Alternation in Some Encodings of Secondary Predicates in Latin: Overview and a Sample Proposal on an Issue under Discussion*

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This paper offers a comprehensive and critical review of the most significant studies on the possible alternation between two specific encodings that can express, in a generic sense, the Manner in which a verbal process is developed: adverbial expressions (ADV) and Secondary Predicates (SP). The main types of SP/ADV to be addressed here are those which are Subject and/or event oriented. Both general and typological works will be taken into account, as well as others more focused on the Latin language; the central criterion of the study will essentially be to distinguish and analyse approaches which are more or less favourable to seeing the two types of constituents as equivalent. A section devoted to the work of one of the Latinists who has contributed most specifically and notably to the issue under discussion (H. Pinkster) will also be included. Following a critical review of the criteria which have the greatest explanatory potential for explaining the issue, some analytical approaches will be proposed which are as objective as possible for a subsequent corpus study; these criteria include parameters pertaining to different linguistic levels: syntax, lexical-semantics, pragmatics, etc.: their application — here only tentatively discussed — will provide clear and measurable results on the problem and on those questions arising from the critical review itself.

Keywords: alternation in Latin, adverbial expression, secondary predicate, coordination, lexical-semantic similarity, functional equivalence.

1. Introduction

Discussions of the problems involved in the use of adverbial expressions (hereafter ADV)[1] as a (partial) alternative to other encodings of the Secondary Predicate (hereafter SP) in Latin and other languages — basically but not exclusively adjectives and partici-

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[1] Maienborn, Schäfer (2019) distinguish between the term "adverbial", which refers to a specific syntactic function (such as Subject, Object, etc.), and "adverb", which would be a specific word class (such as Noun, Adjective, Verb, etc.). Here I will usually use "adverbial expression" (ADV) to refer to these two concepts as interchangeable.

ples[2] — have been present in research for years. Examples of each of these expressions, together with a text in which the two codifications are coordinated, are given below:

(1) *Conueniunt **frequentes** prima luce* (Liv. 1. 50. 2): SP

    They gather at daybreak in large numbers

(2) *Romam inde **frequenter** migratum est* (Liv. 1. 11. 4): ADV

    Many persons came to live in Rome

(3) *Hoc primis diebus… et **frequentes** et **impigre** fecerunt* (Liv. 36. 23. 4)

    In the early days they did this both frequently and stoutly

In a recent publication,[3] we find the following specific statement: "la discusión principal sobre el Predicativo se centra en su carácter adverbial o adnominal" ("the main discussion about the Praedicativum focuses on its adverbial or adnominal character"). Without expanding on whether or not this is indeed the main area for discussion here, it is clear that no definitive, entirely satisfactory or unanimously accepted solution has thus far been found. The demand for further research, then, persists.

The main aim of the present article is to provide a critical overview of the principal positions on the issue (§ 2), towards identifying a set of criteria that can serve as an analytical test of the possible use of adverbial expressions as SPs (§ 3), criteria which will be applied to a specific corpus of texts as a brief illustrative sample (§ 4). This approach will be based on existing studies that offer the most viable arguments and means for exploring the issue. The study will therefore be structured around these two main questions, with the former constituting the greater part of the whole.

The terminology used here is basically that of the Amsterdam school of Functional Grammar,[4] a theoretical model which argues for a relationship between the meaning of the verb and the properties of the constituents which accompany the predicate and which are considered either to be obligatory (arguments) or not (satellites). Accordingly, it is assumed that the semantics of any nucleus — verbal, nominal, adjectival, etc. — determines the need for a number of arguments that will constitute the set of syntactic valences (cf. Pinkster 2015, 19–26). It is within this framework that the existence, content and nature of Semantic, Syntactic and Pragmatic functions are to be understood (cf. Pinkster 2015, 26–32).

2. Overview of previous studies

The wide array of studies on the issue, and the many positions proposed or adopted therein, makes any succinct overview difficult, not least because sometimes the same author might provide arguments that lead us to understand that alternation is possible, yet at other times point out the disadvantages or limitations that such a possibility entails; it

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[2] Note the controversy surrounding the possibility of equating SP with prepositional phrases, bare ablatives, etc.: cf. e. g.: Pinkster 1983; Pinkster 2021, 789–791, 799–804; Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann 2004, 95–96; Longrée 2014.

[3] Tarriño 2021a, 282.

[4] For an exposition and application of the theoretical model that argues for such a relation between the meaning of the verb and the properties of the constituents accompanying the predicate which are considered obligatory, see e. g.: Dik 1989, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2001, and Pinkster 2015, Pinkster 2021, and the bibliographies therein.

may also be the case that an author holds a number of positions which are not themselves mutually coherent.

As a practical option, and with the aim of making the following exposition as clear as possible, I will first present the arguments and positions most clearly against considering the alternation between adverbial expressions and other formal codifications[5] as SP as being possible and certain (§ 2.1); I will then deal with those positions most favourable to a more or less clear alternation (§ 2.2). In a separate section (§ 2.3) I will analyse the opinions of H. Pinkster, not only because he is one of the scholars who has expounded at greatest length on this question in Latin, but also because I believe that certain specific nuances in his contributions must be taken into consideration; logically, sporadic reference to the opinions of Pinkster will also be made in the two previous sections.

2.1. Positions and arguments less in favour of functional equivalence

Nichols (1978a, 1978b, 1983) is one of those scholars most evidently against the kind of alternation we are dealing with, in that she makes a clear distinction between SPs and adverbs of manner. Thus, in Nichols (1978a, 118) SPs are semantically dependent on their "controller" — the participant to whom they are oriented — whereas adverbs are semantically related only to the Verb (V); accordingly, SPs depend only on the controller and not on the V.

Towards refining this further, Nichols (1978a, 120) points out that SPs are also dependent on their controllers morphologically due to agreement, whereas from a syntactic point of view they are dependent on V; in turn, she acknowledges (1978a, 124) that prepositional phrases can be SPs, offering coordination as evidence. Along with the above, Nichols (1978b, 330) assumes that SPs do not form part of the valency of V, so there would not be what she calls 'lexical dependence'. However, she also warns (1978b, 331) that the situation depends on the type of language being analysed and the morphological nature of the SP in that language.

Despite the accuracy of this latter claim, certain statements are difficult to harmonise with Nichols' overall position, or need further specification. For example, that the SP is syntactically dependent on V but at the same time is not part of its valency; or the fact that the SP is morphologically related to its controller by agreement, but the possibility that prepositional phrases can be SPs is recognised. I think that these are issues on which clarification and perhaps more nuanced thinking is required.

In principle, Pinkster (1983, 199, 204, *passim*) is not in favour of considering SPs as adjuncts of a certain type, and with sound judgment he introduces (1983, 201) the idea of taking into account the semantics of SPs. He refers (1983, 202) to how those taking other positions — e. g., Fugier (1978, 129) — have argued for the functional equivalence of adverbs and SPs by virtue of the existence of coordination cases. However, Pinkster (1983, 202–203) does not share this view, since — he points out — cases of juxtaposition can also be found between adverbs and SPs (which would imply their functional difference[6]), and he believes that the orientation of each of the two codifications is different. Moreover, he notes differences in meaning between the two encodings and the existence of contexts

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[5] As noted, adjectives and participles are the most frequently adopted encodings of Latin SPs, but not the only ones (cf. Pinkster 2021, 780–807).

[6] In this respect, cf. e. g. Pinkster 1972, 121–122.

in which the use of the adjective is excluded, as can be the case in impersonal sentences (Pinkster 1983, 203) or in other contexts, in which an adjective modifies a different constituent from the adverbial adjunct, leading to the expression having another meaning (Pinkster 1983, 204). Of course, there will also be cases where the language does not have both of the morphological alternatives available to express all semantic notions, which is a clear restriction.

Perhaps one of the points on which Pinkster most convincingly bases his less favourable position on the alternation between ADV and SP is that of the frequently-invoked criterion of coordination, which I will discuss in a separate section on his various studies in the area (§ 2.3).

2.2. Positions and supporting arguments

On this side of the notional divide, supporters are generally more numerous and have provided more abundant and more detailed arguments.

2.2.1. Traditional grammar: H. Fugier; E. Vester

First, it is very significant, as Tarriño (2021a, 282) points out, that "Kühner-Stegmann (1912, I 234) include examples of predicative adjectives under the heading "adjective in place of an adverbial expression", and Hofmann-Szantyr (1965, 425) also consider it as a modifier of the verb (*primus / cito uenit*)".

Fugier (1978, 1983) and Vester (1983) are also clearly in favour of alternation. The former bases her position in particular on cases of coordination[7] — also with prepositional phrases[8] — and on the succession of parallel structures with one and the other alternative construction,[9] as well as on the hesitations that can be seen between one editor or another, or between one manuscript or another, when establishing a text and choosing a predicative adjective or an adverb. From her somewhat generative-transformational point of view, Fugier (1978, 141) considers that the SP is a syntactic mechanism resulting from various transformations, so that each predicative function admits many morphological realisations: prepositional phrases, adjective, noun, bare ablative, etc.

Vester (1983, 41), on the other hand, understands adverbs and other types of constituents with Semantic Function Manner to characterise the way in which a certain activity is developed or a process takes place.[10] For her analysis (1983, 43–44) she only considers

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[7] E.g., *Vexasti negotiatores. Inuiti enim Romam raroque decedunt* (Cic. *Verr.* 3. 96): "You have made havoc among the business men: well, only unwillingly and rarely do they leave for Rome", transl. Pinkster 2021. Where the examples used are taken from Pinkster, his own translation of these will be given; where this is not the case, the translation in the *Loeb Classical Library* will be used.

[8] … *neque aratori praetor per litteras supplicaret neque eum praesens oraret ut…* (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 125): And the governor did not write letters of entreaty to the farmer, nor beseech him in person, to sow his land as freely as he could.

[9] *Hortensius pupillum Iunium uenisse praetextatum in uestrum conspectum* (Cic. *Verr.* 1. 151): Hortensius, … complained of the young Iunius having been brought into court for you to see, wearing his boy's dress — *quod ille cum toga praetexta… uenerat* (Cic. *Verr.* 1. 152): [you were less concerned] by his coming here wearing a fringed toga.

[10] Cf. Dik 1975, 97.

relevant those adverbs which are oriented to the predicate, to the Agent[11] or to the Result,[12] and understands these as subtypes of the same Manner function (Vester 1983, 87), so that the constituents that encode them — and, of course, if these are adverbs — can be found coordinated, in that they can also be coordinated with a prepositional phrase. Although she prefers to think of the SP as having no Semantic Function (1983, 53–54), she admits that the SP can have an 'interpretation' as Manner, provided there is semantic compatibility between the verb and the SP.[13]

The main differences between adjuncts and SP are, according to Vester (1983, 145), (i) the opposition Semantic Function vs. semantic interpretation, and (ii) selection restrictions (e. g., compatibility between the semantics of SP/ADV and V). To solve the problem of (i), Vester proposes considering a Semantic Function 'x' for constituents that acquire an interpretation only within their context; thus, in a text like *ea dixi ego tacens* (Plaut. *Merc.* 164), *tacens* would have Semantic Function Manner, but would also incorporate the operator 'Simultaneity' (Vester 1983, 145–146).

Although Vester's study contains very valuable observations, on some points it is difficult to accept her position without qualification. Thus, her way of resolving the question of Semantic Function versus "contextual semantic interpretation" of SP does not seem entirely satisfactory; in this sense, an important factor is undoubtedly the semantic class of the concrete SP and its link with V in terms of the degree of semantic compatibility between the two that is observed.[14] In addition, she also argues that there are two ways of identifying the adjuncts of Manner: paraphrase (by "in a … manner (*modo*, *pacto*, *ratione* + adjective)") (Vester 1983, 41), and the question test (1983, 42), so that the element that answers the question of "how (*quomodo*, *quem ad modum*)" — and which can be an adverb — will have the function Manner.[15]

On the other hand, I believe that the undeniable proof of coordination that Vester (1983, 84) shares with Fugier (1978, 129) is excessive and demands a more nuanced reflection: in § 2.3 I will return to this issue.

Although these are somewhat specific points, it is worth alluding here to two arguments that allow for the consideration of the role of the ADV as a syntactically and semantically relevant element: (i) adverbs — also those expressing Manner — can function not only as satellites but also as arguments depending on verbal semantics (Pinkster 1972, 81–82; Ricca 2010, 123–124);[16] (ii) the Semantic Function Manner can appear among the "core functions" (Pinkster 2015, 65–66). This last point is also relevant in that, according to some considerations, it is not clear that it is always the case: along these lines, the

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[11] In an expression like *acriter dimicans cecidit*: 'he [*sc.* Furius] perished, fighting bravely', the adverb would express the way in which the agent carries out his action.

[12] Understood to refer, in general, to the modifiers of an Object.

[13] On the relevance and characteristics of this aspect, see Bosque (2022). An equally interesting study on the relevance of the type of verbal process involved in each case, and the phase of the verbal process that is modified, is that of de Miguel, Fernández Lagunilla (2004).

[14] The study of the semantic class of SP, as well as the role that this class may play in the characterisation of SP itself, will be addressed in a separate study.

[15] On this point, there is clear agreement with Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005, 11), as will be seen below.

[16] More specifically, Pinkster (1972, 82) points out that even adverbs/expressions of Location may not be argumental — Argument 2 with verbs like *habitare*–, but that such an Argument 2 is an adverb of Manner, as in the example he offers: *habitare laxe et magnifice uoluit*: he wanted to live free of restrictions and sumptuously (Cic. *Dom.* 115).

VerbNet Database[17] — in the case of the verb 'to live' — recognises a clear meaning 'Exist in a certain manner, mode, or style',[18] but does not offer a definitively clear position on the status of the intended second argument of the construction; on the one hand, in the definition of the content, this term appears as part of the essential constituents ('Exist in a certain manner, mode, or style'), but on the other hand, the constituent carrying the function "Manner" is classified as a "Non-core" element,[19] on the same level as satellites such as those designating Time, Circumstances or Frequency, among others. Apart from a few clarifications that could be added, this way of presenting the data seems, at first sight, contradictory.

It is worth noting here what Pinkster stated as early as 1972 (83), namely that among the optional constituents, there are some[20] which have a greater affinity with V than others, which would give rise to a gradation within the optional constituents; however, he added that this is often difficult to distinguish in practice. Although this is indeed the case, it is an extremely interesting question, which I will take up again later (§§ 2.3 and 3).

2.2.2. Typological studies: N. P. Himmelmann; E. Schultze-Berndt

Let us now analyse a series of postulates as found in a number of works by N. P. Himmelmann and E. Schultze-Berndt, two of joint authorship and others by Schultze-Berndt. These two researchers have dealt at length — and hence the space devoted here to their arguments — with the subject in question from a rather typological perspective and offer arguments which, even with some limitations as far as the Latin language is concerned, are by no means negligible.

Briefly, in Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann (2004, 59–61) the authors try to show (i) that the boundary between ADV and SP[21] is far less clear-cut than has usually been admitted, something they reiterate in Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005, 2); (ii) that there are languages in which there is no morphological difference between ADV and SP encoded by adjectives, and in those where there is such a difference ADVs may have properties of that type of adjectival SP; consequently, (iii) adverbial constructions and true *depictives* "are in competition", in the sense that languages may have dissimilar points at which these two constructions are differentiated, so that a hierarchy is established from the most prototypical "depictives" to the most prototypical "adverbials".

On exploring their analysis in greater detail, we see that in Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann (2004, 61) they begin by showing cases of semantic overlap between ADV and SP utterances, although they are aware that SPs are used by preference when we want to denote, for example, a role or function (2004, 64); nevertheless, as they clarify (2004, 76), ADV and SP are difficult to distinguish semantically and also have a similar position in the structure of constituents. Yet they also recognise (2004, 75) that both types of elements carry co-referentiality with the Subject or Object to which they are oriented; in fact,

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[17] Cf. https://verbs.colorado.edu/vn3.2.4-test-uvi/index.php (12.09.2023).
[18] Cf. https://verbs.colorado.edu/html_groupings/live-v.html (12.09.2023).
[19] Cf. https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frame/Residence.xml (12.09.2023).
[20] Often those denoting circumstances.
[21] Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann (2004, 61) use the term "Depictive" to refer to what here we call the Secondary Predicate (e. g., "George left the party *angry*").

they point out (2004, 61) that some ADVs can be interpreted as clearly S-oriented ("John opened the door *enthusiastically*").

A crucial point concerns whether, in the case of there being morphosyntactic differences, it is necessary to distinguish two constructions (SP and ADV) that differ syntactically and semantically. For Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann (2004, 77) it would be wrong to expect a clear-cut distinction between the two constructions in *all* languages; in fact, the closeness between ADV and SP is, of course, most clearly seen in languages that do not even distinguish them formally but use "general adjunct constructions" (Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann 2004, 125).

In order to analyse the possible closeness of SP and ADV in terms of concrete features, let us consider the properties of a SP established by these authors (2004, 77–78) as part of a working definition used for identifying the forms in question and conducting out a cross-linguistic analysis. The SP would be a clause-level construction with the following features:

1) contains two separate elements, the V and the SP, the latter being temporally anchored to the development of the verbal process;

2) necessarily refers to a "controller", i. e. it is oriented towards a specific participant (the Subject, the Object, etc.);

3) forms, along with its "controller", a predication which is an independent part of the predication expressed by the main predicate, i. e. the SP does not form part of a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate;

4) is not an argument of the main predicate, that is, it is not obligatory;

5) is not a modifier of the "controller";

6) is not marked by categories of Mood and Tense;

7) is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.[22]

According to the list of features included in this characterisation, there are (Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann 2004, 78) at least two consequences. First, ADVs could be included among the SP options, since the differences between both encodings, if they exist, are only semantic in nature. Second, the content of SP and ADV is expressed by syntactically different constructions, and in this scenario it makes sense — the authors continue — to make the distinction between SP and ADV, since they have morphosyntactic differences.

In principle there seems to be no obstacle to admitting the first consequence drawn by Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann, but it is not entirely compatible with the second, unless different linguistic levels are distinguished. Thus, what these authors may have wanted to imply is that SP and ADV can be functionally equivalent; however, I think that it is necessary to mention both their morphological difference — something obvious when this exists in a specific language — and, possibly, their syntactic difference: this latter point seems the more problematic to resolve.

However, Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann (2004, 79–80) propose the consideration of a common space between the two encodings, one which might have a gradual distinction. They understand that the difference at the semantic level relates to a difference in orientation (event/participant) and that the two types compete in that space, in the sense

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[22] Both this feature and the previous one are not entirely applicable to the Latin language: on the one hand, when the SP is encoded by a participle, it does include the category of Time; on the other hand, obvious reasons make it impracticable to verify a given quality in the realm of intonation.

that each language can choose one or the other type according to the possibilities available in that language: a type that is better and more semantically motivated will spread more readily and extensively; also, Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann (2004, 123) point out that although SPs are participant-oriented adjuncts, they are also to some extent event-oriented, in that they are co-temporal with the participant.[23] On the other hand, according to the authors (2004, 122), the fact that ADVs can be participant-oriented is consistent with the evolution of various languages, including Romance ones: thus, for example, the numerous adverbial formations in -*mente* are actually a form of ablaltive of *mens* (logically, that of the participant). We will return to this question below.[24]

The general proposal of the Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann's co-authored paper (2004) is well reflected in one of their charts, reproduced here (Fig. 1):

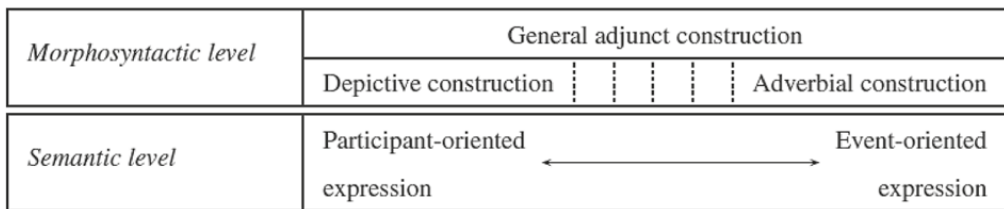| Morphosyntactic level	General adjunct construction		
	Depictive construction	⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮	Adverbial construction
Semantic level	Participant-oriented expression ⟵⟶		Event-oriented expression

Fig. 1. Depictive, adverbial and general adjunct constructions

This first proposal is then completed (Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann 2004, 120) with some nuances that clarify the preference for one or the other construction by virtue of its semantic content (Fig. 2), something that I believe must be understood from a very general perspective:
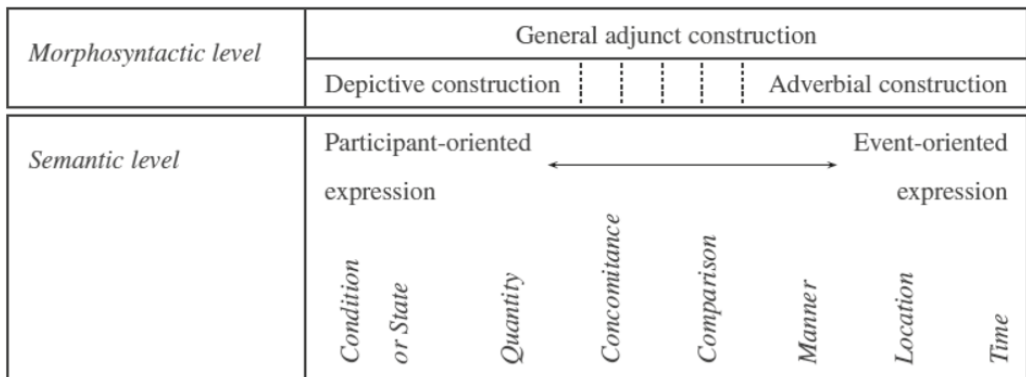

Fig. 2. A hierarchy of depictive and adverbial expression types

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[23] However, in a later study, Schultze-Berndt (2016, 19–20, 29) moves away somewhat from defending this diversity in the orientation of SP and ADV, to underline the special proximity between the two constructions and their ambivalence in terms of orientation, to the extent that she advocates abandoning this characterisation criterion — orientation — since she finds it unclear.

[24] We refer to the commentary in Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005).

Some reflections on this proposal are needed; in fact, the authors themselves (Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann 2004, 120–122) acknowledge the difficulty of applying this gradual hierarchy entirely to Latin; for example, comparison and location are often expressed in Latin by means of prepositional phrases, which are unspecific with respect to an ADV or SP status. However, I do not entirely share their reasons for objecting to the applicability of their own hierarchy to Latin, since in this language there are adjectives that can express location — especially relative (*tertius*[25]) — or time (*matutinus*[26]); in fact, Pinkster (1990b, 150) notes cases of temporal expressions in agreement in the post-Augustan period, and also sees the extension of adjectival SP constructions (at the expense of ADV) in post-Ciceronian Latin (Pinkster 1990b, 149–150).

In their next co-authored paper, Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005) go a step further. They begin by stating (2005, 2) that the boundary and distinction between SP and ADV is far from clear — especially at the semantic level — even when a language has the corresponding morphological distinction. Thus, they argue (2005, 9) that in a sentence like "John left the room angry/angrily", *angrily* is not just an adverb of manner and does not only indicate the way in which John left, but also describes the emotional condition of the subject at the moment of leaving; as such, the ADV includes a factual link between the activity denoted by the V and the psychological condition of the S,[27] which is closer than that expressed by an adverb that is the usual adjunct of manner. This would be what we might understand as an inherent, deeper and more profound link to the participant (2005, 9) than that of the SP, in which there would only be a temporal overlap with the V. [28]

In the discussion of this issue by Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005), the concept of "semantic map" is especially pertinent. In Auwera, Malchukov's words (2005, 420), "the basic idea underlying the semantic map approach is simply that similar concepts are expressed in similar ways". Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005) assume that cross-linguistic similarities in terms of formal properties can be taken as revealing proximity in semantic space; their research shows that what they call depictives are located in an intermediate place between predicatives (i. e. adjectives used as a main predicate), predicative complements, appositive structures, and *adverbials*;[29] so, it can be said that they have semantic affinities with all these categories.

Accordingly, these authors propose a (very) tentative semantic map focusing on the most prototypical participant-oriented adjuncts which denote a physical condition or state, i. e. on depictives; this map would be valid for any language which has such depictives. Based on their stated position (2005, 30), "semantic domains found adjacent to each other in the semantic map are likely to receive the same type of morphosyntactic coding, whether in a depictive construction or in an adverbial or general adjunct construction". The map is as follows (Fig. 3):

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[25] Cf. **tertius** *ad hos Fauonius accesit* (Cic. *Fam.* 8. 11): Favonius joined them to make a third.
[26] Cf. *nec minus Aeneas se* **matutinus** *agebat* (Verg. *Aen.* 8. 465): Early in the morning Aeneas was up and about.
[27] In a similar vein, Maienborn, Schäfer (2019, 487); this is something that occurs particularly in ADVs expressing mental attitude.
[28] In my opinion, this is only partially true.
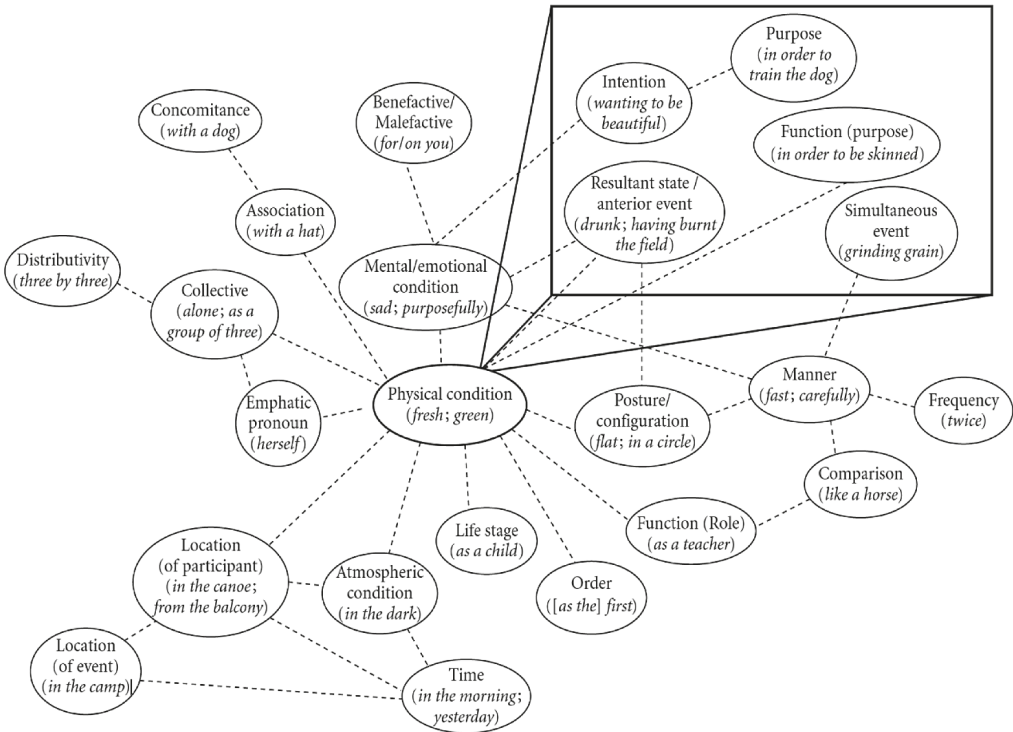[29] Emphasis mine.

Fig. 3. A tentative semantic map for participant-oriented expressions

It is my understanding, then, that Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005) assume the conclusion drawn by Auwera, Malchukov (2005, 420): "*depictives* have direct semantic affinities with four other semantic notions, viz. predicatives, complementatives, attributives, and *adverbials*.[30] This semantic contiguity is reflected formally. Depictives may align themselves formally with each of their semantic neighbours, and with more than one."

Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005, 13) also note the claims of some authors that a process of metonymic passage or shift is capable of providing the explanation that event-oriented adjuncts can be interpreted as participant-oriented and *vice versa*; it is worth reproducing the passage in which they explain this alleged shift, despite its relative length:

(21) Fred ate the sausages **ravenously**.

> In the discussion of this example, Platt and Platt (1972, 237) note: 'We do perhaps talk about ravenous eating but in saying this we imply that the eater is ravenous. It may be objected that this ravenous quality displays itself in the manner of the eating. This is not denied. The manner of eating is an outward and visible sign of an inner ravenous quality of the eater. To say that someone eats ravenously is a judgement about the eater.' The authors then conclude that ravenously is primarily a participant-oriented adverbial (where the participant in this case is the agent), but that the nature of the agent may be inferred from the manner in which the event is performed and this is how the adverbial derives a secondary, event-oriented sense.

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[30] Again, emphasis mine.

While acknowledging the difficulties of knowing with certainty whether the process has actually occurred as proposed here, and whether this is indeed the only possible interpretation (and despite many researchers having arrived at such a conclusion), it would not be without a certain logic to propose — as Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005, 13–14) do — that ADV can be understood typologically as a general category, so that it would allow for an event-oriented interpretation but also, simultaneously, a participant-oriented one, with one of these orientations being primary and the other secondary. In this way, the adverb of manner, seen in terms of a general consideration, would have a 'dual' nature that allows for both interpretations: one oriented (primarily) to the event, but also one oriented (secondarily) to the participant; the SP would also allow for these two interpretations, albeit in the opposite way: it would be oriented to the participant (primarily) but also to the event (secondarily).[31] Therefore, for Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005, 4) the fact that a distinction is usually made between ADV and SP in terms of their orientation (event or participant) does not necessarily imply characteristics that are unique to each type.

Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt are aware that semantic interpretation can sometimes be an arbitrary criterion, and suggest (2005, 17) that a consideration of two other elements might help in the distinction: negation and position. The criterion of position is not entirely operative in Latin, given the variability arising from its inflectional system; as for negation, it would be a matter of seeing how the V can be negated without the SP or ADV falling under the scope of that negation (and *vice versa*).

Finally, let us add a further observation from Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann (2004, 91) and Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005, 65) on the pragmatic quality of SPs, which they qualify as frequently being (part of the) Focus of a predication; although this feature is not part of their definition, it is consistent with some features of the definition, e. g. that the 'depictive' is more semantically specific than the main predicate, and thus contributes to completing the information provided by the clause.[32] This informatively relevant character is sometimes reinforced by its association with intensive or restrictive particles, which in some languages is (quasi-)obligatory.

More specifically, Schultze-Berndt (2002, 231–232) had previously analysed the presence of 'restrictive' elements in Australian languages for SP and ADV ('still/only/just'), this probably born of a desire to emphatically mark identity and exclude alternatives ('just that/that person/that way [and no other]'). The author notes that such particles are especially frequent in SP (Schultze-Berndt 2002, 257–259) and ADV (Schultze-Berndt 2002, 259), and that their use has been grammaticalised, i. e. the context of use has been extended, accompanied by a semantic extension, which comes from the restrictive marker associated with the Focus constituent, and which makes the most specific contribution to the predication (Schultze-Berndt 2002, 233, 252).

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[31] This is compatible with van der Auwera, Malchukov (2005, 411).

[32] Although partially similar in the eventual compulsory consideration of the SP, the procedure with which Rothstein (2019) analyses it is different in that she understands that the constituent encoding the 'depictive' and the main predicate can constitute a complex predicate through an operation she calls 'singular summing' (S-summing). Thus, in a sentence like "John drove the car drunk", the complex predicate would form a new singular event, which in turn is a verbal nucleus (*VP*) sentence "drive the car drunk"; this can then be applied to the subject argument to provide the interpretation "John drove the car drunk". In other words, the secondary predicate does not combine directly with its argument, but "first combines with the verb to form a complex predicate, which is then applied to the shared argument, satisfying the complex predicate directly and the verb and Adjective Phrase indirectly" (Rothstein 2019, 546).

2.3. A different position: H. Pinkster

As noted above, it seems necessary to dedicate a separate space to one of the most prominent researchers in recent years in Latin linguistics who has devoted several studies to the construction of SP in this language.

The contributions that are most relevant to the issue at hand could be grouped *grosso modo* according to three main aspects: the omissibility of SP, the likely semantic and functional equivalence of SP and ADV and, closely related to the above, the validity and scope of the coordination test.

In his work on Latin adverbs, Pinkster (1972, 75, 78) has argued that the omissibility of an element — the fact that by omitting a constituent the resulting text is or is not semantically identical to the previous one except for what is omitted — depends to a certain extent on contextual and situational circumstances.[33] Moreover, he proposed (1972, 83) a sort of gradation in the optionality of an element depending on the greater or lesser (semantic) affinity with the V, and argued that an ADV can function as a second argument of certain verbs;[34] as already mentioned,[35] the Semantic Function Manner denoted by ADVs can be placed among the "core functions" (2015, 65–66).

Regarding the alleged equivalence of ADV and SP, Pinkster (1983) has tended to argue that such equivalence does not mean that both codings — e. g. *lubenter/lubens* — are synonymous ways of presenting reality, something which he admits is clearer in cases where the SP/ADV is oriented to the Object.[36] In principle, he makes a distinction (2015, 858–860) between S-oriented ADVs,[37] Object-oriented ADVs[38] and V-oriented ADVs.[39] He acknowledges (1990b, 154) that traditional grammar[40] has tended to see no difference in meaning between what is denoted by an ADV and an SP, but he does not grant absolute and undeniable argumentative force to the evidence for coordination provided by Fugier (1978) or Vester (1983), but rather argues (Pinkster 2015, 65) that the very name of the category ADV refers to its role as a verb modifier. Nevertheless, he also admits (1990b, 155–156) that if ADV and SP are coordinated, there may be some similarity in their semantic function;[41] in addition, whereas ADV and SP are sometimes practically equivalent

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[33] On this question, the position of those who do not see such omissibility as a key feature of SPs should not be disregarded (Halliday 1967, 63, 65; Napoli 1989). On the other hand, what is understood as situational circumstances can be related to the pragmatic side of SP: in this respect, cf. Cabrillana (2021, 511–515; Cabrillana forthc. a, § 4.3).

[34] Consider, among others, those expressing position, location or movement oriented to a direction, movement oriented from an origin, as well as copulative verbs, verbs of language, perception, behaviour, etc.; in this respect, cf. also Ricca (2010, 124) and Tarriño (2021b, 412–414).

[35] Cf. § 2.2.

[36] This construction will be dealt with in a separate study.

[37] Cf. **leniter** *hominem* **clementer**que *accepit* (Cic. *Verr.* 4. 86): He treated the man quite gently and kindly.

[38] Cf. **magnifice** *et* **ornate**, *ut erat in primis inter suos copiosus, conuiuium comparat* (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 65): He arranged a dinner party magnificently and luxuriously, being, as he was, among the richest of all his fellow-citizens.

[39] Cf. *atque edepol tu me monuisti* **probe** (Plaut. *Men.* 385): Yes, you've given me good advice.

[40] Cf. what is noted in § 2.2. regarding the position of Kühner, Stegmann (1912, 234, 237) and Hofmann, Szantyr (1965, 425).

[41] Cf. *quaeso ignoscas, si quid* **stulte** *dixi* **atque imprudens** *tibi* (Plaut. *Men.* 1073): Please forgive me if I said anything stupid to you without being aware of it; as in other cases, the translation does not quite manage to reflect the Latin structure faithfully. In the translation in Pinkster's (1990b, 156) study it reads, "Please, forgive me, if I have said something stupid or rash to you"; Pinkster provides other examples here

from a semantic point of view, they are not syntactically equivalent, and the existence of coordinations as in (4) *is not a necessary condition*[42] to see equal syntactic function in these cases:

> (4)   *ad hoc genus castigandi **raro inuitique** ueniemus* (Cic. *Off.* 1. 136)
>
>   But we shall have recourse to this sort of reproof, …, rarely and reluctantly

Similarly, there would be no such equivalence, despite the coordination, in (5), although it is also clear that the translations consulted do not reflect the Latin structure very faithfully:

> (5)   ***Recte** et **uera** loquere* (Plaut. *Capt.* 960)
>
>   Tell me the honest truth[43]

In this respect, Torrego (2009, 447) notes that semantic affinity is a factor that can explain some coordination between disparate elements and that, as occurs frequently in Tacitus, constituents of different internal structure can be coordinated (Torrego 2009, 598). For his part, Pinkster (2021, 703) points out that coordination between functionally unequal elements, in this case between an adjunct (*recte*) and an argument (*uera*), is not common. However, it is indeed possible to find an element common to both constituents: *recte* is a Manner adjunct which is Object-oriented (Pinkster 2015, 858), and hence coordination is possible with such an Object. On the other hand, in (4), the adjunct (*raro*) is oriented to the Subject, to which the SP (*inuiti*) also refers.

Indeed, Pinkster notes (2021, 706) that there are examples of ADVs coordinated with elements of other categories,[44] but it is curious, to say the least, that he does not deal in more detail with cases such as the following one, which I offer with his own translation:

> (6a) (sc. *ager*) … *quo **cum labore magno** et **misere** uiueret* (Plaut. *Aul.* 14)
>
>   … he could live on it with a great toil and miserably

However, the author does state (Pinkster 2021, 708–709) that in general, SPs can be coordinated when they are different types of adjuncts:[45]

> (6b) … *rationes legebam **inuitus** et **cursim**…* (Plin. *Ep.* 5. 14. 8)
>
>   … I was looking over the accounts — unwillingly and superficially…

In Pinkster's own view (2021, 810–811), this is not surprising, since SPs can be interpreted in different ways depending on their meaning and the context in which they

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in which he recognises (1990b, 155) "a certain similarity in semantic function" between ADV and SP: *dum alii **trepidi** cedunt, alii **segniter** subeunt* (Liv. 27. 12. 15): While one group retreated fearfully, and another advanced slowly, or between bare ablatives and ADV (Pinkster 1990b, 30): *confiteretur… si fecisset, et **magno animo** et **libenter**…* (Cic. *Mil.* 80): If he had done it, he would confess magnanimously and with all his heart.

  [42]   Typographical emphasis mine, in order to highlight an issue to which I will return below; the literal quotation from Pinkster (1990a, 9) — which in turn refers to his 1972 work (108–133) — is "l'équivalence catégorielle des constituants n'est ni une condition nécessaire ni une condition suffisante".

  [43]   Transl. Pinkster (2015, 859).

  [44]   Pinkster (2021, 705–714) presents various examples of coordination between formally and functionally "unequal" elements.

  [45]   Several examples of coordination between SP and ADV can be found in Pinkster (2021, 709), either with Manner, Time, Cause, Purpose or other Semantic Functions.

appear[46] (e. g., when both share temporal duration, i. e., are simultaneous), or when they refer to the same state, process or action:

(7) *Fortissimi milites non tamen nec **uiui** nec **post mortem inulti** fuere* (Liv. 4. 58. 5)
    But the heroic soldiers were not unavenged, living or dead

In addition to these nuances, Pinkster is also aware that there are 'violations' of the coordination principle not only by poets but also by prose writers, and that these cases represent a problem (1972, 116, 122). On the other hand, in his *Latin Syntax and Semantics* (1990b, 156) he picks up on the fact that grammars often indicate that it is difficult to appreciate the exact difference between "*id libens feci* ('I was glad to do this') and *id libenter feci* ('I have gladly done this')". He goes on (1990b, 156) to take a further step, by way of conclusion, which seems very pertinent:

> sometimes it does not matter very much whether in performing a certain action a person is attributed a certain property (e. g. that of being *cupidus*) or the action performed by that person is specified (e. g. as being performed *cupide*); this also explains the instances of coordination mentioned above. This is not to say that the two ways of representing reality are synonymous.

This conclusion ends with a call for further research to prove especially this last point (i. e., that SP and ADV do not represent reality synonymously). Finally, reference is made (Pinkster 1990b, 281) to the fact that ThLL itself understands in some entries[47] that an adjective is used as an adverb and *vice versa.*

All in all, I think it can be said that although Pinkster's views have always embraced an attitude of wise caution, by taking his various contributions together and trying to discern an overall view, one in which we can see that a more favourable stance — that is, an argument that does not exclude the possibility of cases of (quasi-)equivalence of ADV and SP — is gaining ground and consolidating in his thinking. The call for further research (Pinkster 1990b, 156) and the claim that the existence of co-ordinations between ADV and SP "is not a necessary condition"[48] to see in these cases an equality of syntactic function (2021, 703) seem to constitute proof that the Dutch linguist himself is unwilling to defend a specific and indubitable position; we could already glimpse this when, in his first treatment of the question (1972, 127–128, *passim*), the presentation of various examples which some scholars interpreted in one way and others in a different way, seemed to detract somewhat from the evidential force of his arguments: for example, his consideration of evidence from coordination.

Thus far, we have provided a critical presentation of the core research on this matter. We will now move on to discuss certain remaining issues and a new proposal.

3. Outstanding issues and proposal

From a position that tries to be as neutral and general as possible, a number of questions have been raised in the critical study presented above, some of which are thornier than others: even if the category of ADV is morphologically indistinguishable from SP in

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[46] An idea consistent with what Pinkster had already argued in his early work on adverbs (1972, 75, 78).

[47] Cf., e. g., ThLL, s. v. *cupidus*, 1425,37, as well as one of the examples cited: *libentes **cupidique** conditionem acceperunt* (*BAfr.* 90. 2): They were glad and eager to accept the conditions.

[48] In the words of Tarriño (2021a, 283), the aforementioned coordination "no obliga a …". Previously, Pinkster (1972, 108–133, 1990a, 9) had already defended this position: cf. *supra*, note 42 on example (4).

some languages[49], but is understood in the same way in others,[50] does this suggest a similar behaviour across languages despite the existence of such formal differentiation? If ADVs, with verbs of different semantic notions,[51] can play an argumental role, to what extent is the semantic content of the verb responsible for this possibility, despite the strong tendency of the ADV to behave mostly as a satellite?[52] In partial relation to the above, and also in the sense that some arguments are more required than others,[53] would it not be logical to think that some satellites are less optional than others?[54] Insofar as the coordination test serves in many cases as a clarifying criterion, to what extent could its systematic application to a specific corpus of texts offer telling results, from a broad consideration of the links and affinity that such coordination reveals or implies? If the reasoning of Halliday (1967, 64) — who points out that the differences between SP and ADV (*angry — angrily*) can be neutralised to a very high degree in certain cases — were to be accepted, would it be possible to consider that constructions with ADV and with SP, in view of their semantic similarity, function as real alternatives, or at least that they are equivalent constructions with diverse selection conditions and are probably situated at different points on a *continuum* of possibilities? Is it feasible to determine whether certain semantic notions are more likely to be expressed by SP and others by ADV?

These and other questions, suggested in part by the critical overview provided above, lead to a series of analytical criteria which, when applied to a given corpus, can act as a "touchstone" for the establishment of possible alternations between ADV and SP, and the conditions under which these would take place.

Although the list I propose below is not claimed to be exhaustive, I believe that it provides a significant amount of objective evidence for discerning the issue at hand. Accordingly, some criteria of analysis that would shed light on the current question are:

1) comparison of the extent of the omission of SP and ADV in syntactic, semantic and pragmatic terms;

2) applied study of cases of coordination;

3) deeper understanding, including verification, of the possible double orientation (primary and/or secondary) to the participant and to the event, as well as of the psychological involvement of the Subject in carrying out the verbal process;

4) cross-checked analysis of the two formal expressions with similar semantic notions and/or lexical items;

5) check for the presence, and operation, of negations outside the scope of the V but inside that of the SP and/or ADV;

6) explore whether both codifications support, or can be linked to, similar focalising strategies;

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[49] Cf., among others, Schultze-Berndt, Himmelmann (2004, 125).

[50] Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (2005, 12) refer, for example, to the English *fast*.

[51] As already mentioned above (§ 2.2), and, among others, (semi)copulative verbs, verbs of position, location or oriented movement, of language, perception, behaviour, etc.

[52] Cf. Tarriño (2021b, 414).

[53] Cf., among others, Schrickx, Ottink (2019, 17, *passim*).

[54] Something that would be consistent with a more scalar consideration of valency: Spevak (2010, 115–125); Pinkster (2015, 21); the current author (2015, 808) has often warned that even the distinction between arguments and satellites is not always easy.

7) observe, where appropriate, *peculiares structurae* (e. g.: *uiuere miser/misere*; *salua uiuere*) and similar or equivalent *iuncturae* (*frequentes*): e. g.: *beatus/fortunatus uiuere — beate/fortunate uiuere*;

8) delimitation of possible contexts incompatible with one or other type of expression.

4. Empirical testing

In order to illustrate how the testing of these characteristics might be carried out, some examples are given below which show how the above criteria could be verified.

Towards making this sample analysis more manageable and consistent, all analysed cases will have the same verbal nucleus: the verb *uiuo.* One of the reasons for this choice is that Pinkster (2015, 216; 2021, 781) notes that this is a verb with which SP appears frequently, especially in Latin comedy and poetry of the Augustan period; since this corpus will be analysed in more detail in a separate study,[55] a limited but rather heterogeneous corpus has been chosen here, with the intention of checking to what extent and in what ways these structures — frequent, as noted, in comedy and Augustan poetry — are present in other types of texts and in very different literary periods.

Therefore, the sample of texts to be addressed, which is notable in terms of its diachronic coverage and variety of literary genres, is as follows: Cicero (*Att.*), Livy (1–5), and the entire works of Lucretius, Martial, Petronius, and Seneca the Younger.

Although the characteristics of these different types of texts could be described, this is not the place to do so; suffice it to indicate one rather striking feature, namely the abundance of ADV constructions in Seneca (67 cases = 72.40 %), to the detriment of those of adjectives and participles in agreement, which are generally more frequent elsewhere in the language (see § 4.7). The total number of analysable examples — in which Seneca has a considerable presence — is 138 cases, which represents about 15 % of the total number of occurrences of *uiuo* in the selected corpus:[56] the frequency of occurrence is not as high as in Augustan poetry, but it is very significant that, despite the number of examples not being very great, data can be found that would fit almost all the criteria of analysis derived from the critical review of the literature on the topic.

The organisation of the empirical sample will be in line with the order of the criteria suggested in the previous section.

4.1. Omission of SP and ADV in syntactic, semantic and pragmatic terms

The context-sensitive analysis of many examples shows that the omission of SP and ADV can be unacceptable from a semantic and pragmatic point of view, since the message would be deprived of the content it is intended to convey, as well as of the pragmatic load that it carries in the speech act; it can be seen that the language frequently makes use of puns, which often create or reinforce a contrast:[57]

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[55] Cabrillana, in preparation.

[56] Cases where the verbal nucleus is a participle (e. g. *uictus*) have been omitted from the count.

[57] Cases in this situation — neither semantic nor pragmatic omissibility — are very frequent; see, for SPs in agreement, e. g., Lucr. 3. 679, Liv. 4. 24. 5; Mart. 1. 55. 113; for ADVs, see e. g., Cic. *Att.* 13. 23. 1; Mart. 12. 18. 26; Petr. *Sat.* 43. 1.

(8a) *Sapientis quisquis abstulerit diuitias, omnia illi sua relinquet; uiuit enim praesentibus* **laetus**, *futuri* **securus**. (Sen. *Dial.* 7. 26. 4)[58]

But the wise man—whoever steals away his riches will still leave to him all that is his own; for he ever lives happy in the present and unconcerned about the future.

(8b) *Modum tamen rei adhibeamus: multum interest,* **simpliciter** *uiuas an* **neglegenter** (Sen. *Tranq.* 9. 17. 2)

Yet we should employ moderation in the matter; there is much difference between living naturally and living carelessly.

The impossibility of removing the SP can also be seen in its syntactic aspect, which is particularly striking since this is one of the features whose absence has usually been used to characterise the SP itself. Some structures[59] in which this can be observed are: (i) those which are formulated as consecutive constructions of different types, in which it is possible for an adverb to perform at least two functions simultaneously: to specify the generic way in which a verbal process is carried out (with a phoric value in more than a few cases), and to serve as the introductory particle of the consecutive diptych (9a–9b); (ii) those in which the SP is part of a comparative structure in such a way that without it the existence of the standard of the comparison could not be justified (9c–9d); (iii) those in which the value of the verb is equivalent to that of a copulative, thus we are dealing with an argumental Subject Complement rather than a SP[60] (9e):

(9a) *et nunc spero me* **sic**[61] *uiuere,* **ut** *nemini iocus sim* (Petr. *Sat.* 57. 4)

And now I hope to live such a life that I'm a joke to no one.

(9b) *hanc ego ignominiam, quamquam iam diu* **ita** *uiuitur* **ut** *nihil boni diuinet animus* (Liv. 3. 67. 1)[62]

We have now for a long time been living under such conditions that my mind could foresee nothing good

(9c) *haec tibi si uis est, si mentis tanta potestas,*
liberior *Partho uiuere rege potes.* (Mart. 2. 53.9)

If you have strength and willpower enough for that, you can live more free than the king of Parthia.

(9d) *Scilicet* **minus beate** *uiuebat dictator noster… quam Apicius nostra memoria uixi* (Sen. *Helv.* 12. 10. 8)

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[58] The Latin texts of this section correspond to those in the *Library of Latin Texts* at Brepolis (http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Search.aspx); the English translations are taken from the *Loeb Classical Library* collection.

[59] Some other illustrative examples can be found outside this corpus, such as *Num formidulosus, obsecro, es, mi homo? :: Apage, sis. / Egon formidulosus? Nemost hominum qui uiuat* **minus**. (Ter. *Eun.* 757): You're not frightened, for goodness' sake, my dear fellow? :: Get away with you! Me frightened? There's not a man living who's less so. As is well known (*cfr.* ThLL, s. v. *paruus*, 576,53), *minus* can fulfil the function of a comparative adverb.

[60] For an analysis of this type of structure, see Cabrillana forthc. a.

[61] This *sic* is clearly cataphoric; in the text that immediately follows this example, a description of how one should live is given ("I'm a man among men, I walk about with my head uncovered; I owe nobody a copper as; I've never been sued for failure to pay an obligation").

[62] Other partly similar combinations are *sic… tamquam* (Sen. *Ep.* 11. 8), *sic… quomodo* (Sen. *Ep.* 45. 9), *aliter… quam* (Sen. *Ep.* 108. 36), etc.

And our dictator, …, of course, was living less happily than did Apicius within our own memory

(9e) *ego uiuo **miserrimus** et maximo dolore conficior* (Cic. *Att.* 3. 5. 2)

My life is a misery and I am overwhelmed by profound unhappiness

4.2. Cases of coordination

Beyond the caveats and nuances noted above for cases of coordination (see sections 2.1–2.2), examples of this type are certainly present in the selected corpus and authors; an additional element appears in the following example, which will be examined in the section on lexical similarities (§ 4.7) and in the section on possible (in)compatibilities (§ 4.8):

(10) *Brutus in eo libro, quem de uirtute composuit, ait se Marcellum uidisse Mytilenis exulantem et, quantum modo natura hominis pateretur, **beatissime** uiuentem neque umquam **cupidiorem** bonarum artium quam illo tempore* (Sen. *Helv.* 12. 9. 4)

Brutus, in the book he wrote on virtue, says that he saw Marcellus in exile at Mytilene, living as happily as the limitations of human nature permit, and that he had never been more interested in liberal studies than he was at that time.

The example presented above (3) — repeated here as (11), with its text completed — is not a wholly comparable example, since the verb *uiuo* does not appear, although it belongs to an author in our corpus; yet it is very eloquent, in that it shows a striking double coordination between SP in agreement and ADV:

(11) *Hoc primis diebus… et **frequentes** et **impigre** fecerunt; in dies deinde **pauciores** et **segnius*** (Liv. 36. 23. 4)

In the early days they did this both frequently and stoutly, but as the days passed they did so in smaller numbers and less energetically.

4.3. Possible double orientation to the participant and to the event

It is clear that S-oriented SPs can be characterised in terms of the S behaving in a certain way while the verbal process is in progress;[63] i. e., the Manner affects the way the S behaves and not so much the way the verbal process unfolds, so that it implies a degree of involvement of the S which — it is argued — would be absent in adverbial determination. The first part of this claim is evident in SP examples such as (12a): the involvement-determination of the S in their behaviour is, arguably, maximal. But the involvement of the S in ADV cases such as (12b), where the presence of a volitive predicate is evidence of the (intentional) participation of the S in the verbal process, seems no less evident:

(12a) *et grauiter partim metuentes limina leti*
*uiuebant ferro **priuati** parte uirili* (Lucr. 6. 1208–1209)

And some with the strong fear they had for the threshold of death went on living after they had severed the manly part with a knife

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[63] This characteristic — which is usually invoked as a key feature in the characterisation of SPs — also requires some nuances: cf. Cabrillana 2024.

(12b) *Hoc secutum puto Democritum ita coepisse: 'qui **tranquille** uolet uiuere, nec priuatim agat multa nec publice,' ad superuacua scilicet referentem* (Sen. *Tranq.* 9. 13. 1)
I fancy that Democritus was thinking of this when he began: 'If a man shall wish to live tranquilly, let him not engage in many affairs either public or private,' referring of course to useless affairs.

Another text from the corpus shows the generalised equivalence between what is implied by an ADV and an S-characteristic, and is very eloquent:

(13) *Audire solemus sic quorundam uitam laudari, quibus inuidetur: 'molliter uiuit' hoc dicunt: 'mollis est'.* (Sen. *Ep.* 82. 2)
We are wont to hear the lives of certain men praised as follows, when they are objects of unpopularity: 'So-and-So lives luxuriously'; but by this they mean: 'He is softened by luxury'

4.4. Two formal expressions with similar semantic notions and/or lexical items

Although there are examples with similar semantic content with both SP and ADV, I think it is sufficiently illustrative to provide a couple of doublets in which the lexeme is identical and any differences are minimal; however, the semantic nuances will depend in part, as is usual, on the context:

(14a) *Quae obseruanda tibi sint, ut **tutior** uiuas, dicam* (Sen. *Ep.* 105. 1)
I shall now tell you certain things to which you should pay attention in order to live more safely.

(14b) *Magnanimos nos natura produxit et ut quibusdam animalibus ferum dedit, quibusdam subdolum, quibusdam pauidum, ita nobis gloriosum et excelsum spiritum, quaerentem ubi **honestissime**, non ubi **tutissime** uiuat, simillimum mundo* (Sen. *Ep.* 104. 23)
Nature has brought us forth brave of spirit, and, as she has implanted in certain animals a spirit of ferocity, in others craft, in others terror, so she has gifted us with an aspiring and lofty spirit, which prompts us to seek a life of the greatest honour, and not of the greatest security, that most resembles the soul of the universe.

(15a) ***Secura** uiue.* (Sen. *Ag.* 797)
Live in security![64]

(15b) *Sine hac* (sc. *philosophia*) *nemo intrepide potest uiuere, nemo **secure*** (Sen. *Ep.* 16. 3)
Without it (*sc.* philosophy), no one can live fearlessly or in peace of mind.

4.5. Negations outside the scope of the V but inside that of the SP and/or ADV

The fact that negation can only affect the SP/ADV would provide further support for the claimed autonomy of each of these two forms of expression with respect to the verbal nucleus; this is indeed confirmed by the analysis of the texts both for the SP (16a) and for the ADV (16b):

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[64] Cassandra's response to Agamemnon's intervention makes it clear that the "security/tranquility" alluded to is only found when one has died.

(16a) *Quintiliane, uagae moderator summe iuuentae,*
      gloria Romanae, Quintiliane, togae,
      uiuere *quod propero* **pauper nec inutilis** *annis,*
      da ueniam: properat uiuere nemo satis (Mart. 2. 90. 3)

      Quintilian, supreme guide of wayward youth, Quintilian, glory of the Roman gown, forgive me that I, a poor man and still young enough to work, am in haste to live. No man is enough in haste to live.

(16b) *sic qui se ad totam uitam instruxit, non desiderat particulatim admoneri, doctus in totum,* **non** *enim* **quomodo**[65] *cum uxore aut cum filio uiueret, sed quomodo bene uiueret* (Sen. *Ep.* 94. 3)

      So he who has equipped himself for the whole of life does not need to be advised concerning each separate item, because he is now trained to meet his problem as a whole; for he knows not merely how he should live with his wife or his son, but how he should live aright.

This feature can also be seen in other encodings similar in function to SP, which have not yet been studied extensively.[66] The following example shows a generic ADV which is then made explicit by two sentences preceded by *tamquam:*

(17) *Demetrius autem noster* **sic** *uiuit,* **non tamquam** *contempserit omnia,* **sed tamquam** *aliis habenda permiserit* (Sen. *Ep.* 62. 3)

      Our friend Demetrius, however, lives not merely as if he has learned to despise all things, but as if he has handed them over for others to possess.

4.6. Similar focalising strategies

The issue of the focus of SP requires further and more detailed research, but there is relatively broad agreement in confirming the tendency of SP to appear focused; in fact, in the discussion of the first criterion of examination, reference was made to the non-omissibility of SP in agreement from a pragmatic point of view. This is fully consistent with the ability of the language to make use of diverse focalisation strategies, such as the presence of different intensifiers: again, this is something that can be observed for both the SP and the ADV, and which in turn is in line with the degree of their independence with respect to the verbal nucleus, as seen in the analysis of the previous criterion on the scope of negation:

(18a) *Contemnite paupertatem: nemo* **tam**[67] *pauper uiuit quam natus est* (Sen. *Dial.* 1. 6. 6)
      Scorn poverty; no one lives as poor as he was born.

(18b) **Sic** *uiue, tamquam quid facias auditurus sim,* **immo tamquam** *uisurus* (Sen. *Ep.* 32. 1)

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   [65] With regard to this term, and as noted above (cf. § 2.2.1), on the one hand traditional grammar (Kühner, Stegmann 1912, 234) has understood that adjectives in the function of SP appear instead of adverbs, yet on the other hand it is also argued that adverbs occur instead of adjectives: cf. ThLL, s. v. *modus* (*quomodo*), 1288.67 ff., 1293.24 ff. etc. A good example would be: *nunc miser filiam quomodo perdidi,* followed by *nec uirginem quomodo nuptam* (Quint. Decl. 270, p. 108. 21).
   [66] See Manfredini (2014).
   [67] In addition to introducing the comparative structure, the intensifying value of *tam* is clear here: see Pinkster (2021, 1081–1083).

Live just as if I were sure to get news of your doings, nay, as if I were sure to behold them.

(19a) *'Si dederint superi decies mihi milia centum'*
dicebas nondum, Scaeuola, iustus eques,
'qualiter o uiuam, **quam large quamque beate!'** (Mart. 1. 103. 3)
'If the gods give me a million,' you used to say, Scaevola, before you became a regular knight, 'oh, how I shall live, how lavishly, how happily!'

(19b) *equidem excrucior; decreram enim* **ualde** *cum eo (*sc. *Hortensio)* **familiariter** *uiuere* (Cic. *Att.* 6. 6. 2)
For my own part I am deeply distressed. I had made up my mind to live on really close terms with him. (*sc.* Hortensius)

4.7. *Existence of* peculiares structurae *and similar or equivalent* iuncturae (frequentes)

A previous study[68] reported on several lexicalised formulas and frequent expressions with the verb *uiuo* when it appeared with a SP, with data widely supported by the ThLL and/or the OLD. Among other data, combinations with terms such as *beatus*, *diues*, *felix*, *fortunatus*, *laetus*, *miser*, *pauper*, *potens*, and *turpis* stood out. In the lexicons, the corresponding adverbial expression was considered in a similar way in almost all cases. In our corpus, examples (16a) — **uiuere** *quod propero* **pauper** *nec inutilis annis* –, and (8a) — **ui-uit** *enim praesentibus* **laetus** — can be seen as illustrations of SP, with the corresponding antonymous expression (*diues*),[69] which enhances the intended contrast, as in the following example:

(20) *Aut* **diues** *opto uiuere aut* **pauper** *mori* (Sen. *Ep.* 115. 14)
If riches bless me, I should love to live; / Yet I would rather die, if poor.[70]

In the present corpus analysis, the alternation is not as extended as it is in the exclusively poetic texts of comedy and Augustan poetry, and as already mentioned there is an expansion of the expression ADV in Seneca; among others, combinations such as *bene/male uiuere* — a topic found in several of Seneca's works — can be qualified as frequently-used cliché:

(21a) *Non est bonum uiuere, sed* **bene** *uiuere* (Sen. *Ben.* 3. 31. 4)
It is not a blessing to live, but to live well.

(21b) *Reuerti unde ueneris quid graue est?* **male** *uiuet quisquis nesciet* **bene** *mori* (Sen. *Tranq.* 9. 11. 4)
What hardship is there in returning to the place from which you came? That man will live ill who will not know how to die well.

These examples, and others already presented, show that there are many cases in which *iuncturae* are more frequent with one or the other coding: this is the case, among

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[68] Cabrillana forthc. b, § 2.2.4.
[69] Cf. ThLL, s. v. *beo*, 1920,23.
[70] This is the Senecan Latin version — and therefore the example is valid — of a verse by Euripides: in this case, as in others, the English translation does not quite match the Latin structure.

other constructions, with *beate, familiariter, honeste, iucunde, recte uiuere*[71] and, with the other coding, *felix — fortunatus, laetus, miser, pauper* and *uidua uiuere.*[72] There are also cases in which the same lexeme, frequent in lexicalised expressions, appears with both encodings in the same speech act, although referring to different events, perhaps as a result, among other reasons, of the search for an expressive *variatio*:

> (22) *Vnum fuisse Homero seruum, tres Platoni, nullum Zenoni, a quo coepit stoicorum rigida ac uirilis sapientia, satis constat: num ergo quisquam eos **misere** uixisse dicet, ut non ipse **miserrimus** ob hoc omnibus uideatur?* (Sen. *Helv.* 12. 12. 4)
> It is well known that Homer had one slave, Plato three, that Zeno, the founder of the strict and virile school of Stoic philosophy, had none. Will any one say, therefore, that these men lived poorly without seeming from his very words to, be the poorest wretch alive?

This search for expressiveness and literary elegance sometimes has an impact on the author's choice of one or other type of expression. Thus, for example, in (10), repeated below as (23), there is a coordination between *beatissime* and *cupidiorem*; from the semantic and syntactic point of view, it would certainly have been possible to use ADV in both cases (*beatissime — magis cupide*),[73] but the quasi-fossilised expression *beate uiuere* on the one hand, and the probable *variatio* sought on the other — as well as the economy of the synthetic expression of the comparison in the adjective form and the inelegant accumulation of adverbial forms (*neque umquam magis cupide*) — favour the choice shown in the text:

> (23) *Brutus in eo libro, quem de uirtute composuit, ait se Marcellum uidisse Mytilenis exulantem et, quantum modo natura hominis pateretur, **beatissime** uiuentem neque umquam **cupidiorem** bonarum artium quam illo tempore* (Sen. *Helv.* 12. 9. 4)
> Brutus, in the book he wrote on virtue, says that he saw Marcellus in exile at Mytilene, living as happily as the limitations of human nature permit, and that he had never been more interested in liberal studies than he was at that time.

4.8. (In)compatibility with one or other type of expression

Despite the similarity in the use of SP and ADV in different contexts, it is also to be expected that the two encodings are not interchangeable in all cases, as Pinkster (1983, 204) had already pointed out; among other obvious reasons, the language does not always have doublets for all the realities and semantic contents that are to be conveyed. Some examples in which this is the case are, respectively, (24a), where the ADV (**sole*) is not possible, and (24b), where the gerund construction, together with the lexicalised expression *beate uiuere*,[74] renders the adjective impracticable:

> (24a) *Soli omnium otiosi sunt qui sapientiae uacant, **soli** uiuunt* (Sen. *Brev.* 10. 14. 1)
> Of all men they alone are at leisure who take time for philosophy, they alone really live

> (24b) *Quid ergo? Virtus ad **beate** uiuendum sufficit?* (Sen. *Dial.* 7. 16. 3)
> What! does virtue alone suffice for living happily?

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[71] See, e. g., *beate*: Sen. *Dial.* 7. 1. 2; *bene*: Lucr. 5. 18; *familiariter*: Cic. *Att.* 6. 6. 2; *honeste — iucunde*: Petr. *Sat.* 43. 1; Sen. *Dial.* 7. 7. 1; Sen. *Dial.* 7. 10. 1; *recte*: Sen. *Ep.* 92. 24.

[72] See, e. g., *laetus*: Sen. *Dial.* 7. 26. 4; *miser*: Cic. *Att.* 3. 5. 2; *pauper*: Mart. 2. 90. 1; *uidua*: Liv. 1. 13. 17.

[73] As mentioned above (§ 2.3), ThLL itself, s. v. *cupidus*, 1425,37, understands that there are adjectives that can function as adverbs and *vice versa*, and indeed illustrates this fact with the possible alternation *cupidus/cupide*.

[74] *Beatus uiuere* does appear in any of Seneca's works.

A good example of this fact is the following, where we can see how the author always chooses the coding that best allows him to express the idea he wants to convey:

(25) *quod si non modo tu sed quisquam fuisset qui me Pompei minus liberali responso perter-ritum a turpissimo consilio reuocaret, quod unus tu facere maxime potuisti,<aut **honeste** occubuissemus>*[75] *aut **uictores** hodie uiueremus* (Cic. *Att.* 3. 15. 4)
If you, or anyone else for that matter, at the time when I was thrown into consternation by Pompey's ungenerous response had held me back from a most discreditable resolu-tion, as you were uniquely in a position to do, I should either have met an honourable death or be living triumphant today.

What emerges clearly from the analysis of the present corpus, as is absolutely logical and to be expected, is that when the SP alludes to a characteristic that denotes a social role or function, age, or socio-economic status, the language generally uses nouns, which imposes a concrete coding (SP: (26a–26c)), whereas when the expression is more generic or globalising in nature ADV is frequently found (27a–27d):

(26a) *at tu, miser Titulle, nec **senex** uiuis* (Mart. 8. 44. 3)
But you, my poor Titullus, don't live even in your old age.

(26b) *si adfinitatis inter uos, si conubii piget, in nos uertite iras; nos causa belli, nos uulnerum ac caedium uiris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine alteris uestrum **ui-duae** aut **orbae** uiuemus* (Liv. 1. 13. 17)
'If you regret,' they continued, 'the relationship that unites you, if you regret the mar-riage-tie, turn your anger against us; we are the cause of war, the cause of wounds, and even death to both our husbands and our parents. It will be better for us to perish than to live, lacking either of you, as widows or as orphans.'

(26c) *ut hoc corpus causarium ac fluidum, periturumque nisi subinde suppletur, farcirem, et uiuerem aegri **minister**?* (Sen. *QNat.* 1. pr. 4. 3)
In order that I might stuff this diseased and failing body, which would soon die unless it were filled continuously — and that I might live as an attendant on a sick man?

(27a) ***sic** me uiuere, sic iuuat perire* (Mart. 12. 18. 26)
So fain would I live, so fain would I die.

(27b) *Grande solacium est cum uniuerso rapi; quicquid est quod nos **sic** uiuere, sic mori iussit, eadem necessitate et deos alligat* (Sen. *Dial.* 1. 5. 8)
It is a great consolation that it is together with the universe we are swept along; whatever it is that has ordained us so to live, so to die, by the same necessity it binds also the gods.

(27c) *'Aliter' inquis 'loqueris, **aliter** uiuis* (Sen. *Dial.* 7. 18. 1)
'You talk one way, you live another,' you say.

(27d) *Vis tu cogitare istum, quem seruum tuum uocas, ex isdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo, aeque spirare, **aeque** uiuere, aeque mori* (Sen. *Ep.* 47. 10)
Kindly remember that he whom you call your slave sprang from the same stock, is smiled upon by the same skies, and on equal terms with yourself breathes, lives, and dies.

Certain other determining factors in the choice of one or other form of expression are also of syntactic nature; for example, it is known that impersonal sentences do not admit

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[75] Added by Watt.

SP in agreement, but do admit ADV; on the other hand, structures that are completed and/or intensified with reinforcers such as *ut* are usually found with SP.

One last observation seems relevant here: although for methodological reasons the proposed criteria have been analysed separately, it should be underlined that in many cases, several features are found in the same text, something that I believe increases the probative value of the criteria that we have used. To take just a few examples:

(28a) *Nemo **quam bene** uiuat, sed quam diu, curat, cum omnibus possit contingere, ut **bene** uiuant, ut diu, nulli* (Sen. *Ep.* 22. 17)
Men do not care how nobly they live, but only how long, although it is within the reach of every man to live nobly, but within no man's power to live long.

(28b) ***Rectius** uiuat oportet, ut **beatius** uiuat: si **rectius** non potest, ne **beatius** quidem* (Sen. *Ep.* 92. 24)
In order to live more happily (*sc.* the wise man), he must live more rightly; if he cannot do that, then he cannot live more happily either.

(28c) ***uixit** Sextus Pompeius primum **sorori superstes**, cuius morte optime cohaerentis ro-manae pacis uincula resoluta sunt, **idemque** hic **uixit superstes optimo fratri*** (Sen. *Dial.* 11. 15. 1)
Sextus Pompeius, in the first place, survived his sister, by whose death the closely knit bonds of peace between the Romans were broken, and he likewise survived his excellent brother

In (28a), we can see not only the use of a lexicalised formula (*bene uiuere*), but that it is also focalised (*quam*) in its first appearance; on the other hand, the play on words makes the presence of *bene* indispensable for understanding the content of the whole speech act.[76] Something partially similar could be said of (28b): the absence of *rectius — beatius* would lead to an absolute loss of semantic content, would make the strength of the parallelism (comparative + *ut* — negated comparative + *ne*) lose its force, and would greatly weaken the pragmatic contrast and the wordplay used. Finally, in (28c), in addition to the impracticable omission of the SP from a semantic point of view, the author has chosen to repeat the verb and the term that functions as SP (*superstes*), intensified in its second appearance (*idemque*) and favouring a chiasmus (*sorori **superstes** — **superstes** optimo fratri*); these are all resources that contribute to an increase in the pragmatic weight of the expression.

Other examples discussed above also illustrate several of these proposed criteria: this is the case with (9d), (10), (19b), (20), etc.

Due to the length of a study of this nature, we must conclude with a few brief remarks.

5. Some conclusions

An almost self-evident conclusion is that the critical examination of the main po-sitions analysed above has made it possible, among other things, to extract a number of fairly objective analytical criteria that may be useful in shedding light on the issue of the possible alternation between SP and ADV.

In turn, the results of our small empirical test of those criteria have provided data affirming that SPs in agreement and ADVs not infrequently share features that have ap-

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[76] See also, in a similar vein, Sen. *Ep.* 101. 15.

peared — though not all (see § 4.1) — as applicable only to SP in agreement. Thus, the omissibility of both formulations — whether in semantic or pragmatic terms, and in some cases even syntactic ones — is not universal; coordination occasionally proves to be a valid test to establish the similarity of SP and ADV; it is possible to find cases of ADV in which the (psychological-intentional) implicature of the S allows us to affirm that the ADV does not express only one way of developing the event; the existence of negated examples in both expressions, as well as the use of similar focalising strategies, suggest a comparable independence with respect to the verbal nucleus, etc.

However, there are cases in which the language cannot use the two encodings fully interchangeably, or in which one or the other is preferred where the choice achieves a transmission of information as close as possible to the intention of the speaker. Very briefly, one could say that there are contexts in which both encodings can be shared, contexts in which one is preferred over the other, and contexts in which only one is possible (see § 4.8). This latter claim is fully compatible with the core of the proposals of Schultze-Bernd and Himmelmann, among others.

Further and more detailed research,[77] including a statistical study of the frequency with which the proposed criteria are met, may corroborate, qualify, or correct these tentative conclusions. In any case, I think it can be said that the questions raised at the end of the critical study (§ 3) can generally be answered in the affirmative.

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[77] Cabrillana, in prep. In such research, the type (Activity, Accomplishment, etc.) and stage of the verbal process in question should also be taken into account, which may impose certain restrictions: cf. de Miguel, Fernández Lagunilla 2004.

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Чередование вторичных предикатов в определенных кодировках в латинском языке: обзор и образец применения предложенной методики*

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В данной статье предлагается всесторонний критический обзор наиболее значимых исследований, посвященных возможному чередованию двух специфических кодировок, которые могут выражать в общем смысле способ реализации глагольного действия: адвербиальных выражений (*ADV*) и вторичных предикатов (*SP*). Основными типами *SP/ADV*, рассматриваемыми здесь, являются те, которые ориентированы на субъект и/или событие. Приняты во внимание как общие и типологические работы, так и другие, сфокусированные на латинском языке; особое внимание уделено выделению и анализу подходов, которые в той или иной степени склонны трактовать эти два типа конституентов как эквивалентные. Специальный раздел статьи посвящен исследованиям ученого-латиниста, внесшего наиболее заметный вклад в обсуждаемую проблему (Х. Пинкстера). После критического обзора критериев, обладающих наибольшим потенциалом для объяснения проблемы, предложены некоторые аналитические подходы для последующего корпусного исследования, представляющиеся наиболее объективными. Эти критерии включают параметры, относящиеся к различным языковым уровням: синтаксическому, лексико-семантическому, прагматическому и т. д. Их применение, здесь обсуждаемое лишь предварительно, позволит получить четкие измеримые результаты по той проблеме и вопросам, которые возникают в результате самого критического обзора.

Ключевые слова: чередование, адвербиальное выражение, вторичный предикат, координация, лексико-семантическое сходство, функциональная эквивалентность.