

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

*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 perf., impf. and p.q.p.; 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 to 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* as a temporal adv. 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. Moreover, no comprehensive analysis of a specific adverb occurring in the Tacitean corpora is contained in the studies concerning his language and style. Our study fills a gap, to a certain extent, and contributes to the researches on adverbs of Latin prose in general and in the Tacitean corpora in particular. This is achieved by examining the characteristic and unique usages, including content and style of a specific adverb in his corpora.

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. The investigation of this subject with an exhaustive discussion in a given corpus will contribute to its study and further it.

*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 affirm. and neg.; conjunction, which partly denotes a measure adv. (*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 cl., subordinated cl. or both cls. (*cum ... tum, tam ... ut*). 4) Löfstedt (1967) discusses at length the frequency of the adverbs' morphemes; nouns and adjectives in masc./neutr. sg., 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 cl./sentence in general without a detailed analysis of a specific adv. in a certain corpus.

Studies Dealing with Specific Adverbs

1) Booth (1923) deals with the position of measure adverbs in Roman comedy and in *de Agri Cultura* by Cato; 2) Lundström (1961) concerns *abhinc* and *ante* (with acc./abl. and with measure adverb in abl./acc.) 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 *quidem*; 5) The syntax of *adhuc* with verbal predicates is analyzed by Torrego (1991, pp. 345-355). 6) Risselada (1996, pp. 105-125) deals with the functions of *nunc* 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*; 8) Huitink (2005, pp. 561-570) analyzes *iam* in negated utterances; 9) Ripoll (2009/2010, pp. 305-316) deals with the measure adverb *multum*.

*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 adv. 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 the temporal adv. *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* in each book and its variants; its lexical meanings in positive, comparative and superlative; the time, to which *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* refers; its proximity to a temporal adv.; the part of speech modified by it; the syntactic position of the adv. 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), exceptions to the regular word order in Latin. The interval between the adv. and the modified element was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words ranges from one to three words with exceptions consisting of more words; due to differences in contents and stylistic characteristics in each book, we made a comparison between *crēbrō*, *crēbrius* and *crēberrimē* in the Tacitean corpora in the points indicated above; conclusions.

### The Distribution of *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* and Its Variants

The adverb is documented in 15x: *Ann.*-11x, *Hist.*-2x, *Ag.*-2x. It occurs in positive *crēbrō*-8x, compar. *crēbrius*-5x and rarely superl. *crēberrimē*-2x (see tables 1-1a below).<sup>4</sup>

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

A. *Hist.* 2,69,2: *crēbribus*: Schinzel (1971), p. 73.

<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.).

<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*, adv.

- 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.

**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 Meaning of *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* and the Time, to Which It Refers

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

From table 3 below, it mostly refers to the past-12x, seldom to the present-2x or the future-1x.

In 3x (*Ag.* 43,2; *Hist.* 1,65,1; *Ann.* 12,44,3) *quam* “than” is preceded by the compar. adv. *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).

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

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

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

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

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

### 2 3 4 **The Part of Speech Modified by crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē**

5  
6 The part of speech modified by crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē is explicit (except  
7 for 1x) and is mentioned only in the cl., in which the adv. is included. From table 3  
8 below, it modifies mainly a finite verb in the past tenses-9x: perf.-2x, impf.-6x,  
9 p.q.p.-1x; rarely inf. as a predicate of AcI-2x or participia-3x: P.P.P.-1x and  
10 P.P.A.-1x, replacing a rel. cl., gdve. in dat. finali-1x.<sup>8</sup>

#### 11 12 *The Part of Speech Is Explicit*

##### 13 14 Finite Verb

##### 15 Perfect

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

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

19  
20 *Crēbrō* modifies *accusatus (est) + absolutus est* (their S = Agricola) with an  
21 adversative asyndeton between them, while *est* is not repeated after *accusatus*.

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

##### 23 24 Imperfect

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

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

##### 32 33 Pluperfect

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

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

38  
<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.

1 Participia

2 P.P.P.: Replaces a Cl.

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

6 “After the savage massacres (had taken place) and the greatness of (one’s) reputation  
7 brought an extermination, the rest (who survived) turned to wiser courses. At the  
8 same time new men, frequently enlisted into the senate from the municipalities,  
9 colonies and even from the provinces, brought (their) domestic frugality” (*Ann.*  
10 3,55,3).

11 *Crēbrō* modifies *adsumpti*, P.P.P. replacing a rel. cl. of the *S novi homines*.

12  
13 P.P.A.: Replaces a Cl.

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

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

19  
20 Gerundive: Dative Finali

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

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

25  
26 The adv. *crēbrō* denotes the same sense as the modified frequentative V  
27 *ventitando* by hyperbole (cf. 14,52,3, §3.1.3, ex. 2; 15,52,1, §4.1.1, ex. 7 below).

28  
29 Infinitive: Predicate of AcI

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

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

36  
37 *Crēberrimē* modifies *esse*, predicate of AcI depends on *opinionem*;<sup>10</sup> its S =  
38 multiple subst. adjs. *tristia* + *laeta*.

39  
40 (2) *Obiciebant etiam eloquentiae laudem uni sibi adsciscere et carmina crēbrius*  
41 *factitare, postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset*

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

45  
46  

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

*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).

**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>				
Finite V: perf.	Ag. 41,1	Ag. 43,2	-	2
Impf.	Ann. 5,9,1; 12,68,3; 15,52,1	Hist. 2,69,2; Ann. 12,44,3	Ann. 3,67,2	6
P.q.p.	Ann. 3,9,1	-	-	1
<b>Participia</b>				
P.P.P.: replaces a cl.	Ann. 3,55,3	-	-	1
P.P.A.: replaces a cl.	Ann. 4,7,1	-	-	1
Gdve.: dat. finali	Ann. 12,3,1	-	-	1
Inf.: predicate of AcI	-	Ann. 14,52,3	Ann. 6,22,1	2
<b>Is not explicit</b>	-	Hist. 1,65,1	-	1

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

*Introduction*

The typical order in a cl./sentence is S (+ its modifiers) -OID/OD-V (+ its modifiers). The adv., mainly temporal/neg. advs. 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 adv. follows its modified element (apart from monosyllabic adv., as *non*, *vel*), the V precedes its S; hyperbaton between the adv. and the modified element; proximity of similar/opposite advs.

The position of the adv. was examined by linguistic/stylistic means. The interval between the adv. 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 adv.'s position are not uniform.<sup>11</sup>

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

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 cl./sentence.

#### *Before the Modified Part of Speech*

##### First Position before

(1) *Exitabile 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 cl. (*cui... paucos*) *essent* of the S *munia* is omitted after *cui* = *cum* [Ash (2007), p. 270]. In its main cl. (*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 cl. Therefore, in the main cl. occurs the typical word order in Latin (cf. §4.0 above), sc. multiple S (connected by *ac*) *periculaque ac labor*-temporal adv. *crēbrius*-modified V *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 rel. cl. of the S *novi homines* and is preceded by *in* + acc. direct. *in senatum* governed by it (*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 S *novi homines* with the order: abls. loci *e municipiis et coloniis ... provinciis*<sup>13</sup> (referring to *novi homines*)-acc. direct. *in senatum*-temporal adv. *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. Therefore, *domesticam*<sup>14</sup> *parsimoniam*, OD + its adj., as well as the modified *intulerunt*<sup>15</sup> by *simul* follow the whole apposition and are not near the S *novi homines*.

(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 rel. cl. of the

<sup>12</sup> *OLD*, p. 1765c, s.v. *simul*, adv., 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*, adj., 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).



1 *S ultor*, sc. *Drusus*, and not in first one after it (i.e. *sed querens crēbrō incolumi ...*  
 2 *vocari*) for two reasons: 1) *Crēbrō* may modify, as it were, the predicate *incolumi* of  
 3 the abl. absol. *incolumi filio* (referring to *Drusus*); 2) In order to juxtapose *querens* to  
 4 the AcI *adiutorem imperii alium vocari* governed by it (*OLD*, p. 1547b, s.v. *querens*,  
 5 2.a), while *adiutorem* with gen. *imperii* governed by *adiutor*<sup>16</sup> is a praedicativum of  
 6 the *S alium* of AcI.

7  
 8 (4) *Ann.* 12,3,1, §3.1.2.3 above: **a.** The main cl. *etenim ... patrum* (its consecutive  
 9 cl. = *ut ... ceteris*) is introduced by the conj. *etenim*, which corroborates reason  
 10 expressed in *per speciem necessitudinis* (L.-Sh., p. 661c, s.v. *etenim*, conj. I), sc. why  
 11 Agrippina visit frequently her uncle. For this reason, the phrase *per speciem*  
 12 *necessitudinis* is placed after *etenim*, while *crēbrō* + the modified gerundive  
 13 *ventitando* in dat. finali follow it; **b.** *Crēbrō* is placed in first position before  
 14 *ventitando* and not in first one after it (i.e. *... ventitando crēbrō pellicit patrum*), on  
 15 account of: **α.** It will apparently modify *pellicit* (its *S* = Agrippina); **β.** There is an  
 16 exaggeration by the superfluous *crēbrō* near the frequentative *ventito* with same  
 17 sense (hyperbole), which adds emphasis to *ventitando*; **γ.** The finite *V pellicit* + its  
 18 OD *patrum* are placed at the end of the main cl. after *crēbrō ventitando* and not *vice*  
 19 *versa*, in order to juxtapose them to the following consecutive *ut* cl. governed by  
 20 *pellicit* (*OLD*, p. 1320b, s.v. *pellicio*, 2.b).

21  
 22 (5) *Igitur portantur in carcerem filius imminentium intellegens*<sup>17</sup>, *puella adeo nescia*,  
 23 *ut crēbrō interrogaret, quod ob delictum et quo traheretur*  
 24 “(The remaining children of Sejanus) were therefore transported to prison, while the  
 25 son was aware of (his) impending (fate, but) the girl being so unconscious that she  
 26 repeatedly asked for what offence and whither she was being dragged” (*Ann.* 5,9,1).

27  
 28 The consecutive cl. *ut crēbrō interrogaret* follows its main cl. *igitur ... nescia*  
 29 and does not precede it, on the ground of: 1) *Igitur* as the first word of the main cl.  
 30 expresses a reference or result “consequently, therefore, so” (*OLD*, p. 822a, s.v.  
 31 *igitur*, conj., 3.a); 2) The consecutive cl. + subj. follows *adeo* mentioned in the  
 32 main cl.;<sup>18</sup> 3) In order to juxtapose *interrogaret* (its *S* *puella* mentioned in its main  
 33 cl.) to the following indir. qu. cl. *quod ... traheretur* governed by *interrogo*.  
 34 Accordingly, *crēbrō* precedes the modified *interrogaret* and does not follows it.

35  
 36 (6) *Ann.* 12,44,3, §2 above: **a.** *Is*, *S* of the main cl. *is ... iactabat*, is at its top, so that  
 37 it is near *Radamistus* mentioned before this sentence; **b.** The modified *iactabat* is  
 38 preceded by two advs. in compar. connected by *-que*: manner adv. *ferocius* +  
 39 temporal adv. *crēbriusque* “boasted more arrogantly and more frequently”. In this  
 40 manner, *iactabat* is more emphasized; **c.** The AcI *modicum ... detineri* governed by  
 41 *iactabat* does not follow *iactabat*, but is embedded between the *S is* and the modified  
 42 *V* + its modifier advs. *ferocius crēbriusque iactabat*. By this word order, the whole  
 43 phrase *ferocius crēbriusque iactabat* at the tail of the main cl. is near the following  
 44 comparison cl. *quam ut cupidinem occultaret*, which includes also a result cl. *ut ...*

<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 gen. *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>, adv., 4.b.: w. *ut* + subj.

1 *occultaret*, indicating a contrast concerning content with the preceding main cl. *is ...*  
2 *iactabat*.

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

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

10

11 **A.** In the rel. cl. *cuius ... ventitabat* (its antecedent = *in villa Pisonis*) the  
12 praedicativum *captus* is placed before the S Caesar (sc. Nero), in order to connect  
13 *captus* with the preceding abl. causae *amoenitate*. **B.** On the other hand, the  
14 modified V *ventitabat* by *crēbrō* follows its S Caesar, while *crēbrō* is placed in  
15 first position before *ventitabat* and not in third position before it (viz. *cuius*  
16 *amoenitate crēbrō captus Caesar ventitabat*), for the following reasons: **a.** It will  
17 apparently modify the praedicativum *captus* of the S Caesar; **b.** The superfluous  
18 adv. *crēbrō* with the frequentative V *ventitabat* “to come frequently or habitually”  
19 is a pleonasm, which adds emphasis to *ventitabat* and makes salient Nero’s  
20 habitual pleasure-seeking.<sup>19</sup>

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

24 “(Agrippina) had closed all the approaches with guards and frequently made it public  
25 that the emperor’s health (is getting) better, so that the soldiers might act in good  
26 hope and the propitious moment by the Chaldaeans’ warnings might arrive” (*Ann.*  
27 12,68,3).

28

29 **A.** Multiple coordinated cls. *cunctos ... clauserat* and *crēbrōque ... principis*  
30 of the main cl. *cunctos ... principis* are connected by *-que* in *crēbrōque*, while  
31 multiple verbs *clauserat* and *vulgabat* appear in succession and refer to the same S  
32 Agrippina. Since the second coordinated cl. *crēbrōque ... principis* is introduced  
33 by *crēbrōque*, *crēbrō* modifies only the second verb *vulgabat*. **B.** *Crēbrōque*  
34 precedes *vulgabat* and does not follow it (i.e. *vulgabat crēbrōque ire in melius*  
35 *valitudinem principis*): **a.** In order to juxtapose *vulgabat* to the AcI *ire in melius*  
36 *valitudinem principis* governed by it; **b.** *Crēbrōque* after *vulgabat* can be  
37 interpreted as modifying the predicate *ire* of the AcI “and the emperor’s health  
38 was frequently better”. **C.** The following final cl. *quo ... adventaret* explains the  
39 second coordinated cl. *crēbrōque ... principis*, sc. why Agrippina frequently issued  
40 that the emperor’s health was better.

41

42 (9) *Ann.* 14,52,3, §3.1.3, ex. 2 above: in the second AcI cl. (*carmina crēbrius*  
43 *factitare*) governed by *obiciebant* (*OLD*, p. 1213a, s.v. *obicio*, 10a) connected by *et*  
44 to the first AcI (*eloquentiae ... adsciscere*) *crēbrius* refers to the whole phrase  
45 *carmina factitare* (OD + predicate of AcI; its omitted S *se*, sc. Seneca). However,

<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.

*crēbrius* gives the same sense as a frequentative V *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* with its placement in first position before *factitare* and not before the whole phrase *carmina factitare*.

(10) *Ann.* 3,67,2, §3.1.1.2 above: **a.** The S *ipse* of the factitive cl. *eo quod... interrogabat* is placed immediately after *eo quod* “by the fact that”,<sup>20</sup> in order to juxtapose it to the S Tiberius mentioned in the preceding abl. absol. *temperante Tiberio*. Therefore, the temporal adv. *crēberrimē* + the modified V *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 cl. *neque ... dabatur*. Consequently, in the factitive cl. *eo ... interrogabat* the regular word order in Latin occurs: factitive conj. *eo quod*-S *ipse*, sc. Tiberius-temporal adv. *crēberrimē*-modified V *interrogabat* by *crēberrimē*.

### Third Position and Further Removed before

(1) *Ag.* 41,1, §3.1.1.1 above: **a.** *Crēbrō* introduces the multiple cl., since it indicates the time *per eos dies* and place *apud Domitianum*, to which both modified verbs *accusatus* and *absolutus est* by *crēbrō* refer. Likewise, temporal phrase *per eos dies*<sup>21</sup> and advl. expression *apud Domitianum* usually precede the modified V (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 perf. tense (their S = Agricola) and are highlighted by a parallel contrast (praedicativum of the S-modified V by *crēbrō*), which is also underscored by: **α.** Anaphora of *absens*, praedicativum of the S, before each V: *absens accusatus* and *absens absolutus est*; **β.** An alliteration *accusatus* ≠ *absolutus*: *absens accusatus (est)*

*absens absolutus est*

(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: abl. modi *ex more* after *quam*, its attrib. gen. *principatus*,

<sup>20</sup>*OLD*, p. 1565c, s.v. *quod*, rel. adv., conj., 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.

P.P.A. *visentis*<sup>22</sup> replacing a rel. cl. of *principatus*, advl. expr. in acc. *per nuntios*. For this reason, both S *libertorum primi et medicorum intimi* (with measure adv. between them *et ... et*) are placed near *venere*, while *crēbrius* is in third position and further removed before *venere*. **B.** *Crēbrius* is preceded by an advl. expr. in acc. *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 indir. qu. cl. *ut ... ostentavisset* (its main cl. = *eaque ... rumoribus*) is introduced by *ut* (*OLD*, p. 2112b, s.v. *ut*, interrog. adv., A.2.), which is underlined by *in agmine atque itinere* after *ut*, sc. multiple abls. indicating the fact or circumstances of being on the march. Between *crēbrō* and the modified *ostentavisset* (its S = *Piso*) occurs hyperbaton by the complements of *ostentavisset*, which usually precede the V: OD *se* of *ostentavisset*, a reflx. pron. of *Piso* (*OLD*, p. 1275c, s.v. *ostento*, 1.a. refl.) and OID *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 cl. *ideo ... esse* governed by *opinionem* (*opinionem* is also the S of AcI after *reperies* mentioned before this sentence) is introduced by a causal adv. *ideo*, indicating reason concerning the first AcI cl. *non ... curae* (the main cl. = *multis ... opinionem*). Therefore, *crēberrimē* is in second position after *ideo*; **b.** The second AcI cl. includes multiple contrasting parts in respect of content *tristia in bonos ≠ laeta apud deteriores esse* with a varied prep. of similar meaning *in-apud*.<sup>23</sup> The contrast is emphasized by: **α.** a subst. adj. as S *tristia ≠ laeta*; **β.** A variation of positive *bonos ≠* comparative *deteriores*; **γ.** A parallel arrangement (S-prep.-adj.) 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)*

*laeta apud deteriores esse*

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

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

<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.

## Proximity of *crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* to a Temporal Adverb

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

*Contemporaneity: saepe*

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

*Posteriority: simul*

*Ann.* 3,55,3, §3.1.2.1 above: the *S ceteri* “the survivors” changed their ways in two phases, reflecting the verbs’ tenses in *postquam*-cl.: some of them after the civil wars of 68/9 (*postquam caedibus 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 novi homines + domesticam ... intulerunt* are contemporaneous, while *e municipiis ... adsumpti* with *crēbrō* is anterior to them.

**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

## *Crēbrō* as Compared to *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 below; for references see tables 1-5 above).

### *Identical Features*

*Crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* denotes a lengthy and non-continuous time “often/frequently”, “more/most often/frequently” in posit. *crēbrō*, compar. *crēbrius* and superl. *crēberrimē*.

*Crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* refer to the past.

The modified part of speech: a) Is explicit; b) Is mentioned only in the cl., in which the adv. is included; c) It is a finite V in the past tenses: perf., impf., p.q.p.

Their position is before the modified element: a) Mostly in first position before; b) Sometimes in third position and further removed before.

#### *Different Features*

Their distribution is documented in *Ag.*, *Hist.* and *Ann.* in the following descending order: *crēbrō*: *Ag.*-1x, *Ann.*-7x; *crēbrius*: *Ag.*-1x, *Hist.*-2x, *Ann.*-2x; *crēberrimē* only in *Ann.*-2x.

The time, to which it refers: 1) Present-2x in *Ann.*: *crēbrō*-1x, *crēberrimē*-1x; 2) Future-1x in *Ann.*: *crēbrō*.

*Quam* “than” is rarely preceded by a compar. adv. *crēbrius* with a contrast in content-3x: *Ag.*-1x, *Hist.*-1x, *Ann.*-1x.

Proximity to a temporal adv.-2x in *Ann.*: *crēbrō*-1x, *crēberrimē*-1x.

The modified part of speech: a) Is not explicit-1x in *Hist.*: *crēbrius*; b) Inf., predicate of AcI-2x in *Ann.*: *crēbrius*-1x; *crēberrimē*-1x; c) Participia-3x in *Ann.* only with *crēbrō*: P.P.P.-1x and P.P.A.-1x, replacing a rel. cl., gdve. in dat. finali-1x.

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

The features	<i>Crēbrō</i>			<i>Crēbrius</i>			<i>Crēberrimē</i>			Total
	<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Ann.</i>	
The distribution	1	-	7	1	2	2	-	-	2	15
Referring to: past	1	-	5	1	2	2	-	-	1	12
	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Present										
Future										
With <i>quam</i>	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
Without <i>quam</i>	1	-	7	-	1	1	-	-	2	12
With a temporal adv.	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Lack of a temporal adv.	1	-	6	1	2	2	-	-	1	13
The modified element										
Is explicit	1	-	7	1	1	2	-	-	2	14
Is not explicit	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Finite V: perf.	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Impf.	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	1	6
P.q.p.	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Inf.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2

<b>Participia:</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>P.P.P.</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>P.P.A.</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Gdve.</b>										
<b>The position</b>										
<b>Before: first position</b>	-	-	6	-	1	2	-	-	1	10
<b>Third position</b>	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	4

## Conclusions

The innovation of our research is an exhaustive discussion of a specific adv., viz. *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē*, in a specific corpus of Tacitus, which was not extensively quoted in the studies on Latin adverbs. Our study fills a gap on the adverbs' studies in Latin prose and in the Tacitean corpora. 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.

*Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is documented as a temporal adv. 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 in positive *crēbrō* "often/frequently", comparative *crēbrius* and rarely superlative *crēberrimē* "more/most often/frequently".

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

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

*Crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is seldom in proximity to a temporal adv.: 1) Contemporaneous *saepe* with *crēberrimē*-1x; 2) Posterior *simul* with *crēbrō*-1x.

The part of speech modified by the adv.: 1) Is explicit (except for 1x) and is mentioned only in the cl., in which the adv. is included. 2) The grammatical forms modified by the adv. are mostly finite verbs in the past tense: p.q.p., perf., impf.; rarely participia: P.P.P. and P.P.A., replacing a rel. cl., gdve. in dat. finali and inf., 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 adv. follows its modified element; the V precedes its S; hyperbaton between the adv. and the modified part of speech (by verbs' complements or for emphasis some element); proximity of similar/opposite advs., a chiastic/parallel arrangement, which reinforces the modified element. The position of *crēbrō/crēbrius/crēberrimē* is only before the modified part of speech, mainly in first position and

seldom in third position and further removed before. *Crēbrō*/*crēbrius*/*crēberrimē* is not postponed to the end of a cl./sentence.

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 adv.'s usage and the contexts in which it occurs. However, this comparison yielded identical and different features alike:

1) Identical features: a) Their lexical denotations: they denote a lengthy, non-continuous time “often/frequently”, “more/most often/frequently” in posit. *crēbrō*, compar. *crēbrius* and superl. *crēberrimē*; b) They refer to the past; c) The modified part of speech: α) Is explicit and is mentioned only in the cl., in which the adv. is included.; β) Finite V in the past tenses: perf., impf., p.q.p.; d) Their position is before the modified element: a) Mostly in first position before.; b) Sometimes in third position before.

2) Different features: a) The distribution is documented in *Ag.*, *Hist.* and *Ann.* 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 compar. adv. *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 adv. 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) Inf.: 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, gdve. in dat. finali-1x.

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