

Ennian *atque atque*; *prope*

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I.

1. Discussions of the etymology of *atque* have cited Ennius, *Annales* 537 (V.):

atque atque accedit muros Romana iuventus

without exactly explaining its relevance¹). What does *atque atque* mean?

Gellius stated that double *atque* "*auget incenditque rem de qua agitur*" (10.29.2), i.e. he took it as intensive in force.

Two centuries later, Nonius cited the passage with a variant *accendit*, and paraphrased *atque atque* as "*festine et intrepidanter*" (p. 850.18 L.). Nonius' interpretation is as vague and untrustworthy as his text.

In 1882, Wölfflin took *atque atque* as an iterative reduplication: "*= adque adque, heran und heran, kann nur in dem Sinne des oben angeführten propius propiusque accedere interpretiert werden . . .*"²) Since indeed "the line seems to describe a gradual and secret approach to the wall of a besieged town"³), an interpretation "towards and towards" (i.e. "further and further" or "closer and closer") makes excellent sense of the text. It is also supported by Gellius' further statement that *cui significationi contrarium est quod itidem a veteribus dictum est "deque"*.

The most recent translation into a modern language, Warmington's "and then and then approached the walls young warriors of Rome"⁴), is clearly, on the other hand, a definite step backwards.

atque is used here not in its derived use, as a simple conjunctive particle⁵), but in its etymological value, that of an adverbial phrase

¹) Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. Etym. Wb.*³ (Heidelberg 1938–54), s. v.; Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Syntax u. Stilistik* (München 1965) p. 476. Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. étym. de la langue lat.*⁴ (Paris 1967) derive *atque*, quite implausibly, from *at*.

²) *Sitzungsb. d. k. bair. Akademie d. Wiss.*, München, 1882, p. 471.

³) Steuart, *The Annals of Ennius* (Cambridge 1925), p. 208.

⁴) *Remains of Old Latin*, vol. I (Cambridge 1961), p. 199.

⁵) Attempts to take either *atque*, or both, as a conjunction, lead only to extravagant interpretations too complex to be convincing. Both clearly cannot mean "and"; although total iterative repetition affects most parts of speech in Latin, it never applies to conjunctions (no "*etet, ueluel, necnec*", etc.).

consisting of the preverb *ad* and the conjunction *-que*, with the sense "und dazu"⁶).

2. An important first step toward clarifying the form of this expression is Vahlen's "*nec absonum προπροκλινώμενος et similia Homericam meminisse*"⁷). However, this statement is, however, not completely satisfactory. *et similia* is needles, since *προπρο-* is the only instance of intensive preverb repetition anywhere in Homer. On the other hand, Vahlen left unmentioned that *προπρο-*, which is line-initial in both of its occurrences⁸), has an exact equivalent in Ṛg-Vedic *prāpra*, which occurs twelve times, all line-initial. The Ṛg-Veda further presents *úpopa* (thrice), *sámsam* (once), both also line-initial, *údud*, and *párāparā* (once each, non-initial)⁹).

Accepting, then, that *atque atque* is the Latin functional equivalent of the Homeric and Vedic iterations, we turn to the formal differences. In the latter two dialects, the preverbs are iterative compounds (*āmredita*). Yet although iterative composition was not only preserved, but remained productive in Latin¹⁰), the expected "*adad*" was not retained, though conforming to Latin word-structure constraints (cf. *utut*, *emem*, etc.).

We may further ask why, of all possible methods of conjunction, double *-que* replaced composition¹¹), particularly since we must

To analyse the first *atque* as the preverb *ad* in tmesis, plus sentence- or clause-conjunctive *-que* (as in *disque tulissent* (Plt. *Trin.* 833), *deque dicata* (Lucil. 997), etc.) is unsatisfactory, since *atque . . . accedit* still differs from *disque tulissent* by an extra repetition of the preverb. Furthermore, the second *atque* remains unexplained (as if "*disque et tulissent*" or "*deque atque dicata*").

Alternatively, one could take the entire first *atque* as sentence-conjunctive, and the remaining *atque accedit* as somehow pleonastically related to the above type of tmesis. This comes closer to the truth, but the approach is still too atomistic.

⁶) Cf. the Mycenaean adverbial conjunctive phrase *epiqe* (and its Homeric equivalent, τῶ δ' ἔπι). With the type *ave atque vale*, cf. *eke . . . epiqe . . . terapike* (PY Eb 842; the intervening *toe* = Homeric τῶ δ' ἔπι).

⁷) *Ennianae poesis reliquiae* (Leipzig 1928), p. 98.

⁸) *Il.* 22.221 and *Od.* 17.525.

⁹) Collitz' collection (*Verh. d. 5. int. Orientalisten-Congress* vol. 2 [Berlin 1882], p. 298) is faulty and incomplete. *údud* in 4.21.9d is missed entirely, as is *úpopa* in 8.51.7; in the same entry, 10.74.9 is a misprint for 8.74.9. See also Bartholomae, *IF Anz.* 20, p. 167.

¹⁰) E.g. since *ubi* lost its initial consonant within Latin (cf. Osc. *puſ*), *ubiubi* must be a specifically Latin creation

¹¹) I have suggested that these are transformationally related in "The original syntax of conjunctive **.k^we*" (to appear in *Die Sprache*), section 15.

reject E. Fraenkel's contention that double *-que* is "von Haus aus nicht lateinisch"¹²).

3. One clue may be found in Fraenkel's own discussion. We note that he made no attempt to exclude the expression *susque deque* (*Amph.* 886). His reason for accepting at least this case of double *-que* as genuine Latin was surely wrong: he believed that hapax *susque et deque* (Lucil. 111) showed that the double *-que* here was not conjunctive. In fact, *susque deque* directly continues an Indo-European habitude: conjoining preverbs with opposing meanings by means of double **-k^we*: cf. Homeric *περί τ' ἀμφί τε* (originally "through and on both sides"), Vedic *á ca párá ca*, etc. Another trace of this same construction within Latin is *reciprocus*, a thematic hypostasis (cf. Vedic *ācaparācá-*) implying the former existence of **reque proque*¹³).

The pattern $P_1 k^{we} P_2 k^{we}$ was actually somewhat productive in Latin, witness the expression *usque quaque* 'everywhere; always' (five instances in Plautus). This phrase cannot be inherited, since it does not contain preverbs of opposing meanings. But what Fraenkel suspected of *susque deque* is in fact true of *usque quaque*: the double *-que* is not conjunctive. The second *-que* can only be generalising, as in *quisque*. The first *-que* may also be generalising¹⁴); or it may not be analysable at all from the rest of *usque*, if the comparison with Skr. *áccha*, Greek *ἔστε* is accepted. In any case, *usque quaque*, originally asyndetic "continuously—in each ⟨place⟩", fell in with the old pattern $P_1 k^{we} P_2 k^{we}$ though practically synonymic rather than antonymic.

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.

¹² *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin 1922), pp. 209ff. Fraenkel's own material contradicts his claims that double *-que* is limited to any particular position in the line, or particular meters; and the "Vermittlung der Tragödie" between Ennius and Plautus is admittedly unprovable. We may thus agree with Fraenkel's own statement that "es sieht zunächst so aus als wären doch ererbte lateinische Verbindungen dabei" (*ibid.* 210).

¹³ "*reciprocus* und Verwandtes" (to appear in *Indogermanische Forschungen*).

¹⁴ So Leumann, *Lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*² (München 1977), p. 482, and Ernout-Meillet, *op. cit.*, s. v. *usque*. Walde-Hofmann, *op. cit.*, make no attempt to explain the *-que*.

4. Our explication of *atque atque*, however, is not complete until we clarify its relationship to its context. Is it coincidence that *atque atque* (which is usually discussed in isolation) happens to co-occur with a verb compounded in *ad*-?

Coincidence is hardly out of the question. Besides the innumerable instances of simple *atque* serving to conjoin verbal compounds in *ad*-, e.g. *atque adduce* (*Rud.* 775)¹⁵, we may quote even more remarkable collocations, such as *accipite atque . . . aduortite* (*Men.* 5), *adibo atque adloquar* (*Men.* 277), and *atque adeo ut . . . affluam* (*Pseud.* 191).

But I do not believe we are dealing here with this type of chance collocation, especially since *atque* in our passage does not yet possess its derived sense "and". Far more common in Latin than the iterative type is *pleonastic* preverb repetition¹⁶). School grammar takes this phenomenon (e.g. *ad te accedent* [*Rud.* 181], *si ad malum accedit malum* [*Men.* 82])¹⁷) as the collocation of a compound verb with a cognate prepositional phrase. The construction is said to be limited to literal notions of place and movement, i.e. precisely the original spheres of use of the preverbs¹⁸).

The origin of this pleonastic preverb repetition is indubitably a conflation of two well-known Indo-European syntactic tendencies: for the preverb to begin the sentence, and for it immediately to precede the verb. That is, patterns such as *ad eos . . . cedit* and *eos . . . accedit*, both inherited, combined to produce *ad eos . . . accedit*. Although the identical construction occurs in Homer and the Ṛg-Veda¹⁹), these may all be parallel innovations, since the same Indo-European tendencies were inherited by all these dialects.

5. The final step in the genesis of our construction is the re-characterisation of the pleonastically repeated *ad* by means of its expanded iteration *atque atque*. Although both pleonastic and

¹⁵) Also e.g. *Most.* 885, 1206; *Pseud.* 231, 586, 768, 994. The examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

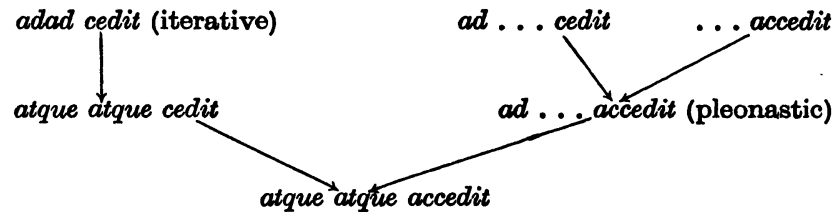
¹⁶) Conjunctive preverb repetition, however, does not occur in Latin. For discussion of all these types of repetition, see "Preverb Repetition" (*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Heft 38 [1979]).

¹⁷) Also e.g. *Pseud.* 698, 706, 757, 867, 966, etc. The construction is not mentioned in Hofmann-Szantyr, *op. cit.*

¹⁸) For pleonastic preverb repetition not referring to literal notions of place and movement, cf. *Aul.* 770 *de alia re rescivisse censui, quod ad me attinet*; 806–7 *exquirendi . . . ex gnatae*.

¹⁹) Cf. section 12 of the work cited in fn. 16.

formally remade, *atque atque* still retains the sentence- and line-initial position characteristic of its Homeric and Ṛg-Vedic counterparts. The derivation of the Ennian phrase is thus as follows:



II.

6. Wölfflin's paraphrase for *atque atque* was the Statian *propius propiusque*. The relationship of *prope* and *propius* with *proximus* has long caused problems. These have long been solved by means of assimilation. Walde-Hofmann, Ernout-Meillet, Leumann, and Sommer all repeat Walde's old derivation from **prok^we*, taking the velar of *proximus* as original.

The first criticism of this etymology must be that a semantic development "and forth" > "near" is not particularly convincing.

But even aside from the semantic problem, the phonological derivation is extremely unlikely. Since we now know that the Italo-Celtic **p...k^w* assimilation rule is a sound change like any other²⁰), we can no longer blithely assert that it simply did not apply to this word²¹). The outcome of **prok^we* would most probably have been Latin "croque"²²).

**prok^we* *prok^we* was Walde-Pokorny's attempt to account both for the semantic ("immer vorwärts heran") and formal (the environment was especially conducive to assimilation) difficulties in the above derivation²³). But such a proto-form has no comparative basis: since *atque atque* is an innovation of Latin, not an inherit-

²⁰) Hoenigswald, *Phonetica* 11 (1964), pp. 210ff., and Cowgill, *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (Philadelphia 1970), p. 113. To the familiar triad of examples has been added *cunctus*, cf. Silvestri, *Eurasiatica* vol. 6, (1970), pp. 3ff.

²¹) As Leumann still does, *op. cit.* p. 157.

²²) So already Kent, *Language* 12 (1936), p. 252. The rest of Kent's argument is vitiated by his acceptance of a superlative suffix **-smmo-*; cf. Cowgill, *op. cit.*

²³) *Vgl. Wb. d. idg. Sprachen* (Berlin 1926-30), vol. II, p. 47.

ance²⁴), it can hardly serve as evidence for such a syntagma²⁵). In short, **prok^we prok^we* is inconceivable in Indo-European; the Indo-Europeans could have said (and did say) only **própro*.

7. There remains no good reason to take the velar of *proximus* as original. Nor does *proximus* present a problem if the double labial of *prope* is considered basic: Zubatý pointed out that the expected "*propsimus*" would have been the only Latin superlative in *-psimus*²⁶); the change "*propsimus*" > *proximus* was thus not a dissimilation so much as simple adherence to a morphophonemic constraint, based on the extremely frequent *maximus*.

The sequence **p...p* reveals that *prope* is not derived from an Indo-European root. When such sequences do occur in Indo-European, the usual cause is reduplication²⁷).

Final **-ō* in polysyllables, when not lost, became *-ě* in Latin²⁸) (as well as in Indo-European)²⁹). Thus an inherited **própro* would have at first become **proppe*; this then gave *prope*, just as in the cases of **agrestis* > *agrestis*, **increbresco* > *increbesco*, **praestrigiae* > *praestigiae*, **procrerus* > *procerus*, etc.³⁰). The semantic development "further and further" or "closer and closer" > "near" is certainly plausible³¹).

The Indo-European reality of the specific phrase **própro*, already postulated by Collitz on the basis of Greek and Indic³²), becomes clearer and clearer. Finally this interpretation of Latin *prope*, as

²⁴) There is no reason to suspect it of being a loan.

²⁵) *prope* thus provides no evidence against the view that *reciprocus* represents the normal phonetic outcome of **rek^we prok^wos*.

²⁶) *Sitzungsb. d. boehm. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Prag 1892, p. 13. On vulgar Latin *ipsimus* < *ipsissimus*, cf. fn. 36 of Cowgill, *op. cit.*

²⁷) That this morpheme-structure constraint is related to the non-occurrence of geminates in IE was pointed out by Hoenigswald, in conversation.

²⁸) Cf. *sequere* = *ἐπεο*; *ip-se*: *ó*; 3 pl. pf. *-ere* < **-ēr + ro*.

²⁹) Cf. "**woydo*" (*American Journal of Philology* 97, 1977), pp. 148–9.

³⁰) Leumann, *op. cit.* p. 232, and Poultney, "Assimilatory and Dissimilatory Gain and Loss of *r*" (*American Journal of Philology* 93, 1972).

³¹) Stowasser has suggested that *proprius* is derived from **própro* (*Zeitschrift für die oesterreichischen Gymnasien* 41, pp. 977 ff.). While the semantics here are certainly preferable to the etymology preferred in the handbooks, the phonology (lack of dissimilation) and morphology (adjectives are derived from preverbs through **-tyo-* and **-Ok^w-o-*, but not **(i)yo-*) argue against it.

³²) *Op. cit.* in fn. 9. Iterative preverb repetition is not attested in Old Iranian (Bartholomae, *op. cit.* in fn. 9, pp. 166–7). I thank H. M. Hoenigswald and J. E. G. Zetzel for useful criticism.

well as the one suggested above for Ennian *atque atque*, provide evidence for the reality of iterative preverb repetition from a third Indo-European dialect.

In view of W. Schulze's discussion of preverbal derivatives in **-tyo-* (*Kl. Schr.* 70–1), the existence of a derived adjective *propitius* (Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gram.* II, 2 698) provides further formal support for the ultimately preverbal origin of *prope*. The inner-Latin semantics "standing nearby" > "favorable" are simple enough, even without invoking the frequently hieratic function of **pro*.

„Töten“ und „Sterben“ in Caesars Sprache

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Der großartige Tod: des Kriegers, des Weisen, schließlich des Märtyrers, war und blieb einer der grandiosen Vorwürfe der griechischen und auch der lateinischen Literatur. Die *magnae mortes* waren ein Lieblingsthema des Lucan oder Tacitus¹⁾.

Das wichtigste Erfordernis an die gelungene Schilderung des heroischen Untergangs ist die Anschaulichkeit der Bedrohung. Ein Paradebeispiel dafür ist Caesars eigener Tod (Sueton *div. Iul.* 81. 82; Plutarch *v. Caes.* 66)²⁾. Dementsprechend ist auch die Bezeichnung der Tötungshandlung konkret: Sueton sagt: *ita tribus et viginti plagis confossus est uno modo ad primum ictum gemitu sine voce edito*.

Der Gegensatz zu diesem großartigen Sterben ist ein anonymes Vorgang: die physische Vernichtung der Existenz. Dieser Tod ist für den Ausgang des Kampfgeschehens entscheidend; er ist für den Feldherrn Caesar wichtig; trotz aller unbestrittenen fairen Würdigung des physischen Mutes³⁾ überwiegt bei der Darstellung der Elimination des Gegners oder bei der des Untergangs der eigenen Leute

¹⁾ A. Ronconi, *Exitus illustrium virorum*: RAC 6, 1258–1268 behandelt Exemplarsammlungen solchen vorbildlichen Sterbens. — W. Metger, *Kampf und Tod in Lucans Pharsalia*, Diss. Kiel 1957 mit I. Opelt, *GNOMON* 30, 1958, 449f.

²⁾ M. Gelzer, *Caesar, Der Politiker und Staatsmann* Wiesbaden ⁶1960, 304₂₆₈ im folgenden: Gelzer; J. Carcopino, *Jules César*, Paris ⁵1968, 564_{1. 2. 3. 4.}; im folgenden: Carcopino.

³⁾ Man erinnere sich an B. G. 6, 40, 7; 7, 25, 2; 7, 50, 6 unten S. 115 mit den Angaben über den Tod besonders tapferer Centuriones.