

Detailed contents

Acknowledgments	v
List of abbreviations	xvii

Philip Baldi and Pierluigi Cuzzolin

Prolegomena	1
1. Background and methodology	1
2. Historical syntax and Latin	3
3. The functional-typological approach	6
4. The diachronic dimension	9
5. Audience	13
6. Volume 2	13

Silvia Luraghi

Adverbial Phrases	19
1. Formal and syntactic aspects	19
2. Semantic roles of adverbials	20
3. Space	21
3.1. Location	23
3.2. Direction	28
3.3. Source/Origin	32
3.4. Path	37
3.5. Typological considerations	39
3.6. Diachronic considerations	41
4. Time	43
5. Causal roles	44
5.1. Agent	44
5.1.1. Prototypical Agent	44
5.1.2. Force	47
5.2. Instrument	51
5.2.1. Prototypical Instrument	51
5.2.2. Means	54
5.2.3. Intermediary	57

5.3. Cause	60
5.4. Typological considerations	66
5.5. Diachronic considerations	68
6. Purpose	70
6.1. Typological considerations	72
6.2. Diachronic considerations	73
7. Beneficiary	73
7.1. Prototypical Beneficiary	74
7.2. “Behalf” Beneficiary	75
7.3. “Malefactive”	76
7.4. Typological considerations	76
7.5. Diachronic considerations	77
8. Experiencer	78
9. Comitative	79
9.1. Prototypical Comitative	79
9.2. Accompaniment	79
9.3. Attendant Circumstances	80
9.4. Typological considerations	81
9.5. Diachronic considerations	82
10. Area	84
10.1. Topic	84
10.2. Limits of a Quality	85
11. Manner	85
12. Cases and prepositions	87
12.1. The distribution of plain cases and PPs in Latin Adverbials	87
12.2. Internal structure of PPs	89
12.2.1. The Indo-European preverbs: Categorical status	89
12.2.2. A scalar definition of government	91
13. Summary: From Proto-Indo-European to Early Romance	94
13.1. Adverbials in Proto-Indo-European	94
13.2. Formal aspects of the evolution into Early Romance	95
13.3. Semantic aspects	96

Davide Ricca

Adverbs	109
1. Heterogeneity of adverbs: A basically tripartite category	109
2. Latin adverbs as a major word class	112
2.1. General and typological considerations	112
2.2. The derivational suffixes	114
2.2.1. Deadjectival manner adverbs: <i>-ē</i> and <i>-iter</i> . . .	114
2.2.2. Adverbs in <i>-im</i> , <i>-tim</i> , <i>-ātim</i>	115
2.2.3. Adverbs in <i>-itus</i>	116
2.2.4. Denumeral adverbs in <i>-iē(n)s</i>	116
2.2.5. Deadjectival adverbs in <i>-ō</i>	117
2.2.6. Frozen case forms and conversions	118
2.3. Adverbs and other categories at the inflection–derivation border	119
2.3.1. Adverbs and gradation	119
2.3.2. Adverbs and diminutives	121
2.3.3. Adverbs and evaluative prefixes	123
3. Predicate adverbs	123
3.1. Predicate adverbs with non-argumental function	124
3.1.1. Manner adverbs	124
3.1.2. Quantity/intensification and duration adverbs .	128
3.1.3. Aspectual adverbs	129
3.2. Predicate adverbs with argumental function	130
3.2.1. Direction (and location) adverbs	130
3.2.2. Manner (and other) adverbs as arguments . . .	132
4. Sentence adverbs	134
4.1. General overview	134
4.2. Adverbs related to state of affairs	137
4.2.1. Adverbs of setting: Time and place	137
4.2.2. Frequency adverbs	140
4.3. Evaluative adverbs	141
4.3.1. Participant-oriented evaluatives (the type <i>stulte</i> ‘acting stupidly’)	143
4.3.2. Event-oriented evaluatives (the type <i>opportune</i> ‘fortunately’)	145
4.4. Modal adverbs: The type <i>certe</i> ‘certainly’	149

4.5.	Domain adverbs	153
4.6.	Speech act adverbs: The type <i>breuiter</i> ‘in short’	154
4.7.	Time adverbs as textual connectors	156
4.8.	From predicate to sentence adverbs: A historical perspective	159
5.	Adverbs as modifiers of modifiers	160
5.1.	Adjective modifiers	161
5.2.	Extensions to other modifiers’ modifier uses	166
6.	Adverbs as predications and as whole utterances	169
7.	The adverb phrase	172
7.1.	Adverbs and coordination	172
7.1.1.	Coordination within adverbs	173
7.1.2.	Coordination between adverbs and other constituents	175
7.2.	Adverbs, argument structure, and the adverb–preposition continuum	177
8.	From Latin to Romance: The grammaticalization of <i>-mente</i>	181

Elisabetta Magni

Mood and Modality	193
1. Introduction	193
1.1. Basic distinctions	193
1.2. Modality and functional theories	195
1.3. Modality, typology, and diachrony	195
2. Clausal operators and modality types	196
2.1. Modal operators	196
2.2. Event modality	198
2.3. Propositional modality	198
2.4. Speech acts and modality	200
3. Mood and modal system	201
3.1. Mood and modal system	201
3.2. Mood and mode	201
3.3. The moods	202
3.3.1. Indicative	203
3.3.2. Imperative	203
3.3.3. Subjunctive, optative, and injunctive	204

3.4.	Mood and modality	206
3.5.	Modal system and modality	207
3.6.	Modal forms	208
3.6.1.	<i>Possum</i> and <i>licet</i>	209
3.6.2.	<i>Debeo, oportet</i> , and <i>necesse est</i>	209
3.7.	Semimodal forms	210
3.7.1.	Modal adverbs and modal adjectives	210
3.7.2.	Modal particles	211
3.8.	Modal markers and semimodal markers	211
4.	Modal verbs and event modality	212
4.1.	Possibility and necessity	212
4.2.	Participant-internal and participant-external modality	213
4.2.1.	Possibility: Ability and permission	214
4.2.2.	Necessity: need and obligation	215
5.	Modal verbs and propositional modality	215
5.1.	Epistemic meanings	215
5.2.	Modal meanings and state of affairs–types	216
5.3.	Meanings and change of meaning along the possibility path	217
5.3.1.	State of affairs–types and Subject-types	218
5.4.	Meanings and change of meaning along the necessity path	220
5.4.1.	State of affairs–types, tense, and aspect	221
5.5.	The domain of intention	222
5.5.1.	Prediction and predestination	223
5.5.2.	Necessity and intention	224
6.	From event modality to propositional modality	226
6.1.	A semantic map for Latin modal forms	226
6.1.1.	Modal paths	228
6.2.	Generalization, Repetition, and Grammaticalization	229
7.	Mood and event modality	230
7.1.	The realis/irrealis dimension	230
7.2.	Irrealis and the subjunctive	231
7.3.	Possibility, necessity, and intention	232
7.4.	The subjunctive of weak manipulation	233
7.4.1.	Volitive (exhortative, jussive, prohibitive) subjunctive	234

7.4.2.	Desiderative (optative) and potential (permissive) subjunctive	237
8.	Mood and propositional modality	240
8.1.	Subjunctive and futurity	240
8.2.	The subjunctive of low epistemic certainty	240
8.2.1.	Potential subjunctive	241
8.2.2.	Dubitative (deliberative, repudiating, exclamative) subjunctive	243
9.	Subjunctive and subordination	244
9.1.	From parataxis to hypotaxis	244
9.2.	Subjunctive in complement clauses	244
9.2.1.	Event integration and clause integration	247
9.3.	Subjunctive in adverbial clauses	250
9.3.1.	Purpose clauses	251
9.3.2.	Consecutive clauses	252
9.3.3.	Conditional clauses	253
9.3.4.	Concessive clauses	256
9.3.5.	Other types (temporal and causal clauses)	257
9.4.	Evidentials	258
9.4.1.	Subjunctive in <i>oratio obliqua</i>	259
9.5.	The evolution of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses	260
10.	Interaction with other operators	261
10.1.	Tense and aspect	261
10.2.	Negation	264
11.	Conclusions	265
11.1.	Summary	265
11.2.	Diachronic mechanisms	267
11.3.	Conclusion	269

Gerd V. M. Haverling

Actionality, tense, and viewpoint	277
1. Introduction	277
1.1. A few words on the basic concepts	277
1.2. A few words on the Proto-Indo-European background	279
2. Actionality	284
2.1. Early and Classical Latin	288
2.1.1. $\pm$ dynamic	288
2.1.2. Agency, voice, and $\pm$ dynamic	292
2.1.3. States, activities, and prefixes	296
2.1.4. States and change	297
2.1.5. $\pm$ telic	302
2.1.6. $\pm$ momentaneous (or $\pm$ durative)	304
2.1.7. Focus and lexicon	310
2.2. The development in later Latin	321
2.2.1. $\pm$ dynamic	321
2.2.2. Agency, voice, and $\pm$ dynamic	324
2.2.3. States and change	327
2.2.4. $\pm$ telic and $\pm$ momentaneous	331
2.2.5. Focus and lexicon	336
3. Tense	340
3.1. The Present	345
3.1.1. The present tense	345
3.1.2. Current relevance	353
3.1.3. Resultativity	356
3.1.4. Indirect present and simultaneity	362
3.1.5. The development	370
3.2. The future	374
3.2.1. The simple future	375
3.2.2. The future perfect	377
3.2.3. Indirect future and posteriority	385
3.2.4. Modality and future	388
3.2.5. The development	394
3.3. The past	405
3.3.1. The past tenses: The perfect and the imperfect	405
3.3.2. The pluperfect	413

3.3.3.	Anterior past	419
3.3.4.	Indirect past and anteriority	424
3.3.5.	The development in later Latin	428
4.	Viewpoint	437
4.1.	Early and Classical Latin	438
4.1.1.	Progressivity and overview	438
4.1.2.	Quantification and pluri-occasionality	441
4.1.3.	Temporal adverbials and conjunctions	447
4.1.4.	Past states	455
4.1.5.	Ingressivity	462
4.1.6.	Telicity, momentaneousness, and imperfectivity	467
4.1.7.	Tense and narrative	471
4.2.	The development in later Latin	476
4.2.1.	Actionality and viewpoint	476
4.2.2.	Temporal adverbials	480
4.2.3.	Overview and backgrounding	486
4.2.4.	Progressivity	491
4.2.5.	Tense and narrative	497
5.	Summary and conclusions	499
5.1.	Early and Classical Latin	499
5.2.	Late Latin	501
	Subject index	525
	Index of classical references	535