

Coordination and Juxtaposition of Adjectives in the Latin NP*

By RODIE RISSELADA, Amsterdam

Coordination and juxtaposition of adjectives in the Latin NP reflect the hierarchical structure of the NP. The relationship between the meanings of the adjectives in an NP determines to a large extent whether they differ hierarchically and will be juxtaposed or are on the same level and will be coordinated. Adjectives can be classified according to their meaning. Such a semantic classification may be used not only to account for coordination as opposed to juxtaposition, but for the relative order of juxtaposed adjectives in an NP as well.

1. *Introduction*

Various types of constituents may figure as modifiers within the Latin Noun Phrase (NP), for instance adjectives, pronouns, participles, or more complicated structures like prepositional phrases, relative clauses, etc. In this article I will restrict myself to adjectives, which constitute the most common type of modifier.

If a Latin NP contains more than one adjective—or other modifier, for that matter—, these are either coordinated or juxtaposed. Coordination may be overtly expressed in Latin by coordinators (*et, ac, atque, -que, nec, neque, aut* or *vel*, see Pinkster 1972: 123), but not necessarily; in the latter case we speak of zero-coordination. Examples of NP's with two adjectives are (1)–(3):

- (1) homini amico et necessario (Cic. *Ver.* 3, 153)
- (2) vir clarissimus amantissimus rei publicae (Cic. *Man.* 51)
- (3) clementem vitam urbanam (Ter. *Ad.* 42).

In (1) the two adjectives are overtly coordinated by the coordinator *et*; they are on the same level of structural hierarchy. In (2) there is no explicit coordinator, but intuitively some sort of coordination is present and the adjectives are on the same level; one might insert a coordinator without changing the meaning of the NP or making it ungrammatical: this is a case of zero-coordination. In (3) the adjectives are merely juxtaposed and it is not possible to insert a coordinator without making the NP ungrammatical. The

*) I would like to thank Prof. H. Pinkster, who supervised my work on this article, and Dr. A.M. Bolkestein for their useful and encouraging help and H. Mulder for the correction of my English.

adjectives are not on the same level of structural hierarchy. In fact, *clementem* modifies the NP *vitam urbanam*.

In this article I am concerned with the question under what conditions adjectives in an NP are on the same level of structural hierarchy and therefore can be coordinated and under what conditions they are on different levels of structural hierarchy and must be juxtaposed.

In Fugier (1977; 1983) it is claimed that the syntactic structure of the NP and the syntactic functions of its modifiers are decisive for coordination and juxtaposition. I will discuss Fugier's approach in 2.1 and show that a purely syntactic explanation is not sufficient. In fact, I will demonstrate that the choice between coordination and juxtaposition of adjectives in the NP is mainly a question of semantics (3.1) and I will illustrate this with a classification of Latin adjectives (3.2). For this classification I have profited from Pinkster's classification of Latin adverbs (Pinkster 1972) and from some of the semantic classifications of (mainly English) adjectives that are established to account for the relative order of juxtaposed adjectives.¹⁾ The most detailed classification and the most useful one for my purpose is Hetzron (1978), which I will discuss in section 2.2. In 3.3 I will make a few observations on the relative order of juxtaposed adjectives in the Latin NP.

2. *Classifications of modifiers*

In this paragraph I will discuss two types of classification of modifiers, namely a syntactic (2.1) and a semantic classification (2.2).

2.1 *A syntactic classification*

Fugier and Corbin (1977)²⁾ lay down rules for the coordination and juxtaposition of modifiers in a Latin NP, based on what they call a functional classification of modifiers. By this they mean a classification that is based on the way modifiers behave syntactically in an NP. Although Fugier does not deny the possibility

¹⁾ Classifications of modifiers have been proposed a.o. in Hill (1958: 173–190), Quirk (1972: 265–267; 922–926), Sussex (1974), Dixon (1977) and Hetzron (1978).

²⁾ The principles that are laid down in the (1977)-article are extensively elaborated upon in Fugier (1983). Unless specification is given by name or date, I refer to both articles together.

of a semantic description of the Latin NP, she prefers to describe it as primarily a complex of syntactic relationships (1983: 214).

First of all, Fugier and Corbin divide modifiers in, on the one hand, a small closed class consisting of a restricted number of grammatical categories, viz. numerals and pronouns,³⁾ and, on the other, an open class containing all the other categories of modifiers, like adjectives, participles, relative clauses, etc. Within this open class, Fugier and Corbin distinguish between two ways in which modifiers can be used: they are used either to identify and specify the reference of their head or to qualify and describe their head.⁴⁾ An identifying modifier (or identifier) specifies the reference of the head in opposition to other possible references, whereas a qualifying modifier (or qualifier) may be used together with other qualifications. For instance in (4), *Romanus* identifies the *populus* that is referred to, as opposed to e.g. the *populus Albanus* or the *populus Gallicus*. On the other hand, in (5) *pulcher* may be used not to identify which *hortus* is referred to, but to qualify a particular *hortus*. Other qualifications might be added, as is exemplified in (6):

(4) *populus Romanus*

(5) *hortus pulcher*

(6) *hortus pulcher et amoenus et amabilis.*

According to Fugier and Corbin, the difference between identifying and qualifying modifiers is reflected in their behaving differently in syntactic respect. Three of their syntactic characteristics are of interest for this article, namely (i) the number of modifiers of each type that may occur in one NP; (ii) the possibility of the members of each type to be coordinated with each other; (iii) the relative position of each type of modifier with respect to the head of the NP.

(i) In their opinion, the number of qualifiers in one NP is, theoretically, unlimited, whereas a head can be modified by only one identifier. However, the head itself may consist of an NP containing a head plus an identifier that form a close unit, which can, in turn, be modified by another identifier.

³⁾ See the appendix for more details.

⁴⁾ Fugier and Corbin call a modifier 'déterminatif' if it is used to identify its head and 'qualificatif' if it is used to describe and qualify its head. However, in order to avoid semantic and logical connotations, they prefer to speak of 'modifier I' and 'modifier II' respectively. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that their definitions of the modifiers I and II are semantic!

(ii) If an NP thus contains more than one identifier, these necessarily stand in a hierarchical relationship; they are nested without coordination.⁵⁾ An example is (7), where both *Africae* and *vagae* are used to identify the *gentes* at issue as opposed to the *gentes* referred to in (8) and (9):

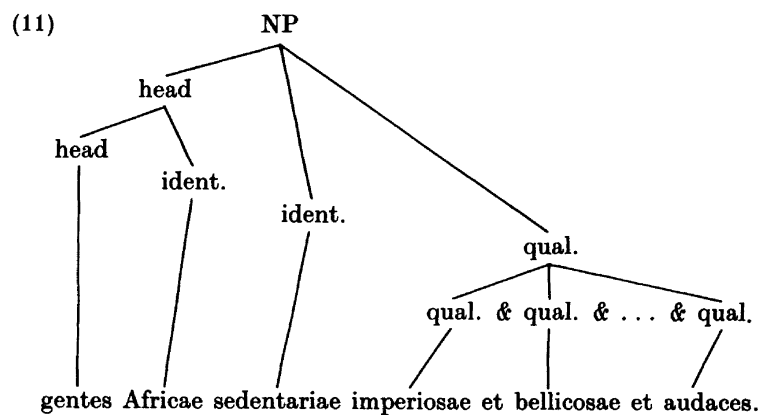
- (7) (*gentes Africae*) *vagae*
- (8) (*gentes Africae*) *sedentariae*
- (9) (*gentes Asiaticae*) *sedentariae*.

If, on the other hand, two or more qualifiers modify one and the same head, they are always coordinated, overtly or by zero-coordination. Examples are (6) and (1) above. Furthermore, Fugier and Corbin claim that qualifying and identifying modifiers within one NP always stand in juxtaposition and cannot be coordinated, cf. (10).

- (10) **gentes Africae et imperiosae*

(iii) Finally, an identifying modifier generally occurs near its head, admitting only the insertion of particles like *quidem*, *enim* etc., whereas qualifiers are more free in their position with respect to the head of the NP. In cases where two identifiers are nested, their position reflects their hierarchical relationship, i.e. the more closely connected identifier stands closer to the head than the other.

(11) contains a graphical representation of the structure of an NP according to Fugier and Corbin.



It will not be superfluous to stress the fact that Fugier and Corbin do not divide modifiers as such in two classes, but distinguish two

⁵⁾ Fugier and Corbin speak of 'emboîtement'.

ways of modifying. In theory, every modifier may be used as a qualifier in one NP and as an identifier in another, depending on which head it modifies in which context. Of course there are some types of modifiers that will exclusively occur in one use only, like for instance possessive pronouns or adjectives denoting a possessor, which are nearly always identifying. However, as long as it is possible to distinguish between the two ways of modifying by means of the above mentioned (and a few other) syntactic differences, there is no reason for Fugier to examine the relationship between certain categories of adjectives and one or both types of modifying (1983: 241–242).

It is a great advantage of Fugier's approach that she is able to treat all modifiers, whether they are adjectives, appositions, relative clauses or adnominal genitives, by one and the same principle, viz. the distinction between identifying and qualifying modifiers. However, when one examines actually attested instances of coordination and juxtaposition of adjectives in Latin NP's, this principle turns out not to be sufficient to account for coordination and juxtaposition in all cases.

In the first place, it is sometimes very difficult to make a distinction between qualifying and identifying adjectives, since adjectives that are used as identifying modifiers may nevertheless express a qualification of the head as well. In (12), for instance, *lenibus* and *glutinosus* are used to specify the reference of *cibus* and to make clear what food has to be avoided in case of a certain illness, but the adjectives are used to describe and give a qualification of the food as well.⁶⁾

(12) neque lenibus et glutinosus (cibus) neque salsis et acribus
utendum est (Cels. 5, 28, 4 D)

Secondly, I found a number of cases in which two adjectives that are used as identifying modifiers are coordinated. Examples are, in addition to (12), (13) and (14):

(13) sermo . . . et familiaris et cotidianus (Cic. *Caec.* 52) (in contrast with juridical language)

(14) in agro propinquo et suburbano (Cic. *Har.* 20).

⁶⁾ Cf. also Seiler (1978) on the relationship between reference and qualification.

Finally, it turns out that certain adjectives, although both used as qualifying modifiers, are not coordinated with each other, but juxtaposed. Example are (15)–(17):

- (15) *lepidum novum libellum* (Catul. 1, 1)
- (16) *pulcherrimam mensam citream* (Cic. *Ver.* 4, 37)
- (17) *nocturnos quosdam inanes metus* (Cic. *Cael.* 36).

Therefore, we have to look for other conditions that govern the behaviour of Latin adjectives with respect to coordination and juxtaposition. In the next paragraph, 2.2, a semantic classification of adjectives will be discussed which provides a useful starting-point for finding these conditions.

2.2 *Semantic classifications of adjectives: Hetzron (1978)*

Semantic classifications of modifiers have been set up by a number of linguists in order to account for the relative order of modifiers within the (English, Hungarian or German) NP. They are of interest for our present purpose, because juxtaposition is used as a criterion for subclassification. Hetzron, for instance, explicitly excludes cases in which adjectives are connected by an 'and'-word or by logical conjunctions and cases in which adjectives are enumerated with comma intonation, because in those cases a great freedom of order is allowed (1978: 166);⁷⁾ in other words, he concentrates on juxtaposed adjectives.

Hetzron's semantic classification of adjectives is based on Quirk's observation (1972: 924) that evaluative and subjective adjectives frequently precede those that are relatively objective and measurable. He establishes a number of order classes which in his view are not strictly separated; following Seiler (1978), he conceives of them as intermediary stages on a continuum between two extremities, viz. (a) subjective and individual judgements, that are relatively likely to be disagreed with by other people, and (b) objective and collective judgements, which are a matter of recognition rather than the expression of an opinion. The intermediary stages between these extremities differ only gradually from each other in degree of subjectiveness (1978: 178). Although Hetzron is sometimes forced to use rather far-fetched explanations to account for the order of two adjectives in terms of their difference in degree of

⁷⁾ Besides, he also excludes cases where one of the adjectives carries a contrastive stress. I will come back to this later, in section 3.1. Cf. also Hill (1958: 176) on comma intonation and order class.

subjectivity,⁸⁾ in general his principle of 'gradual difference in subjectivity' leads to a useful and rather detailed classification of adjectives. It runs as follows, starting with that class of adjectives (viz. the most objective ones), which immediately precede the head of the NP:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (i) purpose/destination | (e.g. <i>ironing board</i>) |
| (ii) composition | (e.g. <i>silken clothes</i>) |
| (iii) origin | (e.g. <i>chinese furniture</i>) |
| (iv) colour | (e.g. <i>red socks</i>) |
| (v) physical defect | (e.g. <i>a blind man</i>) |
| (vi) shape | (e.g. <i>a round table</i>) |
| (vii) age | (e.g. <i>young children</i>) |
| (viii) social properties | (e.g. <i>jealous people</i>) |
| (ix) utilitarian qualifications | (e.g. <i>a cheap chair</i>) |
| (x) speed | (e.g. <i>a fast runner</i>) |
| (xi) physical properties
(several subclasses can be distinguished) | (e.g. <i>sweet coffee</i>) |
| (xii) evaluation | (e.g. <i>good work</i>) |
| (xiii) epistemic qualities | (e.g. <i>a well-known fact</i>) |
| (xiv) affectives | (e.g. <i>a marvellous fellow</i>). |

In as far as adjectives of classes (i)–(vii) involve a personal judgement or a guess, this can always be falsified by better informed authorities. In the case of adjectives of classes (viii)–(xiv), however, judgements cannot be falsified but only disagreed with. (1978: 178–181)

The above classification was set up especially to account for the relative order of adjectives in English NP's. In the following paragraph I will make use of a classification like Hetzron's for a different purpose. Instead of excluding cases of overt and zero-coordination, I will try to account for both juxtaposition and coordination by using this classification. I will say a few words about the relative order of Latin adjectives in 3.3.

3. *A semantic classification of Latin adjectives*

In this paragraph I will try to account for the coordination and juxtaposition of Latin adjectives by means of a semantic approach.

⁸⁾ For instance "Now, consider *a long thin blade* (and not **thin long*). Thickness requires more careful observation and is hence more reliable as a judgement than Length, a dimension that is too easily perceivable and is therefore taken more lightly." (1978: 180).

First I will set forth the principles of this approach and I will discuss some of the problems that are connected with a semantic classification (3.1). Then, in 3.2, a semantic classification will be presented on the basis of these principles. In 3.3 I will make some remarks on the related question of the relative order of juxtaposed adjectives.

3.1 *Principles and problems*

As was shown in 2.1, the distinction between adjectives used as identifiers and those used as qualifiers is not sufficient to account for juxtaposition and coordination in the Latin NP, since adjectives turn out to be coordinated and juxtaposed in both cases. There appear to be other conditions that govern the use of coordination and juxtaposition. These conditions concern, in my opinion, the meaning of the adjectives involved and their semantic relationship with the head of the NP.

In Pinkster (1972: 108–133) the use of coordination as a criterion for the subclassification of adverbs is discussed and a number of semantic and syntactic conditions on coordination are presented. Two of these conditions hold for the coordination of adjectives in the NP as well⁹⁾—the others are concerned with syntactic and semantic functions at the clause-level—, namely

- (i) the constituents (c. q. adjectives) involved must be equivalent as to the semantic relationship with the head
- (ii) they must stand at the same level of structural hierarchy.

In the case of adjectives, it turns out that these two conditions are closely connected.

(i) Equivalence as to the semantic relationship with the head means that the adjectives involved are concerned with the same feature of the entity (entities) referred to by the head of the NP. Examples of such features are the 'substance' or 'size', 'purpose' etc. of the head, as well as its 'typical characteristic' or 'subjective evaluation'. Two adjectives that are concerned with the same feature of their head generally are on the same level of structural hierarchy (see ii, below) and consequently they are coordinated, whereas two adjectives that are concerned with different features and that have, therefore, different relationships with the head of

⁹⁾ A third condition, concerning the compatibility of selection restrictions (1972: 116), does not only hold for the coordination of adjectives but for their juxtaposition as well, as will be discussed below, at the end of section 3.1.

the NP, necessarily differ hierarchically in level and as a consequence they cannot be coordinated, but are juxtaposed. For instance, an adjective denoting the 'provenance' of its head is coordinated with an adjective that denotes 'provenance' as well, as in (18), but juxtaposed with adjectives that denote the 'size' (19), the 'age' (20) or the 'subjective evaluation' (21) of their head:

(18) *externus et adventicius tepor* (Cic. *N. D.* 2, 26)

(19) *magnis adventiciis auxiliis* (Cic. *Man.* 24)

(20) *vetere Latina lingua* (Apul. *Soc.* 15)

(21) *splendidus eques Romanus* (Cic. *N. D.* 3, 74).

(ii) What is meant by 'the same level of structural hierarchy' is exemplified in (11) above: *imperiosae*, *bellicosae* and *audaces* are on the same level, whereas they differ hierarchically both from *sedentariae* and from *Africae*. The three levels of structural hierarchy correspond with three different sorts of semantic relationships with *gentes*, because *Africae* denotes 'provenance', *sedentariae* denotes a '(temporary) state' and *imperiosae*, *bellicosae* and *audaces* denote a 'subjective evaluation' of the *gentes*. In some cases, however, it is possible that two adjectives are equivalent as to semantic relationship with the head, but still differ hierarchically and as a consequence are juxtaposed. This may happen in a contrastive situation, as exemplified by (22) and (23); both *iustae/iniustae* and *graves* denote 'subjective evaluation' of the head. They will stand on the same hierarchical level in a not contrastive situation, as is exemplified by (24), where they are coordinated:

(22) *iustae (graves inimicitiae)*

(23) *iniustae (graves inimicitiae)*

(24) *iustae gravesque inimicitiae* (Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 2).

In order to give concrete form to the rather vague and intuitive notion 'the same feature of the head', I will present a classification of adjectives on the basis of their actual behaviour with respect to coordination and juxtaposition in the next paragraph (3.2). In this classification every class corresponds to a separate feature. There are, however, a number of methodological problems that have to be dealt with first.

In the first place, adjectives may belong to more than one class, if in different NP's they may refer to different features of their

head. For instance, the adjective *equester* is concerned with four different features of the head in the following four NP's:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (25) a) homo equester | (social status) |
| b) proelium equestre | (agent) |
| c) disciplina equestris | (typical characteristic) |
| d) equestris statua ¹⁰ | (shape). |

Consequently, an adjective may be coordinated with adjectives belonging to different classes. An adjective like *magnus* is coordinated with one class of adjectives if it simply denotes the 'size' of its head, as in (26), and with another class of adjectives if it denotes the 'subjective evaluation' ("important") of its head, as in (27) and (28):

- (26) in magno diuturnoque bello (Sal. *Iug.* 79,3)
(27) duae potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes (Liv. 2, 53, 3)
(28) rem magnam difficilemque (Cic. *Fam.* 13, 5, 1).

Besides, many adjectives may, in addition to their (various) literal meaning(s), have a metaphorical meaning as well. Such a difference between the literal and the metaphorical use of a certain adjective is again reflected in the possibility of its being coordinated with adjectives belonging to different classes. In (29) *lignae*, literally used, is coordinated with another 'substance' adjective, whereas in (30) *lignea*, metaphorically used, expresses 'subjective evaluation' ("stringy") and is coordinated with an adjective that expresses 'subjective evaluation' as well:

- (29) figuras . . . lignae ac fictiles antiquas (Var. *L.* 5, 121)¹¹
(30) (femina) nervosa et lignea (Lucr. 4, 1161).

The second question is how many 'feature classes' should be distinguished. The answer to this question lies in the actual coordination- and juxtaposition-behaviour of the adjectives in the NP. Ideally, a group of adjectives that refer to more or less the same feature of their heads should be considered as forming a separate

¹⁰ Examples may be found in Caes *Gal.* 1, 18, 10 (25b), Cic. *Ver.* 3, 137 (25c) and Cic. *Phil.* 6, 12 (25d).

¹¹ In fact, this is a slightly different type of coordination, because the coordinated adjectives do not together modify the same entities but refer to, and in fact distinguish, two different groups of entities, cf. Fugier & Corbin (1977: 259–270). Since, however, the same semantic conditions hold for this type of coordination as well, I have used both types of cases in establishing my classification.

class only if (i) they are always coordinated with each other and not (unless with a different meaning) with adjectives belonging to other classes and (ii) there are instances of juxtaposition with adjectives belonging to all other classes. In reality, however, the classes are not so neatly separated, as will become clear from the next paragraph. On the other hand, absence of instances of juxtaposition between two classes does not always imply that they should not be distinguished, since this absence may also be caused by semantic incompatibility of these classes. For example, one does not find instances of juxtaposition between adjectives denoting 'social class' and 'substance' because 'substance' is a feature of concrete things, whereas 'social class' is mainly a feature of human beings. Therefore, 'substance' and 'social class' must be considered as separate classes as long as one does not find cases of coordination of these two classes.

A third problem is constituted by the absence of a formal distinction between zero-coordination and juxtaposition in written Latin, unlike written modern languages, where a comma takes the place of zero-coordination, or spoken language, which uses pauses and intonation. The only way to find out, in Latin, whether a certain NP with two (or more) not overtly coordinated adjectives is a case of zero-coordination or of juxtaposition is to test whether the meaning of the NP changes when a coordinator is inserted. This is, of course, a rather subjective test. However, the overall corpus will help to reduce this subjectivity to a large extent, if it provides (or, on the contrary, fails to provide) cases of similar combinations of adjectives with explicit coordination. Two very clear examples are (31) and (32). (31a) and (32a) are shown to be cases of zero-coordination by the overt coordination in (31b) and (32b):

- (31) a) *candens lucidus aer* (Lucr. 4, 135)
- b) *luce clara et candida* (Pl. *Am.* 547)
- (32) a) *in materia iudiciali deliberativa demonstrativa* (Quint. *Inst.* 3, 8, 53)
- b) *omnis et demonstrativa et deliberativa et iudicialis causa* (Cic. *Inv.* 2, 12).

Another complication is formed by the so-called 'logical force' that *et*, and less frequently *ac*, *atque* and *-que*, may have. In that case *et* etc. do not express plain coordination but a relationship in which one of the adjectives explains (the so-called 'et-expli-

cativum', cf. Kühner-Stegmann II, 25) or specifies the other adjective. Consequently, the semantic relationship of the adjectives involved with the head need not be, and generally is not, the same. Therefore, coordination of adjectives belonging to different classes may occur in cases of 'explicative coordination'. Some examples are (33) and (34).

(33) *ad prima ac dubia signa veris* (Liv. 21, 58, 2)

(34) *substrictas et breves tunicas* (Gel. 6, 12, 3).

In (33) an ordinal number (on the position of ordinal numbers, see appendix) is coordinated with an adjective denoting 'subjective evaluation' that explains the implications of the ordinal: "... the first and therefore doubtful signs . . .". In (34) an adjective denoting 'temporal state' is coordinated with an adjective that denotes the (resultant) 'shape'. Sometimes, however, it is not so clear whether or not the relationship between the coordinated members is really explicative, cf. (35):

(35) (*summus ille caeli stellifer cursus*) . . . *hic lunaris atque infimus* (Cic. *Rep.* 6, 18).

Both *lunaris*, an adjective denoting 'possessor', and *infimus*, denoting 'relative position', are used to identify the *cursus* at issue. Perhaps *atque infimus* is to be understood as a specification of *lunaris*, which by itself might not be clear enough. In that case their relationship is indeed more or less explicative.¹²⁾

Despite these complications it is possible, I think, to set up a classification of adjectives on the basis of coordination and juxtaposition that corresponds to the various features of the heads that adjectives may refer to. The classification presented in the next paragraph is based on actually attested cases of juxtaposition and coordination of Latin adjectives. As a starting-point, I have used Hetzron's classification of English adjectives, adapting it where the actual behaviour of Latin adjectives turned out to be different.

3.2 *A classification*

Having discussed the conditions that, in my opinion, govern coordination and juxtaposition of adjectives in the Latin NP, I will

¹²⁾ Another point is that juxtaposition, since it expresses a hierarchical relationship, might give the impression that there is more than one *cursus lunaris* of which the *infimus* is referred to and the speaker might explicitly want to avoid that interpretation. Cf. also the treatment of example (91) below, in section 3.2.2.

now present an example of a semantic classification of adjectives in order to illustrate what types of meaning classes are involved. I will give a short explanation of every class and one or two examples of coordination and of juxtaposition with other classes (3.2.1). I do not claim that the classification presented below is the only possible classification for my purpose. However, it is in accordance with the observed facts of coordination and juxtaposition in the Latin NP, as will be shown in 3.2.2.

3.2.1 *The classes of adjectives*¹³⁾

a) Subjective evaluation

Adjectives that indicate 'subjective evaluation' express a personal opinion of the speaker (writer) about the entities referred to by the head of the NP. This class is by far the largest and is also rather heterogeneous. It comprises such instances as (36)–(38):

(36) duo consules clarissimi fortissimique (Cic. *Man.* 62)

(37) aequi atque iusti . . . arbitri (Pl. *Am.* 16)

(38) suis certis ac propriis vocabulis (Cic. *Caec.* 51).

Instances of juxtaposition with other classes will be presented in my discussion of other classes.

b) Size

This class comprises adjectives that express a relative, overall judgement of the size of the entities referred to by the head as well as adjectives expressing a more exact measurement. An example of the first group is (39); the second group is exemplified in (40), where *longos quaterna cubita* is juxtaposed with an adjective expressing 'shape' (class g):

(39) in magno diuturnoque bello (Sal. *Iug.* 79, 3)

(40) gladios tenues . . . longos quaterna cubita (Liv. 37, 40, 12).¹⁴⁾

¹³⁾ The material this classification is based upon was in the first instance selected by means of a computer program of the Faculteit der Letteren of the University of Amsterdam from a corpus consisting of Pl. *Am.*, *Aul.*, *Bac.*, *Cas.*, *Caes. Gal.*, Cic. *Caec.*, *Cat.*, *Man.*, *N. D.*, *Tusc.*, Sal. *Iug.*, Verg. *A.* 1–6 and Curt. Ruf. Afterwards, this material was enlarged by cases provided by the Oxford Latin Dictionary of a number of selected adjectives.

¹⁴⁾ Adjectives of size are often coordinated with *multus*, cf. *nationes multae atque magnae* (Cic. *Man.* 23), *sine plurimis et maximis causis* (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 40). Size and number seem to be related as quantitative expressions. However, *multus* can be coordinated with other classes of adjectives as well. Examples can be found in Kühner-Stegmann I, 240; cf. also Pinkster (1972: 112–113).

c) Relative position

The adjectives that belong to this class locate the entities referred to by the head relative to other entities, for instance in terms of distance or direction. Examples of coordination are

(41) *ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis* (Cic. *Man.* 46)

(42) *dextris et propioribus compendiis* (Tac. *Ann.* 12,28).

Juxtaposition with class (a) is exemplified by (43).

(43) *duae potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes* (Liv. 2, 53, 3).

d) Age

Besides adjectives of 'age' in a narrow sense (*vetus, novus* etc.), this class also comprises adjectives that situate entities or events in time (like *pristinus*; *vetus* can be used in this sense as well) or express a temporal relationship (e.g. *extremus*). In fact, the ordinal numbers can be included in this class as well. Examples of coordination are (44) and (45):

(44) *novam et recentem curam* (Tac. *Dial.* 6,23)

(45) *extremo ac novissimo iactu* (Tac. *Ger.* 24).

Explicative coordination with adjectives expressing 'subjective evaluation' (class a), exemplified by (33) in the previous paragraph and by (46) and (47), is rather frequent. However, one also finds enough instances of juxtaposition of these two classes, cf. (48) and (49):

(46) *vetus atque usitata exceptio* (Cic. *de Orat.* 1,168)

(47) *Vitelliorum originem novam et obscuram* (Suet. *Vit.* 1)

(48) *lepidum novum libellum* (Catul. 1,1)

(49) *illos veteres clarissimos consulares* (Cic. *Quir.* 7).

e) Not inherent (temporary) property or state

This group of adjectives expresses a (in most cases temporary) property or state of the entities referred to by the head. Unlike the adjectives of class (a), these adjectives do not express a subjective judgement, but they denote an objective fact. An example of coordination is (50); juxtaposition is exemplified by (51) with class (a), (52) with (b) and (53) with (d):

(50) *nudum et caecum corpus* (Sal. *Iug.* 107,1)

(51) *caelati argenti optimi* (Cic. *Ver.* 2,35)

(52) *perpetuum iugum opacum et umbrosum* (Curt. 5,4,9)

(53) *ipsam veterem Carthaginem nudatam tectis ac muribus* (Cic. *Agr.* 1,5).

f) Inherent, inalienable property

Like the adjectives of the previous class, the adjectives of this class do not express a personal, subjective judgement but an objective fact. The difference is, however, that the properties expressed by the adjectives of this class are inherent and inalienable, concerning 'shape', 'taste', 'weight' etc., whereas the properties expressed by the previous class of adjectives are not inherent and often temporary. Juxtaposition between both classes is exemplified by (56) and (57), coordination of adjectives denoting 'inherent property' by (54) and (55):

(54) in aequo quidem et plano loco (Cic. *Caec.* 50)

(55) densa et glutinosa terra (Col. 1, pr. 24)

(56) securicula ancipes . . . literata (Pl. *Rud.* 1158)

(57) salsis locis pisculentis (Pl. *Rud.* 907).

Ancipes and *salsis* are inalienable, inherent properties, whereas *literata* and *pisculentis* are circumstantial and not inherent.

g) Colour

The adjectives expressing 'colour' form a small separate class. Although 'colour' is, in fact, an inherent property like 'shape' etc., cases of juxtaposition of colour adjectives with shape adjectives like (59) make it necessary to distinguish them as a separate class.¹⁵⁾ An example of coordination is (58).¹⁶⁾ In (60) a colour adjective is juxtaposed with an adjective expressing a not inherent property:

(58) murtum coniugulum et album et nigrum (Cato *Agr.* 8, 2)

(59) ex rubro saxo quadrato (Vitr. 2, 8, 4)

(60) capris duabus albis auratis (Liv. 25, 12, 13).

h) Substance

This class comprises adjectives denoting the substance or material the entities referred to by the head are made of. Coordination is

¹⁵⁾ The same holds for the adjectives of the next class (h) denoting 'substance', which is also an inherent property. Another solution would be to distinguish a number of subclasses of one overall class of inherent properties.

¹⁶⁾ Sometimes certain properties are associated with colours and therefore (explicatively) coordinated, cf. *ex lignis viridibus atque humidis* (Cic. *Ver.* 1, 45). Similarly, *virides* and *aridae* are used to refer to two different sorts of *figus* in: *figus et virides et aridae* (Cels. 2, 25, 1).

exemplified by (61), juxtaposition with a colour adjective by (62) and with an adjective denoting 'shape' by (63):

- (61) omnes statuas aeneas et aureas et argenteas (Petr. 50,5)
- (62) perticis saligneis viridibus (Cato *Agr.* 43,1)
- (63) ferreas . . . crassas compedes (Pl. *Pers.* 573).

i) Possessor

The adjectives of this class denote the possessor of the entities referred to by the head. A neat example of coordination is (64) and juxtaposition with an adjective denoting a not inherent property is exemplified in (65):

- (64) regno patrio atque avito (Cic. *Man.* 21)¹⁷
- (65) corpus exsanguē . . . Hectoreum (Verg. *A.* 2,542).

j) Provenance and location

Although 'provenance' and 'location' are, in fact, different things, frequent coordination of these two features has led me to classify them together. Both exact geographical expressions (like *Romanus*) and more general expressions (like *domesticus* or *transmarinus*) are included. Examples of coordination are (18) in section 3.1, (66) and (67):

- (66) doctrinam transmarinam et adventiciam (Cic. *de Orat.* 3,135)
- (67) litteris Graecis et Latinis (Sal. *Iug.* 95,3).

The adjectives of this class are distinct from those belonging to class (c), since the latter locate entities relative to other entities whereas the former denote a more or less 'absolute location'. The difference is exemplified in (68), where *propinquam*, denoting 'relative position', is juxtaposed with *maritimam*, which denotes a more absolute location. *Maritimam* is in this case explicatively coordinated with *opportunam*, which expresses 'subjective evaluation':¹⁸

- (68) propinquam opportunam et maritimam urbem (Liv. 3,1,5).

Other instances of juxtaposition are (19)–(21) in the previous paragraph.

¹⁷ This example resembles the *heredium paternum et maternum* that is extensively discussed in Fugier & Corbin (1977: 259–271) as an exception to their rule that identifying adjectives are never coordinated.

¹⁸ Example (14) in section 2.1, *in agro propinquo et suburbano*, is not, to my mind, a counterexample, but a case of explicative coordination of an adjective denoting 'relative position' and one denoting '(absolute) location'. However, one might prefer not to distinguish them as separate classes, but as two subclasses of one overall class that may but need not be coordinated.

k) Period

This small class consists of adjectives like *diurnus* or *matutinus* that are concerned with the period in which events referred to by the head take place or belong. The distinction between them and the adjectives belonging to class (d) that express a temporal relationship, like *extremus* and *primus*, is comparable with the distinction between adjectives expressing 'relative position' and those expressing '(absolute) location' mentioned above. An example of juxtaposition of the two classes is (70); coordination is exemplified by (69):

(69) et diurno et nocturno metu (Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 66)

(70) usque ad diurnam stellam crastinam (Pl. *Men.* 175).

l) Social position

Both adjectives denoting the social position within (Roman) society and adjectives denoting the status of or the relationship between nations are included in this class. Examples of coordination are (71) and (72); in (73) two coordinated adjectives expressing 'social position' are juxtaposed with an adjective denoting 'provenance' and (74) is an example of juxtaposition with class (a):

(71) in hac civili et publica re (Cic. *Att.* 2, 17, 2)

(72) liberam civitatem et immunem (*B. Afr.* 7, 1)

(73) neque privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam (Cic. *Man.* 53)

(74) hominem nobilem . . . clarum acceptumque popularibus suis (Sal. *Iug.* 70, 2).

m) Typical characteristic

The adjectives that belong to this class do not denote the actual possessor, provenance, agent etc. of the entities referred to by the head, but the possessor etc. with which these entities are typically associated. Examples are (75) and (76):

(75) habitus corporis . . . virilis vere ac militaris (Liv. 28, 35, 6)

(76) rustica vox et agrestis (Cic. *de Orat.* 3, 42).

Denoting a certain typical association involves in most cases the expression of subjective evaluation as well. Therefore, the adjectives of this class are often coordinated more or less explicatively with adjectives of class (a), cf. (77) and (78). On the other hand, these two classes of adjectives are often juxtaposed as well and must be

distinguished as separate classes. Examples of juxtaposition with class (a) are (79) and (80):

- (77) *agreste atque inconditum carmen* (Sen. *Ben.* 4, 6, 5)
- (78) *solida ac virilis ingenii vis* (Quint. *Inst.* 2, 5, 23)
- (79) *culinam rusticam bonam* (Var. *R.* 1, 13, 6)
- (80) *incondito militari ioco* (Liv. 7, 38, 3).

Unfortunately, I could not find attested instances of juxtaposition with adjectives denoting an actual possessor (class i) or an actual provenance (class j), but the distinction between 'actual' and 'typical' possessor can be illustrated by cases like (81), in which *alteri* denotes the actual possessor and *equestris* a typical possessor:

- (81) *res familiaris alteri eorum valde exigua est, alteri vix equestris* (Cic. *Fam.* 9, 13, 4).

n) Purpose and destination

This rather heterogeneous class comprises adjectives denoting the purpose or destination of the entities or states of affairs referred to by the head as well as adjectives that denote the subject these entities and states of affairs are concerned with. Examples of coordination are (82) and (83). Juxtaposition with class (d) is exemplified by (84), with (l) and (b) by (85) and with (f) by (86):

- (82) *omnis et demonstrativa et deliberativa et iudicialis causa* (Cic. *Inv.* 2, 12)
- (83) *et urbanis eodem tempore et bellicis rebus* (Quint. *Inst.* 3, 138)
- (84) *proximis comitiis consularibus* (Cic. *Cat.* 1, 11)
- (85) *privata navis oneraria maxima* (Cic. *Man.* 7)
- (86) *mensa vinaria rotunda* (Var. *L.* 5, 121).

o) Agent

The adjectives of this class denote the agent or the person who is responsible for the entities or states of affairs referred to by the head of the NP. (87) is an example of coordination and of juxtaposition with an adjective denoting 'purpose'. Juxtaposition with class (a) is exemplified by (88) and juxtaposition with class (d) by (89):

- (87) *ex lege Terentia et Cassia frumentaria* (Cic. *Ver.* 5, 52)
- (88) *omni iusta militari custodia* (Liv. 28, 1, 8)
- (89) *sub recentem Romanam pacem* (Liv. 21, 2, 1).

3.2.2 Justification

The distinction of the classes (a)–(o) above is based on the behaviour with respect to coordination and juxtaposition of the adjectives involved. This behaviour is schematically represented in a number of figures.

Figure 1 represents the behaviour of each class of adjectives with respect to coordination in my corpus. A distinction is made between ‘coordination’ and ‘explicative coordination’, since in the latter case the adjectives involved need not be members of the same class. Note that the order of the adjectives involved is not represented.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
a) subj.	+														
b) size	E+	+													
c) rel. pos.			+												
d) age	E			+											
e) not inh.	E+	E	+		+										
f) inh.			+			+									
g) colour	E					+	+								
h) subst.								+							
i) poss.									+						
j) prov.	E+		E		E	E				+					
k) period					+						+				
l) soc. pos.	E											+			
m) typ.	E				E								+		
n) purp.														+	
o) agent	E														+

Fig. 1 coordination

+ indicates that coordination between members of the classes is attested,
 E indicates that there are cases of explicative coordination of the two classes involved.

As fig. 1 shows, coordination of members of the same class is found in all classes and when two adjectives of different classes are involved, they are in most cases explicatively coordinated. In most cases of explicative coordination one of the two adjectives

involved belongs to class (a) and expresses 'subjective evaluation'. There are, however, five cases of coordination between an adjective of class (a) and one of another class that are, strictly speaking, not explicative, but in which the writer chooses, by coordinating the adjectives, to put them on the same level. I will discuss two of these cases.¹⁹⁾

(90) *omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem* (Cic. *Att.* 7, 3, 5)

(91) *pro homine innocente et propinquo* (Cic. *Ver.* 28).

In (90) one could say that, although on first view there is no very obvious explicative relation between the adjectives, Cicero deliberately presents the facts as though such a relationship does, in fact, exist. A different case is (91), in which two reasons to defend somebody are presented, namely his being innocent and his being a relative. Juxtaposition of the two adjectives might create the impression that one of the two reasons is subordinate to the other and in order to prevent that impression the writer chooses to put them explicitly on the same level by means of coordination.

The behaviour of the adjectives in my corpus with respect to juxtaposition is represented in figure 2, irrespective of the relative order of the adjectives involved. The only instance of juxtaposition of two adjectives of the same class is (92), which contains the idiomatic expression *uvae passae* ("raisins") that as a whole is modified by another adjective denoting 'not inherent property'; the adjectives differ in level:

(92) *uvae passae . . . pinsitae* (Col. 9, 13, 5).

In all other cases the juxtaposed adjectives belong to different classes. The lack of juxtaposition between members of certain classes is not in all cases the result of semantic incompatibility (see section 3.1), but must be due to the limited scope of my corpus as well. For instance, one would expect to find cases of juxtaposition of adjectives of 'inherent property' and 'age' or of adjectives of 'size' and 'colour', but I did not find them. However, as long as one does not find cases of coordination between these adjectives, there is no reason to change the classification.

¹⁹⁾ The other three are:

rus amoenum et suburbanum (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 133)

in vestra antiquissima fidelissima proximaque provincia (Cic. *Ver.* 3, 64)

muliebre et fanaticum agmen (Tac. *Ann.* 14, 30).

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
a) subj.															
b) size	+														
c) rel. pos.	+														
d) age	+	+													
e) not inh.	+	+	+	+	+										
f) inh.	+	+			+										
g) colour					+	+									
h) subst.	+	+			+	+	+								
i) poss.	+	+		+	+										
j) prov.	+	+	+	+	+	+									
k) period	+			+											
l) soc. pos.	+	+		+	+					+					
m) typ.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+				
n) purp.	+	+		+	+	+						+			
o) agent	+	+		+										+	

Fig. 2: juxtaposition

+ indicates that there are cases of juxtaposition of adjectives of the classes involved

3.3. Semantic classes and the relative order of adjectives

An interesting question is whether there exists in Latin, as in English, as shown by Hetzron,²⁰) a correlation between the relative order of juxtaposed adjectives and their semantic class. Unfortunately, the question is more complicated because, unlike English or German adjectives, Latin adjectives may both precede and follow their head. I will leave out of account the difficult question under what conditions adjectives precede or follow the head²¹) and restrict myself to a few observations on the relative order of the adjectives themselves in terms of the relative distance between

²⁰) The others are cited in note 1, above. Ney (1983) raises objections to "a single right order for adjectives depending on inherent classes" (p. 100). He argues in favour of variable rules, because speakers can optionally choose different orderings. In fact, he is the only one, as far as I know, who did actual statistic research on the order of adjectives, by means of questionnaires. Some of the NP's that were ordered according to Hetzron's classification were approved of by only half of the participants. The relative order of Latin adjectives is discussed in Pinkster (1984: 104-108).

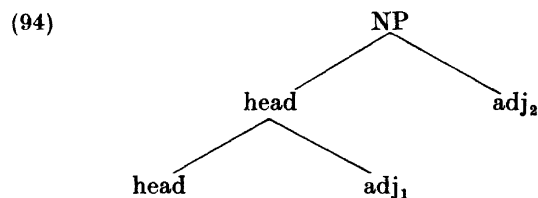
²¹) On this question, see J. R. de Jong (forthcoming).

juxtaposed adjectives and their head, irrespective of pre- or post-position.

As Fugier (1983: 238) correctly observes, when two adjectives in an NP are juxtaposed, one of them is more closely connected with the head than the other and this difference in degree of connection is generally reflected in the distance between the adjectives and the head. In other words, the more closely connected adjective stands in most cases closer than or at least as close to the head as the other adjective. In an actual NP this can be realised by four word order patterns, depending on whether both adjectives precede, both follow or one of them follows and the other precedes the head:

- (93) a) adj_2 (adj_1 head)
b) (head adj_1) adj_2
c) (adj_1 head) adj_2
d) adj_2 (head adj_1).

The brackets indicate which of the two adjectives (in all these cases adj_1) is more closely connected with the head than the other. The structure of the NP is identical in all four cases and can be represented graphically as in (94).



The four word order patterns are exemplified by (95)–(98) respectively:

- (95) bono . . . moderatoque (succedenti regi) (Liv. 1, 48, 6)
(96) (tumulus terrenus) satis grandis (Caes. *Gal.* 1, 43, 1)
(97) (Mithridatico bello) superiore (Cic. *Man.* 7)
(98) suaviloquenti (carmine Pierio) (Lucr. 4, 20).

In my corpus instances of pattern (d), exemplified by (98), are more frequent than instances of pattern (c), like (97), which are rather rare. However, for the present purpose, namely the correlation between relative distance to the head and semantic class, only patterns (a) and (b) are of interest, since only in case of these patterns there exists a difference in distance, whereas in both other patterns the two adjectives involved stand equally close to their head. Therefore, I will restrict myself in this paragraph to those cases where both adjectives precede or both follow their head.

Exceptions to the above mentioned correlation between degree of connection and relative distance are, in general, due to pragmatic factors such as emphasis, contrast or the fact that one of the adjectives is topic of a clause. These pragmatic factors tend to move a certain adjective to the first position in the NP, cf. De Jong (1983). This can be seen most clearly when both adjectives precede their head; in that case their order is, as it were, reversed. Examples are (99) and (100):

(99) *navales quoque magnae copiae* (Liv. 34, 26, 11)

(100) *ferreas . . . crassas compedes* (Pl. *Pers.* 573).

In both cases it is the first adjective that is more closely connected with the head than the second adjective, although the latter stands closer to the head, but in both cases the adjective in the first position is emphasized for pragmatic reasons; in (99) the *navales copiae* are contrasted with other types of *copiae* in an enumeration of troops and in (100) *ferreas* is topic of the clause in a context where a number of iron objects are enumerated. In a pragmatically neutral situation, however, the distances between the adjectives and the head generally reflect the structure of the NP.

The question is, however, whether there is also a correlation between the semantic class of the adjectives involved and the distance between each of them and the head of the NP. In other words, are the adjectives of a certain class always more closely connected with and consequently closer to the head than the adjectives of a certain other class? If that is the case, it must be possible to arrange the semantic classes of adjectives in such a way that their order predicts the relative order, in terms of relative distance, of the members of these classes in actual NP's, with some room for pragmatically motivated changes.

The examination of 98 cases in my corpus in which two juxtaposed adjectives either both precede or both follow the head of the NP has led me to the conclusion that such an arrangement of the semantic classes is, indeed, possible, although the arrangement of the classes does not explain the relative order of the adjectives in all cases. In 28 cases the order of the adjectives is not in accordance with the arrangement of the semantic classes, and only 11 of these can be explained by pragmatic factors. The other 17 cases show that there is only a global correlation between semantic class and relative order of juxtaposed adjectives in the NP.

The arrangement of the semantic classes on the basis of these 98 cases is, in fact, the order in which the semantic classes are presented in the previous section, starting with the class of adjectives that are generally less closely connected with the head than all other classes of adjectives and that are, consequently, at a greater distance from the head, viz. the adjectives of 'subjective evaluation'. Wherever actually attested instances of juxtaposition are lacking, I follow the arrangement of Hetzron's order classes. The attested instances, however, also largely confirm his arrangement. The exact data of the relative order of the adjectives are presented in figure 3. The vertical axis indicates the semantic class of the adjective that stands closer to the head and the horizontal axis the semantic class of the other, more remote adjective. For instance, there are six instances of juxtaposition of adjectives of class (a) and class (j) in which the adjectives belonging to class (j) are closer to the head and only one instance where the adjective belonging to class (a) is closer. Consequently, the cases that are indicated in the lower left half of the scheme agree with the arrangement of the semantic

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
a) subj.		2	1	2	2	1				1	1	1	1	1	
b) size	1				1							1	1	1	
c) rel. pos.	1														
d) age	6				1					1		1	1		1
e) not inh.			2	2	1	1		1	1						
f) inh.		2			2			1						1	
g) colour					2	1									
h) subst.	4	1			1	2	2				1				
i) poss.		1													
j) prov.	6	3	1		1	1									
k) period															
l) soc. pos.	4														
m) typ.	3	2		1	1	1	1				1				
n) purp.	2	1			1	1									
o) agent	5	1		1											1

Fig. 3: relative order of juxtaposed adjectives; the vertical axis indicates the semantic class of the adjective that is closer to the head, the horizontal axis that of the more remote adjective.

classes, whereas the other cases, in the upper right half of the scheme, exhibit an unexpected order. The numbers indicate the number of instances of each combination.

In spite of the 17 exceptions for which a pragmatic motivation seems to be absent, the large number of cases with an expected order ($\pm 70\%$) justifies a positive answer to the question whether there exists in Latin a correlation between the relative order of juxtaposed adjectives and their semantic class.

Unfortunately, one does not find in Latin 'maximal instances' like Hetzron's *a happy young blind black Belgian sheep dog* (1978: 179), which illustrates the relative order of a greater number of juxtaposed adjectives.²²⁾ In fact, cases of three juxtaposed adjectives are already rarely found in Latin and then one adjective is generally separated from the other two by the head of the NP. As a final illustration I quote, from Pinkster (1984: 108), the longest sequence of juxtaposed adjectives (and one other modifier) that I know:

- (101) *statuas marmoreas muliebres stolatas quae Caryatides dicuntur* (Vitr. 1, 1, 5)

4. Conclusion

I have tried to show that coordination and juxtaposition of adjectives in the Latin NP can be explained on the basis of the semantic relations within the NP. These semantic relationships are dependent on the meaning of the adjectives involved. If two adjectives are related in meaning, by which I mean that they refer to the same feature of the head which they modify, they will generally occur on the same level of the structural hierarchy of the NP and as a consequence they are coordinated. If, on the other hand, they refer to different features, they are not on the same level and as a consequence they are juxtaposed.

An investigation of a great number of instances of coordination and juxtaposition leads to a classification of adjectives in which each class corresponds to a separate feature. It turns out that by means of such a semantic classification coordination and juxtaposition can be accounted for in a number of cases that cannot be explained by means of the distinction between identifying and qualifying adjectives.

²²⁾ For other maximal instances, see Quirk (1972: 925) and Pinkster (1984: 105).

In the last section the relationship between the relative order of juxtaposed adjectives and the proposed classification was examined. The hierarchical structure of the NP is reflected, in general, by the relative order of the adjectives involved, unless there are pragmatic reasons to change the word order. It turns out that the value of the semantic classification proposed is supported by the fact that, in cases of juxtaposition, there exists a correlation between the relative order of the adjectives involved and the semantic class they belong to, although this correlation is not as strict as is claimed by others in the case of English adjectives.

Appendix: A classification of pronouns

As I mentioned briefly in section 2.1, Fugier and Corbin distinguish, as a subset of the whole body of modifiers, a so-called 'closed class of modifiers' that consists of the demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns²³) and the cardinal, ordinal and distributive numerals. The distinct status of these modifiers is based, in the first place, on the fact that it is a numerically limited and lexically not productive group of modifiers and, secondly, on their common function of extralinguistic and contextual reference.²⁴)

In their description of this closed class, Fugier and Corbin observe among other things that (i) its members are never coordinated in an NP; they are juxtaposed, both with each other and with members of the open class and (ii) the longest possible series of members of the closed class in an NP consists of three elements. This second observation leads them to a division of the closed class in three subclasses to which the rule applies that an NP may contain at most one member of each subclass. Members of the same subclass do not co-occur in one NP, unless one of them is used predicatively, like *omnes* in (102). In that case, the NP may contain four modifiers of the closed class.

(102) *illi centum alii equites omnes convenerunt* (1977: 249).

²³) The possessive pronouns are excluded from Fugier's closed class, because (i) they are interchangeable with possessive adnominal genitives, cf. *liber meus* and *liber fratris* and (ii) they can be used as a subject complement in copulative constructions, cf. *hoc opus meum est, non tuum*. To these two reasons I would like to add the observation that the possessive pronouns fulfill non-possessive roles as well, in which they are also interchangeable with adjectives and other types of modifiers of Fugier's open class, as for instance in *vestra ista praeclara lex agraria* (Cic. *Agr.* 1,24), where *vestra* denotes the person that is responsible for the law and can be compared with *Terentia et Cassia* in *lege Terentia et Cassia frumentaria* (Cic. *Ver.* 3,163).

²⁴) For a discussion of the distinction between 'open' and 'closed' classes, see Pinkster (1972: 17–33, esp. 17–18). H. Seiler uses the term 'determiners in the stricter sense' for the German modifiers that are comparable with those belonging to Fugier's closed class (1978: 307; 313).

The three subclasses are labeled 'descriptifs', 'quantitatifs' and 'dénotatifs' respectively, again (cf. note 4) "pour la commodité (. . .) On doit prendre ces termes avec la moindre charge sémantique possible, comme des étiquettes à usage pratique." (1983: 252). For a detailed treatment of the three subclasses, see Fugier (1983: 249–265). Figure 4 shows the subclassification of the closed class according to Fugier and Corbin.

DESCRIPTIFS	QUANTITATIFS	DENOTATIFS
is hic, iste, ille	unus, duo, . . . primus, . . . singuli, . . . omnis, totus, cunctus, universus multi, pauci	alius, alter, idem
quis? (ali)quis, quidam, quisquam, nemo, nihil nonnulli ullus, nullus aliquot plerique	∅	∅
(unus)quisque	primus, . . .	∅
uterque neuter alteruter	∅	∅

Fig. 4: subclassification of the closed class according to Fugier and Corbin (1977: 251), (1983: 251).

In addition to the overall restriction 'one of each subclass per NP', there are also some restrictions on particular combinations like **aliquis omnis* or **nulli singuli*, as is marked by the horizontal dividing lines. This implies that the subclassification is only fully useful in the upper part of the scheme, since only anaphoric and demonstrative pronouns co-occur with the members of the other two subclasses. As Fugier herself observes (1983: 255–258), the exact relationships between definite and indefinite pronouns and that between indefinite and quantitative pronouns are problematic.

In the main lines I agree with Fugier's subclassification of the closed class. It is in agreement with my classification of adjectives, since both are based on juxtaposition as a criterion for distinguishing separate classes and, in spite of her syntactic starting-point, her subclasses are semantic classes like mine. I would like, however, to add a few remarks on the behaviour of some of the modifiers of the closed class and propose some minor changes in the subclassification.

(i) Fugier remarks that the difference between *aliquot* and *two or three* is very small (1983: 258). In my opinion, *aliquot* must actually be considered

as a 'quantitatif', as is clear from (a) instances of juxtaposition with a demonstrative pronoun, frequent in comedy, cf. (103) and (104); (b) cases where *aliquot* takes the place of a cardinal number, cf. (105); (c) instances like (106) and (107) where in parallel NP's a 'quantitatif' and *aliquot* have a similar, quantitative meaning:

- (103) aliquot hos . . . dies (Ter. *Ph.* 832; Pl. *Ps.* 283)
- (104) illos . . . aliquot dies (Ter. *Ph.* 159)
- (105) milia aliquot turdorum (Var. *R.* 3, 5, 1)
- (106) nec una hominis vita, sed aliquot . . . saeculis et aetatibus (Cic. *Rep.* 2, 2)
- (107) plurimos . . . homines, . . . mulieres etiam aliquot (Sal. *Cat.* 24, 3).

The same holds for *plerique*, which is, after all, often considered as a superlative of *multus*. I could find no instances of a demonstrative pronoun juxtaposed with *plerique*, but there are parallel-cases like (108) and (109) that support my proposal to take *plerique* as a 'quantitatif':

- (108) officia media omnia aut pleraque servantem (Cic. *Fin.* 4, 15)
- (109) omnes Graeciae civitates et plerique principum (Liv. 42, 5, 3).

In most cases, however, *plerique* is used predicatively, as e.g. in (110). In the idiomatic expression *plerique omnes*, an apparent counterexample, *plerique* is also used predicatively, in my opinion²⁵; an example is (111):

- (110) versus . . . plerosque senarios, sed etiam anapaestos (Cic. *Orat.* 190)
- (111) dicta mea factaque pleraque omnia (Gel. 1, 3, 2).

Uterque is problematic. The related pronouns *alteruter* and *uter* (though not in Fugier's closed class) are 'descriptifs', i.e. they are concerned with the identity of the referent of the NP, like the demonstrative and indefinite pronouns in this subclass. *Uterque* can be used in the same way, when there are just two possible referents and both are referred to, as in (112) and (113). On the other hand, *uterque* can have a quantitative role as well, as e.g. in (114), where the demonstrative role is taken by *eam*:

- (112) palmas utrasque tetendit (Verg. *A.* 6, 685)
- (113) utrique imperatores in medium exeunt (Pl. *Am.* 223)
- (114) rescribi de frumento et vestimentis exercitus placuit; eam utramque rem curae fore senatui (Liv. 26.2.4.).

My conclusion is that *aliquot* and *plerique* and perhaps *nonnulli*, for which, however, I could find no proof, should be transferred to the 'quantitatifs'; *uterque* might figure in both subclasses.²⁶

²⁵) Cf. two remarks on the problematic nature of *plerique omnes*:

- (i) Servius' comment on Ter. *An.* 55 (ad Verg. *A.* 1, 181)
atqui nihil tam contrarium: *omnes* enim generale est, *plerique* enim speciale (. . .).
- (ii) In the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (s.v. *omnis* 722, 7ff.)
plerique omnes . . . i.q. *plerique vel (fere) omnes*, nisi fallimur; (de notione hodie ambigitur)

²⁶) Note, however, that pronouns of all three subclasses, if independent, i.e. used not as a modifier but as a head, are found in parallel constructions, like

(ii) The ordinal numbers *primus*, *secundus* etc. are wrongly assigned to the quantitative subclass. Although they are in a way related to the cardinal numbers, they are much more adjectival than those, more or less comparable with the possessive pronouns (see note 27). Like them, they can be used in copulative constructions and, furthermore, they are interchangeable with adjectives denoting a temporal relationship (class d) like *postremus* and *sequens*. Therefore, they must be classified in Fugier's open class of modifiers; I would prefer to classify them in class (d). Fugier, in fact, proposes a solution halfway by distinguishing a '*primus* 1 numeral' and a '*primus* 2 adjectival' that are homophones (1983: 252). Cases like (115) and (116) make clear that they do not belong to the same subclass as the cardinal numbers, because they can be juxtaposed:

(115) *Iam Musae primae quattuor . . . , secundae . . . novem, tertiae . . .*
 (Cic. *N. D.* 3,54)

(116) *primi tres (Dioscuri)* (Cic. *N. D.* 3,53).

As a result of these observations, I propose a slightly altered subclassification of this closed class of pronouns and numerals. It is presented in figure 5.

i	ii	iii
<i>is</i>	<i>unus, duo, . . .</i>	<i>alius, alter</i>
<i>hic, iste, ille</i>	<i>singuli, . . .</i>	<i>idem</i>
<i>quis?</i>	<i>aliquot, plerique</i>	
<i>(ali)quis, quidam</i>	<i>nonnulli</i>	
<i>quisquam, nemo, nihil</i>	<i>uterque</i>	
<i>ullus, nullus</i>	<i>omnis, totus, cunctus, universus</i>	
<i>(unus)quisque</i>	<i>multi, pauci</i>	
<i>uter?</i>		
<i>neuter, alteruter</i>		
<i>uterque</i>		

Fig. 5: subclassification of the closed class of pronouns and numerals

It is not my purpose to give a full description of this group of complex linguistic expressions, nor will I give an explanation for a number of restrictions on particular combinations that still exist, although I have slightly reduced this number by the changes in the subclassification that I propose. However, the three subclasses as they are distinguished in this appendix can easily be included in an extended version of my classification of adjectives, governed by the same principles of juxtaposition. With respect to

alias . . . , alias . . . , non nullas (Cic. *Fin.* 4,28)

quidam . . . , plerique (Liv. 31,41,12)

plerique . . . et alii (Liv. 10,36,4)

paucos . . . , plerosque (Liv. 29,29,1)

unus eorum . . . , alter . . . , tertius . . . etc. (Cic. *N. D.* 3,54).

coordination they behave differently, since, except for demonstrative pronouns, as is exemplified by (117), they are hardly ever coordinated.

(117) hoc signum . . . et illud (Cic. *Ver.* 1, 53)

Bibliography

- Dik, S. C. (1968), *Coordination. Its Implications for the Theory of General Linguistics*, Amsterdam, North-Holland.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (1977), 'Where have all those adjectives gone?', *Studies in Language* 1, 19–80.
- Fugier, H. (1983), 'Le syntagme nominal en Latin classique', in: W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 29, I, Berlin, de Gruyter, p. 212–269.
- Fugier, H. & J. M. Corbin (1977), 'Coordination et classes fonctionnelles dans le syntagme nominal Latin', *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique* 72, 245–273.
- Hetzron, R. (1978), 'On the relative order of adjectives', in: H. Seiler (ed.), *Language Universals*, Tübingen, Narr, p. 165–184.
- Hill, A. A. (1958), *Introduction to Linguistic Structures*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Jong, J. R. de (1983), 'Word order within Latin Noun Phrases', in: H. Pinkster (ed.), *Latin Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, Amsterdam, Benjamins, p. 131–144;
(forthcoming), 'A case study in Adjective Placement'.
- Kühner, R. & C. Stegmann (1912²), *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache II, Satzlehre*, Hannover (repr. Darmstadt, 1962).
- Ney, J. W. (1983), 'Optionality and choice in the selection of order of adjectives in English', *General Linguistics* 23, 94–128.
- Pinkster, H. (1972), *On Latin Adverbs*, Amsterdam, North-Holland
(1984), *Latijnse Syntaxis en Semantiek*, Amsterdam, Grüner.
- Quirk, R. et al. (1972), *A Grammar of Contemporary English*, London, Longman.
- Seiler, H. (1978), 'Determination, a functional dimension for inter-language comparison', in: H. Seiler (ed.), *Language Universals*, Tübingen, Narr, p. 301–328.
- Sussex, R. (1974), 'The deep structure of adjectives in Noun Phrases', *Journal of Linguistics* 10, 111–132.