'). The only items in this class of truth value adverbs formed with a regular adverb ending –*e* are *certe* and, in later times, *indubitate*.

> (14) **Probabile est** igitur praestantem intellegentiam in sideribus esse …
>   ('It is therefore likely that the stars possess surpassing intelligence',
>   Cic. *N.D*. 2.43)

Another popular device to modify the truth value of a sentence is the use of parenthetical first person singular verb forms like *credo* ('I believe'), *opinor* ('I suppose'), *spero* ('I hope') or subordinate clauses with the subordinator *ut* ('as') and these verb forms.

Some of the adverbs involved are also found in other positions in their clauses, for example modifying a constituent of the clause. In that case they have different distributional properties, as is demonstrated most clearly by *plane* in its meaning of 'utterly'.

---

[3] Something similar holds for the use of *nec* in: Ubi, cum satis erit ambulatum, requiescemus, **nec** profecto nobis delectatio deerit aliud ex alio quaerentibus. ('There when we have enough of walking, we may rest. Surely we shall not lack entertainment as we take up one quaestion after the other.', Cic. *Leg*. 1.14). For an exceptional instance of *non recte* in Cic. *Div*. 2.94 see Pinkster (forthcoming). *Profecto* regularly follows negative words like *nihil* ('nothing') and *numquam* ('never'). For *plane* compare Age, abire si quo est animus, licentia est? /# Non **plane** est, inquit. ('Well now, if you have the desire to go somewhere, do you have permission to do so? Absolutely not, he says.', Phaedr. 3.7.26).

> (15) Non equidem **plane** despero ista esse vera … ('I am not a hopeless sceptic on the subject of such warnings really being sent by the gods', Cic. *Div*. 2.48)

In this example *plane* indicates the degree of despair. The clause is negated by *non*, which itself is modified by the intensifier *equidem* 'definitely'.

I will now turn to attitudinal satellites that convey a personal judgment on the content of the clause. Here three types may be distinguished, exemplified in (16-18).

> (16) **Opportune** te mihi, / Phidippe, in ipso tempore ostendis. ('You come at the right moment, Phidippus', Ter. *Hec*. 626-7)
> (17) Num **stulte** anteposuit exilii libertatem domesticae servituti? ('Surely it was not foolish of him to prefer the freedom of exile to slavery at home?', Cic. *Tusc*. 5.109)
> (18) Binas centesimas ab sese ablatas ferendum non putant, et **recte** non putant. ('They feel it intolerable that they should have the 24% taken from them. And they are justified in feeling this', Cic. *Ver*. 3.168)

Opportune, in (16), is a value judgment on the event the sentence refers to as a whole. Other adverbs that are found in this way are *bene* ('well'), *commode* ('appropriately'), *feliciter* ('happily'), *inopinanter* ('unexpectedly'), *male* ('badly') *optime* ('excellently'). In (17) *stulte* is also a value judgment on the Subject of the sentence. Other adverbs used in this way are *imprudenter* ('unwisely') and *sapienter* ('wisely'). In (18), with *recte*, the event is judged from an ethical or legal perspective. Expressions of the latter type abound in our texts, in contrast to the two subtypes mentioned above. Other adverbs in this class are *falso* ('wrongly'), *iniuriā* ('unlawfully'), *iure* ('rightfully'), *merito* ('deservedly'), and *vero* ('honestly'). From the formal point of view the last five are ablative forms. One might ask oneself whether these satellites really function at level three as propositional satellites. Maybe in the Latin system they rather, or also, belong to level two, if one takes an instance as (19) into account. Here *certe* is found coordinated with ablative and prepositional constituents, which are most likely to be regarded as level two satellites.

> (19) … aut *recte* factum aut *alterius culpa aut iniuria* aut *ex lege* aut non *contra legem* aut *imprudentia* aut **necessario** … ('that the action was right, or due to someone else's fault or trangression, or legal, or not illegal, or inadvertent, or inevitable …', Cic. *de Orat*. 3.70)

All three types are found in affirmative and negative sentences. They are not found in directive sentences. They probably could be negated themselves, although I have no straightforward instances. All regularly formed adverbs can also be used as level 1 satellites indicating the Manner in which the event takes place. It is sometimes difficult to decide on which level they function. In English, examples (16-18) could be paraphrased by something like 'it is/was X that'. For Latin there is simply not enough

evidence available. But instances like (20), with the 'pro-verb' *accidit* 'it happens' and (21), with *evenit* 'it comes about', are a nice support for the analysis of (16).

> (20) Hoc loco **percommode** accidit, quod non adest is qui … ('Now it happens most conveniently at this point that there is absent from the court one who …', Cic. *Caec*.77)
>
> (21) Nimis **opportune** mi evenit redisse Alcesimarchum. (My! it's a lucky thing for me that Alcesimarchus has come back', Pl. *Cist*. 309-10)

Intuitively, adverbs of this type may have the other two types in their scope. It would be fun to find something like (17*), with the truth value adverb *fortasse* having *opportune*, and *opportune* having *stulte* in its scope.

> (17*) <u>Fortasse</u> *opportune* **stulte** anteposuit exilii libertatem domesticae servituti (' Perhaps it happened conveniently that he was stupid enough to prefer …')

I did not find anything of the kind (yet). More generally it is not clear how one should deal in the Functional Grammar model with the scope difference between the truth value adverbs and the other evaluative adverbs. Another layer would be too much.

Turning now to the illocutionary level, it is evident that adverbs are very rarely used in Latin in this function. I distinguish three subtypes of illocutionary satellites, illustrated with the examples (22-24).

> (22) Narbonensis provincia … amplitudine opum nulli provinciarum postferenda **breviter**que Italia verius quam provincia. ('The province of Narbonne by the vastness of its wealth equals any other province: it is, in a word, not so much a province as a part of Italy', Plin. *Nat*. 3.31)
>
> (23 = 2) Et, **vere ut dicam,** non satis occurrit quid scribam. (Cic. *Fam*. 12.9.1)
>
> (24) Me quidem praesente numquam factumst, **quod sciam**. ('You never did so far as I know, leastways with me at hand', Pl. *Am*. 749)

In (22) *breviter* ('briefly') is a comment on the linguistic form of the utterance. The only other adverb I know of with this function is *denique* ('in short'). (23) is the Latin equivalent of English *frankly* and French *franchement*. It indicates how Cicero wants the reader to interpret his words. The form chosen (a Purpose clause) is one of the most common devices in Latin. (24) restricts the validity of the utterance. Other expressions with this function are *ut mihi quidem videtur* ('as it seems to me at least') and *meo iudicio* ('in my opinion'), unless one would consider this expression an attitudinal truth value satellite (as Dik 1997: I. 297 does). The only instance of an adverb restricting the validity of the utterance I found so far is *pecuniariter* in (25). Legal texts may be a good source for this type of expression.

(25) Haec actio ei creditur competere cuius **pecuniariter** interest. ('It is believed that this type of actio falls to one in whose interest it is from a financial perspective', Gaius *Dig*. 10.4.13)

With FG incorporating the sentence within a wider discourse model it might be useful to distinguish another type of satellite, namely those with an intersentential function. Nøjgaard (1992-5) makes a distinction between *énonciatifs*, which cover attitudinal and illocutionary satellites, on the one hand and *relationnels argumentatifs* (*alors*, *pourtant, ensuite*, etc.) and *connecteurs* (*mais*, *car*, *donc*, etc.) on the other. Latin representatives of *relationnels argumentatifs* are *nihilominus* ('nevertheless'), *nempe* ('of course'), *tamen* ('all the same'). They are mostly reckoned among the adverbs. These words have a connective function, in that they presuppose a preceding context or a specific situation. However, they clearly differ from the 'pure' connectors *at* ('however'), *autem* ('however'), *ergo* ('accordingly'), *igitur* ('consequently'), and *nam* ('for') in at least two of three respects: [4]

-   they may be preceded by one of the coordinators *et* ('and'), *sed* ('but'), and *aut* ('or') (in the case of *nempe* there are only a few instances of *sed nempe* in Seneca Rhetor and Seneca Philosophus, and much later in Augustinus);
-   they co-occur with connectors in the same clause;
-   they are more mobile in their clause than connectors (this does not hold as strongly for *nempe*).

This can be illustrated with the following examples of *tamen*, for which see Spevak (fc.).

(26) Maximis *igitur* in malis hoc **tamen** boni assecuti videmur … ('Therefore, amid all the calamities I yet seem to have won this good …', Cic. *Off*. 2.5)
(27) Ita enim vero. *Sed* **tamen** tu, nempe eos asinos praedicas … ('Aye, that I do! But let me see, of course you mean those asses …', Pl. *As*. 339)

Returning to the beginning of this article, it is true that it is risky to rely on our intuition, but sometimes there is enough empirical evidence, in the form of objective distributional properties and careful semantic analysis, to back up our intuitions. In this respect there is no essential difference between languages with and without native speakers. The main difficulty is to find a reliable number of instances in sufficiently homogeneous (sub)corpora.

---

[4] I leave *enim* out of account, for which see Kroon (1995).

REFERENCES

Auwera, J. van der (ed.) (1998). *Adverbial constructions in the languages of Europe*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Dik, S.C. (1997a). *The theory of Functional Grammar*. Part I: *The structure of the clause*. Edited by K. Hengeveld. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Dik, S.C. (1997b). *The theory of Functional Grammar*. Part II: *Complex and derived constructions*. Edited by K. Hengeveld. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Kroon, C.H.M. (1995). *Discourse particles in Latin*. Amsterdam: Gieben.
Nøjgaard, M. (1992-5). *Les adverbes français. Essai de description fonctionnelle*, 3 vols. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
Pinkster, H. (forthc.). '*Non certe* in Cic. *Div*. 2.94', *Mnem*. 58.
Ramat, P. & D. Ricca (1998). Sentence adverbs in the languages of Europe. In Van der Auwera (ed.), 187-275.
Spevak, O. (forthc.) *Tamen.* Essai de description syntaxique.