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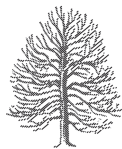
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Ennius *Annales* 550 Sk (537 V²) and the History of Latin *atque**

DAVID M. GOLDSTEIN



I Introduction

We begin with the following line of Ennius’ *Annales*, whose two tokens of *atque* have long vexed scholars:

- (1) Enn. *Ann.* 550 Sk = 537 V²
atque atque accedit muros Romana iuventus
The Roman youth *atque atque* advanced against the walls.

The central challenge is that *atque* cannot be a conjunction ‘and’ (Walde-Hofmann 1.76), which is of course how it is used in the vast majority of its occurrences. Here *atque* cannot be a conjunction because conjunctions cannot conjoin conjunctions. If we parse either token of *atque* above as ‘and’, we end up with a phrase in which one *atque* conjoins the other. Logically, this makes no sense (i.e. *‘and and the Roman youth advanced against the walls’).

An adequate account of Ennian *atque atque* must minimally answer the following three questions:

- (2) Questions
- What does *atque* mean in this passage?
 - Is the *-que* in *atque* the enclitic conjunction *=que*?
 - What does iterated *atque atque* mean?

*It is a distinct pleasure to be able to offer this modest contribution to Brent. As an undergraduate and graduate student, his work was for me a paragon of how to integrate classical philology and Indo-European linguistics. So I am all the more grateful for the opportunity to be able to dedicate this to him as a colleague. I would like to thank Stephanie Jamison for the impetus to consider the Indo-Iranian data more carefully, which brought to light aspects that I had originally overlooked. Jesse Lundquist and Adam Gitner also provided me with very helpful feedback on a range of issues. The remaining faults are mine.

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I argue that *atque* at *Ann.* 550 Sk is a temporal adverb meaning approximately ‘straightaway’. The bound *-que* morpheme in this *atque* is not the enclitic conjunction *-que*. Iterated *atque atque* (i.e. ‘straightaway straightaway’ or ‘directly directly’ on my account) yields an intensified reading, which Nonius correctly paraphrased as *festine et intrepidanter*.

The identification of a temporal adverb *atque* ‘straightaway’ is crucial for solving some persistent puzzles in the diachrony of *atque* and its relationship to the Umbrian temporal subordinator **ap/ape** ‘as soon as, when, after’, the Vedic preverb and adposition *áchañ*, and the Avestan adverb and conjunction *atcā*. Despite the formal similarity between these words, scholars have claimed that they do not cohere semantically. By contrast, I argue that we can piece together the following diachronic trajectory: directional adverb > temporal adverbial ‘straightaway’ > conjunction/temporal subordinator. Recognizing a temporal adverbial *atque* not only provides the crucial link between the Vedic directional preverb and the conjunction *atque*, but also provides a source for the Umbrian temporal subordinator. This analysis illustrates a more general point, which is that semantic change is not nearly as chaotic as it is often said to be, in particular when it comes to function words.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In §2, I critically review the most detailed analysis of *atque atque* to date, that of Dunkel 1980 (a condensed version of which is presented in Dunkel 2014:10–1). In §3, I present evidence from Ennius, Plautus, and Vergil for a temporal adverb *atque* meaning ‘straightaway’. §4 in turn argues that the iteration of this temporal adverb *atque* yields an intensive reading. §5 then takes up comparative and historical issues. §6 concludes the paper.

2 Dunkel 1980

Dunkel (1980) decomposes *atque atque* at *Ann.* 550 Sk into the preverb *ad* and the conjunction *-que*, which together yield a meaning ‘und dazu’ (Hofmann-Szantyr 476, Penney 2005:41). Two processes then conspire to produce Ennius’ *atque atque accedit*: recharacterization of the iterated preverb **adad* with *-que -que* and the “pleonastic” use of preverbs with compound verbs. I take up these two alleged developments in turn.

Dunkel (1980:98) begins by observing preverb iteration in Homeric Greek and Rigvedic Sanskrit:

- (3) *προπρο-* (1 token)
- (4) a. *prápra* (12 tokens)
- b. *úpora* (3 tokens)
- c. *údud* (1 token)
- d. *sámsam* (1 token)
- e. *párāparā* (1 token)

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Despite the paucity of types and low token frequencies of iterated preverbs, Dunkel takes the evidence in examples (3) and (4) as motivation for an erstwhile iterated preverb **adad*, which was then recharacterized as *atque atque* with bisyndetic conjunction:

(5) Analogical remodeling

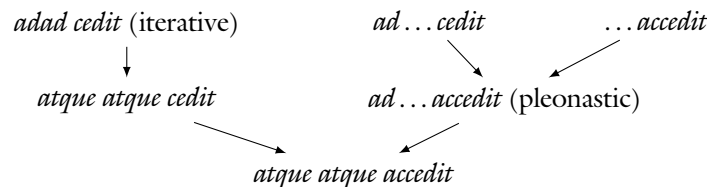
It is on the pattern of **reque proque, susque deque, usque quaque* and probably other such phrases, then, that the expected “*adad*” was expanded into *atque atque*. This shows again that, far from being un-Latin, double *-que* was actually productive, at least briefly, in this dialect. (Dunkel 1980:99)

Ennian *atque atque* is thus the “Latin functional equivalent” of iterative preverbs in Vedic and Homeric Greek (Dunkel 1980:98).¹

The second strand of Dunkel’s analysis attempts to account for the fact that **adad* occurs with the compound verb *accedo* < **adcedo*. Dunkel (1980:100) characterizes the string **ad . . . accedit* as “pleonastic preverb repetition” (see also Dunkel 2014:10 n. 14). According to his analysis, there were competing constraints on the distribution of preverbs in PIE. One constraint demanded that the preverb occur at the beginning of the clause, another that it immediately precede the verb. Pleonastic repetition, as in *ad . . . accedit*, is licensed because it satisfies both constraints. The additional *ad* (i.e. that we would have had in **adad accedit*) is semantically motivated, since the iteration is responsible for the reading ‘toward and toward’.

The following diagram summarizes the two strands of Dunkel’s analysis:

(6) The history of Ennian *atque atque accedit* according to Dunkel 1980:101



Every step of this analysis is problematic. The first problem is that, as Dunkel (1980:98) himself observes, iterative composition does survive in Latin, e.g. *ubiubi* ‘everywhere’. Such survivals make it clear that recharacterization of an alleged **adad* did not have to occur. To my mind, Dunkel fails to offer sufficient motivation for the recharacterization.

Second, it is simply incorrect to describe bisyndetic *-que* phrases, such as we have in *usque quaque*, as “productive.” Productivity is of course a topic with a large literature behind it (see e.g. Bauer 2001), and many definitions of the phenomenon have

¹Dunkel (1982) argues that *āmredīta* compounds and bisyndetic *-que* phrases are “transformationally related.” Since discussion of this issue lies beyond the remit of this paper, I will simply register my disagreement here.

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been proposed. Dunkel does not provide a definition of *productivity*, but I struggle to see how the few examples that he cites amount to a productive pattern on any definition. While the assessment of Fraenkel (1922:209–10) that double *-que* is “von Haus aus nicht lateinisch” goes too far (see Sedgwick 1960:77), double *-que* is less frequently used in Latin than e.g. Greek $\tau\epsilon \dots \tau\epsilon$.

The third problem, which is connected to the preceding issue, is that not all of the examples of bisyndetic *-que* that Dunkel cites involve the conjunction *-que*. Dunkel himself asserts that the second *-que* of *usque quaque* is not a conjunction, and that the first may not be either. The upshot is that the semantic profile of the analogical model is at odds with the semantic profile of the output of the alleged analogical change. That is, the output of the remodeling in *atque atque* is conjunction *-que*, but the analogical model for this recharacterization is bound *-que*.

Finally, we come to the issue of “pleonastic” preverbs. Dunkel again fails to provide a definition of *pleonasm*, so it is hard to evaluate his claims. On an intuitive understanding of the term, however, there is nothing pleonastic about the co-occurrence of a prepositional phrase headed by *ad* and the compound verb *accedo*: the former encodes a goal argument, the latter is a path predicate. Simply because *ad* occurs both as the preposition and in the compound verb does not make it “pleonastic.” Dunkel’s account of the development of surface patterns such as *ad . . . accedo* via competing constraints is empirically wide of the mark. At no time in the history of any Indo-European language have there ever been constraints requiring that preverbs occur clause-initially and immediately before the verb. Configurations such as *ad . . . accedo* arose because the adverb *ad* developed into a preposition on the one hand and a compound prefix on the other.

In sum, Dunkel’s account is untenable for the following four reasons (note also the dissent of Skutch 1985:699):

- (7) Summary
 - a. The analogical renewal lacks motivation.
 - b. The alleged analogical model is unproductive.
 - c. The analogical model and its output are at odds semantically.
 - d. Preverb repetition is not “pleonastic.”

In the next section, I advance the claim that *atque* is a temporal adverb meaning ‘straightaway’.

3 The temporal adverb *atque*

The *OLD* labels *atque* (and *ac*) a conjunction, but one of the senses identified for the word contradicts this categorization. Under definition 6 “(introducing a principal

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cl.) Forthwith, lo and behold,” four examples are cited that cannot be conjunctions (cf. *TLL* 2.1076.6, Mynors 1990:45).²

(8) Adverbial *atque*³

a. Pl. *Bac.* 278–80

*forte, ut assedi in stega,
dum circumspecto, atque ego lembum conspicio
longum, strigorem maleficum, exornarier.*

By chance, as I sat down on the deck, while I was looking around, I *atque* saw a long fast-sailer, a solid evil-doer, being fitted out.

b. Pl. *Epid.* 217

quom ad portam venio, atque ego illam illi video praestolarier.

When I reached the gate, *atque* I saw her waiting for him.

c. Pl. *Men.* 684–5

*ego quidem postquam illam dudum tibi dedi, atque abii ad forum.
nunc redeo. nunc te postillac uideo.*

After I had given it to you awhile ago, I *atque* went off to the forum. I’m now back. I’m now seeing you for the first time since then.

d. Pl. *Mos.* 1050

quoniam convocari, atque illi me ex senatu segregant.

After I assembled them, they *atque* exclude me from the senate.

In each example, the adverbial clause is introduced by a temporal complementizer: *dum*, *quom*, *postquam*, or *quoniam*. Since it is impossible to conjoin an adverbial and matrix clause, *atque* here must be an adverb.⁴

Although the identification of *atque* as an adverb in the above passages is secure, determining its exact semantics is a far more difficult task. Earlier generations of Latinists recognized a meaning *statim* for *atque* (e.g. Allen 1830:9, Conington 1858:164–5, Weiss 1876:94 n. ad Gel. 10.29.4), evidence for which reaches back to Aulus Gellius:

(9) Gel. 10.29.4

et praeterea pro alio quoque adverbio dicitur, id est statim . . .

And in addition [*atque*] is also used for another adverb, namely *statim* [‘immediately’] . . .

²There is extensive earlier literature on the data in example (8), much of which treats *atque* as “parahypotactic.” I refer the reader to the recent overview of Galdi 2014. The examples of adverbial *atque* presented in this article are not exhaustive. I have only presented the earliest secure cases.

³The translations and punctuation are adapted from de Melo 2011–3. He correctly renders *atque* at *Mos.* 1050 ‘at once’. At *Men.* 684–5, however, he unsuccessfully attempts to read *atque* as a conjunction. In the other two passages, *atque* is left untranslated.

⁴Galdi (2014:75) seems to think that *atque* in the Plautine examples above is an adverb, but evidently not a temporal one.

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Gellius goes on to cite the following passage from the *Georgics* and describes the meaning of *atque* here as *obscure et insequenter* (“[used] obscurely and with a progressive sense”):⁵

- (10) Verg. *G.* 201–3
non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
remigiis subigit. si brachia forte remisit,
atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.

Just as when someone rows a pinnace upstream. If he happens to relax his arms, **straightaway** the current pulls him headlong down the river.

This passage exhibits the same pattern that we saw above in example (8), where *atque* also follows an adverbial clause.⁶ The verb *rapit* here is a predicate of caused motion: the current exerts a force that causes the rower to move along a trajectory. Similarly, *Ann.* 550 Sk contains the directed motion verb *accedit*. In both passages, we can read *atque* as an adverb meaning ‘straightaway’, which characterizes both the manner of the motion and the duration of the event. The paraphrase ‘straightaway’ also captures the underlying directional sense of *atque* and aligns nicely with Gellius’ remark (10.29.3) that adverbial *atque* is an antonym of *deque*, which presumably denoted motion away from a referential object. With the Plautine passages in example (8), it is harder to discern the meaning of *atque*. We could interpret it as ‘straightaway’. Alternatively, a weaker reading ‘then’ may in fact be in play. Nothing in the remainder of my analysis depends on which reading one adopts for these passages.

4 Intensifying iteration

Equipped with an *atque* meaning ‘straightaway’, we are now able to analyze *atque atque*. Iteration of adverbials cross-linguistically is often used for intensification, as in the following example from the Philippine language Bikol:

- (11) Intensifying iteration (Mattes 2006:7, 10)
 a. *gabos* ‘all’ → *gabos-gabos* ‘all (more than appropriate)’
 b. *tumog* ‘wet’ → *tumog-tumog* ‘soaking wet’

- (12) Stat. *Theb.* 8.667–8
totidem totidem heia gregatim
ferte manus!

Bring as many hands as possible in herds!

⁵The adverb *insequenter* is glossed ‘without proper connection, unconnectedly’ at *OLD* s.v. Similarly, *TLL* 7.1.1865.21–2 glosses the base of the adverb ‘*inconsequens*, ἀνακόλουθος’. The sense of *insequens* ‘next’ (*OLD* s.v. 2) fits Gellius’ description better than the traditional translation.

⁶There may be another token of adverbial *atque* if we read *si in ius vocat, atque eat* at Cic. *Leg.* 2.9. This is the first law from the *Twelve Tables* and thus old enough that we should expect to find adverbial *atque*, but there is a consensus among editors that *atque eat* should not be read here (e.g. Dyck 1996:270).

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The iteration of *totidem* here yields the superlative reading ‘as many . . . as possible’. Crucially, iterated *totidem* is not a lexicalized phrase. Although *totidem totidem* is attested rarely and late, intensifying iteration of various types of words is present in the earliest literary Latin (see further Wills 1997, esp. pp. 89 and 106).

Latin grammarians themselves interpreted iterated *atque atque* in an intensified meaning. Gellius (10.29.2), for instance, claims that the iteration *auget incenditque rem de qua agitur* (‘amplifies and emphasizes what is being discussed’). Nonius (p. 850.18 L) glosses *atque atque* as *festine et intrepidanter*. The latter gloss is exactly what we should expect given a base meaning ‘straightaway’. The repetition denotes greater speed and force. It is worth noting that Dunkel (1980:97) rejects outright both the Gellian and Nonian paraphrases of *atque atque*. He is particularly skeptical of Nonius, because his text of *Ann.* 550 Sk has come down to us with *accendit* instead of *accedit*. This in itself is insufficient motivation for calling Nonius’ gloss into question, however, especially since Nonius and Gellius offer similar descriptions of the meaning of iterated *atque*.

To the extent that there is a standard synchronic analysis of *atque atque*, it is that of Wölfflin (1882:471). He interpreted the iteration as having incremental semantics, which he glossed as ‘heran und heran’. Dunkel (1980:97; 2014:698) approves of this interpretation, on the grounds that *Ann.* 550 Sk appears to describe a gradual and secret approach to the wall of a besieged town (Steuart 1925:97). The analysis of *atque atque* as *festine et intrepidanter* also fits this interpretation of the context, however. The drawback of the ‘heran und heran’ interpretation is that it is far from clear how the iteration of an adverbial meaning ‘straightaway’ can yield this meaning.

5 Comparative and historical evidence

The above analysis has important consequences for the comparative history of *atque*. Once we recognize a temporal adverb *atque*, we can piece together the trajectory from a spatial adverb in Vedic to a temporal adverb in Latin and Avestan to a temporal subordinator in Umbrian.

I start with the Umbrian temporal subordinator *ap/ape* ‘as soon as, when, after’:⁷

(13) *Tab. Ig.* VIb 49

ape angla combifians̄ iust perca arsmatiam anouihimu cringatro hatu destrame scapla anouihimu.

As soon as he has announced the divine messengers, he shall hold a ritual wand, take a stole, and place it over his right shoulder.

Although there are scholars who formally equate Umbrian *ap/ape* with Latin *atque*, Untermann (2000) declared the etymology of the former “nicht befriedigend geklärt.” The problem is said to lie with the semantics: there is allegedly no way to

⁷For the variants *ap(e)/ape*, *api*, and *appei*, see Untermann 2000:s.v. *ape*.

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unify the meaning of the temporal subordinator **ap/ape** with the conjunction *atque* (Untermann 2000:114, de Vaan 2008:59)

The identification of an adverbial *atque* solves this problem. The change from a temporal adverb with the meaning ‘straightaway’ to a subordinator with the meaning ‘as soon as’, which is then bleached to ‘after, when’, is unsurprising. First, such a trajectory exhibits the semantic bleaching that we expect from grammaticalization (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 2003:20, 32, 76, 95, 196). Second, the development of temporal adverbs into subordinators finds ready cross-linguistic parallels (e.g. German *sobald*). Far from being at odds with Latin *atque*, Umbrian **ap/ape** reveals a further stage of development.

5.1 Indo-Iranian

Whereas Umbrian **ap/ape** testifies to the development of **átk^we* from a temporal adverb, Vedic *áchā* ‘toward’ reflects a different diachronic pathway.⁸ Grassmann (1872–5 [1996]:s.v.) divides the attestations of *áchā* into two classes: that of an adposition meaning ‘to’ and that of a preverb, whose meaning varies somewhat depending on the verb. Among motion verbs, one of the functions of *áchā* is to provide a bound on the event:

- (14) a. RV 4.35.3cd (trans. Jamison-Brereton)
áthā ita vājā amṛtasya pánthām ganám devánām Ṛbhavaḥ subastāḥ
 Then, o Vājas, you **went** along the path of the immortality to the throng of gods, o Ṛbhus of skilled hands.
- b. RV. 4.5.13ab (trans. adapted from Jamison-Brereton)
ká maryádā vayúnā kád dha vāmám áchā gamema raghávo ná vājām
 What is the (finish) line, (what) the trajectories, what the desired (wealth)?
 Might we **reach** it, like quick (horses) to a prize.

In example (14a), the verb *ita* occurs with path (*amṛtasya pánthām*) and goal (*ganám devánām*) adjuncts. Without these, however, the verb would indicate a pathless and unbounded motion event. That is not the case with *áchā gamema* in example (14b). The preverb *áchā* makes the motion event bounded. I have translated the predicate ‘reach’ here to highlight this property.⁹

The Avestan data is much more uncertain. Old Avestan *atcā* is glossed ‘und dann, und’ by Bartholomae (1904:69) and Dunkel (2014:11).¹⁰ That is, it is alleged to be

⁸Mayrhofer (1956–80:1.22) suggests that *áchā* perhaps arose from **ad-s-k^we*. Dunkel (2014:11) derives it from a preform **ád-sk^we*. I am unpersuaded by Dunkel’s **s^kw^e* and prefer to see the sibilant here as an innovation. The *-s-* perhaps spread from originally sibilant-final adverbials, such as *pasčā* ‘hinten; zurück; später’ < PIE? **pós-k^we*; see Dunkel 2014:78. Where Armenian *c^h-* fits into this picture is not entirely clear (see Mayrhofer 1986–2001:50, Martirosyan 2010:766).

⁹Geldner (1951–7) renders *ita* in example (14a) ‘ginget’ and *áchā gamema* ‘wollen . . . erreichen’.

¹⁰Some have rejected the equation between Lat. *atque* and Av. *atcā*. Walde-Hofmann (1.76) view the latter as continuing the conjunction **át* ‘but’ and not the adverb **ad*.

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either a combination of a conjunction plus an adverbial *at* or simply a conjunction. In the following passage, however, the interpretation of *atcā* with the meaning ‘and’ is strained:

- (15) Y 53.2 (trans. adapted from Humbach, Elfenbein, and Skjærvø 1991:192)

atcā-hōi scaṇtū manayhā uxδāiš šūiaoθanāiš-cā
xšnum mazdā valmāi ā fraoraṭ yasnaṣ-cā
kauua-cā vištāspō zaraθuštriš spitāmō frašaoštras-cā
dāyho arəzūš paθō yaṃ daēnaṃ aburō saosūiantō dadāt.

Let them *atcā*, (inspired) by his thought, with (their) statements and actions join the recognition of the Wise One for (His) laudation, and (His) worship, devotedly, (let) Kavi Vištaspā, and Spitāma, the son of Zaraθuštra, and Frašaoštra (pursue) the straight paths of gift(-giving), a religious view which the Ahura established as that of a benefactor.

The main clause of the preceding stanza is *valištā īstiš srāuuī* ‘(the) best wish has been heard’. Since it would be odd (if not actually ungrammatical) in this context to conjoin a declarative with an imperative clause, *atcā* here is in all likelihood not a conjunction.

Indeed, the survey of *atcā* by Pirart (Kellens and Pirart 1990:120–4) reveals that most of the Old Avestan attestations of this word (about ten tokens) can in fact be sensibly parsed as adverbials. Only at Y 53.4 does it appear to be used in the sense ‘and’. Pinning down the semantics of the adverbial *atcā* is a precarious task given the nature of the Gathas, and a complete review of the data cannot be undertaken here. With the passage in example (15), however, scholars are largely in agreement that *atcā* is an anaphoric adverbial: Kellens and Pirart (1990:124) render it with ‘dès lors’; Humbach, Elfenbein, and Skjærvø (1991:192) with ‘therefore’; Alberti (2004:198) with ‘quindi’; Humbach and Faiss (2010:159) with ‘thus’; West (2010:165) with ‘so’ (cf. West 2011:§281, where the use of *atcā* at Y 53.2 is characterized as “progressive”).¹¹ It is far from clear how robust the use of *atcā* in this sense was, but if this was the source of the conjunction *atcā*, the change would parallel the development of Romanian *și* ‘and’ < Latin *sic* ‘thus, so’. Latin and Avestan would both have conjunctions that ultimately continue a directional adverb, but via different intermediate stages (a temporal one in the case of Latin and an anaphoric one in Avestan).

5.2 Pulling it all together

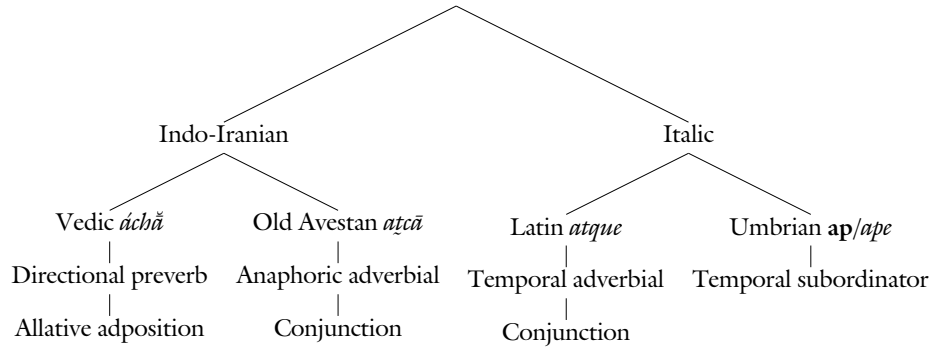
The following tree summarizes what we have established thus far:¹²

¹¹Insler (1975:110) opts for additive ‘moreover’.

¹²This tree is of course not an exhaustive presentation of the semantics of any of these words. It is meant to highlight crucial diachronic points, not to provide a comprehensive semantic map. The use of *atque* as a complementizer after comparatives (OLD s.v. *atque* 15) I assume to have developed from its use as a conjunction. The adversative meaning of the conjunction *atque* (OLD s.v. *atque* 9, Dunkel 2014:11) seems to me to belong to

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(16) Summary of attested meanings



Although the mechanics of the changes in each individual branch are beyond recovery on account of the paucity of the data, we can nevertheless piece together the following diachronic trajectories.¹³ Given cross-linguistic patterns of grammaticalization, the adverbs in the tree above are the most conservative morphosyntactic forms. In this regard, Old Avestan and Latin are thus the most archaic witnesses of **átk^we*. Semantically, however, Vedic is in all likelihood the most conservative, because it is common for spatial concepts to serve as the starting point for extensions into other domains, such as the temporal (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002:40–1).

The most plausible semantic trajectory to my mind starts from a directional adverb that is relatively close to that of the Vedic preverb (‘ahead?’ ‘forward?’ ‘straight?’) and from there derives the Latin sense of ‘immediately’.¹⁴ When we look elsewhere in Indo-European, we find ready examples of lexemes meaning ‘immediately’ that arose from directional meanings of various stripes, including English *forthwith*, German *sofort*, and Greek *πρόκα*. I am inclined to see the anaphoric sense ‘thus, so’ of Old Avestan *atcā* as resulting from a meaning ‘immediately’. As a parallel for such a change one can cite Latin *ilico*, which means ‘immediately’ in both a temporal (*OLD* s.v. 2) and a logical sense (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

pragmatics, not semantics. As the adversative meaning would have been derived from that of the conjunction, such examples do not constitute evidence that *atque* continues the conjunction **át* ‘but’.

¹³I leave open the question of whether Phrygian *ακκε*, Old Russian *ошче*, and Bulgarian (*j*)*оште* belong with the reflexes of **átk^we* discussed above (see further Dunkel 2014:11 nn. 19 and 21).

¹⁴On the analysis of Dunkel 2014:11, PIE **at-k^we* ‘und dazu’ becomes Latin *atque* ‘und hin zu’. There is no evidence for the former as the precursor semantics of *atque*, while the latter should not be glossed as both a conjunction and a directional adverb. It is also worth pointing out that there is no evidence that **átk^we* is older than Nuclear Proto-Indo-European (i.e. Indo-European excluding Anatolian and Tocharian). As already established by Walde-Hofmann (1.76), the first morpheme of NPIE **átk^we* is the directional adverb **ád* (Dunkel 2014:8–9) and not the conjunction **át*, *pace* de Vaan (2008:59). (In other cases, it is quite difficult to disentangle reflexes of these two words, as the survey of Dunkel 2014:87–92 reveals; in this particular case, however, I see no motivation for the view of Dunkel 2014:89 that Latin *atque* is the product of the neutralized pair **át-k^we* and **ád-k^we*.) The analysis of the second morpheme is far less clear. The question of its identity cannot be pursued here, but one possibility that has yet to be explored in the literature is that the *-que* in *atque* is the same one that we find in e.g. *quisque* ‘everyone’, i.e. a universal quantifier. Such an analysis would fit with the assertion of Macdonell (1910:§595) that *ácbhā* means ‘(all the way) to’.

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My history of *atque* challenges the account of Torrego (2009:459), who claims that *atque* is less grammaticalized than other conjunctions in Latin, since “in almost all the cases the ancient value of a focalizing adverb can be recognized” (cf. Galdi 2014:68). She offers the following example in support of her account:

- (17) Focalizing *atque*? Pl. *Mil.* 189a
os habet, linguam, perfidiam, malitiam atque audaciam.
 She is sassy, glib, and dishonest, **and also** shrewd and bold.

This is an interesting proposal, not least because of its diachronic implications. The change from additive to conjunction is known elsewhere in Indo-European (e.g. PIE **éti* ‘furthermore, yet, in addition’ > Latin *et* ‘and’); one could insert an additive stage between the temporal adverbial and conjunction in the diachronic trajectory in example (16) above. (Galdi [2014:69] glosses **ad-que* with ‘in addition’, which suggests that he would identify the additive meaning as preceding the development to ‘and’.) Despite the plausibility of such an account, at least two challenges stand in the way. The first is that it is difficult to demonstrate that *atque* in example (17) means ‘and also’ and not simply ‘and’. The second is that it confuses additive semantics with focus semantics. It may perfectly well be the case that *atque* in this example bore sentence stress and that *audaciam* had focal semantics of some kind. This reading would not in fact entail that *atque* meant ‘and also’, however. I thus parse *atque* in example (17) as a conjunction.

5.3 The alleged chaos of semantic change

My analysis relies crucially on the assumption that there are regular patterns of semantic change across languages. The Neogrammarians of course established that segmental properties of lexical items take precedence over semantics in diachronic and comparative analysis. I have no desire to challenge this principle. I want only to point out that it does not bar semantic analysis from playing a role. The following quotation reveals that some historical linguists think that semantic information is at best minimally relevant because semantic change is so chaotic:

- (18) Any attempt at a systematic study of semantic change, in fact, will yield only limited rewards, for two reasons: with rare (and not very helpful, however interesting) exceptions, semantic change is completely patternless; and, second, insight is forestalled by our nearly perfect ignorance of the real nature of the semantic component of language. (Sihler 2000:§56)

This is a dramatic overstatement. It is true that among lexical (i.e. content) words, semantic change often appears so idiosyncratic (e.g. the famous case of *nausea*, which is ultimately Latin *nausea* ‘seasickness’) as to defy analysis. When we look to function words, however, a radically different picture emerges. Here we find a number of regularities (see Traugott and Dasher 2002 for a thorough exposition of this claim).

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To cite but one, body-part nominals often turn into adpositions, but the reverse change is unknown. The semantic changes that we observe among function words not only exhibit directionality asymmetries of this type, but also make sense semantically and pragmatically. Recent formal analyses of semantic change also make clear its non-chaotic quality (e.g. Eckardt 2006, 2011, Vincent 2014, Deo 2014, 2015a, 2015b, Goldstein 2016). These and other scholars have also brought the formal tools of semantic analysis to bear on diachronic issues. So semantic change cannot be characterized as the random accumulation of meanings over time. The take-away message for comparative and historical linguistics is that even though semantics takes a back seat to segmental properties, we should not go so far as to deprecate or dismiss semantic evidence. My account of Latin *atque* above illustrates how semantic analysis can complement segmental analysis.

6 Conclusion

I have argued for the existence of a temporal adverb *atque* in Latin, which in at least two cases (examples (1) and (10) above) means ‘straightaway, directly’ and elsewhere may mean ‘then’ (example (8) above). At *Ann.* 550 Sk we have the former meaning, the iteration of which yields the intensified Nonian paraphrase *festine et intrepidanter*. The recognition of a temporal adverb *atque* provides a crucial link in the diachronic trajectory from a directional adverbial to a temporal adverbial on to a conjunction and temporal subordinator. At a broader level, this analysis demonstrates that semantic change can be leveraged in the analysis of diachrony, since it is not nearly as chaotic as it has been portrayed (at least when it comes to function words).

Abbreviations

- Hofmann-Szantyr = Hofmann, J. B. 1972. *Lateinische Grammatik*. Vol. 2, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. Rev. A. Szantyr. 3rd ed. Munich: Beck.
- Jamison-Brereton = Jamison, Stephanie W., and Joel P. Brereton (trans.). 2014. *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press.
- OLD = Glare, P. G. W., ed. 2012. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sk = Skutsch 1985
- TLL = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. 1900–. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- V² = Vahlen, Johannes. 1903. *Ennianae poesis reliquiae*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Walde-Hofmann = Walde, Alois, and J. B. Hofmann. 1938–56. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.

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