

## The Temporal Adverb *crēbrō* as Compared to *crēbrius* and *crēberrimē* in the Tacitean Corpora

By Tikva Zadok\*

*Our study offers a thorough analysis of a specific adverb in a prose of one author. It fills a gap on the adverbs's researches in Latin prose in general and in the Tacitean corpora in particular by examining the unique usages of crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē in his treatises. Our grammatical approach is descriptive and enables us to present the full documentation of the adverb in the selected corpora. Our main results are: crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē is documented mainly in Ann., rarely in Hist. and Ag. It occurs in positive crēbrō, comparative crēbrius and seldom in superlative crēberrimē denoting a lengthy and non-continuous time with the meaning "often/frequently", "more/most often/frequently". The adverb refers to the past and seldom to the present or future. Only the comparative adverb crēbrius is followed by quam with a contrast concerning content. The adverb is rarely in proximity to a contemporaneous adverb with saepe or posterior adverb with simul. The modified parts of speech are usually finite verbs in the past tenses in perfect, imperfect and pluperfect, seldom participia, infinitives or an elliptic verb. Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē is placed only before the modified part of speech, mostly in first position before it, and sometimes in third position and further removed before it. Crēbrō as compared with crēbrius and crēberrimē yielded identical and different features.*

**Keywords:** *adverb, comparison, contemporaneous, explicit, finite verb, crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē, multiple clause, parallel, posterior, syntactic position*

### The Purpose of our Research and its Contribution

The purpose of our research is to exemplify by means of a detailed linguistic analysis the usages of *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* in the treatises of Tacitus. The need for this kind of research arises from the paucity of comprehensive research on a specific adverb in a certain corpus of Latin prose and the lack of quotations on adverbs from the Tacitean corpora in the secondary literature. Likewise, no comprehensive analysis of an adverb occurring in the Tacitean corpora is contained in the studies concerning his language and style.

Pinkster 1972 emphasizes the need for further studies on adverbs. In his opinion, the syntactical characteristics of the adverbs and the structures in which they occur, has not been sufficiently examined. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out similar studies of additional types of adverbs in a specific corpus.

Our main contribution and importance in this research is achieved by a thorough and exhaustive analysis of the adverb in question in the Tacitean corpora,

---

\*Former Post-doctoral Fellow, Tel Aviv University, Israel.

which examines its characteristic and unique usages, including content and style. The investigation of this subject with an exhaustive discussion in a given corpus will contribute to its study and further it. Our study fills a gap and contributes to the researches on the adverbs' studies in Latin prose in general and in the Tacitean corpora in particular. It points up the relationship between historical contexts and the usage of *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* by linguistic/stylistic means: variety, emphasis of contrast, anaphora, alliteration, word order, parallelism, chiasmus, etc. Accordingly, this research will interest and serve philologics, linguistics and historians of Latin, as well as researchers dealing with a comparative linguistic (Greek-Latin, etc.).

### *Selected Studies on Latin Adverbs (in Chronological Order)*

#### Studies Dealing with Adverbs in General

1) Schaffner-Rimann (1958) discusses the adverbial suffix *-tim*. 2) Menge (1961, §§461-498) concerns the adverbs' meanings; phrases with similar meaning to the same adverb; adverbial suffixes; verbs, adjectives or other adverbs, which are modified by an adverb. 3) Kühner and Stegmann (1962) deal with the function of an adverb as attribute; preposition, which partly functions as an adverb; validity adverbs in affirmative and negative; conjunction, which partly denotes a measure adverb (*et, quoque*); a successive of temporal adverbs in enumeration and specification (*deinde ... post ...*); anaphora of a temporal/local/manner adverb (*nunc ... nunc, modo ... nunc, etc.*); the adverb's position in general, while our discussion contains a detailed analysis on the adverb's position; adverbs in a main clause, subordinated cl. or both clauses (*cum ... tum, tam ... ut*). 4) Löfstedt (1967) discusses at length the frequency of the adverbs' morphemes; nouns and adjectives, which are used in certain contexts as an adverb (*primum, solum, etc.*); the modified part of speech in general. 5) The monumental study of Pinkster (1972) "*On Latin Adverbs*" (see also §0 above) contains a critical discussion of the adverbs' treatment in Latin studies; a description of their functions in larger constructions; classificatory problems; the relationship between adverbs and other uninflected words; the syntactic characteristics of adverbs and other constituents (adverbial adjuncts, etc.). His study is based on Cicero's works, somewhat on Vergilius, Plautus and Julius Caesar without quotations from Tacitus' books. 6) Devine and Stephens (2006) "*Latin Word Order*" deal with word order in a clause/sentence in general without a detailed analysis of a specific adverb in a certain corpus.

#### Studies Dealing with Specific Adverbs

1) Booth (1923) deals only with the position of measure adverbs only in Roman comedy and in *de Agri Cultura* by Cato; 2) Lundström (1961) concerns *abhinc* and *ante* (with measure adverb in ablative/accusative) without relationship to a specific corpus; 3) An exhaustive discussion on *prae* and *pro* as adverbs, prepositions and prefixes is offered by Francis (1973, pp. 1-59); 4) Solodow (1978) concerns the functions and position of the validity adverb *quidem*; 5) The syntax of *adhuc* with verbal predicates is analyzed by Torrego (1991, pp. 345-355)

without its comparison with other temporal adverbs; 6) Risselada (1996, pp. 105-125) deals only with *nunc*: its functions as a discourse marker (including its phrases with *at*, *sed*, *tamen*, *vero*) and as a temporal complement as compared to *now* in English; 7) Bertocchi (2001, pp. 87-111) discusses the restrictive adverb *modo*. He does not compare its usages with *modo* as a temporal adverb; 8) Huitink (2005, pp. 561-570) analyzes only *iam* in negated utterances; 9) Ripoll (2009/2010, pp. 305-316) deals with *multum* as measure adverb.

### *Selected Studies on the Language of Tacitus and his Style*

1) Draeger (1882) deals with the syntax and style of Tacitus. He discusses briefly the usages of the adverbs in his treatises (pp. 5, 8-9, §§8, 21-24); 2) Mendell (1911) gives a detailed analysis on sentence connection in Tacitus; 3) Voss (1963) discusses the emphatic style employed by Tacitus; 4) Fanetti (1978-79: 389-400) analyzes the chiasmus only in *Agricola*, whereas our study deals with chiasmic and parallel structures in all the treatises of Tacitus; 5) Kirchner (2001) deals at length with sentences types in Tacitus' works and their functions.

### *Methodology*

We surveyed selected studies dealing with adverbs in general and specific adverbs, as well as with the language of Tacitus and his style (see §§0.1-0.2 above).<sup>1</sup> Our methodology and grammatical approach adopted here are descriptive. It offers a thorough analysis of a specific temporal adverb in a prose opus of one author, including quotations from the corpora<sup>2</sup> with literal translations, wherever applicable.<sup>3</sup> Maximum use of statistics is made with detailed comparative tables (see tables 1-6 below) concerning the following points: the distribution of *crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* in each book and its variants; its lexical meanings in positive, comparative and superlative; the time, to which it refers; its proximity to an additional temporal adverb; the part of speech modified by it; the syntactic position of the adverb in relation to its modified element, which was examined by linguistic/stylistic means: context, where some message or element is to be emphasized, word order, anaphora, chiasmic/parallel structures (mainly by contrasted pairs of words) and exceptions to the regular word order in Latin. The interval between the adverb and the modified element was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words ranges from one to three words with exceptions consisting of more words; a comparison between *crēbrō*, *crēbrius* and *crēberrimē* in the

<sup>1</sup>The references at the end of this study are alphabetical arranged, whereas in our discussion, including footnotes, the references are chronological arranged. Bibliographical abbreviations follow Lewis-Short (1879; henceforth: L.-Sh.), p. XII; and Glare *et al.* (eds.) (1982; henceforth: *OLD*), pp. XXI-XXIII.

<sup>2</sup>Our quotations are according to the editions of Heubner (1978, 1994) and Delz (1983). Slight changes are according to Fisher (1906, 1911); Koestermann (1969, 1970, 1971); Schinzel (1971); Weiskopf (1973); Winterbottom and Ogilvie (1975); Römer (1976).

<sup>3</sup>In the references were indicated the treatise (in *Hist.* and *Ann.* also the book number) followed by a number of chapter and paragraph (*Ag.* 41,1; *Hist.* 2,69,2, etc.).

Tacitean corpora in the points indicated above, due to differences in contents and stylistic characteristics in each book; conclusions.

#### Glosses for non-English Terms (Alphabetical Arranged)

**AccI** = accusative with infinitive (after certain verbs, which govern it).

**Ablativus absolutus** = a kind of a short clause, which includes noun in ablative as subject and adjective, *P.P.P.* or *P.P.A.* as its predicate. According to the context, the *ablativus absolutus* replaces a temporal/conditional/causal clause, etc.

**Accusative directionis** = *accusative* indicating a direction.

**Gerundive** = participle in passive future, usually functions as an adjective or indicates obligation.

**Metathesis** (of words) = reversing the ordinary position of words.

**Hyperbaton** = an interval between two elements, which are not juxtaposed to each other (between a subject and its verb, between an adverb and its modified element, etc.).

**Hyperbole** = exaggeration, pleonasm for emphasis.

**Participia** = participles; **P.P.P.** = passive perfect participle; **P.P.A.** = active present participle.

**Praedicativum** = an attribute in adjective, *P.P.P.* or *P.P.A.*, indicating the condition of an element (subject, direct object, etc.) in a clause/sentence.

#### **The Distribution of *crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* in the Corpora and its Variants**

The adverb is documented in 15x: *Ann.*-11x, *Hist.*-2x, *Ag.*-2x, as follows: *crēbrō* in positive-8x, *crēbrius* in comparative-5x and rarely *crēberrimē* in superlative-2x (see Tables 1-1a).<sup>4</sup>

**Table 1.** *The Distribution of *crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* in the Corpora*

Book	<i>Crēbrō</i>	<i>Crēbrius</i>	<i>Crēberrimē</i>	Cases
<i>Ann.</i>	3,9,1; 55,3; 4,7,1; 5,9,1; 12,3,1; 68,3; 15,52,1	12,44,3; 14,52,3	3,67,2; 6,22,1	11
<i>Hist.</i>	-	1,65,1; 2,69,2	-	2
<i>Ag.</i>	41,1	43,2	-	2
<b>Total</b>	8	5	2	15

**Table 1a.** *The General Inventory of *crēbrō*, *crēbrius*, *crēberrimē* in Each Book*

Book	<i>Crēbrō</i>	<i>Crēbrius</i>	<i>Crēberrimē</i>	Total
<i>Ann.</i>	7	2	2	11
<i>Hist.</i>	-	2	-	2
<i>Ag.</i>	1	1	-	2
<b>Cases</b>	8	5	2	15

The reading *crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* involves four variants:

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Gerber and Greef (1962) 1, pp. 231-232, s.v. *crēbrō*, B) adv.; Blackman and Betts (1986) 1, pp. 352-353; *TLL* 4/12, pp. 1121-1123, s.v. *crēbrō*, adverb.

- A. *Hist.* 2,69,2: *crēbribus*: Schinzel (1971), p. 73.  
 B. *Ann.* 6,22,1: *crēberrima et*: Fisher (1906), p. 193; Koestermann (1971), p. 184; Heubner (1994), p. 194.  
 C. *Ann.* 12,68,3: *crēbrō* for *crēbrōque*: Weiskopf (1973), p. 129.  
 D. *Ann.* 14,52,3: *saepius*: Koestermann (1971), p. 323.

*The Meaning of crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē and the Time, to which it refers*

*Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* functions only as a temporal adverb in the Tacitean corpora.<sup>5</sup> In other corpora it functions also as a local adverb.<sup>6</sup> *Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is derived from the adjective *crēber* denoting a lengthy and non-continuous time with the meaning “frequently/often,” “more frequently/often,” “most frequently/often.”

**Table 2.** *The Time, to which crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē Refers*

Time	<i>Crēbrō</i>	<i>Crēbrius</i>	<i>Crēberrimē</i>	Cases
Past	<i>Ag.</i> 41,1; <i>Ann.</i> 3,9,1; 55,3; 5,9,1; 12,68,3; 15,52,1	<i>Ag.</i> 43,2; <i>Hist.</i> 1,65,1; 2,69,2; <i>Ann.</i> 12,44,3; 14,52,3	<i>Ann.</i> 3,67,2	12
Present	<i>Ann.</i> 4,7,1	-	<i>Ann.</i> 6,22,1	2
Future	<i>Ann.</i> 12,3,1	-	-	1

From Table 2, *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* mostly refers to the past-12x, seldom to the present-2x or the future-1x.

In 3x (*Ag.* 43,2, §4.1.2, ex. 2; *Hist.* 1,65,1, §3.2; *Ann.* 12,44,3, §2 below) *quam* “than” is preceded by the comparative adverb *crēbrius*<sup>7</sup> with a contrast in content, e.g.:

*Is modicum Hiberiae regnum senecta patris detineri ferocius crēbriusque iactabat, quam ut cupidinem occultaret*

“Radamistus boasted too arrogantly and more frequently than to conceal (his) desire, that the modest kingdom of Iberia was being kept from (him) due to (his) father’s longevity” (*Ann.* 12,44,3).

**The Part of Speech Modified by crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē**

The part of speech modified by *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is explicit (except for 1x) and is mentioned only in the clause, in which the adverb is included. From Table 3, it modifies mainly a finite verb in the past tenses-9x: perfect-2x, imperfect-6x, pluperfect-1x; rarely infinitive as a predicate of *AcI*-2x or *participia*-

<sup>5</sup>For its functions as a temporal adverb see L-Sh., p. 479a, s.v. *crēbrō*, II.1; *OLD*, p. 455b, s.v. *crēbrō*, adverb, 2; *TLL* 4/12, pp. 1122-1123, s.v. *crēbrō*, adverb, 2.

<sup>6</sup>For its usage as a local adverb see *OLD*, p. 455b, s.v. *crēbrō*, adverb, 1; *TLL* 4/12, p. 1122, s.v. *crēbrō*, adverb, 1.

<sup>7</sup>For *quam* “than”, which is preceded by a comparative adverb, see *OLD*, p. 1537c, s.v. *quam*, B. relative adverb, 8.

3x: *P.P.P.*-1x and *P.P.A.*-1x, replacing a relative clause, *gerundive* in dative of purpose-1x.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 3.** *The Part of Speech Modified by crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē*

The part of speech	<i>Crēbrō</i>	<i>Crēbrius</i>	<i>Crēberrimē</i>	Cases
<b>Is explicit</b>				
<b>Finite verb:</b> perfect	Ag. 41,1	Ag. 43,2	-	2
Imperfect	<i>Ann.</i> 5,9,1; 12,68,3; 15,52,1	<i>Hist.</i> 2,69,2; <i>Ann.</i> 12,44,3	<i>Ann.</i> 3,67,2	6
Pluperfect	<i>Ann.</i> 3,9,1	-	-	1
<b>Participia</b>				
<i>P.P.P.</i> : replaces a clause	<i>Ann.</i> 3,55,3	-	-	1
<i>P.P.A.</i> : replaces a clause	<i>Ann.</i> 4,7,1	-	-	1
<i>Gerundive</i> : dative of purpose	<i>Ann.</i> 12,3,1	-	-	1
<b>Infinitive</b>				
Predicate of <i>AcI</i>	-	<i>Ann.</i> 14,52,3	<i>Ann.</i> 6,22,1	2
<b>Is not explicit</b>	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1,65,1	-	1

### *The Part of Speech is Explicit*

#### Finite Verb

##### Perfect

*Crēbrō* per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est

“During those days (Agricola) in (his) absence was frequently accused before Domitian, (but) in (his) absence he was (also) acquitted” (Ag. 41,1).

*Crēbrō* modifies *accusatus (est)* + *absolutus est* (their subject = Agricola) with an adversative asyndeton between them, while *est* is not repeated after *accusatus*.

See also Ag. 43,2, §4.1.2, ex. 2 below.

##### Imperfect

*Non temperante Tiberio quin premeret voce vultu, eo quod ipse crēberrimē interrogabat, neque refellere aut eludere dabatur, ac saepe etiam confitendum erat, ne frustra quaesivisset*

“For Tiberius did not refrain from pressing (Silanus) by (his) word, look, (and) by the fact that he himself most frequently put questions (to him), (and) it was not allowed (for Silanus) to rebut or evade (the charges), and often even confession was necessary, lest (Tiberius) should have asked (Silanus) in vain” (*Ann.* 3,67,2).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup>In the quotations of this section, the relevant part of speech modified by *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē*, is underlined.

<sup>9</sup>See also *Ann.* 12,44,3, §2 above; 5,9,1; 12,68,3, 15,52,1; *Hist.* 2,69,2, §4.1.1, exx. 1, 5, 7-8 below.

Pluperfect

*Eaque res agitata rumoribus, ut in agmine atque itinere crēbrō se militibus ostentavisset*

“And this event led to rumors, how (Piso) had frequently displayed himself to the soldiers during the march and on the route” (*Ann.* 3,9,1).

ParticipiaP.P.P.: Replaces a Clause

*Postquam caedibus saevitum et magnitudo famae exitio erat, ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. Simul novi homines, e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crēbrō adsumpti, domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt*

“After the savage massacres (had taken place) and the greatness of (one’s) reputation brought an extermination, the rest (who survived) turned to wiser courses. At the same time new men, frequently enlisted into the senate from the municipalities, colonies and even from the provinces, brought (their) domestic frugality” (*Ann.* 3,55,3).

*Crēbrō* modifies *adsumpti*, *P.P.P.* replacing a relative clause of the subject *novi homines*.

P.P.A.: Replaces a Clause

*Ultor metuebatur non occultus odii, sed crēbrō querens incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium vocari*

“The avenger (Drusus) be dreaded (by Sejanus), who did not conceal (his) hatred (to Sejanus), but frequently complained that, as long as the (emperor’s) son was alive, somebody else was called (by Tiberius) as assistant of the empire” (*Ann.* 4,7,1).

Gerundive: Dative of Purpose

*Etenim per speciem necessitudinis crēbrō ventitando pellicit patrum, ut praelata ceteris*

“Indeed, by visiting frequently on the pretext of family relationship, (Agrippina) lured (her) paternal uncle, so that she was preferred to the others” (*Ann.* 12,3,1).

The adverb *crēbrō* denotes the same sense as the modified frequentative verb *ventitando* by *hyperbole* (cf. 14,52,3, §3.1.3, ex. 2; 15,52,1, §4.1.1, ex. 7 below).

Infinitive: Predicate of AcI

(1) *Multis insitam opinionem non initia nostri, non finem, non denique homines dis curae; ideo crēberrimē tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse*

“For many (of the Epicureans have) an ingrained belief that neither our beginnings, nor (our) end, (and) nor, in short, the mankind (are) the concern to the gods; (and that) hence most frequently dismal (things) befall to good (men and) happy (things) to worse (men)” (*Ann.* 6,22,1).

*Crēberrimē* modifies *esse*, predicate of *AcI* depends on *opinionem*;<sup>10</sup> its subjects = multiple substantivized adjectives *tristia* + *laeta*.

<sup>10</sup>See *OLD*, p. 1253, s.v. *opinio*, 1.a; Woodman (2017), p. 178.

(2) *Obiciebant etiam eloquentiae laudem uni sibi adsciscere et carmina crēbrius facitare, postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset*

“(The baser men) also alleged against (Seneca) that (he) assumed for himself alone the praise of eloquence and (that he) composed poems more frequently, as soon as an affection of them had seized on Nero” (*Ann.* 14,52,3).

*The Part of Speech is not explicit*

*Multae in vicem clades, crēbrius infestiusque, quam ut tantum propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur*

“Many losses (were inflicted) on both sides, more frequently and more fiercely than as if to believe that the fighting was only for Nero or Galba” (*Hist.* 1,65,1).

## The Position of *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* Concerning the Modified Part of Speech

### Introduction

The typical order in a clause/sentence is S [subject] (+ its modifiers) - OID [dative]/OD [direct object]- V [verb] (+ its modifiers). The adverb, mainly temporal/negative adverbs and temporal phrases (as *paulo ante*, *iam diu*), usually precede the modified element. Exceptions for variety, emphasis, etc. are used by metathesis of words: the adverb follows its modified element (apart from monosyllabic adverb, as *non*, *vel*), the verb precedes its subject; hyperbaton between the adverb and the modified element; proximity of similar/opposite adverbs.

The position of the adverb was examined by linguistic/stylistic means. The interval between the adverb and the modified element was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words (see §0.3 above). However, it is not always possible to find an unequivocal explanation on the adverb’s position, due to differences in contents and stylistic characteristics between the oratorical and historical books of Tacitus. Latin word order is not fixed in the sentence, despite its freedom. Likewise, the opinions on the adverb’s position are not uniform<sup>11</sup>.

From table 4 below, *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is placed only before the modified element: 1) First position before-10x: *crēbrō*-6x, *crēbrius*-3x, *crēberrimē*-1x; 2) Third position or further removed one before-4x: *crēbrō*-2x, *crēbrius*-1x, *crēberrimē*-1x.

However, *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is not postponed to the end of a clause/sentence.

<sup>11</sup>See Booth (1923), Marouzeau (1948, pp. 155-161, 1949, pp. 11-33), Kühner and Stegmann (1962, 2/2, §246), Both (1967, p. 117), Pinkster (1972, 1990, pp. 163-188), Fanetti (1978-79, pp. 389-400), de Jong (1991, pp. 91-101), Elerick (1994, pp. 99-117), Devine and Stephens (2006), Hoffmann (2010, pp. 267-279).

**Table 4.** *The Position of crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē Concerning the Modified Part of Speech*

Position	Crēbrō	Crēbrius	Crēberrimē	Cases
Before: first	Ann. 3,55,3; 4,7,1; 5,9,1; 12,3,1; 68,3; 15,52,1	Hist. 2,69,2; Ann. 12,44,3; 14,52,3	Ann. 3,67,2	10
Third	Ag. 41,1; Ann. 3,9,1	Ag. 43,2	Ann. 6,22,1	4

*Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* before the Modified Part of SpeechFirst Position before

(1) *Exitiabile id rei publicae, ingratum militi, cui eadem munia inter paucos periculaque ac labor crēbrius redibant*

“This (policy was) disastrous for the state (and) displeasing for the soldiers, for the same duties (were distributed) among few (men), so that the dangers as well as the toil resumed more frequently” (*Hist.* 2,69,2).

In the causal clause *cui... paucos* the verb *essent* of the subject *munia* is omitted after *cui = cum* [Ash (2007), p. 270]. In its main clause (*periculaque ... redibant*) *crēbrius* is in first position before its modified *redibant* and not in third one before it (i.e. *cui eadem munia inter paucos crēbrius periculaque ac labor redibant*), since it may modify, at first sight, the omitted *essent* of the causal clause. Consequently, in the main clause occurs the typical word order in Latin (cf. §4.0 above), sc. multiple subjects (connected by *ac*) *periculaque ac labor*-temporal adverb *crēbrius*-modified verb *redibant* by *crēbrius*.

(2) *Ann.* 3,55,3, §3.1.2.1 above: a. *Simul* introduces the second coordinate sentence *simul ... intulerunt* (the first one = *postquam ... convertere*), because it indicates a new stage in an argument<sup>12</sup>, sc. after dealing with the upper classes, Tacitus turns to *novi homines*; b. The modified *adsumpti* by *crēbrō* replaces a relative clause of the subject *novi homines* and is preceded by *in + accusative directionis* governed by it in *senatum* (*OLD*, p. 190c, s.v. *assumo*, 9.a.); c. The whole phrase *e municipiis ... adsumpti*, in which *crēbrō* + the modified *adsumpti* are included, is in apposition to the subject *novi homines* with the order: multiple local ablatives *e municipiis et coloniis ... provinciis*<sup>13</sup> (referring to *novi homines*)-*accusative directionis in senatum*-temporal adverb *crēbrō*-modified *adsumpti* by *crēbrō*. The frugality and simplicity are common motifs of provincial life; d. The apposition is embedded between *simul ... homines + domesticam ... intulerunt* and is anterior to it. For this reason, *domesticam*<sup>14</sup> *parsimoniam*, direct object + its adjective, as well as the modified *intulerunt*<sup>15</sup> by *simul* follow the whole apposition and are not near the subject *novi homines*.

<sup>12</sup>See *OLD*, p. 1765c, s.v. *simul*, adverb, 5a-b; Woodman and Martin (1996, p. 405).

<sup>13</sup>*Municipiis et coloniis* designate in Tacitus' books the Italian towns in contrast to *provinciis*. See Furneaux (1897, p. 334).

<sup>14</sup>*Domesticam* may mean 'native, personal' (*OLD*, p. 570b, s.v. *domesticus*, adjective, 3, 4) or 'household' (*OLD*, 1).

<sup>15</sup>*Intulit* "to bring in as a new feature, introduce" (*OLD*, p. *OLD*, 897b, s.v. *infero*, 6).

(3) *Ann.* 4,7,1, §3.1.2.2 above: in the second multiple part (*sed crēbrō ... vocari*) *crēbrō* is in first position before the modified *querens*, which replaces a relative clause of the subject *ultor*, sc. Drusus, and not in first one after it (i.e. *sed querens crēbrō incolumi ... vocari*) for two reasons: 1) *Crēbrō* may modify, as it were, the predicate *incolumi* of the *ablativus absolutus incolumi filio* (referring to Drusus); 2) In order to juxtapose *querens* to the *AcI adiutorem imperii alium vocari* governed by *querens* (*OLD*, p. 1547b, s.v. *querens*, 2.a), while *adiutorem* with genitive *imperii* governed by *adiutor*<sup>16</sup> is a *praedicativum* of the subject *alium* of *AcI*.

(4) *Ann.* 12,3,1, §3.1.2.3 above: a. The main clause *etenim ... patrum* (its consecutive clause = *ut ... ceteris*) is introduced by the conjunction *etenim*, which corroborates reason expressed in *per speciem necessitudinis* (L.-Sh., p. 661c, s.v. *etenim*, conjunction, I), sc. why Agrippina visit frequently her uncle. Consequently, the phrase *per speciem necessitudinis* is placed after *etenim*, while *crēbrō* + the modified *gerundive ventitando* in dative of purpose follow *etenim*; b. *Crēbrō* is placed in first position before *ventitando* and not in first one after it (i.e. ... *ventitando crēbrō pellicit patrum*), on account of: α. *Crēbrō* will apparently modify *pellicit* (its subject = Agrippina); β. There is an exaggeration by the superfluous *crēbrō* near the frequentative *ventito* with same sense (*hyperbole*), which adds emphasis to *ventitando*; γ. The finite verb *pellicit* + its direct object *patrum* are placed at the end of the main clause after *crēbrō ventitando* and not *vice versa*, in order to juxtapose them to the following consecutive *ut* clause governed by *pellicit* (*OLD*, p. 1320b, s.v. *pellicio*, 2.b).

(5) *Igitur portantur in carcerem filius imminentium intellegens*<sup>17</sup>, *puella adeo nescia, ut crēbrō interrogaret, quod ob delictum et quo traheretur*

“(The remaining children of Sejanus) were therefore transported to prison, while the son was aware of (his) impending (fate, but) the girl being so unconscious that she repeatedly asked for what offence and whither she was being dragged” (*Ann.* 5,9,1).

The consecutive clause *ut crēbrō interrogaret* follows its main clause *igitur ... nescia* and does not precede it, on the ground of: 1) *Igitur* as the first word of the main clause expresses a reference or result “consequently, therefore, so” (*OLD*, p. 822a, s.v. *igitur*, conjunction, 3.a); 2) The consecutive clause + the subjunctive follows *adeo* mentioned in the main clause<sup>18</sup>; 3) In order to juxtapose *interrogaret* (its subject *puella* mentioned in its main clause) to the following indirect question clause *quod ... traheretur* governed by *interrogo*. Accordingly, *crēbrō* precedes the modified *interrogaret* and does not follows it.

(6) *Ann.* 12,44,3, §2 above: a. *Is*, subject of the main clause *is ... iactabat*, is at its top, so that it is near Radamistus mentioned before this sentence; b. The modified *iactabat* is preceded by two adverbs in comparative connected by *-que*: manner adverb *ferocius* + temporal adverb *crēbriusque* “boasted more arrogantly and more frequently”. In this manner, *iactabat* is more emphasized; c. The *AcI modicum ... detineri* governed by *iactabat* does not follow *iactabat*, but is embedded between the

<sup>16</sup>L.-Sh., p. 38c, s.v. *adjutor*, 2.II; *OLD*, p. 45c, s.v. *adiutor*, 1.b.

<sup>17</sup>For *intellegens* with genitive *imminentium* see *OLD*, p. 935c, s.v. *intellegens*, 2; Furneaux-Pitman (1912, p. 6).

<sup>18</sup>*OLD*, p. 39b, s.v. *adeo*<sup>2</sup>, adverb, 4.b.: with *ut* + subjunctive.

subject *is* and the modified verb + its modifier adverbs *ferocius crēbriusque iactabat*. By this word order, the whole phrase *ferocius crēbriusque iactabat* at the tail of the main clause is near the following comparison clause *quam ut cupidinem occultaret*, which includes also a result clause *ut ... occultaret*, indicating a contrast concerning content with the preceding main clause *is ... iactabat*.

(7) *Coniuratis tamen metu prodicionis permotis placitum maturare caedem apud Baias in villa Pisonis, cuius amoenitate captus Caesar crēbrō ventitabat balneasque et epulas inibat omissis excubiis et fortunae suae mole*

“However, while the conspirators were prompted by the fear of betrayal, they decided to hasten the murder (of Nero) in Piso’s villa at Baiae, to where the emperor (Nero), charming by its attractiveness, visited frequently, and participated in baths and banquets neglecting (his) guards and (his) rank’s gravity” (*Ann.* 15,52,1).

A. In the relative clause *cuius ... ventitabat* (its antecedent = *in villa Pisonis*) the *praedicativum captus* is placed before the subject Caesar (sc. Nero), in order to connect *captus* with the preceding causal ablative *amoenitate*. B. On the other hand, the modified verb *ventitabat* by *crēbrō* follows its subject Caesar, while *crēbrō* is placed in first position before *ventitabat* and not in third position before it (viz. *cuius amoenitate crēbrō captus Caesar ventitabat*), for the following reasons: a. It will apparently modify the *praedicativum captus* of the subject Caesar; b. The superfluous adverb *crēbrō* with the frequentative verb *ventitabat* “to come frequently or habitually” is a pleonasm, which adds emphasis to *ventitabat* and makes salient Nero’s habitual pleasure-seeking<sup>19</sup>.

(8) *Cunctos aditus custodiis clauserat, crēbrōque vulgabat ire in melius valetudinem principis, quo miles bona in spe ageret tempusque prosperum ex monitis Chaldaeorum adventaret*

“(Agrippina) had closed all the approaches with guards and frequently made it public that the emperor’s health (is getting) better, so that the soldiers might act in good hope and the propitious moment by the Chaldaeans’ warnings might arrive” (*Ann.* 12,68,3).

A. Multiple coordinated clauses *cunctos ... clauserat* and *crēbrōque ... principis* of the main clause *cunctos ... principis* are connected by *-que* in *crēbrōque*, while multiple verbs *clauserat* and *vulgabat* appear in succession and refer to the same subject Agrippina. Since the second coordinated cl. *crēbrōque ... principis* is introduced by *crēbrōque*, *crēbrō* modifies only the second verb *vulgabat*. B. *Crēbrōque* precedes *vulgabat* and does not follow it (i.e. *vulgabat crēbrōque ire in melius valetudinem principis*) due to: a. In order to juxtapose *vulgabat* to the *AcI* clause *ire in melius valetudinem principis* governed by it; b. *Crēbrōque* after *vulgabat* can be interpreted as modifying the predicate *ire* of the *AcI* “and the emperor’s health was frequently better”. C. The following final clause *quo ... adventaret* explains the second coordinated clause *crēbrōque ...*

<sup>19</sup>See also *Ann.* 12,3,1, §3.1.2.3; 14,52,3, §3.1.3, ex. 2 above; Miller (1994, p. 104), Ash (2018, p. 238).

*principis*, sc. why Agrippina frequently issued that the emperor's health was better.

(9) *Ann.* 14,52,3, §3.1.3, ex. 2 above: in the second *AcI* clause (*carmina crēbrius factitare*) governed by *obiciebant* (*OLD*, p. 1213a, s.v. *obicio*, 10.a) connected by *et* to the first *AcI* clause (*eloquentiae ... adsciscere*) *crēbrius* refers to the whole phrase *carmina factitare*, direct object + predicate of *AcI* (its omitted *S se*, sc. Seneca). However, *crēbrius* gives the same sense as a frequentative verb *factitare* by *hyperbole* (cf. *Ann.* 12,3,1, §3.1.2.3; 15,52,1, §4.1.1, ex. 7 above). For emphasizing the frequentative meaning of *factitare* “to do frequently or habitually” (*OLD*, p. 670b, s.v. *factito*, 1.a), *crēbrius* is embedded between *carmina* and the modified *factitare* by its occurrence in first position before *factitare* and not before the whole phrase *carmina factitare*.

(10) *Ann.* 3,67,2, §3.1.1.2 above: a. *Ipsē*, subject of the factitive clause *eo quod... interrogabat*, is placed immediately after *eo quod* “by the fact that”,<sup>20</sup> in order to juxtapose it to the subject Tiberius mentioned in the preceding *ablativus absolutus temperante Tiberio*. Therefore, *crēberrimē* + the modified verb *interrogabat* are placed after *ipse*; b. *Crēberrimē* precedes *interrogabat* and does not follow it (i.e., *eo quod ipse interrogabat crēberrimē neque ... dabatur*), because it will modify, mainly in an unpunctuated text, *neque dabatur* of the following coordinated clause *neque ... dabatur*. Consequently, in the factitive clause *eo ... interrogabat* the regular word order in Latin occurs: factitive conjunction *eo quod*-subject *ipse*, sc. Tiberius-temporal adverb *crēberrimē*-modified verb *interrogabat* by *crēberrimē*.

### Third Position and Further removed before

(1) *Ag.* 41,1, §3.1.1.1 above: a. *Crēbrō* introduces the multiple clause, since it indicates the time by temporal phrase *per eos dies*<sup>21</sup> and place by an adverbial expression in accusative *apud Domitianum*, to which both modified verbs *accusatus* and *absolutus est* by *crēbrō* refer. Likewise, temporal phrase and adverbial expression in accusative usually precede the modified verb (see §4.0 above); b. If *crēbrō* is embedded between the multiple parts *absens accusatus* and *absens absolutus est* (viz. *per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, crēbrō absens absolutus est*), it will refer to the second multiple part *absens absolutus est* and modify only *absolutus est*, contrary to the message of the sentence; c. Both modified verbs with an adversative *asyndeton* between them, are in perfect tense (their subject = Agricola) and are highlighted by a parallel contrast (*praedicativum* of the subject-modified verb by *crēbrō*), which is also underscored by: α. *Anaphora* of *absens*, *praedicativum* of the subject, before each verb: *absens accusatus* and *absens absolutus est*; β. An alliteration with a contrast *accusatus* ≠ *absolutus*: *absens accusatus (est)*

*absens absolutus est*

<sup>20</sup>*OLD*, p. 1565c, s.v. *quod*, relative adverb, conjunction, 2.a.

<sup>21</sup>*Per eos dies*, sc. the days following Agricola's return and preceding the winter of A.D. 85. See, e.g., Ogilvie-Richmond (1967, p. 290), Heubner (1984, p. 118).

(2) *Ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius crēbrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat*

“However, through the whole (period) of his illness, the (emperor’s) chief freedmen as well as the most confidential of the physicians came more frequently than is usual of the principate, who visits by messengers - whether that was solicitude or espionage” (Ag. 43,2).

A. *Crēbrius* is followed by *quam* with hyperbaton between *crēbrius* and the modified *venere* by: ablative of manner *ex more* after *quam*, its attribute in genitive *principatus*, *P.P.A. visentis*<sup>22</sup> replacing a relative clause of *principatus*, adverbial expression in accusative *per nuntios*. For this reason, both subjects *libertorum primi et medicorum intimi* (with measure adverb between them *et ... et*) are placed near *venere*, while *crēbrius* is in third position and further removed before the modified *venere*. B. *Crēbrius* is preceded by an adverbial expression in accusative *per omnem valetudinem eius*, for emphasizing the time, when the chief freedmen and the most confidential of the physicians came more frequently to Agricola.

(3) *Ann.* 3,9,1, §3.1.1.3 above: the indirect question clause *ut ... ostentavisset* (its main clause = *eaque ... rumoribus*) is introduced by *ut* (*OLD*, p. 2112b, s.v. *ut*, interrogative adverb, A.2), which is underlined by multiple ablatives *in agmine atque itinere* after *ut*, which indicate the fact or circumstances of being on the march. Between *crēbrō* and the modified *ostentavisset* (its subject = *Piso*) occurs hyperbaton by the complements of *ostentavisset*, which usually precede the verb: direct object *se* of *ostentavisset*, a reflexive pronoun of *Piso* (*OLD*, p. 1275c, s.v. *ostento*, 1.a. reflexive) and indirect object in dative *militibus*. A word order such as *se militibus crēbrō ostentavisset* is less valid, since *ostentavisset* is not placed near its complements.

(4) *Ann.* 6,22,1, §3.1.3, ex. 1 above: a. The second *AcI* clause *ideo ... esse* governed by *opinionem* (*opinionem* is also the subject of the *AcI* after *reperies* mentioned before this sentence) is introduced by a causal adverb *ideo*, indicating reason concerning the first *AcI* clause *non ... curae* (the main clause = *multis ... opinionem*). Consequently, *crēberrimē* is in second position after *ideo*; b. The second *AcI* clause includes multiple contrasting parts in respect of content: adverbial expressions in accusative *tristia in bonos ≠ laeta apud deteriores esse* with a varied preposition of similar meaning *in-apud*.<sup>23</sup> The contrast is emphasized by: α. Substantivized adjectives as subjects *tristia ≠ laeta*; β. A *variatio* of positive *bonos ≠* comparative *deteriores*; γ. A parallel arrangement (subject-adverbial expression in accusative) between both multiple parts. Due to the parallel contrast, *crēberrimē* is at the head of the first part, while the modified predicate *esse* by *crēberrimē* is mentioned once at the end of the second part: *tristia in bonos (esse)*

<sup>22</sup>*Principatus ... visentis* = *principum ... visentium*: abstract for concrete. See, e.g., Heubner (1984, p. 125), Woodman-Kraus (2014, p. 306).

<sup>23</sup>See, e.g., Furneaux-Pitman (1912, p. XXVI, §64, i), Woodman (2017, p. 178).

laeta apud deteriores esse

### ***Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* in Proximity to a Temporal Adverb**

From table 5 below, in a few cases (2x) the adverb is in proximity to a temporal adverb: 1) Contemporaneity by *saepe* with *crēberrimē*-1x; 2) Posteriority by *simul* with *crēbrō*-1x.

**Table 5.** *Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* in Proximity to a Temporal Adverb

Temporal adverb	<i>Crēbrō</i>	<i>Crēbrius</i>	<i>Crēberrimē</i>	Cases
Contemporaneity: <i>saepe</i>	-	-	<i>Ann.</i> 3,67,2	1
Posteriority: <i>simul</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 3,55,3	-	-	1

*Contemporaneity: Saepe*

*Ann.* 3,67,2, §3.1.1.2 above: *crēberrimē* in the clause *non temperante ... interrogabat* is contemporaneous with *saepe* in the following clause *neque ... quuaesivisset*.

*Posteriority: Simul*

*Ann.* 3,55,3, §3.1.2.1 above: the subject *ceteri* “the survivors” changed their ways in two phases, reflecting the verbs’ tenses in *postquam* clause: some of them after the civil wars of 68/9 (*postquam ... saevitum*), some during the reign of Domitian (*postquam + magnitudo ... erat*). *Simul domesticam ... intulerunt* is compatible with post-Galban period [Woodman and Martin (1996), pp. 404-405]. Hence, both *postquam ... convertere* and *simul ... homines + domesticam ... intulerunt* are contemporaneous, while *e municipiis ... adsumpti* in which *crēbrō* included is anterior to them.

### **A Comparison between *crēbrō*, *crēbrius*, *crēberrimē* in the Tacitean Corpora**

Some of our findings, detailed in §§1-5 above concerning *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē*, are identical in the Tacitean corpora, whereas some of them are different, due to the contents and the author’s style in each book (see Table 6; for references see Tables 1-5).

**Table 6.** A Comparison between *crēbrō*, *crēbrius*, *crēberrimē* in the Tacitean Corpora

The features	<i>Crēbrō</i>			<i>Crēbrius</i>			<i>Crēberrimē</i>			Total
	Ag.	Hist.	Ann.	Ag.	Hist.	Ann.	Ag.	Hist.	Ann.	
<b>The distribution</b>	1	-	7	1	2	2	-	-	2	15
<b>Referring to:</b>										
<b>past</b>	1	-	5	1	2	2	-	-	1	12
<b>Present</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
<b>Future</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>With <i>quam</i></b>	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
<b>Without <i>quam</i></b>	1	-	7	-	1	1	-	-	2	12
<b>With a temporal adverb</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
<b>Lack of a temporal adverb</b>	1	-	6	1	2	2	-	-	1	13
<b>The modified element</b>										
<b>Is explicit</b>	1	-	7	1	1	2	-	-	2	14
<b>Is not explicit</b>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Finite verb:</b>										
<b>perfect</b>	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
<b>Imperfect</b>	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	1	6
<b>Pluperfect</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Infinitive</b>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
<b>Participia:</b>										
<b>P.P.P.</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>P.P.A.</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Gerundive</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>The position</b>										
<b>Before: first position</b>	-	-	6	-	1	2	-	-	1	10
<b>Third position</b>	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	4

*Identical Features*

1. *Crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* denotes a lengthy and non-continuous time “often/frequently” with *crēbrō* in positive, “more often/frequently” with *crēbrius* in comparative, “most often/ frequently” with *crēberrimē* in superlative.
2. *Crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* refer to the past.
3. The modified part of speech: a) Is explicit; b) Is mentioned only in the clause, in which the adverb is included; c) It is a finite verb in the past tenses: perfect, imperfect, pluperfect.
4. Their position is before the modified element: a) Mostly in first position before; b) Sometimes in third position and further removed before.

*Different Features*

1. Their distribution is documented in the following descending order: *crēbrō*: Ag.-1x, Ann.-7x; *crēbrius*: Ag.-1x, Hist.-2x, Ann.-2x; *crēberrimē* only in Ann.-2x.
2. The time, to which it refers: 1) Present-2x in Ann.: *crēbrō*-1x, *crēberrimē*-1x; 2) Future-1x in Ann.: *crēbrō*.
3. *Quam* “than” is rarely preceded by the comparative adverb *crēbrius* with a contrast in content-3x: Ag.-1x, Hist.-1x, Ann.-1x.
4. Proximity to a temporal adverb-2x in Ann.: *crēbrō*-1x, *crēberrimē*-1x.
5. The modified part of speech: a) Is not explicit-1x in Hist.: *crēbrius*; b) Infinitive, predicate of *AcI*-2x in Ann.: *crēbrius*-1x; *crēberrimē*-1x; c) *Participia*-3x only in Ann. with *crēbrō*: *P.P.P.*-1x and *P.P.A.*-1x, replacing a relative clause, *gerundive* in dative of purpose-1x.

**Conclusions**

The innovation of our research is by exemplifying in detailed and exhaustive linguistic analysis the usages of a specific adverb, viz. *crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē*, in a specific corpus of Tacitus, which was not extensively quoted in the studies on Latin adverbs. The need for this kind of research and for further studies on adverbs arises from the paucity of comprehensive analysis of an adverb occurring in the Tacitean corpora in the studies concerning his language and style, as well as in the researches on adverbs of Latin prose. Likewise, the syntactical characteristics of the adverbs and the structures, in which they occur, has not been sufficiently examined. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out studies of adverbs in a certain corpus.

Our main contribution and importance in this research is achieved by a thorough and exhaustive analysis of the adverb in question in the Tacitean corpora, which examines its characteristic and unique usages, including content and style. The investigation of this subject with an exhaustive discussion in a given corpus will contribute to its study and further it. Our study fills a gap and contributes to the researches on the adverbs' studies in Latin prose in general and in the Tacitean corpora in particular. It points up the relationship between historical contexts and the usage of *crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* by linguistic/stylistic means: variety, which is favored by Tacitus, emphasis of contrast, anaphora, alliteration, word order, parallelism, chiasmus, etc. Accordingly, it will interest and serve philologists, linguistics and historians of Latin, as well as researchers dealing with a comparative linguistic (Greek-Latin, etc.).

*Crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* is documented as a temporal adverb only in 15x: mainly in Ann.-11x, seldom in Hist.-2x and Ag.-2x.

Its lexical denotations: 1) It denotes a lengthy and non-continuous time; 2) It is documented in the Tacitean corpora with *crēbrō* in positive “often/frequently”, *crēbrius* in comparative “more often/frequently” and rarely with *crēberrimē* in superlative “most often/frequently”.

The time, to which it refers, is mostly the past and rarely the present or the future.

Only *crēbrius* in comparative occurs before *quam* with a contrast concerning content.

*Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is seldom in proximity to a temporal adverb: 1) Contemporaneity by *saepe* with *crēberrimē* -1x; 2) Posteriority by *simul* with *crēbrō*-1x.

The part of speech modified by the adverb: 1) Is explicit (except for 1x) and is mentioned only in the clause, in which the adverb is included. 2) The grammatical forms modified it are mostly finite verbs in the past tense: pluperfect, perfect, imperfect; rarely *participia: P.P.P.* or *P.P.A.* replacing a relative clause, *gerundive* in dative of purpose and infinitive-predicate of *AcI*.

The syntactic position of *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* was examined by linguistic/stylistic means regarding content, emphasis and word order. However, Latin word order is not fixed in a sentence and exceptions from its typical order, especially for variety, emphasis and explication, are made by metathesis of words: the adverb follows the modified element; the verb precedes its subject; hyperbaton between the adverb and the modified part of speech (by verbs' complements or for emphasis some element); proximity of similar/opposite adverbs, a chiasitic/parallel arrangement, which reinforces the modified element by the adverb. The position of *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is only before the modified part of speech, mainly in first position before and seldom in third position and further removed before. *Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is not postponed to the end of a clause/sentence in the Tacitean corpora.

A concluding comparison of *crēbrō* as compared to *crēbrius* and *crēberrimē* is made between the Tacitean treatises with a comparative summarizing table. Indeed, the differences in content and stylistic characteristics between the oratorical and historical books naturally create differences on the adverb's usage and the contexts in which it occurs. However, this comparison yielded identical and different features alike, as follows:

- 1) Identical features: a) Their lexical denotation: they denote a lengthy and non-continuous time "often/frequently" with *crēbrō* in positive, "more frequently" with *crēbrius* in comparative, "most frequently" with *crēberrimē* in superlative; b) They refers to the past; c) The modified part of speech: α) Is explicit and is mentioned only in the clause, in which the adverb is included.; β) Finite verb in the past tenses: perfect, imperfect, pluperfect; d) Their position is before the modified element: a) Mostly in first position; b) Sometimes in third position.
- 2) Different features: a) Their distribution: they are documented in the following descending order: *crēbrō: Ag., Ann.*; *crēbrius: Ag., Hist., Ann.*; *crēberrimē* only in *Ann.*; b) *Crēbrō* and *crēberrimē* rarely refer to the present: *Ann.*; *crēbrō* also refers to the future: *Ann.*; c) *Quam* "than" is rarely preceded by a comparative adverb *crēbrius* with a contrast in content in *Ag., Hist., Ann.*; d) For emphasis, contrast regarding time/content, etc., it is seldom in proximity to a temporal adverb denoting contemporaneity:

*crēberrimē* with *saepe*-1x: *Ann.*, posteriority: *crēbrō* with *simul*-1x: *Ann.*; e) The modified part of speech: α) Is not explicit with *crēbrius*-1x: *Hist.*; β) Infinitive: rarely in *Ann.* after *crēbrius*-1x and *crēberrimē*-1x; γ) *Participia* only with *crēbrō* in *Ann.*-3x: *P.P.P.*-1x, *P.P.A.*-1x, *gerundive* in dative of purpose-1x.

## References

- Ash R (2007) *Histories of Tacitus, Book II*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ash R (2018) *The Annals of Tacitus, Books XV*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bertocchi A (2001) The scalar interpretation of the restrictive adverb *modo*. In G Calboli (ed.), *Papers on Grammar VII*, 87–111. Rome: Herder.
- Blackman DR, Betts GG (1986) *A Concordance to Tacitus*. Concordantia Tacitea 2. Hildesheim, Zürich & New York: Olms-Weidmann.
- Booth BE (1923) *The Collocation of the Adverb of Degree in Roman Comedy and Cato*. Doctoral Dissertation. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Bos GE (1967) L'adverbe en Latin. Tentative de classification structurale. (The Adverb in Latin. Attempt at Structural Classification). *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 62: 106–122.
- de Jong JR (1991) *Word order in Cato's De Agricultura*. In J Herman (ed.), *Linguistic Studies on Latin. Selected Papers from the 6<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics*. Budapest, 23- 27 March 1991. Studies in Language Companion 28, 91–101. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.
- Delz J (1983) *P. Cornelius Tacitus Libri Qui Supersunt 2/3. Agricola*. (The Books of P. Cornelius Tacitus which Remained 2/3, Agricola). Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart: BG Teubner.
- Devine AM, Stephens LD (2006) *Latin Word Order: Structured Meaning and Information*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Draeger A (1882) *Ueber Syntax und Stil des Tacitus*. (On Syntax and Style of Tacitus). 3rd Edition. Leipzig (repr. Amsterdam 1967).
- Elerick C (1994) How Latin Word Order Works. In G Calboli (ed.), *Papers on Grammar IV*, 99–117. Rome: Herder.
- Fanetti D (1978-79) Il Chiasmo nell' Agricola di Tacito. (The Chiasmus in Agricola of Tacitus). *Museum criticum* 13–14: 389–400.
- Fisher CD (1906) *Cornelii Taciti Annalium. Ab Excessu Divi Augusti Libri*. (The Annals of Cornelius Tacitus. The Books from the Death of Augustus onwards). Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher CD (1911) *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Libri*. Oxford Classical Texts. (The Books of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Francis ED (1973) *Particularum quarundam varietas: prae and pro*. (A Variety of Several Particles: prae and pro). In Cole, D Ross (eds), *Studies in Latin Language and Literature*. Yale Classical Studies 23, 1–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Furneaux H (1897) *Cornelii Taciti Annalium, Libri I-IV*. (Books I-IV of the Annals of Tacitus). 2nd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press (repr. 1938).
- Furneaux H, Pitman H (1912) *Cornelii Taciti Annalium, Libri V, VI, XI, XII*. (Books V, VI, XI, XII of the Annals of Tacitus). Oxford: Oxford University Press (repr. 2010).

- Gerber A, Greef A (1877-1890) *Lexicon Taciteum 2*. Leipzig: BG Teubner (repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962).
- Glare PGW et al. (Eds.) (1982) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford (repr. 1997).
- Heubner H (1978) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt 2/1. Historiarum Libri*. (The Books of P. Cornelius Tacitus which Remained 2/1. The Books of Histories). Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart: BG Teubner.
- Heubner H (1984) *Kommentar zum Agricola des Tacitus*. (Commentar on Agricola of Tacitus). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Heubner H (1994) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt 1. Ab Excessu Divi Augusti*. (The Books of P. Cornelius Tacitus which Remained 1: from the Death of Augustus onward). Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart: BG Teubner.
- Hoffmann R (2010) *Latin Word Order Revisited: Information Structure of Topic and Focus*. In P Anreiter, M Kienpointer (eds), *Latin Linguistics Today. Akten 15. Internationalen Kolloquiums zur Lateinischen Linguistik Innsbruck, 4.-9. April 2009*, 267–279. Innsbruck: Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 137. Innsbruck.
- Huitink L (2005) Saying NO to *Iam*. In G Calboli (ed.), *Papers on Grammar IX 2*, 561–570. Rome: Herder.
- Kirchner R (2001) *Sentenzen im Werk des Tacitus*. (Sentences in the Works of Tacitus). Palingenesia 74. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Koestermann E (1969) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt II/2: Historiarum Libri*. (The Books of P. Cornelius Tacitus which Remained 2/2: The Books of Histories). Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: BG Teubner.
- Koestermann E (1970) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt II/2: Germania, Agricola, Dialogus de Oratoribus*. (The Books of P. Cornelius Tacitus which Remained 2/2: Germania, Agricola, Dialogue on Orators). 3rd Edition. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: BG Teubner.
- Koestermann E (1971) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt I: Ab Excessu Divi Augusti*. (The Books of P. Cornelius Tacitus which Remained 1: from the Death of Augustus onwards). 3rd Edition. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: BG Teubner.
- Kühner R, Stegmann C (1962) *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*. (Detailed Grammar of the Latin Language) 2/1, 2/2. Satzlehre 4 Edition. Munich: M. Hueber.
- Lewis CT, Short C (1879) *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (repr. 1996).
- Löfstedt B (1967) Bemerkungen zum Adverb im Lateinischen. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 72: 79–109.
- Lundström S (1961) *Abhinc und Ante: Studien zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Zeitdifferenzbestimmungen*. (Abhinc and Ante: Studies on the History of the Latin Designations of Time Difference). Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 62. Lund: CW K Gleerup.
- Marouzeau J (1948) Quelques vues sur l'ordre des mots en latin. (Some Views on Latin Word Order). *Lingua* 1: 155–161.
- Marouzeau J (1949) *L'ordre des mots dans la phrase Latine. Les Articulations L'Énoncé 3*. (The Order of the Words in the Latin Phrase. The Articulations of the Statement 3). Collection d'études latines publiée par la Société des Études Latines (Série Scientifique 24). Paris: Les belles lettres.
- Mendell CW (1911) *Sentence Connection in Tacitus*. Doctoral Dissertation. New Haven & London: Yale University.

- Menge H (1961) *Repetitorium der Syntax und Stilistik*. (Review of the Syntax and Stylistics). 16th Edition. Bearbeit von A. Thierfelder. Munich: M. Hueber.
- Miller N P (1994) *Tacitus Annals XV*. London: Bristol Classical Press (repr. 2001).
- Ogilvie RM, Richmond IA (1967) *Cornelii Taciti De Vita Agricola*. (Cornelius Tacitus on the Agricultural Life). Oxford; Oxford University Press (repr.1992).
- Pinkster H (1972) *On Latin Adverbs*. North-Holland Linguistic Series 6. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company.
- Pinkster H (1990) *Latin Syntax and Semantics*. Translated by Holze Multer. London-New York: Routledge.
- Ripoll A (2009/2010) *À propos de la quantification en Latin: de la nature de multum*. (On the quantification in Latin: the Nature of multum). In P Anreiter, M Kienpointer (eds.), *Latin Linguistics Today*. Akten 15. *Internationalen Kolloquiums zur des Lateinischen Linguistik Innsbruck, 4.-9. April 2009* (pp. 305–316). Innsbruck: Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 137. Innsbruck.
- Risselada R (1996) And Now for Something Completely Different? Temporal Discourse Marks: Latin *nunc* and English Now. In R Risselada, Jan R De Jong, M Bolkstein (eds.), *On Latin Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honour of Harm Pinkster*, 105–125. Amsterdam: JC Gleben.
- Römer F (1976) P. Corneli Taciti Annalium Libri XV-XVI. (Books XV-XVI of the Annals of P. Cornelius Tacitus). In *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik*, 6. Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau.
- Schaffner-Rimann J (1958) *Die Lateinischen Adverbien auf -tim*. (The Latin Adverbs with -tim). Dissertation Zürich. Winterthur: PG Keller.
- Schinzel I (1971) P. Corneli Taciti Historiarum Lib. II (Book II from the Histories of P. Cornelius Tacitus). In *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik*, 3. Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau.
- Solodow JB (1978) *The Latin Particle Quidem*. American Classical Studies 4. Boulder. Boulder, Colorado: Johnson.
- Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1903) *Editus auctoritate et consilio accademiarum quinque Germanicarum, Berolinensis, Gotingensis, Lipsiensis, Monacensis, Vindobonensis*. Leipzig.
- Torrego ME (1991) The Syntax of *adhuc* with verbal Predicates. In J Herman (ed.), *Linguistic Studies on Latin. Selected Papers from the 6<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics*. Budapest, 23-27 March 1991. *Studies in Language Companion* 28, 345–355. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.
- Voss BR (1963) *Der pointierte Stil des Tacitus*. (The Emphasized Style of Tacitus). *Orbis Antiquus* 19. Münster: Aschendorff.
- Weiskopf H (1973) P. Corneli Taciti Annalium Libri XI-XII. (Books XI-XII of the Annals of P. Cornelius Tacitus). In *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik*, 4. Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau.
- Winterbottom M, Ogilvie RM (1975) *Taciti Opera Minora*. (The Smaller Works of Tacitus). Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Woodman AJ (2017) *The Annals of Tacitus, Books 5 and 6*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woodman AJ, Kraus CS (2014) *Tacitus, Agricola*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woodman AJ, Martin RH (1996) *The Annals of Tacitus, Book 3*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (repr. 2004).