Numquam as Compared to *Umquam* in the Tacitean Corpora

In studies on Latin adverbs the discussion of a specific temporal adverb in a certain corpus is rare. Adverbs peculiar to the treatises of Tacitus have not yet been analyzed in the studies concerning his language and style. Our study fills a gap, to a certain extent, on the adverbs' researches in Latin prose and in Tacitus' books by examining the usages of numquam as compared to umquam in his treatises. We surveyed selected studies dealing with general adverbs and specific ones, as well as with the style/ language of Tacitus. Our grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive. It offers a thorough analysis of numquam/umquam in a prose opus of one author, which is a restricted and homogeneous corpus. This enables us to present the full documentation of both adverbs in the selected corpus of Tacitus. Our main results are as follows: both adverbs are documented in the treatises of Tacitus (except for Ger., which occurs only with numquam). They denote a lengthy/continuous time, mostly in a negative sense "never", rarely in an affirmative sense "always", "ever" and refer to past/present/future. Numquam is in proximity to contemporaneous/posterior/anterior adverbs, whereas umquam is near posterior adverbs only. They are sometimes near measure/manner/ interrogative/validity in affirmative or negative adverb. The modified part of speech is explicit (except for 1x with numquam) in a negative sense, seldom in an affirmative sense. They modify finite verbs in perfect, pluperfect, imperfect, present, future I and infinitives; sometimes participia, adjectives or two modified elements. Their prevalent position is before the modified part of speech, seldom after it, sometimes they have two positions. They are included in complex sentences/clauses, sometimes multiple ones, seldom simple/coordinate/ interrogative sentence. A comparison between both adverbs in the treatises yielded identical features and mainly different ones.

Keywords: *anterior*, *chiasmus*, *contemporaneous*, *explicit*, *finite verb*, *multiple clause*, *numquam*, *parallelism*, *posterior*, *syntactic position*, *umquam*.

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Introduction: The Purpose of our Research and Its Contribution

The purpose of our research is to exemplify by a detailed linguistic analysis the usages of *numquam* as compared to *umquam* in Tacitus' treatises. The need for this kind of research arises from a paucity of a 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. Pinkster (1972) emphasizes the need for further studies on adverbs, since their syntactical characteristics and the structures, in which they occur, have not been sufficiently examined.

Our main contribution and importance in this research is achieved by an exhaustive analysis of *numquam* as compared to *umquam* in Tacitus' treatises, by examining their characteristic/unique usages, including content/style. Our investigation in a given corpus fills a gap, contributes to the researches on adverbs' studies and further it in Latin prose and in the Tacitean corpora. It points up the relationship between historical contexts and the usage of *numquam*/*umquam* by

linguistic/stylistic means: *variatio*, emphasis, anaphora, alliteration, word order, parallelism, chiasmus, etc. Hence, our 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 an adverb; adverbial suffixes; verbs, adjectives or adverbs modified by an adverb. **3)** Kühner and Stegmann (1962) deal with adverbs as attributes; prepositions as adverbs; validity adverbs; conjunction as measure adverb; a succession of temporal adverbs in enumeration; adverbs in a main/subordinated clause or both clauses; their anaphora and position in general, while our study contains a detailed analysis on the position of *numquam*/*umquam* in Tacitus' books. **4)** Löfstedt (1967) discusses at length the frequency of the adverbs' morphemes; nouns and adjectives as an adverb (*prīmum*, *sōlum*); the modified part of speech in general. **5)** The monumental study of Pinkster (1972) "*On Latin Adverbs*" contains a critical discussion of the adverbs' treatment in Latin studies; a description of their functions and syntactic characteristics in larger constructions; classificatory problems; the relationship between adverbs and other uninflected words. His study is based on Cicero, somewhat on Vergilius, Plautus and Julius Caesar without quotations from Tacitus' books. **6)** Pinkster (1990) "*Latin Syntax and Semantics*" concerns the adverbs' usage as attribute, which is common in the Augustan poetry by Greek influence; word order in general. **7)** Elerick (1994), pp. 99-117, characterizes principles that form the basis of Latin order and reflects the syntax of Cicero, Caesar, Livy without reference to Tacitus. **8)** Devine and Stephens (2006) "*Latin Word Order*" deal with word order in general without an analysis of adverbs 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 measure adverb in ablative/accusative without relationship to a specific corpus. **3)** A discussion on *prae* and *pro* as adverbs 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) without reference to Tacitus' books. **6)** Risselada (1996, pp. 105-125) deals with *nunc*; its functions as a a temporal complement and discourse marker (with *at*, *sed*, *tamen*, *vero*) as compared to *now* in English. **7)** Bertocchi (2001, pp. 87-111) discusses the restrictive adverb *modo* without dealing its temporal function. **8)** Huitink (2005, pp. 561-570) analyzes *iam* in negated utterances. **9)** Ripoll (2009/2010, pp. 305-316) discusses *multum* as measure adverb.

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Selected Studies on the Language of Tacitus and His Style

1) Draeger (1882) deals with the syntax and style of Tacitus' books. He discusses briefly the usages of the adverbs in his treatises (§§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 in Agricola only, whereas our study deals with chiastic/parallel structure in all the treatises of Tacitus. **5)** Kirchner (2001) deals at length with sentences types and functions in Tacitus' works.

Methodology

We surveyed selected studies dealing with general and specific adverbs, as well as with the language/style of Tacitus (see §§0.1-0.2 above).[1] Our grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive. It offers a thorough analysis of specific adverbs in a prose opus of one author, including quotations from the corpora[2] with literal translations, wherever applicable.[3] Maximum use of statistics is made with detailed comparative tables (tables 1-7 below) between *numquam* and *umquam* in the following points: their distribution in each book and variants; their lexical meanings and time, to which they refer; proximity to temporal adverbs and other adverbs; the modified part of speech; the syntactic position of each adverb in relation to the modified element, which was examined by linguistic/stylistic means: context, word order, *anaphora*, chiastic/ parallel structure, which reinforces the modified element and exceptions to the regular order in Latin. The interval between the adverb and the modified part of speech was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words, ranges from one to three words with exceptions consisting of more words; the sentences/clauses types, in which both adverbs are included; a concluding comparison between both adverbs in each book in the points indicated above, since each book has features of its own, which are influenced by its content/style; conclusions.

Glosses for Non-English Terms (Alphabetical Arranged)

AcI = accusative with infinitive (governed by certain verbs). - ***Absolute ablative*** = a short clause with a noun in ablative as subject and an adjective, *P.P.P.* or *P.P.A.* in ablative as its predicate. It replaces a temporal/causal clause, etc. - ***Accusative directionis*** = accusative indicating a direction. - ***Alliteration*** = a repetition of the same sound/syllable of words close to each other. - ***Anaphora*** = a

[1]The references at the end of this study are alphabetical arranged, whereas in our discussion, including footnotes, they 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.

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

[3]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.).

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repetition of a similar word or phrase in successive clauses. - ***Gerundive*** = passive future participle, functions as an adjective or indicates an obligation. - ***Hyperbaton*** = an interval between a subject and its verb, between an adverb and its modified element, etc. - ***Litotes*** = an idea expressed by the denial of its opposite, especially with a negation. - ***Metathesis*** (of words) = reversing the ordinary position of words. - ***Participia*** = participles; ***P.P.P.*** = passive perfect participle; ***P.P.A.*** = active present participle. - ***Praedicativum*** = an attributive adjective, *P.P.P.* or *P.P.A.*, indicating the condition of an element in a clause/sentence. - ***Variatio*** = variety.

The Distribution of *numquam*/*umquam* in the Tacitean Corpora and its Variants

From tables 1-1a below, *numquam* (28x with six variants) and *umquam* (23x with one variant)[4] are frequent in *Ann*., *Hist*.; rare in the minor books. *Ger*. occurs only with *numquam*.[5]

Table 1. *The Distribution of numquam/umquam in the Tacitean Corpora*

Book	*Numquam*	*Umquam*	Cases
Ann.	1,26,2; 59,4; 2,38,1; 3,14,3; 4,31,3; 6,15,3; 45,3; 11,17,2; 24,5;13,21,2; 45,3; 15,2,2; 9,1; 36,2; 16,22,1	1,6,2; 23,2; 49,1; 2,25,2; 3,64,4; 4,17,2; 30,3; 39,2; 6,20,1;13,23,2	25
Hist.	1,37,5; 2,7,1; 32,2; 38,1; 67,2; 97,1; 3,37,2; 46,2; 4,14,4; 58,1	1,3,2; 30,1; 2,48,2; 92,1; 4,23,1; 38,2; 43,1; 73,1	18
Ag.	34,3	8,3; 22,4	3
Dial.	35,5	11,4; 13,4; 32,2	4
Ger.	25,2	-	1
Total	28	23	51

Table 1a. *The General Inventory of Each Adverb in Each Book*

The adverb	*Ann.*	*Hust.*	*Dial.*	*Ag.*	*Ger.*	Total
Numquam	15	10	1	1	1	28
Umquam	10	8	3	2	-	23
Total	25	18	4	3	1	51

[4]***Variants***: ***numquam***: **a.** *Hist*. 2,7,1, §A.4.1.2.2: *nusquam*: Schinzel (1971), p. 7; **b.** *Hist*. 2,38,1, §A.5.3.2, ex. 2: **α.** *Numquam qui*; **β.** *Nunc*: Schinzel (1971), p. 41; **c.** *Nonquam*: *Hist*. 2,67,2, §A.4.1.4.2.1; *Ann*. 11,24,5, §A.4.1.1.2; 15,9,1, §A.4.1.4.4; 36,2, §A.4.1.3.2.1; 16,22,1, §A.5.1.3, ex. 6 below: Schinzel (1971), p. 70; Weiskopf (1973), p. 31; Römer (1976), pp. 13, 50, 148; **d.** *Ann*. 11,24,5, §A.4.1.1.2: *nunquam*: Weiskopf (1973), p. 31; **e.** *Ann*. 15,2,2, §A.3.2.1: **α.** *Ipsis numquam*; **β.** *Ipsi numquam*; **c.** [*Ipsis*]: Römer (1976), pp. 3-4; **f.** *Ann*. 15,9,1, §A.4.1.4.4 below: **α.** *Nunquam numquam* (*bis*); **β.** *Nunquam quam*; **c.** *Nequaquam*: Römer (1976), p. 13.
Umquam: *numquam* in *Ann*. 4,30,3, §B.4.4.2 below: Fisher 1(906), p. 149; Koestermann (1971), p. 141; Heubner (1994), p. 149. In this case, *umquam* interchanges its meaning with *nunquam*.
[5]Cf. Gerber and Greef (1877-1890) 2, p. 984, s.v. *numquam*, p. 1698, s.v. *umquam*; Blackman and Betts (1986) 2, pp. 1169, 1810.

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The Meanings of *numquam*/*umquam* and the Times, to which it refers in the Corpora

Table 2. *The Meanings of numquam and the Times, to which it Refers in the Corpora*

Never	Without a negation	With a negation	Apodosis clause	Before *nisi*	(*et*)+temporal Adverb	Cases
	Present: *Ger*. 25,2; *Dial*. 35,5; *Hist*. 1,37,5; 2,7,1; 32,2 *Ann*. 4,31,3	-	-	-	-	6
	Past: *Ag*. 34,3; *Hist*. 2,67,2; 97,1; 3,46,2; 4,14,4; 58,1; *Ann*. 3,14,3; 6,45,3; 11,17,2; 24,5; 13,21,2; 45,3; 15,2,2; 9,1; 16,22,1	*Ann*. 6,15,3	-	-	*Hist*. 2,38,1; 3,37,2	18
	Future: *Ann*. 1,59,4	-	*Ann*. 2,38,1	*Ann*. 1,26,2	-	3
Always	**Past**: *Ann*. 15,36,2	-	-	-	-	1
Total	23	1	1	1	2	28

Table 2a. *The Meanings of umquam and the Times, to which it Refers in the Corpora*

Meaning and Time	References	Cases	Total
"Never": after a negative adverb Past	*Ag*. 8,3; 22,4; *Dial*. 32,2; *Hist*. 1,3,2; 4,23,1; 73,1; *Ann*. 1,23,2; 2,25,2; 3,64,4; 4,17,2; 30,3; 39,2	12	16
Umquam between negations	*Ann*. 6,20,1	1	
Present	*Hist*. 2,92,1	1	
Umquam between negations	*Dial*. 13,4	1	
Future	*Hist*. 2,48,2	1	
After a substantivized/adjectival pronoun: **past**	*Hist*. 1,30,1; 4,38,1; 43,1; *Ann*. 13,23,2	4	5
Umquam between negations	*Ann*. 1,6,2	1	
Affirmative sense "ever": **past**	*Ann*. 1,49,1	1	2
Future	*Dial*. 11,4	1	

Both adverbs denote a lengthy/continuous time with two meanings, but in different contexts (see tables 2-2a above; table 2b, quotations and explanations in §§A.B.3-A.B.5 below):

A. Mainly a negative sense "never" (48x), referring to past/present/future**:** *numquam* (27x) occurs: **a)** Without a negation, save for *Ann*. 6,15,3, §A.5.1.1, ex. 5 below: *ne … quidem* + *adeō* + *numquam*); **b)** Before a temporal adverb;[6] **c)** In the apodosis clause; **d)** Before *nisi* "except";[7] **e)** After *et* (for *nec*). *Umquam* interchanges *numquam* in its negative sense (21x), when it follows in the same

[6]On *numquam* before other adverb see *OLD*, p. 1204c, s.v. *numquam*, adverb, 1.b-c, e, 2.a-b.
[7]See L.-Sh., p. 1227b, s.v. *numquam*, adverb, I.B.1; *OLD*, p. 1179c, s.v. *nisi*, conjunction, 5.a; p. 1204c, s.v. *numquam*, adverb, 1.c; Gerber and Greef (1877-1890) 2, p. 984, s.v. *numquam*, B.a. c.

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clause[8] a negative adverb or a substantivized/adjectival pronoun in negation (with an element between a negation and *umquam*, or *umquam* between negations).

B. Seldom an affirmative sense (3x), refers to past/future: *numquam* "always" (1x) precedes *non* or an adjective with a negative_sense in the same clause[9]. *Umquam* "ever" (2x) appears without a negation[10] (on its meanings in other corpora see *OLD*, p. 2089c, s.v. *umquam*, adverb, 2-3).

Table 2b. *The Meanings of Both Adverbs and the Times, to which they Refer: Summary*

Never	***Numquam***	***Umquam***	**Cases**
Past	*Ag*. 34,3; *Hist*. 2,38,1; 2,67,2; 97,1; 3,37,2; 3,46,2; 4,14,4; 58,1; *Ann*. 3,14,3; 6,15,3; 6,45,3; 11,17,2; 24,5; 13,21,2; 45,3; 15,2,2; 9,1; 16,22,1	*Ag*. 8,3; 22,4; *Dial*. 32,2; *Hist*. 1.3.2; 30,1; 4,23,1; 38,2; 43,1; 73,1; *Ann*. 1,6,2; 23,2; 2,25,2; 3,64,4; 4,17,2; 30,3; 39,2; 6,20,1; 13,23,2	36
Present	*Ger*. 25,2; *Dial*. 35,5; *Hist*. 1,37,5; 2,7,1; 2,32,2; *Ann*. 4,31,3	*Dial*. 13,4; *Hist*. 2,92,1	8
Future	*Ann*. 1,26,2; 1,59,4; 2,38,1	*Hist*. 2,48,2	4
Always: past	*Ann*. 15,36,2	-	1
Ever: past	-	*Ann*. 1,49,1	1
Future	-	*Dial*. 11,4	1

Numquam/*umquam* in Proximity to Temporal Adverbs or without Them

From table 3 below, *numquam* is in proximity to a contemporaneous, posterior, anterior adverbs, whereas *umquam* is in proximity to posterior adverbs only. A lack of temporal adverbs without a contrast occurs with both adverbs; with a contrast-in 1x with *numquam* only.

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[8]See L.-Sh., pp.1928c-1929a, s.v. *umquam*, temporal adverb, I; *OLD*, p. 2089b-c, s.v. *umquam*, adverb, 1.a.
[9]See L.-Sh., p. 1227b, s.v. *numquam*, adverb, I.B.2; *OLD*, p. 1204c, s.v. *numquam*, adverb, 1.d.
[10]See L.-Sh., p. 1929a, s.v. *umquam*, adverb, II; *OLD*, p. 2089c, s.v. *umquam*, adverb, 1. b.-f.

Table 3. Numquam/umquam in Proximity to Temporal Adverbs or without Them

With temporal adverbs	*Numquam*	*Umquam*	Cases
Contemporaneity: lengthy/non-continuous time: *aliquandō*	*Hist*. 2,32,2	-	
Plērumque	*Ann*. 6,15,3	-	
Rārō	*Ger*. 25,2; *Dial*. 35,5	-	
Tunc	*Hist.* 3,46,2	-	
Lengthy/continuous time: *cotidiē*	*Hist*. 1,37,5	-	
Cotidiē … rārō … numquam	*Dial*. 35,5	-	
Diū	*Ann*. 4,31,3	-	
Posteriority: *interim*	*Ann*. 15,9,1	-	
nunc	*Ann*. 15,2,2	-	
Posteā	*Hist*. 2,38,1	-	
Simul	-	*Hist*. 4,43,1	
Tum	-	*Ann*. 4,17,2	
Anteriority: *ante*	*Hist*. 3,37,2	-	14
Lack of temporal adverbs With a contrast ((in time/content)	*Ann*. 3,14,3	-	
Without a contrast (in time/ content)	*Ag*. 34,3; *Hist*. 2,7,1; 67,2; 97,1; 4,14,4; 58,1; *Ann*. 1,26,2; 59,4; 2,38,1; 6,45,3; 11,17,2; 24,5; 13,21,2; 45,3; 15,36,2; 16,22,1	*Ag*. 8,3; 22,4; *Dial*. 11,4; 13,4; 32,2; *Hist*. 1,3,2; 30,1; 2,48,2; 92,1; 4,23,1; 38,2; 73,1; *Ann*. 1,6,2; 23,2; 49,1; 2,25,2; 3,64,4; 4,30,3; 39,2; 6,20,1; 13,23,2	38

A.3 *Numquam*

A.3.1 Contemporaneous Adverb

A.3.1.1 An Adverb Denoting a Lengthy/Non-Continuous Time: A.3.1.1.1 *Rārō*

> *Liberti non multum supra servos sunt*, *rārō aliquod momentum in domo*, *numquam in civitate*, *exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur*
> "Freedmen do not (rank) much above slaves, (and) rarely (have) any influence in the household (but) never in the city, excepting only these tribes, which are ruled under kings" (*Ger*. 25,2).

See also *Dial*. 35,5, §A.3.1.2.1.1 below

A.3.1.1.2 *Aliquandō*

> *Ipsis omnia opulenta et fida*, *Panoniam Moesiam Delmatiam Oreintem cum integris exercitibus*, *Italiam et caput rerum urbem senatumque populum*, *numquam obscura nomima*, *etiam<si> aliquandō obumbrentur*
> "The (Germans) themselves (have) all the rich and the reliable things, Pannonia, Moesia (and) the East with its entire armies, Italy, Rome, the capital of the Empire and the Senate and the (Roman) people, names (are) never eclipse, even though they may sometimes be obscured" (*Hist.* 2,32,2).

The adversative clause *etiamsi … obumbrentur* with *aiquandō* in a positive meaning and its main clause *ipsis … nomina* with *numquam* in a negative meaning

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form a contrast in respect of time and content. Consequently, the occurrence of both adverbs is needed here.

A.3.1.1.3 *Plērumque*: *Ann*. 6,15,3, §A.5.1.1, ex. 5 below: both clauses *ne … adiit* with *numquam* and *deviis … declinans* with *plērumque* are simultaneous in time, but with a contrast in content.

A.3.1.1.4 *Tunc*

Hist. 3,46,2, §A.4.1.3.1 below: *tunc sine metu* is simultaneous with *numquam fida*.

A.3.1.2 An Adverb Denoting a Lengthy/Continuous Time

A.3.1.2.1 *Cotidiē*: *Hist*. 1,37,5, §A.5.1.1, ex. 1 below.

A.3.1.2.1.1 *Cotidiē … rārō … numquam*: *Dial*. 35,5, §A.5.2 below: *cotidiē* and *numquam* denote a lengthy/continuous time, whereas *rārō* denotes a lengthy/non-continuous time.

A.3.1.2.2 *Diū*

> *Quem vidit sequens aetas praepotentem, venalem et Claudii principis amicitia diū prospere, numquam bene usum*
> "The following generation viewed him (sc. Svillius) as a powerful, venal and exploiting the friendship of the emperor Claudius, long profitably (for him, but) never rightly (for the public)" (*Ann.* 4,31,3).

A.3.2 Posterior Adverb: A.3.2.1 *Nunc*

> '*Pacem numquam ipsis prospere lacessitam nunc quoque in exitium suum abrumpunt*'
> "'The peace, although had never disturbed with success by the Romans, they are now even severing to their own destruction'" (*Ann.* 15,2,2).

A.3.2.2 *Interim*: *Ann.* 15,9,1, §A.4.1.4.4 below: *interim* is posterior to *numquam neglectam*.

A.3.2.3 *Posteā*: *Hist*. 2,38,1, §A.5.3.2, ex. 2 below.

A.3.3 Anterior Adverb-*ante*: *Hist*. 3,37,2, §§A.4.1.2.1.1; A.5.3.2, ex. 3 below.

A.3.4 Lack of Temporal Adverbs: (a) With a Contrast: *Ann.* 3,14,3, §A.5.3.1, ex. 1 below.
(b) Without a Contrast: *Hist*. 2,67,2, §A.4.1.4.2.1 below.

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B.3 *Umquam*

B.3.1 Posterior Adverb: B.3.1.1 *Simul*: *Hist*. 4,43,1, §B.4.1.3.1 below: *crimine … animis* with *simul* is posterior to *igitur … facessisset* with *umquam*.

B.3.1.2 *Tum*

> *Nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero aequari adulescentes senectae suae impatienter induluit*
> "For, although Tiberius (was) never friendly to Germanicus' house, was now indeed irritated intolerably, that the juveniles are equalized (in honor) with his own old age" (*Ann*. 4,17,2).

B.3.2 Lack of a Temporal Adverb: without a Contrast

> *Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit*
> "Nor did Agricola ever greedily take for himself the achievements of others" (*Ag*. 22,4).

3a. *Numquam*/*umquam* in Proximity to Additional Adverbs

Both adverbs are sometimes in proximity to additional adverbs-17x (*numquam*-11x, *umquam*-6x) denoting measure/validity in negative or affirmative. *Numquam* is also near interrogative/ manner adverb (see table 3a below; quotations in §A.B.3 above and §§A.B.4-A.B.5 below).

Table 3a. *Numquam/umquam in Proximity to Additional Adverbs*

The adverb	***Numquam***	***Umquam***	**Total**
Manner: *bene*	*Ann*. 4,31,3	-	3
Ita	*Hist*. 2,67,2	-	
Prospere	*Ann*. 15,2,2	-	
Measure: *adeō*	*Ann*. 6,15,3	-	10
Magis	*Hist*. 4,14,4	*Ann*. 2,25,2	
Nimium	-	*Hist*. 2,48,2	
Satis	*Hist*. 2,97,1; *Ann*. 1,59,4; 3,14,3	*Dial*. 13,4; *Hist*. 2,92,1; *Ann*. 4,30,3	
Validity-negative: *nōn* *Ne … quidem*	*Hist*. 3,37,2 *Ann*. 6,15,3	- -	3
Affirmative: *vero*	-	*Ann*. 4,17,2	
Interrogative: *ne*	*Ann*. 1,26,2	-	1
General total	11	6	17

The Part of Speech Modified by *numquam*/*umquam* in the Tacitean Corpora

A. The modified part of speech by both adverbs: **a.** Is explicit (save for *Ger*. 25,2 with *numquam*); **b.** It is mentioned in the clause, in which both adverbs are included**,** except for 2x (*numquam*: 1x, *umquam:* 1x) mentioned in the clause

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precedes the adverb; **c.** It has mainly a negative sense and rarely an affirmative sense; **d.** The grammatical forms modified by them are: **α**) Finite verbs: prefect, pluperfect, present; **β)** Perfect infinitive: predicate of *AcI*; **γ)** *P.P.P.*; **ὸ)** Adjective; **ε**) More than one modified element, mainly an additional adverb, seldom an idiom. **B.** Only *numquam* modifies: **a.** Future I; **b.** Predicate of *AcI* in present/future infinitive (+ measure adverb). **C.** Only *umquam* modifies: **a.** Pluperfect: + imperfect + measue adverb; **b.** *P.P.A.* replaces a relative clause + measure adverb (see table 4 below).

In the quotations of this section, the relevant element modified by each adverb, is underlined.

Table 4. *The Part of Speech Modified by numquam/umquam in the Tacitean Corpora*

The part of speech	***Numquam***	***Umquam***	**Cases**	**Total**
Is explicit: finite verb-perfect	*Ann.* 11,24,5; 13,45,3	*Ag.* 8,3; 22,4; *Hist.* 1,3,2; 30,1; 4,38,2; 73,1; *Ann.* 1,6,2	9	
In affirmative	-	*Ann.* 1,49,1	1	
Idiom: direct object + perfect	*Hist.* 4,58,1	-	1	
+ measure/negative adverb	*Ann.* 6,15,3	-	1	
Pluperfect	*Ann.* 11,17,2	-	1	
In the preceding clause	-	*Hist.* 4,23,1	1	
+ measue adverb + imperfect	-	*Hist.* 2,48,2	1	
+ direct object in idiom	-	*Hist.* 4,43,1	1	
Present	*Hist.* 1,37,5	-	1	
In the preceding clause	*Dial.* 35,5	-	1	
+ measure adverb	-	*Dial.* 13,4	1	
Future I	*Ann.* 2,38,1	-	1	20
Infinitive: predicate of *AcI* Present infinitive	*Hist.* 2,7,1	-	1	
Perfect infinitive	*Ag.* 34,3; *Ann.* 16,22,1	*Dial.* 32,2; *Ann.* 1,23,2; 3,64,4; 4,39,2; 6,20,1; 13,23,2	8	
+ temporal adverb	*Hist.* 3,37,2	-	1	
+ measure adverb	*Hist.* 4,14,4	-	1	
Future infinitive	*Ann.* 1,26,2	-	1	13
+ measure adverb	*Ann.* 1,59,4	-	1	
Participia*: *P.P.P. Perfect passive (without ***esse***) + temporal adverb	*Hist.* 2,38,1	-	1	
Predicate of *absolute ablative*	*Ann.* 13,21,2	-	1	
+ manner adverb	*Hist.* 2,67,2	-	1	
+ measure adverb	*Ann.* 3,14,3	-	1	
Praedicativum + manner adverb	*Ann.* 4,31,3	-	1	
Replaces a relative clause	*Ann.* 6,45,3; 15,9,1	- *Ann.* 4,30,3	2	
+ measure adverb	-		1	
Replaces a concessive clause + manner adverb	*Ann.* 15,2,2	-	1	10

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P.P.A.: replaces a relative clause + measure adverb	-	*Ann*. 2,25,2	1	
Adjective: attribute	*Hist*. 3,46,2	-	1	
Predicate noun: without *esse*	*Hist*. 2,32,2	-	1	
+ measure adverb	-	*Hist*. 2,92,1	1	
In affirmative	*Ann*. 15,36,2	-	1	
With *esse* in affirmative Idiom (subject + *gerundive*)	-	*Dial*. 11,4	1	
Predicate of *absolute ablative* + measure adverb	*Hist.* 2,97,1	-	1	
Replaces an adversativ clause	-	*Ann*. 4,17,2	1	7
Is not explicit	*Ger*. 25,2	-	1	1

A.4 *Numquam*

A.4.1 The Part of Speech Is Explicit

A.4.1.1 Finite Verb: A.4.1.1.1 Present

Hist. 1,37,5**,** §A.5.1.1, ex. 1 below: *numquam* modifies *datur* mentioned in the first multiple part *quod … datur* of the relative clause *quod … exprobratur*.

A.4.1.1.1.1 In the Preceding Clause: *Dial*. 35,5, §A.5.2 below: *numquam* in the second multiple part *in foro … numquam* modifies *agitur* mentioned in the first multiple part *in schola … agitur*.

A.4.1.1.2 Perfect

> *Scilicet Vulsci et Aequi numquam adversam nobis aciem instruxere*
> "Evidently the Vulsci and the Aequi never drew up a battle-line against us" (*Ann.* 11,24,5).

See also *Ann*. 13,45,3, § A.5.1.1, ex. 7 below.

A.4.1.1.2.1 Idiom: Direct Object + Perfect

> '*Numquam apud vos verba feci*[11] *aut pro vobis sollicitior aut pro me securior*'
> "'I have never spoken to you, while I am more anxious for you or more unconcerned for myself'" (*Hist.* 4,58,1).

A.4.1.1.2.2 + Measure/Negative Adverb: *Ann.* 6,15,3 §A.5.1.1, ex. 5 below: *adiit* (its subject = Tiberius) is modified by *ne … quidem* + *adeō* (modifies also *numquam*) + *numquam*, a form of words favoured by Tacitus [*OLD*, p. 39c, s.v. *adeō*[2], adverb, 7.a; Woodman (2017), p. 152].

A.4.1.1.3 Pluperfect

[11]For the idiom *verba facere* 'to speak' in an assembly, see *OLD*, p. 668b, s.v. *facio*, 6; p. 2034b, s.v. *verbum*, 5.c.

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Nec patrem rubori, *quod fidem adversus Romanos volentibus Germanis sumptam numquam omisisset*
"(Italicus was) not ashamed of (his) father, for (Flavus) had never abandoned the loyalty toward the Romans, which had been maintained with the Germans' approval" (*Ann.* 11,17,2).

A.4.1.1.4 Future I

Si quantum pauperum est venire huc et liberis suis petere pecunias coeperint, *singuli numquam exsatiabuntur*, *res publica deficiet*
"(Tiberius said) if all the poor people begin to come here and to beg money for their children, individuals will never be satisfied (and) the state will be bankrupt" (*Ann.* 2,38,1).

A.4.1.2 Infinitive: Predicate of *AcI*
A. 4.1.2.1 Perfect Infinitive

Transigite cum expeditionibus, *imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi*
"Make an end of (your) compaigns, crown (these) fifty years (of fighting) with one great day, prove the commonwealth that delays of war or causes of the renewal of revolt could have never been imputed to (her) army" (*Ag.* 34,3)!
See also *Ann.* 16,22,1, §A.5.1.3, ex. 6 below.

A.4.1.2.1.1 + Temporal Adverb
Pridie kalendas Novembris Rosius Regulus iniit eiuravitque. *Adnotabant periti numquam anteā non abrogato magistratu neque lege lata alium suffectum*; *nam consul uno die et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus C. Caesare dictatore*, *cum belli civilis praemia festinarentur*
"On the 31st of October Rosius Regulus entered and resigned (his consulate office). Experts remarked that never before had another (consul) been elected, unless the office had been declared vacant and the passing of a law; for Caninius Rebilus had been even before consul for one day, during the dictatorship of Gaius Caesar, when rewards (for services) in the civil war were hurriedly distributed" (*Hist*. 3,37,2).

A.4.1.2.1.2 + Measure Adverb: *Hist.* 4,14,4, §A.5.3.1, ex. 2 below.

A.4.1.2.2 Present Infinitive

Bello civili victores victosque numquam solida fide coalescere, *nec referre Vitellium an Othonem superstitem fortuna faceret*

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"(The commanders reckoned that) victors and vanquished in civil war never unite with a lasting faith, (and) that (it) makes no difference whether fortune allows Vitellius or Otho to survive" (*Hist*. 2,7,1).

A.4.1.2.3 Future Infinitive: *Ann*. 1,26,2, §A.5.1.3, ex. 5 below.

A.4.1.2.3.1 + Measure Adverb

Germanos numquam satis excusaturos, quod inter Albis et Rhenum virgas et secures et togam viderint
"Germans would never sufficiently excuse the fact that they had seen (Roman) rods, axes and toga between the Elbe and the Rhine" (*Ann.* 1,59,4).

A.4.1.3 Adjective
A.4.1.3.1 Attribute

Mota et Dacorum gens numquam fida, tunc sine metu, abducto e Moesia exercitu
"The Dacian people also, never loyal, (were) in commotion, (and) at that time (had) no fear, for the (Roman) army had been withdrawn from Moesia" (*Hist.* 3,46,2).

A.4.1.3.2 Predicate Noun without *esse*: *Hist*. 2,32,2, §A.3.1.1.2 above: in the main clause *ipsis … nomima* (its adversative clause = *etiamsi … obumbrentur*) *numquam* modifies *obscura* (*sunt*).

A.4.1.3.2.1 In Affirmative

Cum Vestae quoque templum inisset, repente cunctos per artus tremens, seu numine exterrente, seu facinorum recordatione numquam timore vacuus, deseruit inceptum
"After (Nero) had entered also the Vesta' temple, suddenly trembling in all (his) limbs, either because the goddess frightened (him), or he (was) never devoid of fear (sc. he was always with fear) because of the remembrance of (his) crimes, he abandoned (his) project" (*Ann.* 15,36,2).
The modified *vacuus* by *numquam* has an affirmative sense by *litotes*.

A.4.1.3.3 Predicate of *Absolute Ablative* + Measure Adverb: *Hist.* 2,97,1, §A.5.3.1, ex. 3 below: *numquam* modifies *satis* + predicate *quieta* of *absolute ablative* (modified also by *satis*).
A.4.1.4 *Participium*: *P.P.P.*
A.4.1.4.1 Passive Perfect + Temporal Adverb: *Hist*. 2,38,1, §A.5.3.2, ex. 2 below.

A.4.1.4.2 Predicate of *Absolute Ablative*

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Agrippina ferociae memor '*non miror*' *inquit* '*Silanam numquam edito partu*, *adfectus ignotos habere*'
"Agrippina, remembering (her) pride, said 'I do not wonder that Silana, who has never borne an offspring, is ignorant of mothers' feelings'" (*Ann.* 13,21,2).

A.4.1.4.2.1 + Manner Adverb

Numquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, *ut voluptatum oblivisceretur*
"Vitellius was never so intent on the cares (of the empire), that he forgot (his) pleasures" (*Hist.* 2,67,2).

A.4.1.4.2.2 + Measure Adverb: *Ann*. 3,14,3, §A.5.3.1, ex. 1 below.

A.4.1.4.3 *Praedicativum* + Manner Adverb: *Ann*. 4,31,3, §A.3.1.2.2 above.

A.4.1.4.4 Replaces a Relative Clause

Interim Corbulo numquam neglectam Euphratis ripam crebrioribus praesidiis insedit
"Meanwhile Corbulo occupied by more frequent garrisons the Euphrates' bank, which had never been neglected" (*Ann*. 15,9,1).
See also *Ann*. 6,45,3, §A.5.1.2, ex. 1 below.

A.4.1.4.5 Replaces a Concessive Clause + Manner Adverb: *Ann.* 15,2,2, §A.3.2.1 above.

A.4.2 Is not Explicit: *Ger*. 25,2, §A.3.1.1.1 above.

B.4 *Umquam*
B.4.1 Finite Verb
B.4.1.1 Perfect

(1) *Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exultavit*
"Agricola never boasted of (his) achievements for his own reputation" (*Ag*. 8,3).

(2) *Nemo enim umquam imperium flagitio quaesitum bonis artibus exercuit*
"For no one has ever used by honourable means the (imperial) power gained by crime" (*Hist*. 1,30,1).[12]

B.4.1.1.1 In Affirmative

Diversa omnium, *quae umquam accidere*, *civilium armorum facies*

[12] See also *Ag*. 22,4, §B.3.2 above; *Ann*. 1,6,2 & *Hist*. 1,3,2 & 4,38,2, §B.5.1.3, exx. 1, 4, 6; 4,73,1, §B.5.1.2 below.

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"The scene (of these events was) different from all the civil wars, which have ever happened" (*Ann*. 1,49,1).

B.4.1.2 Present + Measure Adverb

Quod adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi?
"(Is it) that (Crispus and Marcellus), being fettered for every flattery, they are never seen sufficiently servile to the rulers nor sufficiently independent to us" (*Dial*. 13,4)?

See my explanation in §B.5.3.2, ex. 3 below.

B 4.1.3 Pluperfect: in the preceding Clause: *Hist*. 4,23,1, §B.5.2.2 below.

B.4.1.3.1 + Direct Object in Idiom

Igitur a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus, *qui perinde dives et eloquentia clarus nulli umquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset*, *crimine simul exemploque Eprium urgebat*, *ardentibus patrum animis*
"Therefore, (Helvidius) began (his speech) with a panegyric of Cluvius Rufus, who, though equally wealthy and renowned for (his) eloquence (as Marcellus), had never impeached anyone under Nero; both by (his) offence and by (this) example (Helvidius) attacked Eprius, (and) the senators' feelings were stirred" (*Hist*. 4,43,1).

B.4.1.3.2 + Imperfect + Measure Adverb: *Hist*. 2,48,2, §B.5.4 below.

B.4.2 Adjective: B.4.2.1 Predicate Noun
B.4.2.1.1 With the Copula *esse*: Idiom (Subject + *Gerundive*) in Affirmative

Nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint
"I am not afraid that I shall ever have to speak in the senate except (to avert) peril of someone else" (*Dial*. 11,4).

B.4.2.1.2 Without the Copula *esse* + Measure Adverb

Nec umquam satis fida potentia, *ubi nimia est*
"Power (is) never completely secure, when it is excessive" (*Hist*. 2,92,1).

The predicate noun *fida* without *esse* is modified by an adverb of measure *satis*, while *satis* + *fida* are modified by *nec* (which modifies *umquam*) + *umquam*.

B.4.2.2 Replaces an Adversative Clause: *Ann*. 4,17,2, §B.3.1.2 above:

B.4.3 Perfect Infinitive: Predicate of *AcI*

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(1) *Quem non posse aliter existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo nisi eum, qui tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit*
"I maintain that this (orator) cannot be in any other way (and) never has been unless he, who as if equipped with all weapons (were going) into the battle, thus he has gone forth into the forum armed with all the arts" (*Dial*. 32,2).

(2) *Censuerat L. Apronius, ut fetiales quoque iis ludis praesiderent. Contra dixit Caesar … neque enim umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisse*
"Lucius Apronius had proposed that the Fetials should also preside at these games. (But) Tiberius sai against … that the Fetials had never had indeed such a degree of dignity" (*Ann*. 3,64,4).

See *Ann*. 4,39,2, §B.5.1.1, ex. 2; 6,20,1 & 13,23,2, §B.5.1.3, exx. 2, 7; 1,23,2, §B.5.2.1 below.

B.4.4 Participia: B.4.4.1 *P.P.A*. Replaces a Relative Clause + Measure Adverb

Eo promptior Caesar pergit introrsus, populatur exscindit non ausum congredi hostem aut, sicubi resisterat, statim pulsum nec umquam magis, ut ex captivis cognitum est, paventem
"Therefore, Germanicus with more energy proceeded into the interior (country), ravaging (and) exterminating an enemy, who dared not encounter (him), or, wherever he resisted, was immediately defeated, (and) never, as was reported from captives, more panic-stricken" (*Ann*. 2,25,2).

B.4.4.2 *P.P.P*. Replaces a Relative Clause + Measure Adverb

Sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum et <ne> poenis quidem umquam satis coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur
"Thus the informers, a breed of men invented for national destruction, and never sufficiently curbed even by penalties, were encouraged by rewards" (*Ann*. 4,30,3).

The Position of Both Adverbs Concerning the Modified Part of Speech: 5.0 Introduction

The typical order in a clause is S (subject) + its modifiers-OID (indirect object)/ OD (direct object)-V (verb) + its modifiers. Temporal/negative adverbs and temporal phrases precede the modified element. Exceptions for variety, emphasis are used by *metathesis* of words: the adverb follows the modified element (apart from a monosyllabic adverb); the verb precedes its subject; *hyperbaton* between the adverb and the modified element; proximity of similar/opposite adverbs.

The adverbs' position 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, there is not always an unequivocal explanation on the adverbs' position, due to differences in contents and stylistic characteristics

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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 adverbs' position are not uniform.[13]

The regular position of both adverbs is before the modified element; rarely after it; sometimes they have two positions. They are not placed at the end of a clause/sentence (see table 5 below).

Table 5. *The Position of numquam/umquam Concerning the Modified Part of Speech*

Position	***Numquam***	***Umquam***	Cases	Total
Before: first position	*Hist.* 1,37,5; 2,32,2; 3,46,2; *Ann.* 2,38,1; 6,15,3; 11,17,2; 13,21,2; 45,3; 15,9,1	*Ann.* 1,49,1; 4,39,2	11	31
Second position	*Ann.* 6,45,3; 15,36,2	*Hist.* 4,73,1	3	
Third position	*Ag.* 34,3; *Hist.* 2,7,1; 4,58,1; *Ann.* 1,26,2; 11,24,5; 16,22,1	*Ag.* 8,3; 22,4; *Hist.* 1,3,2; 30,1; 4,38,2; 43,1; *Ann.* 1,6,2; 3,64,4; 4,17,2; 6,20,1; 13,23,2	17	
After: first position	-	*Dial.* 32,2; *Ann.* 1,23,2	2	4
Second position	-	*Hist.* 4,23,1	1	
Third position	*Dial.* 35,5	-	1	
First before + second before	*Hist.* 2,97,1; 4,14,4; *Ann.* 1,59,4; 3,14,2; 4,31,3	*Hist.* 2,92,1; *Ann.* 4,30,3	7	
Third before	*Hist.* 2,38,1; 67,2; 3,37,2	*Dial.* 11,4; 13,4; *Ann.* 2,25,2	6	15
Second + third before	*Ann.* 15,2,2	-	1	
First after + third before	-	*Hist.* 2,48,2	1	

A.5 *Numquam*

A.5.1 *Numquam* before the Modified Part of Speech

A.5.1.1 First Position

(1) *Una illa domus sufficet donativo*, *quod vobis numquam datur et cotidiē exprobratur*
"That (Galba's) house alone is enough for the (providing) largess, which is never given to you, but (with which) you are daily upbraided" (*Hist.* 1,37,5).

The relative clause *quod … exprobratur*: **a.** Follows its main clause *una … donativo*, in order to juxtapose it to its antecetent *donativo* mentioned at the end of the main clause; **b.** It contains a semantic parallel contrast between its multiple parts *numquam datur ≠ cotidiē exprobratur* (negative/affirmative adverb-modified verb [its subject = *quod*]). The coordinating conjunction *et* between both parts with an

[13]On the adverb's position see Booth (1923); Marouzeau (1948): 155-161; (1949), pp. 11-33; Kühner and Stegmann (1962) 2/2, §246; Bos (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.

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adversative meaning highlights this contrast; **c.** The indirect object *vobis* refers to the praetorian soldiers mentioned before. Therefore, it precedes *numquam* + *datur*. Consequently, *numquam* is in first position before the modified

datur: *numquam datur*

cotidiē exprobratur

(2) *Hist*. 2,32,2, §A.3.1.1.2 above: **a.** *Numquam … obumbrentur* is in apposition to the preceding direct object clause *omnia … populum* (in which a verb such as *habeo* is omitted). *Nomina*, the nucleus of the apposition, is mentioned once at the end of the main clause *ipsis … nomina*, so that it is also near its adversative clause *etiamsi aliquandō obumbrentur*; **b.** The modified *obscura* (*sunt*) by *numquam* and *obumbrentur* by *aliquandō* have a slight identical meaning, but *numquam* denotes a lengthy/continuous time in negation, whereas *aliquandō* denotes a lengthy/non-continuous time in affirmative. This phenomenon is emphasized by a parallel structure (adverb-modified verb) between the following multiple parts:

numquam obscura

aliquandō obumbrentur

(3) *Hist.* 3,46,2, §A.4.1.3.1 above: both definitions *numquam fida* and *tunc sine metu* refer to the subject *Dacorum gens*. The following *absolute ablative abducto e Moesia exercitu* gives reason comcerning the second definition only *tunc sine metu*. For this reason: **a.** The predicate *mota*, passive perfect (*esse* is omitted) in affirmative sense and its modifier measure adverb *et* precede the subject + its both definitions; **b.** *Numquam* is in first position before the modified *fida* in negation and not elsewhere, such as: **α)** In third position and further removed before *fida* (i.e. *numquam mota et Dacorum gens fida*) it will modify *mota* in negation, while *fida* will be rendered in affirmative; **β)** *Numquam* in first position after *fida* (i.e. *Dacorum gens fida*, *numquam tunc sine metu*) will modify an elliptic verb *fuit* in negation, referring to the second definition *tunc sine metu*, while the first definition *fida* will also be rendered in affirmative.

(4) *Ann*. 15,9,1, §A.4.1.4.4 above: *interim* at the top of the sentence modifies *insedit* occurring at its tail. Consequently, the subject Corbulo is in its second position with *hyperbaton* between Corbulo and *insedit* by the verb's complements: **a.** Direct object *ripam* and its definitions: attributive possessive genitive *Euphratis* + modified *P.P.P. neglectam* by *numquam*, replacing a relative clause of *ripam*; **b.** Sociative ablative + its attributive adjective *crebrioribus praesidiis*, describing with whom Corbulo occupied the Euphrates' bank. Since the theme of the sentence concerns *ripam*, *ripam* and its definitions precede the sociative ablative.

Cf. *Ann.* 11,17,2, §A.4.1.1.3 above: **a.** The topic of the causal clause *quod … omisisset* is *fidem*, direct object of *omisisset* (its subject = Flavus). Hence, the definitions of *fidem* follow it, sc. *sumptam*, *P.P.P.* replacing a relative clause of *fidem* + its complements: adverbial expression in accusative *adversus Romanos* and instrumental ablative *volentibus Germanis*. Therefore, *numquam* + its modified

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omisisset are at the end of the causal clause; **b.** *Numquam* in second position before *omisisset* (sc … *numquam sumptam omisisset*) will modify, as it were, *sumptam*.

> **(5)** *Ne tecta quidem urbis*, *adeō publicum consilium* <u>*numquam*</u> *adiit*, *deviis plērumque itineribus ambiens patriam et declinans*
> "(Tiberius) never approached even the roofs of the city (Rome), much less the public council, (but) while he frequently encircling and dodging (his) native city by devious routes" (*Ann.* 6,15,3).

A. The first multiple clause *ne … adiit* contains multiple parts: 1) *Ne … urbis*: a validity adverb in negation *ne … quidem* modifies *adiit*, preceded by an *accusative directionis tecta urbis*. 2) *Adeō … adiit*: measure adverb *adeō* (modifies *numquam*) + *numquam* modify *adiit*, preceded by an *accusative directionis publicum consilium* (on the form of words *ne … quidem* + *adeō* + *numquam* see §A.4.1.1.2.2 above). **B.** The second multiple clause *deviis … declinans* indicates circumstances concerning *adiit* with two *praedicativa* of Tiberius *ambiens* + *declinans*, referring to a local ablative *deviis itineribus* + direct object *patriam* (sc. Rome). *Plērumque* between *deviis* and *itineribus* modified by it highlights where Tiberius frequently encircling and dodging his native city. *Adiit* is juxtaposed to both *praedicativa* by its occurrence at the end of the first multiple clause *ne … adiit*, while *numquam* is in first position before the modified *adiit*.

(6) *Ann.* 13,21,2, §A.4.1.4.2 above: between the subject *Silanam* and its predicate *habere* in *AcI* (governed by *non miror*; its subject = Agrippina) is embedded *absolute ablative edito partu*. *Numquam* is in first position before the modified predicate *edito*, which is also emphatic by its occurrence before its subject *partu*. If *numquam* follows the whole *absolute ablative* (sc. *Silanam edito partu numquam … habere*), it will modify, as it were, the predicate *habere* of *AcI*.

> **(7)** *Famae* <u>*numquam*</u> *pepercit*, *maritos et adulteros non distinguens*
> "(Poppaea) never cared for (her) reputation, making no distinction between (her) husbands and (her) adulterers" (*Ann.* 13,45,3).

A. *Numquam* is in first position before the modified *pepercit* (its subject = Poppaea) and not in first one after it (viz. *famae pepercit numquam … non distinguens*), because it may modify the *praedicativum distinguens* of Poppaea and in an affirmative sense by the occurrence of *numquam* + *non* (*litotes*) before *distinguens*. **B.** *Famae* in dative (governed by *pepercit*) is emphatic by its introducing the sentence. Therefore, *numquam* is not placed in second position before *pepercit*.

Cf. *Ann.* 2,38,1, §A.4.1.1.4 above: **a.** The apodosis clause *singuli … deficiet* (after Tiberius' speech) includes two coordinated clauses: *singuli … exsatiabuntur* and *res … deficiet*. Both verbs *exsatiabuntur* and *deficiet* are combined actions occurring as a result of what mentioned in the conditional clause *si … coeperint*. *Numquam* modifies only *exsatiabuntur* due to its insertion between the subject *singuli* and *exsatiabuntur*; **b.** *Numquam* in first position after *exsatiabuntur* (sc. *singuli exsatiabuntur numquam … deficiet*) will apparently modify *deficiet* and in negation.

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A.5.1.2 Second Position

> **(1)** *Neque enim multo post supremi Tiberio consules*, *Cn. Acerronius C. Pontius*, *magistratum occepere*, *nimia iam potentia Macronis*, *qui gratiam C. Caesaris numquam sibi neglectam acrius in dies fovebat*
> "For not long afterwards the last consuls for Tiberius, G. Acerronius (and) G. Pontius, entered (their) office, with Macro's power (being) already excessive, who daily fostered more assiduously the favour of G. Caesar, which had never been neglected for him" (*Ann.* 6,45,3).

The relative clause *qui … fovebat*: **a.** Follows its main clause *neque … Macronis*, in order to juxtapose it to its antecetent *Macronis* mentioned at the end of the main clause; **b.** Its topic concerns the direct object *gratiam* and its definitions, sc. attributive possessive genitive C. *Caesaris* + reflexive pronoun in dative *sibi*; modified *P.P.P. neglectam* by *numquam*, replacing a relative clause of *gratiam*. Therefore, the predicate *fovebat* + its modifiers, sc. manner adverb in comparative *acrius* and temporal phrase in accusative *in dies* (for the temporal adverb *cottidie*) are placed at its end with *hyperbaton* between the subject *qui* and its verb *fovebat* in affirmative; **c.** If *numquam* follows *neglectam* (sc. *qui … neglectam numquam acrius in dies fovebat*), *numquam* may refer to *acrius in dies fovebat* and modify, as it were, *fovebat* in negation.

(2) *Ann.* 15,36,2, §A.4.1.3.2.1 above: **a.** The temporal clause *cum … vacuus* (its main clause = *deseruit inceptum*) includes two alternative parts with *anaphora* of a disjunctive conjunction *seu* at the top of each part, explaining Nero's fear mentioned in *repente cunctos per artus tremens*: 1) *Seu numine exterrente* with causal *absolute ablative*; 2) *Seu facinorum recordatione … vacuus* with causal ablative *recordatione* preceded by objective genitive *facinorum* governed by it; **b.** In the second alternative part *numquam* is in second position before the modified predicate noun *vacuus* (without *esse*) in an affirmative meaning by *litotes* (*OLD*, 2002a, sv. *vacuus*, adjective, 3.a) 'he was always frightened in fear', for emphasizing *vacuus* by the causal ablative *timore* governed by *vacuus*.

A.5.1.3 Third Position or Further Removed

(1) *Hist.* 4,58,1, §A.4.1.1.2.1 above: **a.** An adverbial expression in accusative *apud vos* is embedded between *numquam* and the modified idiom *verba feci* (see n. 11 above), in order to juxtapose *apud vos* to the soldiers mentioned in chapter 57; **b.** Each disjunctive part *aut … sollicitior* and *aut … securior* is introduced by *anaphora* of *aut* and includes *praedicativum* in comparative of Vocula, describing in which situation he has never addressed the soldiers. Both parts involve a semantic contrast with different adverbial expression in ablative in each part: *sollicitior* refers to *pro vobis*, sc. the soldiers; *securior* to *pro me*, sc. Vocula, in which *pro* is substituted for *de* and points out the contrast between both parts [Wolf (1926), p. 192; Heraeus (1929), p. 145] by a parallel order (disjunctive conjunction-adverbial expression in ablative-*praedicativum* in comparative); **c.** *Verba feci* precedes both disjunctive parts and does not follow them (i.e. *numquam apud vos aut … securior*

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verba feci), in order to avoid: **α)** A long *hyperbaton* between *numquam* and *verba feci*; **β)** The occurrence of adverbial expressions in accusative and multiple ablatives in succession, which is clumsy: *aut pro vobis sollicitior*

aut pro me securior

(2) *Hist*. 2,7,1, §A.4.1.2.2 above: **a.** After Flavian commanders' views occur two *AcI* clauses (governed by a verb inferred from the context): *bello … coalescere* and *nec … faceret*. The first *AcI* is introduced by a temporal ablative *bello civili* for highlighting when victors and vanquished never unite with a lasting faith. Therefore, the alliterative pair *victores victosque* (connected by *que*), subject of *AcI*, are in its third position. This pair is favoured by Tacitus throughout *Hist*. and usually in a reverse order [Ash (2007), p. 94]; **b.** An ablative of manner *solida fide* precedes *coalescere* with the typical word order in Latin. Consequently, *coalescere* is postponed to the end of the first *AcI*; **c.** If *numquam* is in first position after *coalescere*, it will modify *nec referre* of the second *AcI* in affirmative (by *litotes*: *numquam nec referre*); **d.** From the above-mentioned reasons, *numquam* in a negative meaning modifies only the predicate *coalescere* of the first *AcI* clause in negation and is placed in third position before it.

(3) *Ag*. 34,3, §A.4.1.2.1 above: *adprobate* (its subject = the Romans) governs dative *rei publicae* + *AcI numquam ... rebellandi* (*OLD*, p. 154b, s.v. *apporbo*, 5.a.b). *Numquam* is at the top of the *AcI numquam ... rebellandi*, while its modified predicate *potuisse* in *AcI* + its complements (indirect/direct object *exercitui* and *imputari*) are juxtaposed to *numquam* for emphasizing them in negation. Hence, *moras belli* and *causas rebellandi*, subjects of *AcI*, are at the end of the *AcI* with *anaphora* of the disjunctive conjunction *aut* before each subject. According to Woodman and Kraus (2014), p. 266, a word-play of the type *belli-rebellandi* is a particular feature of Livy.

(4) *Ann.* 11,24,5, §A.4.1.1.2 above: **a.** *Scilicet* is used here ironically in suggesting something palpably impossible or absurd "to be sure, doubtless" [*OLD*, p. 1703c, s.v. *scilicet*, 4.a; Malloch (2013), p. 373]. It refers to the whole sentence and introduces it. Accordingly, both subjects Vulsci and Aequi are placed after *scilicet*; **b.** *Numquam* is in third position and further removed before the modified *instruxere*, on account of the verb's compelements: **α)** Direct object and its attributive adjective *adversam aciem*; **β)** 1st personal pronoun pl. in dative *nobis* governed by *adversam* (*OLD*, p. 57a, s.v. *adversus*, adjective, 8.c "hostile"). Therefore, it is embedded between *adversam* and *aciem*.

(5) <u>*Numquamne*</u> *ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos*?

> "(The assembly reported) were they never to be visited except by family sons" (*Ann.* 1,26,2)?

Numquamne introduces the sentence, since the interrogative adverb *ne* is enclitic to it. The modified predicate *venturos* (*esse* is omitted) of *AcI* (after the assembly's speech) is placed at its end and not near *numquamne*: 1) In order to juxtapose the accusative directionis *ad se* to Tiberius and Drusus mentioned before this clause; 2) Owing to the conjunction *nisi* "except", which occurs after *numquam*

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(see n. 7 above), the *AcI filios familiarum*[14] *venturos*, sc. subject + its definition + the modified predicate *venturos* by *numquamne*, follows *numquamne* + *nisi*.

(6) *Numquam pro salute principis aut caelesti voce immolavisse*

> "(Thrasea) had never sacrified for the health of the emperor (Nero) or (for his) heavenly voice" (*Ann.* 16,22,1).

Between *numquam* at the top of the *AcI* clause (referring to Capito's speech) and the modified predicate *immolavisse* of *AcI* at its tail (its subject = *se*, sc. Thrasea mentioned explicitly before this sentence) appear two causal ablatives *pro salute principis* (sc. Nero) *aut caelesti voce*, which regularly precede the verb. *Pro* before the first causal ablative refers also to the second one, which is preceded by *aut* instead of the *anaphora* of *pro*.

A.5.2 *Numquam* after the Modified Part of Speech: Third Position

> *Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia … aut quidquid in schola cotidiē agitur, in foro vel rārō vel numquam, ingentibus verbis prosequantur*
> "So it happens that are described in grandiose language the rewards of tyrannicides … or whatever is daily discussed in (our) school, (but) rarely or never in the forum" (*Dial*. 35,5).

A. The indefinite relative clause *quidquid … numquam*, subject clause of *prosequantur* (its nucleus = *quidquid*), includes two parts: 1) *In schola cotidiē agitur*; 2) *In foro … numquam*. *Agitur* is modified by three temporal adverbs *cotidiē* (a lengthy/continuous time in affirmative), *rārō* (a lengthy/non-continuous time in affirmative), *numquam* (a lengthy/continuous time in negative), but *agitur* is mentioned at the end of the first part after *cotidiē*, in order to juxtapose it to *rārō* and *numquam* of the second part (with *anaphora* of the disjunctive conjunction *vel* before each adverb). **B.** *Agitur* + *cotidiē* refer to a local ablative *in schola* before *cotidiē*; whereas *agitur* + *rārō*/*numquam* refer to *in foro* before *rārō*/*numquam* with a parallel contrast (local ablative-temporal adverb) between both parts:

in schola *cotidiē* *agitur*

in foro vel rārō vel numquam (*agitur*

A.5.3 First Position before +
A.5.3.1 Second Position before

(1) *Iudices per diversa implacabiles erant, Caesar ob bellum provinciae inlatum, senatus numquam satis credito sine fraude Germanicum interisse*

> "For various reasons the judges were merciless: the emperor (Tiberius) on account of a war, which has been inflicted on the province, the senate since it would never quite believe that Germanicus had perished without treachery" (*Ann.* 3,14,3).

[14]For the phrase *filios familiarum* see, *OLD*, p. 675a, s.v. *familia*, 1.b; p. 701b, s.v. *filius*, 1.b; Miller (1992), p. 148.

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A. Two reasons illustrate a contrast between the emperor and the senate. They explain why the judges were merciless in two multiple parts with a *variatio* of: **a)** An adverbial expression in accusative *Caesar ob bellum … inlatum*; **b)** A causal *absolute ablative senatus numquam satis credito … interisse* [cf. Woodman and Martin (1996), pp. 158-159]. *Caesar* and *senatus*, subjects of the apposition *iudices*, introduce each clause. **B.** In the second causal clause, *numquam* precedes both *satis* (modifies *credito*) + the predicate *credito* (with impersonal subject) of the *absolute ablative*, which are modified by it, owing to the following *AcI* clause *sine fraude Germanicum interisse* governed by *credito*.

(2) *Numquam magis adflictam rem Romanam nec aliud in hibernis quam praedam et senes*

> "The Roman state has never been more shattered, (and there is) nothing in the winter camps but booty and old men" (*Hist.* 4,14,4).

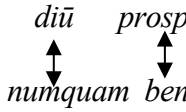
Numquam at the top of the *AcI numquam … Romanam* (after Civilis' speech) precedes both modified *magis* (modifies *adflictam*) + predicate *adflictam* of *AcI*, which is also emphatic by its placement before its subject *rem Romanam*. Cf. *Ann.* 1,59,4, §A.4.1.2.3.1 above: *excusaturos*, predicate of *AcI* (after Segestes' report), is modified by *numquam* + *satis* (modified by *numquam*) and follow them, due to the following object clause *quod … viderint* governed by *excusaturos* (*OLD*, p. 638b, s.v. *excuso*, 1.b). Therefore, its subject *Germanos* is at its top of *AcI*.

(3) *Hordeonius Flaccus suspetis iam Batavis anxius proprio bello*, *Vetius Bolanus numquam satis quieta Britannia*, *et uterque ambigui*

> Hordeonius Flaccus, because the Batavians were already suspected, was worried of a war of his own (province), while Vetius Bolanus (was worried) because Britain has never been entirely quiet, and both of them hesitated (in their loyalty)" (*Hist.* 2,97,1).

A. The predicate noun *anxius* (without *esse*) refers to both subjects of both multiple parts Hordeonius ... *bello* and Vetius … Britannia. **B.** Different reasons in each part concern *anxius* and explain the last coordinated clause *et uterque ambigui*: causal ablative *proprio bello* in the first part; causal *absolute ablative quieta Britannia* in the second one modified by measure adverb *satis*, which strengthens its causal meaning. **C.** *Numquam* in negation precedes both *satis* + predicate *quieta* of *absolute ablative*, which are modified by it, while *quieta* is also emphatic by its occurrence before its subject *Britannia*.

(4) *Ann.* 4,31,3, §A.3.1.2.2 above: **a.** The direct object *quem* precedes *vidit sequens aetas*, sc. subject + its predicate, since *quem* refers to Svillius mentioned before and it is also the topic of this sentence; **b.** *Quem* involves three *praedicativa*: *praepotentem*, *venalem*, *usum*. *Usum* is preceded by detailed informations: **α.** *Claudii principis amicitia*, instrumental ablative + its attributive possessive genitive; **β.** *Usum* is modified by both phrases *diū prospere* + *numquam bene*, in which *diū* modifies *prospere*, *numquam* modifies *bene* (for *utor* + adverb see *OLD*, p. 2119c, s.v. *utor*, 8.a.) with a semantic parallel contrast (temporal adverb in affirmative/ negative-modified manner adverb):



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A.5.3.2 Third Position before

(1) *Hist*. 2,67,2, §A.4.1.4.2.1 above: **a.** *Intento*, predicate of *absolute ablative*, follows an adverbial expression in accusative *ad curas*, since *intentus* is construed with *ad* (*OLD*, p. 937c, s.v. *intendo*, 9.a). According to Ash (2007), p. 263, *intentus* + dative is more common in Tacitus than with *ad*; **b.** An adverb of manner *ita* precedes its modified *intento*; **c.** *Numquam* at the top of the main clause *numquam … Vitellio* (its consecutive clause = *ut … oblivisceretur*) precedes both *ita* + *intento*, which are modified by it; **d.** Consequently, *intento* is emphatic: 1) It is modified by both adverbs *numquam* + *ita*. 2) It precedes its subject *Vitellio*.

(2) *Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior*, *non melior*, *et numquam posteā nisi de principatu quaesitum*

> "After them (came) Gnaeus Pompey, more disguised, (but) no better (than them), and afterwards there never (was any) aim except concerning a supreme power" (*Hist.* 2,38,1).

A. *Post quos*, a relative pronoun pro demonstrative, introduces the first coordinated clause *post … melior*, since it refers to C. Marius and L. Sulla mentioned in the preceding sentence. **B.** *Et* (for *nec*) *numquam* (see §2 above), which is a characteristic of the Silver Age, introduces the second coordinated clause *et ... quaesitum*. Tacitus frequently uses *et* with negation *nullus*/*nihil*/*non*/*nemo*/*haud*. On the other hand, he employs *neu* where Cicero and Caesar would say *et ne* [Spooner (1891), p. 226; Heraeus (1929), p. 169]. **C.** *Quaesitum* refers to *nisi* "except" after negation (n. 7 above) + adverbial expression in ablative *de principatu*, which regularly precedes the verb. **D.** Accordjgly, *numquam* is in first position before *posteā* (n. 6 above), which modifies *quaesitum*, and in third position before *quaesitum*, which are modified by it.

(3) *Hist*. 3,37,2, §A.4.1.2.1.1 above: **a.** The paragraph *nam … festinarentur* with *ante* is anterior to the preceding one *pridie … suffectum* with *numquam anteā*, sc. during the time of Rosius Regulus no consul was elected before the office had been declared vacant. Caninius Rebilus was elected as a consul for one day before what is reported about Rosius Regulus. *Suffectum*, predicate of *AcI numquam … suffectum* (its main clause = *adnotabant periti*), is at the end of the first paragraph *pridie … suffectum* and not in proximity to *numquam anteā*, so that *suffectum* is also near the content of the following paragraph with *ante*; **b.** Both *absolute ablatives* in negation *non … magistratu* and *neque … lata* between *numquam anteā* and the *AcI alium suffectum* indicate circumstances, whereby another consul had been elected in the past; **c.** The position of *numquam* before *anteā* is required logically and stylistically, due to the negative adverbs after *anteā*, which modify the predicates of *absolute ablatives*: *non* > *abrogato*; *neque* > *lata*. If *numquam* follows *anteā* (sc. *anteā numquam non … suffectum*), *numquam* will modify both negated predicates of *absolute ablatives non abrogato* + *neque lata* in affirmative by *litotes*, owing to the occurrence of negative adverbs in succession. Hence, *numquam* is in first position before *anteā* (modifies *suffectum*) and in third one before *suffectum*, which are modified by it.

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A.5.4 Second + Third before

Ann. 15,2,2, §A.3.2.1 above: the direct object *pacem* at the top of the sentence is the topic of both contrasting parallel parts *numquam … lacessitam ≠ nunc … abrumpunt*: anterior negative adverb/posterior affirmative adverb-modified element (the subject = the Romans). *Numquam* before its both modified elements, sc. *prospere* (manner adverb with dative agentis *ipsis* between *numquam* and *prospere*) + *lacessitam* (*P.P.P.* replacing a concessive clause of *pacem*), highlights *prospere lacessitam* in negation. *Nunc* + its modified measure adverb *quoque* modify *abrumpunt* preceded by accusative of purpose *in exitium suum*: *numquam … lacessitam*

nunc … abrumpunt

B.5 *Umquam*

B.5.1 *Umquam* before the Modified Part of Speech

B.5.1.1 First Position

(1) *Ann*. 1,49,1, §B.4.1.1.1 above: **a.** The relative clause *quae umquam accidere* is embedded in its main clause *diversa omnium + civilium armorum facies*. The nucleus *armorum* of the antecedent *omnium civilium armorum* is in second part of the main clause and not before *quae*, due to the *hyperbaton* between the predicate noun *diversa* at the top of the main clause and its subject *facies* at its tail by the 'Greek' genitive *omnium civilium armorum* depends on *diversa*[15] [for other explanations see Goodyear (1972) 1, p. 311]; **b.** Since *umquam* is not placed at the end of a clause (see §5.0 above), it precedes the modified *accidere* of the relative clause and in affirmative meaning; **c.** Accordingly, in the relative clause *quae … accidere* the regular word order occurs, sc. subject (relative pronoun *quae*; its antecedent = *armorum*)-temporal adverb (*umquam* in affirmative meaning)-modified verb by *umquam* in affirmative sense (*accidere*).

(2) *Neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum*

"(Sejanus) had never asked for the glitter of honor's (offices)" (*Ann*. 4,39,2).

The *AcI neque … precatum* refers to the purport of Sejanus' letter to the emperor (its subject Sejanus is omitted). Its predicate *precatum* (*esse*) is highlighted in negation by both modifiers: *neque* at the top of the clause + *umquam* (modified by *neque*) in first position before *precatum*. Consequently, the complement *fulg**or**em hon**or**um* of *precatum*, a rare combination [Woodman (2018), p. 217] with *alliteration* of ***or***, is embedded between *neque* and *umquam precatum*. Likewise, its direct object *fulgorem* precedes its attributive possessive genitive *honorum* contrary to the word order in Latin.

[15] *OLD*, p. 563a, s.v. *diversus*, adjective, 6.b; Furneaux (1897), p. 240; Kühner and Stegmann (1962) 1, pp. 441-442.

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B.5.1.2 Second Position

> '*Neque ego <u>umquam</u> facundiam exercui et populi Romani virtutem armis adfirmavi*'
> "'I have never practiced eloquence, and I have asserted the excellence of the Roman people by (his) arms'" (*Hist*. 4,73,1).

The sentence deals with Cerialis' speech to the Treviri and Lingones. On account of *neque*, which introduces the first multiple part *neque … exercui*, the subject *ego*, 1st personal pronoun, sg. (sc. Cerialis), is in its second position, and *umquam* (modified by *neque*) is in its third position. *Neque umquam* refers to the phrase *facundiam exercui*, direct object + predicate, with emphasis on the modified *exercui*.

B.5.1.3 Third Position

> **(1)** *Augentibus famam Vitellianis … ne victoribus quidem ingrato rumore, quorum cupiditates externis quoque bellis inexplebiles nulla <u>umquam</u> civilis victoria satiavit*
> "When the Vitellians spread the report … the rumour was not displeasing even to the victors, whose greed, which was impossible to satisfy even by foreign wars, no victory of civil (wars) could ever satisfy (them)" (*Hist*. 4,38,2).

Cupiditates, direct object of *satiavit*, introduces the topic of the relative clause *quorum … satiavit* (its antecedent = *victoribus*). The adjective *inexplebiles* in a negative sense replaces a relative clause of *cupiditates*. *Umquam* after *nulla*, attribute of the subject *victoria*, modifies *satiavit* in negation with the insertion of *civilis victoria*, subject + its attributive adjective, between *nulla umquam* and the modified *satiavit*. The contrast in content between *externis bellis ≠ civilis victoria* is highlighted by measure adverb *quoque* between *externis* and *bellis*. *Bellis* can be an instrumental ablative *externis bellis* or local genitive *civilis belli* without repetition of *belli*.

Cf. *Hist*. 4,43,1, §B.4.1.3.1 above: **a.** The relative clause *qui … facessisset* (its antecedent = Cluvius Rufus) deals with Helvidius' panegyric of Cluvius Rufus; **b.** An adversative clause *perinde … clarus* (after *qui*) is introduced by *perinde* indicating a comparison "just as"[16] + ablative *eloquentia* governed by *clarus*; **c.** The direct object *periculum* precedes *facessisset*, owing to the idiom *periculum facessisset* "to accuse".[17] Therefore, the complement *sub Nerone* of *facessisset* precedes this idiom, while *umquam* after the substantivized pronoun *nulli* in dative (governed by *facessisset*) is in third position before the modified idiom in negation.

(2) *Quippe nominatis libertis eius*, *quos conscios haberet*, *respondit nihil <u>umquam</u> se domi nisi nutu aut manu significasse*

[16]See L.-Sh., p. 1345a, s.v. *perinde*, adverb, I, II.b; *OLD*, p. 1342c. s.v. *perinde*, adverb, 3.b.
[17]See L.-Sh., p. 714a, s.v. *facesso*, I. B; *OLD*, p. 666a. s.v. *facesso*, 2.: with *periculum* + dative.

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> "For when (his) freedmen, whom he regarded as (his) accomplices, were named, (Pallas) replied that at home he never signified anything except by a nod or a motion of a hand" (*Ann*. 13,23,2).

In the *AcI* clause *nihil ... significasse* (governed by *respondit*) *umquam* follows the direct object *nihil*, substantivized adjective in negation, for emphasizing the modified predicate *significasse* of *AcI* in negation. *Significasse* at the end of the *AcI* clause is preceded by: **a.** The subject *se* of *AcI*, since *se* refers to Pallas mentioned before this sentence; **b.** Its complements in local and manner ablatives *domi*, *nutu aut manu* (after *nisi*) with the typical order in Latin.

(3) *Ann*. 4,17,2, §B.3.1.2 above: **a.** *Haud* + *umquam* (modified by *haud*) modify the adjective *mitis*, replacing an adversative clause of Tiberius, mentioned in the first part *nam Tiberius* of the main clause. Therefore, the adversative clause *haud … mitis* is embedded in its main clause *nam Tiberius* + *tum … induluit*; **b.** *Mitis* is preceded by its complement *domui*, indirect object in dative, which is followed by its attributive genitive *Germanici*, contrary to the order in Latin. Therefore, *haud umquam* introduces the adversative clause, while its modified *mitis* is at its end.

(4) *Sine dubio … Augustus … ut exilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur*, *perfecerat*; *ceterum in nullius umquam suorum necem duravit*, *neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat*

> "There is no doubt that Augustus … had caused that (Agrippa's) exile was sanctioned by the senate's decree; but he never hardened himself to murder any of his own relatives, nor was it believed that death had been inflicted on (his) grandson for (his) stepson's security" (*Ann*. 1,6,2).

The first multiple part *ceterum … duravit* of the second multiple clause *ceterum … erat*: **a.** Is introduced by *ceterum* with a slight adversative sense (*OLD*, p. 307b, s.v. *ceterus*, adjective, 5.c) with the first multiple clause *sine … perfecerat*; **b.** *Duravit* at its tail is preceded by accusative of purpose *in necem* [Miller (1992), p. 115]; **c.** *Umquam* between the substantivized pronoun in negation *nullius*, an attributive genitive of *in necem*, and partitive genitive *suorum* of *nullius* reinforces the modified *duravit* in negation.

(5) *Ag*. 8,3, §B.4.1.1, ex. 1 above: *nec* at the top of the sentence implies a contrast 'but … not' (*OLD*, 1171b, s.v. *neque*, *nec*, adverb, 5). Therefore, the subject Agricola is in its second position between *nec* and *umquam* (modified by *nec*). The modified *exultavit* by *nec umquam* at the end of the sentence is preceded by its complements: **1)** Accusative of purpose *in suam famam* (*OLD*, p. 857a, s.v. *in*, preposition, A.21c); **2)** Causal ablative *gestis* (sc. *rebus gestis*) follows *in suam famam*, since it is in contrast with *fortuna* mentioned in the following sentence *ad ... referebat*.

Cf. *Ag*. 22,4, §B.3.2 above: the subject Agricola is embedded between *nec* and *umquam*. The modified *intercepit* by *nec umquam* is preceded by: **a.** Its complements: adverbial expression in accusative *per alios* (substantivized adjective) and direct object *gesta*; **b.** *Praedicativum avidus* of the subject Agricola functions as an adverb. Therefore, *avidus* is in proximity to *intercepit*.

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(6) *Nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisque iustis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram*, *esse ultionem*

> "For it has never been proved by more terrible disasters of the Roman people or by more undubitable evidence that the gods care not for our safety, (but only) for (our) punishment" (*Hist*. 1,3,2).

A. *Enim*, a post-positive conjunction, is in second position of the main clause *nec … adprobatum est*, introducing a reason for something said after a negation (*OLD*, p. 608a, s.v. *enim*, particle). Therefore, the modified *umquam* by *nec*, is in its third position. **B.** However, *nec umquam* is not in proximity to the modified *adprobatum est* (impersonal subject + verb; *OLD*, p. 154b, s.v. *approbo*, 5.b) or after it, on account of: **a.** Both instrumental ablatives before *adprobatum est*: *atrocioribus … cladibus* sums up with a negative colour the events and *magisque … indiciis* refers to divine portents that concludes it [Spooner (1891), p. 108; Damon (2003), p. 97]. **b.** *AcI non esse … ultionem* governed by *adprobatum est* and follows it.

Cf. **(a)** *Hist*. 1,30,1, §B.4.1.1, ex. 2 above: on the positions of *nemo* (for *nec*), *enim*, *umquam* see *Hist*. 1,3,2 above. The modified *exercuit* is preceded by: its subject *nemo*, substantivized adjective in negation; its direct object *imperium* + multiple ablatives of manner *flagitio* and *bonis artibus* + *P.P.P. quaesitum*, replacing a relative clause of *imperium*. *Exercuit* + *imperium* precede the second ablative of manner *bonis artibus*, to which they refer; *quaesitum* refers to the first one *flagitio* and follows it. **(b)** *Ann*. 3,64,4, §B.4.3, ex. 2 above: due to the position of *neque*, *enim* and *umquam* (see above), the indirect object in dative *fetialibus* and the subject of *AcI* with partitive genitive *hoc maiestatis* are placed before the modified predicate *fuisse* of *AcI* by *neque* + *umquam*. Consequently, in the *AcI* clause *neque … fuisse* the order is negative adverb (*neque*)-post-positive conjunction (*enim*)-modified temporal adverb by *neque* (*umquam*)-indirect object in dative (*fetialibus*)-subject of *AcI* + partitive genitive (*hoc maiestatis*)-modified predicate of *AcI* by *neque* + *umquam* (*fuisse*).

(7) *Undem mox scitum Passieni oratoris dictum percrebuit neque meliorem umquam servum neque deteriorem dominum fuisse*

> "Hence, subsequently the witty saying of the orator Passienus became current that 'there never was a better slave nor a worse master'" (*Ann*. 6,20,1).

In the *AcI* clause *neque … fuisse* (governed by *percrebuit*) the modified predicate *fuisse* by *neque* + *umquam* (modified by *neque*) is mentioned once at the end of the second AcI, but it refers to both subjects *servum* and *dominum* of both *AcI*. *Umquam* is mentioned once between the first attributive adjective *meliorem* and its subject *servum*, but refers also to *dominum* with the *anaphora* of *neque* before each adjective *meliorem* (sc. Tiberius)/*deteriorem* (sc. Caligula) of each subject. In this manner, is emphasized in negation a parallel contrast (negative adverb-adjective in compararive-subject of *AcI*) between both adjectives and their subjects *meliorem servum ≠ deteriorem dominum* in both multiple parts of *AcI*:

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neque meliorem servum
↕ ↕ ↕
neque deteriorem dominum

B.5.2 *Umquam* after the Modified Part of Speech

B.5.2.1 First Position

> *Ni propere neque corpus ullum reperiri et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant*[18]
> "If it had not quickly become known that no corpse was found, that the slaves, even under torture, denied the murder, (and) that Vibulenus had never had a brother, (the soldiers) were not so far from killing the legate" (*Ann*. 1,23,2).

In the conditional clause *ni … pernotuisset* (its main clause = *haud … aberant*) its impersonal verb *pernotuisset* follows three *AcI* clauses governed by it[19]: *ni … reperiri*; *et servos … caedem*; *neque … fratrem*. In the third *AcI* clause the predicate *fuisse* is emphasized by: 1) Its insertion between its modifiers *neque* and *umquam* (modified by *neque*); 2) Its occurrence before its subject *fratrem*. The indirect object *illi* precedes *fuisse*, since it refers to Vibulenus mentioned before in chapter 22.

Cf. *Dial*. 32,2, §B.4.3, ex. 1 above: **a.** *Confirmo* refers to Messala's speech to Maternus and is preceded by two *AcI* clauses governed by it: *quem … existere*; *nec … umquam*; **b.** The sentence is introduced by its topic *quem*, a relative pronoun pro demonstrative, subject of both *AcI*, sc. the orator; **c.** Both infinitives of *AcI* are in a negative meaning: *posse* is modified by *non*; *extitisse* is modified by *nec* + *umquam* and is highlighted in negation by its insertion between them.

B.5.2.2 Second Position

> *Pars castrorum in collem leniter exsurgens, pars aequo adibatur. Quippe illis hibernis obsideri premique Germanias Augustus crediderat, neque umquam id malorum, ut obpugnatum ultro legiones nostras venirent*
> "Part of the camp extended gently upwards the hill, part was approachable on level ground. For Augustus had believed that by this winter quarter the German (provinces) might be besieged and checked, (but had) never (believed that) such a disaster (will occur), so that (the Germans) would actually come (to Vetera) to attack our legions" (*Hist*. 4,23,1).

Quippe is in first position of the second sentence *quippe … venirent*, since it gives reported reasons of the preceding sentence *pars … adibatur*.[20] It is followed

[18]Imperfect indicative *aberant* of the apodosis with pluperfect subjunctive *pernotuisset* of the protasis indicates an action was actually begun and on the point of being completed [Furneaux (1887), p. 15; Miller (1992), p. 145].
[19]See L.-Sh., p. 1350a, s.v. *permotesco*, 3.a; *OLD*, p. 1349a, s.v. *permotesco*.
[20]Cf. L-Sh., p. 1515b, s.v. *quippe*, adverb, 3; *OLD*, p. 1558b, s.v. *quippe*, particle, 1.a.

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by two *AcI* governed by *crediderat* (its subject = Augustus): *obsideri … Germanias* and *neque … malorum*. *Crediderat* is placed at the end of the first *AcI*, in order to juxtapose it also to the second *AcI*. However, owing to the occurrence of *neque umquam* at the beginning of the second *AcI neque umquam id malorum*, *neque* + *umquam* (modified by *neque*) modify *crediderat*, which refers only to the second *AcI id malorum* (sc. *fore* in active future infinitive).

B.5.3 First Position before +

B.5.3.1 Second before

Ann. 4,30,3, §B.4.4.2 above: in the second multiple part *et ne … coercitum* of the apposition *genus … coercitum* to the subject *delatores*, *ne ... quidem* (with an insertion of an instrumental ablative *poenis*[21] between them) + *umquam* precede the modified *satis* + *coercitum* (replacing a relative clause of *genus hominum* in negation) owing to: 1) Measure/negative/temporal adverb precede the modified element: *satis* precede the modified *coercitum*; *ne … quidem* precedes the modified *umquam*; *umquam* precede the modified *satis* + *coercitum* (cf. *Ann.* 6,15,3, §A.5.1.1, ex. 5 above with *numquam*).

The same explanation is valid in *Hist*. 2,92,1, §B.4.2.1.2 above: in the main clause *nec … potentia* (its temporal clause = *ubi … est*) *nec* + *umquam* precede the modified measure adverb *satis* + predicate noun *fida* without *esse* (modified also by *satis*).

B.5.3.2 Third Position and Further Removed before

(1) *Dial*. 11,4, §B.4.2.1.1 above: **a.** *Mihi*, dative agentis in 1st personal pronoun sg., introduces the subordinated clause *ne … facienda sint* after *ne*, which refers to Maternus' respond to Aper (its main clause = *nec vereor*; the subject of both clauses = Maternus); **b.** The modified idiom *verba facienda sint* (on this idiom see n. 11 above), sc. subject + predicate noun in *gerundive* with the copula *sint* in affirmative, is made salient by placing *umquam* before *verba*; **c.** However, the complements of *facienda sint*, sc. local ablative *in senatu* and adverbial expression in ablative *pro alterius discrimine* after *nisi* precede *facienda sint* with the prevalent order in Latin with their insertion between *verba* and *facienda sint*. Accordingly, *umquam* is in first position before *verba* and in third position and further removed before *facienda sint*, which are modified by it.

(2) *Dial*. 13,4, §B.4.1.2 above: **a.** *Adligati omni adulatione* introduces the sentence, since it gives reason concerning both multiple parts *nec … videntur* and *nec … liberi*; **b.** *Videntur* is modified by *nec umquam* + *satis* (its subjects = Crispus and Marcellus mentioned before). *Umquam* + *videntur* refer to both parts, but are not repeated in the second one; *nec* + *satis* are mentioned in both parts with their *anaphora* in each part; **c.** The contrast between the indirect objects *imperantibus* ≠ *nobis* and the *praedicativa servi* ≠ *liberi* of the subjects Crispus and Marcellus in

[21] *Poena coercere* is a standard (but not especially common) legal expression [Woodman (2018), p. 168].

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both multiple parts is emphasized by a parallel arrangement (negative adverb-indirect object-measure adverb-*praedicativum* of the subject):

nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur
↕ ↕ ↕ ↕
nec nobis (*umquam*) *satis liberi* (*videntur*)

(3) *Ann*. 2,25,2, §B.4.4.1 above: *ausum*, *pulsum* and *paventem* replace a relative clause of the direct object *hostem* (sc. the Germans) in three multiple parts: *non ausum … hostem*; *statim pulsum*; *nec … paventem*. *Hostem* at the end of the first part is juxtaposed to the second and third parts. *Nec umquam* modifies an adverb of measure *magis* + *P.P.A. paventem* (modified also by *magis*) of the third multiple part with an insertion of a comparison clause in parentheses *ut ex captivis cognitum est* between *nec umquam magis* and *paventem*.

B.5.4 First Position after + Third Position or Further Removed before

> *Post Iulios Claudios Servios*[22] *se primum in familiam novam imperium intulisse*: *proinde erecto animo capesseret vitam*, *neu patruum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur* <u>*umquam*</u> *aut nimium meminisset*
> "After the Julians, Claudians (and) Servians he (Otho), as the first, brought the sovereignty to a new family. Therefore, (Cocceianus) must go on (his) life with a brave heart, (and) never forget nor remember too much that Otho was (his) uncle" (*Hist*. 2,48,2).

Proinde, which introduces the second coordinated clause *proinde … meminisset*, indicates consequence "so then, accordingly" (*OLD*, p. 1482a, s.v. *proinde*, adverb, 3) with the first one *post … intulisse*, which deals with Otho's family as *nova* in relation to the imperial power. It contains multiple clauses in jussive: **1)** *Proinde … capesseret vitam* in affirmative; **2)** *AcI* clause (governed by *obliviscor* + *memini*; *OLD*, p. 1216b, s.v. *obliviscor*, 4.a; p. 1095c, s.v. *memini*, 1.b) *neu … meminisset* in negation with multiple parts: **a)** *Neu … oblivisceretur umquam*; **b)** *Aut nimium meminisset.*[23] *Neu* + *AcI patruum … fuisse* + *umquam* are mentioned in the first multiple part, but refer also to the second one: **α)** The negative adverb *neu*[24] refers to *oblivisceretur* + *meminisset* by the disjunctive conjunction *aut* before each verb; **β)** *Umquam* after the modified *oblivisceretur* in the first multiple part is juxtaposed to *meminisset* modified by *neu umquam* + measure adverb *nimium* of the second part; **γ)** *AcI patruum … fuisse*, governed by *obliviscor* + *memini*, precedes *oblivisceretur*. Accordingly, *neu* + *umquam* modify

[22]Julios, sc. Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula; Claudios, sc. Nero and Claudius; Servios, sc. Galba.
[23]*Nimium meminisset* refers to Cocceianus' death by Domitian for celebrating Otho's birthday, 28th April.
[24]For *neve* or *ne*, which adds an alternative in an indirect clause "nor (or)," see *OLD*, p. 1174b, s.v., *neve* or *ne*, 1.a.

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oblivisceretur (imperfect) + *nimium meminisset* (pluperfect, since it has no indicative/subjunctive in imperfect).

The Sentences/Clauses Types, in Which *numquam* and *umquam* Are Included

Both adverbs occur mainly in complex sentences (in a subordinated clause or a main clause), sometimes in multiple ones, rarely in a simple/coordinate/interrogative sentence (see table 6 below; quotations in §§A.B.3-A.B.5 above).

Table 6. *The Sentences/Clauses Types, in which numquam and umquam are Included*

Sentence/clause type	*Numquam*	*Umquam*	Total
Negative sense: simple	*Ann*. 15,9,1	*Ag*. 8,3; 22,4	3
Multiple: asyndetic connection	*Ag*. 34,3; *Ger*. 25,2; *Hist.* 3,46,2; *Ann.* 3,14,3; 6,15,3; 15,2,2	*Hist*. 1,30,1	14
Syndetic connection	*Hist.* 4,58,1; *Ann*. 4,31,3; 11,24,5; 13,45,3	*Hist*. 4,73,1; *Ann*. 1,6,2; 4,30,3	
Coordinate: syndetic connection	*Hist.* 2,38,1; 97,1	-	3
Asyndetic connection	-	*Hist*. 2,48,2	
Complex: *AcI* clause	*Hist*. 2,7,1; 3,37,2; 4,14,4; *Ann.* 1,59,4; 13,21,2; 16,22,1	*Dial*. 32,2; *Hist*. 1,3,2; 4,23,1; *Ann*. 3,64,4; 4,39,2; 6,20,1; 13,23,2	26
Adversative clause	*Hist*. 2,32,2	*Ann*. 4,17,2	
Causal clause	*Ann.* 11,17,2	-	
Comparison clause	-	*Ann*. 2,25,2	
Conditional clause + *AcI*	*Ann.* 2,38,1 -	- *Ann*. 1,23,2	
Consecutive clause	*Dial*. 35,5; *Hist.* 2,67,2	-	
Relative clause	*Hist*. 1,37,5; *Ann.* 6,45,3	*Hist*. 4,38,2; 43,1	
Temporal clause	-	*Hist*. 2,92,1	
Interrogative	-	*Dial*. 13,4	2
+ *AcI*	*Ann*. 1,26,2	-	
Affirmative sense: **complex** Fear clause	-	*Dial*. 11,4	3
Relative clause	-	*Ann*. 1,49,1	
Temporal clause	*Ann.* 15,36,2	-	

A Comparison between *numquam*/*umquam* in the Treatises of Tacitus

Some of our findings, detailed in §§1-6 above concerning *numquam*/*umquam*, are identical in the treatises of Tacitus, whereas most of them are different, since

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each book has features of its own, which are influenced by its content/style (see table 7 below; references in tables 1-6 above).

Table 7. *A Comparison between numquam/umquam in the Treatises of Tacitus*

The Features	*Numquam*					*Umquam*				Total
	Ag.	*Ger.*	*Dial.*	*Hist.*	*Ann.*	*Ag.*	*Dial.*	*Hist.*	*Ann.*	
Distribution	1	1	1	10	15	2	3	8	10	51
Meaning: in negation "never" Referring to past/present/future	1	1	1	10	14	2	2	8	9	48
Negation: before the adverb	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	8	6	17
Before and after the adverb	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	4
In affirmative "always, ever" Referring to past	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
Referring to future	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Proximity to temporal adverbs	-	1	2	5	4	-	-	1	1	14
Lack of temporal adverbs										
With a contrast in time/content	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Without a contrast	1	-	-	5	10	2	3	7	9	37
Proximity to additional adverbs	-	-	-	4	7	-	1	2	3	17
The modified part of speech Is explicit	1	-	1	10	15	2	3	8	10	50
Is not explicit	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Finite verb: **present**	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
In the preceding clause	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
+ measure adverb	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Perfect	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	4	1	9
In idiom: direct object + perfect	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
+ measure and negative adverbs	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
In affirmative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pluperfect	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
In the preceding clause	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
+ measure adverb + imperfect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
In idiom: direct object + pluperfect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Future I	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Infinitive: predicate of *AcI*	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	5	8
Perfect infinitive	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1

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+ temporal adverb + measure adverb	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Present infinitive	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Future infinitive + measure adverb	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 1
Adjective: **attribute**	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Predicate noun **without *esse*** + measure adverb In affirmative **With *esse***: idiom in affirmative	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	1 - - -	- - 1 -	- - - -	- - - 1	- 1 - -	- - - -	1 1 1 1
Predicate of *absolute ablative* + measure adverb	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Replaces an adversative clause	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Participia*: *P.P.A.: replaces a relative clause + measure adverb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
***P.P.P.*: passive perfect [without *esse*]** + temporal adverb	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Predicate of *absolute ablative* + manner adverb + measure adverb	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- 1 - -	1 - 1 1	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	1 1 1 1
Praedicativum + manner adverb	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Replaces a clause: relative clause + measure adverb	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 -	- -	- -	- -	- 1	2 1
Concessive clause + manner adverb	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Its position-before: first position	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	2	11
Second position	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	3
Third position	1	-	-	2	3	2	-	4	5	17
After: first position	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Second position	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Third position	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
First before + second before	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	1	1	7
Third before	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	1	6
Second + third before	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
First after + third before	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Sentences/clauses types	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	3

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Negative sense: simple										
Multiple	1	1	-	2	6	-	-	2	2	14
Coordinate	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	3
Complex	-	-	1	6	6	-	1	5	7	26
Interrogative	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
+ *AcI*	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Affirmative sense: complex	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	3

Identical Features

- Negative sense "never" referring to present/past/future.
- Proximity to **a)** Posterior adverb; **b)** Measure adverbs; **c**) A lack of temporal adverbs without a contrast in time/content.
- The modified part of speech**: a)** Is mentioned in the clause, in whuch both adverbs are included, except for 2x mentioned in the clause precedes the adverb (*numquam*: 1x-*Dial*., *umquam*: 1x- *Hist*.); **b)** Finite verbs in perfect, pluperfect, present; **c)** Perfect infinitive: predicate of *AcI*; **d)** *P.P.P*.; **e)** Adjective; **f)** Two modified elements.
- Their position: mainly before the modified part of speech; seldom after it; sometimes they have two positions.
- The sentences/clauses types, in which they occur: mainly complex sentences (subordinated/ main clause); sometimes multiple ones; rarely a simple/coordinate/interrogative sentence.

Different Features

- They occur in Tacitus' treatises, save for *Ger*., which is documented only with *numquam*.
- Their affirmative sense is rare: *numquam* "always": *Ann*.; *umquam* "ever": *Dial*., *Ann*.
- In a negative sense only *umquam* occurs with negation: **a)** Before *umquam* in all the books; **b)** Before and after *umquam* in *Dial*., *Ann*.
- Only *numquam* occurs: **a)** In proximity to contemporaneous/anterior adverb; **b)** A lack of temporal adverbs with a contrast in time/content-1x: *Ann*.
- Proximity to additional adverbs: *numquam* is in proximity to manner/ negative adverb: *Hist*., *Ann*.; intrrogative adverb: *Ann*. *Umquam* is near a validity adverb in affirmative: *Ann*.
- The modified part of speech: **A.** Only *Numquam* modifies: **a)** Finite verb in future I: *Ann*.; **b)** Predicate of *AcI* in present infinitive: *Hist*., future infinitive (+ measure adverb): *Ann*.; **c)** The modified element is explicit, save for *Ger*. **B.** Only *Umquam* modifies: **a)** Finite verb in imperfect + pluperfect + measure adverb: *Hist*.; **b)** *P.P.A*. replaces a relative clause + measure adverb: *Ann*.; **c)** The modified element is only explicit.

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Conclusions

The purpose of our research is to exemplify by means of a detailed linguistic analysis with descriptive grammatical approach the usages of *numquam* as compared to *umquam* in the Tacitean corpora. The need for this kind of research arises from a paucity of a comprehensive research on a specific adverb in a certain corpus of Latin prose and the lack of quotations on adverbs from Tacitus' books in the secondary literature. Likewise, their syntactical characteristics and the structures, in which they occur, have not been sufficiently examined.

Our contribution in this research is achieved by an exhaustive analysis of *numquam* as compared to *umquam* in the treatises of Tacitus, by examining their characteristic/unique usages, including content/style. Our research fills a gap, contributes to the researches on adverbs' studies and further it in Latin prose and in the Tacitean corpora. It points up the relationship between historical contexts and the usage of *numquam*/*umquam* by linguistic/stylistic means (*variatio*, emphasis, content, word order, *alliteration*, *anaphora*, a parallel/chiastic order, which reinforces the modified element, etc.). Hence, our research will serve philologics, linguistics and historians of Latin, as well as researchers dealing with a comparative linguistic (Greek-Latin, etc.).

Numquam (28x with six variants) and *umquam* (23x with one variant) are frequent in *Ann*., *Hist*. and rare in the minor books. *Ger*. occurs only with *numquam*.

They denote a lengthy/continuous time with two meanings in different contexts: **a.** Mainly a negative sense "never" referring to present/past/future. *Numquam* occurs in 27x: **α)** Without a negation (save for *Ann*. 6,15,3, §A.5.1.1, ex. 5 above: *ne … quidem* + *adeō* + *numquam*); **β)** Before a temporal adverb; **γ)** In the apodosis clause; **δ)** Before *nisi* "except"; **ε)** After *et* (for *nec*). *Umquam* occurs in 21x with a negation before it (negative adverb or a substantivized/adjectival pronoun in a negation), or with a negation before and after *umquam*. It these cases *umquam* interchanges *numquam* in its negative sense; **b.** They seldom have an affirmative sense referring to past/future: *numquam* "always" (1x) precedes *non*; *umquam* "ever" (2x) without a negation.

Numquam is in proximity to contemporaneous/anterior/posterior adverbs; *umquam* is near posterior adverbs only. A lack of temporal adverbs without a contrast occurs with both adverbs, while with a contrast it occurs in 1x with *numquam* only.

Numquam is near interrogative/negative/manner adverb. *Umquam* is near validity adverb in affirmative. Both adverbs are in proximity to measure adverbs.

The part of speech modified by both adverbs: **a.** Is explicit, save for 1x with *numquam*; **b.** The modified element is mentioned in the clause, in which both adverbs are included**,** except for 2x (*numquam*-1x, *umquam*-1x), which are mentioned in the clause precedes the adverb; **c.** The modified element has a negative sense and rarely an affirmative sense (*numquam*-1x, *umquam*-2x); **d.** The grammatical forms modified by both adverbs are: **1)** Finite verbs in perfect, pluperfect, present. **2)** Perfect infinitive: predicate of *AcI*. **3)** *P.P.P*. **4)** Adjective. **5)** Two modified elements, mainly with an additional adverb and seldom with an idiom. **B.** Only *Numquam* modifies: **1)** Future I. **2)** Predicate of *AcI* in present/future

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infinitive (+ measure adverb). **C.** Only *Umquam* modifies: **1)** Imperfect + pluperfect + measue adverb. **2)** *P.P.A*. replaces a relative clause + measure adverb.

The syntactic position was examined by linguistic/stylistic means. Exceptions from the typical word order in Latin, especially for variety and emphasis, are made by *metathesis* of words: the adverb follows the modified part of speech; the verb precedes its subject; *hyperbaton* between *numquam*/*umquam* and the modified element (by verbs' complements or for emphasizing some element); proximity of similar/opposite adverbs, a chiastic/parallel structure, which reinforces the modified part of speech. Their prevalent position is before the modified element: first/ second/third position; rarely after it: first/second/third position; sometimes they have two positions. Both adverbs are not placed at the end of a clause/sentence.

The sentences/clauses types, in which both adverbs occur, are mainly complex sentences (subordinated or main clause); sometimes multiple ones; rarely a simple/ coordinate/interrogative sentence. Asyndeton between multiple parts, coordinated clauses, etc. is common in Tacitus.

A concluding comparison between both adverbs in the treatises of Tacitu was made 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 mainly different features: 1) Identical features: **a)** Negative sense "never" referring to present/past/future; **b)** Proximity to posterior adverbs; **c)** A lack of temporal adverbs without a contrast (in time/content); **d)** Proximity to measure adverbs; **e)** The modified element: finite verbs in perfect, pluperfect, present**;** predicate of *AcI* in perfect infinitive; *P.P.P*.; adjective. It is mentioned in the clause, in which both adverbs are included**,** except for 2x (*numquam*: 1x, *umquam*: 1x) mentioned in the clause precedes the adverb; **f)** Their position: mainly before the modified element and seldom after it. Sometimes they have two positions; **g)** The sentences/clauses types are mainly complex sentences (subordinated/main clause), sometimes multiple ones and rarely simple/ coordinate/ interrogative one. 2) Different features: 2.1) Only *numquam***: a)** Occurs in *Ger*. in 1x; **b)** It has an affirmative sense "always" in 1x: *Ann*. referring to past, when it precedes *non*; **c)** It is near anterior/contemporaneous adverbs; **d)** A lack of temporal adverbs with a contrast (in time/content) is documented in 1x: *Ann*.; **e)** Proximity to manner/interrogative negative/adverb in *Hist*., *Ann*.; **f)** The modified element: **α)** Is explicit, save for *Ger*.; **β)** Future I: *Ann*.; **γ)** Predicate of *AcI* in present/future infinitive: *Hist*., *Ann*.

2.2) Only *umquam***: a)** In a negative sense it occurs with a negation before it in all the books, or a negation before and after *umquam*: *Dial*., *Ann*. It has an affirmative sense "ever" in 2x: *Dial*., *Ann*. referring to past or future without a negation before *unquam* or after it; **b)** It is rarely near a validity adverb in affirmative: *Ann*.; **c)** The modified element: **α)** Is only explicit; **β)** Imperfect + pluperfect + measure adverb: *Hist*.; **γ)** *P.P.A*. replaces a relative clause + measure adverb: *Ann*.

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