

The Early Latin Verb System: Archaic Forms in  
Plautus, Terence, and Beyond.  
Appendices

Wolfgang David Cirilo de Melo,  
All Souls College

September 2007  
Oxford Classical Monographs

# Contents

<b>Introduction to Appendices 1–3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Appendix 1: Regular Future Tenses</b>	<b>3</b>
A: The Future Tenses in Plaut. <i>Aul.</i> and <i>Curc.</i> . . . . .	3
B: The Future Tenses in Ter. <i>Ad.</i> . . . . .	5
C: Simple Futures and Future Perfects of <i>īre</i> and the Relevant Compounds in Main Clauses . . . . .	6
<b>Appendix 2: Main Clause Subjunctives</b>	<b>9</b>
A: Plaut. <i>Aul.</i> and <i>Curc.</i> . . . . .	9
B: Ter. <i>Ad.</i> . . . . .	10
<b>Appendix 3: Subjunctives in Subordinate Clauses</b>	<b>11</b>
A: Subordinate Clauses Expected to Follow the Sequence of Tenses in <i>Aul.</i> , <i>Curc.</i> , and <i>Ad.</i> . . . . .	12
B: Subordinate Clauses Not Expected to Follow the Sequence in <i>Aul.</i> , <i>Curc.</i> , and <i>Ad.</i> . . . . .	18
<b>Appendix 4: Prohibitive Clauses and Selected Constructions of     <i>facere</i></b>	<b>22</b>
A: Clauses Introduced by <i>nē</i> or <i>nēue</i> . . . . .	23
B: Prohibitions with Negatives Other than <i>nē</i> or <i>nēue</i> . . . . .	29
C: The Constructions of <i>cauēre</i> and Related Words . . . . .	30
D: Object Clauses Dependent on Selected Forms of <i>facere</i> . . . . .	32

**Appendix 5: Infinitivals — Regular Forms** **36**

A: The Present and Future Infinitives after *cōnfīdō*, *crēdō*, *dīcō* and *spērō* . . . . . 37

B: The Present and Future Infinitives after Sixteen Verbs . . . . . 47

C: *Dare* and *darī* . . . . . 59

**Appendix 6: Sigmatic Indicatives and Their Regular Counterparts** **65**

A: The Sigmatic Indicatives in Plautus — Verbs . . . . . 68

B: The Sigmatic Indicatives in Plautus — Clause Types . . . . . 70

C: The Sigmatic Indicatives in Terence — Verbs . . . . . 71

D: The Sigmatic Indicatives in Terence — Clause Types . . . . . 71

E: The Remaining Sigmatic Indicatives in Archaic Latin . . . . . 71

F: The Causative Constructions of the Form *faciam* . . . . . 75

G: The Future Perfects in Plautus — Verbs with Sigmatic Futures 76

H: The Remaining Future Perfects in Plautus . . . . . 78

I: The Future Perfects in Terence — Verbs with Sigmatic Futures 85

J: The Remaining Future Perfects in Terence . . . . . 87

K: The Form *faxō* after 100BC . . . . . 89

L: *Faxis*, *faxit* etc after 100BC (+ Compounds) . . . . . 93

M: The Remaining Sigmatic Indicatives after 100BC . . . . . 99

N: Sigmatic Indicatives after 100BC — Citations . . . . . 101

O: Sigmatic Indicatives after 100BC — Explanations . . . . . 105

**Appendix 7: The Sigmatic Subjunctives and Their Regular Counterparts** **110**

A: The *s*-Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs . . . . . 112

B: The *s*-Subjunctives in Plautus — Clause Types . . . . . 114

C: The *s*-Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs . . . . . 115

D: The *s*-Subjunctives in Terence — Clause Types . . . . . 115

E: The Remaining *s*-Subjunctives in Archaic Latin . . . . . 115

F: The Regular Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs with *s*-Subjunctives 118

G: The Regular Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs with <i>s</i> -Subjunctives	131
H: The Form <i>ausim</i> after 100BC . . . . .	137
I: <i>Ausīs, ausit</i> etc after 100BC . . . . .	147
J: Sigmatic Subjunctives of <i>facere</i> and Compounds after 100BC .	150
K: The Remaining Sigmatic Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	153
L: Citations of Sigmatic Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	155
M: Explanations of Sigmatic Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	160
N: Verbs with Regular Subjunctives in <i>Aul.</i> and the <i>Curc.</i> . . . .	163
<b>Appendix 8: The Sigmatic Forms of Unclear Mood</b>	<b>165</b>
A: Archaic Latin . . . . .	165
B: Citations in Grammarians . . . . .	165
C: Explanations in Grammarians and Glosses . . . . .	166
<b>Appendix 9: The Rhotacized Forms</b>	<b>168</b>
A: The Relevant Indicatives of ( <i>ad-</i> ) <i>iuuāre</i> . . . . .	168
B: The Relevant Subjunctives of ( <i>ad-</i> ) <i>iuuāre</i> . . . . .	173
C: The Relevant Indicatives of <i>monēre</i> . . . . .	180
D: The Relevant Subjunctives of <i>monēre</i> . . . . .	180
E: The Relevant Indicatives of <i>sinere</i> . . . . .	181
F: The Relevant Subjunctives of <i>sinere</i> . . . . .	182
G: The Remaining Rhotacized Form . . . . .	184
<b>Appendix 10: The Sigmatic Infinitives</b>	<b>185</b>
Archaic Latin . . . . .	185
Grammarians and Glosses . . . . .	186
<b>Appendix 11: The <math>\bar{i}</math>-Subjunctives and Their Regular Counter-</b> <b>parts</b>	<b>188</b>
A: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs . . . . .	189
B: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives in Plautus — Clause Types . . . . .	189
C: The indicatives of $\bar{i}$ -forms in Plautus . . . . .	190

D: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs . . . . .	190
E: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives in Terence — Clause Types . . . . .	190
F: The Remaining $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives and Their Indicatives in Ar- chaic Latin . . . . .	191
G: The Regular Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs with $\bar{i}$ -Forms . . . . .	192
H: The Remaining Regular Subjunctives in Plautus . . . . .	196
I: The Regular Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs with $\bar{i}$ -Forms . . . . .	198
J: The Remaining Regular Subjunctives in Terence . . . . .	200
K: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	200
L: Citations of $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	202
M: Explanations of $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	203

**Appendix 12: The Extra-Paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives and Their  
Regular Counterparts** **207**

A: The $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs . . . . .	208
B: The $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives in Plautus — Clause Types . . . . .	209
C: The $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs . . . . .	210
D: The $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives in Terence — Clause Types . . . . .	211
E: The Remaining $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives and their Indicatives in Ar- chaic Latin . . . . .	211
F: The Regular Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs with $\bar{a}$ -Forms . . . . .	213
G: The Remaining Regular Subjunctives in Plautus . . . . .	224
H: The Regular Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs with $\bar{a}$ -Forms . . . . .	233
I: The Remaining Regular Subjunctives in Terence . . . . .	238
J: The $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	242
K: Citations of $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	247
L: Explanations of $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives after 100BC . . . . .	248

**Appendix 13: Tests for Statistical Significance** **251**

General Explanations . . . . .	251
T-Test for Table 7. 1 — Plautus . . . . .	252
T-Test for Table 2. 4 . . . . .	253

T-Test for Table 2. 5 . . . . .	254
T-Test for Table 4. 2 . . . . .	254
T-Test for Table 5. 1 . . . . .	255
T-Test for Table 5. 2 . . . . .	256
T-Test for Table 5. 4 . . . . .	257
T-Test for Table 5. 5 . . . . .	258
T-Test for Table 5. 6 . . . . .	259
T-Test for Table 5. 8 . . . . .	259
T-Test for Table 5. 10 – Part 1 . . . . .	260
T-Test for Table 5. 10 – Part 2 . . . . .	261
T-Test for Table 5. 14 . . . . .	262
T-Test for Table 6. 3 . . . . .	263
T-Test for Table 7. 1 – Terence . . . . .	264
T-Test for Table 7. 2 . . . . .	264
T-Test for Table 7. 3 – Part 1 . . . . .	265
T-Test for Table 7. 3 – Part 2 . . . . .	266
T-Test for Table 7. 4 – Part 1 . . . . .	267
T-Test for Table 7. 4 – Part 2 . . . . .	268
T-Test for Table 7. 5 – Part 1 (Plautus) . . . . .	269
T-Test for Table 7. 5 – Part 2 (Plautus) . . . . .	270
T-Test for Table 9. 1 – Plautus . . . . .	270
T-Test for Table 9. 1 – Terence . . . . .	271
T-Test for Table 9. 3 – Part 1 . . . . .	272
T-Test for Table 9. 3 – Part 2 . . . . .	273
T-Test for Table 9. 5 – Part 1 . . . . .	274
T-Test for Table 9. 5 – Part 2 . . . . .	275
T-Test for Table 10. 1 – Plautus . . . . .	276
T-Test for Table 10. 5 – Part 1 . . . . .	276
T-Test for Table 10. 5 – Part 2 . . . . .	277
T-Test for Table 10. 7 – Part 1 (Plautus) . . . . .	278

T-Test for Table 10. 7 – Part 2 (Plautus) . . . . .	279
T-Test for Table 12. 1 . . . . .	280
T-Test for Table 12. 2 . . . . .	281

# Introduction to Appendices 1–3

Appendices 1–3 provide the data that are necessary for the discussions in Chs. 2 and 3. These two chapters are mainly based on the relevant verb forms in Plaut. *Aul.* and *Curc.* as well as Ter. *Ad.* For Ch. 2 every future tense in these comedies is important, while for Ch. 3 it is only those subjunctives that are in clauses which, at least in Classical Latin, follow the rules for the sequence of tenses. In other words, every future tense counts, but not every subjunctive does. Yet out of context, forms like *audiam* are ambiguous between future (‘I shall hear’) and subjunctive (‘I may hear’), and there may be disagreement whether certain subordinate clauses obey the sequence rules. For these two reasons it seemed sensible to provide the reader not only with all futures, but also with all subjunctives, and to explain my classification of doubtful cases in footnotes.

A few words should be said about disambiguation. In the vast majority of cases, metre cannot tell us whether an ambiguous form should be classified as future or subjunctive. *Nōrīmus* in *Ad.* 271 is an exception: the line is an iambic octonarius, and the *-ī-* scans long, which proves that the form is a subjunctive. The future would be *nōrīmus*. After a short vowel, final *-s* can be dropped if the following word begins with a consonant. This might help us to distinguish between second person singular future perfects like *fēcērīs* and perfect subjunctives such as *fēcērīs*, but in most cases the spellings in the editions reflect the editors’ choice rather than ancient orthography or pronunciation. For the most part, we have to rely on syntactic and semantic criteria. In their context, however, most forms are unambiguous.<sup>1</sup>

Asterisks are used to mark textual problems as indicated in the *apparātūs criticī* in the editions by Lindsay for Plautus and by Kauer and Lindsay for Terence. One asterisk indicates that I consider the form cited here as somewhat uncertain.<sup>2</sup> Two asterisks mean that, if the verb is a dependent subjunctive, I regard

---

<sup>1</sup>Where forms are ambiguous, I explain my classification in footnotes.

<sup>2</sup>I have in general not marked instances like the following with asterisks: doubtful prefix, *nītār* (others *ēnītār*) (*Ad.* 497); uncertain frequentative suffix, *rogītābit* (others *rogābit*) (*Ad.*



the superordinate verb or the subordinator as difficult. Three asterisks, finally, are used to show that the verb cited and its superordinate verb or subordinator pose textual problems.

The forms are listed alphabetically, except that verb forms belonging to the same tense are ordered in such a way that the singular precedes the plural, the first person the second, and the second the third. *Dētur* (passive, but singular) can be found before *dēmus* (plural). The perfect *mīserīs* comes before the present *mittās* (alphabetical order).

---

527); doubtful person or voice, *faciēt* (others *faciēs*) (*Ad.* 983). In none of these cases is the verb itself or its tense and mood questionable. However, in appendix 1, section C, the prefixes are important, and consequently I have given the forms asterisks if their prefixes are uncertain, as in *Truc.* 546 (*abībō*, others *adībō* or *abdībo*).

# Appendix 1: Regular Future Tenses

Section A lists all the simple futures and future perfects in Plaut. *Aul.* and *Curc.*. Section B does the same for Ter. *Ad.* In section C, all the main clause simple futures and future perfects of *īre* and a number of its compounds in Plautus and Terence can be found. Obviously, there is some slight overlap between sections A and B on the one hand and section C on the other.

## A: The Future Tenses in Plaut. *Aul.* and *Curc.*

- **Simple futures in main clauses (185):**

accipiam (*Aul.* 630), addūcam (*Curc.* 138), aderō (*Aul.* 274), aderit (*Curc.* 207), adībō (*Curc.* 113), adiuuābere (*Aul.* 193), afferētur (*Aul.* 356), amābit (*Aul.* 761\*, *Curc.* 326), amābunt (*Aul.* 496), antepōnēs (*Curc.* 73), apsoluam (*Curc.* 454), apstinēbit (*Aul.* 601), apstrūdam (*Aul.* 577, *Aul.* 583), asseruābō (*Curc.* 466), assīdam (*Aul.* 606), audēbit (*Aul.* 663), auferam (*Curc.* 619), auferēre (*Curc.* 569), bibam (*Aul.* 623), bibēs (*Curc.* 119a), cauēbō (*Aul.* 577), cēnābis (*Curc.* 728), committam (*Aul.* 450), commōnstrābō (*Curc.* 467), congregiār (*Aul.* 813, *Curc.* 234), contollam (*Aul.* 813), conueniam (*Aul.* 176), crēdam (*Aul.* 676), dabō (*Aul.* 271, *Aul.* 284, *Aul.* 806, *Curc.* 123, *Curc.* 259, *Curc.* 437, *Curc.* 494, *Curc.* 532, *Curc.* 571\*, *Curc.* 663), dabit (*Aul.* 311, *Curc.* 257, *Curc.* 661), dabitur (*Aul.* 193, *Aul.* 332), dabuntur (*Curc.* 526), dēdam (*Aul.* 59, *Curc.* 627), dēferam (*Aul.* 416), dēgam (*Aul.* 165\*), dēlingēs (*Curc.* 562), dēminuam (*Aul.* 165), dīcam (*Aul.* 283, *Curc.* 370, *Curc.* 442, *Curc.* 453, *Curc.* 633, *Curc.* 635, *Curc.* 702), dīcēs (*Curc.* 132), differam (*Aul.* 446), dīuidam (*Aul.* 767), dīuidēs (*Aul.* 283), dormiam (*Aul.* fr. iv), dūcam (*Aul.* 155), ědam (*Curc.* 369), ědēs (*Curc.* 320), efferēt (*Aul.* 664), effodiam (*Aul.* 53), ēloquār (*Aul.* 1, *Aul.* 170, *Aul.* 817, *Aul.* 820, *Curc.* 407), erō (*Aul.* 89, *Aul.* 104, *Aul.* 768), erit (*Aul.* 261, *Aul.* 340, *Aul.* 449, *Curc.* 141), erunt (*Curc.* 473), ēueniēt (*Aul.* 348), exciam (*Curc.* 295\*), excipiēs (*Aul.* 775\*), exstinguēre (*Aul.* 93),

faciam (*Aul.* 31, *Aul.* 32, *Aul.* 443, *Aul.* 622, *Aul.* 623, *Aul.* 774, *Curc.* 88, *Curc.* 122\*, *Curc.* 576, *Curc.* 689, *Curc.* 691, *Curc.* 707), faciēt (*Aul.* 289), feram (*Aul.* 449), ferēs (*Aul.* 831), fiēt (*Aul.* 644), fient (*Curc.* 728), formīdābō (*Curc.* 45), fugiam (*Aul.* 405\*), grandībō (*Aul.* 49), iacēbis (*Curc.* 718), ībō (*Aul.* 65, *Aul.* 118, *Aul.* 263, *Aul.* 278, *Aul.* 586, *Aul.* 620, *Aul.* 659, *Aul.* 700, *Aul.* 712, *Aul.* 802, *Aul.* 817, *Curc.* 273), ībit (*Curc.* 694), impōnentur (*Aul.* 386\*), indicābis (*Aul.* 774), indipiscēs (*Aul.* 775\*), īnforābis (*Curc.* 402), inībis (*Curc.* 405), īncendam (*Aul.* 678), īnspiciam (*Curc.* 427), interstringam (*Aul.* 659), interuīsam (*Aul.* 202, *Aul.* 363), inueniēs (*Aul.* 758), īrāscēre (*Curc.* 186), lauābō (*Aul.* 612), lūcēbit (*Curc.* 182), ministrābit (*Curc.* 369), minitābōr (*Curc.* 571), mūtābit (*Aul.* 664), nūbēt (*Curc.* 717), nūbent (*Aul.* 489), nūntiābō (*Curc.* 524), oberit (*Curc.* 720), opseruābō (*Aul.* 679), orābō (*Aul.* 817, *Curc.* 273), parābō (*Aul.* 263), perscrūtābōr (*Aul.* 620), persequār (*Curc.* 109), petam (*Aul.* 456), pluēt (*Curc.* 131a), poscam (*Aul.* 160), poterō (*Aul.* 607), poteris (*Curc.* 243), praecurram (*Aul.* 678), prohibēbit (*Curc.* 174), quaeram (*Aul.* 681), rapiam (*Aul.* 760, *Curc.* 723), rēbitur (*Aul.* 205), recipiam (*Aul.* 119), reddam (*Aul.* 573, *Curc.* 727), reddēs (*Aul.* 402), redigēt (*Aul.* 602), reuertār (*Aul.* 203), sciēs (*Curc.* 75), scribam (*Aul.* 760), simulābō (*Curc.* 391), sinam (*Aul.* 524, *Curc.* 208), statuum (*Curc.* 139), subdam (*Curc.* 297), subducēmus (*Aul.* 366), sublegam (*Aul.* fr. vii), subigēs (*Curc.* 540), sufferam (*Curc.* 376), suffundam (*Curc.* 160), sūmam (*Aul.* 675), supsequār (*Aul.* 806), torquebō (*Curc.* 690), trādam (*Curc.* 385), uidēbō (*Curc.* 212), uidēbis (*Curc.* 168), uolam (*Curc.* 493), ūtēmur (*Curc.* 205\*)

• **Future perfects in main clauses (5):**

abierit (*Aul.* 656), concesserō (*Aul.* 666), fēceris (*Curc.* 665), iusserō (*Aul.* 570), meminērō (*Curc.* 492)

• **Simple futures in subordinate clauses (17):**

Conditional clauses (9): bītēt (*Curc.* 141), comedent (*Aul.* 367), īnstābunt (*Curc.* 376), pergēs (*Curc.* 569, *Curc.* 572), petēt (*Aul.* 94), sciēs (*Aul.* 773), ūiūēt (*Aul.* 93), uolēs (*Aul.* 340)

Relative clauses<sup>3</sup> (8): afferēt (*Curc.* 432), cūrābit (*Aul.* 601), effodiam (*Aul.* 189), ībō (*Aul.* 449), percontābōr (*Aul.* 210), poscēt (*Aul.* 34), poterō (*Aul.* 119), praecīdam (*Aul.* 189)

• **Future perfects in subordinate clauses (24):**

Conditional clauses (16): abaliēnāuerit (*Curc.* 174), accesseris (*Aul.* 442), cēperō (*Aul.* 48), coxerint (*Aul.* 367), dederō (*Aul.* 250), dērīserit (*Curc.* 556), dīxeris (*Aul.* 762), excesseris (*Aul.* 57), fēceris (*Curc.* 242), fēcerit (*Aul.* 163), fuerit (*Curc.* 85), irrītāueris (*Curc.* 726), iusserō (*Aul.* 442), offenderō (*Curc.* 294), redierit (*Aul.* 356), reppererō (*Aul.* 621)

<sup>3</sup>I include clauses introduced by relative adverbs.

Relative clauses<sup>4</sup> (3): adiūnxeris (*Aul.* 236<sup>5</sup>), dēcrērō (*Curc.* 703), iusseris (*Curc.* 707)

Temporal clauses<sup>6</sup> (5): effēcerō (*Curc.* 364), fēcerō (*Aul.* 204, *Aul.* 623), iusserō (*Aul.* 58), opstrīnxerō (*Aul.* 78)

- **Excluded simple futures** (particle-like *amābō*) (4): *amābō* (*Aul.* 142*a*, *Curc.* 110*b*, *Curc.* 137, *Curc.* 197)
- **Excluded future perfect** (dependent on *faxō*) (1): *perdiderit* (*Aul.* 578)

## B: The Future Tenses in Ter. *Ad.*

- **Simple futures in main clauses (133):**

abdūcēt (661), abībō (590), abigam (401), abripiēre (181), accēdam (632), acuēt (835<sup>7</sup>), addūcēt (913), aderit (293), adībō (460), agam (232<sup>8</sup>, 786), agēs (226, 343\*), āmittēt (913), āmouēbō (553), aperient (23), apstraham (843), audēbit (56), auferent (454), carpam (591), cauēbō (551, 711), cōgēs (193\*), committam (551), committēt (159), concēdam (635), conclūdā (552), cōnsulam (982), continēbit (565), conueniam (209, 499, 513, 636), conuortam (286), corrādēt (242), dabit (208), dabitur (118, 165, 192, 956), dēcēdēt (816\*), deerit (881), dēfendam (493), dīcam (257, 646, 719, 985), dīcēs (251), dīcēt (363), dimminuētur (571), discēt (751), dūcēs (696), erit (4\*, 73, 180, 182, 746), eritis (4), erunt (968), exclūdētur (119), exercēbō (587), exossābitur (378), experiār (350, 497), experiēre (888), faciam (163, 252, 343, 459, 497, 848), faciēs (220, 746\*), faciēt (203, 983), feram (880), fīet (284, 288, 288\*, 838, 996), fīent (505, 912), geminābit (173), ībō (277, 510, 604, 632, 719, 841), ībis (433\*, 580), ībit (339, 347), iūrgābit (80), mōnstrābō (570), narrābō (513, 604), negābit (484), nītār (497), operiēre (182), opperiār (446), ostendam (124, 364), ostendent (24), persequār (163), prōdūcam (591), prōferam (343), prōspiciam (589), recurrēt (526), reddam (849, 982), reddēt (280, 981), reddētur (279), releuābis (602), relinquam (498), requīram (510), resarciētur (121), respiciēt (353\*), restituentur (120), rogitābit (527), saltābis (752), scībō (361, 780\*), sentiēt (139), sequār (499*a*), sinam (168), soluēs (164), tangēt (157), trānsferētur (731), ueniēt (340, 759)

<sup>4</sup>Again, I also count clauses introduced by relative adverbs.

<sup>5</sup>This form could also be an impersonal second person subjunctive.

<sup>6</sup>The forms are introduced by *dōnec*, *quandō* or *ubī*.

<sup>7</sup>I take this as a main clause with relative connection.

<sup>8</sup>Because of the following temporal clause in the future perfect I regard this form as a simple future rather than an *irrealis* subjunctive.

- **Future perfects in main clauses (9):**

abierō (127), alligāris (844), dēmpseris (819), fūnctus fueris (603), pugnāueris (843), refrīxerit\* (233), uīderō (538, 845), uīderit (437)

- **Simple futures in subordinate clauses (16):**

Conditional clauses (6): faciēs (980), facient (454), ībit (347), rogābit (539), sapiēt (565), uolēs (817)

Relative clauses (4): audēbit (56), erit (590), faciam (995\*\*), uenient (23)

Temporal clauses<sup>9</sup> (6): aderō (157), erit (118, 119), prōfugiēt (385), uidēbit (526, 668)

- **Future perfects in subordinate clauses (14):**

Conditional clauses (2): dederis (981), sēnsērit (362)

Relative clauses (4): accesserit (816), dederit (499*a*), fēcēris (164), īnstiterit (55\*)

Temporal clauses<sup>10</sup> (8): dīxerō (203), praeterieris (581), redierō (232), redieris (226), redierit (718), uēnerō (378\*), uēneris (574\*\*, 582)

- **Excluded (probably present) (1):** īrāscēre (136)

## C: Simple Futures and Future Perfects of *īre* and the Relevant Compounds in Main Clauses

- ***abīre* (15):**

Simple futures in Plautus (6): abībō (*Cas.* 961–2, *Mil.* 1193, *Most.* 82, *Truc.* 546\*), abībīs (*Amph.* 358), abībitur (*Merc.* 776)

Future perfects in Plautus (6): abierō (*Bacch.* 211, *Epid.* 515, *Most.* 590, *Persa* 250, *Poen.* 442\*), abierit (*Aul.* 656)

Simple futures in Terence (2): abībō (*Ad.* 590, *Hec.* 703)

Future perfect in Terence (1): abierō (*Ad.* 127)

- ***adīre* (25):**

Simple futures in Plautus (15): adībō (*Bacch.* 241, *Bacch.* 535, *Bacch.* 978, *Capt.* 616, *Curc.* 113, *Men.* 277, *Men.* 360, *Men.* 465, *Men.* 486, *Men.* 707, *Mil.* 1242, *Poen.* 982\*, *Rud.* 309\*, *Stich.* 237), adībit (*Most.* 564)

Simple futures in Terence (10): adībō (*Ad.* 460, *Eun.* 461, *Eun.* 557, *Eun.* 650, *Eun.* 947, *Eun.* 1006, *Haut.* 179, *Hec.* 429, *Hec.* 855, *Phorm.* 609)

<sup>9</sup>The verbs are introduced by *dum*, *ubī* or *quom*.

<sup>10</sup>The items are introduced by *ubī* and *dōnec*.

- *exīre* (6):

Simple futures in Plautus (5): *exībō* (*Mil.* 537, *Pseud.* 573\*), *exībit* (*Cist.* 783, *Rud.* 1351, *Truc.* 197\*)

Simple future in Terence (1): *exībō* (*Eun.* 922)

- *īre* (172):

The letter t behind a token means that the form of *īre* is combined with an adverbial specifying the place to which the subject is going, which makes the event telic.<sup>11</sup>

Simple futures in Plautus (144): *ībō* (*Amph.* 263, *Amph.* 291, *Amph.* 460 t, *Amph.* 550, *Amph.* 930, *Amph.* 1007 t, *Amph.* 1015 t, *Amph.* 1075, *Amph.* 1145 t, *Asin.* 131 t, *Asin.* 295, *Asin.* 817 t, *Asin.* 913 t, *Aul.* 65, *Aul.* 118 t, *Aul.* 263, *Aul.* 278 t, *Aul.* 586 t, *Aul.* 620 t, *Aul.* 659 t, *Aul.* 700 t, *Aul.* 712 t, *Aul.* 802 t, *Aul.* 817, *Bacch.* 235 t, *Bacch.* 366, *Bacch.* 507 t, *Bacch.* 529 t, *Bacch.* 571, *Bacch.* 871, *Bacch.* 1060 t, *Capt.* 126 t, *Capt.* 192 t, *Capt.* 496 t, *Capt.* 907, *Capt.* 919, *Cas.* 511 t, *Cas.* 526 t, *Cas.* 557 t, *Cas.* 973, *Cist.* 531, *Cist.* 629 t, *Cist.* 650\*, *Cist.* 651, *Curc.* 273, *Epid.* 164\* t, *Epid.* 319 t, *Men.* 331 t, *Men.* 462, *Men.* 557, *Men.* 672, *Men.* 700, *Men.* 775, *Men.* 845, *Men.* 875, *Men.* 954 t, *Men.* 996 t, *Men.* 1034 t, *Men.* 1035 t, *Men.* 1048 t, *Merc.* 222, *Merc.* 329 t, *Merc.* 366, *Merc.* 466 t, *Merc.* 472 t, *Merc.* 558, *Merc.* 598, *Merc.* 665 t, *Merc.* 797 t, *Merc.* 962 t, *Mil.* 259 t, *Mil.* 268, *Mil.* 585 t, *Mil.* 1085, *Mil.* 1121 t, *Mil.* 1319, *Mil.* 1376 t, *Mil.* 1381\*, *Mil.* 1393 t, *Most.* 317 t, *Most.* 540, *Most.* 849 t, *Most.* 1131, *Persa* 77 t, *Persa* 198 t, *Poen.* 126, *Poen.* 447, *Poen.* 496 t, *Poen.* 740, *Poen.* 794, *Poen.* 851 t, *Poen.* 920 t, *Poen.* 929 t, *Pseud.* 561 t, *Pseud.* 764 t, *Pseud.* 903 t, *Pseud.* 1138, *Pseud.* 1245\* t, *Rud.* 766 t, *Rud.* 890, *Rud.* 1040 t, *Rud.* 1263 t, *Rud.* 1316, *Stich.* 87 t, *Stich.* 143, *Stich.* 308, *Stich.* 315, *Stich.* 400 t, *Stich.* 428 t, *Stich.* 440, *Stich.* 451, *Stich.* 464, *Stich.* 567 t, *Stich.* 568 t, *Stich.* 625 t, *Stich.* 682, *Trin.* 600 t, *Trin.* 614 t, *Trin.* 727 t, *Trin.* 995, *Truc.* 205 t, *Truc.* 313\* t, *Vid.* 53 t, *Vid.* 56), *ībis* (*Bacch.* 907 t, *Capt.* 723 t, *Cist.* 114, *Men.* 662 t, *Mil.* 1422, *Most.* 1133, *Persa* 236, *Pseud.* 654\* t, *Stich.* 612 t), *ībit* (*Asin.* 195 t, *Bacch.* 354 t, *Cas.* 86, *Curc.* 694, *Pseud.* 335 t, *Trin.* 598 t), *ībitur* (*Cas.* 758a\*, *Trin.* 578, *Truc.* 667), *ībimus* (*Poen.* 611, *Rud.* 249 t)

Future perfect in Plautus (1): *īuerō* (*Capt.* 194 t)

Simple futures in Terence (27): *ībō* (*Ad.* 277 t, *Ad.* 510, *Ad.* 604, *Ad.* 632 t, *Ad.* 719, *Ad.* 841 t, *Andr.* 374, *Andr.* 594 t, *Andr.* 599 t, *Eun.* 187 t, *Eun.* 216 t, *Eun.* 921 t, *Haut.* 170, *Haut.* 173 t, *Haut.* 211 t, *Haut.* 340,

<sup>11</sup>I have not counted instances where such an adverbial has to be understood from the context. I regard *malam crucem* (*Poen.* 496) as a relevant adverbial, but not *aduorsum* (*Asin.* 295), *eā* (*Stich.* 451), *hāc* (*Ad.* 580), *hinc* (*Stich.* 682) or *obuiam* (*Haut.* 340) because they do not include the final point of the movement and allow the verb to remain atelic. In some instances, *īre* is more like an auxiliary comparable to *going to* in the English prospective, cf. *ībit nuptum* in *Cas.* 86.

*Haut.* 426, *Haut.* 500, *Haut.* 608 t, *Hec.* 565 t, *Phorm.* 312 t, *Phorm.* 462 t, *Phorm.* 782 t), *ībis* (*Ad.* 433\* t, *Ad.* 580, *Eun.* 536 t), *ībit* (*Phorm.* 696 t)

Excluded on semantic grounds (metaphor<sup>12</sup>) (2): *ībit* (*Ad.* 339, *Haut.* 487)

Excluded on textual grounds<sup>13</sup> (4): *ībō* (*Asin.* 126, *Men.* 808, *Mil.* 595, *Poen.* 123)

- ***prōdīre* (1):**

Simple future in Plautus (1): *prōdībō* (*Stich.* 614)

- ***redīre* (5):**

Simple futures in Plautus (3): *redībō* (*Amph.* 530, *Capt.* 497, *Cas.* 65)

Future perfect in Plautus (1): *redierō* (*Pseud.* 647)

Simple future in Terence (1): *redībō* (*Phorm.* 917)

- ***trānsīre* (3):**

Simple futures in Plautus (3): *trānsībō* (*Stich.* 437, *Stich.* 614), *trāns-ībimus* (*Merc.* 1009)

---

<sup>12</sup>I count *īnfitiās īre* as metaphor, but not *malam rem īre*.

<sup>13</sup>The first two tokens are merely conjectures, the third stands in a corrupt line, and the fourth is in a passage excluded by Lindsay.

# Appendix 2: Main Clause Subjunctives

Appendix 2 contains the regular main clause subjunctives in Plaut. *Aul.* and *Curc.* (A) and in Ter. *Ad.* (B).

**Total in Plautus and Terence together: 258**

**A: Plaut. *Aul.* and *Curc.***

**Number of tokens (137<sup>14</sup>):**

abeam (*Curc.* 589), accipiam (*Curc.* 495\*), accipiās (*Curc.* 457), agam (*Aul.* 274, *Aul.* 447, *Aul.* 636), agāt (*Aul.* 610), amēt (*Aul.* 445, *Curc.* 208), ament (*Aul.* 183, *Curc.* 455), amiseris (*Curc.* 599), auferam (*Aul.* 433), auferres (*Aul.* 440\*), auscultēs (*Curc.* 223), auscultēmus (*Curc.* 279), censeās (*Aul.* 517, *Aul.* 520, *Curc.* 539), compellārem (*Aul.* 523), contineant (*Curc.* 298), credam (*Curc.* 58, *Curc.* 641<sup>15</sup>), crēderem (*Curc.* 552), curram (*Aul.* 713, *Aul.* 713), dēripiāmus (*Aul.* 748), dēs (*Curc.* 436, *Curc.* 436, *Curc.* 526), dēt (*Curc.* 257), dicam (*Curc.* 1, *Curc.* 12, *Curc.* 13), dicās (*Curc.* 456), dicāt (*Aul.* 498), dicant (*Aul.* 346), dormitēt (*Aul.* 591), eāmus (*Curc.* 365, *Curc.* 370), ēdiscāt (*Aul.* 599), ēmittam (*Aul.* 824), excūsēmus (*Aul.* 749), exturbēs (*Curc.* 224), facerēs (*Aul.* 828), faciam (*Aul.* 153, *Curc.* 555, *Curc.* 589), faciās (*Aul.* 539, *Curc.* 539), faciāt (*Aul.* 776), faciant (*Aul.* 545, *Aul.* 789, *Aul.* 789, *Curc.* 130), fateār (*Aul.* 644), feram (*Curc.* 10), fiāt (*Aul.* 241, *Aul.* 481, *Curc.* 673), fierēt (*Aul.* 742), habeam (*Aul.* 233), habeās (*Aul.* 756), habeant (*Curc.* 178, *Curc.* 180), iaceam (*Aul.* 230), incursent (*Aul.* 234), inueniam (*Curc.* 586), irrīdeāt (*Aul.* 232), iuuent (*Curc.* 575), liceāt (*Aul.* 381), maneam (*Curc.* 589), māuelim (*Aul.* 661), māuellem (*Curc.* 512), mentiār (*Aul.* 690), metuant (*Aul.* 483), mīseris (*Aul.* 100), mittās (*Curc.* 457), mitterēt (*Curc.* 700), monueris (*Curc.* 384), nōuerim (*Curc.* 423), nūbant (*Aul.* 491), occultēmus (*Curc.* 95),

<sup>14</sup>I do not count *uortant* in *Aul.* 257 because it has been excluded by Lindsay — even though he was probably wrong in doing so.

<sup>15</sup>The subjunctive could also be dependent on the following imperative *cēdō*.



opstrūdāmus (*Curc.* 366), parent (*Aul.* 493), perdāt (*Curc.* 622), perdat (*Aul.* 645, *Aul.* 658, *Curc.* 317), periissem (*Aul.* 669), persequār (*Curc.* 211), peruelim (*Curc.* 103–4), petās (*Curc.* 271), pōnam (*Aul.* 639), poscam (*Aul.* 356), pōtem (*Aul.* 570), properem (*Curc.* 599), properēt (*Aul.* 600), quaerātis (*Curc.* 632), recūsem (*Curc.* 164), reddam (*Aul.* 45, *Aul.* 651, *Aul.* 829), referam (*Aul.* 759), respiciās (*Aul.* 231), respondeās (*Curc.* 13), scindant (*Aul.* 234), scīrēs (*Curc.* 331), sequār (*Curc.* 721), serāt (*Curc.* 193), seruem (*Aul.* 82), seruēt (*Aul.* 557), sim (*Curc.* 119), siēs (*Aul.* 182), sīt (*Aul.* 148<sup>16</sup>, *Curc.* 588, *Curc.* 616<sup>17</sup>), sīmus (*Aul.* 484), sospitent (*Aul.* 546<sup>18</sup>), suspicentur (*Aul.* 110), taceam (*Curc.* 183), ualeam (*Curc.* 554), uelim (*Aul.* 120, *Aul.* 504, *Aul.* 670, *Curc.* 83), uellēs (*Aul.* 286), uideās (*Aul.* 506), uitent (*Curc.* 298), uortāt<sup>19</sup> (*Aul.* 218, *Aul.* 788, *Curc.* 273, *Curc.* 729), uortant (*Aul.* 175, *Aul.* 272), ūtār (*Aul.* 232), ūtāmur (*Aul.* 482)

## B: Ter. Ad.

### Number of tokens (121):

abdūcāt (662), abeāmus (678), accēdāmus (309<sup>20</sup>), adessēt (453), agam (784, 789), agās (433), agātur (374\*), agerem (214\*, 319), alserīt (36), ament (749), arriperem (316), audiam (128), audīrēt (453), ceciderīt (37), clāmēm (789), cōgam (851), cōnstabilissēs (771), corrigās (741<sup>21</sup>), crēdās (330, 330), cūrārem (772), cūrēmus (130), darem (318), defraudēt (246\*), defūctum sīt (507–8), dēmus (950), dīcam (528, 531, 625, 946), dīcerem (676\*), dūcam (939), eāmus (278, 601), ēriperem (318), essēs (770), exōrāssem (630), expediam (614), experiāmur (877), exstinguerem (314), facerēmus (107), faciam (625, 732, 789), faciās (431, 733\*), faciāt (515, 935, 997), faciant (918), fateātur (77), fēcērīt (84), ferrēs (178), fīam (939), fiāt (201, 521, 945, 972), gaudeās (254), gerās (431), gererēt (708), habeam (313), habeās (622), habeāt (997), impetrēt (490), īnsāniam (147), lacerārem (315), laudem (256), mālim (727), mandēs (372), metuās (830), narrēmus (336), nōlim (695\*), nōllem (165, 775), nōuerim (573), ōderint (701), offerant (978), olfēcissēm (397), oppressissēt (525), ōrnātus essēs (176), ortum sīt (443), patiār (726), patiāmur (336), perdāt (134, 714), pereāt (134), praefrēgerīt (37), prōfundāt (134), prōsternerem (319), putēmus (796), quaeram (359), querār (789), raperem (319), reddāt (280), reddātur (249), reddūcās (830), redeam (186), rescīscerem (691), respondeāt (516), reuocēmus (320), ruerem (319), siēs (890), sīt (261, 411), sinerem (396), sinerēs (108, 395), statuerem (316\*), subuortāt (837\*), sūmāmus (287, 854), tunderem (319), ualeās (622), uelim (519, 681), uellem (532), uortāt (191<sup>22</sup>), uortant (728)

<sup>16</sup>This is a wish with relative connection.

<sup>17</sup>The verb is in an indignant question with *ut*.

<sup>18</sup>This is most probably an independent wish and not dependent on *faciant ut* in *Aul.* 545.

<sup>19</sup>All the tokens are in wishes with relative connections.

<sup>20</sup>The verb might also be dependent on *opsecrō*.

<sup>21</sup>*Pace* Ashmore (1908: 299), one cannot add *fac* because the command is impersonal.

<sup>22</sup>This is in a wish with relative connection.

# Appendix 3: Subjunctives in Subordinate Clauses

Appendix 3 lists the regular subjunctives in subordinate clauses in Plaut. *Aul.* and *Cure.* and in Ter. *Ad.* Those types of subordinate clauses which in Classical Latin follow the rules for the sequence of tenses are given in section A, and those that do not do so in section B. I have based the classification on morphological, not on semantic principles, so that for example a present subjunctive dependent on *nōuī* is found among the present subjunctives subordinate to the perfect, not the present tense, even though *nōuī* always has present tense meaning.

In Table 3. 2 in Ch. 3 I do a count of subjunctives in appendix 3 that is based purely on morphology rather than on meaning. For Table 3. 2, the tenses of the verbs in the superordinate clauses are relevant, and I have marked them with np, p, and nr in this appendix. Np stands for ‘non-past verb in the superordinate clause’; p means ‘past verb in the superordinate clause’; nr signifies ‘superordinate clause not recoverable, or at least not containing a verb’, which is for example the case in the type *quid sī abeam?* or in *Aul.* 805, where *nisī* is almost like *sed* and introduces a clause that is very similar to a main clause. However, in some instances without main clauses I think that the main clause is recoverable from the context, and so I have not classified them as nr; an example of such a main clause is *Ad.* 753 (*et tū nōbīscum ūnā (sc. saltābis)*). All that matters in the subordinate clauses is whether there are subjunctives of the primary tenses (marked +ps) or of the secondary tenses (marked +ss).

A few more words should be said about np and p. Only morphological criteria, but not semantic ones, are relevant in Table 3. 2. Consequently, I have in this appendix marked as present the historical present and the present tense subjunctive with unreal meaning and present reference; but I have counted as past all perfects, including *nōuī*, all perfect infinitives, the type *nē fecerīs*, and the imperfect subjunctive with unreal meaning and present reference.

## A: Subordinate Clauses Expected to Follow the Sequence of Tenses in *Aul.*, *Curc.*, and *Ad.*

### Abbreviations:

np: non-past tense in the superordinate clause

p: past tense in the superordinate clause

nr: superordinate clause not recoverable

+ps: primary sequence

+ss: secondary sequence

MC: main/superordinate clause

SC: subordinate clause

**Total=504 (338 in Plautus, 166 in Terence); this can be subdivided as follows:**

**np+ps=407 (281 in Plautus, 126 in Terence)**

**np+ss=3 (1 in Plautus, 2 in Terence)**

**p+ss=68 (43 in Plautus, 25 in Terence)**

**p+ps=26 (13 in Plautus, 13 in Terence)**

**a) MC=non-past, SC=perfect subjunctive (31) (=np+ps):**

Plautus: indirect questions and *quīn*-clauses (10): *apstulerīt* (*Aul.* 716, *Aul.* 773\*\*, *Aul.* 774\*\*, *Curc.* 650), *conuēnerīt* (*Curc.* 435), *effossus siēt* (*Curc.* 396), *nōuerim* (*Curc.* 341), *parātum sīt* (*Aul.* 164), *peruēnerīt* (*Curc.* 632), *scrīptum sīt* (*Curc.* 427)

Plautus: other subordinate clauses (10): *abierīt* (*Curc.* 559), *compresserīt* (*Aul.* 29), *cūrāta sint* (*Aul.* 273), *facta sient* (*Aul.* 278), *meminerīs* (*Aul.* 257, *Curc.* 210), *nōuerim* (*Curc.* 391), *parātum sīt* (*Curc.* 252), *peiierāuerint* (*Curc.* 268), *surrūptum siēt* (*Aul.* 39)

Terence: indirect questions (2): *fuerim* (527), *redierīt* (549)

Terence: other subordinate clauses (9): *acceptus sim* (166<sup>23</sup>), *affuerīs* (290), *dēfetīgārīt* (519), *innuerim* (171), *irritātus siēt* (282\*\*), *pepererīs* (290), *perdiderīt* (383), *perierim* (283\*\*), *putārīt* (262<sup>24</sup>)

---

<sup>23</sup>The clause is only loosely connected with the preceding context.

<sup>24</sup>This should be taken as a relative clause with *quī* and enclitic *ne*; there is no main clause verb, but *est* may be supplied from the context. Cf. Martin (1976: 144) *ad loc.*

**b) MC=non-past, SC=present subjunctive (356) (=np+ps):<sup>25</sup>**

Plautus: indirect questions and *quīn*-clauses (64): abeam (*Aul.* 730\*), accūsem (*Curc.* 175), adeam (*Aul.* 730), agam (*Aul.* 106, *Aul.* 117, *Aul.* 730<sup>26</sup>), agāt (*Aul.* 574, *Curc.* 279), agant (*Aul.* 607), apstrūdam (*Aul.* 673<sup>27</sup>), apstrūdāt (*Aul.* 679), cadāt (*Curc.* 287), cēlem (*Aul.* 74), cōnscrībās (*Curc.* 370), dicam (*Aul.* 67, *Aul.* 804, *Curc.* 128–9, *Curc.* 463), dūcāt (*Aul.* 613), eam (*Aul.* 714), edim (*Aul.* 430), emās (*Curc.* 34), faciās (*Aul.* 132\*\*), faciāt (*Aul.* 85<sup>28</sup>), faciāmus (*Aul.* 262), faciant (*Aul.* 363), fugiam (*Aul.* 730), geram (*Aul.* 54, *Aul.* 117, *Aul.* 412), gerās (*Aul.* 826), habeam (*Aul.* 756), habeās (*Curc.* 629), habeāt (*Curc.* 601), inueniam (*Aul.* 620), inueniātis (*Curc.* 467), liberem (*Curc.* 209), maneam (*Aul.* 730), petāt (*Aul.* 112\*\*), pudeāt (*Aul.* 791\*\*), pūrgēt (*Aul.* 791), quaerās (*Aul.* 762), sim (*Aul.* 1, *Aul.* 714, *Aul.* 714), sīs (*Aul.* 217), sīt (*Aul.* 29, *Aul.* 296, *Aul.* 551, *Aul.* 563, *Aul.* 697, *Aul.* 800, *Aul.* 802, *Curc.* 590), siēt (*Aul.* 765), sient (*Curc.* 322), sinās<sup>29</sup> (*Aul.* 431, *Aul.* 431), sistāt (*Curc.* 287), soleātis (*Aul.* 259), ualeam (*Aul.* 117), ualeāt (*Curc.* 19), uelīs (*Curc.* 456), uortam (*Curc.* 69)

Plautus: other subordinate clauses (184): abeāt (*Aul.* 598\*\*), accersāt (*Aul.* 613), accipiās (*Aul.* 351, *Curc.* 457, *Curc.* 459–460), accubēs (*Curc.* 691), alāt (*Curc.* 664), amēs (*Curc.* 29), āmittāt (*Aul.* 303, *Aul.* 305), apstineās (*Curc.* 37), apstineant (*Curc.* 180), arbitrēmur (*Aul.* 129), assidāt (*Curc.* 311), auferam (*Aul.* 582, *Aul.* 614, *Aul.* 695\*), auferāt (*Aul.* 82, *Curc.* 704), bibam (*Aul.* 279), bibant (*Curc.* 161), cēseās (*Aul.* 240), cōgitēt (*Aul.* 591), colās (*Aul.* 187), comedim (*Curc.* 560), committās (*Curc.* 655), commōnstrēt (*Curc.* 301, *Curc.* 590), commūtēt (*Aul.* 576), condam (*Aul.* 712), cōsignēmus (*Curc.* 365), coquant (*Aul.* 365<sup>30</sup>), cupiam (*Curc.* 171, *Curc.* 172), cūrēs (*Curc.* 517), dem (*Aul.* 238, *Aul.* 662<sup>31</sup>), dēs (*Aul.* 793), dēt (*Aul.* 310\*\*), dētur (*Curc.* 433), dēmōnstrētis (*Aul.* 716<sup>32</sup>), dēpōnāt (*Aul.* 575), despondeās (*Curc.* 671), despondeāt (*Aul.* 205), dēuorēt (*Aul.* 194), dicam (*Aul.* 672), dicās (*Curc.* 130<sup>33</sup>, *Curc.* 629), differant (*Curc.* 576), dirrumpār (*Curc.* 222), dūcam (*Aul.* 154), dūcāt (*Aul.* 33), emam (*Aul.* 377\*\*), ēmittāt (*Aul.* 817), ēmoriār (*Aul.* 154), ēueniāt (*Curc.* 271), excīdāt (*Curc.* 45\*), exigās (*Aul.* 43), faciam (*Aul.* 77, *Aul.* 612), faciās (*Aul.* 253, *Curc.* 36, *Curc.* 631), faciāt (*Aul.* 387\*\*, *Curc.* 218), ferās (*Curc.* 696), ferātur (*Aul.* 156), fiat (*Aul.* 276, *Aul.* 491), fiāmus (*Aul.* 310), gaudeam (*Curc.* 314, *Curc.* 316), habeāt

<sup>25</sup>I include cases in which there is no superordinate verb, but in which one can easily be recovered from the preceding context, e.g. *Aul.* 42: *Nam cūr mē miseram uerberās?* — *Vt misera sis*. It is clear that the second speaker means *Verberō tē, ut misera sis*.

<sup>26</sup>This form could also be an independent subjunctive.

<sup>27</sup>The token is in a subject-to-object raising construction like *patrem nōuisti ad hās rēs quam sīt perspicāx* (*Haut.* 370).

<sup>28</sup>There is an obvious ellipsis of *est* in the main clause, but the verb cannot be recovered from what precedes.

<sup>29</sup>The two instances seem to be posterior.

<sup>30</sup>The verb in the superordinate clause, *faciam*, is a potential subjunctive.

<sup>31</sup>The superordinate verb *māuelim* is in the subjunctive to make the statement less forceful.

<sup>32</sup>*Dēmōnstrētis* is presumably dependent on one of the verbs of requesting.

<sup>33</sup>I take this clause as subordinate, even though there is no proper antecedent.

(*Aul.* 588), ignōscās (*Aul.* 739, *Aul.* 793), incomitiēs (*Curc.* 400), incumbāt (*Aul.* 598), īnspiciam (*Curc.* 654), intellegam (*Aul.* 648<sup>34</sup>), inueniāt (*Aul.* 609), irrīdeās (*Aul.* 221), iubeāt (*Aul.* 600), iūdicēs (*Curc.* 704), labōrent (*Aul.* 596), liceāt (*Aul.* 407), locēs (*Aul.* 251, *Aul.* 568), lubeāt (*Aul.* 211, *Aul.* 751\*\*), lubeant (*Aul.* 491), lūdās (*Curc.* 326), memorem (*Aul.* 320), mīrētur (*Aul.* 1), mittās (*Curc.* 457), moderēs (*Curc.* 200\*<sup>35</sup>), morēr (*Aul.* 612), moueant (*Aul.* 596), nent (*Aul.* 596), offendam (*Curc.* 282), opsistāt (*Curc.* 284), opsorbeam (*Curc.* 313), pateant (*Aul.* 407), percipiāt (*Curc.* 159), percontēris (*Aul.* 211), perdās (*Aul.* 341, *Curc.* 197), pereātis (*Curc.* 693), persentiscāt (*Aul.* 63), peruincās (*Curc.* 213), petās (*Curc.* 66), petāt (*Aul.* 522), pigeāt (*Aul.* 210<sup>36</sup>), poscāt (*Aul.* 32, *Curc.* 379<sup>37</sup>), poscant (*Curc.* 378), possim (*Curc.* 464\*\*), possis (*Aul.* 54), possiēs (*Aul.* 747), possīt (*Aul.* 488, *Curc.* 299, *Curc.* 479), prōcūrem (*Curc.* 525), prōcūrēs (*Curc.* 519), prohibeās (*Curc.* 605), quaerātur (*Curc.* 383), recipiāt (*Curc.* 86), reddam (*Aul.* 634, *Curc.* 540), reddātur (*Aul.* 829), reddant (*Curc.* 378), sacrificem (*Aul.* 579), sciam (*Aul.* 802, *Curc.* 414, *Curc.* 617), sciās (*Curc.* 13), sciāt (*Curc.* 29, *Curc.* 248), sciant (*Aul.* 113, *Aul.* 599), seruem (*Aul.* 364), seruiam (*Curc.* 202), sīs (*Aul.* 42, *Aul.* 443, *Curc.* 30), siēs (*Curc.* 521), sīt (*Aul.* 38, *Aul.* 92, *Aul.* 225, *Curc.* 23, *Curc.* 29, *Curc.* 51, *Curc.* 140, *Curc.* 258, *Curc.* 519, *Curc.* 526), siēt (*Aul.* 369, *Aul.* 370, *Aul.* 450, *Aul.* 545, *Curc.* 440, *Curc.* 517<sup>38</sup>), sītis (*Aul.* 716<sup>39</sup>), sint (*Aul.* 810), sistās (*Curc.* 163), sitiam (*Curc.* 138), soluant (*Curc.* 379), sūmāt (*Curc.* 468), suppetant (*Curc.* 368), surrupiās (*Aul.* 349), tolerēt (*Aul.* 598\*), uehār (*Aul.* 502), uelīt (*Aul.* 599, *Curc.* 218, *Curc.* 468<sup>40</sup>), ueniāt (*Aul.* 156, *Aul.* 239, *Aul.* 670), uisam (*Aul.* 65), uīuat (*Aul.* 419, *Curc.* 664), uocēs (*Aul.* 769, *Curc.* 166), uorsentur (*Curc.* 484\*), uortant (*Curc.* 484)

Terence: indirect questions and *quīn*-clauses (27): abeam (247), accersant (890\*\*<sup>41</sup>), agam (485, 516, 542, 611), exīstumētis (13), faciam (611), haereāt (171), inueniam (569\*), laudēr (592), loquār (215), oporteāt (5\*\*), perdās (241), possiem (877), respondeam (485), seruēs (241), sīt (325, 429, 570, 723), siēt (83, 361, 976), sint (555), superēt (257), ueniāt (294)

Terence: other subordinate clauses (81): abeās (882\*\*), accersās (699), accersāt (292), amēs (681<sup>42</sup>), apsoluam (277), augeāt (25), cantent (905\*), cantitēs (750\*), cōgitēs (500\*, 808), colligāt (848), colloquār (446<sup>43</sup>), cōsolere (512), crēdās (857<sup>44</sup>), crēdāt (66), crēdant (627), cūrem (138), dēseram (498),

<sup>34</sup>There is an ellipsis of *facis*, cf. Stockert (1983: 174–5) *ad loc.*

<sup>35</sup>The verb depends on an infinitive of exclamation.

<sup>36</sup>The verb depends on *quaesō*.

<sup>37</sup>The subjunctive might also be independent.

<sup>38</sup>The subjunctive might be considered independent.

<sup>39</sup>*Sītis* presumably depends on one of the verbs of requesting.

<sup>40</sup>I take this as an instance of a conditional clause with modal attraction, though the subjunctive might conceivably be independent.

<sup>41</sup>The clause is introduced by *quam mox*.

<sup>42</sup>The verb depends on *uelim*, which has mitigating, not unreal force.

<sup>43</sup>The form is presumably not co-ordinated with the preceding future, but with the subjunctive.

<sup>44</sup>This is an impersonal second person, but there is also attraction of mood.

dēsīnās (539), dīcās (350\*\*<sup>45</sup>, 599), dīnumerēt (915), dispērgam (782\*), eās (598), ēuomam (312, 510), exeāt (626), exīstumēs (270), exōrem (936), faciām (711\*\*), fiāt (933), fiant (122\*\*, 491), fruātur (950), habeam (268, 270), habeās (750), habeāt (50), irruāt (550), lūdās (739), mācerentur (381), mālim (311), mittam (292), nōlīt (711), parentur (706\*\*), permānēt (283\*\*), postulēt (238), prohibeant (275), pūrgem (632), putārīs (858<sup>46</sup>), reddāt (202, 205), redeās (776), relīquās (814), respiciāt (932\*), salūtem (446), sciam (516), sciāt (636), sequār (248), seruēs (845), siem (712), sīs (511), siēs (684, 852), sīt (34, 39, 171, 354, 825\*\*), siēt (298, 354, 398<sup>47</sup>), sint (830), uāpulēt (159), ueniās (240, 583), uideam (973), uīuās (681), uīuāt (874), ūtātur (981), ūtantur (815)

---

**c) MC=non-past, SC=periphrastic future subjunctive (1) (=np+ps):**

Terence: subject clause with *ut* (1): factūrus sīt (514\*\*)

---

**d) MC=past, SC=pluperfect subjunctive (7) (=p+ss):**

Plautus: other subordinate clauses (neither indirect questions nor *quīn*-clauses) (4): asseruissēt (*Curc.* 668), attulissēt (*Curc.* 347, *Curc.* 550), habuissēt (*Aul.* 17)

Terence: other subordinate clauses (neither indirect questions nor *quīn*-clauses) (3): concessissēs (217), dedissem (368), mōrīgerātus essēs (218)

---

**e) MC=past, SC=imperfect subjunctive (46) (=p+ss):**

Plautus: indirect question (1): habērēt (*Aul.* 17\*\*)

Plautus: other subordinate clauses (32): abdūcerēt (*Curc.* 348), assererēt (*Curc.* 709), commōnstrārēt (*Aul.* 12), crēderēs (*Curc.* 551), darem (*Aul.* 384), darēt (*Aul.* 27, *Curc.* 347), dispertīrem (*Aul.* 282), ēriperēs (*Aul.* 827), ēriperēt (*Curc.* 597), essēs (*Aul.* 797), essēt (*Aul.* 740), facerēs (*Aul.* 222, *Aul.* 736, *Curc.* 426), ferrem (*Curc.* 412), fierēt (*Aul.* 605), fierent (*Aul.* 605), haberem (*Aul.* 372), haberēt (*Curc.* 488), īrēs (*Aul.* 736), loquerēr (*Aul.* 134), reconderem (*Curc.* 388), reperīrēt (*Aul.* 26), seruārem (*Aul.* 8), soluerēt (*Curc.* 684), spernerem (*Curc.* 550), surriperent (*Aul.* 464), tangerēs (*Aul.* 740), uellēs (*Curc.* 426), uellēt (*Aul.* 27), uīuerēt (*Aul.* 14)

Terence: indirect questions and *quīn*-clauses (4): essēt (642), fierēt (690, 690), mallem (222)

Terence: other subordinate clauses (9): cūrārēs (797\*), dīcerem (624), dīscerēt

---

<sup>45</sup>For *ut* after *cēdō* cf. Martin (1976: 158) *ad loc.* Alternatively, one could emend to *dīcis*, 'I give way, since you speak better'.

<sup>46</sup>This is an impersonal second person in a context where there is attraction of mood.

<sup>47</sup>I take *quiesō* as superordinate verb selecting the subjunctive *siēt*.

(413), *fēnerārēt* (219), *fierēt* (624), *haerērēt* (403), *licērēt* (334), *ostenderem* (986<sup>48</sup>), *possem* (222)

---

**f) MC=historical present, SC=present subjunctive (9) (=np+ps):**

Plautus: indirect questions (2): *eam* (*Curc.* 362), *habeam* (*Curc.* 596)

Plautus: other subordinate clauses (4): *faciāt* (*Curc.* 330), *lūdam* (*Curc.* 355), *sentiāt* (*Curc.* 361), *ueniam* (*Curc.* 339)

Terence: indirect questions (3): *accersāt* (620), *agāt* (619), *assiēt* (619)

---

**g) MC=historical present, SC=imperfect subjunctive (3) (=np+ss):**

Plautus: object clause with *ut* (1): *licērēt* (*Aul.* 319)

Terence: indirect question (1): *habērēt* (365<sup>\*\*</sup>)

Terence: object clause with *ut* (1): *facerem* (869<sup>49</sup>)

---

**h) MC=perfect, SC=perfect subjunctive (3) (=p+ps):**

Plautus: indirect questions (2): *gnātus sim* (*Aul.* 778), *peruēnerīt* (*Curc.* 608)

Terence: relative clause (1): *data sīt* (530<sup>50</sup>)

---

**i) MC=perfect, SC=present subjunctive (19) (=p+ps):<sup>51</sup>**

Plautus: indirect questions (3): *sīt* (*Curc.* 372), *siēt* (*Curc.* 372), *sient* (*Aul.* 542<sup>\*\*</sup>)

Plautus: other subordinate clauses (5): *petam* (*Curc.* 559), *redeam* (*Aul.* 273), *sīt* (*Curc.* 563), *ueniāt* (*Aul.* 278, *Curc.* 253<sup>\*</sup>)

Terence: indirect questions and *quīn*-clauses (5): *apportēt* (856), *moneāt* (857), *putēs* (236<sup>\*\*</sup>), *sim* (177), *sīt* (572)

Terence: other subordinate clauses (6): *āuehāt* (653, 654), *cēlēt* (54), *nequeāt* (520), *pōtētis* (586), *uīuāt* (477)

---

<sup>48</sup>*Mōrēs mūtātī sunt* or something similar has to be supplied from l. 984.

<sup>49</sup>The verb is dependent on a *dum*-clause ('while') in the present.

<sup>50</sup>This relative clause is a question, but not 'a good example of indignant or repudiating subjunctive', as Martin (1976: 182) ad loc. would have it; the subjunctive is used because this is a characterizing relative clause.

<sup>51</sup>Included are cases in which there is no main clause, but where one in the perfect can easily be recovered from the preceding context.

**j) MC=past tense other than perfect, SC=present subjunctive (1) (=p+ps):**

Plautus: indirect question (1): *accūsem* (*Aul.* 550)

---

**k) MC=non-past indicative with perfect infinitive, SC=present/ imperfect/pluperfect subjunctive (7=6 in Plautus, 1 in Terence):<sup>52</sup>**

SC=primary sequence (2=2 in Plautus) (=p+ps): *ēnicem* (*Aul.* 743), *uelīs* (*Aul.* 686)

SC=secondary sequence (5=4 in Plautus, 1 in Terence) (=p+ss): *afferrēt* (*Aul.* 258), *assererēt* (*Curc.* 491), *fēcissēt* (*Aul.* 471), *oboedīrent* (*Curc.* 556), *ueherēs* (*Ad.* 225)

---

**l) MC=past *irreālis*, SC=imperfect subjunctive (6) (=p+ss):**

Plautus: *quīn*-clause (1): *reciperēt* (*Curc.* 228<sup>53</sup>)

Plautus: relative clause (1): *possēt* (*Curc.* 700)

Terence: other subordinate clauses (neither indirect questions nor *quīn*-clauses) (4): *coeperēt* (397\*), *fierēt* (106), *possēt* (525\*), *uenīrēt* (674<sup>54</sup>)

---

**m) MC=present *irreālis* (15=7 in Plautus, 8 in Terence):<sup>55</sup>**

MC=present subjunctive, SC=present subjunctive (9=6 in Plautus, 3 in Terence) (=np+ps): *cubēt* (*Ad.* 851), *dēsīnāt* (*Aul.* 523), *dētur* (*Aul.* 337), *dūcant* (*Aul.* 480), *ferant* (*Aul.* 493), *opsequāre* (*Ad.* 224), *sīt* (*Curc.* 164), *sint* (*Curc.* 321), *ulciscār* (*Ad.* 313)

MC=present subjunctive, SC=perfect subjunctive (1=1 in Plautus) (=np+ps): *gnātus siem* (*Aul.* 231)

MC=imperfect subjunctive, SC=present subjunctive (1=1 in Terence) (=p+ps): *dispergāt* (*Ad.* 317)

MC=imperfect subjunctive, SC=imperfect subjunctive (3=3 in Terence) (=p+ss): *essēs* (*Ad.* 772), *essēt* (*Ad.* 532), *facerēt* (*Ad.* 110)

---

<sup>52</sup>In order to avoid confusion, I do not list the tokens separately for Plautus and Terence. There are no indirect questions and *quīn*-clauses among them.

<sup>53</sup>The main clause verb *potuit* receives a past unreal interpretation.

<sup>54</sup>The main clause verb, *oportuit*, receives an unreal interpretation from the context.

<sup>55</sup>I do not list the tokens separately for Plautus and Terence, nor do I differentiate between indirect questions and *quīn*-clauses on the one hand and other subordinate clauses on the other. This would make it very difficult to distinguish the different types of sequence. There is one indirect question (with *sint* in *Curc.* 321) and one *quīn*-clause (with *sīt* in *Curc.* 164).



MC=imperfect subjunctive, SC=pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 in Terence) (=p+ss):  
ēiēcissēt (*Ad.* 109)

## **B: Subordinate Clauses Not Expected to Follow the Sequence in *Aul.*, *Curc.*, and *Ad.***

### **Abbreviations:**

np: non-past verb in the superordinate clause

p: past verb in the superordinate clause

nr: superordinate clause not recoverable

+ps: primary sequence

+ss: secondary sequence

MC: main/superordinate clause

SC: subordinate clause

**Total=141 (84 in Plautus, 57 in Terence); this can be subdivided as follows:**

**np+ps=91 (54 in Plautus, 37 in Terence)**

**np+ss=1 (in Plautus)**

**p+ss=17 (8 in Plautus, 9 in Terence)**

**p+ps=5 (4 in Plautus, 1 in Terence)**

**Excluded because nr=18**

**Excluded because dependent on extra-paradigmatic forms=9**

**Total without nr and tokens dependent on extra-paradigmatic forms =114 (67 in Plautus, 47 in Terence)**

**a) Potential or unreal conditional clauses (independent subjunctives) (71=41 np+ps, 1 np+ss, 14 p+ss, 3 p+ps, 12 nr):<sup>56</sup>**

Plautus (45=26 np+ps, 1 np+ss, 7 p+ss, 3 p+ps, 8 nr): *abeāmus* (*Curc.* 351 nr), *abigāt* (*Curc.* 186 np+ps), *adeam* (*Curc.* 145 nr), *adeāmus* (*Curc.* 303 nr), *adessēs* (*Aul.* 439 p+ss), *apsim* (*Curc.* 164 np+ps), *conclūsī forent* (*Curc.* 449–450 p+ss), *cupiam* (*Aul.* 254 np+ps), *dēcumbāmus* (*Curc.* 351 nr), *dētur* (*Curc.* 211 np+ps), *dormītēt* (*Aul.* 591 np+ps), *faciam* (*Aul.* 365 nr<sup>57</sup>), *faciās* (*Curc.* 223 np+ps), *faciant* (*Aul.* 478 np+ps), *ferāt* (*Curc.* 226 p+ps), *fiāt* (*Aul.* 492

<sup>56</sup>I include impersonal, generalizing second persons unless they are in contexts where the construction demands a subjunctive anyway, e.g. *credās* (*Ad.* 857) with attraction of mood.

<sup>57</sup>For the subjunctive cf. *Ad.* 785–6.

np+ps), inuēnerīt (*Aul.* 610 np+ps), lubeāt (*Aul.* 153 np+ps), metuam (*Aul.* 523 p+ps), narrem (*Curc.* 246 np+ps), occentem (*Curc.* 145 nr), opperiār (*Aul.* 805 nr<sup>58</sup>), pepercerīs (*Aul.* 381\* np+ps), perierīt (*Aul.* 344 np+ps), poscam (*Aul.* 336 np+ps), prehēnsī sīmus (*Aul.* 749 np+ps), prōdēgerīs (*Aul.* 380 np+ps), repperissem (*Aul.* 828 p+ss), rogēs (*Aul.* 311 np+ps, *Curc.* 12 np+ps), rogitem (*Curc.* 13 np+ps), scatāt (*Aul.* 558 np+ps), sciās (*Curc.* 321 nr), seruēt (*Aul.* 555 np+ps), sīs (*Aul.* 540 np+ps), sīt (*Aul.* 320 np+ps), siēt (*Curc.* 58 np+ps), subuēnissēt (*Aul.* 669 p+ss), taceās (*Aul.* 421 np+ps), ualuissēt (*Curc.* 700\* p+ss), uelint (*Curc.* 268 np+ps), uellem (*Aul.* 646 np+ps), uellēt (*Aul.* 286 p+ss), uellent (*Aul.* 742 p+ss), ueniāt (*Aul.* 100 p+ps<sup>59</sup>)

Terence (26=15 np+ps, 7 p+ss, 4nr): abeam (786 nr), abessēt (524 p+ss), apsīs (28 np+ps), attigissēs (178 p+ss), augeam (145 np+ps), cessēs (29 np+ps, 32 np+ps), cupiāt (761 np+ps), ēdormiscam (786 nr), essēs (107 p+ss, 770 p+ss), essēt (106 p+ss, 708 p+ss), exōrem (943 np+ps), expostulēs (595\* np+ps<sup>60</sup>), fateātur (341 np+ps), nōlīt (851 np+ps), ōrēt (941 nr), possidērem (176 p+ss), praecipīās (434 np+ps), queam (737 np+ps), si<e>m (146 np+ps), sīs (934 np+ps), sīt (753 np+ps), uelīs (372 np+ps<sup>61</sup>), uēnerīt (895 nr<sup>62</sup>)

---

**b) Other subordinate clauses with potential or unreal meaning (independent subjunctives) (15=14np+ps, 1 p+ss):**

Plautus (10=9 np+ps, 1 p+ss): coniūctus siem (*Aul.* 229 np+ps), crēdās (*Curc.* 481 np+ps), dīcāt (*Aul.* 489 np+ps<sup>63</sup>), faciās (*Aul.* 338 np+ps), nequeam (*Aul.* 230 np+ps), quaerāt (*Aul.* 91 np+ps<sup>64</sup>), uellēs (*Aul.* 436\*\* p+ss<sup>65</sup>), uēnerīs (*Aul.* 506 np+ps), ueniās (*Aul.* 505 np+ps), uideās (*Curc.* 292 np+ps)

Terence (5=5 np+ps): adiungās (72 np+ps), amēt (667 np+ps<sup>66</sup>), fiāt (519 np+ps), occēperīs (206 np+ps), pūrgēs (162 np+ps<sup>67</sup>)

---

<sup>58</sup>This conditional clause is semantically close to a main clause. For the subjunctive cf. *Ad.* 785–6.

<sup>59</sup>The superordinate phrase is *nē mīserīs*, which is non-past, but has to be counted as past in my purely morphological analysis in Table 3. 2.

<sup>60</sup>The *sī*-clause could also be interpreted as a condition for *sibi fieri iniūriam* (595) rather than for *putant* (594), in which case the subjunctive would be that of indirect speech.

<sup>61</sup>The subjunctive could also be due to attraction.

<sup>62</sup>The main clause contains *faxim*, so I have treated this as ‘context not recoverable’ in the first, purely morphological count in Table 3. 2. It is not listed among the forms dependent on extra-paradigmatic forms because conditional clauses have independent subjunctives.

<sup>63</sup>For the conditional sense cf. Stockert (1983: 139) *ad loc.*

<sup>64</sup>This is a thematic *quod*-clause.

<sup>65</sup>The verb is in a clause introduced by *secus quam*.

<sup>66</sup>There is semi-fossilized *haud scio an* ‘perhaps’ in this relative clause, and this phrase regularly selects the subjunctive.

<sup>67</sup>The clause is a thematic *quod*-clause.

**c) *Irreālis* governed by *reālis* verb (5=3 np+ps, 2 p+ss):**

Protases in Terence (3=2 np+ps, 1 p+ss): *cōnferant* (299 np+ps), *cuperent* (273 p+ss), *quaerant* (300 np+ps)

Apodoses in Terence (2=1 np+ps, 1 p+ss): *afferant* (300 np+ps), *possent* (273 p+ss)

---

**d) Consecutive *ut*-clauses (7=7 np+ps):**

Terence (7=7 np+ps): *cōnfīdam* (826 np+ps), *data sīt* (530 np+ps<sup>68</sup>), *nesciās* (857 np+ps), *possīs* (823 np+ps), *repudiēs* (858 np+ps), *siem* (611 np+ps), *sīt* (234\*\* np+ps)

---

**e) Clauses that are pseudo-final or ambiguous between pseudo-final and independent prohibitions (19=18 np+ps, 1 p+ps):<sup>69</sup>**

Plautus (15=14 np+ps, 1 p+ps): *dēs* (*Curc.* 660 np+ps), *doceās* (*Aul.* 241 p+ps<sup>70</sup>), *expetam* (*Aul.* 434 np+ps<sup>71</sup>), *faciās* (*Curc.* 565 np+ps), *habeās* (*Aul.* 647 np+ps<sup>72</sup>), *incēdās* (*Curc.* 32 np+ps), *nesciās* (*Curc.* 724 np+ps), *occlāmitēs* (*Curc.* 183 np+ps), *possīs* (*Aul.* 441 np+ps, *Curc.* 715 np+ps), *quaerās* (*Aul.* 358 np+ps), *rogitēs* (*Curc.* 213 np+ps), *sīs* (*Aul.* 458 np+ps), *territēs* (*Curc.* 568 np+ps, *Curc.* 713 np+ps)

Terence (4=4 np+ps): *dīcam* (375 np+ps), *dīcās* (160 np+ps), *exspectētis* (22 np+ps), *optundās* (113 np+ps)

---

**f) Other subjunctival clauses that modify the speech act (7=1 p+ps, 6 nr):**

Plautus (3=3 nr): *dīcās* (*Curc.* 78 nr<sup>73</sup>), *queās* (*Curc.* 195 nr<sup>74</sup>), *sciās* (*Curc.* 624–5 nr<sup>75</sup>)

---

<sup>68</sup>For the consecutive interpretation cf. Martin (1976: 182) *ad loc.*

<sup>69</sup>*Possīs* in *Curc.* 715 is introduced by *ut*, which forces a pseudo-final, dependent interpretation. Negative pseudo-final clauses, on the other hand, are introduced by *nē*, just like independent prohibitions, and are thus mostly ambiguous between subordinate, pseudo-final clauses and independent prohibitions. Sometimes, however, they are introduced by *ut nē*, which leads to a subordinate interpretation.

<sup>70</sup>The main clause verb is *nōuī*, which is non-past, but counts as past in our purely morphological analysis in Table 3. 2.

<sup>71</sup>This is best taken as a pseudo-final clause; cf. Stockert (1983: 126) *ad loc.*, who compares the construction to that of *nēdum*.

<sup>72</sup>This modifies the preceding *excute pallium*.

<sup>73</sup>We could add ‘you behave as if (*quasi*)’, but these words cannot be found in the context.

<sup>74</sup>The final *ut*-clause gives us the reason for beating the addressee. I do not take *em* as verbal.

<sup>75</sup>Again, the final *ut*-clause tells us why the speaker is beating the addressee. I regard the preceding *em* as an interjection.

Terence (4=1 p+ps, 3 nr): nōrīmus (271 nr<sup>76</sup>), sciam (641 p+ps<sup>77</sup>), sīt (941 nr<sup>78</sup>), sint (223 nr<sup>79</sup>)

---

**g) Excluded in Table 3. 2 because dependent on forms of *cauēre* or on *cautiō* (8=8 np+ps):**

Plautus (5=5 np+ps): fuerīs (*Aul.* 618 np+ps), mīserīs (*Aul.* 90 np+ps), mittātur (*Aul.* 101 np+ps), sīt (*Curc.* 461 np+ps), uideam (*Aul.* 660 np+ps)

Terence (3=3 np+ps): corrumpantur (421 np+ps), dēmoueās (170 np+ps), dīxerīs (458\* np+ps)

---

**h) Excluded because dependent on extra-paradigmatic forms (9):<sup>80</sup>**

Plautus (6): colloquār (*Aul.* 474), cōnsistam (*Aul.* 474), ēdīt (*Aul.* 672), reperiās (*Curc.* 587), seruiam (*Aul.* 51), sient (*Aul.* 495)

Terence (3): accipiāt (209), dīcāt (210), sīt (847)

---

<sup>76</sup>We could supply ‘you behave as if (*quasi*)’, though these words cannot be found in the context.

<sup>77</sup>This is the prototypical restrictive *quod sciam*, ‘as far as I know’.

<sup>78</sup>We could add ‘you talk as if (*quasi*)’, yet these words cannot be found in the context.

<sup>79</sup>Again, this is a *quasi*-clause. One might supply a clause meaning ‘you behave’, but the context does not actually provide it.

<sup>80</sup>These instances were not counted in the tables in Ch. 3.

# Appendix 4: Prohibitive Clauses and Selected Constructions of *facere*

In sections A–C, the prohibitions with regular verb forms in Plautus and Terence are listed. Only second and third person present and perfect have been considered. There are a number of negatives that can introduce prohibitions. Many of them, such as *nēmō* or *minimē*, can also be used in non-prohibitive clauses in the indicative. Only *nē* and *nēue* are exclusively found with the subjunctive (or the imperative, which is not considered here). In section A, I shall list all tokens of subjunctives with *nē/nēue* and with the second or third person present or perfect, disambiguated as far as possible (object clauses, purpose clauses, true prohibitions etc). It is of course only the prohibitions that are relevant here, but there is often no agreement as to what is a prohibition and what is not. Therefore, I have preferred to list all tokens (except for those introduced by *ut nē* or *dum nē*, which cannot possibly be prohibitive) and to show my analysis of them.

In section B I shall list those subjunctives that are used in prohibitions with negatives other than *nē/nēue*. Here I can be more selective: only subjunctives that can be interpreted prohibitively are listed.

Section C deals with the tokens dependent on forms of *cauēre*, *praecauēre*, *cautus* and *cautiō*.

Finally, section D contains the constructions of the imperatives of *facere* and its future form *faciam* (first person singular).

The rationale behind the asterisks is the same as in appendices 1–3, except that I have also used asterisks here if the person or number of a verb is doubtful.

## A: Clauses Introduced by *nē* or *nēue*

I list all second and third person present and perfect subjunctives introduced by *nē* or *nēue* in Plautus and Terence. The first person and tenses other than the present or perfect are not used in main clause prohibitions in the subjunctive. The unambiguous clauses precede the ambiguous ones. The unambiguous clauses come in the following order:

- I. subject or object clauses;
- II. purpose clauses;
- III. pseudo-final clause;
- IV. wishes;
- V. prohibitions.

For the ambiguous clauses, I have chosen the following order:

- VI. object or final clauses;
- VII. object clauses or prohibitions;
- VIII. final clauses or prohibitions;
- IX. pseudo-final clauses or prohibitions.

At the end I have listed those clauses that I exclude for various reasons (X).

### I. Subject or object clauses (188):

Plautus (134):<sup>81</sup> *abeās* (*Amph.* 1037<sup>82</sup>), *abeāt* (*Most.* 596), *accipiāt* (*Men.* 795), *arbitrētur* (*Asin.* 461), *audīuerīt* (*Cas.* 575), *auferāt* (*Poen.* 1293), *biberīs* (*Most.* 967), *bītās* (*Merc.* 465), *cadās* (*Mil.* 1151\*\*), *cantent* (*Bacch.* 985), *capiās* (*Merc.* 146<sup>83</sup>), *castrēt* (*Merc.* 275), *cēnēt* (*Cas.* 773), *contechnātus sīt* (*Pseud.* 1096), *corrumpātur* (*Bacch.* 1078), *crēdāt* (*Pseud.* 506, *Pseud.* 904), *crēdant* (*Pseud.* 128), *culpitēt* (*Cist.* 495), *dēfuerīt* (*Bacch.* 37, *Bacch.* 38), *dēserās* (*Bacch.* 1014, *Mil.* 1363), *dēserāt* (*Cist.* 568, *Pseud.* 1027),

<sup>81</sup>The following forms above depend on *quaesō* or *opsecrō*: *abeās* (*Amph.* 1037), *dēserās* (*Bacch.* 1014), *faciās* (*Most.* 744–5), *imperēs* (*Men.* 1033), *incomitiēs* (*Curc.* 400), *indicētis* (*Men.* 881), *piġeāt* (*Aul.* 210), *prohibeās* (*Curc.* 605), *siēt* (*Poen.* 1405), *sinās* (*Men.* 1008), *uortās* (*Asin.* 450). These subjunctives could also be independent because they alternate with imperatives, and imperatives cannot occur in subordinate clauses; for an imperative next to *quaesō* cf. *quaesō cauē* in *Bacch.* 744. The following items above depend on a form of *dīcere*, *ēdīcere* or *interdīcere*: *bītās* (*Merc.* 465), *crēdāt* (*Pseud.* 506, *Pseud.* 904), *crēdant* (*Pseud.* 128), *exambulēt* (*Epid.* 165\*\*), *habēātis* (*Truc.* 781\*\*\*), *pollicitēre* (*Mil.* 1057), *ueniāt* (*Epid.* 165\*\*). Here we could be dealing with main clause prohibitions, in which case *dīcō* would introduce direct speech. Cf. *ēdīcō ...: continēte* (*Capt.* 803–4) or *praedīcō ...: ne intrō mīserīs* (*Aul.* 99–100); here we are dealing with independent commands or prohibitions, otherwise there would be subordinate present subjunctives.

<sup>82</sup>This is in a clause introduced by *nēue*; since the clause continues an *ut*-clause, it must be subordinate.

<sup>83</sup>Something like *potīnest* should be understood from the context.

dēsināt (*Aul.* 523), dēt (*Bacch.* 744, *Merc.* 332\*\*), dētur (*Cas.* 341), dēuēnerīs (*Most.* 968<sup>84</sup>), dēuorterīs (*Most.* 966), doleāt (*Bacch.* 1172), dūcāt (*Cas.* 305), ēbītāt (*Stich.* 608\*), effringantur (*Asin.* 388), ēueniāt (*Capt.* 91), exambulēt (*Epid.* 165\*\*), excīdāt (*Curc.* 45\*), excitēs (*Merc.* 160), exōrāuerīt (*Cas.* 304), exsuperēt (*Mil.* 1237), exsurgātīs (*Bacch.* 758<sup>85</sup>), extrūdāt (*Rud.* 1046), faciās (*Most.* 744–5, *Truc.* 836\*\*), faciāt (*Epid.* 311, *Persa* 384, *Poen.* 378, *Stich.* 117), ferāt (*Merc.* 276), fiāt (*Mil.* 1348), frausus sīt (*Asin.* 286), habeāt (*Aul.* 588), habeātīs (*Truc.* 781\*\*\*), honestēs (*Capt.* 247), imperēs (*Men.* 1033), imperēt (*Capt.* 308), incomitiēs (*Curc.* 400), indaudīuerīt (*Most.* 542), indicētīs (*Men.* 881), infuscāuerīt (*Mil.* 526), īnsistās (*Capt.* 584), īnsīt (*Cas.* 380), inueniāt (*Aul.* 609), inuenta sint (*Truc.* 774\*), locēt (*Rud.* 474), lūdās (*Curc.* 326), moneās (*Persa* 175), mōnstrēs (*Pseud.* 289), moriāmur (*Asin.* 531), mūtēt (*Mil.* 983), mūtent (*Mil.* 1234), natēt (*Cas.* 385), noceāt (*Bacch.* 522, *Bacch.* 690, *Rud.* 605), nōminēs (*Mil.* 807), nōuerīs (*Mil.* 575<sup>86</sup>), obuortāt (*Pseud.* 1021), occipiāt (*Trin.* 1042), offendāt (*Merc.* 587), olant (*Most.* 268), opprimāt (*Most.* 511\*, *Rud.* 680a), opseruēs (*Men.* 789), opsint (*Mil.* 996), opstent (*Mil.* 996\*), peccēt (*Persa* 624), peccētīs (*Mil.* 904\*\*), pectās (*Poen.* 358), perdās (*Pseud.* 322), pereāt (*Bacch.* 1078), perierīt (*Rud.* 391), perierint (*Most.* 550), persentiscāt (*Aul.* 63), pigeāt (*Aul.* 210), pollicitēre (*Mil.* 1057), pōnāt (*Trin.* 739), possīt (*Asin.* 112), potuerīt (*Merc.* 380), praeterbītāmus (*Poen.* 1163\*),prehendāt (*Merc.* 213), prohibeas (*Curc.* 605), prōmittāt (*Men.* 794), putēs (*Trin.* 1171), redeāt (*Pseud.* 1028), resciscāt (*Asin.* 743), sinās (*Bacch.* 174, *Men.* 1008), sīs (*Curc.* 30, *Pseud.* 663), siēs (*Mil.* 1279), sīt (*Cas.* 575, *Pseud.* 1020), siēt (*Poen.* 400, *Poen.* 1405), sient (*Men.* 178\*), spernāt (*Mil.* 1235), suādeāt (*Bacch.* 54), suscēseāt (*Bacch.* 522, *Bacch.* 690, *Cist.* 303), titubēs (*Pseud.* 942\*\*), tractēt (*Bacch.* 201), trānseāt (*Pseud.* 1027\*), trānsfigant (*Persa* 28), uendās (*Pseud.* 284, *Pseud.* 322), ueniāt (*Epid.* 165\*\*), ueniant (*Cist.* 673), uerberēs (*Bacch.* 747), uerberēt (*Poen.* 400), uideās (*Rud.* 1067), uortās (*Asin.* 450)

Terence (54):<sup>87</sup> abeās (*Ad.* 882\*\*), Haut. 212), abeāt (*Phorm.* 779), accēperīt (*Eun.* 82), adaucta sīt (*Haut.* 435), adeāt (*Eun.* 578), afficiātur (*Phorm.* 730), aggrauēscāt (*Hec.* 337\*\*), amēt (*Eun.* 1080), apportēt (*Andr.* 73), cēlēt (*Ad.* 54), cōnferās (*Eun.* 450\*\*), conuincās (*Haut.* 1017), corrupta sīt (*Haut.* 231), crēdās (*Haut.* 623), dēserās (*Andr.* 270, *Andr.* 291), dētur (*Andr.* 335), dīcās (*Andr.* ae 2), dūcās (*Andr.* 349\*\*), faciās (*Andr.* 205, *Eun.* 807, *Haut.* 1049, *Phorm.* 945), faciāt (*Eun.* 616), fiāt (*Hec.* 493), indūcās (*Haut.* 1028), īnsistās (*Hec.* 484\*), intellegāt (*Hec.* 413), irrīdeant (*Hec.* 54), irruāt (*Ad.* 550),

<sup>84</sup>This object clause depends on *uidē sīs* in *Most.* 966.

<sup>85</sup>The verb depends on *numquid aliud* (*sc. uīs*) in *Bacch.* 757.

<sup>86</sup>This depends on *uolō* that can be retrieved from the preceding speaker's utterance.

<sup>87</sup>The following forms depend on *opsecrō*: *faciās* (*Haut.* 1049, *Phorm.* 945), *indūcās* (*Haut.* 1028), *obicīās* (*Haut.* 292). The subjunctives might be independent because they alternate with imperatives, and imperatives do not occur in subordinate clauses; cf. *opsecrō uidē* in *Ad.* 550. The following items depend on a form of *dīcere*, *ēdīcere* or *interdīcere*: *adeāt* (*Eun.* 578), *faciās* (*Andr.* 205, *Eun.* 807), *simant* (*Hec.* 565), *uelīs* (*Hec.* 563). We might be dealing with independent prohibitions in direct speech.

misereāt (*Hec.* 64\*), nequeāt (*Hec.* 575), nūntiēs (*Hec.* 844), obiciās (*Haut.* 292), opsiēt (*Hec.* 735\*), peccēs (*Phorm.* 803\*\*), possīt (*Haut.* 27), praeripiāt (*Eun.* 161), redierīt (*Eun.* 611), resciscāt (*Phorm.* 585), ruās (*Haut.* 369), scribāt (*Phorm.* 3), sēgregēs (*Andr.* 291), sinant (*Hec.* 565), sīs (*Haut.* 352\*), siēs (*Ad.* 684), sīt (*Eun.* 380, *Eun.* 611, *Hec.* 338), sint (*Ad.* 830), suāt (*Phorm.* 491), tulerīt (*Eun.* 82), uelīs (*Hec.* 563)

---

## II. Purpose clauses (193):

Plautus (154): ābaetāt (*Rud.* 777, *Truc.* 96\*\*\*), abeās (*Rud.* 1013), abeāt (*Aul.* 598\*\*, *Men.* 852), abierīt (*Curc.* 559), abripiāt (*Cas.* 784), aduocauerīt (*Cas.* 569\*\*), affligātur (*Mil.* 1331\*\*), algeās (*Mil.* 689), amēs (*Cist.* 119\*\*\*), āmittāt (*Aul.* 303, *Aul.* 305), ārdēscāt (*Persa* 802), assīt (*Mil.* 608, *Mil.* 1137, *Trin.* 146), audeāt (*Capt.* 753), audiāt (*Mil.* 1254), auferāt (*Aul.* 82, *Curc.* 704), aufugiāt (*Men.* 87), capiāt (*Mil.* 599\*), capiātur (*Capt.* 803), cēseās (*Aul.* 240, *Poen.* 1022), cognōscāt (*Men.* 429), commūtauerīs (*Asin.* 374), cōnferās (*Amph.* 788\*\*), cōnspicētur (*Poen.* 605), dentiant (*Mil.* 34\*\*), dēpondeāt (*Mil.* 6), dīcās (*Persa* 597), dīcāt (*Stich.* 114), dīcant (*Amph.* 528, *Persa* 372), dīxerīs (*Asin.* 698, *Most.* 252\*), dīxerīt (*Bacch.* 701), eāt (*Most.* 390\*\*\*, *Truc.* 850\*), efferāt (*Capt.* 457), emāt (*Most.* 284–5), ēnicēs (*Persa* 318), ēnicēt (*Most.* 652), errēt (*Trin.* 4), errētis (*Men.* 47), ēueniāt (*Curc.* 271), exaudiāt (*Trin.* 754), excrucies (*Mil.* 1280), excruciet (*Rud.* 399), exhibeāt (*Persa* 315), exīstumēt (*Asin.* 821), exoriātur (*Trin.* 1009), exportēt (*Truc.* 98\*\*\*), exspectēt (*Merc.* 280), formidēt (*Cas.* 24), grauētur (*Epid.* 283\*\*), habeās (*Aul.* 647), habeāt (*Bacch.* 45), ignōrēs (*Capt.* 434), immūtauerīt (*Mil.* 432), impluāt (*Most.* 871), indāgēt (*Trin.* 755), indūcās (*Persa* 643), interbitāt (*Most.* 1096), interemāt (*Cist.* 644), inueniāt (*Trin.* 663), lāmentētur (*Mil.* 6), loquātur (*Asin.* 473), lūdificētur (*Pseud.* 1120), memorēs (*Cas.* 394), mīrētur (*Aul.* 1), misereāt (*Trin.* 343\*\*), negēs (*Pseud.* 119), negēt (*Pseud.* 125, *Pseud.* 186\*\*), nōuerīt (*Poen.* 744), obiciātur (*Poen.* 606), obrēptauerīt (*Persa* 79), obuāgiant (*Poen.* 31), occīdāt (*Truc.* 456), optundāt (*Men.* 851), percipiāt (*Curc.* 159), perdās (*Aul.* 341, *Curc.* 197), pereant (*Poen.* 30\*), permānēt (*Capt.* 221), perpluant (*Trin.* 323), persentiscāt (*Amph.* 527), petāt (*Men.* 1045\*\*), pōnātur (*Amph.* 489), possis (*Aul.* 54), possint (*Trin.* 654), prōstituāt (*Pseud.* 231), queant (*Capt.* 220), resciscāt (*Most.* 540\*), sapiāt (*Asin.* 773), sciāt (*Poen.* 662, *Trin.* 518), sciant (*Aul.* 113), sectēre (*Bacch.* 30), sentiāt (*Curc.* 361, *Mil.* 1217\*\*\*), sentiant (*Truc.* 59\*\*), sequātur (*Men.* 161), seruēs (*Men.* 123), seruiās (*Persa* 230), significētis (*Truc.* 788\*\*), sīs (*Amph.* 169, *Cist.* 311), sīt (*Asin.* 230, *Asin.* 767, *Aul.* 38, *Aul.* 92, *Bacch.* 224, *Capt.* 738, *Cas.* 535\*\*, *Cist.* 593, *Cist.* 761\*\*, *Curc.* 29, *Persa* 86, *Poen.* 178, *Poen.* 402, *Poen.* 663, *Pseud.* 168\*\*, *Rud.* 618, *Stich.* 45, *Truc.* 15), siēt (*Mil.* 955), sint (*Poen.* 35), sient (*Mil.* 597), sitiant (*Poen.* 30), sūmāt (*Curc.* 468), supsiēt (*Most.* 920), supterdūcāt (*Mil.* 343), surrupiās (*Pseud.* 876), surrupiāt (*Capt.* 292), surruptum siēt (*Aul.* 39), suscēseāt (*Cist.* 250), suspicēs (*Cas.* 394\*), titubēt (*Mil.* 248, *Pseud.* 765), titubētur (*Mil.* 946), trānseāt (*Mil.* 343),



turbāuerint (*Capt.* 127), uagentur (*Persa* 319\*), uāpulēt (*Asin.* 946), uarientur (*Poen.* 26), uereātur (*Mil.* 1168<sup>88</sup>), uideātur (*Capt.* 321), uīderīt (*Mil.* 187\*\*, *Mil.* 588), uortāt (*Mil.* 1350)

Terence (39): ammisceās (*Haut.* 783), audiās (*Hec.* 765\*), coniciās (*Hec.* 842), contāminēt (*Eun.* 552\*), crēdant (*Phorm.* 839), cursitēs (*Eun.* 278), cursēt (*Eun.* 287), dēfetīgēt (*Phorm.* 794\*\*), dēserāt (*Haut.* 927), dēt (*Eun.* 138), dīcās (*Andr.* 509\*\*), ēdormiscās (*Haut.* 783), errēt (*Eun.* 16), existumēs (*Ad.* 270), ferāt (*Haut.* 860), mūtēt (*Andr.* 393\*\*\*), nōscant (*Andr.* 23), opprimāt (*Andr.* 227), opstēt (*Hec.* 587), pereās (*Eun.* 965\*\*), permānēt (*Ad.* 283), praedicēt (*Phorm.* 725), prōsīs (*Eun.* 965\*\*), prōtēlēt (*Phorm.* 213), quaerāt (*Haut.* 927), resciscāt (*Haut.* 670), restēt (*Hec.* 587), reuereātur (*Hec.* 630), sentiāt (*Haut.* 860), sentiant (*Haut.* 511), sīs (*Andr.* 467), siēs (*Andr.* 424, *Phorm.* 635\*\*<sup>89</sup>), sīt (*Ad.* 171, *Haut.* 1), siēt (*Phorm.* 887\*), sint (*Haut.* 39\*), uereātur (*Phorm.* 783), uigilēs (*Eun.* 278)

---

### III. Pseudo-final clause (1):

Plautus (1): persequātur (*Persa* 542<sup>90</sup>)

---

### IV. Wishes (6):

Plautus (2): habeās (*Trin.* 351), sīt (*Persa* 851)

Terence (4): alserīt (*Ad.* 36), ceciderīt (*Ad.* 37), praefrēgerīt (*Ad.* 37), subuortāt (*Ad.* 837\*)

---

### V. Prohibitions (63):

- **Prohibitions:  $nē$  + 2nd person perfect subjunctive (19):**

Plautus (18): āmiserīs (*Curc.* 599 C), attigerīs (*Persa* 793 C), dēstiterīs (*Trin.* 1012 C), dīxerīs (*Cist.* 110 C, *Merc.* 401–2 C), dīxerītis (*Mil.* 862 S), fēcērīs (*Epid.* 148 C, *Men.* 414–15 C, *Pseud.* 654 C), fuerīs (*Asin.* 839–40 C, *Epid.* 595 C), indūxerīs (*Trin.* 704 C), interuēnerīs (*Mil.* 1333 C), mīserīs (*Aul.* 100 S), ostenderīs (*Rud.* 1155 C), parserīs (*Persa* 572 C, *Poen.* 993\* S), scīuerīs (*Mil.* 572 S<sup>91</sup>)

Terence (1): oppertus siēs (*Phorm.* 514\*)

- **Prohibition:  $nē$  + 3rd person perfect subjunctive (1):**

---

<sup>88</sup>This can hardly be a command, which is what Lindsay's punctuation suggests.

<sup>89</sup>This is probably to be analysed as *ut nē*.

<sup>90</sup>The context excludes prohibitive interpretation, and a wish would be inappropriate here.

<sup>91</sup>Lindsay reads *nēscīuerīs*, which is supposed to be a command in the perfect subjunctive; there are no good parallels. I do not find Madvig's explanation (1887: 484) convincing either (*verbum negativum pro negatione est*). Following Bentley, I read *nē scīuerīs*.

Plautus (1): opstiterit (*Capt.* 791 C)

• **Prohibitions:  $n\bar{e}$  + 2nd person present subjunctive (17):**

Plautus (12): abeās (*Men.* 327 S), ābītās (*Epid.* 304 C), cēnseās (*Curc.* 539 C), cūrēs (*Stich.* 319–20 C), dūcās (*Merc.* 323 S), expōnās (*Cist.* 235 C), faciās (*Curc.* 539 C), ferās (*Rud.* 992 C), imbītās (*Epid.* 145 C), prohibeās (*Trin.* 370 C), siēs (*Men.* 502 S, *Most.* 886a C)

Terence (5): afflīctēs (*Eun.* 76), cōnferās (*Eun.* 388), mittās (*Hec.* 342<sup>92</sup>), sīs (*Eun.* 273), siēs (*Phorm.* 508)

• **Prohibition:  $n\bar{e}$  + impersonal 2nd person present subjunctive (1):**

Terence (1): agās (*Phorm.* 419<sup>\*\*\*</sup>)

• **Prohibitions:  $n\bar{e}$  + 3rd person present subjunctive (25):**

Plautus (20): adiciāt (*Asin.* 769), afferāt (*Poen.* 29), ammoueāt (*Asin.* 779), commoueāt (*Asin.* 786), dēt (*Asin.* 778), dētur (*Poen.* 37), dīcāt (*Asin.* 780), dūcāt (*Poen.* 20), extrūdantur (*Poen.* 38), faciāt (*Asin.* 797), inuideāt (*Most.* 307), muttiant (*Poen.* 18), obambulēt (*Poen.* 19), opsideant (*Poen.* 23), respōnsēt (*Most.* 403), sedeāt (*Poen.* 18), sīt (*Asin.* 762, *Most.* 922\*), suscēnseāt (*Stich.* 600), tussiāt (*Asin.* 794)

Terence (5): cōgitēt (*Eun.* 14), fiant (*Eun.* 183), frūstrētur (*Eun.* 14\*), siēt (*Eun.* 529), titubēt (*Haut.* 361)

---

**VI. Ambiguous between object and final clauses (7):**

Plautus (5): differant (*Trin.* 689), grauētur (*Mil.* 1230), potiātur (*Most.* 415), siēs (*Rud.* 1031), sīt (*Mil.* 1190)

Terence (2): exspectēt (*Hec.* 438<sup>\*\*</sup>), suscēnseāt (*Phorm.* 720)

---

**VII. Ambiguous between object clauses and prohibitions (2):**

Plautus (2): permittās (*Persa* 680<sup>93</sup>), suspicētur (*Most.* 269)

---

**VIII. Ambiguous between final clauses and prohibitions (4):**

Plautus (3): amēs (*Rud.* 438), cēnseāt (*Epid.* 288), possint (*Most.* 1095)

Terence (1): sināt (*Eun.* 963<sup>94</sup>)

---

<sup>92</sup>The negation is  $n\bar{e}$  *quidem*.

<sup>93</sup>The position of *moneō* in the clause is peculiar, which might perhaps induce us to regard the  $n\bar{e}$ -clause not as subordinate and *moneō* as parenthetical.

<sup>94</sup>The token could be analysed as final if the sentence continues after the interruption through Pythias.

---

### IX. Ambiguous between pseudo-final clauses and prohibitions (105):

Plautus (92):<sup>95</sup> *ammīrēminī* (*Amph.* 116), *arbitrēre* (*Merc.* 528), *cēseās* (*Bacch.* 904, *Cist.* 558, *Most.* 624, *Most.* 1005, *Poen.* 521, *Truc.* 668), *cēseāt* (*Men.* 23, *Truc.* 73), *colās* (*Trin.* 293–4), *cōnferāt* (*Capt.* 795), *conterās* (*Poen.* 537), *crēdāt* (*Persa* 270), *dētis* (*Persa* 93), *dīcās* (*Persa* 391, *Rud.* 1390), *doceās* (*Aul.* 241), *errēs* (*Capt.* 14), *errētis* (*Mil.* 150), *exīstumēs* (*Amph.* 330), *exspectētis* (*Cas.* 64, *Cist.* 782, *Pseud.* 1234, *Trin.* 16, *Truc.* 482), *faciās* (*Aul.* 173, *Curc.* 565, *Rud.* 1273), *habeās* (*Rud.* 700), *imbuās* (*Trin.* 293–4), *immittās* (*Capt.* 548), *metuās* (*Most.* 744–5), *mīrēre* (*Mil.* 1274, *Poen.* 1373\*\*\*), *mīrēminī* (*Amph.* 87, *Bacch.* 1072, *Stich.* 446), *moneās* (*Pseud.* 915\*), *moneātis* (*Mil.* 1378), *morēre* (*Mil.* 1361), *negēs* (*Poen.* 1155), *nesciās* (*Curc.* 724), *occlāmitēs* (*Curc.* 183), *occupēs* (*Pseud.* 548), *opīnēre* (*Poen.* 527), *pigeāt* (*Trin.* 348\*\*), *pōnās* (*Capt.* 957\*\*), *postulēs* (*Capt.* 186, *Cas.* 141, *Most.* 613, *Most.* 1023, *Rud.* 941, *Rud.* 1012, *Rud.* 1385), *praecipīās* (*Capt.* 393), *praedīcēs* (*Pseud.* 275), *quaerās* (*Aul.* 358), *quaerāt* (*Truc.* 554), *referās* (*Epid.* 339), *rogēt* (*Pseud.* 1267), *rogītēs* (*Curc.* 213, *Merc.* 165), *sīs* (*Asin.* 469, *Aul.* 458, *Capt.* 854, *Men.* 250, *Men.* 692, *Merc.* 528, *Mil.* 1215, *Mil.* 1422, *Most.* 74, *Most.* 601\*, *Most.* 771, *Most.* 877, *Persa* 140, *Pseud.* 118, *Pseud.* 889, *Rud.* 969\*, *Rud.* 1255, *Truc.* 754\*\*\*), *siēs* (*Amph.* 924), *spērēs* (*Mil.* 1423, *Rud.* 968, *Rud.* 1414), *suādeās* (*Most.* 215), *territēs* (*Curc.* 568, *Curc.* 713), *uereāre* (*Capt.* 349), *uereāminī* (*Capt.* 58), *uideāre* (*Most.* 812), *uortās* (*Rud.* 700)

Terence (13):<sup>96</sup> *crēdās* (*Andr.* 706), *dīcās* (*Ad.* 160), *errēs* (*Andr.* 704), *exīstumēt* (*Haut.* 30), *exspectētis* (*Ad.* 22, *Andr.* 980), *metuās* (*Eun.* 786), *nesciātis* (*Eun.* 961), *optundās* (*Ad.* 113), *patiāre* (*Eun.* 212), *quaerās* (*Haut.* 745\*\*<sup>97</sup>), *spectēs* (*Eun.* 988), *uereāre* (*Haut.* 939)

---

### X. Excluded (3):

Plautus (2): *habeāt* (*Cas.* 909<sup>98</sup>), *postulēs* (*Amph.* fr. v (iv)<sup>99</sup>)

Terence (1): *fugiās* (*Phorm.* 768<sup>100</sup>)

---

<sup>95</sup>The following instances might even be considered final: *cēseāt* (*Truc.* 73), *cōnferāt* (*Capt.* 795), *negēs* (*Poen.* 1155), *sīs* (*Asin.* 469, *Aul.* 458, *Mil.* 1215, *Most.* 74).

<sup>96</sup>Two of the items could also be interpreted as final clauses: *dīcās* (*Ad.* 160) and *optundās* (*Ad.* 113).

<sup>97</sup>If there is *et ferant* rather than *efferant* in *Haut.* 745, this is a main clause prohibition and cannot be pseudo-final.

<sup>98</sup>If Leo's conjecture *quaero <habeat nec>ne habeat* is correct, we have interrogative *-nē* rather than prohibitive *nē*.

<sup>99</sup>There is not enough context to show whether this is subordinate or prohibitive.

<sup>100</sup>*Ita fugiās nē praeter casam* should be interpreted as 'so you are to flee, but not beyond the hut', cf. Sargeant (1914: 91) *ad loc.* This is a case of constituent negation rather than of clause negation.

## B: Prohibitions with Negatives Other than *nē* or *nēue*

Due to the small number of tokens, I shall not list the items separately for Plautus and Terence.

### I. Second person perfect subjunctives (8):

*minimē* (1): *fēcerīs* (*Most.* 272 C)

*neque, nec* (3): *minuerīs* (*Andr.* 392\*\*\*), *parārīs* (*Haut.* 976\*), *uīderīs* (*Mil.* 573\* S)

*nihil* (1): *monuerīs* (*Curc.* 384 S)

*nūllus* (3): *affuerīs* (*Bacch.* 90 C), *dīxerīs* (*Hec.* 79), *ostenderīs* (*Rud.* 1135 C<sup>101</sup>)

---

### II. Second person present subjunctives (2):

*neque, nec* (2): *addās* (*Eun.* 78), *metuās* (*Eun.* 1080)

---

### III. Third person present subjunctives (15):

*neque, nec* (12): *accēdāt* (*Asin.* 799), *annuāt* (*Asin.* 784), *dēfiāt* (*Men.* 221), *dēt* (*Asin.* 777), *dīcāt* (*Asin.* 800), *faciāt* (*Asin.* 792), *nictēt* (*Asin.* 784), *nūtēt* (*Asin.* 784), *premāt* (*Asin.* 775), *rogēt* (*Asin.* 778), *sciāt* (*Asin.* 793), *supersīt* (*Men.* 221)

*nēmō* (2): *mittāt* (*Asin.* 756), *uocēt* (*Asin.* 768)

*nūllus* (1): *dīcāt* (*Aul.* 498)

---

### IV. Excluded (11):

*accēperīs* (*Persa* 395<sup>102</sup>), *ament* (*Pseud.* 272<sup>103</sup>), *ammittāt* (*Asin.* 236<sup>104</sup>), *caiēt* (*Cist.* 253<sup>105</sup>), *dēs* (*Capt.* 437<sup>106</sup>), *dīcās* (*Andr.* 205\*<sup>107</sup>), *dīxerit* (*Rud.* 790<sup>108</sup>),

---

<sup>101</sup>This could also be analysed as a future perfect, cf. *acceperīs* in *Persa* 395.

<sup>102</sup>I regard this as a future perfect.

<sup>103</sup>This is a wish.

<sup>104</sup>*Nec* continues an *ut*-clause.

<sup>105</sup>There is not enough context to interpret this token.

<sup>106</sup>*Neque* continues a final clause.

<sup>107</sup>*Neque* continues subordinating *nē* as if it were *nēue*; cf. H-S 536 on Plautine instances.

<sup>108</sup>This is a future perfect.

efficiātur (*Truc.* 907<sup>109</sup>), faciant (*Pseud.* 272<sup>110</sup>), pariant (*Most.* 418<sup>111</sup>),  
prōmōueris (*Andr.* 640<sup>112</sup>)

## C: The Constructions of *cauēre* and Related Words

In this section, I am only interested in those constructions that take regular verb forms.

### I. *Praecauēre*, *cautiō* and *cautus* (5):

- **Present subjunctive with *praecauēre nē* (1):**<sup>113</sup>  
Plautus (1): sentiāt (*Merc.* 334<sup>114</sup>)
- **Present subjunctives with *cautiō est nē* (3):**  
Plautus (1): pertundāt (*Pseud.* 170)  
Terence (2): corrumpantur (*Ad.* 421), resciscāt (*Andr.* 400)
- **Present subjunctive with *cautus nē* (1):**  
Plautus (1): crēdant (*Pseud.* 298<sup>\*\*\*115</sup>)

---

### II. Non-imperative forms of *cauēre* (26):

- **Verbs dependent on non-past forms of *cauēre* with *nē* (16):**  
Plautus (15):<sup>116</sup> attingās (*Asin.* 373), committam (*Most.* 924<sup>117</sup>), dēcipi-  
ātur (*Capt.* 255), dēlinquās (*Men.* 271), dēlinquāt (*Bacch.* 418), effugiāt  
(*Truc.* 37), exeāt (*Most.* 903), faciāt (*Cist.* 531, *Stich.* 122), inuideātur  
(*Bacch.* 544), irāscār (*Men.* 271), mittātur (*Aul.* 101), noceāt (*Pseud.*  
478), resciscāt (*Merc.* 466), sint (*Rud.* 1247)  
Terence (1): uideāt (*Haut.* 235<sup>\*\*</sup>)
- **Verb dependent on a non-past form of *cauēre* without *nē* (1):**  
Plautus (1): faciant (*Cas.* 902)

---

<sup>109</sup>The subjunctive is potential.

<sup>110</sup>The token is in a wish.

<sup>111</sup>*Neque* continues an *ut*-clause.

<sup>112</sup>I analyse this as a future perfect.

<sup>113</sup>The verb *praecauēre* is only attested once in Terence and has no relevant tokens there.

<sup>114</sup>This depends on *praecautōst opus* in *Merc.* 333 and could be final.

<sup>115</sup>This could also be a final clause.

<sup>116</sup>The following tokens depend on *cautō opus est*: *exeāt* (*Most.* 903), *faciāt* (*Cist.* 531), *resciscāt* (*Merc.* 466). In this construction, the participle does not have past meaning. All of the *nē*-clauses could be interpreted as final.

<sup>117</sup>The clause might be final.

- **Verbs dependent on past forms of *cauēre* with *nē* (9):**

Plautus (7): abīrēt (*Rud.* 378), dīcerēs (*Amph.* 944), essēmus (*Capt.* 253), facerem (*Merc.* 958), habērem (*Pseud.* 899\*\*<sup>118</sup>), īrētis (*Men.* 785<sup>119</sup>), uidērēt (*Merc.* 189)

Terence (2): essēt (*Andr.* 445), possēt (*Hec.* 471)

---

### III. Imperative form of *cauēre* other than *cauē* (1):

- **Future imperative *cauētō* with *nē* (1):**

Plautus (1): suscēseās (*Asin.* 372)

---

### IV. The form *cauē* (37):

I first list the tokens introduced by *nē*, then those without *nē*. Among the subjunctives with *nē*, those in the second person singular present precede those in the first and third persons present. Among the subjunctives without *nē*, the order is as follows: second person singular present, second person plural present, first and third persons present, second person singular perfect, third person singular perfect.

- ***Nē* + second singular present (3):**

Plautus (1): accumbās (*Most.* 326 C)

Terence (2): āmittās (*Eun.* 751), studeās (*Haut.* 303)

- ***Nē* + first/third present (2):**

Plautus (2): cadam (*Pseud.* 1296–7 C), crepent (*Trin.* 1011 C<sup>120</sup>)

- **Without *nē*, + second singular present (8):**

Plautus (7): cadās (*Most.* 324\*\* C<sup>121</sup>), gerās (*Capt.* 439 C), negēs (*Most.* 1025 S), obiectēs (*Most.* 810 C), praeterbitās (*Epid.* 437 S), sīs (*Cas.* 530 C), spernās (*Rud.* 704 C)

Terence (1): dēmueās (*Ad.* 170)

- **Without *nē*, + second plural present (1):**

Plautus (1): dirrumpātis (*Poen.* 117 S)

---

<sup>118</sup>The *nē*-clause could also be final.

<sup>119</sup>The subordinator is *nēuter*.

<sup>120</sup>The subordinate clause might also be given a final interpretation.

<sup>121</sup>Lindsay deletes *nē* for metrical reasons.

- **Without  $n\bar{e}$ , + first/third present (7):**

Plautus (3): audiam (*Stich.* 37 C), sīt (*Curc.* 461 S), uideam (*Aul.* 660 C)

Terence (4): audiam (*Haut.* 1031), resciscāt (*Phorm.* 764), sentiam (*Haut.* 1032\*\*), sentiāt (*Andr.* 403)

- **Without  $n\bar{e}$ , + second singular perfect (15):**

Plautus (13): dixerīs (*Persa* 389 S, *Trin.* 555 S), fecerīs (*Cas.* 332 S, *Mil.* 1368 C, *Poen.* 1023 S, *Stich.* 285 C, *Trin.* 513 S), fuerīs (*Aul.* 618 C), miserīs (*Aul.* 90 S), praeuorterīs (*Merc.* 113 C), responderīs (*Amph.* 608 C), rettulerīs (*Epid.* 439 S), sūmpserīs (*Cist.* 300 S)

Terence (2): ammirātus sīs (*Haut.* 826), dixerīs (*Ad.* 458\*)

- **Without  $n\bar{e}$ , + third singular perfect (1):**

Plautus (1): fecerūt (*Men.* 994 C)

## D: Object Clauses Dependent on Selected Forms of *facere*

I am interested in the contrast between presence and absence of subordinators. *Vt* can often be left out without changes in meaning. In what follows, I ignore  $n\bar{e}$ -clauses because  $n\bar{e}$  cannot be left out, so there is no choice. I count subordinate verbs, not superordinate verbs, but where two subordinate verbs depend on one single verb, this is recorded in a footnote.

### I. IMPERATIVES OF FACERE (142):

#### a) The form *fac(e)* (79):

- **Object clauses with *ut* (29):**

Plautus (19): abigās (*Amph.* 979\*\*\*), accipiāt (*Persa* 526), accumbam (*Truc.* 478), aduortās (*Pseud.* 210), appāreāt (*Men.* 1014), cēlēs (*Trin.* 800), concīās (*Asin.* 824), cūrēs (*Mil.* 812), dēferātur (*Men.* 948), exōrēs (*Rud.* 1218), impetrēs (*Cas.* 714), parātum sīt (*Asin.* 90), patiāre (*Rud.* 699\*\*\*<sup>122</sup>), redimātur (*Capt.* 337), sciam (*Pseud.* 696b), sint (*Poen.* 580), timeās (*Most.* 1145\*\*), uideam (*Rud.* 1088\*\*), ulciscāre (*Rud.* 698\*\*\*)

Terence (10): ammittār (*Eun.* 281), audeāt (*Haut.* 925\*), dūcāt (*Phorm.* 671), faciāt (*Phorm.* 785\*\*), meminērīs (*Eun.* 815), plācētur (*Phorm.* 784<sup>123</sup>), potiār (*Eun.* 362), sciam (*Haut.* 84), sīs (*Hec.* 764), siēs (*Andr.* 408)

<sup>122</sup>This item and *ulciscāre* in *Rud.* 698\*\*\* depend on the same verb.

<sup>123</sup>The superordinate verb is the same as for *faciāt* in *Phorm.* 785\*\*.

- **Object clauses without *ut* (50):**

Plautus (35): *abdūcant* (*Most.* 854\*), *accūrēs* (*Cas.* 421), *assiēs* (*Amph.* 976), *commentus sīs* (*Amph.* 979), *compescās* (*Poen.* 1035), *cūrāta sint* (*Amph.* 981<sup>124</sup>, *Aul.* 273), *dēlātum sīt* (*Pseud.* 190<sup>125</sup>), *dēs* (*Persa* 196), *gerās* (*Persa* 198), *habeant* (*Cas.* 527), *nōscam* (*Poen.* 893<sup>126</sup>), *occlūsae sient* (*Most.* 400), *olant* (*Cornicula* vii\*\*), *parāta sint* (*Amph.* 971\*\*), *possīs* (*Pseud.* 236), *recipiās* (*Merc.* 498), *sciam* (*Curc.* 414, *Curc.* 617, *Men.* 890, *Mil.* 277\*\*\*, *Pseud.* 696, *Rud.* 1023, *Trin.* 174), *sīs* (*Asin.* 726, *Capt.* 439, *Mil.* 1360, *Pseud.* 481\*\*\*), *siēs* (*Curc.* 521), *sīt* (*Persa* 438, *Pseud.* 157, *Rud.* 1215\*<sup>127</sup>), *uacent* (*Cas.* 521), *ualeās* (*Truc.* 883\*\*\*), *uideam* (*Epid.* 567)

Terence (15): *addūcantur* (*Eun.* 189), *appāreant* (*Eun.* 311\*), *audiāt* (*Eun.* 1042), *cōnsōlere* (*Ad.* 512), *cūrēs* (*Eun.* 501\*\*), *dēdūcantur* (*Eun.* 207), *dīcās* (*Eun.* 769), *lauēt* (*Andr.* 483\*\*), *mācerentur* (*Ad.* 381), *relinquās* (*Ad.* 814), *sentiāt* (*Haut.* 925\*\*), *sīs* (*Ad.* 511, *Eun.* 196\*\*\*), *trādās* (*Eun.* 320\*\*), *ueniās* (*Andr.* 712\*\*)

- **Excluded (2):**

*cēnēs* (*Most.* 1129<sup>128</sup>), *perdam* (*Poen.* 423<sup>129</sup>)

## b) The form *facite* (22):

- **Object clauses with *ut* (11):**

Plautus (10): *conueniant* (*Pseud.* 177), *gaudeam* (*Curc.* 314<sup>130</sup>), *madeant* (*Persa* 92), *offendam* (*Pseud.* 163<sup>131</sup>), *pateant* (*Stich.* 309), *redeāt* (*Most.* 78), *sīt* (*Cas.* 746–7\*), *siēt* (*Mil.* 1395), *sint* (*Stich.* 65), *subueniās* (*Bacch.* 36)

Terence (1): *sīt* (*Hec.* 48)

- **Object clauses without *ut* (11):**

Plautus (8): *ablātus siēt* (*Men.* 992), *accersātis* (*Cas.* 146), *assint* (*Pseud.* 181), *dēductus siēt* (*Capt.* 736), *eātis* (*Bacch.* 755), *īnflexa sīt* (*Men.* 867\*\*\*), *liceāt* (*Rud.* 621), *pateant* (*Aul.* 407)

Terence (3): *assītis* (*Eun.* 506), *augeāt* (*Ad.* 25), *sītis* (*Haut.* 28)

<sup>124</sup>I take *ut ministrēs* in l. 983 as independent.

<sup>125</sup>The following *ut*-clauses do not depend on *fac*.

<sup>126</sup>The following *ut* is final.

<sup>127</sup>*Vt cūrētur* in the same line is final.

<sup>128</sup>I do not regard this instance as dependent on *face* (*Most.* 1129\*\*); cf. the parallel *ueni illo ad cēnam, sic face* in *Stich.* 185, which cannot be dependent.

<sup>129</sup>This is final.

<sup>130</sup>Curculio says *facite uentum ut gaudeam*. I interpret this like him, with an object clause and *uentum* as a past participle. Palinurus' interpretation is of course 'break wind so that I can be happy', with a final clause.

<sup>131</sup>I take the *ut*-clause in l. 164 as consecutive, not as dependent on *facite*.



---

c) The form *facitō* (40):

- Object clauses with *ut* (22):

Plautus (20): clueās (*Capt.* 689), cōgitēs (*Merc.* 565, *Stich.* 519\*\*), faciās (*Bacch.* 1153, *Cist.* 62), meminērīs (*Aul.* 257, *Bacch.* 328, *Curc.* 210, *Mil.* 354, *Pseud.* 515), nūntiēs (*Merc.* 279), peruincās (*Curc.* 213), sciam (*Stich.* 148), sciās (*Cist.* 64), subueniās (*Bacch.* 36), trādās (*Merc.* 278), ueniās (*Men.* 437, *Mil.* 1177\*), ueniāt (*Persa* 388), ueniant (*Cas.* 524\*\*) Terence (2): seruēs (*Ad.* 845), sīt (*Hec.* 769)

- Object clauses without *ut* (18):

Plautus (15): afferās (*Asin.* 238), cōgitēs (*Most.* 216, *Trin.* 485), colās (*Cas.* 523), dēs (*Poen.* 1414<sup>132</sup>), habeās (*Poen.* 1278, *Poen.* 1418\*\*), iaceant (*Pseud.* 166), meminērīs (*Mil.* 807, *Stich.* 47), opsōnātum sīt (*Bacch.* 96), ōrēt (*Rud.* 1219), reddās (*Poen.* 1084, *Poen.* 1414), trānseāt (*Persa* 445)

Terence (3): cōgitēs (*Ad.* 500\*, *Ad.* 808), meminērīs (*Haut.* 550)

---

d) The form *facitōte* (1):

- Object clause without *ut* (1):

Plautus (1): appāreant (*Men.* 866\*)

## II. THE SIMPLE FUTURE *FACIAM* (FIRST SINGULAR) (51):

- Object clauses with *ut* (49):

Plautus (42): colāt (*Cas.* 158), coquant (*Aul.* 365\*), crēdātis (*Most.* 94), dēportēre (*Pseud.* 214), dēt (*Rud.* 1084), dīcās (*Amph.* 345), differant (*Curc.* 576), exputem (*Trin.* 234\*\*<sup>133</sup>), faciās (*Poen.* 165), faciāt (*Capt.* 409, *Poen.* 703), fateāre (*Mil.* 661\*), fiāt (*Amph.* 549<sup>134</sup>, *Epid.* 606), fiant (*Persa* 760), fugiāt (*Most.* 390), gaudeās (*Poen.* 197), īnspectēt (*Capt.* 65<sup>135</sup>), lāmentēris (*Persa* 744), meminērīs (*Persa* 494), meminērīt (*Capt.* 800), offendās (*Amph.* 613), pariāt (*Amph.* 879), persequār (*Capt.* 387<sup>136</sup>), petam (*Capt.* 387), poscāt (*Aul.* 32), praedicēs (*Amph.* 1085<sup>137</sup>),

---

<sup>132</sup>This and *reddās* in the same line depend on the same verb.

<sup>133</sup>This and *sim* in the same line depend on the same verb.

<sup>134</sup>The other *ut*-clause in ll. 549–50 is final.

<sup>135</sup>*Ōderīt* in *Capt.* 66 is in a final *ut*-clause.

<sup>136</sup>This and the following token depend on the same verb.

<sup>137</sup>The *ut*-clause in l. 1086 is final.

praerōdāt (*Pseud.* 884), pudeāt (*Capt.* 962), reperiāre (*Capt.* 610), sciās (*Asin.* 28, *Asin.* 140), sim (*Trin.* 234\*\*), sīs (*Aul.* 443), sīt (*Amph.* 55, *Amph.* 59, *Amph.* 1001, *Persa* 178, *Poen.* 1289, *Stich.* 445<sup>138</sup>), sint (*Pseud.* 145<sup>139</sup>), uideās (*Rud.* 1088)

Terence (7): addūcam (*Phorm.* 776<sup>140</sup>), cognōscās (*Eun.* 309), colligāt (*Ad.* 848), concēdam (*Hec.* 245), crēdāt (*Andr.* 701), meminērīs (*Eun.* 801), nōuerīs (*Hec.* 439)

• **Object clauses without *ut* (2):**

Plautus (2): fiāt (*Amph.* 876), sīt (*Amph.* 63)

• **Excluded (6):**

Plautus (2): ēliciāt (*Bacch.* 384<sup>141</sup>), emās (*Persa* 662<sup>142</sup>)

Terence (4): colam (*Hec.* 447<sup>143</sup>), dēfetīgēr (*Eun.* 220\*\*<sup>144</sup>), dormiam (*Eun.* 220\*\*), ostenderēt (*Hec.* 756<sup>145</sup>)

---

<sup>138</sup>*Parāta* is an adjective.

<sup>139</sup>The following two lines contain consecutive *ut*.

<sup>140</sup>The *ut*-clause in the following line is final.

<sup>141</sup>The *ut* is final.

<sup>142</sup>I take the clause as an adverbial clause, 'so that you can buy her'.

<sup>143</sup>This is in an adverbial clause, 'in such a way as to'.

<sup>144</sup>This and *dormiam* in the same line depend on the same verb. Both are in final clauses.

<sup>145</sup>The clause is in apposition and takes its tense and mood by attraction from a preceding present *irreālis* (imperfect subjunctive).

# Appendix 5: Infinitivals — Regular Forms

Appendix 5 presents the data which are needed for Ch. 5. In this appendix, I list infinitives and *accūsātīuus cum īnfīnītīuō*-constructions in Plautus and Terence. The question that I am interested in is under what circumstances future time has to be expressed by an *accūsātīuus cum īnfīnītīuō* with a future tense infinitive, and under what circumstances the present tense infinitive can refer to future time.

In section A, I list all the relevant infinitives after the verbs *cōnfīdere*, *crēdere*, *dīcere* and *spērāre*.<sup>146</sup> These are the verbs after which we also find sigmatic infinitives. I have not only included all the future tense infinitives and the present tense infinitives referring to future time, but also those present tense infinitives referring to something simultaneous. The reason for this is that it may sometimes be doubtful if a given present tense infinitive has present or future time reference.<sup>147</sup> However, I have excluded all the instances of *nōuisse* and *ōdisse*. Morphologically they are perfect infinitives, but semantically they function like present infinitives such as *scīre* or *spernere*; all of these special perfects have present meaning.<sup>148</sup>

The structure of section B is similar to that of section A. It lists the relevant constructions after sixteen verbs, *adiūrō*, *aiō*, *arbitrōr*, *audiō*, *autumō*, *cēnseō*, *dēnegō*, *intermīnōr*, *iūrō/iūs iūrāndum dō*, *mīnōr*, *negō*, *polliceōr*, *prōmittō*, *reprōmittō*, *sciō*, and *uoueō*.

---

<sup>146</sup>In sections A and B, I also check whether the superordinate verbs are in the past or not. Cases like *dīcit* in *Mil.* 346 were not classified as historic presents because they refer not only to the past, but also to the present. The potential perfect subjunctive in *Trin.* 755 was not counted as past. It is in a conditional clause, and although it refers to something anterior, it has future force.

<sup>147</sup>This is the case in *Rud.* 542, *ibi mē corruere posse aiēbās dītiās*. *Posse* can refer to general ability or to future ability here. In section B, I have classified this as an instance of *posse* with present meaning.

<sup>148</sup>*Nōuisse* or *nōsse* with subject accusatives is found in *Amph.* 104, *Asin.* 345, *Curc.* 342 and *Andr.* 952; *nōsse* without subject accusative occurs in *Rud.* 1098; and *ōdisse* with subject accusative can be seen in *Merc.* 761.

Section C contains all the present and future infinitives of *dare*, classified according to the construction types in which they occur.

Throughout this appendix, I am interested in whether there are subject accusatives or not. If two AcIs depend on the same verb, I have classified the second AcI as follows:

a) Sometimes the subject accusative is repeated, which means that I count both AcIs as having subject accusatives; cf. *Asin.* 356: *ego mē dixeram adductūrum et mē domī praestō fore.*

b) If the subject accusative is not repeated, but if the two AcIs have the same subject and are co-ordinated with *et* or the like, I classify both AcIs as having subject accusatives; cf. *Ad.* 15–16: *dīcunt maleuolī, hominēs nōbilis hunc adiūtāre assiduēque unā scribere.*

c) If the subject accusative is not repeated and if there is no co-ordinator, I classify the second AcI as not having a subject accusative; cf. *Trin.* 736–7: *dōtem dare te eī dīcās, facere id eius ob amicitiam patris.*

I mark instances where the infinitive<sup>149</sup> or the accusative<sup>150</sup> is textually problematic with one asterisk. If the superordinate verb<sup>151</sup> is uncertain, I use two asterisks, and if both the infinitive or accusative and the superordinate verb are problematic, I write three asterisks. I have not normally considered conjectures by modern scholars, for example in *Men.* 1094, where Seyffert wants *item* instead of the subject accusative *idem*.

## A: The Present and Future Infinitives after *cōn-fīdō*, *crēdō*, *dīcō* and *spērō*

### Abbreviations:

n=not the same subject of the superordinate verb and the infinitive of the AcI

s=same subject of the superordinate verb and the infinitive of the AcI

pacc=subject accusative is a simple pronoun not modified by anything like a relative clause (forms of *hic*, *ille*, *is*, indefinite *quis*, and personal pronouns)

---

<sup>149</sup>The following examples show my rationale for using asterisks for infinitives: the verb itself is unclear in *Phorm.* 839\*, where *cōnfundere* is an alternative reading for *cōnficere*; in *Hec.* 872\* the prefix is uncertain; in *Hec.* 629\* the ending is unclear (*-um* or *-am*); in *Andr.* 668\*, the reading is *ductūrum* or *ductūrum esse*.

<sup>150</sup>I have used an asterisk if the presence of the accusative itself is doubtful, or if it may be a different noun/pronoun, as in *Hec.* 521, where *ipsum* and *illum* are found in the manuscripts. I have not marked alternative readings such as *mēd* and *mē* in *Men.* 147 or *tēte* and *tē* in *Phorm.* 467.

<sup>151</sup>I have marked with two asterisks instances such as *Haut.* 591\*\*, where *crēdis* and *crēdās* can be found in the manuscripts. Alternatives such as *dīce* and *dīc* (*Men.* 147), on the other hand, have not been given asterisks.

nacc=subject accusative is a noun, an infinitival phrase, or a clause<sup>152</sup>

a=atelic

t=telic

C=canticum

S=senarius

**Totals:**

**Infinitives: 432 (298 in Plautus, 134 in Terence), which can be subdivided as follows:**

**Present tense infinitives referring to present time: 266 (182 in Plautus, 84 in Terence)**

**Future tense infinitives (always referring to future time): 133 (92 in Plautus, 41 in Terence)**

**Present tense infinitives referring to future time: 33 (24 in Plautus, 9 in Terence)**

**CŌNFĪDŌ (17):**

• **Future tense infinitives, future meaning (17):**

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (10):

Plautus (9<sup>153</sup>=3 n + nacc, 3 n + pacc, 3 s + pacc=7 a, 2 t=6 C, 3 S): aduentūrum (*Curc.* 143 n nacc t C), fore (*Capt.* 575 s pacc a C, *Persa* 286\* s pacc a C, *Persa* 627\* n pacc a C, *Poen.* 1165 n nacc a C, *Rud.* 633 n nacc a C, *Trin.* 460 n pacc a S), optentūrum (*Stich.* 455 s pacc a S), reeditūrōs (*Merc.* 746 n pacc t S)

Terence (1<sup>154</sup>=1 n + pacc=1 a): affutūrum esse (*Haut.* 160 n pacc a)

---

Active infinitives without subject accusatives (7):

Plautus (6<sup>155</sup>=6 n=5 a, 1 t=2 C, 4 S): affore (*Capt.* 696\* n a S), cōnfutūrum (*Mil.* 941\* n a C), fore (*Amph.* 935 n a S, *Capt.* 171 n a S, *Cist.* 73 n a C<sup>156</sup>), prōuentūram (*Persa* 456 n t S)

---

<sup>152</sup>I also count the following pronouns under the nouns: *aliquis*, *quisquam*, *omnis*, *uterque*, *ipse*, *alius*, *nēmō/nihil*, and interrogative and relative pronouns. These pronouns often have more semantic content than deictic pronouns like *hic*, or they cannot be left out, for example interrogative pronouns and *nihil*.

<sup>153</sup>All the items depend on non-past superordinate verbs.

<sup>154</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>155</sup>None of the superordinate verbs is past.

<sup>156</sup>*Fore* picks up *erit istī morbō melius* and stands for *fore istī morbō melius*. If there were a subject accusative *id*, the meaning would be different: it would be *cōnfīdam fore id* (*quod dīcis*).

Terence (1<sup>157</sup>=1 n=1 a): fore (*Ad.* 826 n a)

## CRĒDŌ (134):

### • Present tense infinitives, present meaning (97):

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (66):

Plautus (39=18 n + nacc, 16 n + pacc, 5 s + pacc=37 a, 2 t=22 C, 17 S): amāre (*Amph.* 517 n pacc a C, *Mil.* 1391 n nacc a S), anteuenire (*Cas.* 217a n nacc a C<sup>158</sup>), dīcere (*Cas.* 67 n nacc t S), dormīre (*Amph.* 282 n nacc a C), esse (*Amph.* 913 n pacc a S, *Bacch.* 501 n nacc a S, *Bacch.* 700 n pacc a C, *Capt.* 605 n pacc a C, *Capt.* 606 n nacc a C, *Capt.* 675\*\* n pacc a S, *Cas.* 667 s pacc a C, *Curc.* 452 n pacc a S, *Epid.* 353 n nacc a C, *Men.* 1071 s pacc a C, *Mil.* 254\* n nacc a C, *Most.* 94 n pacc a C<sup>159</sup>, *Most.* 255 n nacc a C, *Persa* 533 n pacc a C, *Poen.* 276 n pacc a C, *Poen.* 1385 n pacc a S, *Trin.* 107 n pacc a S, *Trin.* 545 n pacc a S, *Vid.* 45 n pacc a S), expostulāre (*Most.* 521 n nacc a S), facere (*Merc.* 7 n nacc a S<sup>160</sup>), gaudēre (*Trin.* 53 n pacc a S), habitāre (*Men.* 335 n nacc a S), inesse (*Rud.* 459 n nacc a S), mandāre (*Merc.* 632\* s pacc t C<sup>161</sup>), pendēre (*Trin.* 607 s pacc a C), pertinēre (*Merc.* 252 n nacc a S), posse (*Trin.* 649 s pacc a C, *Truc.* 544 n nacc a C), potis esse (*Pseud.* 1302\* n pacc a C), quaeritāre (*Epid.* 613 n nacc a C), scīre (*Merc.* 513 n nacc a C), uelle (*Merc.* 453 n nacc a C, *Vid.* 10 n pacc a S)

Terence (27=10 n + nacc, 14 n + pacc, 3 s + pacc=23 a, 4 t): cōficere (*Phorm.* 839\* n pacc t), crēdere (*Andr.* 947 n pacc a), esse (*Ad.* 58 n nacc a, *Ad.* 66 n nacc a, *Ad.* 221 n pacc a, *Ad.* 594 n pacc a, *Ad.* 748 s pacc a, *Andr.* 47 n nacc a<sup>162</sup>, *Andr.* 706 n pacc a, *Eun.* 703 n pacc a, *Haut.* 714\*\*\* n pacc a, *Haut.* 1034 s pacc a, *Haut.* 1063 n nacc a, *Hec.* 103 n pacc a, *Hec.* 535 n nacc a, *Phorm.* 529 n pacc a, *Phorm.* 855 n pacc a, *Phorm.* 875 n nacc a), exīre (*Hec.* 521\* n nacc t), facere (*Eun.* 1070 n pacc t, *Haut.* 577 n pacc a<sup>163</sup>), gaudēre (*Andr.* 946 n nacc a), licēre (*Haut.* 561\*\*\* n nacc a), lūdere (*Andr.* 787\*\* s pacc t), placēre (*Eun.* 520 n pacc a), portāre (*Andr.* 433 n pacc a), uīuere (*Hec.* 566 n nacc a)

---

Active infinitives without subject accusatives (15):

Plautus (11=10 n, 1 s=10 a, 1 t=8 C, 3 S): afferre (*Curc.* 226 n t S), esse (*Amph.* 129 n a S, *Asin.* 195 n a C, *Bacch.* 1138 n a C, *Capt.* 559 n a

<sup>157</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>158</sup>Here the verb is stative, 'be better'.

<sup>159</sup>Alternatively, the accusative *id* might belong purely to *faciam* in the same line, in which case it would not be a subject accusative, but the object of *faciam*.

<sup>160</sup>*Tantī facere* is stative.

<sup>161</sup>Lindsay reads *egomet*; I follow Ritschl and read *ego mē*.

<sup>162</sup>*Nōn sunt* in the same line shows the present reference of *esse*.

<sup>163</sup>*Facere* picks up the preceding phrases and stands for 'behave decently', which is atelic.

C, *Men.* 1144–5 n a C, *Persa* 356 n a S, *Truc.* 192 n a C), inesse (*Rud.* 1188 n a C<sup>164</sup>), tenēre (*Rud.* 246 s a C), uelle (*Cas.* 355 n a C)

Terence (4=4 n=3 a, 1 t): esse (*Eun.* 118 n a, *Eun.* 858 n a), facere (*Ad.* 518\* n t), intellegere (*Haut.* 881 n a<sup>165</sup>)

---

Medio-passive infinitives with subject accusatives (13):

Plautus (6=2 n + nacc, 4 n + pacc=3 a, 3 t=2 C, 4 S): fierī (*Cas.* 760 n nacc t S, *Mil.* 1295 n pacc t S), exsequī (*Epid.* 174 n pacc a C), mentīrī (*Amph.* 468 n pacc a S), uortier (*Rud.* 886 n nacc t S), uidērier (*Poen.* 297 n pacc a C)

Terence (7=1 n + nacc, 4 n + pacc, 2 s + pacc=4 a, 3 t): claudier (*Ad.* 607\* s pacc t), darī (*Andr.* 2 n nacc t), dīcī (*Eun.* 177 n pacc t), ignōrārier (*Phorm.* 931 s pacc a), iocārī (*Haut.* 729 n pacc a), loquī (*Phorm.* 278 n pacc a), mīrārī (*Hec.* 731 n pacc a)

---

Medio-passive infinitives without subject accusatives (3):

Plautus (1=1 n=1 a=1 C): pereundum esse (*Mil.* 359\* n a C<sup>166</sup>)

Terence (2=2 n=1 a, 1 t): fierī (*Eun.* 245 n t), uidērī (*Hec.* 141 n a)

---

• **Future tense infinitives, future meaning (36):**

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (27):

Plautus (16<sup>167</sup>=10 n + nacc, 5 n + pacc, 1 s + pacc=11 a, 5 t=12 C, 4 S): aduentūrum (*Amph.* 654 s pacc t C), affutūrum (*Asin.* 398 n pacc a C), captūrum (*Trin.* 724 n nacc t C<sup>168</sup>), ēuentūram (*Rud.* 1186 n nacc t C), factūram (*Poen.* 409 n nacc t C), fore (*Most.* 70 n nacc a S, *Most.* 428\*\*\* n nacc a S, *Persa* 270 n pacc a C, *Persa* 718 n nacc a S, *Pseud.* 176 n nacc a C, *Trin.* 1086 n pacc a C, *Vid.* 82\*\*\* n nacc a S), futūrum (*Mil.* 776 n nacc a C, *Most.* 202 n pacc a C), placitūram (*Cas.* 221\* n nacc a C<sup>169</sup>), redditūrum esse (*Curc.* 542 n pacc t C)

Terence (11<sup>170</sup>=6 n + nacc, 4 n + pacc, 1 s + pacc=7 a, 4 t): aduorsūrōs (*Phorm.* 467 n nacc a<sup>171</sup>), affutūrum esse (*Eun.* 739 n pacc a), commūtātūrum esse (*Andr.* 410–11 n nacc a<sup>172</sup>), cōnfectūrōs (*Ad.* 693 n nacc t),

---

<sup>164</sup>Instead of a subject accusative there is a partitive genitive *argenti et auri*.

<sup>165</sup>*Intellegere* is normally telic, ‘grasp something’, but here we have *nīl intellegere*, which seems to be stative because of the negation.

<sup>166</sup>This is atelic because the obligation persists. A subject accusative would be impossible.

<sup>167</sup>Twelve of the superordinate verbs are non-past and four are past.

<sup>168</sup>The subject accusative is *illum*, but I classify it as ‘nacc’ rather than ‘pacc’ because it is modified by a relative clause.

<sup>169</sup>The subject accusative <*ēscam*> is a conjecture.

<sup>170</sup>Seven of the superordinate verbs are non-past and four are past.

<sup>171</sup>The meaning of the phrase containing this infinitive is ‘look after, care for’.

<sup>172</sup>This becomes atelic because of the negation.

ductūrum (*Ad.* 812 n pacc t), factūrum (*Andr.* 162 n nacc t, *Haut.* 591\*\* n pacc t), fore (*Ad.* 666 n nacc a, *Hec.* 99 n nacc a), habitūrum (*Eun.* 852\* s pacc a), lātūrum esse (*Hec.* 261 n pacc a)

---

Active infinitives without subject accusatives (8):

Plautus (5<sup>173</sup>=5 n=5 a=2 C, 3 S): affutūrum (*Persa* 91 n a S), fore (*Asin.* 463 n a C, *Most.* 55 n a S, *Pseud.* 1060 n a S, *Trin.* 723 n a C)

Terence (3<sup>174</sup>=3 n=2 a, 1 t): factūrum (*Ad.* 750 n t), fore (*Hec.* 499 n a, *Hec.* 617 n a)

---

Medio-passive infinitive with subject accusative (1):

Terence (1<sup>175</sup>=1 n + pacc=1 t): rescītum īrī (*Ad.* 70 n pacc t)

---

• **Present tense infinitive, future meaning (1):**

Medio-passive infinitive with subject accusative (1):

Terence (1<sup>176</sup>=1 n + pacc=1 t): occultārī (*Hec.* 869\* n pacc t)

---

- (Excluded: esse (*Poen.* 456b<sup>177</sup>, *Stich.* 48), potis (*Cas.* 217a<sup>178</sup>))

**DĪCŌ (247):**

• **Present tense infinitives, present meaning (164):**

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (138):

Plautus (102=40 n + nacc, 35 n + pacc, 27 s + pacc=93 a, 9 t=59 C, 43 S): adesse (*Bacch.* 228 n nacc a S, *Mil.* 1102\* n nacc a S, *Truc.* 754\*\*\* n pacc a C), afferre (*Trin.* 814 s pacc t S), amāre (*Merc.* 754 s pacc a S, *Merc.* 994 s pacc a C, *Persa* 303 n pacc a C, *Truc.* 590 n pacc a C, *Truc.* 607 s pacc a C), astāre (*Men.* 331 n pacc a S), attinēre (*Rud.* 611 n nacc a S), crēdere (*Persa* 485–6 s pacc a C), currere (*Stich.* 288a\*\* n nacc a C<sup>179</sup>), dūcere (*Men.* 887 s pacc t S), emere (*Epid.* 278 s pacc t C), esse (*Amph.* 373 s pacc a C, *Amph.* 384 s pacc a C, *Amph.* 1123 n nacc a C, *Amph.* 1124 n nacc a C, *Asin.* 352 s pacc a C, *Asin.* 667 n pacc a C, *Aul.* 174 n pacc a C, *Aul.* 804 n nacc a C, *Bacch.* 41 n nacc a C, *Bacch.* 266 n

<sup>173</sup>None of the superordinate verbs is past.

<sup>174</sup>Two of the superordinate verbs are non-past and one is past.

<sup>175</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>176</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>177</sup>This and the following token are excluded by Lindsay.

<sup>178</sup>*Esse* is absent.

<sup>179</sup>This is a senarius in a canticum.



nacc a S, *Bacch.* 699 n nacc a C, *Bacch.* 1055 n pacc a S, *Capt.* 59 n nacc a S, *Capt.* 511\* n pacc a C, *Curc.* 136 s pacc a C, *Curc.* 513 n pacc a C, *Epid.* 26\*\* n nacc a C, *Epid.* 698 n nacc a C, *Men.* 147 n pacc a C, *Men.* 283 n nacc a S, *Men.* 737 n nacc a S, *Men.* 889\* n nacc a S, *Men.* 904 n nacc a C, *Men.* 1078 s pacc a C, *Merc.* 128 n nacc a C, *Merc.* 270 n pacc a S, *Merc.* 293 s pacc a S, *Merc.* 512\*\* n nacc a C, *Merc.* 516 n nacc a C, *Mil.* 1089 n pacc a C, *Mil.* 1101 n nacc a S, *Mil.* 1131\*\*\* n nacc a S, *Mil.* 1166\*\*\* n nacc a C, *Mil.* 1369\*\*\* n pacc a C, *Mil.* 1369\*\* n pacc a C, *Mil.* 1370\*\*\* n nacc a C, *Most.* 1042 n nacc a C, *Persa* 302\*\* n nacc a C, *Poen.* 175 s pacc a S, *Poen.* 303 n pacc a C, *Poen.* 391 n nacc a C, *Poen.* 774 n nacc a S, *Poen.* 780 n nacc a S, *Poen.* 962\* n pacc a S, *Pseud.* 597 n nacc a C, *Pseud.* 637 s pacc a C, *Pseud.* 690 s pacc a C, *Pseud.* 744 n nacc a C, *Pseud.* 966 n nacc a C, *Pseud.* 1323 n pacc a C, *Rud.* 54 n nacc a S, *Rud.* 56 n nacc a S, *Rud.* 99 n pacc a S, *Rud.* 757 n nacc a C, *Rud.* 971 n nacc a C, *Rud.* 1025 n pacc a C, *Rud.* 1132\*\* n pacc a C, *Rud.* 1231 n nacc a S, *Trin.* 466 n nacc a S, *Truc.* 644 n pacc a S, *Truc.* 689 n pacc a S), ferre (*Trin.* 778 s pacc a S, *Trin.* 975 s pacc a C), fugitāre (*Capt.* 541 n pacc a C<sup>180</sup>), habēre (*Epid.* 366 s pacc a C), impendēre (*Calceolus* n nacc a S), ire (*Curc.* 12 n pacc t S, *Curc.* 362 s pacc t C, *Rud.* 265 n pacc a C), ōrāre (*Cas.* 705 n pacc t C, *Cist.* 638 n pacc t C), petere (*Trin.* 814 s pacc t S), potesse (*Rud.* 55 n pacc a S), quæritāre (*Poen.* 690 n pacc a S), rēferre (*Truc.* 71 n nacc a S), sapere (*Pseud.* 680\*\* n pacc a C), scīre (*Men.* 243 s pacc a S), solēre (*Men.* 375 n pacc a C), uelle (*Asin.* 9 s pacc a S, *Capt.* 737 n pacc a S, *Poen.* 176 s pacc a S, *Pseud.* 634 n pacc a C, *Trin.* 777 s pacc a S, *Vid.* 21\*\* s pacc a S), uendere (*Poen.* 899 s pacc t C), uīuere (*Amph.* 75 n pacc a S, *Mil.* 56 n pacc a S)

Terence (36=12 n + nacc, 14 n + pacc, 10 s + pacc=34 a, 2 t): adiūtāre (*Ad.* 16\* n nacc a<sup>181</sup>), amāre (*Andr.* 645 s pacc a), cupere (*Eun.* 165 s pacc a), esse (*Ad.* 251 n pacc a, *Ad.* 625\*\*\* n pacc a, *Ad.* 719 n nacc a, *Andr.* 513 s pacc a, *Andr.* 852 n nacc a, *Eun.* 371 n pacc a, *Eun.* 701 n pacc a, *Eun.* 766 n pacc a, *Eun.* 805 n pacc a, *Eun.* 962 n pacc a, *Eun.* 1093\* n nacc a, *Haut.* 106 n pacc a, *Haut.* 228 n nacc a, *Haut.* 617 n pacc a, *Haut.* 734 n pacc a, *Haut.* 767 n nacc a, *Hec.* 118 s pacc a, *Hec.* 687\*\* n nacc a, *Phorm.* 381 n pacc a, *Phorm.* 593\* n nacc a<sup>182</sup>, *Phorm.* 681 n nacc a, *Phorm.* 712 n nacc a), exspectāre (*Hec.* 451\* s pacc a), facere (*Phorm.* 659 n pacc a<sup>183</sup>), habēre (*Haut.* 94 s pacc a), ōrāre (*Hec.* 809 n pacc t), pauitāre (*Hec.* 321 n nacc a), posse (*Hec.* 678\* s pacc a), rogāre (*Haut.* 304 n pacc t), scībere (*Ad.* 16 n nacc a), uelle (*Eun.* 167 s pacc a, *Hec.* 119 s pacc a, *Hec.* 558 s pacc a)

<sup>180</sup>This is iterative and hence atelic.

<sup>181</sup>This is iterative ('support') and thus atelic.

<sup>182</sup>Here and in the following token, I take *opus* 'need' as subject accusative.

<sup>183</sup>We could translate *facere* as 'behave'; it is atelic here.

Active infinitives without subject accusatives (15):

Plautus (12=8 n, 4 s=11 a, 1 t=8 C, 4 S): cubāre (*Mil.* 1108 n a S), dīcere (*Amph.* 345 n t C), esse (*Cist.* 667 n a C, *Curc.* 463\* n a C, *Mil.* 247\* n a C, *Pseud.* 1156 n a C, *Rud.* 1078 n a C, *Truc.* 650 n a S), tacēre (*Pseud.* 209\* s a C), uelle (*Asin.* 806 s a S, *Poen.* 177 s a S, *Stich.* 564 s a C)

Terence (3=3 s=3 a): posse (*Haut.* 501 s a<sup>184</sup>), uelle (*Ad.* 151 s a, *Andr.* 394\* s a)

---

Medio-passive infinitives with subject accusatives (10):

Plautus (8=1 n + nacc, 3 n + nacc, 4 s + nacc=4 a, 4 t=6 C, 2 S): aspernārī (*Capt.* 542 n nacc a C), dēuortier (*Mil.* 240 n nacc t C), portendier (*Poen.* 749 n nacc t S), proficīscī (*Curc.* 1 n nacc t S), rapī (*Cist.* 61\* s nacc t C), sectārī (*Mil.* 162 s nacc a C), uocārī<sup>185</sup> (*Curc.* 544 s nacc a C, *Men.* 1095 s nacc a C)

Terence (2=1 n + nacc, 1 n + nacc=2 a): asseruārī (*Haut.* 734 n nacc a), fierī (*Eun.* 532 n nacc a<sup>186</sup>)

---

Medio-passive infinitive without subject accusative (1):

Plautus (1=1 n=1 a=1 C): crēdī (*Curc.* 680 n a C<sup>187</sup>)

---

• **Future tense infinitives, future meaning (57):**

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (45):

Plautus (33<sup>188</sup>=7 n + nacc, 12 n + nacc, 14 s + nacc=7 a, 26 t=10 C, 23 S): abitūrōs (*Amph.* 208 n nacc t C), ablātūrūm (*Bacch.* 741 s nacc t C, *Bacch.* 805 s nacc t S), āctūrūm esse (*Persa* 400 n nacc t S), adductūrām (*Truc.* 133\* s nacc t C), adductūrūm (*Amph.* 919 s nacc t S, *Asin.* 356 s nacc t C), arcessītūrām esse (*Cas.* 553 n nacc t C, *Cas.* 600 n nacc t S), cēnātūrūm esse (*Stich.* 511\* n nacc t C), cūrātūrūm (*Men.* 529 n nacc t S, *Men.* 548 n nacc t S), datūrūm (*Most.* 633 n nacc t S, *Pseud.* 406 s nacc t S), effectūrūm (*Pseud.* 701\* s nacc t C), factūrām (*Cas.* 483 s nacc t S), factūrūm (*Mil.* 1070\* n nacc t C, *Most.* 423\* n nacc t S<sup>189</sup>, *Rud.* 95 s nacc t S), factūrūm esse (*Epid.* 415 n nacc t S), fore (*Asin.* 356 s nacc a C, *Merc.* 105\*\* s nacc a S, *Rud.* 864 s nacc a S, *Trin.* 2 n nacc a S), futūrām (*Amph.* 53 n nacc a S), futūrūm (*Cas.* 788 n nacc a S, *Pseud.*

---

<sup>184</sup>I follow Kauer-Lindsay's punctuation, but the subject accusative *mē* could belong to *posse* in the same line rather than to the preceding *datūrūm*.

<sup>185</sup>In these two tokens, the verb means 'be called' and is atelic.

<sup>186</sup>Here, repeated action is expressed by the infinitive, so this must be atelic.

<sup>187</sup>A subject accusative would change the verbal meaning.

<sup>188</sup>Nine of the superordinate verbs are non-past, four are historic presents, and twenty are past.

<sup>189</sup>The subject accusative *mē* is a conjecture.

106 n pacc a S), inuentūrum (*Bacch.* 856 n pacc t S), itūrum esse (*Merc.* 83 s pacc t S), missūrum (*Cas.* 602 n pacc t S), redditūrum (*Vid.* 90\*\* s pacc t S), reductūrum (*Amph.* 208 n pacc t C), uentūrum (*Stich.* 654 n pacc t S)

Terence (12<sup>190</sup>=2 n + nacc, 5 n + pacc, 5 s + pacc=5 a, 7 t): concessūrum (*Hec.* 629\* n nacc t), datūram esse (*Haut.* 735 n pacc t), datūrum (*Haut.* 501 s pacc a<sup>191</sup>), ductūrum (*Andr.* 383 s pacc t, *Andr.* 661\* s pacc t), fore (*Ad.* 83 n pacc a), futūra (*Eun.* 946 n nacc a), futūrum esse (*Andr.* 621\*\*\* n pacc a), inuentūrum (*Andr.* 615 s pacc t), lātūrum esse (*Hec.* 497 n pacc a), positūrum (*Ad.* 333 s pacc t), uentūram (*Haut.* 735 n pacc t)

---

Active infinitives without subject accusatives (11):

Plautus (8<sup>192</sup>=5 n, 3 s=1 a, 7 t=6 C, 2 S): affore (*Epid.* 273\* n a C), attōnsūrum esse (*Capt.* 268 n t C), datūrōs (*Rud.* 405 n t C), datūrum (*Rud.* 1213 n t C), factūrum (*Mil.* 346 s t C, *Pseud.* 565 s t S), uentūrum (*Most.* 1134 s t C, *Stich.* 264–5 n t S)

Terence (3<sup>193</sup>=1 n, 2 s=3 t): datūrum (*Phorm.* 627 n t), opsecrātūrum (*Ad.* 334 s t), uentūram (*Haut.* 726 s t)

---

Medio-passive infinitive without subject accusative (1):

Plautus (1<sup>194</sup>=1 s=1 a=1 C): dēceptum fore (*Stich.* 610 s a C<sup>195</sup>)

---

• **Present tense infinitives, future meaning (26):**

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (15):

Plautus (9<sup>196</sup>=2 n + nacc, 7 s + pacc=1 a, 8 t=8 C, 1 S): dare (*Amph.* 209 n nacc t C<sup>197</sup>, *Asin.* 366 s pacc t C, *Cas.* 479 s pacc t C, *Trin.* 736 s pacc t S), dūcere (*Poen.* 529 s pacc t C), esse (*Persa* 260 n nacc a C<sup>198</sup>), īre (*Merc.* 468 s pacc t C<sup>199</sup>), petere (*Men.* 1056 s pacc t C), redhibēre (*Merc.* 419 s pacc t C)

---

<sup>190</sup>Seven of the superordinate verbs are non-past and five are past.

<sup>191</sup>This is atelic because the infinitive is combined with *operam*. I follow Kauer-Lindsay's punctuation, but *mē* could also go with the following *posse*, in which case it would be the subject accusative of *posse*, not of *datūrum*.

<sup>192</sup>Five of the superordinate verbs are non-past and three are past.

<sup>193</sup>Two of the superordinate verbs are non-past and one is past.

<sup>194</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>195</sup>This is atelic because it expresses the state after the action.

<sup>196</sup>One of the superordinate verbs is non-past, one is a historic present, and seven are past.

<sup>197</sup>This analysis implies that *Argūōs* is still the logical subject, rather than merely Amphitruo himself.

<sup>198</sup>The adverbial *diēseptumēi* makes the future reference explicit.

<sup>199</sup>*Īre* picks up *ībō* in *Merc.* 329.

Terence (6<sup>200</sup>=1 n + pacc, 5 s + pacc=6 t): dare (*Ad.* 203 s pacc t, *Eun.* 793 s pacc t, *Phorm.* 532 s pacc t<sup>201</sup>, *Phorm.* 720 n pacc t), dūcere (*Andr.* 411 s pacc t), īre (*Phorm.* 837 s pacc t)

---

Active infinitives without subject accusatives (10):

Plautus (10<sup>202</sup>=2 n, 8 s=10 t=4 C, 6 S): cūrāre (*Men.* 538 n t S<sup>203</sup>), dare (*Most.* 633 s t S, *Persa* 602 s t C, *Trin.* 755 s t S), dūidere (*Aul.* 108 s t S), dūcere (*Poen.* 531 s t C), facere (*Trin.* 737 s t S), impetrāre (*Mil.* 231 n t C), īre (*Asin.* 394 s t C, *Capt.* 194 s t S<sup>204</sup>)

---

Medio-passive infinitive without subject accusative (1):

Plautus (1<sup>205</sup>=1 n=1 t=1 C): darī (*Poen.* 259\* n t C)

---

- (Excluded: factūrum esse (*Epid.* 419<sup>206</sup>), largīrī (*Trin.* 742\*<sup>207</sup>), necessum (*Mil.* 1118<sup>208</sup>), sistere (*Trin.* 743\*), solere (*Stich.* 168<sup>209</sup>))

### SPĒRŌ (34):

- **Present tense infinitives, present meaning (5):**

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (4):

Plautus (2=2 s + pacc=2 a=1 C, 1 S): posse (*Rud.* 996 s pacc a C), potesse (*Most.* 1015 s pacc a S),

Terence (2=2 s + pacc=2 a): habēre (*Eun.* 920 s pacc a), posse (*Hec.* 147 s pacc a)

---

Active infinitive without subject accusative (1):

Terence (1=1 n=1 a): posse (*Andr.* 553 n a)

---

<sup>200</sup>Four of the superordinate verbs are non-past and two are past.

<sup>201</sup>The future reference is obvious because there is the adverb *crās*.

<sup>202</sup>Five of the superordinate verbs are non-past and five are past.

<sup>203</sup>The servant's question *dīcam cūrāre?* refers back to Menaechmus' order *mē cūrātūrum dīcītō* in l. 529.

<sup>204</sup>*Īre* refers to *ego ībo ad frātre*m in *Capt.* 126.

<sup>205</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>206</sup>The line is excluded by Lindsay.

<sup>207</sup>If we adopt Lindsay's punctuation, *largīrī* in *Trin.* 742\* and *sistere* in *Trin.* 743\* depend on *autument* in l. 743, not on *dīcant* in l. 740.

<sup>208</sup>Lindsay deletes *esse* for metrical reasons.

<sup>209</sup>The superordinate verb *dīcier* is in a corrupt line (167).

• **Future tense infinitives, future meaning (23):**

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (16):

Plautus (11<sup>210</sup>=6 n + nacc, 2 n + pacc, 1 s + nacc, 2 s + pacc=4 a, 7 t=9 C, 2 S): adeptūrum (*Capt.* 780 s pacc t C), ēuentūram (*Rud.* 631 n nacc t C, *Rud.* 637 n nacc t C), ēuentūrum (*Merc.* 999 n nacc t C), factūrum (*Stich.* 463 s pacc t S), fore (*Cas.* 973 n nacc a C, *Men.* 1094 n pacc a C, *Truc.* 795 n nacc a C), futūrum (*Rud.* 630 n nacc a C), inuentūrum esse (*Pseud.* 105 s nacc t S), paritūram (*Amph.* 718 n pacc t C)

Terence (5<sup>211</sup>=4 n + nacc, 1 n + pacc=3 a, 2 t): abitūram (*Hec.* 156 n pacc t), adiūtūrōs (*Andr.* 522 n nacc a<sup>212</sup>), ēuentūrum esse (*Hec.* 872\* n nacc t), fore (*Eun.* 873 n nacc a, *Hec.* 724 n nacc a)

Active infinitives without subject accusatives (6):

Plautus (2<sup>213</sup>=2 n=2 a=2 C): fore (*Truc.* 189\*\* n a C<sup>214</sup>), futūrum (*Mil.* 1231 n a C)

Terence (4<sup>215</sup>=4 n=3 a, 1 t): cōnfore (*Andr.* 167 n a), ēmersūrum (*Andr.* 562 n t), fore (*Ad.* 71 n a, *Phorm.* 1025 n a)

Medio-passive infinitive with subject accusative (1):

Plautus (1<sup>216</sup>=1 n + nacc=1 a=1 S): parātās fore (*Cas.* 54 n nacc a S<sup>217</sup>)

• **Present tense infinitives, future meaning (6):**

Active infinitives with subject accusatives (4):

Plautus (2<sup>218</sup>=1 n + nacc, 1 n + pacc=2 a=2 C): esse (*Rud.* 636 n nacc a C, *Truc.* 936 n pacc a C)

Terence (2<sup>219</sup>=1 n + nacc, 1 s + pacc=1 a, 1 t): āuellere (*Eun.* 520\* s pacc t), licēre (*Haut.* 103 n nacc a<sup>220</sup>)

Active infinitive without subject accusative (1):

<sup>210</sup>Nine of the superordinate verbs are non-past and two are past.

<sup>211</sup>None of the superordinate verbs is past.

<sup>212</sup>This is iterative and thus atelic.

<sup>213</sup>Neither of the superordinate verbs is past.

<sup>214</sup>A subject accusative would be impossible; the corresponding finite construction could not have a nominative either, or if it could, it would have no function, just as *hoc* in *lūcēscit hoc iam* (*Amph.* 543).

<sup>215</sup>None of the superordinate verbs is past.

<sup>216</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>217</sup>This expresses the state after the action.

<sup>218</sup>Neither of the superordinate verbs is past.

<sup>219</sup>Neither of the superordinate verbs is past.

<sup>220</sup>The adverbial *diūtius* shows that the infinitive has future meaning.

Plautus (1<sup>221</sup>=1 s=1 a=1 C): ferre (*Asin.* 699 s a C)

---

Medio-passive infinitive with subject accusative (1):

Plautus (1<sup>222</sup>=1 n + nacc=1 t=1 C): prōdī (*Rud.* 589 n nacc t C)

---

- (Excluded: potis (*Rud.* 968\*, *Truc.* 317\*\*\*))

## B: The Present and Future Infinitives after Sixteen Verbs

### Abbreviations:

n=not the same subject of the superordinate verb and the infinitive of the AcI

s=same subject of the superordinate verb and the infinitive of the AcI

nacc=subject accusative is a noun, an infinitival phrase, or a clause<sup>223</sup>

pacc=subject accusative is a simple pronoun not modified by anything like a relative clause (forms of *hic*, *ille*, *is*, enclitic *quis*, and personal pronouns)

-acc=without subject accusative

a=atelic

t=telic

C=canticum

S=senarius

act=active

pass=passive

### Totals:

**Infinitives: 581 (432 in Plautus, 149 in Terence), which can be subdivided as follows:**

**Present tense infinitives referring to present time: 458 (343 in Plautus, 115 in Terence)**

---

<sup>221</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>222</sup>The superordinate verb is past.

<sup>223</sup>I also count the following pronouns under the nouns: *aliquis*, *quisquam*, *omnis*, *uterque*, *ipse*, *alius*, *nēmō/nihil*, and interrogative and relative pronouns. These pronouns often have more semantic content than deictic pronouns like *hic*, or they cannot be left out, for example interrogative pronouns and *nihil*.

**Future tense infinitives (always referring to future time): 76 (50 in Plautus, 26 in Terence)**

**Present tense infinitives referring to future time: 47 (39 in Plautus, 8 in Terence)**

**ADIVRŌ (6):**

- **Present tense, present meaning (4):**

Plautus (3=1 n + pacc, 1 s + pacc, 1 s + -acc=3 a=1 C, 2 S=3 act): esse (*Cist.* 568 n pacc a S, *Men.* 1026 s pacc a C), nōlle (*Amph.* 890 s -acc a S)

Terence (1=1 s + pacc=1 a=1 act): posse (*Hec.* 269 s pacc a)

- **Future tense (1):**

Terence (1<sup>224</sup>=1 s + pacc=1 t=1 act): dēsertūrum (*Andr.* 694\*\* s pacc t)

- **Present tense, future meaning (1):**

Plautus (1<sup>225</sup>=1 s + pacc=1 t=1 S=1 act): mōnstrāre (*Cist.* 584 s pacc t S)

**AIŌ (120):**

- **Present tense, present meaning (108):**

Plautus (83=17 n + nacc, 29 n + pacc, 7 n + -acc, 1 s + nacc, 22 s + pacc, 7 s + -acc=69 a, 14 t=55 C, 28 S=74 act, 9 pass): adīrī (*Mil.* 1225 n pacc t C), aduenīre (*Amph.* 759 s pacc t C), adulterāre (*Bacch.* 268 n pacc a S), afflictāre (*Mil.* 1032 n pacc a C<sup>226</sup>), amāre (*Asin.* 208 s pacc a C, *Mil.* 127\* s pacc a S, *Truc.* 193\*\*\* n pacc a C), crēdī (*Curc.* 679 n -acc t C), cruciārī (*Mil.* 1032 n pacc a C), cupere (*Mil.* 126\* s pacc a S), dormītāre (*Amph.* 807 s pacc a C), esse (*Amph.* 383 s pacc a C, *Amph.* 387 s -acc a C, *Bacch.* 472 n pacc a C, *Bacch.* 1096 n pacc a C, *Capt.* 561 n pacc a C, *Capt.* 567 s pacc a C, *Capt.* 572 s pacc a C, *Capt.* 578 s pacc a C, *Capt.* 627 s pacc a C, *Cist.* 37 n -acc a C, *Cist.* 143 n nacc a S, *Curc.* 488 n nacc a C, *Curc.* 582 s pacc a C, *Men.* 357\*\*\* n nacc a C, *Men.* 634 s pacc a C, *Men.* 936 n nacc a C, *Men.* 1077 n pacc a C, *Merc.* 635 n -acc a C, *Merc.* 638 n -acc a C, *Merc.* 766 n nacc a S, *Mil.* 337\*\*\* n nacc a C, *Mil.* 1107 n nacc a S, *Poen.* 656 s pacc a S, *Poen.* 900 n -acc a C, *Poen.* 996\* s pacc a S, *Poen.* 1345\*\* n pacc a S, *Pseud.* 1083\*\* n pacc a S, *Rud.* 1025 n pacc a C, *Rud.* 1080 n pacc a C, *Trin.* 213\* n nacc a S,

<sup>224</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>225</sup>The superordinate verb is a historic present in a temporal clause introduced by *dōnec*.

<sup>226</sup>This item and *cruciārī* in the same line are co-ordinated with another Acl. The subject accusative is not repeated, but readily understood from what precedes.

*Trin.* 428 n nacc a S, *Truc.* 587\*\* n pacc a C), *facere* (*Asin.* 853 n nacc t C, *Cist.* 144 s -acc t S), *ferre* (*Asin.* 347 s pacc t C, *Trin.* 1140 s pacc t C), *fieri* (*Cas.* 71\*\*\* n pacc t S, *Pseud.* 786 n pacc t S), *habere* (*Cas.* 751 n nacc a C), *habitare* (*Men.* 820\*\* n pacc a C), *inesse* (*Rud.* 1130 n nacc a C), *insanire* (*Men.* 843 n pacc a C, *Men.* 962 n pacc a C, *Men.* 1046\*\* n pacc a C), *ire* (*Rud.* 307 s pacc t C<sup>227</sup>), *lamentari* (*Mil.* 1031\* n pacc a C), (mamma-)madere (*Most.* 331\*\*\* n pacc a C<sup>228</sup>), *metuere* (*Most.* 1125 s pacc a C), *perdere* (*Curc.* 504 n pacc t C), *portendi* (*Poen.* 464 n nacc t S), *posse* (*Rud.* 542 n pacc a S), *potare* (*Asin.* 851 n nacc a C), *properare* (*Amph.* 661 s pacc a C), *quaerere* (*Cist.* 607 s -acc a S), *quaeritare* (*Poen.* 688 n pacc a S), *ruere* (*Truc.* 306\* n nacc t C), *scire* (*Cist.* 735 s pacc a C, *Merc.* 637 s -acc a C), *sectarier* (*Mil.* 91\* n nacc a S), *solere* (*Merc.* 296 n pacc a S), *ualere* (*Aul.* 186 s pacc a C), *uelle* (*Capt.* 365 s -acc a S, *Cas.* 659 s -acc a C, *Most.* 806\* n pacc a C, *Most.* 1027\*\* n pacc a S, *Most.* 1028 n -acc a S, *Pseud.* 650 s -acc a C, *Rud.* 60 s pacc a S), *uiuere* (*Capt.* 694\*\* n -acc a S, *Trin.* 213 n nacc a S), *uocare* (*Cas.* 280 n pacc t C), *uocari* (*Trin.* 875 s nacc a C<sup>229</sup>)

Terence (25=5 n + nacc, 6 n + pacc, 6 n + -acc, 6 s + pacc, 2 s + -acc=24 a, 1 t=25 act): *astare* (*Haut.* 960\* n nacc a), *cessare* (*Haut.* 883 n nacc a), *cupere* (*Andr.* 688 s -acc a), *esse* (*Ad.* 183 n nacc a, *Andr.* 124 n -acc a, *Andr.* 833 n pacc a, *Andr.* 908 n nacc a, *Andr.* 930 s pacc a, *Andr.* 932 n -acc a, *Eun.* 315 n -acc a, *Haut.* 172 n -acc a, *Haut.* 1036 n nacc a, *Hec.* 238\* n -acc a, *Phorm.* 114 n pacc a), *facere* (*Andr.* 450\* n -acc t, *Phorm.* 114\* n pacc a<sup>230</sup>), *ferre* (*Phorm.* 763 n pacc a), *licere* (*Phorm.* 116 n pacc a), *scire* (*Ad.* 548 s pacc a, *Andr.* 859 s pacc a), *uelle* (*Eun.* 141 s pacc a, *Eun.* 514\* s -acc a<sup>231</sup>, *Haut.* 854 n pacc a, *Phorm.* 481 s pacc a<sup>232</sup>, *Phorm.* 834 s pacc a)

• **Future tense (3):**

Plautus (3<sup>233</sup>=1 n + pacc, 1 s + pacc, 1 s + -acc=1 a, 2 t=3 C=3 act): *affuturum* (*Truc.* 204 n pacc a C), *allaturum* (*Men.* 1043 s pacc t C), *occisurum* (*Cas.* 693\* s -acc t C)

• **Present tense, future meaning (9):**

Plautus (6<sup>234</sup>=3 s + pacc, 3 s + -acc=6 t=4 C, 2 S=6 act): *amare* (*Men.* 524 s -acc t S<sup>235</sup>), *arcessere* (*Pseud.* 1118 s -acc t C), *conuenire* (*Cist.* 586

<sup>227</sup>This instance has present reference, cf. *quom modo exhibat foras* in the same line.

<sup>228</sup>The speaker is drunk. The normal infinitive would be *madere*.

<sup>229</sup>This means ‘be called, have as one’s name’ (atelic), not ‘be called, be ordered to come’ (telic).

<sup>230</sup>*Aequom facere* means ‘behave correctly’.

<sup>231</sup>Kauer and Lindsay delete *sē*.

<sup>232</sup>The construction is a contamination of parenthetic *ut aibat*, which stands in the line before, and non-parenthetic *aibat* taking the AcI.

<sup>233</sup>The superordinate verbs are non-past.

<sup>234</sup>Three of the superordinate verbs are past and three are non-past.

<sup>235</sup>In direct speech we would have *amābō*. The infinitive follows the construction of *rogō* and



s pacc t S), īre (*Asin.* 865 s pacc t C), reddere (*Asin.* 442 s -acc t C), redimere (*Capt.* 586 s pacc t C)

Terence (3<sup>236</sup>=1 n + nacc, 1 n + pacc, 1 s + -acc=3 t=1 act, 2 pass): dare (*Andr.* 353\* s -acc t), darī (*Phorm.* 880 n nacc t), proficīscī (*Ad.* 224 n pacc t)

- (Excluded:<sup>237</sup> esse (*Men.* 1042a), petere (*Men.* 1042))

## ARBITRŌR (65):

- Present tense, present meaning (62):

Plautus (40=15 n + nacc, 11 n + pacc, 9 n + -acc, 5 s + pacc=38 a, 2 t=29 C, 11 S=40 act): adesse (*Pseud.* 1113 n pacc a C), esse (*Amph.* 48 n pacc a S, *Amph.* 905 n nacc a S, *Amph.* 908 n -acc a S, *Amph.* 932 n nacc a S, *Aul.* 129 n nacc a C, *Aul.* 144 n nacc a C, *Bacch.* 52 n nacc a C, *Bacch.* 385 n -acc a C, *Bacch.* 539 n nacc a C, *Bacch.* 552 n -acc a C, *Bacch.* 1131 n -acc a C, *Capt.* 394 s pacc a C, *Cas.* 865 n pacc a C, *Curc.* 393 n pacc a S, *Men.* 985 n -acc a C, *Most.* 89 n nacc a C, *Most.* 91 n nacc a C, *Most.* 119 n nacc a C, *Most.* 949 n pacc a C, *Persa* 349 s pacc a S, *Persa* 651 n -acc a C, *Poen.* 1004 n pacc a S, *Poen.* 1318 n pacc a S, *Pseud.* 476 n -acc a S, *Pseud.* 1105 s pacc a C, *Pseud.* 1258 n -acc a C, *Trin.* 1125 n nacc a C, *Truc.* 136\* n pacc a C), facere (*Amph.* 49 s pacc t S, *Amph.* 675\* s pacc t C<sup>238</sup>, *Aul.* 122 n pacc a C<sup>239</sup>, *Most.* 816 n pacc a C), habēre (*Most.* 89 n nacc a C), licēre (*Mil.* 500 n nacc a S), oportēre (*Aul.* 757 n nacc a C, *Cist.* 246 n nacc a C), posse (*Cist.* 5 n -acc a C), scīre (*Truc.* 296\*\* n pacc a C), uelle (*Cist.* 13\*\* n nacc a C)

Terence (22=7 n + nacc, 10 n + pacc, 2 n + -acc, 1 s + nacc, 2 s + pacc=21 a, 1 t=21 act, 1 pass): agere (*Ad.* 401 n -acc t), esse (*Andr.* 61 n pacc a, *Andr.* 813 n nacc a, *Andr.* 959 n nacc a, *Eun.* 270\*\* n nacc a, *Eun.* 324 n nacc a, *Haut.* 985 n pacc a, *Hec.* 153 n nacc a, *Hec.* 239 n nacc a, *Hec.* 403 n pacc a, *Hec.* 805 n pacc a, *Phorm.* 814 n nacc a<sup>240</sup>), facere (*Hec.* 256 n pacc a), habēre (*Ad.* 258 s nacc a), nescīre (*Hec.* 215 n -acc a), patrōcinārī (*Phorm.* 939 n pacc a), posse (*Ad.* 459 s pacc a, *Andr.* 563 n<sup>241</sup> pacc a, *Eun.* 173 n pacc a, *Eun.* 491 n pacc a), rēferre (*Haut.* 467 n pacc a), uīuere (*Ad.* 685 s pacc a)

---

thus takes *ut*, just as we find *amābo ut* (*Men.* 425) in the same play. Because of its similarity to *rogō*, I take this instance as telic.

<sup>236</sup>The three superordinate verbs are non-past.

<sup>237</sup>Both lines are excluded by Lindsay.

<sup>238</sup>The subject accusative *mē* is a conjecture.

<sup>239</sup>*Haec uerba facere* could also be regarded as telic.

<sup>240</sup>*Manēre hanc* in l. 815 functions as the subject accusative.

<sup>241</sup>I count this as 'n'. Ll. 563 and 564 read as follows: *nōn posse arbitrōr neque illum hanc perpetuo habēre neque mē perpetū*. If I had counted the second subject accusative instead of the first, I should have 's'.

- **Future tense, future meaning (2):**

Terence ( $2^{242}=1$  n + pacc, 1 n + -acc=2 t=2 act): conuentūrum (*Hec.* 659 n -acc t), inuentūrum (*Hec.* 299 n pacc t)

- **Present tense, future meaning (1):**

Terence ( $1^{243}=1$  n + nacc=1 a=1 act): esse (*Eun.* 275 n nacc a)

- (Excluded: adīre (*Merc.* 132<sup>244</sup>))

### AVDIŌ (48):

- **Present tense, present meaning (46):**

Plautus (33=15 n + nacc, 15 n + pacc, 3 n + -acc=16 a, 17 t=20 C, 13 S=21 act, 12 pass): aperīre (*Curc.* 204 n nacc t C), aperīrī (*Bacch.* 798 n nacc t S, *Cas.* 434\* n nacc t S), asseuērāre (*Mil.* 761 n nacc t C), autumāre (*Amph.* 416 n pacc t C), cōnfītērier (*Cist.* 170 n nacc t S), dīcere (*Amph.* 752 n pacc t C, *Amph.* 755 n pacc a C, *Most.* 821\*\* n -acc t C, *Vid.* 20\*\*\* n pacc t S), esse (*Amph.* 911 n pacc a S, *Most.* 665 n nacc a S, *Most.* 764 n nacc a S, *Poen.* 761 n nacc a S, *Rud.* 993 n nacc a C), facere (*Mil.* 493 n nacc a S), fierī (*Rud.* 1290 n nacc t C), haerēre (*Epid.* 191 n pacc a C), loquī (*Aul.* 616 n nacc t C, *Epid.* 247 n pacc t C, *Mil.* 275\* n pacc a C, *Persa* 32 n pacc t C, *Trin.* 547 n pacc a S, *Truc.* 575 n pacc t C), narrāre (*Amph.* 748 n pacc t C), parīre (*Vid.* xviii (xv) n nacc t C), pollicitārier (*Poen.* 999\*\*\* n -acc a S), praedicāre (*Pseud.* 749 n pacc a C), quaeritāre (*Capt.* 602 n -acc a C), scīre (*Bacch.* 1008 n pacc a S), seruīre (*Persa* 695 n nacc a S), uocāre (*Epid.* 594 n pacc t C), uocārier (*Capt.* 1024\* n nacc a C)

Terence (13=5 n + nacc, 5 n + pacc, 2 n + -acc, 1 s + pacc=11 a, 2 t=7 act, 6 pass): accūsāre (*Phorm.* 289 n pacc a<sup>245</sup>), dīcere (*Andr.* 858 n pacc t), dīcī (*Haut.* 422 n nacc t), esse (*Andr.* 927 s pacc a, *Eun.* 665 n pacc a, *Haut.* 181 n -acc a), laudārier (*Ad.* 535 n pacc a), loquī (*Haut.* 559 n nacc a, *Hec.* 453 n nacc a), stāre (*Andr.* 475 n pacc a), susurrārī (*Andr.* 779 n nacc a), tolerāre (*Phorm.* 731 n nacc a), tumultuārī (*Hec.* 336 n -acc a<sup>246</sup>)

- **Future tense, future meaning (2):**

Terence ( $2^{247}=2$  n + nacc=1 a, 1 t=1 act, 1 pass): datum īrī (*Andr.* 177 n nacc t), futūrās esse (*Andr.* 174 n nacc a)

<sup>242</sup>Both superordinate verbs are non-past.

<sup>243</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>244</sup>This does not depend on *arbitratur*, but goes with *dignum* (*sc. esse*).

<sup>245</sup>This is atelic because it is iterative.

<sup>246</sup>I regard *nescioquid* as an adverbial accusative.

<sup>247</sup>Both superordinate verbs are past.

## AVTVMŌ (10):

- **Present tense, present meaning (8):**

Plautus (7=2 n + nacc, 3 n + pacc, 2 s + pacc=5 a, 2 t=4 C, 3 S=5 act, 2 pass): esse (*Bacch.* 822 n pacc a S, *Capt.* 885 n nacc a C, *Most.* 97 n pacc a C, *Pseud.* 930 n pacc a C), largīrī (*Trin.* 742 s pacc t S), loquī (*Amph.* 332 n nacc a C<sup>248</sup>), sistere (*Trin.* 743 s pacc t S)

Terence (1=1 n + -acc=1 a=1 act): pigēre (*Haut.* 19 n -acc a)

- **Future tense (1):**

Terence (1<sup>249</sup>=1 s + -acc=1 t=1 act): factūrum (*Haut.* 19 s -acc t)

- **Present tense, future meaning (1):**

Plautus (1<sup>250</sup>=1 s + pacc=1 t=1 C=1 act): ire (*Most.* 1132\* s pacc t C)

- (Excluded: esse (*Poen.* 241<sup>251</sup>))

## CĒNSEŌ (79):

- **Present tense, present meaning (72):**

Plautus (61=19 n + nacc, 24 n + pacc, 10 n + -acc, 8 s + pacc=54 a, 7 t=41 C, 20 S=53 act, 8 pass): ārdēre (*Amph.* 1067 n nacc a C), decēre (*Rud.* 407 n nacc a C), dīcere (*Capt.* 853 n pacc t C), emere (*Epid.* 88 n pacc t C), ēmorī (*Mil.* 721 n -acc t C), esse (*Amph.* 122 n pacc a S, *Amph.* 134 n pacc a S, *Amph.* 969 n pacc a C, *Asin.* 299 s pacc a C, *Aul.* 315 n -acc a S, *Aul.* 667 n nacc a S, *Bacch.* 541 n nacc a C, *Bacch.* 839 n pacc a S<sup>252</sup>, *Bacch.* 961 n nacc a C, *Cas.* 202 n nacc a C, *Cas.* 381 n pacc a C, *Men.* 636 n nacc a C, *Men.* 924 n pacc a C, *Men.* 1072 n pacc a C, *Men.* 1136 n pacc a C, *Merc.* 143 n nacc a C, *Merc.* 196 s pacc a C, *Merc.* 461 n -acc a C, *Merc.* 815 n nacc a S, *Mil.* 549 n -acc a S, *Mil.* 1409 n -acc a C, *Most.* 7 s pacc a S, *Persa* 171 s pacc a C<sup>253</sup>, *Persa* 190 n pacc a C, *Pseud.* 646 n pacc a C, *Rud.* 1099 n nacc a C, *Stich.* 350\* n pacc a C, *Stich.* 548 n nacc a C), facere (*Epid.* 289 n pacc t C), ferrī (*Curc.* 84\* n -acc a S), fugitāre (*Asin.* 484-5 n pacc a C), habēre (*Rud.* 1261 s pacc a S), habitāre (*Trin.* 1079 n pacc a C), loquī (*Pseud.* 465 n nacc a S), mentīrī (*Mil.* 1080 n pacc a C), oportēre (*Most.* 205 n nacc a

<sup>248</sup>Sosia uses *nescioquem* not as a pronoun, but as a name.

<sup>249</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>250</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>251</sup>This is in an NCl.

<sup>252</sup>Lindsay punctuates as follows: *Quid illam, meretrīcemne esse cēnsēs?* I regard *illam* also as subject accusative of *esse*.

<sup>253</sup>The line reads as follows: *mē quidēm iam sati' tibi spectātam cēnsēbam esse et mēōs mōrēs*. I count this as 's' because I take the first subject accusative into account. Had I taken the second subject accusative into account instead, this would have to be classified as 'n'.

C), perspicere (*Stich.* 604 n pacc t C), placēre (*Most.* 284–5 n nacc a C, *Persa* 9\* n nacc a C), posse (*Cas.* 364\* s pacc a C, *Cas.* 474 s pacc a S, *Mil.* 1371\*\* n pacc a C, *Truc.* 316 n -acc a C), potesse (*Truc.* 90 s pacc a S), praebērier (*Amph.* 1027 n nacc a C), quaerī (*Poen.* 182 n pacc a S, *Poen.* 563 n nacc a C), quaeritārī (*Poen.* 735 n nacc a S), sapere (*Bacch.* 122 n nacc a S), scīre (*Capt.* 969 n pacc a C), seruīre (*Poen.* 810 n pacc a S), sūmere (*Bacch.* 1198 n pacc t C), supplicāre (*Bacch.* 904 n -acc a S, *Curc.* 539 n -acc a C), uīuere (*Aul.* 315 n -acc a S), uocāre (*Most.* 1005 n pacc t S)

Terence (11=4 n + nacc, 5 n + pacc, 2 s + pacc=10 a, 1 t=10 act, 1 pass): darī (*Andr.* 505\* n nacc t), esse (*Ad.* 579 s pacc a, *Andr.* 545 n pacc a, *Haut.* 214 n nacc a, *Haut.* 253\* n nacc a, *Hec.* 547 n pacc a, *Hec.* 675 n pacc a), interesse (*Andr.* 794 n nacc a), posse (*Eun.* 217 n pacc a, *Hec.* 662 s pacc a), uelle (*Haut.* 716 n pacc a)

- **Future tense, future meaning (6):**

Plautus (5<sup>254</sup>=2 n + nacc, 2 n + pacc, 1 s + pacc=4 a, 1 t=3 C, 2 S=5 act): dictūrum (*Trin.* 71 n pacc a S<sup>255</sup>), fore (*Persa* 258 n nacc a C, *Persa* 415 n nacc a S, *Trin.* 695\* s pacc a C), incēnsūrum (*Capt.* 845 n pacc t C)

Terence (1<sup>256</sup>=1 n + nacc=1 a=1 act): futūrum (*Haut.* 462 n nacc a)

- **Present tense, future meaning (1):**

Plautus (1<sup>257</sup>=1 n + nacc=1 t=1 S=1 pass): darī (*Aul.* 528 n nacc t S)

- (Excluded:<sup>258</sup> adīrī (*Stich.* 293), dare (*Asin.* 229), esse (*Aul.* 597), facere (*Merc.* 569), interpretārī (*Epid.* 552), metuere (*Capt.* 301), seruīre (*Trin.* 304), supplicārī (*Stich.* 293), suspendēre (*Poen.* 795))

### DĒNEGŌ (3):

- **Future tense (1):**

Terence (1<sup>259</sup>=1 s + pacc=1 t=1 act): commissūrum (*Andr.* 241 s pacc t)

- **Present tense, future meaning (2):**

Plautus (1<sup>260</sup>=1 s + pacc=1 t=1 C=1 act): dare (*Stich.* 558 s pacc t C)

Terence (1<sup>261</sup>=1 s + -acc=1 t=1 act): dare (*Haut.* 487\*\* s -acc t)

<sup>254</sup>Three of the superordinate verbs are non-past and two are past.

<sup>255</sup>*Dictūrum male* is atelic.

<sup>256</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>257</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>258</sup>The tokens belong to the type *aequom cēnsēō* + infinitive. In all these cases, the infinitives do not depend on *cēnsēre*, but on *aequom* (*sc. esse*). *Esse* is actually expressed in *Stich.* 548.

<sup>259</sup>The superordinate verb is past.

<sup>260</sup>The superordinate verb is past.

<sup>261</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

## INTERMINŌR (2):

- **Future tense (1):**

Plautus ( $1^{262}=1$  n + pacc=1 a=1 C=1 act): futūrōs (*Asin.* 363 n pacc a C)

- **Present tense, future meaning (1):**

Plautus ( $1^{263}=1$  n + pacc=1 t=1 S=1 act): perbītere (*Pseud.* 778\* n pacc t S)

## IŪRŌ (and IŪS IŪRANDVM DŌ) (19):

- **Present tense, present meaning (6):**

Plautus (4=1 n + nacc, 3 s + pacc=3 a, 1 t=3 C, 1 S=3 act, 1 pass): arbitrārier (*Amph.* 932 s pacc a S), crēdere (*Amph.* 436 n nacc a C<sup>264</sup>), dīcere (*Amph.* 435 s pacc t C), esse (*Amph.* 435 s pacc a C)

Terence (2=1 n + nacc, 1 n + pacc=2 a=2 act): esse (*Ad.* 165 n pacc a, *Hec.* 697 n nacc a)

- **Future tense (9):**

Plautus ( $6^{265}=6$  s + pacc=2 a, 4 t=5 C, 1 S=6 act): datūrum (*Bacch.* 1029 s pacc t S), ductūrum esse (*Cist.* 99 s pacc t C), factūrum (*Truc.* 767\*\* s pacc t C), nocitūrum (*Mil.* 1414 s pacc a C), nocitūrum esse (*Mil.* 1411 s pacc a C), uenditūrum (*Pseud.* 352 s pacc t C)

Terence ( $3^{266}=2$  s + pacc, 1 s + -acc=1 a, 2 t=3 act): ductūrum (*Ad.* 473 s pacc t, *Hec.* 62\* s -acc t), ūctūrum (*Ad.* 332 s pacc a)

- **Present tense, future meaning (4):**

Plautus ( $4^{267}=1$  s + pacc, 3 s + -acc=4 t=3 C, 1 S=4 act): dare (*Persa* 401 s pacc t S, *Rud.* 1377 s -acc t C, *Rud.* 1379\*\* s -acc t C), liberāre (*Poen.* 361 s -acc t C)

## MINŌR (3):

- **Present tense, future meaning (3):**

Plautus ( $3^{268}=1$  s + pacc, 2 s + -acc=3 t=3 C=3 act): abīre (*Asin.* 604 s pacc t C), exūrere (*Men.* 842 s -acc t C), facere (*Stich.* 21 s -acc t C)

<sup>262</sup>The superordinate verb is past.

<sup>263</sup>The superordinate verb is past.

<sup>264</sup>*Crēdēt* in the following line does not entail that this infinitive has future force. Present force seems more likely.

<sup>265</sup>Three of the superordinate verbs are past and three are non-past.

<sup>266</sup>Two of the superordinate verbs are past, and one is in a phrase which contains a historic present (*Ad.* 472–3: *uēnīt ... iūrāns*).

<sup>267</sup>The superordinate verbs are past.

<sup>268</sup>The superordinate verbs are non-past.

## NEGŌ (37):

- **Present tense, present meaning (26):**

Plautus (21=4 n + nacc, 3 n + pacc, 3 n + -acc, 9 s + pacc, 2 s + -acc=21 a=12 C, 9 S=19 act, 2 pass): adesse (*Cas.* 573 n -acc a S), dēbēre (*Bacch.* 260 s pacc a S, *Most.* 1024 s -acc a S), esse (*Amph.* 434 n pacc a C, *Asin.* 452 n -acc a C, *Asin.* 650 s pacc a C, *Capt.* 571 s pacc a C, *Cist.* 738 n nacc a C, *Epid.* 584 s pacc a C, *Epid.* 590 n pacc a C, *Men.* 633 n nacc a C, *Men.* 1028 s pacc a C, *Men.* 1040 n pacc a C, *Poen.* 777 n nacc a S, *Poen.* 1005 n -acc a S, *Pseud.* 929 s pacc a C, *Stich.* 256\*\* n nacc a S), habēre (*Truc.* 242 s pacc a S), morārier (*Cas.* 553 s pacc a C, *Cas.* 603 s pacc a S), posse (*Cas.* 583 s -acc a S)

Terence (5=2 n + nacc, 1 n + pacc, 2 s + pacc=5 a=5 act): esse (*Ad.* 542 n nacc a, *Phorm.* 352 n nacc a), placēre (*Haut.* 350 n pacc a), posse (*Hec.* 538 s pacc a), uelle (*Andr.* 612 s pacc a)

- **Future tense (5):**

Plautus (3<sup>269</sup>=1 n + -acc, 2 s + pacc=3 t=1 C, 2 S=3 act): concessūrum (*Cas.* 323 s pacc t S), datūrum esse (*Pseud.* 1314 s pacc t C), itūram esse (*Bacch.* 592\*\*\* n -acc t S<sup>270</sup>)

Terence (2<sup>271</sup>=2 s + pacc=2 t=2 act): datūrum (*Andr.* 149 s pacc t), ductūrum (*Andr.* 405 s pacc t)

- **Present tense, future meaning (6):**

Plautus (5<sup>272</sup>=1 n + nacc, 2 s + pacc, 2 s + -acc=5 t=4 C, 1 S=4 act, 1 pass): crēdere (*Persa* 432\* s pacc t S), darī (*Rud.* 1292 n nacc t C), dīcere (*Curc.* 597 s pacc t C), pōnere (*Cas.* 698 s -acc t C), uendere (*Stich.* 393 s -acc t C)

Terence (1<sup>273</sup>=1 s + -acc=1 t=1 act): dūcere (*Andr.* 379 s -acc t)

## POLLICEŌR (8):

- **Future tense (3):**

Plautus (1<sup>274</sup>=1 s + pacc=1 t=1 C=act): datūrum (*Bacch.* 742 s pacc t C)

Terence (2<sup>275</sup>=1 s + pacc, 1 s + -acc=2 t=2 act): concessūram (*Hec.* 679\* s pacc t), susceptūrum (*Andr.* 401 s -acc t)

<sup>269</sup>Two of the superordinate verbs are past and one is non-past.

<sup>270</sup>The line is corrupt, but at any rate there is a form of *negāre* and a future infinitive of *īre*. The final point of the movement is given in the line before.

<sup>271</sup>One of the superordinate verbs is past, and one is a historic present.

<sup>272</sup>Two of the superordinate verbs are non-past, two are past, and one is a historic present.

<sup>273</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>274</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>275</sup>The superordinate verbs are past.

- **Present tense, future meaning (5):**

Plautus ( $3^{276}=1$  s + pacc, 2 s + -acc=3 t=2 C, 1 S=3 act): dare (*Men.* 311 s -acc t S, *Most.* 1084 s pacc t C, *Most.* 1087 s -acc t C)

Terence ( $2^{277}=2$  s + -acc=2 t=2 act): dare (*Haut.* 724 s -acc t), dūcere (*Andr.* 613 s -acc t)

## PRŌMITTŌ (20):

- **Present tense, present meaning (1):**

Plautus (1=1 n + nacc=1 a=1 S=1 act): esse (*Rud.* 541 n nacc a S<sup>278</sup>)

- **Future tense (11):**

Plautus ( $10^{279}=1$  n + nacc, 2 n + pacc, 1 n + -acc, 3 s + pacc, 3 s + -acc=4 a, 6 t=6 C, 4 S=9 act, 1 pass): abductūrum (*Pseud.* 902 s pacc t S), factūrum (*Asin.* 529 s -acc t C, *Poen.* 422\* s pacc t S), fore (*Aul.* 219 n pacc a C, *Mil.* 326 n pacc a C), futūrum (*Men.* 894 n -acc a S), offutūrum (*Asin.* 98 s -acc a S), redditum īrī (*Curc.* 491\* n nacc t C), redditūrum (*Curc.* 710 s pacc t C), surruptūrum (*Asin.* 930 s -acc t C)

Terence ( $1^{280}=1$  n + pacc=1 a=1 act): fore (*Hec.* 791 n pacc a)

- **Present tense, future meaning (8):**

Plautus ( $8^{281}=2$  s + pacc, 6 s + -acc=8 t=5 C, 3 S=8 act): dare (*Bacch.* 920 s -acc t S, *Bacch.* 970 s pacc t C, *Cas.* 288 s -acc t C, *Cist.* 542 s -acc t S, *Trin.* 5 s -acc t S), hostīre (*Asin.* 377 s -acc t C), sistere (*Rud.* 778 s -acc t C), sublinere (*Merc.* 631 s pacc t C)

## REPRŌMITTŌ (2):

- **Future tense (1):**

Plautus ( $1^{282}=1$  n + nacc=1 a=1 C=1 pass): solūtam futūram (*Asin.* 454 n nacc t C)

- **Present tense, future meaning (1):**

Plautus ( $1^{283}=1$  s + -acc=1 t=1 S=1 act): reddere (*Curc.* 669\* s -acc t S)

<sup>276</sup>The superordinate verbs are past.

<sup>277</sup>Both the superordinate verbs are past.

<sup>278</sup>*Rud.* 540–1 reads: *tū prōmittēbās mihī illi esse quaestum maximum meretrīcibus*. I take it that the AcI is a general, atemporal statement, and that *mihī* goes with *prōmittere*, not with *esse*, in which case the AcI could not be general.

<sup>279</sup>Five of the superordinate verbs are past and five are non-past.

<sup>280</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>281</sup>Six of the superordinate verbs are past and two are non-past.

<sup>282</sup>The superordinate verb is non-past.

<sup>283</sup>The superordinate verb is past.

SCIŌ (157):<sup>284</sup>

• Present tense, present meaning (125):

Plautus (90=27 n + nacc, 49 n + pacc, 7 n + -acc, 7 s + pacc=86 a, 4 t=59 C, 31 S=86 act, 4 pass): adesse (*Curc.* 81 n pacc a S, *Men.* 987 n pacc a C, *Mil.* 1104 n pacc a S), amāre (*Merc.* 309 n pacc a S, *Merc.* 577 n pacc a S, *Merc.* 994 n pacc a C<sup>285</sup>, *Poen.* 1210 n pacc a C, *Pseud.* 483 n nacc a S, *Trin.* 1031 n pacc a C), contuī (*Asin.* 124 s pacc a S), dare (*Amph.* 510 n pacc a C<sup>286</sup>), dīcere (*Capt.* 71 n nacc t S), esse (*Amph.* 385 n nacc a C, *Amph.* 1086 n nacc a C, *Amph.* 1090 n nacc a C, *Asin.* 124 n nacc a S, *Asin.* 434 n nacc a C, *Asin.* 435 n nacc a C, *Aul.* 214 n -acc a C, *Aul.* 562 n nacc a S, *Aul.* 718 n nacc a C, *Aul.* 754 n pacc a C, *Bacch.* 791 s pacc a S, *Bacch.* fr. viii (x) n nacc a C, *Capt.* 249 s pacc a C, *Capt.* 249 n pacc a C, *Capt.* 350 n pacc a C, *Cas.* 4 n pacc a S, *Cas.* 115 n pacc a S, *Cist.* 674 n -acc a S, *Curc.* 624-5 n pacc a C, *Epid.* 16 n pacc a C, *Epid.* 325 n nacc a C, *Epid.* 713 n pacc a C, *Men.* 251 s pacc a S, *Men.* 292 n pacc a S, *Merc.* 626 n pacc a C, *Mil.* 992 n pacc a C, *Mil.* 1151\* n nacc a C, *Most.* 576 n pacc a S, *Most.* 1153 n pacc a C, *Persa* 119 n nacc a S, *Persa* 211 n -acc a C, *Poen.* 724 n pacc a S, *Poen.* 772 n pacc a S, *Poen.* 1190 n nacc a C, *Poen.* 1391 n pacc a S, *Pseud.* 179 n nacc a C, *Pseud.* 987 n pacc a C, *Pseud.* 1074 n nacc a S, *Rud.* 216a n pacc a C, *Rud.* 751 n pacc a C, *Rud.* 1041 n pacc a C, *Stich.* 489 n pacc a S, *Trin.* 91 n nacc a S, *Trin.* 498 n nacc a S, *Truc.* 69 n nacc a S, *Truc.* 865 n nacc a C, *Truc.* 866 n nacc a C), gaudēre (*Rud.* 1367 n pacc a C), gerī (*Capt.* 484 n nacc a C), habēre (*Aul.* 185 n pacc a C, *Aul.* 548 n pacc a S), habitāre (*Most.* 954 n -acc a C), lūdere (*Most.* 1158 n nacc a C), mentīrī (*Truc.* 105 n pacc t C), neglegere (*Trin.* 498 n pacc a S), nescīre (*Asin.* 300 n pacc a C, *Merc.* 382 n pacc a C), nōlle (*Capt.* 587 n pacc a C), ōrāre (*Persa* 119 n pacc t S), posse (*Aul.* 345 n pacc a S, *Merc.* 519 n pacc a C, *Merc.* 534 n pacc a C, *Mil.* 1241 s pacc a C, *Most.* 1054-5\* n pacc a C, *Pseud.* 1176 n pacc a C), scīre (*Capt.* 297\* s pacc a C, *Most.* 1156 n pacc a C, *Poen.* 555 n pacc a C, *Stich.* 419 n pacc a S), scortārier (*Merc.* 1018 n nacc a C), solēre (*Trin.* 353 n pacc t C), stāre (*Vid.* 66 s pacc a C), suscēnsēre (*Merc.* 1012 n nacc a C), tenēre (*Stich.* 337 n -acc a C), uelle (*Aul.* 686 n pacc a S, *Curc.* 331 n -acc a C, *Merc.* 453 n -acc a C, *Persa* 588 n nacc a C)

Terence (35=16 n + nacc, 13 n + pacc, 3 n + -acc, 3 s + pacc=31 a, 4 t=32 act, 3 pass<sup>287</sup>): capiundōs esse (*Andr.* 695 n nacc a), dīcere (*Haut.* 633 n pacc t), discordāre (*Andr.* 575 n pacc a), esse (*Ad.* 402 n -acc a,

<sup>284</sup>I exclude the type *scīs bene esse*, that is, *scīre* with the object infinitive in the meaning ‘know how to do *x*’. When *scīre* has this meaning, there is never any variation between object infinitive and AcI.

<sup>285</sup>*Merc.* 993-4 reads as follows: *si hercle scūissem sūue adeō ioculō dīxissēt mihī se illam amāre*; the AcI depends on two verbs, which are in different persons.

<sup>286</sup>*Operam dare* is atelic.

<sup>287</sup>I include the one gerundive under the passives.



*Andr.* 859 n nacc a, *Eun.* 201 n nacc a, *Eun.* 700 n -acc a, *Eun.* 718 n nacc a, *Eun.* 952\*\* n pacc a, *Haut.* 71 n pacc a, *Haut.* 181 n nacc a, *Haut.* 309 n nacc a, *Haut.* 327 n nacc a, *Haut.* 687 n nacc a, *Haut.* 874 s pacc a, *Haut.* 957 n pacc a, *Hec.* 16 n nacc a, *Hec.* 204 n pacc a, *Hec.* 243 n nacc a, *Hec.* 247\*\* s pacc a, *Hec.* 536 n pacc a, *Phorm.* 334 n nacc a, *Phorm.* 529 n pacc a, *Phorm.* 539\* n pacc a, *Phorm.* 564 n nacc a, *Phorm.* 581 n pacc a, *Phorm.* 588 n -acc a, *Phorm.* 734 n nacc a<sup>288</sup>), *facere* (*Haut.* 633 n pacc t), *fieri* (*Haut.* 307 n pacc t), *habere* (*Hec.* 541 n pacc a), *posse* (*Andr.* 95 n nacc a), *tollere* (*Hec.* 576\*\* n nacc t), *uelle* (*Andr.* 578 n nacc a), *uivere* (*Eun.* 718 s pacc a)

• **Future tense, future meaning (30):**

Plautus (20<sup>289</sup>=5 n + nacc, 6 n + pacc, 5 n + -acc, 4 s + pacc=9 a, 11 t=10 C, 10 S=19 act, 1 pass): *cūrātūrūm* (*Truc.* 430 n pacc t S), *datum iri* (*Cas.* 699 s pacc t C), *datūrūm* (*Asin.* 466 s pacc t C<sup>290</sup>), *effectūrūm* (*Pseud.* 115 n pacc t S), *exitūrūm esse* (*Mil.* 1197 n pacc t C), *factūrōs* (*Amph.* 22 n -acc t S), *factūrūm* (*Asin.* 497 n pacc a C, *Stich.* 201 n pacc t S), *factūrūm esse* (*Persa* 496 n pacc t C), *fore* (*Asin.* 870 n -acc a C<sup>291</sup>, *Bacch.* 1054 s pacc a S, *Cas.* 772 n nacc a S, *Poen.* 624 n -acc a S, *Stich.* 79\* n nacc a C), *futūrūm* (*Mil.* 372 n nacc a C), *futūrūm* (*Cas.* 57 n nacc a S), *sitūrūm* (*Poen.* 624\* n nacc a S), *uentūrūm* (*Cist.* 588 n -acc t S), *uentūrūm* (*Amph.* 658 s pacc t C, *Curc.* 325\*\* n -acc t C)

Terence (10<sup>292</sup>=3 n + nacc, 4 n + pacc, 3 n + -acc=6 a, 4 t=10 act): *af-futūrūm* (*Haut.* 176 n pacc a), *dēsertūrūm* (*Andr.* 402 n -acc t), *ductūrūm esse* (*Andr.* 659 n pacc t), *factūrūm esse* (*Andr.* 976 n -acc t), *fore* (*Hec.* 398 n -acc a, *Hec.* 533 n nacc a, *Hec.* 788 n nacc a), *gāuīsūrūm* (*Andr.* 964 n pacc a), *optemperātūrōs* (*Ad.* 705 n pacc t), *reueritūrās* (*Hec.* 290 n nacc a)

• **Present tense, future meaning (2):**

Plautus (2<sup>293</sup>=1 n + nacc, 1 s + pacc=2 t=1 C, 1 S=1 act, 1 pass): *facere* (*Rud.* 376 n nacc t C), *trādier* (*Most.* 17\*\* s pacc t S)

- (Excluded: *fore* (*Andr.* 611<sup>294</sup>))

**VOVEŌ (2):**

• **Present tense, future meaning (2):**

<sup>288</sup>This infinitive might also have future reference.

<sup>289</sup>Three of the Acl's depend on past verbs, one depends on a historic present in a *postquam*-clause, and sixteen depend on non-past forms.

<sup>290</sup>*Mē* in the same line is the ablative. The pronoun cannot be expressed a second time.

<sup>291</sup>*Istuc* is not the subject accusative, but cataphorically refers to the Acl as a whole.

<sup>292</sup>Eight of the superordinate verbs are non-past and two are past.

<sup>293</sup>One of the superordinate verbs is non-past, the other is past.

<sup>294</sup>The line has been excluded by Kauer and Lindsay.

Plautus (2<sup>295</sup>=2 s + pacc=2 t=1 C, 1 S=2 act): *inferre* (*Curc.* 72 s pacc t S<sup>296</sup>), *peruigilāre* (*Curc.* 181 s pacc t C)

## C: *Dare* and *darī*

Line references are to the infinitive forms of *dare*.

**I. Superordinate verbs have object infinitives (*audeō, cessō, condiscō, cōstituō, dēbeō, discō, dubitō* ‘hesitate’, *meminī, occupātus sum, possum, properō, soleō*) (31):**

Plautus (27): *Aul.* 158, *Bacch.* 1056, *Cas.* 362\*\*, *Curc.* 535, *Curc.* 672, *Epid.* 99, *Epid.* 710, *Men.* 919–20, *Men.* 1093, *Men.* 1099, *Merc.* 288, *Merc.* 778, *Merc.* 987, *Most.* 1073, *Persa* 160, *Poen.* 227, *Poen.* 695, *Pseud.* 86, *Pseud.* 110, *Pseud.* 624–5, *Pseud.* 729, *Pseud.* 735, *Pseud.* 945, *Pseud.* 1164, *Rud.* 996, *Truc.* 425, *Vid.* 24

Terence (4): *Ad.* 346, *Eun.* 904, *Haut.* 501, *Phorm.* 676

---

**II. Superordinate verbs=*uerba uoluntātis* (*cupiō, dēsiderō, gestiō, mālō, nōlō, optō, peruolō, petō*<sup>297</sup>, *postulō, studeō, uolō*) or other verb where the choice between infinitive and AcI is not coupled with a change of verbal semantics (*īnstituere* ‘begin’<sup>298</sup>) (70):**

• **Active infinitives (40):**

Plautus (33): *Amph.* 1006, *Asin.* 181, *Aul.* 155, *Aul.* 157, *Bacch.* 94\*, *Bacch.* 273, *Bacch.* 1083, *Cas.* 30, *Cas.* 656, *Cist.* 195, *Curc.* 439, *Curc.* 590, *Epid.* 536, *Men.* 796, *Most.* 298, *Most.* 758, *Most.* 1027\*\*, *Persa* 383, *Poen.* 50\*, *Poen.* 159, *Poen.* 161, *Poen.* 706, *Poen.* 999, *Poen.* 1012\*, *Poen.* 1098, *Pseud.* 640, *Rud.* 958a, *Rud.* 1322, *Rud.* 1421, *Stich.* 562, *Trin.* 325, *Trin.* 369, *Trin.* 777

Terence (7): *Andr.* 657, *Eun.* 141, *Eun.* 950, *Haut.* 449, *Haut.* 496, *Phorm.* 657, *Phorm.* 924

• **Passive infinitive (1):**

---

<sup>295</sup>The superordinate verbs are past.

<sup>296</sup>The speaker uses *mē* as subject accusative of *īnferre*, but the addressee deliberately misunderstands him. The addressee takes *mē* as the object accusative of *īnferre*, in which case there would be no subject accusative.

<sup>297</sup>H–S 356 *ad Pseud.* 683–4 say that this AcI with present tense is by analogy to *uolō* or *optō*. They also consider the passage in *Rud.* 543–4 to be analogous to *dicō* or *uolō/studeō: postulābās tē ... tōtam Siciliam dēuorātūrum īnsulam?* But the future AcI is unusual and cannot be explained by reference to a *uerbum uoluntātis*; I think the meaning is *postulābās crēdēbāsque*, and that the construction follows the implied verb of belief.

<sup>298</sup>The infinitive is much more frequent than the AcI, but we do find an AcI in *Bacch.* 1082.

Plautus (1): *Trin.* 245–6<sup>299</sup>

- **Active AcIs (9):**

Plautus (8): *Bacch.* 99, *Bacch.* 1082, *Capt.* 362, *Cas.* 195, *Epid.* 114, *Pseud.* 383, *Pseud.* 1058, *Trin.* 489

Terence (1): *Haut.* 789

- **Passive AcIs (20):**

Plautus (11): *Cist.* 93, *Cist.* 737, *Men.* 496, *Merc.* 148, *Mil.* 184, *Mil.* 770\*, *Mil.* 771, *Persa* 804, *Pseud.* 683, *Rud.* 183, *Truc.* 279\*\*\*

Terence (9): *Ad.* 311, *Ad.* 432<sup>300</sup>, *Andr.* 962\*\*\*, *Eun.* 786\*, *Haut.* 758\*\*, *Haut.* 847, *Phorm.* 261\*, *Phorm.* 633\*\*, *Phorm.* 658\*\*

---

**III. Superordinate verbs=impersonal verbs or verb phrases (*aequom est, certum est, conuenit, decet, decretum est, difficile est, dignum est, expedit, flagitium est, humanum est, interest, licet, lubet, mos est, opus est, operae pretium est, oportet, par est, piget, satius est, utile est*) (45):**

- **Active infinitives or AcIs (32):**

Plautus (24): *Asin.* 229, *Bacch.* 98, *Capt.* 54, *Cas.* 262\*\*, *Cas.* 1015, *Cist.* 42, *Cist.* 648, *Men.* 459, *Men.* 660, *Merc.* 551, *Mil.* 71, *Mil.* 77, *Mil.* 485, *Poen.* 338, *Poen.* 1175, *Pseud.* 1239, *Rud.* 634, *Stich.* 512, *Trin.* 119, *Trin.* 130, *Trin.* 511, *Trin.* 585\*, *Trin.* 838, *Truc.* 234\*\*

Terence (8): *Ad.* 933, *Andr.* 211, *Andr.* 307, *Eun.* 467, *Haut.* 636, *Haut.* 922, *Haut.* 965, *Hec.* 553

- **Passive AcIs (no simple infinitives) (13):**

Plautus (9): *Amph.* 723, *Aul.* 500, *Bacch.* 29 (xix (xvi)), *Men.* 131, *Mil.* 723\*, *Rud.* 960, *Stich.* 444\*\*\*, *Trin.* 1045, *Truc.* 228

Terence (4): *Ad.* 341\*, *Ad.* 532, *Ad.* 659, *Phorm.* 560

---

**IV. Superordinate verbs=*iubeo* and *sinō*<sup>301</sup> (with accusative unless specified otherwise) (18):**

- **Active infinitives (12):**

<sup>299</sup>Instead of a subject accusative, there is the adverb *amplius*.

<sup>300</sup>The superordinate verb *uolō* has to be supplied from the preceding question.

<sup>301</sup>There is only one token with *dare* (*Cas.* 888); all the other infinitives depend on *iubeō*.

Plautus (10): *Asin.* 488, *Asin.* 735, *Bacch.* 985, *Cas.* 888, *Curc.* 422, *Pseud.* 983, *Trin.* 779<sup>302</sup>, *Trin.* 898, *Trin.* 899<sup>303</sup>, *Truc.* 796

Terence (2): *Phorm.* 410<sup>304</sup>, *Phorm.* 414<sup>305</sup>

- **Passive infinitives (6):**

Plautus (4): *Asin.* 426, *Asin.* 890\*, *Aul.* 291, *Merc.* 777<sup>306</sup>

Terence (2): *Andr.* 484\*, *Phorm.* 416<sup>307</sup>

---

## V. Other uses of the infinitive (7):

- **AcIs of exclamation (3):**

Plautus (3): *Asin.* 871<sup>308</sup>, *Stich.* 766, *Truc.* 537\*

- **Historic infinitive (1):**

Terence (1): *Eun.* 516

- **NcI, present meaning: (1)**

Terence (1): *Andr.* 452

- **Descriptive AcI: (1)**

Plautus (1): *Pseud.* 1266

- **Infinitive part of the predicate: (1)**

Plautus (1): *Merc.* 620

---

## VI. Superordinate verbs=*uerba dīcendī (aiō, arcessō (alicuius uerbīs), dēblaterō, dēcernō<sup>309</sup>, dēierō, dēnegō, dīcō, dissimulō, dō (iūs*

<sup>302</sup>There is no subject accusative here.

<sup>303</sup>There is no subject accusative. The line above admittedly contains *mē iussit*, but in this line we find *et item* and a repetition of *iussit*, so we cannot say that *mē* from the previous line belongs here syntactically.

<sup>304</sup>This is a general precept, so there is no subject accusative.

<sup>305</sup>This is also a general precept, hence the absence of the subject accusative.

<sup>306</sup>There is no accusative here, but *argentum* may be understood, just as the active *dare* often stands for *argentum dare*.

<sup>307</sup>As there is the personal passive *iussast*, there can be no subject accusative, only a nominative, which is understood from the context.

<sup>308</sup>If we punctuate differently, this is no longer an exclamation: *cēnseō* then takes the AcI *eum dare operam*, which has present meaning.

<sup>309</sup>After verbs of deciding, a bare present infinitive is more common if the subject remains the same, but an AcI with future infinitive is possible, cf. *Hec.* 437: *cōnstituī me hodiē conuentūrum eum*. The instances of *certum est* and *dēcrētum est*, however, simply take infinitives, not AcIs.

*iūrāndum*), *iūrō*, *negō*, *polliceōr*, *prōmittō*, *renūntiō*, *spondeō*, *uenīt* (*rūmor*)) (50):

**Abbreviations:**

n=not the same subject of the superordinate verb and the infinitive of the AcI

s=same subject of the superordinate verb and the infinitive of the AcI

a=atelic<sup>310</sup>

t=telic

acc=with subject accusative

-acc=without subject accusative

act=active

pass=passive

- **Present tense infinitives with present meaning (3=1 n, 2 s=2 a, 1 t=2 acc, 1 -acc=2 act, 1 pass):**

Plautus (2): *Epid.* 238\* s a -acc act, *Mil.* 1188 s a acc act

Terence (1): *Phorm.* 596 n t acc pass

- **Future tense infinitives (15=4 n, 11 s=1 a, 14 t=12 acc, 3 -acc =14 act, 1 pass):**

Plautus (9): *Aul.* 269\*\* s t acc act, *Bacch.* 742 s t acc act, *Bacch.* 1029 s t acc act, *Most.* 633 s t acc act, *Pseud.* 406 s t acc act, *Pseud.* 1314 s t acc act, *Rud.* 405 n t -acc act, *Rud.* 1213 s t -acc act, *Rud.* 1336 s t acc act

Terence (6): *Andr.* 149 s t acc act, *Haut.* 501 s a acc act, *Haut.* 606\* n t acc act<sup>311</sup>, *Haut.* 735 s t acc act, *Hec.* 40 n t acc pass, *Phorm.* 627 n t -acc act

- **Present tense infinitives with future meaning (32=7 n, 25 s=2 a, 30 t=17 acc, 15 -acc=27 act, 5 pass):**

Plautus (23): *Amph.* 209 n t acc act<sup>312</sup>, *Asin.* 366 s a acc act, *Aul.* 604 n t acc pass, *Bacch.* 920 s t -acc act, *Bacch.* 970 s t acc act, *Cas.* 288 s t -acc act, *Cas.* 479 s t acc act, *Cist.* 542 s t -acc act, *Men.* 311 s t -acc act, *Most.* 633 s t -acc act, *Most.* 1084\* s t acc act, *Most.* 1087 s t -acc act, *Persa* 401 s t acc act, *Persa* 602 s t -acc act, *Poen.* 259 n t -acc pass, *Rud.* 1292 n t acc pass, *Rud.* 1377 s t -acc act, *Rud.* 1379\*\* s t -acc act, *Stich.* 558 s t acc act, *Trin.* 5 s a -acc act, *Trin.* 736 s t acc act, *Trin.* 755 s t -acc act, *Trin.* 1162 n t acc pass

<sup>310</sup>All the tokens are telic unless combined with *operam*.

<sup>311</sup>*Dicit* has to be supplied from the preceding *orat*.

<sup>312</sup>This analysis means that *Argyūōs* is still subject, rather than merely Amphytruo himself.

Terence (9): *Ad.* 203\* s t acc act, *Andr.* 238 s t acc act, *Andr.* 353\* s t -acc act, *Eun.* 793 s t acc act, *Haut.* 487\*\* s t -acc act, *Haut.* 724 s t -acc act, *Phorm.* 532 s t acc act, *Phorm.* 720 n t acc act, *Phorm.* 880\* n t acc pass

---

**VII. Superordinate verbs=*uerba sentiendī uel affectūs* (*audiō, cēnseō, crēdō, ferō (grauiter), reōr, scīlicet, sciō, sentiō, uenīt (in mentem), uideō*) (19):**

**Abbreviations:**

n=not the same subject of the superordinate verb and the infinitive of the AcI

s=same subject of the superordinate verb and the infinitive of the AcI

a=atelic<sup>313</sup>

t=telic

acc=with subject accusative

-acc=without subject accusative

act=active

pass=passive

- **Present tense infinitives with present meaning (13=12 n, 1 s=4 a, 9 t=12 acc, 1 -acc=7 act, 6 pass):**

Plautus (6): *Amph.* 510 n a acc act, *Cas.* 58 n a acc act, *Persa* 721 n a acc act, *Poen.* 710 n t -acc act<sup>314</sup>, *Pseud.* 553 n t acc act, *Truc.* 89 s t acc act

- **Future tense infinitives (5=3 n, 2 s=5 t=3 acc, 2 -acc=2 act, 3 pass):**

Plautus (2): *Asin.* 466 s t -acc act<sup>315</sup>, *Cas.* 699 s t acc pass

Terence (3): *Andr.* 177 n t acc pass, *Haut.* 857 n t -acc act, *Phorm.* 653 n t acc pass

- **Present tense infinitive with future meaning (1):**

Plautus (1=1 n=1 t=1 acc=1 pass): *Aul.* 528 n t acc pass

---

<sup>313</sup>All the tokens are telic unless combined with *operam*.

<sup>314</sup>Bentley's correction to *darei*, i.e. *darī*, is quite tempting.

<sup>315</sup>There is an ablative absolute *me incertō*, hence the pronoun *mē* is not repeated as an accusative.

### VIII. Excluded:

- **Not enough context:**  
Plautus: *Cist.* 458–9, *Astraba* vi
- **Nominative instead of accusative participle:**  
Plautus: Diabolus ... dīxit datūrus (*Asin.* 634)

# Appendix 6: Sigmatic Indicatives and Their Regular Counterparts

This appendix contains all the sigmatic indicatives and also their regular counterparts in Plautus and Terence. Its structure is as follows:

## Archaic Latin (until 100BC)=A–J:

- A: the sigmatic indicatives in Plautus — verbs
- B: the sigmatic indicatives in Plautus — clause types
- C: the sigmatic indicatives in Terence — verbs
- D: the sigmatic indicatives in Terence — clause types
- E: the remaining sigmatic indicatives in Archaic Latin
- F: the causative constructions of the form *faciam*
- G: the future perfects in Plautus — verbs with sigmatic futures
- H: the remaining future perfects in Plautus<sup>316</sup>
- I: the future perfects in Terence — verbs with sigmatic futures
- J: the remaining future perfects in Terence

## Latin after 100BC=K–O:

- K: the form *faxō*
- L: other sigmatic indicatives of *facere* and its compounds
- M: sigmatic indicatives of verbs other than *facere*
- N: citations of sigmatic indicatives

---

<sup>316</sup>Here and in J, I exclude forms of (*ad-*)*iuuō* and *sinō*. They are listed in appendix 9.



O: explanations of sigmatic indicatives

A few words must be said about disambiguation. Sigmatic futures and sigmatic subjunctives are often indistinguishable from each other, and the same is true of the future perfects and the perfect subjunctives. The future forms contain the old subjunctive formant *\*-e/o-*, while the subjunctives have the old optative formant *\*-yeH<sub>1</sub>-/\*-iH<sub>1</sub>-*. As the result of various sound changes, the paradigms look quite similar synchronically:<sup>317</sup>

— future perfect active: *fēc-erō, fēc-erīs, fēc-erīt, fēc-erīmus, fēc-erītis, fēc-erīnt*  
(sigmatic future: *faxō, faxīs, faxīt, faxīmus, faxītis, faxīnt*)

— perfect subjunctive active: *fēc-erim, fēc-erīs, fēc-erīt, fēc-erīmus, fēc-erītis, fēc-erīnt*  
(sigmatic subjunctive: *faxim, faxīs, faxit, faxīmus, faxītis, faxīnt*)

— future perfect passive: *factus erō, factus erīs, factus erīt, factī erīmus, factī erītis, factī erīnt*

— perfect subjunctive passive: *factus siem, factus siēs, factus siet, factī sīmus, factī sītis, factī sient*

Thus, except for the first person singular, all the active forms look the same. In the passive, on the other hand, future perfect and perfect subjunctive are always distinct. In most cases, however, it is not difficult to distinguish between future perfect/sigmatic future and perfect subjunctive/sigmatic subjunctive in the active. In theory, there are three ways of doing this:

— orthographically: if the following word begins with a consonant, final *-s* can be dropped after a short vowel; thus, *sī istuc fēcērīs, uāpulābīs* may be spelled *si istuc feceri uapulabis*. Besides, *-ī-* is sometimes written *-ei-*. However, neither criterion is very reliable. Final *-s* does not have to be dropped before consonant (metre does not help us in any of the relevant tokens), and the orthography is often the editors' choice. In Men. 256, it is actually a future perfect that is spelled *reuortereis* in the *cōdex Ambrosiānus* (A).

— metrically: the second singular, first plural and second plural are phonologically distinct. As future perfects often stand at line end or before a word beginning with a consonant, and as the final syllables of future perfects/sigmatic futures are often in positions in the verse where either long syllables or short ones are allowed, metre rarely helps us to distinguish between future perfect/sigmatic future and perfect subjunctive/sigmatic subjunctive in the second person singular. However, in the first and second plural the future and the subjunctive are normally metrically distinct. But most of the forms in our text corpus are in the singular or the third person plural.

Long vowels before final consonant other than *-s* undergo shortening around

<sup>317</sup>The *\*-e/o-* of the future underwent vocalic weakening. The subjunctive originally had *-ī-*, which got shortened by Osthoff's law in the third person plural active; long vowels before final consonants other than *-s-* were shortened around 200BC. We might expect subjunctives like *faxīnt* (not yet shortened) and *faxīt* (shortened) in Plautus.

200BC. In the third singular, a short final syllable cannot tell us anything about the mood of the form — the old indicative has always had a short vowel here, and the subjunctive may have an original long or an innovated short vowel. A syllable that is long only by virtue of its vowel would be significant because this would show that we are dealing with an unshortened subjunctive; yet there are virtually no cases in which metre unambiguously shows that a third singular has a long vowel ending. In sections A, C, G, H, I and J I comment in footnotes on metre and on the help it affords us in distinguishing between futures and subjunctives.

— syntactically and semantically: some clauses, for example final *ut*-clauses, are always in the subjunctive. In other instances, the mood is determined by the meaning, for instance in many conditional clauses.

On the whole, the syntactic and semantic criteria are the most reliable ones. But there is one problem that often makes it impossible to assign a form to the indicative or to the subjunctive, namely the so-called *attractiō modī* or ‘attraction of mood’. By this term I mean that a subordinate clause that could stand in the indicative is actually in the subjunctive because the verb or verbs in the surrounding context are also in the subjunctive or in the infinitive. A future perfect or a perfect indicative can thus become a perfect subjunctive. There are no hard and fast rules when attraction of mood takes place, only tendencies.<sup>318</sup> Given this situation, I have assigned doubtful cases to the future perfect or the perfect subjunctive according to the following criteria:

— if the clause in question precedes or follows a subjunctival clause, and if the meaning is future, I have taken the verb as a future perfect;<sup>319</sup>

— if the clause in question is inserted into a subjunctival clause<sup>320</sup> or both preceded and followed by subjunctival clauses,<sup>321</sup> or if its meaning is past,<sup>322</sup> I have taken the form as a perfect subjunctive.

Wherever verbs in appendices G, H, I and J have perfect subjunctives that look like future perfects, I have listed them there as well.

Concerning textually problematic passages, I have employed the following criteria in sections A, B, C, D, G, H, I and J:

a) One asterisk marks that the verb listed in the appendix is problematic, for

<sup>318</sup>Cf. the absence of attraction of mood in the last clause in *Persa* 85–6: *Cūrāte istīc uōs atque appropērate ōciūs, nē mīhi morae sīt quicquam ubi ego intro aduēnerō*. The syntactic context in *Mil.* 369–70 is comparable (main clause — subjunctival clause — subordinate clause that could be either in the indicative or in the subjunctive). Here, however, there is attraction of mood: *Numquam hercle dēterrēbōr quān uīderim id quod uīderim*.

<sup>319</sup>Thus, I regard *āmōueris* in the *quom*-clause in *Hec.* 694 as a future perfect; the clause follows an *ut*-clause. Similarly, in cases like *Epid.* 310–11 I have classified the doubtful forms as future perfects: *metuō sī ... rescūerit nē ... faciāt*.

<sup>320</sup>This can be seen in the *ubī*-clause in *Trin.* 699–700.

<sup>321</sup>This is the case with the *ubī*-clause in *Bacch.* 45.

<sup>322</sup>Compare *aspeixerit* in *Mil.* 1391.

example that its person, number etc varies in the manuscripts. I also use one asterisk if the prefix is doubtful (for example in *Haut.* 955: *ēīecerīt* (Kauer-Lindsay) versus *iēcerīt* (*cōdex Parisīnus*)).

b) Two asterisks mean that the verb in the superordinate clause or the subordinator is problematic. The superordinate verb is considered doubtful if its mood or tense are not clear<sup>323</sup> or if there is a different verb altogether in some manuscripts.<sup>324</sup> It is regarded as unproblematic if only its prefix,<sup>325</sup> person or number are uncertain. Variations such as *nī/nīsī*, for instance in *Asin.* 487, are not important enough to deserve asterisks.

In sections E and K–O I list complete sentences. Here I put an asterisk behind every word that is textually problematic and potentially important for our understanding of the sigmatic forms.

## A: The Sigmatic Indicatives in Plautus — Verbs

C stands for canticum, and S is used for senarius.

- *accūrāre* (2=1 C, 1 S): *accūrāssis* (*Persa* 393 S, *Pseud.* 939a C)
- *adīmere* (1=1 C): *adempsit* (*Epid.* 363 C)
- *amāre* (2=2 C): *amāssō* (*Cas.* 1001 C, *Cas.* 1002\* C)
- *aspicere* (1=1 S): *aspexit* (*Asin.* 770 S)
- *capere* (2=2 C): *capsō* (*Bacch.* 712 C), *capsimus* (*Rud.* 304 C<sup>326</sup>)
- *cēnāre* (1=1 S): *cēnāssit* (*Stich.* 192 S)
- *commōnstrāre* (1=1 S): *commōnstrāssō* (*Epid.* 441 S)
- *comparāre* (1=1 C): *comparāssit* (*Epid.* 122 C)
- *dēcōllāre* (1=1 C): *dēcōllāssit* (*Cas.* 307 C)
- *dēmūtāre* (1=1 C): *dēmūtāssit* (*Stich.* 725\*\* C)
- *efficere* (2=1 C, 1 S): *effexis* (*Cas.* 708–12 C<sup>327</sup>, *Poen.* 428 S)
- *ēnicāre* (2=2 C): *ēnicāssō* (*Most.* 212 C, *Most.* 223 C)

<sup>323</sup>Cf. *arbitrēre* (Kauer-Lindsay) in *Andr.* 915 versus *arbitrāre*.

<sup>324</sup>Cf. *Andr.* 961, where Kauer-Lindsay have *partast*, while there is also *parātast* in the manuscripts.

<sup>325</sup>Cf. *sequār* (Kauer-Lindsay) versus *exsequār* in *Phorm.* 461.

<sup>326</sup>If Reiz's correction (*cēnātī*) is correct, there is a middle diaeresis after *capsimus*, which forces us to scan this as *capsīmus* (indicative).

<sup>327</sup>The metre proves that this is an indicative.

- *exoculāre* (1=1 C): *exoculāssitis* (*Rud.* 731\*\* C<sup>328</sup>)
- *facere* (82=48 C, 34 S): *faxō*<sup>329</sup> (*Amph.* 355 C, *Amph.* 589 C, *Amph.* 972 C, *Amph.* 997 C, *Asin.* 132 C, *Asin.* 749 S, *Asin.* 876 C, *Asin.* 897 C, *Aul.* 578 S, *Bacch.* 506 S, *Bacch.* 715 C, *Bacch.* 831 S, *Bacch.* 848 S, *Bacch.* 864 S, *Capt.* 801 C, *Capt.* 1010 C, *Cas.* 484 S, *Curc.* 587 C, *Epid.* 156 C, *Epid.* 469 S, *Epid.* 656 C, *Epid.* 712 C, *Men.* 113 C, *Men.* 157 C, *Men.* 326 S, *Men.* 468 S, *Men.* 521 S, *Men.* 539–40 S, *Men.* 562 S, *Men.* 644 C, *Men.* 661 C, *Men.* 791 C, *Men.* 950 C, *Men.* 956 C, *Mil.* 463 C, *Mil.* 1367 C, *Most.* 68 S, *Most.* 1133 C, *Persa* 161 S, *Persa* 195 C, *Persa* 439 S, *Persa* 446 S, *Poen.* 162 S, *Poen.* 173 S, *Poen.* 346 C, *Poen.* 371 C, *Poen.* 460 S, *Poen.* 908 C, *Poen.* 910 C, *Poen.* 1154 S, *Poen.* 1191 C, *Poen.* 1227 C, *Poen.* 1228 C, *Pseud.* 49 S, *Pseud.* 387 C, *Pseud.* 393 C, *Pseud.* 766 C, *Pseud.* 949 C, *Pseud.* 1039 S, *Pseud.* 1043 S, *Pseud.* 1328 C, *Rud.* 365 C, *Rud.* 578 C, *Rud.* 800 S, *Rud.* 1351 S, *Trin.* 60 S, *Trin.* 62 S, *Trin.* 882 C, *Truc.* 118 C, *Truc.* 428 S, *Truc.* 643 S, *Truc.* 761 C, *Fretum* C), *faxis* (*Asin.* 612 C, *Capt.* 124 S, *Capt.* 695 S, *Men.* 113 C, *Mil.* 1417 C<sup>330</sup>, *Pseud.* 533 S, *Rud.* 1118 S, *Stich.* 610 C), *faxit* (*Cas.* 1016\*\*\* C)
- *indicāre* (1=1 C): *indicāssō* (*Poen.* 888 S<sup>331</sup>)
- *inicere* (1=1 S): *iniexit* (*Persa* 70\* S)
- *intrāre* (1=1 C): *intrāssis* (*Men.* 416 C)
- *inuītāre* (1=1 S): *inuītāssitis* (*Rud.* 811 S<sup>332</sup>)
- *irritāre* (3=3 C): *irritāssis* (*Amph.* 454 C, *Persa* 828 C, *Stich.* 345 C)
- *līberāre* (1=1 C): *līberāssō* (*Most.* 223 C)
- *mulcāre* (1=1 C): *mulcāssitis* (*Mil.* 163\*\* C<sup>333</sup>)
- *occeptāre* (1=1 C): *occeptāssit* (*Rud.* 776\* C)
- *occipere* (3=2 C, 1 S): *occepsō* (*Amph.* 673\* C, *Cas.* 1001 C), *occepsit* (*Asin.* 794 S)

<sup>328</sup>Metre shows that this is an indicative.

<sup>329</sup>The subordinate verb is textually problematic in *Amph.* 355, *Cas.* 484, *Men.* 539–40, *Pseud.* 393, and *Trin.* 62.

<sup>330</sup>This form has also been classified as a subjunctive for metrical reasons. I count it as an indicative. Metre does not really help us because the final syllable is *anceps* (there is a change of speaker).

<sup>331</sup>This form occurs in a modifying *nisī*-clause that is semantically on a par with the preceding main clause. It does not indicate anteriority and seems to be an innovation. However, it would presumably not be possible to use a non-anterior indicative form other than *faxō* in a proper main clause.

<sup>332</sup>Metre shows that this is an indicative.

<sup>333</sup>Metre shows that this is an indicative.

- *occupāre* (1=1 S): *occupāssit* (*Asin.* 818\* S)
- *ōrāre* (1=1 C): *ōrāssis* (*Epid.* 728 C<sup>334</sup>)
- *peccāre* (4=3 C, 1 S): *peccāssō* (*Rud.* 1348 S), *peccāssis* (*Rud.* 1150 C, *Stich.* 727 C), *peccāssit* (*Cas.* 825 C)
- *reconciliāre* (1=1 C): *reconciliāssō* (*Capt.* 576 C)
- *respicere* (2=1 C, 1 S): *respexis* (*Aul.* 58 S, *Rud.* 679\* C)
- *seruāre* (1=1 C): *seruāssō* (*Most.* 228 C)

## B: The Sigmatic Indicatives in Plautus — Clause Types

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

- conditional clauses with *sī*<sup>335</sup> (36=24 C, 12 S): *accūrāssis* (*Persa* 393 S, *Pseud.* 939a C), *adempsit* (*Epid.* 363 C), *amāssō* (*Cas.* 1001 C), *aspexit* (*Asin.* 770 S), *capsō* (*Bacch.* 712 C), *cēnāssit* (*Stich.* 192 S), *commōnstrāssō* (*Epid.* 441 S), *dēcōllāssit* (*Cas.* 307 C), *effexis* (*Cas.* 708–12 C, *Poen.* 428 S), *faxō* (*Men.* 157 C, *Fretum* C), *faxis* (*Asin.* 612 C, *Capt.* 124 S, *Capt.* 695 S, *Men.* 113 C, *Mil.* 1417 C, *Pseud.* 533 S, *Rud.* 1118 S, *Stich.* 610 C), *intrāssis* (*Men.* 416 C), *irritāssis* (*Amph.* 454 C, *Persa* 828 C, *Stich.* 345 C), *occepsō* (*Amph.* 673\* C, *Cas.* 1001 C), *occepssit* (*Asin.* 794 S), *occeptāssit* (*Rud.* 776\* C), *peccāssō* (*Rud.* 1348 S), *peccāssis* (*Rud.* 1150 C, *Stich.* 727 C), *reconciliāssō* (*Capt.* 576 C), *respexis* (*Aul.* 58 S, *Rud.* 679\* C), *seruāssō* (*Most.* 228 C)
- conditional clauses with *nīsī/nī* (12=9 C, 3 S): *capsimus* (*Rud.* 304 C), *comparāssit* (*Epid.* 122 C), *ēnicāssō* (*Most.* 212 C, *Most.* 223 C), *exoculāssitis* (*Rud.* 731\*\* C), *faxō* (*Bacch.* 848 S), *indicāssō* (*Poen.* 888 C), *inuītāssitis* (*Rud.* 811 S), *liberāssō* (*Most.* 223 C), *mulcāssitis* (*Mil.* 163\*\* C), *occupāssit* (*Asin.* 818\* S), *ōrāssis* (*Epid.* 728 C)
- relative clauses (2=2 C): *dēmūtāssit* (*Stich.* 725\*\* C), *faxit* (*Cas.* 1016\*\*\* C)
- temporal clauses (3=2 C, 1 S): *amāssō* (*Cas.* 1002\* C), *iniexit* (*Persa* 70\* S), *peccāssit* (*Cas.* 825 C)
- main clauses (70=41 C, 29 S): *faxō*<sup>336</sup> (*Amph.* 355 C, *Amph.* 589 C, *Amph.* 972 C, *Amph.* 997 C, *Asin.* 132 C, *Asin.* 749 S, *Asin.* 876 C,

<sup>334</sup>The *cōdex Ambrosiānus* reads *ōrāsseis*, but I nevertheless regard the form as a future rather than a subjunctive.

<sup>335</sup>I include *sī nōn* because these tokens are instances of word negation, not of sentence negation.

<sup>336</sup>The subordinate verb is textually problematic in *Amph.* 355, *Cas.* 484, *Men.* 539–40, *Pseud.* 393, and *Trin.* 62.

*Asin.* 897 C, *Aul.* 578 S, *Bacch.* 506 S, *Bacch.* 715 C, *Bacch.* 831 S, *Bacch.* 864 S, *Capt.* 801 C, *Capt.* 1010 C, *Cas.* 484 S, *Curc.* 587 C, *Epid.* 156 C, *Epid.* 469 S, *Epid.* 656 C, *Epid.* 712 C, *Men.* 113 C, *Men.* 326 S, *Men.* 468 S, *Men.* 521 S, *Men.* 539–40 S, *Men.* 562 S, *Men.* 644 C, *Men.* 661 C, *Men.* 791 C, *Men.* 950 C, *Men.* 956 C, *Mil.* 463 C, *Mil.* 1367 C, *Most.* 68 S, *Most.* 1133 C, *Persa* 161 S, *Persa* 195 C, *Persa* 439 S, *Persa* 446 S, *Poen.* 162 S, *Poen.* 173 S, *Poen.* 346 C, *Poen.* 371 C, *Poen.* 460 S, *Poen.* 908 C, *Poen.* 910 C, *Poen.* 1154 S, *Poen.* 1191 C, *Poen.* 1227 C, *Poen.* 1228 C, *Pseud.* 49 S, *Pseud.* 387 C, *Pseud.* 393 C, *Pseud.* 766 C, *Pseud.* 949 C, *Pseud.* 1039 S, *Pseud.* 1043 S, *Pseud.* 1328 C, *Rud.* 365 C, *Rud.* 578 C, *Rud.* 800 S, *Rud.* 1351 S, *Trin.* 60 S, *Trin.* 62 S, *Trin.* 882 C, *Truc.* 118 C, *Truc.* 428 S, *Truc.* 643 S, *Truc.* 761 C)

### C: The Sigmatic Indicatives in Terence — Verbs

- *facere* (10): *faxō* (*Ad.* 209, *Ad.* 847, *Andr.* 854<sup>337</sup>, *Eun.* 285<sup>338</sup>, *Eun.* 663<sup>339</sup>, *Haut.* 341, *Phorm.* 308, *Phorm.* 1028<sup>340</sup>, *Phorm.* 1055), *faxis* (*Andr.* 753)

### D: The Sigmatic Indicatives in Terence — Clause Types

- conditional clause with *sī* (1): *faxis* (*Andr.* 753)
- main clauses (9): *faxō* (*Ad.* 209, *Ad.* 847, *Andr.* 854<sup>341</sup>, *Eun.* 285<sup>342</sup>, *Eun.* 663, *Haut.* 341, *Phorm.* 308, *Phorm.* 1028<sup>343</sup>, *Phorm.* 1055)

### E: The Remaining Sigmatic Indicatives in Archaic Latin

- **Laws before the Twelve Tables**

*Sī* hominem fulminibus *occīsīt*, *nē* *suprā* *genua* *tollitō*. (Lex reg. ap. Fest. p. 190)

*Sī* quisquam *aliuta faxit*, *ipso* *Iouī* *sacer* *estō*. (Lex reg. ap. Paul. Fest. p. 5)

<sup>337</sup>In some manuscripts, the subordinate verb is in the future, in others it is in the subjunctive.

<sup>338</sup>The subordinate verb is textually problematic.

<sup>339</sup>Some manuscripts have the subordinate verb in the future, others have it in the subjunctive.

<sup>340</sup>The subordinate clause is textually problematic.

<sup>341</sup>Here and in *Eun.* 663, the subordinate verb is in the future in some manuscripts, while in others it is in the subjunctive.

<sup>342</sup>The subordinate verb is textually problematic.

<sup>343</sup>The subordinate clause is textually problematic.

---

Sī parentem puer uerberit\*, ast\* olle\* *plōrāssit\** parēns, puer diūis parentum sacer estō. (Lex reg. ap. Fest. p. 260)

---

• **The Twelve Tables (c. 450BC)**

Vtī *lēgāssit* suae reī, ita iūs estō. (Lex XII tab. ap. Gaius *inst.* 2. 224) (cf. also Cic. *inu.* 2. 148; Inst. Iust. 2. 22 *pr.*; Pompon. *dig.* 50. 16. 120)

---

Sī nox fūrtum *faxit\**<sup>344</sup>, sī im OCCĪSIT\* iūre caesus estō. (Lex XII tab. ap. Macr. *Sat.* 1. 4. 19)

---

Cum nexum faciēt mancipiumque, utī linguā *nuncupāssit\**, ita iūs estō\*. (Lex XII tab. ap. Fest. p. 176) (cf. also Cic. *de orat.* 1. 245)

---

Nī\* sam\*<sup>345</sup> *dīlapidāssunt\**, quā uolēt, iūmentō agetō. (Lex XII tab. ap. Fest. p. 508)

---

quī frūgēs *excantāssit\**; quī\* malum carmen *incantāssit\** (Lex XII tab. ap. Plin. *nat.* 28. 17–18)

---

Sī membrum *rupsit\**, nī cum eō pacit, tāliō estō. (Lex XII tab. ap. Fest. p. 496)

---

sī seruus fūrtum *faxit\** noxiamue *noxit\**<sup>346</sup> (Lex XII tab. ap. Vlp. *dig.* 9. 4. 2. 1)

---

• **Other Laws**

Sī quis magistrātus aduersus hāc dolō malō pondera, modiōsque, uāsaque pūblica modica, minōra, maiōraue *faxit*, *iussitue* fierī, dolumue adduit quō ea fiant, eum quis uolēt magistrātus multāre, dum minōre partī familiās taxat, licētō; sīue quis im sacrum iūdicāre uoluerit, licētō. (Lex Sil. ap. Fest. p. 288) (third century BC)

---

Cēterārūm rērum praeter hominem et pecūdē occīsōs sī quis alterī damnum *faxit\**, quod usserit\* frēgerit rūperit iniūriā, quantī ea rēs erit in

---

<sup>344</sup>The edition reads *factum sit*.

<sup>345</sup>This is Mommsen's correction.

<sup>346</sup>The edition reads *nocuit*.

diēbus trīgintā proximīs, tantum aes dominō dare damnās estō. (Lex Aquilia ap. Vlp. *dig.* 9. 2. 27. 5) (third century BC)

---

Sī iniūriam alterī *faxit*, uīgintī quīnque aeris poenae suntō. (fr. legis ap. Gell. 20. 1. 12)

---

• **Inscriptions**

Sei quis aruorsu hāc *faxit*, <in> ium quis uolēt prō ioudicātōd n(unum) <L> manum inieci<i>ō estōd. (Lex luci Lucer. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 401) 4–6, shortly after 315/314BC)

---

Seiquis *uiolāsit*, Iouē bouīd piāclum datōd; seiquis sciēs *uiolāsit* dolō malō, Iouei bouīd piāclum datōd et a(ssēs) CCC moltai suntōd. (Lex luci Spolet. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 366) 1. 10–2. 7, shortly after 241BC)

---

Sēquis aduorsum eād *uiolāsit* Iouei bouīd piāclum datō; seiquis sciēs *uiolāsit* dolō malō, et Io<uei> bouīd piācl<um datō> et a(ssēs) CCC mo<ltai> suntō.> (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2872, ii. 2–10, not much later than the Lex luci Spolet.)

---

Seiquis *faxit*, quotiēns *faxit*, in agrī iūgra singula L <(sēstertiōs) n(ummōs) ... dar>e dēbētō eī queiqomque id pūblicum fruendum redēptum comductumue habēbit. (Lex agr. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 585) 25, c. 111BC)

---

Neiue, quod peqūniae ob eam rem propiōr<e> diē exāctum er<it, atque uteiqu>e in h(āce) l(ēge) s(criptum) e(st), is quei peqūniam populō dare dēbēbit eī, quei eō nōmine ab populō *mercāssitur*, ob eam rem peqūniam eī nei <minus soluitō.> (Lex agr. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 585) 71)

---

prior *faxit* (Warmington (1940: 292+294)) (from a treaty between Rome and Callatis, late second or early first century BC; probably in a conditional clause)

---

(excluded: <fax>sit (Lex agr. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 585) 84<sup>347</sup>))

---

• **Quintus Ennius (c. 239–169BC)**

Ō Tite, sī quid ego adiūerō\* cūramue *leuāssō*\*  
quae nunc tē coquit et uersāt in pectore fixa,

<sup>347</sup>The restoration is too uncertain.



ecquid erit praemī? (Enn. *ann.* 335–7)

---

• **Marcus Porcius Cato (c. 234–149BC)**

Villam aedificandam sī locābis nouam ab solō, fāber haec faciāt oportēt:  
parietēs omnēs, utī *iussitur*, calce et caementis, pīlās ex lapide angulārī,  
tīgna omnia quae opus sunt .... (Cato *agr.* 14. 1)

---

• **Marcus Pacuuius (c. 220–130BC)**

Haud sinam quicquam prōfārī priūs quam *accepō* quod petō. (Pacuu.  
*trag.* 325)

---

• **Lucius Accius (c. 170–85BC)**

Nunc sī mē mātrem mānsuēs misericordia  
*capsit*. (Acc. *trag.* 453–4)

---

Quī nisi genitōrem *ulsō*<sup>348</sup>, nūllum mēis dāt finem miserīis. (Acc. *trag.*  
293)

---

(excluded: *essis* meritus (Acc. *praetext.* 16<sup>349</sup>), *persēnsint* (Acc. *trag.*  
26<sup>350</sup>), *faxō* (Acc. *trag.* 478)<sup>351</sup>)

---

• **Lucius Afranius (born c. 150BC)**

Immo ollī mītem *faxō faciānt* fūstibus. (Afran. *com.* 67)

---

• **Other**

(In a *dēuōtiō*;) Sī haec ita *faxitis*\* ut ego sciam sentiam intellegamque,  
tunc quisquis uōtum hoc *faxit*\* ubiubi *faxit*\* rēctē factum estō ouibus ātrīs  
tribus. Tellūs māter tēque Iuppiter optestōr. (cf. Macr. *Sat.* 3. 9. 11)

<sup>348</sup> *Vlsō* is Voss's conjecture. The manuscripts have *ullō*.

<sup>349</sup> The reading is too uncertain, and we do not have any context. Bothe conjectured *escis*, and Hermann wrote *estis*.

<sup>350</sup> Ribbeck has no manuscript support for such a sigmatic form.

<sup>351</sup> Ribbeck has no manuscript support and *saxō* ought to have been kept.

## F: The Causative Constructions of the Form *faciam*

I list all the instances in Plautus and Terence where the form *faciam* has an object clause, whether or not it is introduced by *ut*, and those instances where it takes the double accusative. I leave out the type *ex tē ... faciam pīlum catapultārium* as well as *Capt.* 385 and *Persa* 662, which have adverbial *ut*-clauses.<sup>352</sup>

### Plautus

- *faciam ut* + subjunctive (37): *Amph.* 54, *Amph.* 59, *Amph.* 345, *Amph.* 549, *Amph.* 613, *Amph.* 878, *Amph.* 1001, *Amph.* 1085, *Asin.* 28, *Asin.* 140, *Aul.* 31, *Aul.* 365<sup>353</sup>, *Aul.* 443, *Capt.* 65, *Capt.* 409, *Capt.* 610, *Capt.* 800, *Capt.* 962, *Cas.* 158, *Curc.* 576, *Epid.* 606, *Mil.* 661<sup>354</sup>, *Most.* 94, *Persa* 178, *Persa* 494, *Persa* 743, *Persa* 760, *Poen.* 165, *Poen.* 197, *Poen.* 702, *Poen.* 1289, *Pseud.* 145, *Pseud.* 214, *Pseud.* 884, *Rud.* 1084, *Rud.* 1088, *Stich.* 445
- *faciam quān* + subjunctive (1): *Mil.* 283
- *faciam* + subjunctive (2): *Amph.* 63, *Amph.* 876
- *faciam* + double accusative<sup>355</sup> (26): *Amph.* 357, *Amph.* 583, *Amph.* 1030, *Bacch.* 241, *Bacch.* 888, *Capt.* 123, *Capt.* 798, *Cas.* 124, *Cas.* 307, *Curc.* 691, *Epid.* 349, *Mil.* 157, *Mil.* 512, *Mil.* 1044, *Most.* 389, *Poen.* 1236, *Pseud.* 324, *Pseud.* 586, *Pseud.* 674, *Pseud.* 868, *Pseud.* 872, *Rud.* 722, *Rud.* 1132<sup>356</sup>, *Stich.* 407, *Stich.* 674–5, *Truc.* 614<sup>357</sup>

### Terence

- *faciam ut* + subjunctive (7): *Ad.* 848, *Andr.* 701, *Eun.* 309, *Eun.* 801, *Hec.* 244<sup>358</sup>, *Hec.* 439, *Phorm.* 776
- *faciam* + double accusative (1): *Haut.* 873<sup>359</sup>

<sup>352</sup>All the first person simple futures of *facere* can be seen in appendix 7, sections F (Plautus) and G (Terence).

<sup>353</sup>This is an instance of the type *ūnum hoc faciam ut*.

<sup>354</sup>The verb in the subordinate clause, *fateāre*, is textually problematic.

<sup>355</sup>In *Capt.* 123, *Mil.* 1044 and *Pseud.* 674, one of the accusatives is *mē*. *Amph.* 583, *Most.* 389, *Pseud.* 868 and *Pseud.* 872 do not really have two accusatives, but belong to the related type *faciam tē proinde ac meritis es*.

<sup>356</sup>The second accusative, the *praedicātium*, is textually problematic.

<sup>357</sup>The accusative *tē* is a conjecture.

<sup>358</sup>The verb in the *ut*-clause is in the first person singular. The same is true of the token in *Phorm.* 776.

<sup>359</sup>The second accusative, *scientem*, is textually problematic.

## G: The Future Perfects in Plautus — Verbs with Sigmatic Futures

In this section, I am collecting a subset of the future perfects in Plautus. I am listing the future perfects of those verbs that have sigmatic futures in Plautus and Terence. Some of these verbs have perfect subjunctives that look like future perfects. I have collected them as well because not everybody might agree with how I classified the tokens — some future perfects might be taken as perfect subjunctives and *vice versa*.

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

**Total: 64 future perfects.**

- *aspicere*: 6 future perfects  
conditional clauses with *sī* (3): *aspexeris* (*Poen.* 299 C), *aspexerit* (*Amph.* 320 C, *Truc.* 672\*\* S)  
temporal clauses with *ubi* (3): *aspexerō* (*Amph.* 1048 C), *aspexerit* (*Bacch.* 765 S, *Pseud.* 750 C)  
(ambiguous perfect subjunctives (2): *aspexerīs* (*Epid.* 624\*), *aspexerīt* (*Mil.* 1391))
- *capere*: 3 future perfects  
conditional clauses with *sī* (2): *cēperō* (*Amph.* 671 C, *Aul.* 48 S)  
relative clause (1): *cēperit* (*Rud.* 902 S)
- *cēnāre*: 2 future perfects  
main clauses (2): *cēnāuerō* (*Cas.* 781 S, *Most.* 1007 S)
- *efficere*: 6 future perfects  
conditional clauses with *sī* (2): *effēcerō* (*Pseud.* 535 S), *effēceris* (*Asin.* 98 S)  
conditional clause with *nīsī* (1): *effēcerō* (*Pseud.* 950 C)  
temporal clauses with *quandō* and *ubi* (2): *effēcerō* (*Curc.* 364 C), *effēceris* (*Pseud.* 946 C<sup>360</sup>)  
main clause (1): *effēceris* (*Bacch.* 695 C)
- *facere*: 39 future perfects  
conditional clauses with *sī* (7): *fēcerō* (*Bacch.* 555 C, *Men.* 439 C, *Mil.* 1252 C, *Fretum* C), *fēceris* (*Curc.* 242 S), *fēcerit* (*Aul.* 163 C, *Men.* 92 S)  
conditional clauses with *nīsī* (2): *fēcerō* (*Bacch.* 849 S, *Pseud.* 520 S)

<sup>360</sup>The line is an anapaestic tetrameter. The scansion is *ĕffēcerīs* because of iambic shortening, but the ending is presumably short by nature.

temporal *ubi* or *quom* (7): *fēcerō* (*Aul.* 204 C, *Aul.* 623 C), *facta erit* (*Mil.* 942 C), *factum erit* (*Cist.* 784 C, *Mil.* 1176\*\* C, *Most.* 361 C), *factae erunt* (*Trin.* 597 S)

relative clause (1): *fēcerō* (*Amph.* 1003 C)

main clauses (22): *fēcerō* (*Amph.* 198 C, *Asin.* 705 C, *Cas.* 868 C, *Men.* 424 C, *Merc.* 497 C, *Poen.* 857 C, *Stich.* 351 C), *fēceris* (*Capt.* 296 C, *Capt.* 695 S, *Capt.* 968 C, *Curc.* 665 S, *Men.* 272 S, *Men.* 661 C, *Merc.* 139 C, *Mil.* 1243 C, *Poen.* 1216 C, *Poen.* 1218 C, *Pseud.* 512 S, *Trin.* 279 C), *fēcerit* (*Most.* 711 C, *Rud.* 179–80 S, *Vid.* 36 S)

(ambiguous perfect subjunctives (21): *fēcerīs* (*Asin.* 48, *Cas.* 332, *Epid.* 148, *Men.* 414–15, *Merc.* 957, *Mil.* 20\*\*, *Mil.* 498\*\*, *Mil.* 1167\*\*, *Mil.* 1368, *Most.* 272, *Poen.* 1023, *Pseud.* 654, *Stich.* 285, *Trin.* 85, *Trin.* 347<sup>361</sup>, *Trin.* 348, *Trin.* 513), *fēcerit* (*Men.* 994, *Poen.* 886<sup>362</sup>, *Poen.* 928), *fēcerint* (*Truc.* 295\*))

(excluded: *factum erit* (*Capt.* 684<sup>363</sup>))

- *inuītāre*: 1 future perfect  
conditional clause with *sī* (1): *inuītāueris* (*Colax* iii C)
- *irritāre*: 2 future perfects  
conditional clauses with *sī* (2): *irritāueris* (*Bacch.* 888 S, *Curc.* 726 C)
- *liberāre*: no future perfects  
(ambiguous perfect subjunctive (1): *liberāuerit* (*Epid.* 506\*))
- *occipere*: 1 future perfect  
temporal clause with *ubi* (1): *occēperit* (*Cist.* 529 C)  
(ambiguous perfect subjunctives (6): *occēperīs* (*Merc.* 118<sup>364</sup>, *Persa* 114, *Poen.* 213<sup>365</sup>), *occēperit* (*Amph.* 724<sup>366</sup>, *Capt.* 467), *occēperint* (*Asin.* 590))
- *occupāre*: 1 future perfect  
main clause (1): *occupātum erit* (*Epid.* 298 C)
- *ōrāre*: no future perfects  
(ambiguous perfect subjunctive (1): *ōrāuerīs* (*Poen.* 601))

<sup>361</sup>I take this and the following instance as impersonal second persons.

<sup>362</sup>This and the following item are potential subjunctives in main clauses. Lodge (1924: 581–2) classifies *Poen.* 886 as future perfect and *Poen.* 928 as perfect subjunctive, but the two contexts are very similar.

<sup>363</sup>*Factum* is a noun.

<sup>364</sup>This and the following two items are impersonal second persons.

<sup>365</sup>Metre shows that this is a perfect subjunctive.

<sup>366</sup>This is a potential perfect subjunctive.

- *seruāre*: 3 future perfects  
conditional clause with *sī* (1): *seruāueris* (*Rud.* 1350 S)  
main clauses (2): *seruāuerō* (*Pseud.* 630 C), *seruāueris* (*Amph.* 313 C)
- verbs with sigmatic futures in Plautus or Terence, but neither future perfects nor ambiguous perfect subjunctives (17): *accūrāre*, *adimere*, *amāre*, *commōnstrāre*, *comparāre*, *dēcōllāre*, *dēmūtāre*, *ēnicāre*, *exoculāre*, *indicāre*, *inicare*, *intrāre*, *mulcāre*, *occeptāre*, *peccāre*, *reconciliāre*, *respicere*

## H: The Remaining Future Perfects in Plautus

In this section, I am collecting the future perfects that are not listed in section G. I have also collected those perfect subjunctives that look like future perfects.

**Total: 451 future perfects.**

abaliēnāre (2), abdūcere (3), abigere (1), abīre (12), accēdere (6), accipere (5), accumbere (1), adbibere (1), addere (3), adigere (1), aduenīre (11), afferre (6), agere (8), allēgāre (1), allicere (1), āmittere (5), āmouēre (2), antecēdere (1), apscēdere (7), apsūmere (1), aspicere (6), assīdēre (1), attingere (8), audīre (3), auferre (3), aufugere (1), augēre (1), bibere (3), cadere (1), captāre (1), cauēre (4), ciēre (1), comēdere (1), commūtāre (1), concēdere (4), conciliāre (1), condemnāre (1), condīre (1), cōficere (1), cōsistere (1), cōspicere (5), cōsūdāre (1), conterere (1), conuenīre (5), coquere (1), corrēpere (1), crēdere (2), cūrāre (2), dare (24), dēcernere (1), dēcidere (1), dēcipere (1), dēferre (2), dēfrūdāre (1), dēlectāre (2), dēlinquere (1), dēlūdere (1), dēnarrāre (1), dēnumerāre (1), dēportāre (1), dērīdēre (1), dēspondēre (1), dēuenīre (1), dēuītāre (1), dīcere (13), diffringere (1), dīiudicāre (1), dīmittere (1), dīnumerāre (1), dūcere (2), ēdere (1), ēdūcere (1), efflāre (1), efflīgere (1), effodere (1), ēloquī (1), emere (4), ēscendere (1), esse (7), ēuenīre (2), excēdere (1), excoquere (1), excrucīare (2), excurrere (1), exīre (3), exōrnāre (2), expolīre (1), expugnāre (2), exquīrere (3), exsignāre (1), fatērī (1), ferre (1), flēre (1), gustāre (1), habēre (3), iacēre (1), immolāre (1), impetrāre (1), inīre (1), innuere (1), īnspectāre (1), intercīpere (1), interficere (1), intertrahere (1), inuenīre (5), inuestīgāre (2), inuītāre (1), īre (with introīre) (3), iubēre (16), iūrāre (1), lauāre (2), legere (1), locāre (1), lubēre (1), lūdere (1), lūdificārī (1), manēre (1), mantiscinārī (1), meminisse (6), merēre (2), mittere (3), moenīre (1), mouēre (1), muttīre (2), nancīscī (3), narrāre (3), nāscī (2), nōscere (3), nūbere (1), obrēpere (1), occēdere (1), occīdere (2), ōdisse (1), offendere (3), omittere (1), opsistere<sup>367</sup> (1), opstringere (1), optāre (1), oprūdere (1), opruncāre (1), ostendere (1), parāre (2), percutere (1), perdere (3), perficere (2), perīre (3), persequī (1), peruenīre (1), placēre (1), plaudere (1), pōnere (1), praeterīre (1), prandēre (1),prehendere (3), prōdesse (1), prōdigere (1), prohibēre (1), prōmittere (1), prōsentīre (1), prōuidēre (1), recēdere (1), reddere (2), redīre (12), relinquere (1), reperīre (1),

<sup>367</sup>Lodge (1933: 235) classifies this as *opstāre*.

reprehendere (1), resciscere (4), reuenire (5), reuertī (1), sacrificāre (1), sciscere (2<sup>368</sup>), sedere (1), sentire (3), soluere (3), subigere (1), sūmere (2), superesse (1), supterducere (1), surripere (1), tacere (1), tangere (3), uendere (1), uenire (21), uertere (1), uetare (1), uidere (14), uincere (3), ulcisci (2), uocare (1)

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

- conditional clauses with *sī* or the like (151): abduxerō (*Persa* 164 S), abduxerit (*Poen.* 907 C), abierō (*Rud.* 1328 C), abierit (*Merc.* 662 C), accēperis (*Trin.* 371 C), accesseris (*Aul.* 442 C, *Men.* 857 C), accesserit (*Mil.* 1270 C), addiderō (*Trin.* 855 C), addideris (*Trin.* 464), aduēnerit (*Asin.* 370 C, *Poen.* 1083 S), allēxerō (*Poen.* 671\* S), amiseris (*Bacch.* 1195<sup>369</sup>, *Mil.* 701\*\* C), amiserit (*Trin.* 561 S), apstulerō (*Pseud.* 514 S), apstuleris (*Pseud.* 512 S, *Pseud.* 513 S), aspexeris (*Poen.* 299 C), aspexerit (*Amph.* 320 C, *Truc.* 672\*\* S), attigerō (*Rud.* 721 C), attigeris (*Men.* 857, *Rud.* 759, *Rud.* 762, *Rud.* 793 S), attigerit (*Cas.* 388 C, *Rud.* 776 C), attuleris (*Pseud.* 376\*\* C), attulerit (*Asin.* 231 C, *Men.* 1044 C), audiuerō (*Epid.* 593\* C), cāueris (*Men.* 347 S, *Rud.* 832 S), ceciderō (*Pseud.* 1248 C), condemnauerō (*Rud.* 1383 C), cōspexerō (*Capt.* 809 C, *Capt.* 821 C), cōspexeris (*Asin.* 338 C), cōspexerit (*Men.* 429 C), cōnsūdaueris (*Pseud.* 666 C), conuēnerō (*Bacch.* 848 S, *Merc.* 562 S, *Pseud.* 1059\*\* S), coxerint (*Aul.* 367 S), cūrāueris (*Amph.* 741 C), dederō (*Aul.* 250 C, *Cist.* 499 C, *Pseud.* 91\* S, *Pseud.* 510 S), dederis (*Capt.* 122 S, *Epid.* 297 C, *Pseud.* 1229 C), dederit (*Cas.* 85 S, *Persa* 402, *Rud.* 1084 C), deliquerit<sup>370</sup> (*Men.* 799 C), dēportātum erit (*Pseud.* 213\* C), dērīserit (*Curc.* 556 C), dēuēnerō (*Asin.* 105 S), dēuītāuerint (*Rud.* 168\* S), dīmīserō (*Rud.* 791\* S), dīxerō (*Amph.* 198 C), dīxeris (*Amph.* 428 C, *Asin.* 20 S, *Most.* 240 C), dīxerit (*Asin.* 800 S, *Asin.* 806 S), dūxerō (*Cist.* 498 C), ēdūxeris (*Stich.* 759\*\*\* C), ēmeris (*Persa* 564 C, *Persa* 627 C), ēuēnerit (*Cas.* 345 S, *Merc.* 651 C), excesseris (*Aul.* 57 S), exierit (*Poen.* 730\*\* S), exquisīuerō (*Capt.* 251 C), fassae eritis (*Truc.* 784\*\* C), fuerit (*Asin.* 117 S, *Asin.* 782 S, *Mil.* 307\*\* C, *Trin.* 157 S), ieris (*Merc.* 570), impetrāuerō (*Cas.* 106\*\* S), intercēperint (*Asin.* 106 S), inuestīgāuerō (*Rud.* 1340 S), inuītāueris (*Colax* iii<sup>371</sup>), iusseris (*Stich.* 624\*\* C), iusserit (*Asin.* 803 S), meritis eris (*Trin.* 1068 C), mōuerō (*Merc.* 311 S), muttīuerō (*Mil.* 566 S), muttīuerit (*Bacch.* 800 S), nactus eris (*Asin.* 228 C, *Trin.* 677\* C), nactus erit (*Capt.* 64–5 S), narrāueris (*Stich.* 144 C), nūpserit (*Mil.* 1007 C), offenderō (*Curc.* 294\*\* C, *Rud.* 789 S), omīserō (*Mil.* 454 C), optārō (*Asin.* 720 C), ostenderō (*Rud.* 1097

<sup>368</sup>Lodge (1933: 586) lists the tokens under *scīre*.

<sup>369</sup>This is a future perfect, *pace* Lodge (1924: 109). The final syllable counts as light even though the next word begins with a consonant, presumably because final -s is lost after short vowel or because of iambic shortening — the line is in anapaests.

<sup>370</sup>The infinitive is *dēlinquere*.

<sup>371</sup>There is not enough context to rule out that this is a subjunctive, but similar phrases are normally in the indicative.

C), percusserō (*Asin.* 371 C<sup>372</sup>), perfēceris (*Pseud.* 531 S), peruēnerit (*Rud.* 1341 S), praeterierit (*Persa* 402 S), pre(he)nderō (*Epid.* 326 C, *Mil.* 1426\*\* C, *Persa* 294\*\* C), prohibuerit (*Merc.* 1023 C), prōmiseris (*Stich.* 481 S), prōsēnerit (*Mil.* 1152\*\*\* C), reddiderit (*Rud.* 1353 S), redierō (*Amph.* 584b C, *Merc.* 557 S), redierit (*Asin.* 903<sup>373</sup>, *Aul.* 356 S, *Cist.* 528 C, *Merc.* 586 S, *Persa* 787<sup>374</sup>), reliqueris (*Bacch.* 496\*\*\* C), reppererō (*Aul.* 621 C), reprehēnsus erō (*Bacch.* 364 S), rescīuerit (*Epid.* 310 S), reuēnerit (*Men.* 879–80 S), sēnsērō (*Merc.* 311 S), sūmpserō (*Amph.* 358 C), super fuerit (*Curc.* 85<sup>375</sup>), supterdūxerit (*Asin.* 278 C), tetigerit (*Asin.* 406<sup>376</sup>, *Rud.* 810 S), uendiderō (*Persa* 579 C), uēneris (*Poen.* 1360 S), uēnerit (*Asin.* 154 C, *Bacch.* 363 S, *Capt.* 345 C, *Cist.* 147 S, *Men.* 423 C, *Men.* 1160 C, *Mil.* 859 S), uīceris (*Stich.* 770), uīderō (*Asin.* 837 C, *Merc.* 909\* C, *Rud.* 330 C), uīderis (*Capt.* 390 C), uīderit (*Mil.* 21 S, *Rud.* 477 S, *Rud.* 554 S), ultus fuerō (*Poen.* 1280 C)

- conditional clauses with *nī/nīsī* or the like (32): abaliēnā(ue)rit (*Asin.* 765 S<sup>377</sup>, *Curc.* 174 C), attulerit (*Pseud.* 373 C), cōnfēceris (*Capt.* 725 S), corrēpserit (*Trin.* 424 S), dederit (*Men.* 54 S, *Poen.* 81 S), dēfrūdāueris (*Asin.* 95 S), dēnarrāuerō (*Truc.* 308a\*\* C), diffrēgeritis (*Mil.* 156\* C<sup>378</sup>), dīxeris (*Aul.* 762 C), ēderis (*Cas.* 126 S<sup>379</sup>), efflīxerō (*Cist.* 526 C), excrucīāuerō (*Stich.* 436 S), flēueris (*Pseud.* 100<sup>380</sup>), interfēcerō (*Most.* 193 C), intertrāxerō (*Amph.* 673 C), iusserō (*Aul.* 442 C), iusserit (*Asin.* 488 C), lēgerit (*Pseud.* 25 S), lūdificāta erō (*Mil.* 927–8 C), mantiscinātus erō (*Capt.* 896 C), mīserō (*Pseud.* 781 S), occīderō (*Cist.* 525 C), op-truncāuerō (*Cist.* 524 C), perierit (*Stich.* 192\*\* S), reuorteris (*Men.* 256 S), scierō<sup>381</sup> (*Persa* 218 C), uīceris (*Truc.* 624\*\* C), uīcerit (*Trin.* 483 S), ultus fuerō (*Men.* 472\* S), uocāuerit (*Most.* 1007 S)

<sup>372</sup>This token is wrongly listed as *Asin.* 731 by Lodge (1933: 306).

<sup>373</sup>The final syllable counts as heavy even though it has a short vowel; this is because it is in a locus Jacobsohnianus.

<sup>374</sup>The line is in anapaests, so the final syllable might have been made light if it had a long vowel, but presumably it is short by nature.

<sup>375</sup>The token is in *tmesis*.

<sup>376</sup>Here and in *Stich.* 770, the final syllable counts as heavy even though it contains a short vowel. It is a *syllaba anceps* before the diaeresis.

<sup>377</sup>In *Asin.* 751–807, the hanger-on reads out a contract (with a few interruptions). There are many conditional clauses. Some have the present subjunctive, e.g. 763–4. There are also forms that are ambiguous between potential perfect subjunctives and future perfects. Lodge classifies some of them as future perfects, e.g. *iusserit* in *Asin.* 803 (cf. Lodge (1924: 868)), but others as perfect subjunctives, e.g. *dīxerit* in *Asin.* 800 and 806 (cf. Lodge (1924: 380)). Both interpretations are possible. I have taken all the forms as future perfects, which is the more frequent form in legal language.

<sup>378</sup>The metre shows that this is a future perfect.

<sup>379</sup>This belongs to *ēdere*, *pace* Lodge (1924: 456), who lists this under *ēdere*.

<sup>380</sup>The last syllable counts as heavy even though it contains a short vowel. This is a locus Jacobsohnianus. Cf. Questa (1967: 151–6).

<sup>381</sup>The infinitive is *scīscere*.

- temporal clauses with *dōnec/dōnicum, dum, priusquam, quāndō, quom, simulac, ubī, ut* (94): *abdūxerō* (*Cas.* 109 S), *abierō* (*Persa* 730 S), *abierit* (*Mil.* 1176<sup>382</sup>, *Pseud.* 1031 S), *abierint* (*Stich.* 594\* C), *accēperō* (*Persa* 162 S), *accēperis* (*Persa* 676 S), *accesserit* (*Amph.* 1001\*\* C), *accubitus erit* (*Bacch.* 757 C), *adbiberō* (*Stich.* 382 C), *aduēnerō* (*Amph.* 197 C, *Capt.* 786 C, *Persa* 86 S, *Rud.* 1206 C), *aduēnerit* (*Amph.* 466 S, *Epid.* 271\* C, *Mil.* 806 C, *Most.* 1069 C, *Rud.* 818 S), *aspexerō* (*Amph.* 1048 C), *aspexerit* (*Bacch.* 765 S, *Pseud.* 750 C), *audiuerō* (*Persa* 219 C), *biberis* (*Bacch.* 49 C), *biberit* (*Stich.* 719 C), *ciuerit* (*Poen.* 908 C), *cōspexerō* (*Asin.* 479\*\* C), *contriueris* (*Rud.* 716 C), *conuēnerō* (*Bacch.* 921 S), *datum erit* (*Bacch.* 758 C), *dederint* (*Asin.* 719 C), *dēlūseris* (*Amph.* 1097 C), *dēsponderit* (*Poen.* 1268\*\* C), *dētulerit* (*Poen.* 561 C), *dīiudicāta erit* (*Vid. fr. v (i)\** C), *dīnumerāuerit* (*Epid.* 71 C), *effōderis* (*Trin.* 783 S), *ēgerō* (*Bacch.* 708 C), *ēlocūtus fuerō* (*Epid.* 123 C), *ēmp̄ta erit* (*Epid.* 279 C), *excoxerō* (*Persa* 52 C), *excruciārō* (*Capt.* 691 S), *exierit* (*Mil.* 524\*\* S, *Mil.* 1169), *exōrnāuerō* (*Pseud.* 751 C), *exōrnātus erō* (*Mil.* 1183 C), *expoliuerō* (*Poen.* 188 S), *expugnāuerō* (*Bacch.* 977 C), *fueris* (*Cas.* 130 S), *fuerint* (*Cas.* 548 C), *gustāuerit* (*Pseud.* 883 S), *innuerō* (*Rud.* 731\*\* C), *inspectāuerō* (*Rud.* 755 C), *inuēnerō* (*Most.* 689\* S), *inuēneris* (*Rud.* 766 C), *inuestigāuerō* (*Merc.* 863 C), *iūrāueris* (*Rud.* 1347 S), *iusserō* (*Aul.* 58 S), *iusseris* (*Poen.* 853 C), *lāuerō* (*Stich.* 569 C), *lāueris* (*Poen.* 702\* S), *locāta erit* (*Trin.* 782 S), *mīserō* (*Capt.* 692 S), *ōderit* (*Bacch.* 417 C), *opstrīnxerō* (*Aul.* 78 S), *perfēcerit* (*Mil.* 214\* C), *persecūtus erō* (*Mil.* 269\* C), *posīueris* (*Trin.* 145 S), *pranderō* (*Pseud.* 664 C), *redierō* (*Poen.* 405 C), *redieris* (*Merc.* 496 C), *redierit* (*Capt.* 339 C, *Cas.* 336\*\* S), *resciuerit* (*Bacch.* 358 S, *Merc.* 1003 C, *Most.* 881 C), *reuēnerō* (*fab. inc. fr. xxxv (liv)* S), *sciuerit*<sup>383</sup> (*Bacch.* 359 S), *sēnsērit* (*Epid.* 92a C, *Pseud.* 1168\* C), *soluerō* (*Vid.* 91 S), *sūmpserō* (*Trin.* 725 C), *surrūptum erit* (*Men.* 664 C), *uēnerō* (*Epid.* 304 C), *uēneris* (*Cas.* 120 S, *Men.* 543 S, *Merc.* 649 C, *Mil.* 1193 C), *uēnerit* (*Poen.* 185 S, *Pseud.* 660 C, *Truc.* 340 S, *Truc.* 417 S), *ūderō* (*Asin.* 246 C, *Men.* 142 C)
- relative clauses (41)<sup>384</sup>: *accēperit* (*Asin.* 765 S), *āmīserit* (*Poen.* 344\*\* C), *attigerit* (*Truc.* 228\* C), *attulerit* (*Truc.* 429\* S), *audierint* (*Cas.* 902 C), *condiuerō* (*Pseud.* 830 S), *credideris* (*Trin.* 145 S), *dēcrerō* (*Curc.* 703 C), *dederis* (*Bacch.* 1198 C), *dederit* (*Men.* 55\*\* S, *Poen.* 82 S), *dēlātum erit* (*Poen.* 738\*\* S), *ēgeris* (*Trin.* 387 C), *excucurrerit* (*Most.* 359 C), *habueris* (*Capt.* 314 C), *habuerit* (*Asin.* 807 S), *iēcerō* (*Capt.* 797 C), *immolārit* (*Poen.* 450), *inierit* (*Cas.* 221 C), *inuentus erit* (*Men.* 187 C), *iusseris* (*Amph.* 382 C, *Asin.* 828 S, *Curc.* 707 C, *Men.* 157 C, *Truc.*

<sup>382</sup>Metre does not tell us anything about the quantity of the final syllable. There are two possible scansiones: *abierit̄ ibi* — Ritschl's law may be violated in metrically prominent elements, cf. Stockert (1983: 234, footnote 11); or *abierit̄, ibi*, with the verb being either a subjunctive or an indicative with final lengthening before the syntactic break.

<sup>383</sup>The infinitive is *sciiscere*.

<sup>384</sup>I include relative adverbs like *quot, ubi(quomque)* or *ut̄*.



360\*\*\* S), lubitum erit (*Asin.* 110 S), merueris (*Asin.* 377 C), nātum erit (*Amph.* 501 C), nōrit (*Poen.* 874 C), occesserit (*Asin.* 404<sup>385</sup>), offenderō (*Capt.* 798 C), opstiterit (*Capt.* 793), plauserit (*Cas.* 1017 C), prōdēgerit (*Merc.* 1020 C), sacrificāuerit (*Poen.* 451 S), uēneris (*Bacch.* 341 S), uēnerit (*Amph.* 309 C, *Trin.* 724 C), uīderō (*Mil.* 460 C), uīderītis (*Mil.* 157 C<sup>386</sup>, *Mil.* 160 C)

- main clauses (128): abēgerit (*Asin.* 446 C), abierō (*Bacch.* 211 S, *Epid.* 515 S, *Most.* 590 S, *Persa* 250 C, *Poen.* 442\* S), abierit (*Aul.* 656 C), accēperis (*Persa* 395 S), accesserō (*Bacch.* 774 S, *Persa* 575 C), addideris (*Trin.* 379 C), adēgerō (*Pseud.* 333 C), allēgāuerō (*Persa* 135 S), āmiserit (*Persa* 403 S), āmōueris (*Trin.* 784 S), āmōta fuerit (*Epid.* 282\*), antecesseris (*Pseud.* 532 S), apscesserō (*Mil.* 200 C, *Trin.* 625\* C, *Trin.* 710 C), apscesserit (*Merc.* 140 C, *Merc.* 372 C, *Merc.* 389 C, *Trin.* 745 S), apsumpta erit (*Most.* 235 C), assēderō (*Most.* 1143 C), attulerint (*Poen.* 617\* S), aufūgerō (*Bacch.* 363 S), auxerit (*Asin.* 280 C), biberis (*Bacch.* 49), captāuerō (*Cas.* 966 C), cāuerō (*Men.* 270 S, *Pseud.* 478 S), comēderit (*Trin.* 753 S), commūtāuerō (*Amph.* 53 S), concesserō (*Aul.* 666 S, *Most.* 687 S, *Persa* 50 C, *Trin.* 1007 S), conciliāuerit (*Trin.* 856 C), conuēnerō (*Cas.* 545 C), crēdiderō (*Trin.* 607 C), cūrāuerit (*Capt.* 314 C), dēceptus eris (*Pseud.* 1326 C), dēcīderō (*Cas.* 297 C), dederō (*Asin.* 439 C, *Bacch.* 49 C, *Most.* 1103 C, *Poen.* 1286 C), dederis (*Most.* 1151 C), dēlectāuerō (*Merc.* 548 S), dēlectāuerit (*Pseud.* 573a S), dēnumerāuerō (*Most.* 921 C), dīxerō (*Asin.* 839–40 C, *Persa* 185 C, *Pseud.* 755 C, *Rud.* 1135 C, *Trin.* 465 S), dīxerit (*Rud.* 790 S), dūxerō (*Amph.* 930 S), efflāuerit (*Truc.* 876 C), ēgerō (*Capt.* 495 C), ēgeris (*Rud.* 1151 C), ēgerit (*Men.* 54 S, *Men.* 55 S, *Poen.* 81 S, *Poen.* 82 S), ēmerō (*Merc.* 413 C), ēscenderō (*Amph.* 1000 C), exquisīuerō (*Capt.* 293 C, *Rud.* 330 C), exsignāuerō (*Trin.* 655 C), fuerit (*Poen.* 973 S), habuerō (*Cas.* 787 S), inuēneris (*Bacch.* 840 S, *Trin.* 760 S), iuerō (*Capt.* 194 S, *Stich.* 484 S), iusserō (*Aul.* 570 S, *Cas.* 613 S, *Epid.* 657 C, *Stich.* 607 C), iusserit (*Persa* 269 C), lūseris (*Capt.* 344 C), mānsērō (*Asin.* 327 C), meminērō (*Asin.* 117 S, *Bacch.* 330 S, *Capt.* 398 C, *Cas.* 525 C, *Curc.* 492 C, *Mil.* 809 C), mīserō (*Capt.* 341 C), moenīta erit (*Persa* 559 C<sup>387</sup>), narrāuerō (*Most.* 1039 S, *Pseud.* 721 C), nāta erit (*Persa* 645 C<sup>388</sup>), nōrit (*Poen.* 874\* C, *Poen.* 1117 S), obrēpseris (*Trin.* 61 S), occīderit (*Pseud.* 350 C), oprūserō (*Stich.* 593 C), parāta erit (*Men.* 215 C, *Mil.* 921 C), perdiderō (*Pseud.* 376\* C), perdiderit (*Most.* 211 C), peri(u)eris (*Mil.* 297 C, *Mil.* 298 C), placuerō (*Men.* 670 C), prōfuerit (*Capt.* 315 C), prōuīderō (*Most.* 526 S), recesserō (*Rud.* 788 S), reddiderō (*Men.* 545 S), redierō (*Pseud.* 647 C), reuēnerō (*Bacch.* 1066 S, *Mil.* 863 S, *Rud.* 779 C), sēderō (*Stich.*

<sup>385</sup>This is in an iambic septenarius before the middle diaeresis, so the final syllable is anceps, cf. Questa (1967: 173).

<sup>386</sup>Here and in the next example the metre shows that we are dealing with future perfects.

<sup>387</sup>This could also be interpreted as adjective with copula.

<sup>388</sup>This is a 'modal' future.

93\* C), solūta erit (*Pseud.* 630 C), solūtum erit (*Pseud.* 641 C), subēgerō (*Most.* 1174 C), tacitum erit (*Persa* 246 C), tetigerō (*Poen.* 1286 C), tetulerō (*Cist.* 650 C), uēnerō (*Truc.* 547\* C), uiderō (*Merc.* 448 C, *Merc.* 450 C), uorterō (*Poen.* 984\* S), uotuerō (*Persa* 568\* C)

- *faxō* (4): cōnstitērit (*Poen.* 346 C), dederis (*Trin.* 60 S), expugnātum erit (*Pseud.* 766 C), perdiderit (*Aul.* 578 S)
- indirect question (1): dederō (*Persa* 292 C)
- ambiguous perfect subjunctives (311): abierīs (*Amph.* 695), abierīt (*Curc.* 559, *Poen.* 799\*), accēperīt (*Epid.* 370), addūxerīt (*Merc.* 924<sup>389</sup>), adiēcērīs (*Mil.* 909\*), adierīt (*Poen.* 462), adiūnxerīs (*Aul.* 236<sup>390</sup>), aduēnerīt (*Bacch.* 235, *Rud.* 1243, *Stich.* 456), aduocāuerīt (*Cas.* 569\*\*), affuerīs (*Bacch.* 90), āfuerīs (*Stich.* 523), ambēderīt (*Merc.* 241), ambīuerīt (*Amph.* 74), āmīserīs (*Curc.* 599, *Trin.* 1054\*), āmīserīt (*Capt.* 23), apscesserīs (*Capt.* 434), apstulerīt (*Aul.* 716, *Aul.* 773, *Aul.* 774, *Cist.* 679\*\*, *Curc.* 650, *Mil.* 696), aspexerīs (*Epid.* 624\*), aspexerīt (*Mil.* 1391\*\*), astrīnxerīs (*Trin.* 699), attigerīs (*Persa* 793), attulerīt (*Bacch.* 316, *Bacch.* 320\*\*, *Truc.* 97\*\*), audīuerīs (*Mil.* 1265<sup>391</sup>, *Trin.* 538<sup>392</sup>), audīuerīt (*Cas.* 575), biberīs (*Most.* 967), circumdūxerīt (*Bacch.* 311), comēderīs (*Men.* 521), commūtāuerīs (*Asin.* 374), compēgerīs (*Rud.* 1147), compēgerint (*Amph.* 155), complēuerīt (*Amph.* 1016), compresserīt (*Aul.* 29), compulerīt (*Bacch.* 1085), cōspexerīs (*Asin.* 878, *Trin.* 950), conuēnerīt (*Capt.* 395, *Curc.* 435), crēdiderīs (*Persa* 435, *Trin.* 621\*, *Trin.* 1054), dēcīderint (*Poen.* 570), dederīs (*Men.* 683, *Poen.* 559, *Pseud.* 641, *Trin.* 700, *Trin.* 1051\*, *Truc.* 51), dederīt (*Bacch.* 334, *Mil.* 797, *Truc.* 234\*\*\*), dēdiderīt (*Bacch.* 45), dēfuerīt (*Bacch.* 37, *Bacch.* 38), dēfūgerīs (*Poen.* 147), dēlīquerīt (dēlinquere) (*Cas.* 399), dēstiterīs (*Trin.* 1012), dētulerīt (*Mil.* 912), dēuēnerīs (*Most.* 968\*), dēuorterīs (*Most.* 966), dīxerīs (*Asin.* 564, *Asin.* 698<sup>393</sup>, *Cist.* 110, *Merc.* 401–2, *Most.* 252\*, *Persa* 389, *Pseud.* 657, *Trin.* 555), dīxerīt (*Bacch.* 701, *Men.* 644, *Poen.* 1206, *Pseud.* 962<sup>394</sup>, *Stich.* 555, *Trin.* 207), dīxerītīs (*Mil.* 862<sup>395</sup>), doluerīt (*Amph.* 922), dūxerīs (*Trin.* 693\*<sup>396</sup>), dūxerīt (*Merc.* 827), ēdentāuerint (*Rud.* 662), ēderīs (*Poen.* 535\*\*), ēderint (*Capt.* 473), effūgerīt (*Cas.* 396), ēgerīs (*Trin.* 62), ēgerīt (*Pseud.* 1063\*\*), ēgerint (*Trin.* 550\*), ēmerīs (*Men.* 1101<sup>397</sup>, *Merc.* 221, *Merc.* 221, *Merc.* 504\*),

<sup>389</sup>Metre shows that the final syllable is heavy.

<sup>390</sup>I take this as an impersonal second person, hence the subjunctive; the passage could also be interpreted as personal, in which case this ought to be a future perfect.

<sup>391</sup>This is before the middle diaeresis in an iambic septenarius, so the final syllable is anceps.

<sup>392</sup>I take this token and the one in *Amph.* 155 as potential.

<sup>393</sup>This is before the middle diaeresis in an iambic septenarius, so the final syllable is anceps.

<sup>394</sup>Questa (1967: 183) says that caesura after *dīxerīt* would be the most natural solution syntactically, but that a (quasi-)caesura after *id eg(-o)* is just about conceivable; in that case we could scan either *dīxerīt id eg-* or *dīxerīt, id eg-*.

<sup>395</sup>Metre shows that this is a perfect subjunctive.

<sup>396</sup>I regard this as potential.

<sup>397</sup>Metre shows that the final syllable is heavy.

ēmerīt (*Capt.* 205, *Most.* 1026*d*), ēscenderīs (*Mil.* 1150<sup>\*\*\*</sup>), excesserīt (*Merc.* 61<sup>\*</sup>), exōrāuerīt (*Cas.* 304), fraudāuerīs (*Asin.* 561<sup>398</sup>), fuerīs (*Amph.* 818, *Asin.* 140, *Asin.* 561, *Asin.* 568, *Asin.* 571, *Asin.* 573, *Asin.* 839–40, *Aul.* 618, *Capt.* 248<sup>399</sup>, *Capt.* 407<sup>400</sup>, *Epid.* 595), fuerīt (*Amph.* 744, *Amph.* 1016, *Capt.* 145, *Men.* 229, *Mil.* 261<sup>\*\*</sup>, *Mil.* 406, *Mil.* 742, *Most.* 967, *Persa* 583, *Pseud.* 305, *Pseud.* 439, *Rud.* 353, *Trin.* 1001), fuerint (*Men.* 1083<sup>\*\*</sup>, *Persa* 150, *Persa* 381, *Poen.* 110, *Poen.* 966, *Truc.* 809), fugāuerīt (*Amph.* 136), gesserīs (*Truc.* 383), gesserīt (*Amph.* 196, *Mil.* 867, *Most.* 1017, *Persa* 714), ierīs (*Truc.* 666<sup>\*</sup>), ierīt (*Trin.* 10), immūtāuerīt (*Mil.* 432), indaudīuerīt (*Merc.* 941, *Most.* 542<sup>\*</sup>), indiderīs (*Merc.* 205), indūta fuerīt (*Epid.* 225<sup>\*</sup>), indūxerīs (*Trin.* 704), īnfuerīt (*Cist.* 733, *Cist.* 734, *Rud.* 1310<sup>\*</sup>), īnfuscāuerīt (*Mil.* 526), īnstiterīt (*Cist.* 679), interpresserīt (*Rud.* 655), interuēnerīs (*Mil.* 1333), inuēnerīt (*Aul.* 610<sup>401</sup>, *Cas.* 201, *Rud.* 1312), iusserīs (*Capt.* 343), iusserīt (*Stich.* 266), lāuerīt (*Truc.* 330<sup>\*\*</sup>), lēgerīs (*Amph.* 316), lūdificāuerīt (*Most.* 1150), mānsērīs (*Merc.* 686), meminērīs (*Aul.* 257, *Bacch.* 328, *Bacch.* 746, *Capt.* 240, *Capt.* 248, *Curc.* 210, *Mil.* 354, *Mil.* 807, *Mil.* 1195, *Mil.* 1362, *Persa* 494, *Pseud.* 515, *Rud.* 1217, *Stich.* 42<sup>402</sup>, *Stich.* 47), meminerīt (*Capt.* 800, *Poen.* 45), meminerīmus (*Cist.* 11<sup>403</sup>), mīserīs (*Aul.* 90, *Aul.* 100), mīserīt (*Truc.* 589), monuerīs (*Curc.* 384), nātus fuerīt (*Trin.* 850), nōluerīt (*Amph.* 707), (g)nōuerīs (*Bacch.* 678, *Capt.* 542, *Epid.* 550, *Men.* 499, *Mil.* 575, *Poen.* 1384, *Rud.* 730<sup>\*</sup>, *Trin.* 913, *Trin.* 952, *Truc.* 164<sup>404</sup>), nō(ue)rīt (*Capt.* 459, *Capt.* 509, *Men.* 337, *Mil.* 925, *Persa* 132, *Poen.* 744, *Pseud.* 973), obrēptāuerīt (*Persa* 79), obuēnerīt (*Trin.* 469<sup>\*</sup>), occīderīs (*Amph.* 746), ōderīs (*Poen.* 518), ōderīt (*Capt.* 66, *Trin.* 683), olfēcērīs (*Men.* 163), opertae fuerint (*Persa* 79<sup>\*</sup>), opsecrāuerint (*Mil.* 66<sup>\*\*\*</sup>), opseuerīs (*Trin.* 530), opstiterīt (*Capt.* 791), optigerīt (*Truc.* 344<sup>405</sup>), ostenderīs (*Rud.* 1135, *Rud.* 1155), parārīt (*Stich.* 203<sup>\*</sup>), parserīs (*Persa* 572, *Poen.* 993<sup>\*</sup>), pepercerīs (*Aul.* 381), participāuerīt (*Mil.* 263<sup>\*\*\*</sup>), pāuerint (*Persa* 56), percusserīs (*Amph.* 318), perdiderīt (*Rud.* 1295), perdiderīmus (*Mil.* 429<sup>406</sup>), perfoderīs (*Asin.* 563<sup>407</sup>), perierīs (*Men.* 295), perierīt (*Aul.* 344<sup>408</sup>, *Rud.* 391<sup>409</sup>, *Trin.* 429), perierint (*Most.* 148<sup>\*\*</sup>, *Most.* 550, *Rud.* 978), periūrārīs (*Asin.* 562, *Asin.* 570), periūrāuerint (*Curc.* 268), pernegārīs (*Asin.* 572), peruēnerīs

<sup>398</sup>This is before the diaeresis, so the final syllable is anceps.

<sup>399</sup>Metre shows that the final syllable is heavy.

<sup>400</sup>The final syllable is heavy, but in theory we could scan *fuerīs ānimātus* with a divided metrically prominent element.

<sup>401</sup>The token is potential.

<sup>402</sup>This is in anapaests, and the final syllable counts as light.

<sup>403</sup>Metre shows that this must be a subjunctive.

<sup>404</sup>The final syllable is before the diaeresis and consequently anceps.

<sup>405</sup>The final syllable is anceps because it is in a locus Jacobsohnianus.

<sup>406</sup>Metre shows that this is a perfect subjunctive.

<sup>407</sup>This is before the diaeresis, so the final syllable is anceps.

<sup>408</sup>The item is potential.

<sup>409</sup>The final syllable is heavy, but in theory it could be light, in which case there would be a divided metrically prominent element.

(*Trin.* 886<sup>410</sup>), peruēnerit (*Curc.* 608, *Curc.* 632, *Trin.* 947\*\*), placuerit (*Merc.* 103), poposcerit (*Stich.* 556), potueris (*Cist.* 4\*), potuerit (*Merc.* 380), pote fuerit (*Mil.* 926<sup>\*411</sup>), praehibuerit (*Merc.* 1023), praeuorteris (*Merc.* 113), prehenderit (*Pseud.* 725), prōdēgeris (*Aul.* 380), prōmiseris (*Poen.* 1279), prōmiserit (*Asin.* 122), quaesiuēris (*Epid.* 195), quierint (*Persa* 78\*), redieris (*Stich.* 524\*\*), redierit (*Epid.* 416), reliqueris (*Capt.* 435, *Truc.* 292), responderis (*Amph.* 608), rettuleris (*Epid.* 439), rogāta fuerit (fab. inc. fr. xiv (xxix)), scīueris (*Mil.* 572<sup>412</sup>), spērāuerit (*Men.* 475), spērāuerint (*Rud.* 401), stuprāuerit (*Truc.* 821), sūmpseris (*Cist.* 300), surrupta fueris (*Persa* 380), sustulerit (*Cist.* 184, *Cist.* 679<sup>\*413</sup>), tetigeris (*Poen.* 281), tetulerit (*Rud.* 1040<sup>414</sup>), turbāuerint (*Capt.* 127), uēneris (*Amph.* 346, *Aul.* 506, *Poen.* 831, *Trin.* 468), uēnerit (*Men.* 1006, *Merc.* 518<sup>415</sup>, *Merc.* 906, *Mil.* 946, *Poen.* 181, *Poen.* 731\*\*, *Poen.* 992, *Stich.* 152, *Stich.* 366, *Trin.* 1050), uēnerimus (*Bacch.* 1132<sup>416</sup>), uēnerint (*Poen.* 6), uēxerit (*Merc.* 941\*\*), uicerit (*Amph.* 1123), uideris (*Amph.* 683, *Amph.* 685, *Merc.* 892, *Mil.* 573, *Mil.* 573, *Rud.* 125), uiderit (*Amph.* 1010, *Mil.* 149, *Mil.* 149, *Mil.* 187, *Mil.* 588, *Mil.* 1234), uiderint (*Amph.* 67), uoluerit (*Asin.* 913, *Merc.* 254), uorterit (*Trin.* 534)

- excluded: attulerit (*Trin.* 788a<sup>417</sup>), fefellerint (*Colax* ii<sup>418</sup>), gnātus erit (*Merc.* 1017<sup>419</sup>), ĩnfuerit (*Persa* 78<sup>420</sup>), nōueris (*Poen.* 1335), nupta eris (*Asin.* 870), opstiterit (*Capt.* 801)

## I: The Future Perfects in Terence — Verbs with Sigmatic Futures

In this section, I am collecting a subset of the future perfects in Terence. I am listing the future perfects of those verbs that have sigmatic futures in Plautus and Terence. Some of these verbs have perfect subjunctives that look like future perfects. I have collected them as well because not everybody might agree with how I classified the tokens — some future perfects might be taken as perfect subjunctives and *vice versa*.

<sup>410</sup>This is a potential subjunctive.

<sup>411</sup>This is a potential perfect subjunctive in a main clause.

<sup>412</sup>I am following Bentley, who reads *nē scīuerīs*, whereas Lindsay prints *nēscīuerīs*.

<sup>413</sup>This is before the diaeresis, so the final syllable is anceps.

<sup>414</sup>The final syllable is light, according to Questa (1967: 142) because of iambic shortening.

<sup>415</sup>I take this as potential, like the main clause; elsewhere, however, *si ūsus uēnerit* is normally *reālis*, followed by indicative main clauses.

<sup>416</sup>Metre shows that this is a perfect subjunctive.

<sup>417</sup>This token has been excluded by Lindsay. The same is true of *Poen.* 1335 and *Capt.* 801.

<sup>418</sup>There is not enough context to determine the tense.

<sup>419</sup>This is an adjective with a copula. Similarly, *nupta* in *Asin.* 870 is an adjective.

<sup>420</sup>This is marked as corrupt by Lindsay.

**Total: 15 future perfects.**

- *adimere*: 1 future perfect  
temporal clause with *ubi* (1): *erit adēpta* (*Andr.* 837)
- *amāre*: no future perfects  
(ambiguous perfect subjunctive (1): *amārīt* (*Andr.* 520))
- *aspicere*: no future perfects  
(ambiguous perfect subjunctive (1): *aspexerīt* (*Haut.* 773))
- *capere*: 1 future perfect  
main clause (1): *cēperit* (*Andr.* 213)
- *efficere*: 2 future perfects  
temporal clauses with *dōnec* and *priusquam* (2): *effēcerō* (*Haut.* 584\*,  
*Phorm.* 590)
- *facere*: 9 future perfects  
conditional clauses with *sī* (2): *fēceris* (*Eun.* 1056\*, *Phorm.* 911)  
conditional clause with *nisī* (1): *fēceris* (*Andr.* 565)  
relative clause (1): *fēceris* (*Ad.* 164)  
main clauses (5): *fēcerō* (*Phorm.* 882), *fēceris* (*Andr.* 397, *Eun.* 723,  
*Phorm.* 426, *Phorm.* 430)  
(ambiguous perfect subjunctives (6): *fēcerīs* (*Haut.* 627, *Hec.* 609<sup>421</sup>, *Hec.*  
852, *Phorm.* 970), *fēcerīt* (*Ad.* 84), *fēcerint* (*Hec.* 618\*))
- *indicāre*: 1 future perfect  
main clause (1): *indicārīt* (*Haut.* 584)
- *occipere*: 1 future perfect  
conditional clause with *sī* (1): *occēperit* (*Eun.* 299)  
(ambiguous perfect subjunctive (1): *occēperīs* (*Ad.* 206\*<sup>422</sup>))
- verbs with sigmatic futures in Plautus or Terence, but neither future perfects nor ambiguous perfect subjunctives (15): *accūrāre*, *cēnāre*, *commōnstrāre*, *comparāre*, *ēnicāre*, *inicere*, *inuītāre*, *irritāre*, *liberāre*, *mulcāre*, *occupāre*, *ōrāre*, *peccāre*, *respicere*, *seruāre*
- verbs that are not attested in Terence, but have sigmatic futures in Plautus (6): *dēcōllāre*, *dēmūtāre*, *exoculāre*, *intrāre*, *occeptāre*, *reconciliāre*

<sup>421</sup>This token occurs in a potential conditional clause.

<sup>422</sup>This is an impersonal second person.

## J: The Remaining Future Perfects in Terence

In this section, I am collecting the future perfects that are not listed in section I. I have also collected those perfect subjunctives that look like future perfects.

**Total: 124 future perfects.**

abdūcere (1), abīre (2), accēdere (2), accidere (1), accipere (1), addere (1), aduenīre (1), aduigilāre (1), afferre (1), agere (3), alligāre (1), ammittere (1), āmouēre (1), applicāre (1), attingere (2), audīre (3), capere (1), coepere (1), cognōscere (2), committere (1), comperīre (1), concēdere (1), conduplicāre (1), cōstituere (1), contegere (1), dare (5), dēcipere (1), dēmere (1), dēnegāre (1), dīcere (7), dūcere (2), ēgredī (1), esse (2), ēuenīre (2), exprimere (1), exstillāre (1), fallere (1), ferre (1), fungī (1), gerere (2), habēre (2), incidere (1), indicāre (1), īnsistere (1), intellegere (1), intercēdere (1), inuenīre (3), iubēre (1), lauāre (1), lubēre (1), negāre (1), nōscere/nōuisse<sup>423</sup> (2), ōdisse (1), offendere (1), ostendere (1), parāre (1), parēre (1), patefacere (1), percellere (1), perficere (1), placēre (1), praeterīre (1), prōmerēre (1), prōmouēre (1), pugnāre (1), redīre (4), refrīgēscere (1), renūntiāre (1), rescīscere (4), restituere (1), sentīre (6), spernere (1), sustinēre (1), uenīre (4), uidēre (9), uincere (1)

- conditional clauses with *sī* (48): abdūxeris (*Haut.* 698), accēperit (*Phorm.* 699\*), accesserit (*Phorm.* 29), addideris (*Andr.* 860), aduēnerit (*Eun.* 501<sup>424</sup>), aduigilāueris (*Andr.* 673\*\*), ammīserō (*Eun.* 853), attigeris (*Phorm.* 438), attigerit (*Eun.* 740\*\*), attuleris (*Phorm.* 532), audierit (*Andr.* 341), coeperis (*Eun.* 800\*), commissum erit (*Eun.* 902), compererit (*Hec.* 779), dēcēperit (*Haut.* 725), dederō (*Phorm.* 514), dederis (*Ad.* 981), dīxeris (*Phorm.* 637), dūxerō (*Eun.* 888), dūxerit (*Andr.* 316), ēuēnerit (*Haut.* 355\*, *Haut.* 551), exstillāueris (*Phorm.* 975), fuerit (*Phorm.* 440), habueris (*Eun.* 1019), habuerit (*Hec.* 718), intellēxerit (*Haut.* 478), intercesserit (*Andr.* 961), lubitum fuerit (*Andr.* 213), negāris (*Andr.* 379), offenderō (*Eun.* 1064), ostenderis (*Haut.* 438), placuerit (*Eun.* 1067), redierit (*Phorm.* 248), rescī(u)erit (*Haut.* 718, *Hec.* 262<sup>425</sup>, *Hec.* 519, *Hec.* 567), sēnsērō (*Andr.* 164, *Andr.* 196), sēnsērīt (*Ad.* 362, *Andr.* 213, *Phorm.* 205), sprēuerit (*Phorm.* 584), sustinueris (*Phorm.* 347), tulerō (*Phorm.* 579\*), uīderis (*Eun.* 567), uīderit (*Andr.* 773)
- conditional clause with *nīsī* (1): fefellerit (*Phorm.* 220)
- temporal clauses with *dōnec*, *priusquam*, *quom*, *ubī* (29): abierō (*Phorm.* 143), āmōueris (*Hec.* 694), audi(u)erit (*Hec.* 813, *Phorm.* 185), cognōuerit (*Hec.* 155), cognōrint (*Hec.* 791), cōstituerō (*Haut.* 726), dixerō

<sup>423</sup>It is not clear whether the tokens belong to *nōscere* or the defective *nōuisse*, but the difference in meaning is marginal.

<sup>424</sup>We can compare the indicatives *sī ... est* in l. 502 and *sī ... poterit* in l. 503.

<sup>425</sup>Here, we can scan *rescierit* as – u u u without violating the law of Bentley and Luchs because the following *ēō domum* – u – counts as one lexical unit. *Rescierit* could in theory also be – u u – because of the syntactic break following it.

(*Ad.* 203, *Eun.* 1067, *Haut.* 726), *dīxerit* (*Hec.* 475), *ēgeris* (*Phorm.* 718), *ēgressī erunt* (*Phorm.* 892), *inuēnerō* (*Hec.* 300), *lāuerīmus* (*Eun.* 596<sup>426</sup>), *ōderit* (*Hec.* 543), *pepererit* (*Phorm.* 47), *perfēcerō* (*Phorm.* 420), *praeterieris* (*Ad.* 581), *redierō* (*Ad.* 232), *redieris* (*Ad.* 226), *redierit* (*Ad.* 718), *renūntiārit* (*Haut.* 727\*), *sēserit* (*Eun.* 55), *uēnerō* (*Ad.* 378\*), *uēneris* (*Ad.* 574\*\*, *Ad.* 582), *uēnerit* (*Haut.* 557\*), *uīderō* (*Phorm.* 1045)

- relative clauses (12):<sup>427</sup> *accesserit* (*Ad.* 816), *applicāueris* (*Andr.* *ae* 16\*\*), *dederit* (*Ad.* 499a\*<sup>428</sup>, *Phorm.* 461), *ēgerō* (*Haut.* 873), *expresserit* (*Eun.* 68\*), *inciderit* (*Haut.* 484\*\*), *īnstiterit* (*Ad.* 55\*), *iusseris* (*Eun.* 174), *nōrit* (*Andr.* 10), *prōmeritus fueris* (*Phorm.* 516), *uīsa erit* (*Haut.* 997–7a)
- main clauses (34): *abierō* (*Ad.* 127), *acciderit* (*Andr.* 398), *alligāris* (*Ad.* 844), *cēperit* (*Andr.* 213), *concesserō* (*Haut.* 174), *conduplicāuerit* (*Phorm.* 516), *contēxeris* (*Hec.* 401), *datum erit* (*Phorm.* 889), *dēmpseris* (*Ad.* 819), *dēnegāris* (*Haut.* 487\*), *dīxerō* (*Phorm.* 681), *dīxerit* (*Haut.* 621), *ēgerō* (*Haut.* 676), *fuerō* (*Andr.* 641), *fūnctus fueris* (*Ad.* 603), *gesserō* (*Andr.* 641, *Hec.* 599), *indicārit* (*Haut.* 584), *inuēnerō* (*Haut.* 108), *inuēnerit* (*Andr.* 381), *nōuerit* (*Andr.* 10), *parāta erunt* (*Haut.* 356), *patefēceris* (*Haut.* 481), *perculeris* (*Eun.* 379), *prōmōueris* (*Andr.* 640), *pugnāueris* (*Ad.* 843), *refrīxerit* (*Ad.* 233\*), *restitueris* (*Andr.* 570\*), *uīceris* (*Andr.* 892), *uīderō* (*Ad.* 538, *Ad.* 845, *Andr.* 456, *Hec.* 700), *uīderit* (*Ad.* 437)
- ambiguous perfect subjunctives (106): *abierīs* (*Phorm.* 471), *abierīt* (*Eun.* 290, *Hec.* 382), *accēperīt* (*Eun.* 82), *aduēnerīs* (*Hec.* 790, *Hec.* 859), *afuerīs* (*Ad.* 290), *alserīt* (*Ad.* 36), *amārīt* (*Andr.* 520), *ammīserīt* (*Phorm.* 270), *assimulāuerīt* (*Hec.* 235\*), *attulerīs* (*Hec.* 841), *biberīs* (*Haut.* 519), *cecīderīt* (*Ad.* 37), *cognōrīs* (*Andr.* 652, *Haut.* 1059), *cognōrīt* (*Eun.* 933\*), *congruerint* (*Eun.* 1033\*\*\*), *contigerint* (*Phorm.* 845\*), *cubuerīt* (*Hec.* 138), *dederīt* (*Andr.* 143\*\*, *Haut.* 2), *dēfetīgārīt* (*Ad.* 519\*), *dēsponderīs* (*Haut.* 854\*), *dīxerīs* (*Ad.* 458\*, *Eun.* 995, *Hec.* 79), *ēgerint* (*Hec.* 192, *Phorm.* 876), *ēiēcērīt* (*Haut.* 955\*<sup>429</sup>), *exēgerīt* (*Haut.* 280), *extrāxerīs* (*Hec.* 876), *fuerīs* (*Haut.* 1007), *fuerīt* (*Andr.* 36, *Eun.* 658, *Phorm.* 129\*, *Phorm.* 224, *Phorm.* 354, *Phorm.* 356), *fuerint* (*Hec.* 840), *fūgerīt* (*Haut.* 316), *gesserīmus* (*Phorm.* 772<sup>430</sup>), *habuerīs* (*Hec.* 582\*, *Hec.* 607), *habuerīt* (*Haut.* 658), *illūserīs* (*Eun.* 942), *indūxerīs* (*Eun.* 490), *īnstiterīs* (*Phorm.* 848\*), *interuēnerīt* (*Hec.* 351\*<sup>431</sup>), *inuēnerīt*

<sup>426</sup>Metre shows that this is a future perfect.

<sup>427</sup>I include the relative adverb *ut* and the correlative *quam*.

<sup>428</sup>The line is perhaps spurious because of its similarity to the following token.

<sup>429</sup>The final syllable counts as heavy because this is a locus Jacobssohnianus, so it cannot be proved that the vowel is long. The same is true of *fūgerīt* in *Haut.* 316.

<sup>430</sup>Metre shows that this is a perfect subjunctive.

<sup>431</sup>The final syllable counts as heavy. There are two possible explanations for this: either the

(*Haut.* 1040\*), *lāuerīt* (*Haut.* 618), *lubitum fuerīt* (*Phorm.* 970\*), *meminerīs* (*Eun.* 801, *Eun.* 815, *Haut.* 550, *Haut.* 1026<sup>432</sup>), *meminerīt* (*Eun.* 340, *Haut.* 951\*\*), *minuerīs* (*Andr.* 392\*\*\*), *nō(ue)rīs* (*Andr.* 914\*\*, *Eun.* 566, *Haut.* 889, *Hec.* 439, *Phorm.* 265\*\*<sup>433</sup>, *Phorm.* 265<sup>434</sup>), *nōrīt* (*Andr.* 489\*\*), *nōrīmus* (*Ad.* 271), *ōderīt* (*Eun.* 933, *Hec.* 553), *ōderint* (*Ad.* 701), *optigerīt* (*Andr.* 966, *Andr.* 966, *Phorm.* 577), *parārīs* (*Haut.* 976\*), *pepererīs* (*Ad.* 290), *pepererīt* (*Hec.* 531), *perdiderīs* (*Haut.* 891), *perdiderīt* (*Ad.* 383), *perfēcerīs* (*Eun.* 180\*), *perspexerīs* (*Phorm.* 60), *perspexerīt* (*Andr.* 378), *peruēnerīt* (*Eun.* 13), *potuerīs* (*Haut.* 362), *potuerīt* (*Haut.* 1005, *Hec.* 3, *Hec.* 139\*), *praebuerīs* (*Eun.* 1010), *praefrēgerīt* (*Ad.* 37), *praeterierīs* (*Hec.* 419), *prōfuerīs* (*Hec.* 876), *putārīs* (*Ad.* 858\*), *putārīt* (*Ad.* 262\*), *redierīt* (*Ad.* 549, *Eun.* 611, *Haut.* 150<sup>435</sup>, *Phorm.* 445), *rescierint* (*Eun.* 387<sup>436</sup>), *scripserīt* (*Haut.* 7), *sēgregārīt* (*Hec.* 796\*), *studuerīt* (*Eun.* 28\*\*), *tulerīt* (*Eun.* 82), *uēnerīt* (*Ad.* 895, *Haut.* 764), *uoluerīs* (*Hec.* 530, *Hec.* 546), *uoluerīt* (*Phorm.* 722\*\*)

## K: The Form *faxō* after 100BC

In this section, I list those tokens of *faxō* after 100BC that are used in literature. I exclude those tokens that are merely in citations of earlier texts.

- **Publius Vergilius Maro (c. 70–19BC)**

Haud sibi cum Danaīs rem *faxo* et pūbe Pelasgā

esse *ferant*, decimum quōs distulit Hector in annum. (Verg. *Aen.* 9. 154–5)

---

Ego foedera *faxō*

firma manū. (Verg. *Aen.* 12. 316–17)

---

- **Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)**

*Faxō nē iuuēt\** uōx ista ‘uetō’, quā nunc concinentēs collēgās nostrōs tam laetī audītis. (Liu. 6. 35. 9)

---

vowel has not yet been shortened, or the syllable contains a short vowel, but is heavy because it stands before a syntactic break.

<sup>432</sup>Metre shows that the final vowel is long.

<sup>433</sup>This and the following item are impersonal second persons.

<sup>434</sup>This is – – because it is a subjunctive, but in theory we could scan – u because the following *haud itast* is like one word, so – u for the subjunctive would not violate the law of Bentley and Luchs.

<sup>435</sup>For the subjunctive compare the parallel clause *dum fīam* in l. 148.

<sup>436</sup>The relative clause is potential.



• **Publius Ovidius Naso (c. 43BC–AD17)**

*Fallat eam faxō, nec sum Sāturnia, sī nōn*  
ab Ioue mersa suō Stygiās penetrābit in undās. (Ou. *met.* 3. 271–2)

---

Det mihi sē: *faxō* triplici quid cuspidē possim  
*sentiat.* (Ou. *met.* 12. 594–5)

---

• **Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 5/4BC–AD66)**

Hoc agam et *faxō sciānt*  
quam leuia fuerint quamque uulgārīs notae  
quae commodāuī scelera. (Sen. *Med.* 905–7)

---

• **Gaius (or Titus?) Petronius Arbiter (died c. AD66)**

Sed nōn impūne. Iam enim *faxō sciātis* nōn uiduae hanc īnsulam esse sed  
M. Mannīciū. (Petron. 95. 3)

---

• **Gaius Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus (died c. AD92/93)**

Hospitis hīc prīmum monitūs rediēre Dymantis  
et paor et mōnstrī subiit apsentis imāgō  
atque oculōs cūcti inter sē tenuēre silentēs,  
dōnec sīdereō Pollūx interritus ōre  
‘tē tamen hāc, quicumque es,’ ait ‘formīdine *faxō*  
iam tua silua *ferat*, modo sint tibi sanguis et artūs!’ (Val. Fl. 4. 187–92)

---

*Faxō* Bebrycium *nequeat* transcendere puppīs  
ūlla fretum et pontō *uolitet* Symplēgas inānī. (Val. Fl. 4. 220–1)

---

Lituōs miser armaque *faxō*  
*ōderis* et prīmīs adimam tua nōmina bellīs. (Val. Fl. 5. 654–5)

---

Iam foedera *faxō*  
Aesonīi *petat* ipsa uirī *metuatque* morārī. (Val. Fl. 7. 177–8)

---

• **Publius Papinius Statius** (c. AD45–96)

*Faxo* omnis fabula Lemnī  
et pater et tumidae generis mendācia sacri  
*exciderint*. (Stat. *Theb.* 5. 658–60)

---

*Faxo* hau *sit* cūnctīs leuior metus ātra mouēre  
Tartara, frondentī quam iungere Pēlion Ossae. (Stat. *Theb.* 8. 78–9)

---

• **Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus** (c. AD26–101)

Foedera *faxō*  
iam *nōscās*, quid uāna queant et uester Hibērus. (Sil. 1. 479–80)

---

Noctemque diemque  
arma feram, templisque tuīs hinc plūrima *faxō*  
hostia ab Ausoniō *ueniat* generōsa Quirīnō. (Sil. 4. 811–13)

---

Audeat! Haud ultrā *faxō spectētur* in armīs. (Sil. 7. 115)

---

*Faxo ut* uallātā *reuocētur* Scīpio Rōmā. (Sil. 17. 235)

---

• **Marcus Cornelius Fronto** (c. AD100–166)

Pauca subnectam, fortasse inepta, inīqua, nam rūsus *faxō* magistrum mē  
*experiāre*. (Fronto p. 153. 4–5)

---

• **Apuleius** (born c. AD123)

*Faxō* eum sērō, immō statim, immō uērō iam nunc, *ut* et praecēdentis  
dicācitātis et īstantis cūriōsitātis *paeniteat*. (Apul. *met.* 1. 12)

---

Iam enim *faxō sciās*, quem ad modum sub meō magisteriō malī dēbeant  
cohercēri. (Apul. *met.* 1. 25)

---

Nam et meum simul perīclitābor ingenium, et *faxō* uōs quoque, an mente  
etiam sēnsūque fuerim asinus, sēdulō *sentiātis*. (Apul. *met.* 4. 6)

---

Quod sī pergis ulterius, iam *faxō* lacrimīs istīs, quās paruī pendēre latrōnēs cōnsuērunt, īnsuper habitīs uīua *exūrāre*. (Apul. *met.* 4. 25)

---

Iam *faxō* eam huius etiam ipsius illicitae fōrmōnsitātis *paeniteat*. (Apul. *met.* 4. 30)

---

Sed iam *faxō* tē lūsūs huius *paeniteat* et *sentiās* acidās et amārās istās nuptiās. (Apul. *met.* 5. 30)

---

Iam *faxō* nuptiās nōn imparēs, sed lēgitimās et iūre cīuīlī congruās. (Apul. *met.* 6. 23)

---

*Faxō* fēliciōrem necem inimīcī tuī quam uītā tuam *sentiās*. (Apul. *met.* 8. 12)

---

- **Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (born c. AD348)**

Iam *faxō* iūs praetōrium  
conūciātor *sentiāt*,  
impūne nē nostrīs sibī  
dis dēstruendis lūserit. (Prud. *perist.* 5. 101–4)

---

*Faxo* ego sub pedibus stipulārum mōre *terātur*  
inualida ista manus. (Prud. *psych.* 249–50)

---

- **Claudius Claudianus (around AD400)**

Iamiam largīs haec gaudia *faxō*  
*compēnsent*\* lacrimīs. (Claud. 20. 143–4)

---

- **Mamertus Claudianus (around AD470)**

Illud etiamnum dolenter *faxō* tacitum, quod libellōs illōs, quōs tuō nōmi-  
ne nōbilitārī nōn abnuis, nūllō umquam impertūistī rescrīptō? (Claud.  
Mam. *epist.* 1 p. 199. 1–3)

## L: *Faxis, faxit* etc after 100BC (+ Compounds)

### • Inscriptions

Quei *faxit*, quant<ī> ea rēs erit, quadruplum multae estō. (Lex Tarent. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 590) i. 4–5) (c. 89/62BC)

---

Sei quis aduersus ea *faxit*, quant<ī> id aedificium f<u>erit, tantam peqūni<a>m mūnicipiō dare damnās estō. (Lex Tarent. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 590) i. 34–5)

---

Sī quis aduersus ea *faxit*, multa <estō a(ssium C.)> (CIL vi. 10298. 7–8, before Tiberius)

---

Sīue quis hostiā sacrum *faxit*, quī magmentum nec prōtollat, idcirco tamen probē factum esto. (CIL xii 4333. 14–17) (c. AD12/13<sup>437</sup>)

---

Sī quis hīc hostiā sacrum *faxit*, quod magmentum nōn prōtollat, itcirco tamen probē factum estō. (CIL iii. 1933. 7, c. AD137, from Salonae in Dalmatia<sup>438</sup>)

---

### • Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)

Quī secus *faxit*, deus ipse uindex erit. (Cic. *leg.* 2. 19)

---

### • Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)

Sī prior *dēfaxit* publicō cōsiliō dolō malō, tum tū ille Diēspiter populum Rōmānum sīc feritō ut egō hunc porcum hīc hodiē feriam; tantōque magis feritō quantō magis potes pollēsque. (Liu. 1. 24. 8)

---

Quod *faxitis* deōs uelim\* fortunāre\*. (Liu. 6. 41. 12)

---

Quō modō *faxit*\* probē factum estō. (Liu. 22. 10. 4)

---

Sī ātrō diē *faxit* īnsciēns, probē factum estō. Sī nocte sīue lūce, sī seruus sīue liber *faxit*, probē factum estō. Sī antideā senātus populusque iusserit fierī ac *faxitur*, eō populus solūtus liber estō. (Liu. 22. 10. 6)

---

<sup>437</sup>This inscription comes from an altar in Narbonne and is very similar to the following inscription of a later date.

<sup>438</sup>The explanation in the *CIL* for *quod ... prōtollat* is *quamuis exta nōn dēpōnat*.

Sī ita *faxitis*, Rōmānī, uestrae rēs meliōrēs faciliōrēsque erunt magisque ex sententiā rēs pūblica uestra uōbīs prōcēdet uictōriaque duellī populī Rōmānī erit. (Liu. 23. 11. 1)

---

Vōs quod *faxitis*, deōs fortūnāre uelim. (Liu. 34. 4. 20)

---

Quisquis magistrātus eōs lūdōs quandō ubīque *faxit*, hī lūdī factī dōnaque data rēctē suntō. (Liu. 36. 2. 5)

---

• **Acta fratrum Arualium (AD27–101)**

Since these are formulaic inscriptions, the missing text can be restored, albeit with problems. I do not use apices.<sup>439</sup>

<Iuppiter optime maxime,> sī Ti. Caesa<r dīuī Augustī f. Augustus pont(ifex) max(imus) tribūnic(iā) pot>est(āte) XXVIII <cō(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae) et Iūlia Augusta, quōs mē sentiō dī>cere, ad pr(īdiē) <nōn(ās) Iānuār(iās), quae proximae p(opulō) R(ōmānō) Q(uirītibus), r(eī) p(ūblica) p(opulī) R(ōmānī) Q(uirītium) erunt, fuerint, uīuent et incolumēs> erunt et eu<m diem eōsque quōs mē sentiō dīcere, salu>ōs seruāu<eris ex periculīs si qua sunt eruntue ante eum diem, ē>uentum-q<ue bonum ita, utī mē sentiō dīcere, dederis eōsque in eode>m statū quī <nunc est, aut eō meliōre seruāueris, ast tū ea it>a *faxis*, tum <tibi nōmine collēgi frātrum Aruālium boue a>urātō uoueō <esse futūrum.> (AD27, l. 10–18)

---

Iūnō rēgīna, quae in uerba Iouī o(ptimō) m(aximō) boue aurātō uōuī esse futūrum, quod hōc diē uōuī, ast tū ea ita *faxis*, tum tibi collē<gī> frātrum Aruālium nōmine boue aurātā uoueō esse futūru<m.> (AD38 a, l. 7–9)

---

Minerua, quae in uerba Iouī o(ptimō) m(aximō) boue aurātō uōuī esse futūru<m,> ast tū ea ita *faxis*, tum tibi collēgī frātrum Aruālium n<ōmine> boue aurātā uoueō esse fūrum.<sup>440</sup> (AD38 a, l. 10–12)

---

<Iu>ppiter optime maxime, tē pr<ecāmur quaesumusque, utī t>ū Nerōnem Claudium subo<lem Agrippīnae Aug(ustae), Ti(berī) Claudī Caes(aris) Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī) d>iuīnī prīncipis parentisque <pūblicī filium, prīnc(ipem) iuuent(ūtis), saluom incolum>enque<sup>441</sup> cōnseruēs et in reli-q<uom malae ualētūdinis prīmō q>uōque tempore praestēs ex<peritem,

<sup>439</sup>I cite from Henzen's edition (1874).

<sup>440</sup>This is a misspelling.

<sup>441</sup>*Sic!*

quae sī ita sunt eruntue, astū ea ita *f>acxis*, tum nōs tībī boue aur<ātō uouēmus esse futūrum.> (under Claudius, AD50–54, c. l. 6–11)

---

<Sa>lūs pūblica populī Rōmānī Q<uirītium, tē quaesimus precām>urque, utī tū Nerōnem Clau<dium, subolem Agrippīnae Aug(ustae), Ti(berī) Claudī Caes(aris) Aug(ustī) G>ermānicī dīuīnī prīncipis <parentisque pūblicī filium, prīnc(ipem) iuuent(ūtis) s>aluom incolumemque cōn<seruēs et in reliquom malae u>alētūdinis prīmō quōque <tempore praestēs expertem; quae sī ita sunt e>runtue, astū ea ita *facxis*, tum <nōs boue aurātā tībī uouēmus esse futūrum.> (under Claudius, AD50–54, c. l. 22–7)

---

Iūnō rēgīna, <quae in uerba Iouī o(ptimō) m(aximō) bouī marī albō aurātō uōuī> esse futūrum, quod <hodiē uōuī, ast tū> ea ita *faxis*, tum tībī in eadem uerba nōmine collēgī <frātrum Aruāl>ium boue fēminā albā aurāt(ā) uoueō esse futūrum. (AD86, l. 14–16)

---

<Minerua, quae in> uerba Iūnōnī rēgīnae boue fēminā aurātā uōuī esse futū<rum, quod hodi>ē uōuī, ast tū ea ita *faxis*, tum tībī in eadem uerba nōmin(e) <collēgī frātr(um) Aruā>lium boue fēminā albā aurātā uoueō esse futūrum. (AD86, l. 17–19)

---

<Salūs pūb>lica populī Rōmānī Quirītium, quae in uerba Iūnōnī rēgīn(ae) <boue fēminā au>rātā uōuī esse futūrum, quod hodiē uōuī, ast tū ea ita *fax(is)*, <tum tībī in eadem uer>ba nōmine collēgī frātrum Aruālium boue fēmin(ā) <albā aurātā uoueō esse f>utūrum. (AD86, l. 20–3)

---

Iuppiter o(ptime) m(axime) Capitōline, sī imp(erātor) Caesar dīuī Vespasiānī f(ilius) Domitiānus Aug(ustus) Germānic(us) pontife<sup>442</sup> maximus, trib(ūniciā) pot(estate), cēnsor perpetuus, pater patriae, ex cuius incolumitāte omnium salūs cōstat, quem nō<s> sentīmus dīcere, uīuet domusque eius incolumis erit a(nte) d(iem) XI k(alendās) Februār(iās), quae proximae populō Rōmānō Quirītibus, reī pūblīcae populī Rōmānī Quirītium erunt, et eum diem eumque saluum seruāueris ex perīculis, sī qua sunt eruntue ante eum diem, ēuentumque bonum ita, utī nōs sentīmus dīcere, dederis, eumque in eō statū quō nunc <est> aut eō meliōre seruāueris, custōdierisque aeternitāte<m> imperī, quod <susci>piendō ampliāuit, ut uōtī compotem rem pūblicam saepe faciās, ast tū ea ita *faxis*, tum tībī boue aurātō uouēmus esse futūrum. (AD86, l. 38–47)

---

Salūs pūblica populī Rōmānī Quirī<tium, quae in uerba Iūnōnī rēgīnae> boue aurātā uōuī esse futūrum, quod h<odiē uōuī, ast tū ea ita *f>axis*,

---

<sup>442</sup> *Sic!*

tum tibi in eadem uerba nōmine col<lēgī frātrum Aru>ālium boue aurātā uoueō esse futūrum. (AD87, l. 44–7)

---

<Iūnō rēgīna, quae in uerba Iouī o(ptimō) m(aximō) boue aurātō uōuī esse futūrum, qu>od hodiē uōuī, ast tū ea ita *faxis*, tum tibi nōmine collēgī frātrum bouem aurātā <uoueō esse futūrum.> (AD90, l. 23–4)

---

<Salūs pūblica p(opulī) R(ōmānī) Q(uirītium), quae in uerba Iūnōnī rēgīnae> boue aurātō uōuī esse futūrum, quod hodiē uōuī, ast tū ea ita *faxis*, tum tibi in eadem <uerba nōmine collēgī frātrum Aruālium boue aurātā> uoueō esse futūrum. (AD90, l. 26–7)

---

<Iuppiter o(ptime) m(axime) Capitōline, sī imp(erātor) Caesar dīuī Vespasiānī f(ilius) Domitiān>us Aug(ustus) Germānicus pontifex maximus tribūnicā potestāte cēnsor perpetuus p(ater) p(atriciae), <ex cuius incolumitāte omnium salūs cōstat, quem mē se>ntiō dicere, uīuet domusque eius incolumis erit a(nte) d(iem) XI k(alendās) Febr(uāriās), quae proximae <populō Rōmānō Quirītibus, r(eī) p(ūblicaē) p(opulī) R(ōmānī) Q(uirītium) erunt, et eum diem eum>que saluom seruaueris ex periculis, sī qua sunt eruntue ante eum diem, ēuentumq(ue) <bonum ita, utī mē sentiō dicere, dederis, eumque in eō statū, quō nu>nc est, aut eō meliōre seruaueris, custōdierisque aeternitātem imperī, quod susci<piendō ampliāuit, ut uōtī compotem rem pūblicam saepe faciās,> ast tū ea ita *faxis*, tum tibi nōmine collēgī frātrum Aruālium boue aurātō uoueō <esse futūrum.> (AD90, l. 37–42)

---

<Iuppiter o(ptime) m(axime), sī imperātor Caesar dīuī Vespasiānī f(ilius) Domitiānus Aug(ustus) Germānicus p>ontif(ex) max(imus) trib(ūnicā) p(otestāte) <cēnsor perpetuus p(ater) p(atriciae), et Domitia Aug(usta) c>oniūnx eius, quōs mē sen<tiō dicere, uīuent domusque eō>rum incolumis erit a(nte) d(iem) III <n(ōnās) Iānuār(iās), quae pr>oximae populō Rōmānō Q(uirītibus), r(eī) <p(ūblicaē) popu<lī Rōmānī Quirītium erunt, et eu>m diem eōsque saluōs seruaueris ex pericu<līs sī qua sunt erunt>ue ante eum diem, ēuentumque bonum ita <utī mē sentiō dice>re, dederis, eōsque in eō statū, quī nunc est, aut eō <meliōre seruā>ueris, astū ea ita *faxis*, tunc tibi nōmine collēgī <frātrum A>ruālium bouem aurāt<um> uouēmus esse futūrum. (AD91, i, l. 1–9)

---

<Iūnō rēgīn>a, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) bouem aurātā uōuimus esse <futūra>m, quo<d> hodiē uōuimus, astū ea ita *faxis*, tunc tibi in <eade>m uerba nōmine collēgī frātrum Aruālium bouem au<r>ātā uouēmus esse futūram. (AD91, i, l. 10–13)

---

<Mi>nerua, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) bouem aurātam uōuimus esse futūram, quod hodiē uōuimus, astū ea ita *faxsis*, tunc tibi in eadem uerba nōmine collēgī frātrum Aruālium bouem aurātam uouēmus esse futūram. (AD91, i, l. 14–17)

---

Salūs Augusta p(ūblica) p(opulī) R(ōmānī) Q(uirītium), quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) bouem aurātam uōuimus esse futūrum<sup>443</sup>, quod hodiē uōuimus, astū ea ita *faxsis*, tunc tibi in eadem uerba nōmine collēgī frātrum Aruālium bouem aurātam uouēmus esse futūrum. (AD91, i, l. 17–20)

---

<Salūs pūblica, quae in uerba Iouī o(ptimō) m(aximō)> boue aurātō uōuimus esse futūrum, quod hodiē uōuimus, astū ea ita *f>acxis*, tunc tibi in eadem uerba <nōmine collēgī frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) bou>e aurātā uōuimus esse futūrum. (under Domitian, b, l. 7–9)

---

Minerua, <q>uae in uerba Iouī o(ptimō) m(aximō) prō salūte et red(itū) et uictōriā imp(erātōris) Caesaris diū Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Traiānī Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī), prīncipis parent(is)que nostrī, pont(ificis) max(imī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou<e> aurātō uōuimus esse futūrum, quod hodiē uōuim(us), astū ea ita *facsis*, tunc tibi in eadem uerba nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) bouem<sup>444</sup> <aurātā> uōuim(us) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 37–40)

---

<Salūs rei pūb(licae) p(opulī) R(ōmānī) Quirītium, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō)> p<rō sal(ūte) et i>tū et red(itū) et uictōr(iā) imp(erātōris) Caesaris diū Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Traiānī Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī) p<rīncipis parentisq(ue) nostrī, pont(ificis) max(imī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou(e) aur(ātō) uōuim(us) esse futūr(um), quod hodiē uōuim(us), astū ea ita *facsis*, tunc tibi in eadem uerba nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) boue aurātā uōu(imus) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 44–7)

---

Mārs pater, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) <prō> itū et red(itū) et uictōr(iā) imp(erātōris) Caesaris diū Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Traiānī Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī), prīncipis parentisq(ue) nostrī, pont(ificis) max(imī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou(e) aur(ātō) uōuim(us) esse futūr(um), quod hodiē uōu(imus), astū ea ita *facsis*, tunc tibi in eadem

---

<sup>443</sup> *Sic!*

<sup>444</sup> *Sic!*



uerba nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) taurō aurātō uōuim(us) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 48–51)

---

Mārs uictor, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) prō salūte et red(itū) et uictōr(iā) imp(erātōris) Caesaris dīuī Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Traiānī Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī), prīncipis parentisq(ue) nostrī, pont(ificis) max(imī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou<e> aur(ātō) uōu(imus) esse futūr(um), quod hodiē uōuim(us), astū ea ita *facsis*, tunc tibī in eadem uerba nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) taurō aurātō uōuim(us) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 51–4)

---

Victōria, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) prō salūte et reditū et uictōr(iā) imp(erātōris) Caesaris dīuī Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Traiānī Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī), prīncipis parentisq(ue) nostrī, pont(ificis) max(imī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou(e) aur(ātō) uōuimus esse futūr(um), quod hodiē uōuim(us), astū ea ita *facsis*, tunc tibī in eadem uerba nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) bou<e> aur(ātā) uōuim(us) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 55–8)

---

Fortūna redux, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) prō sal(ūte) et reditū et uictōr(iā) imp(erātōris) Caesaris dīuī Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Traiānī Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī), prīnc(ipis) parentisq(ue) nostrī, pont(ificis) max(imī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou(e) aurātō uōuim(us) esse futūr(um), quod hodiē uōuim(us), astū ea ita *facsis*, tunc tibī in ead(em) uerba nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) bou(e) aur(ātā) u<ō>uim(us) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 58–61)

---

Vesta māter, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) prō sal(ūte) et red(itū) et uict(ōriā) imp(erātōris) Caesaris dīuī Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Traiānī Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī), prīnc(ipis) parentisq(ue) nostrī, pont(ificis) max(imī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou(e) aur(ātō) uōu(imus) esse futūr(um), quod hodiē uōu(imus), astū ea ita *facsis*, tunc tibī in eadem uerba nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) bou(e) aur(ātā) uōu(imus) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 62–4)

---

Neptūne pater, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) prō sal(ūte) et reditū et uictōr(iā) imp(erātōris) Caesar(is) dīuī Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Trai(ānī) Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī), prīnc(ipis) parentisq(ue) n(ostri), pont(ificis) m(aximī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou(e) aur(ātō) uōu(imus) esse futūr(um), quod hodiē uōu(imus), <astū ea> ita *facsis*, tunc tibī in eadem uerba nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aru(ālium) taurō aur(ātō) uōu(imus) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 65–7)

---

Herculēs uictor, quae in uerba I(ouī) o(ptimō) m(aximō) prō sal(ūte) et red(itū) et uictōr(iā) imp(erātōris) Caesaris dīuī Neruae f(īlī) Neruae Traiān(i) Aug(ustī) Germ(ānicī) prīncip(is) parentisq(ue) n(ostri) pont(i-ficis) max(imī) trib(ūniciā) pot(estāte) p(atris) p(atriciae) bou(e) aur(ātō) uōu(imus) esse futūr(um), quod hodiē uōu(imus), astū ea ita *facsis*, tunc tibi in eadem uer<b>a nōmine coll(ēgī) frātr(um) Aruāl(ium) taurīs aur(ā-tīs) uōu(imus) esse futūr(um). (AD101, i, l. 67–70)

---

(excluded: fa<xis> (AD38 a, l. 5), <faxis> (AD90, l. 22), fa<csis> (AD101, i, l. 35))

## M: The Remaining Sigmatic Indicatives after 100BC

In this section I collect the sigmatic indicatives that can be found in Latin literature after 100BC, but I exclude forms like *faxō* and *faxis*, which I listed in sections K and L.

- **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)**

Prōdigia portenta ad Etruscōs haruspices sī senātus *iussit* dēferuntō, Etrū-riacque prīncipēs disciplīnam docētō. (Cic. *leg.* 2. 21)

---

Sacrum sacrōue commendātum quī *clepsit rapsitue*, parricīda estō. (Cic. *leg.* 2. 22)

---

Magistrātus necoboedientem et noxium cūem multā uinculis uerberibusue coercētō, nī pār maiōrue potestās populusue *prohibēssit*, ad quōs prōuocātiō estō. Cum magistrātus *iudicāssit irrogāssitue\**, per populum multae poenae certātiō estō. Militiae ab eō quī imperābit prōuocātiō nec estō, quodque is quī bellum geret *imperāssit*, iūs ratumque estō. (Cic. *leg.* 3. 6)

---

Plēbēs quōs prō sē contrā uim auxiliī ergō decem *creāssit*, eī tribūnī eius suntō, quodque eī *prohibēssint* quodque plēbem *rogāssint*, ratum estō. (Cic. *leg.* 3. 9)

---

Ast potestās pār maiorue *prohibēssit\**, perscrīpta seruantō. (Cic. *leg.* 3. 10)

---

Tribūnisque quōs sibi plēbēs *creāssit*\* iūs estō cum patribus agendī. (Cic. *leg.* 3. 10)

---

Ast quid *turbāssitur* in agendō, fraus āctōris estō. (Cic. *leg.* 3. 11)

---

Dē capite cīuis nisī per maximum comitiātum ollōsque quōs cēnsōrēs in partibus populī *locāssint*\* nē feruntō. (Cic. *leg.* 3. 11)

---

Quod quis eārum rērum *migrāssit*, noxiae poena pār estō. (Cic. *leg.* 3. 11)

---

• **Gaius Valerius Catullus (c. 84–54BC)**

Nec dēprecor iam, sī nefāria scrīpta

Sestī *receptō*, quīn grauēdinem et tussim

nōn mihi, sed ipsī Sestiō ferat frīgus,

quī tunc uocat mē, cum malum librum lēgī. (Catull. 44. 18–21)

---

• **Publius Vergilius Maro (c. 70–19BC)**

Pars aditūs urbis firment turrisque capessant;

cētera, quā *iussō*, mēcum manus īferat arma. (Verg. *Aen.* 11. 466–7)

---

• **Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)**

Recitābatque rogātiōnis carmen in quō sic esset: ‘Sī tribūnōs plēbēi decem rogābō, sī quī uōs minus hodiē decem tribūnōs plēbēi fēceritis, tum ut\* iī, quōs hī sibi collēgās *cooptāssint*\* lēgitimī eādē lēge tribūnī plēbēi sint ut illī quōs hodiē tribūnōs plēbēi fēceritis.’ (Liu. 3. 64. 10)

---

Sī quis *clepsit*\*, nē populō scelus estō nēue cui cleptum erit. (Liu. 22. 10. 5)

---

• **Inscriptions**

Nī ita *iūrāssit*, multa estō a(ssium) D. <Quem magister ex h(āc) l(ēge) iūdicāre iusserit is nī> *iūdicāssit* ita utī s(uprā) s(crip̄tum) e(st), multa estō recuperātōre ūnō quotque <in cōsiliō eī erunt in singulōs a. V.> (*CIL* vi. 10298. 19–21, before Tiberius)

---

<Praeterquam sī quī iūrāuerit corporis uitium sibi impedimen>tō esse, ita gnātum esse, nī *iūdicāssit* a(ssium) V multa estō. (*CIL* vi. 10298. 23)

---

Nomine Camūlorigi(s) et Titocun(a)e molam quam perdederunt in fanum dei deūoī. Cuicumque n(o)m[e]n *inuolasit* mola(m) illam ut sa(n)guin(em) suum mittat usque diem quo moriatur. q(ui)cumque *inuo[l]a[sit]* (f)urta moriatur, et PAVLATORIAM quicumque [illam] *inuolasit* et ipse <moriato> mo[ri]atur. quicumqu(e) illam *inuolasit* et VERTOGN de (h)ospitio uel uissacio, quicumque illam *inuolasit*, a de<u>o mori(a)tur. (*Britannia* 1993, 24: 312)

---

- **Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus (c. AD26–101)**

Ast ubi *iussō*,  
per tacitum ruptis subitā uī fundite portis  
tēlorum in campōs nimum. (Sil. 12. 175–7)

- 
- (excluded: adussit (Laber. *mim.* 145<sup>445</sup>))

## N: Sigmatic Indicatives after 100BC — Citations

In sections K, L, and M I collected the sigmatic infinitives that were used in Latin literature after 100BC for various reasons. In this section I list the forms that Latin authors after 100BC cite without commenting on them.

- **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)**

‘Ō Tite, sī quid ego adiūerō cūramue *leuāssō*  
quae nunc tē coquit et uersāt in pectore fixa,  
ecquid erit praemī?’ (Cic. *Cato* 1)

---

Lapidēs mehercule omnēs flēre ac lāmentārī coēgissēs, ut tōtum illud ‘utī linguā *nuncupāssit*\*’ nōn in duōdecim tabulīs quās tū omnibus bibliothecīs antepōnis, sed in magistrī carmine scriptum uidērētur. (Cic. *de orat.* 1. 245)

---

<sup>445</sup>The sentence is *Lauite item hīllam! Cocūs sī lumbum adussit, caedētur\* flagrīs*. I take *adussit* as a perfect indicative, not as a sigmatic future.

Ex ratiōcinātiōne nāscitur contrōuersia, cum ex eō, quod uspiam est, ad id, quod nusquam scrīptum est, uenītur, hōc pāctō: lēx: ... et lēx: pater-familiās utī super familiā pecūniāque suā *lēgāssit\**, ita iūs estō. (Cic. *inu.* 2. 148)

---

• **Gaius Plinius Secundus (c. AD23/24–79)**

Nōn et lēgum ipsārū in duodecim tabulīs uerba sunt: ‘quī frūgēs *ex-cantāssit\**’, et alibī: ‘quī\* malum carmen *incantāssit\**’? (Plin. *nat.* 28. 17–18)

---

• **Aulus Gellius (c. AD123–165)**

Nōs quoque ipsī nūperrimē, cum legerēmus Fretum — nōmen est id cōmoe-diae, quam Plautī esse quīdam nōn putant —, haut quicquam dubitāuimus, quū ea Plautī foret, et omnium quidem maximē genuīna. Ex quā duo hōs uersūs exscripsimus, ut historiam quaererēmus orāculi Arrētīnī:

nunc illud est, quod ‘respōnsum Arrētī’ lūdīs magnīs dicitur:

perībō, sī nōn fēcerō, sī *faxō*, uāpulābō. (Gell. 3. 3. 7–8)

---

Quod uērō dixī uidērī quaedam esse impendiō molliōra, nōne tibi quoque uidētur nimis esse dilūtum, quod ita dē iniuriā poeniendā scrīptum est: ‘Sī iniuriam alterī *faxsit*, uīginti quinque aeris poenae suntō.’ (Gell. 20. 1. 12)

---

• **Gaius (second century AD)**

Sed ōlim quidem licēbat tōtum patrimōnium lēgātīs atque libertātibus ērogāre nec quicquam hērēdī relinquere praeterquam ināne nōmen hērēdis; idque lēx XII tabulārū permittere uidēbātur, quā cauētur, ut quod quisque dē rē suā testātus esset, id ratum habērētur, hīs uerbīs: ‘utī *lēgāssit* suae rēi, ita iūs estō.’ (Gaius *inst.* 2. 224)

---

• **Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century AD)**

Nuncupāta pecūnia est, ut ait Cincius in lib. II. dē officiō iūriscōsultī, nōmināta, certa, nōminibus propriīs prōnūtiāta: ‘cum nexum faciēt man-cipiumque, utī linguā *nuncupāssit\**, ita iūs estō\*’.<sup>446</sup> id est utī nōminārit, locūtusue erit, ita iūs estō. (Fest. p. 176)

---

<sup>446</sup>This is from the Twelve Tables.

Occisum ā necātō distinguī quīdam, quod alterum ā caedendō atque ictū fierī dīcunt, alterum sine ictū. Itaque in Nūmae Pompilī rēgis lēgibus scrīptum esse: ‘sī hominem fulminibus *occīsīt*, nē suprā genua tollitō.’ (Fest. p. 190)

---

In Seruī Tullī (sc. lēgibus) haec est: ‘Sī parentem puer uerberit\*, ast\* olle\* *plōrāssīt*\* parēns, puer dīuīs parentum sacer estō.’ (Fest. p. 260)

---

Sī quis magistrātus aduersus hāc dolō malō pondera, modiōsque, uāsaque pūblica modica, minōra, maiōraue *faxit*, *iussit*ue fierī, dolumue adduit quō ea fiant, eum quis uolēt magistrātus multāre, dum minōre partī familiās taxāt, licētō; sīue quis im sacrum iūdicāre uoluerit, licētō. (Fest. p. 288)

---

Tālīōnis mentiōnem fierī in XII ait Verrius hōc modō: ‘Sī membrum *rupsit*\*, nī cum eō pacit, tālīō estō.’ Neque id quid significet indicat, putō quia nōtum est; permittit enim lēx pārem uindictam. (Fest. p. 496)

---

Lēx iubet XVI in ānfractō flexūque pedēs esse uiās ut quī uiās mūniuntō: nī\* sam\*<sup>447</sup> *dīlapidāssunt*\*, quā uolēt, iūmentō agetō.’ (Fest. p. 508)

---

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

(On *mītis*:) Āfrānius Dīuortiō:

Immo illī mītem *faxō*\* *faciant* fūstibus. (Non. p. 543. 23–4)

---

(On *mānsuēs*:) Accius Meleagrō:

Nunc sī mē mātrem mānsuēs misericordia *capsit*\*. (Non. p. 775. 11–13)

---

- **Aelius Donatus (fourth century AD)**

‘Coquendo sīt *faxo* et molendō.’ Atquī est molere prius quam coquere. (Don. *Ter. Ad.* 847. 1)

---

‘Nē tu istās *faxō*\*.’ ‘Nē’ ualdē. ‘Nē tu istās *faxō*\* calcibus saepe īnsultābis frūstrā.’ Noua locūtiō ‘calcibus īnsultābis forēs’. ... ‘Nē tu istās *faxō* calcibus’ mīra loquentia, in quā utraque ὑπερβολή expressissima est; nam neque ‘ūnō digitulō’ minus aliquid dīcī potest neque ‘calcibus saepe īnsultābis’ aut amplius aut ingentius. (Don. *Ter. Eun.* 285. 1–3)

<sup>447</sup>This is Mommsen’s correction.

---

‘*Faxō* tāli sum mactātum.’ ‘Sum’ modo prō eō quod est ‘eum’: sic frequenter ueterēs. (Don. *Ter. Phorm.* 1028)

---

- **Arusianus Messius (late fourth century AD)**

Īnsultō solum, Ter. *Eun.*

forēs aperīs fortūnātus,

nē tu istās *faxō* calcibus saepe ĩnsultābis frūstrā. (Arus. *gramm.* vii. 487. 11–13)

---

- **Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius (around AD400)**

Nōn esse ab rē putō hōc in locō id quoque ammonēre, quod decemuirī in duodecim tabulīs ĩnūsitātissimē nox prō noctū dīxērunt. Verba haec sunt: sī nox fūrtum *faxit*\*<sup>448</sup>, sī ĩm *occīsīt*\* ĩure caesus estō, in quibus uerbīs id etiam notandum, quod ab eō, quod est is nōn eum cāsū accūsātūō, sed ĩm dīxērunt. (Macr. *Sat.* 1. 4. 19)

---

(In a *dēuōtiō*.) Sī haec ita *faxitis*\* ut ego sciam sentiam intellegamque, tunc quisquis uōtum hoc *faxit*\* ubiubi *faxit*\* rēctē factum estō ouibus ātrīs tribus. Tellūs māter tēque Iuppiter optestōr. (Macr. *Sat.* 3. 9. 11)

---

- **Institutiones Iustiniani Augusti (c. AD530–533)**

Cum enim ōlim lēge duodecim tabulārum lībera erat lēgandī potestās, ut liceret uel tōtum patrimōnium lēgātīs ērogāre (quippe eā lēge ita cautum esset: ‘utī *lēgāssīt* suae reī, ita ĩus estō’): uīsum est hanc lēgandī licentiam coartāre. (Inst. *Iust.* 2. 22 *pr.*)

---

- **Digesta Iustiniani Augusti (c. AD530–533)**

Verbīs lēgis duodecim tabulārum hīs ‘utī *lēgāssīt*\* suae reī, ita ĩus estō’ lātissima potestās tribūta uidētur et hērēdis ĩnstituendī et lēgāta et lībertātēs dandī, tūtēlās quoque cōstituendī. (Pompon. *dig.* 50. 16. 120)

---

Tertiō autem capite ait eadem lēx Aquīlia: ‘Cēterārum rērum praeter hominem et pecudem occīsōs sī quis alterī damnum *faxit*\*, quod usserit\* frēgerit rūperit ĩniuriā, quantī ea rēs erit in diēbus trīgintā proximīs, tantum aes dominō dare damnās estō. (Vlp. *dig.* 9. 2. 27. 5)

---

<sup>448</sup>The edition reads *factum sit*.

---

Sed sī placeat, quod Iūliānus librō octāgēsimō sextō scribit ‘Sī seruus fūrtum *faxit*\* noxiamue *noxit*\*<sup>449</sup>’ etiam ad posteriōrēs lēgēs pertinēre, poterit dīcī etiam serū nōmine cum dominō agī posse noxālī iūdiō. (Vlp. *dig.* 9. 4. 2. 1)

---

- **Eugraphius (sixth century AD)**

‘Verbum’, inquit, ‘si mihi ūnum praeter quam quod tē rogō *faxis*\*, cauē.’ Quia dixit ‘cauē’, ideō adiēcit ‘male dīcis’. (Eugraph. *Ter. Andr.* 753–4)

---

- **Paul the Deacon (eighth century AD)**

Aliuta antiqū dicebant prō aliter, ex Graecō ἀλλοίως trānsferentēs. Hinc est illud in lēgibus Nūmae Pompīlī: ‘Sī quisquam aliuta *faxit*, ipsos Iouī sacer estō.’ (Paul. *Fest.* p. 5)

## O: Sigmatic Indicatives after 100BC — Explanations

In this section I cite all those instances where authors after 100BC cite sigmatic indicatives from earlier periods in order to gloss or explain them.

- **Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 5/4BC–AD65)**

Dīcēbant antiqū ‘sī *iussō*’, id est ‘iusserō’. Hoc nōlō mihi crēdās, sed eīdem Vergiliō:

cētera, quā iussō, mēcum manus īferat arma. (Sen. *epist.* 58. 4)

---

- **Terentianus Maurus (late second century AD)**

Ante uōcālēs locātur in sequentī syllabā,

*faxō* sī dīcās uel axis nexus uxor noxia. (Ter. Maur. 940–1)

---

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

*Accepsō*, accipiō. Pācuuius Teucrō:

Haud sinam quicquam prōfārī, prius quam *accepsō* quod petō. (Non. p. 104. 29–30)

---

*Occepsō*, coeperō. Plautus in *Amphitryōne*:

---

<sup>449</sup>The edition reads *nocuit*.



nī ego illī puteō, si *occepsō*, animam omnem intertrāxerō. (Non. p. 215. 7–8)

---

*Vlsō*\*<sup>450</sup> prō ultus fuerō. Accius Epigonīs:

Quī, nisi genitōrem *ulsō*\*, nūllum mēis dāt finem miserīis. (Non. p. 272. 18–19)

---

• **Aelius Donatus (fourth century AD)**<sup>451</sup>

Sunt quae dēclīnārī rīte nōn possunt, ut cēdō auē *faxō* sīs amābō īnfit inquam quaesō aiō. (Don. *gramm.* iv. 383. 16–17)

---

Sunt uerba dēfectīua alia per modōs, ut cēdō, alia per fōrmās, ut facessō, alia per coniugātiōnēs, ut assum, alia per genera, ut soleō, alia per numerōs, ut *faxō*, alia per figurās, ut impleō, alia per tempora, ut ferō, alia per persōnās, ut edō. (Don. *gramm.* iv. 385. 4–8)

---

‘Iam *faxo* hīc aderit.’ Vergilius: ‘Haud sibi cum Danaīs rem *faxo* et pūbe Pelasgā.’ (Don. *Ter. Phorm.* 308. 2)

---

• **Marius Seruius Honoratus (fourth century AD)**

Quā *iussō* prō ‘quā iusserō’: et est antīquum. (Seru. *Aen.* 11. 467)

---

*Faxō* id est ‘faciam’. (Seru. *Aen.* 12. 316)

---

Sunt alia penitus anōmala, dē quibus nihil possumus dīcere, nisi quod lēctiōne dētinentur, id est eās ūsurpāre persōnas, quae tantum auctōritāte firmantur, ut sunt haec, *faxō*, *faxis*, īnfit, inquam et reliqua. (Seru. *gramm.* iv. 437. 20)

---

• **Cledonius (fifth century AD)**

Sunt quae dēclīnārī rīte nōn possunt, ut cēdō auē *faxō* sīs amābō īnfit inquam quaesō aiō: inquam inquit nōn facit, quaesō quaesis nōn facit, aiō aiis nōn facit. Ergō ista omnia inaequālia et neutrōdēfectīua sunt. (Cledon. *gramm.* v. 58. 36–59. 3)

---

<sup>450</sup>I adopt Voss’s correction. The edition reads *ullō*.

<sup>451</sup>I follow the old citation norms of the *TLL* and cite according to Keil.

*Faxō faxīs*: Terentius ‘*faxīs* prōmissa appāreant’, amābō ā prīmā persōnā nōn dēclīnātur, quia uelut blandientis est significātiō. (Cledon. *gramm.* v. 59. 24–6)

---

Liquet mihī, id est manifestum est mihī, dēfectīuum: facit equidem liquēbat mihī, tempore tamen perfectō caret, nōn enim facit liquit. — Soleō *faxō* impleō: soleō, perdit enim tempus. In praeteritō enim tempore erit passīuum, soleō solitus sum, cum in praesentī fōrmam habeat actīuī. (Cledon. *gramm.* v. 62. 6–8)

---

• **Consentius (fifth century AD)**

Sunt uerba plēraque per numerōs dēfectīua, ut est *faxō* īnfit: nōn enim ad plūrālītatem trāseunt, ut faciant *faximus* aut īnfitis. Vtrum autem uicissim sint plūrālia tantum uerba, quae in singulārem numerum nōn trāseant, nōndum repperī. (Consent. *gramm.* v. 379. 10–13)

---

Diximus autem coniugātiōnem in secundā persōnā modī indicātīuī temporis praesentis inuenīrī. Ergō plērumque tālis uerbōrum in coniugātiōnibus dēfectus est, ut ipsa secunda persōna, in quā requīrī solet coniugātiō, nōn extet, ut est cēdō *faxō* amābō\* īnfit inquam aiō quaesō. In hīs enim omnibus nōn est secunda persōna, quae sī deest, quem ad modum in eā littera quae coniugātiōnem prōdat poterit inuenīrī? (Consent. *gramm.* v. 382. 10–16)

---

• **Phocas (fifth century AD)**

*Faxō* futūrum tempus tantum uel, ut aliī, prōmissīuum modum ostendit. (Phoc. *gramm.* v. 436. 12)

---

Vtriusque temporis participiīs carent impersōnālia omnia, dē quibus superius docuimus, et dēfectīua, illa uidelicet quae ōrdine dēclīnārī nōn possunt, ut aiō quaesō inquam *faxō* saluē auē cēdō et possum; similiter et soleō. (Phoc. *gramm.* v. 437. 16–19)

---

• **Pompeius Maurus (fifth century AD)**

Et per coniugātiōnēs uerba dēficiunt, ut est sum es est. ... Per numerōs: *faxō* dīcimus, *faximus* nēmō dīcit. (Pomp. *gramm.* v. 240. 25 + 32–3)

---

- **Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator (c. AD487–583)**

(On *-x-* or *-s-*:) Cētera, quae simplicia sunt et nōn compōnuntur, sine ūllā dubitātiōne x tantum habēbunt, ut ūxī dīxī uexāuī *faxō*\* uxor auxilium exāmen axis exemplum. (Cassiod. *gramm.* vii. 204. 22–4)

---

- **Sergius (fifth or sixth century AD)<sup>452</sup>**

*Faxō* faciam cōfirmem, ut in XII

ego foedera *faxō*

firma manū, Turnum dēbent haec iam mihi sacra. (Explan. in Don. *gramm.* iv. 557. 20–3)

---

- **Eutyches (sixth century AD)**

Sed cum secundae persōnae obseruatiō syllabae terminālis, ex quā dīnōscī coniugātiōnēs artium scrīptōrēs uoluērunt, apud Rōmānōs penitus est incerta, quia nōn ratiōne cōgimur aliquā scrībō scrībīs uerbum tertiae magis an scrībās prīmae et cubō cubās in secundā persōnā an cubis ēnūntiāre, cōnābor ex prīmā, sicutī possim, persōnā differentiās coniugātiōnum quāsdam ostendere, tam uōcālēs quam cōnsonantēs ante ō uel or finālem positiōnis uerbī cōnsiderāns, notātīs scīlicet anōmalīs uel dēfectiūīs, in quibus plērumque ratiō dēficit analogiae, ut sum prōsum inquam cēdō edō *faxō* sōdēs auē ferit īnfit et similibus; licet in hīs ipsīs quaedam sunt, quae ex ipsā similitūdine finālītātis possunt cēterōrum rēgulīs oboedīre uerbōrum. (Eutychn. *gramm.* v. 448. 12–22)

---

In xō dēsinentia pauca sunt, prīmae quidem coniugātiōnis, ut laxō laxās, luxō uexō taxō. Sed tertia nōn inueniuntur nisi pexō pexis, texō tēxis, nexō nexis: *faxō* enim *faxis*\* dēfectiūum est. (Eutychn. *gramm.* v. 485. 12–14)

---

- **Eugraphius (sixth century AD)**

‘Cupide accipiāt *faxō*.’ Seruus autem ... quod libenter pretium sit acceptūrus pollicētur. (Eugraph. *Ter. Ad.* 209)

---

- **Pseudo-Aemilius Asper (sixth century AD?)**

Sunt uerba, quae dēclīnārī nōn possunt, ut saluē auē *faxō* īnfit inquam quaesō. (Ps. Asper *gramm. suppl.* 53. 7–8)

---

<sup>452</sup>I cite according to Keil, which is the old *TLL* norm.

- **Scripta Probiana (seventh or eighth century AD)**

(On *fax*, gen. *facis*:) Haec ergō causa est, cūr in cis et nōn in xis cadunt, ut faciant calxis cruxis faxis. Nam *faxis* uerbum suō ōrdine dīcētur. (Prob. *nom. gramm.* iv. 216. 5–7)

---

- **Paul the Deacon (eighth century AD)**

*Amāssō* amāuerō. (Paul. Fest. p. 26)

---

- **Remigius Autissiodorensis (c. AD841–908)<sup>453</sup>**

*Faxō*, prō faciam. (Rem. Aut. *gramm. suppl.* 255. 14)

---

*Faxō* i. faciam, dēficit per numerōs, nōn habet plūrālītātem. Nam sicut aliī dīcunt ‘faxō’<sup>454</sup> illūminō, frīuolum est. (Rem. Aut. *gramm. suppl.* 258. 5–6)

---

- (excluded: nancsitur (Fest. p. 166<sup>455</sup>), nancsitur (Paul. Fest. p. 167<sup>456</sup>), renancsitur (Paul. Fest. p. 347<sup>457</sup>))

---

<sup>453</sup>Remigius Autissiodorensis is not in the *TLL*. I cite the pages and lines from Keil.

<sup>454</sup>This means ‘with a torch’!

<sup>455</sup>Lindsay prints *Nancitor* in *XII. nactus erit, praenderit*. The sigmatic form is merely a conjecture; it is unnecessary. Presumably the form was in a conditional clause where we would expect the future perfect in Classical Latin, hence the gloss. However, in the Twelve Tables we often find the present indicative under these circumstances.

<sup>456</sup>Again, the sigmatic form is a conjecture. Lindsay writes *Nancitor nactus erit*.

<sup>457</sup>Here we have the same situation as in the two preceding examples. Lindsay prints *Renāncitur significat reprehenderit*.

# Appendix 7: The Sigmatic Subjunctives and Their Regular Counterparts

This appendix contains all the sigmatic subjunctives and also their regular counterparts in Plautus and Terence. Its structure is as follows:

## **Archaic Latin (until 100BC)=A–G:**

A: the *s*-subjunctives in Plautus — verbs

B: the *s*-subjunctives in Plautus — clause types

C: the *s*-subjunctives in Terence — verbs

D: the *s*-subjunctives in Terence — clause types

E: the remaining *s*-subjunctives in Archaic Latin

F: the regular subjunctives in Plautus — verbs with *s*-subjunctives

G: the regular subjunctives in Terence — verbs with *s*-subjunctives

## **Latin after 100BC=H–M:**

H: the form *ausim*

I: other sigmatic forms of *audēre*

J: sigmatic subjunctives of *facere* and compounds

K: the remaining sigmatic subjunctives

L: citations of sigmatic subjunctives

M: explanations of sigmatic subjunctives

## **Two Comedies of Archaic Latin:**

N: verbs with regular subjunctives in the *Aul.* and the *Curc.*

In sections B, D, F and G, the tokens for each verb are listed according to clause types. The order is as follows: main clauses — clauses that are ambiguous between main and subordinate clauses — subordinate clauses. The order in main clauses is: commands — ambiguous between commands and wishes — prohibitions — wishes — potential or unreal statements — questions.<sup>458</sup> In ambiguous clauses it is: positive commands/subordinate clauses without *ut* — prohibitions/subordinate *nē*-clauses — *cauē*.<sup>459</sup> In subordinate clauses: *ut*-clauses<sup>460</sup> — object clauses without *ut* — *nē*-clauses<sup>461</sup> — object clauses without *nē* — *quīn*-clauses — conditional clauses — indirect questions — relative clauses — causal clauses — temporal clauses — comparative clauses — other.

As can be seen, I have used syntactic criteria wherever possible and semantic ones only for main clauses. This may be problematic sometimes; a potential or unreal relative clause may for example be semantically closer to conditional clauses than to other relative clauses. Still, as the syntax is normally not as much open to debate as the semantics, this procedure seemed the best solution.

In sections A–D and F–G, those tokens that are problematic from the point of view of textual criticism are marked with asterisks. A single asterisk is used when the verb form listed in the appendix is doubtful itself. Two asterisks are employed when its superordinate verb and/or subordinator can be seen as problematic. Three asterisks mean that both the verb form listed here and the superordinate verb (and/or subordinator) are not without difficulty. The following points illustrate what I regard as problematic:

a) The verb form listed in the appendix is considered doubtful if other manuscripts have a different prefix (*Andr.* 962: *optem* Kauer-Lindsay, but *exoptem*  $\Sigma$  apart from  $L^1$ ), a different ending for person, number, tense or mood (*Merc.* 908: *faciant* Lindsay, *faciāt* in the manuscripts), or even a different verb (*Bacch.* 888: *faciam* in Lindsay, but *reddam* in Festus). No asterisks are used for variations such as *sīt/siēt* (*Ad.* 429).

b) The superordinate verb is considered problematic if there is manuscript variation concerning person, number, tense or mood. If it is only its prefix that is in doubt, no asterisks are given (*Hec.* 738: *nē ... faciam accūrō* Kauer-Lindsay, *cūrō p*). No asterisks are used for variations such as *sim/siem*, *nōwistī/nōstī* (*Haut.* 370), *ut/utī*, *sī/etsī* (*Haut.* 632), *quasi/quasi sī* (*Andr.* 549).

In the other sections (apart from N) I cite complete sentences, not just isolated forms. Here I put an asterisk after each word that is problematic and might influence our understanding of the relevant subjunctives.

<sup>458</sup>I do not differentiate between indignant and deliberative questions etc.

<sup>459</sup>The status of *cauē* is unclear. If it is deverbilized, we are dealing with main clause prohibitions, but if it is still verbal, it takes subordinate clauses. Cf. Ch. 4.

<sup>460</sup>No distinction is made between object clauses, final clauses and pseudo-final clauses.

<sup>461</sup>No distinction is drawn between object and final clauses.

## A: The s-Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

- *abiūrāre* (1C): *abiūrāssīt* (*Persa* 478 C)
- *adigere* (1S): *adāxint* (*Aul.* 50 S)
- *amāre* (2C): *amāssīs* (*Mil.* 1007 C), *amāssint* (*Curc.* 578 C)
- *ambāre* (2S): *ambāssīt* (*Amph.* 71\* S<sup>462</sup>), *ambāssint* (*Amph.* 69\* S<sup>463</sup>)
- *āmittere* (1C): *āmissīs* (*Bacch.* 1188 C)
- *audēre* (5S, 5C): *ausim* (*Aul.* 474 C, *Bacch.* 1056 S, *Merc.* 154–5 C, *Merc.* 301 S, *Most.* 923 C, *Most.* 924 C, *Poen.* 149 S, *Poen.* 1358 S), *ausīt* (*Bacch.* 697 C, *Mil.* 11 S)
- *capere* (1S): *capsīt* (*Pseud.* 1022\* S)
- *cēlāre* (1C): *cēlāssīs* (*Stich.* 149 C)
- *celebrāre* (1S): *celebrāssīt* (*Cornicula* iv\* S)
- *cūrāre* (2S, 2C): *cūrāssīs* (*Most.* 526 S, *Poen.* 553 C, *Pseud.* 232\*\* C), *cūrāssint* (*Poen.* 27 S)
- *dēmūtāre* (1S): *dēmūtāssīs* (*Vid.* 91 S)
- *dīcere* (2S, 4C): *dīxīs* (*Asin.* 839–40 C, *Aul.* 744 C, *Capt.* 149 S, *Merc.* 484 C, *Mil.* 283 C, *Vid.* 83 S)
- *emere* (1S, 1C): *empsim* (*Cas.* 347\* S, *Mil.* 316\* C)
- *excutere* (1S): *excussīt* (*Bacch.* 598 S)
- *extinguere* (1C): *extīnxīt* (*Truc.* 524 C)
- *facere* (15S, 29C): *faxim* (*Amph.* 511 C, *Aul.* 420 C, *Aul.* 494 S, *Merc.* 826 S, *Persa* 73\* S, *Poen.* 1091 S, *Poen.* 1093 S, *Trin.* 221\*\* S, *Truc.* 62a\*\* S, *Truc.* 348 S), *faxīs* (*Asin.* 256 C, *Asin.* 613 C, *Asin.* 625 C, *Mil.* 624\* C, *Mil.* 1125 S, *Mil.* 1245 C, *Mil.* 1372 C, *Most.* 808 C, *Most.* 1115 C), *faxīt* (*Amph.* 461\* C, *Capt.* 622 C, *Capt.* 712 S, *Cas.* 628 C, *Men.* 861 C, *Most.* 398 C, *Pseud.* 923 C), *faxīmus* (*Truc.* 60\* S<sup>464</sup>), *faxint* (*Amph.* 632 C, *Aul.* 149 C, *Aul.* 257 C, *Aul.* 788 C, *Capt.* 172 S,

<sup>462</sup>Lindsay reads *ambāssēt*, thereby following the manuscript reading *ambāssēt*. Leo writes *ambāssīt*. Leo is probably right: similar misspellings can be found at *Aul.* 608 (ungrammatical *cauē ... indicāssēs* for *cauē ... indicāssīs*) and at *Phorm.* 742 (ungrammatical *cauē ... appellāssēs* for *cauē ... appellāssīs*).

<sup>463</sup>Lindsay reads *ambāssēt*, but cf. the preceding footnote.

<sup>464</sup>Metre shows that the *-ī-* is long. The manuscript reading *facīmus* does not scan.

*Capt.* 320 C, *Cist.* 51 C, *Cist.* 523 C, *Merc.* 285\* S, *Most.* 464\* S, *Persa* 652 C, *Poen.* 909 C, *Poen.* 911 C, *Poen.* 1208 C, *Poen.* 1400 C, *Pseud.* 315\* C, *Vid.* 86 S)

- *fraudāre* (1S): *fraudāssīs* (*Rud.* 1345\*\* S)
- *immūtāre* (1S): *immūtāssīs* (*Aul.* 585\*\*\* S)
- *indicāre* (2C): *indicāssīs* (*Aul.* 608\* C, *Rud.* 1028 C)
- *indūcere* (1S): *indūxīs* (*Capt.* 149 S)
- *licēre* (1C): *licēssīt* (*Asin.* 603 C)
- *locāre* (1C): *locāssim* (*Aul.* 228 C)
- *negāre* (1C): *negāssim* (*Asin.* 503 C)
- *obicere* (1S, 1C): *obiexim* (*Poen.* 446 S), *obiexīs* (*Cas.* 404\*\* C)
- *occultāre* (1C): *occultāssīs* (*Trin.* 627 C)
- *occupāre* (1C): *occupāssīs* (*Most.* 1097\*\*\* C)
- *optāre* (1C): *optāssīs* (*Mil.* 669\* C)
- *parcere* (2S): *parsīs* (*Bacch.* 910 S, *Pseud.* 79 S)
- *prohibēre* (1S, 1C): *prohibēssīs* (*Aul.* 611 C), *prohibēssīt* (*Pseud.* 14 S)
- *respicere* (1S): *respexīs* (*Most.* 523 S)
- *respondere* (1C): *respōnsīs* (*Truc.* 606\*\* C<sup>465</sup>)
- *seruāre* (2S, 4C): *seruāssīt* (*Cist.* 742 C), *seruāssint* (*Asin.* 654 C, *Cas.* 324 S, *Pseud.* 37 S, *Stich.* 505 C, *Trin.* 384 C)
- *supplicāre* (1C): *supplicāssīs* (*Asin.* 467 C)
- *surrīpio* (1C): *surrepsīt* (*Mil.* 333 C)
- (excluded: *ausim* (*Rud.* 1383<sup>466</sup>), *faxem* (*Pseud.* 499<sup>467</sup>))

<sup>465</sup>Metre shows that the final syllable is heavy, but there is a change of speaker, so even if the *-ī-* were short, the syllable could count as heavy.

<sup>466</sup>The manuscript reading is *aut sim*. Lindsay reads *haud ausim*, Leo restores *haud potis sim*. It is impossible to decide between the two options.

<sup>467</sup>The manuscript reading is *si id faxem*, which is also Lindsay's text. Ritschl proposes *sei deixem* 'if I had said', which can easily be corrupted to *si id faxem*.



## B: The *s*-Subjunctives in Plautus — Clause Types

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

- prohibitions (3 S, 10 C): amāssīs (*Mil.* 1007 C), cēlāssīs (*Stich.* 149 C), cūrāssīs (*Most.* 526 S, *Pseud.* 232 C\*\*), dīxīs (*Asin.* 839–40 C, *Aul.* 744 C, *Capt.* 149 S), faxīs (*Most.* 1115 C), indicāssīs (*Rud.* 1028 C), indūxīs (*Capt.* 149 S), occultāssīs (*Trin.* 627 C), occupāssīs (*Most.* 1097 C\*\*\*), respōnsīs (*Truc.* 606 C\*\*)
- wishes<sup>468</sup> (9 S, 20 C): adāxint (*Aul.* 50 S), amāssint (*Curc.* 578 C), celebrāssīt (*Cornicula* iv\* S), faxīt (*Amph.* 461\* C<sup>469</sup>, *Capt.* 622 C, *Most.* 398 C, *Pseud.* 923 C), faxint (*Amph.* 632 C, *Aul.* 149 C, *Aul.* 257 C, *Aul.* 788 C, *Capt.* 172 S, *Cist.* 51 C, *Cist.* 523 C, *Merc.* 285\* S, *Most.* 464\* S, *Persa* 652 C, *Poen.* 909 C, *Poen.* 911 C, *Poen.* 1400 C, *Pseud.* 315\* C, *Vid.* 86 S), prohibēssīt (*Pseud.* 14 S), seruāssīt (*Cist.* 742 C), seruāssint (*Asin.* 654 C, *Cas.* 324 S, *Pseud.* 37 S, *Stich.* 505 C, *Trin.* 384 C)
- potential/unreal statements<sup>470</sup> (11 S, 5 C): ausim (*Aul.* 474 C, *Bacch.* 1056 S, *Poen.* 1358 S), ausīt (*Bacch.* 697 C, *Mil.* 11 S), empsim (*Cas.* 347\* S, *Mil.* 316\* C), faxim (*Amph.* 511 C, *Aul.* 494 S, *Merc.* 826 S, *Persa* 73\* S, *Poen.* 1091 S, *Poen.* 1093 S, *Trin.* 221\*\* S, *Truc.* 62a\*\* S), negāssim (*Asin.* 503 C)
- questions<sup>471</sup> (2 S, 4 C): ausim (*Merc.* 154–5 C, *Merc.* 301 S, *Most.* 923 C, *Most.* 924 C, *Poen.* 149 S), optāssīs (*Mil.* 669\* C)
- ambiguous between prohibitions and subordinate *nē*-clauses (2 S, 2 C): cūrāssīs (*Poen.* 553 C), dīxīs (*Mil.* 283 C), immūtāssīs (*Aul.* 585 S\*\*\*), parsīs (*Pseud.* 79 S)
- type *cauē faxīs* (5 S, 10 C): āmissīs (*Bacch.* 1188 C), dēmūtāssīs (*Vid.* 91 S), dīxīs (*Merc.* 484 C, *Vid.* 83 S), faxīs (*Asin.* 256 C, *Asin.* 625 C, *Mil.* 1125 S, *Mil.* 1245 C, *Mil.* 1372 C, *Most.* 808 C), indicāssīs (*Aul.* 608\* C), obiexīs (*Cas.* 404\*\* C), parsīs (*Bacch.* 910 S), respexīs (*Most.* 523 S), supplicāssīs (*Asin.* 467 C)
- *ut*-clauses (1 S, 1 C): faxim (*Truc.* 348 S<sup>472</sup>), prohibēssīs (*Aul.* 611 C)
- subordinate *nē*-clauses (2 S, 6 C): abiūrāssīt (*Persa* 478 C), excussīt (*Bacch.* 598 S), extīnxīt (*Truc.* 524 C), faxīt (*Cas.* 628 C, *Men.* 861 C), faxint (*Capt.* 320 C), obiexim (*Poen.* 446 S), surrepsīt (*Mil.* 333 C)

<sup>468</sup>None of them is negated.

<sup>469</sup>Formally, this is in a relative clause.

<sup>470</sup>The following tokens of *faxim* belong to the type *faxim siēt*: *Amph.* 511, *Aul.* 494, *Merc.* 826, *Persa* 73\*, *Trin.* 221\*\*, *Truc.* 62a\*\*.

<sup>471</sup>All of them are potential or unreal.

<sup>472</sup>This is an instance of the type *faxim siēt* in a subordinate clause.

- conditional clauses (7 S, 3 C): ambāssīt (*Amph.* 71\* S), ambāssint (*Amph.* 69\* S), capsīt (*Pseud.* 1022\* S), cūrāssint (*Poen.* 27 S), faxīt (*Capt.* 712 S), faxīmus (*Truc.* 60\* S), faxint (*Poen.* 1208 C), fraudāssīs (*Rud.* 1345\*\* S<sup>473</sup>), licēssīt (*Asin.* 603 C), locāssim (*Aul.* 228 C)
- relative clauses (3 C): faxim (*Aul.* 420 C<sup>474</sup>), faxīs (*Asin.* 613 C, *Mil.* 624\* C)
- (excluded: ausim (*Rud.* 1383), faxem (*Pseud.* 499))

### C: The *s*-Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs

- *appellāre* (1): appellāssīs (*Phorm.* 742\*\*\*)
- *audēre* (2): ausim (*Eun.* 884, *Eun.* 904)
- *excēdere* (1): excessīs (*Andr.* 760)
- *facere* (8): faxim (*Ad.* 887, *Ad.* 896), faxīs (*Haut.* 187), faxīt (*Haut.* 198, *Phorm.* 554\*), faxint (*Haut.* 161\*, *Hec.* 102, *Hec.* 354)

### D: The *s*-Subjunctives in Terence — Clause Types

- prohibition (1): appellāssīs (*Phorm.* 742\*\*\*)
- wishes<sup>475</sup> (3): faxint (*Haut.* 161\*, *Hec.* 102, *Hec.* 354)
- potential/unreal statements (4): ausim (*Eun.* 884, *Eun.* 904), faxim (*Ad.* 887, *Ad.* 896)
- type *cauē faxīs* (2): excessīs (*Andr.* 760), faxīs (*Haut.* 187)
- subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): faxīt (*Haut.* 198, *Phorm.* 554\*)

### E: The Remaining *s*-Subjunctives in Archaic Latin

- **Gnaeus Naevius (c. 270–201BC)**<sup>476</sup>

St, tacē

*cauē* uerbum *faxīs*! (*Naeu. com.* 46–7)

---

<sup>473</sup>This is in indirect speech.

<sup>474</sup>This is an unreal subjunctive.

<sup>475</sup>None of them is negated.

<sup>476</sup>I cite the text from Marmorale's edition, but following the *TLL* I give Ribbeck's number for reference, and I add the play in brackets.

- **Quintus Ennius (c. 239–169BC)**

Nēmō mē lacrimīs decorēt nec fūnera flētū

*faxit*. Cūr? Volitō uīuos per ōra uirum. (Enn. fr. uar. 17–18)

---

libertātemque ut *perpetuāssint*

†quae maxime (Enn. *ann.* 317–18<sup>477</sup>)

---

Iuppiter tūque adeō, summe Sōl, quī rēs omnīs spicis,

quīque tūō cum lūmine mare terram caelum continēs,

īspice hoc facinus, prius quam fiāt, *prohibēsseis*\* scelus. (Enn. *scaen.* 237–9)

---

Plūs miser sim\* sī scelestum *faxim* quod dīcam fore. (Enn. *scaen.* 261)

---

Qui illum dī deaeque<sup>478</sup> magnō *mactāssint* malō. (Enn. *scaen.* 288)

---

(excluded: *faxīs* (Enn. *scaen.* 393)<sup>479</sup>)

- **Marcus Porcius Cato (c. 234–149BC)**

Iānum Iouemque uīnō praefāminō, sīc dīcitō: ‘Mārs pater, tē precōr quae-  
sōque, utī siēs uolēns propitius mihī domō familiaeque nostrae: quouis reī  
ergō, agrum terram fundumque meum suouitaurīlia circumagī iussī; utī  
tū morbōs uīsōs inuīsōsque, uiduertatem uāstitūdinemque, calamitātēs in-  
temperiāsque *prohibēsīs* dēfendās āuerruncēsque; utīque tū frūgēs, frūmen-  
ta, uīnēta uirgultaque grandīre beneque ēuenīre sīrīs; pāstōrēs pecuaque  
salua *seruāssīs* dūisque bonam salūtem ualētūdinemque mihī domō famil-  
iaeque nostrae. (Cato *agr.* 141. 2–3)

- **Caecilius Statius (died c. 168BC)**

Hoc ā tē postulō,

nē cum mēō gnātō posthāc *līmāssīs*\* caput. (Caecil. *com.* 139–40)

---

<sup>477</sup>Vahlen in his edition reads *ut perpetuāta sint*, but cf. the text in Nonius.

<sup>478</sup>*Deae* scans as a monosyllable.

<sup>479</sup>There is no manuscript support for a sigmatic form.

• **Marcus Pacuuius (c. 220–130BC)**

Dī monerint\* meliōra atque āmentiam āuerruncāssint\* tuam! (Pacuu. *trag.* 112)

---

Prīmum hoc aps te ōrō\*, nī\* me\*<sup>480</sup> inexōrābilem  
*faxīs*. — Nī *turpāssīs* uānitūdine aetātem tuam,  
ōrō, nīue flectās fandī mē prōlīxītūdine. (Pacuu. *trag.* 122–4)

---

Veniam precōr  
petēns, ut quae ēgi ago āxim\* uerruncent\* bene. (Pacuu. *trag.* 296–7)

---

(excluded: trānsāxim (Pacuu. *trag.* 208–9)<sup>481</sup>)

• **Gaius Lucilius (c. 180–102BC)**

Dī monerint\* meliōra, āmentiam āuerruncāssint tuam. (Lucil. 653)

---

Inguen ne existāt, papulae, tama, nē boa *noxīt*. (Lucil. 1195)

• **Cornelia (c. 150BC)**

Verbīs conceptīs dēierāre *ausim*, praeterquam quī Tiberium Gracchum necārunt, nēminem inimicum tantum molestiae tantumque labōris, quantum tē ob hās rēs, mihī trādīdisse. (Nep. fr. 59 Marsh. (Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi))

• **Lucius Accius (c. 170–85BC)**

Quid ēst cūr compōnere *ausīs* mihī te aut mē tibi? (Acc. *trag.* 147)

---

Quod te opsecro aspernābilem  
ne haec taetritūdō mea me inculta *faxsīt*. (Acc. *trag.* 555–6)

• **Lucius Afranius (born c. 150BC)**

Āh fūlica, paene perdidistī. Dī tē *mactāssint* malō! (Afran. *com.* 264)

---

<sup>480</sup>*Nī mē* from the manuscript reading *nimi* is Lachmann's conjecture.

<sup>481</sup>This is just Ribbeck's conjecture. He has no manuscript support for it.

Dēōs ego omnīs ut *fortūnāssint*\* precōr. (Afran. *com.* 83)

- 
- (excluded: *adessint* (Lex repetund. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 583) 63)<sup>482</sup>, *līmāssīs* (Turpil. *com.* 112)<sup>483</sup>, *sers* (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 2<sup>484</sup>))

## F: The Regular Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs with *s*-Subjunctives

In this section, I have collected all the regular subjunctives in Plautus that belong to those verbs that have sigmatic subjunctives in Plautus and Terence. Where simple futures look like subjunctives, I have also listed them. Those future perfects that look like regular subjunctives have not been listed here. They can be found in appendix 6, sections G and H.

- *amāre*: 91 present subjunctives, 8 imperfect subjunctives  
positive commands (2): *amēs* (*Merc.* 553\*), *amēt* (*Truc.* 232)  
wishes<sup>485</sup> (41): *amēs* (*Most.* 182), *amēt* (*Aul.* 445, *Curc.* 208, *Mil.* 232, *Most.* 182, *Poen.* 1326, *Stich.* 742), *ament* (*Amph.* 597, *Aul.* 183, *Bacch.* 111, *Bacch.* 457, *Bacch.* 895, *Capt.* 138, *Cas.* 452, *Curc.* 455, *Mil.* 501, *Mil.* 725\*, *Mil.* 1403, *Most.* 170, *Most.* 341, *Most.* 717, *Most.* 806, *Most.* 1130, *Persa* 16, *Persa* 492, *Persa* 639, *Poen.* 289, *Poen.* 504, *Poen.* 751, *Poen.* 827, *Poen.* 859, *Poen.* 1413, *Pseud.* 271\*, *Pseud.* 272, *Pseud.* 943, *Pseud.* 1294, *Rud.* 1303, *Stich.* 505, *Stich.* 685, *Stich.* 754, *Trin.* 1024\*)  
questions (3): *amem* (*Truc.* 441), *amēs* (*Poen.* 281<sup>486</sup>), *ament* (*Poen.* 860)  
ambiguous between subordinate *nē*-clause and independent prohibition (1): *amēs* (*Rud.* 438)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (7): *amem* (*Mil.* 1006), *amēs* (*Amph.* 542), *amēt* (*Most.* 209\*\*, *Poen.* 278, *Poen.* 289, *Poen.* 290), *amētis* (*Bacch.* 702)  
object clauses without *ut* (6): *amem* (*Bacch.* fr. xiii (xiv), *Poen.* 261), *amēs* (*Cas.* 233, *Persa* 245), *amēt* (*Asin.* 77, *Cas.* 206–7)  
subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): *amem* (*Truc.* 929\*\*\*), *amēs* (*Cist.* 119\*\*\*)  
subordinate *quān*-clause (1): *amēt* (*Merc.* 1022)

---

<sup>482</sup>According to LEU 523, this present subjunctive is a contamination of *adsint* and *adessent*.

<sup>483</sup>There is no manuscript support for such a form, and the pluperfect subjunctive is more likely here. We would then read *Veritus sum, ne amōris causā cum illā līmāssēs caput*.

<sup>484</sup>This is in the *carmen aruāle*. Some scholars equate the form with *sīrīs*, but this interpretation is uncertain.

<sup>485</sup>Apart from *amēs* and *amet* in *Most.* 182, the subjects are deities. The token in *Pseud.* 272 is negated. The token in *Poen.* 859 begins as a positive wish, but there is negation after an interruption; I regard this as a positive wish.

<sup>486</sup>The token is wrongly cited as *Persa* 281 by Lodge (1924: 110).

conditional clauses (6): amem (*Bacch.* 778), amēs (*Bacch.* 636, *Cist.* 96), ament (*Mil.* 293, *Mil.* 571\*), amentur (*Truc.* 324)

indirect questions (4): amem (*Cas.* 517\*), amēs (*Poen.* 518\*\*, *Pseud.* 73), amēt (*Men.* 386)

relative clauses (16): amem (*Cist.* 370), amēs (*Bacch.* 219, *Cist.* 97\*\*, *Curc.* 29, *Epid.* 653, *Merc.* 573, *Poen.* 292, *Poen.* 603, *Poen.* 867, *Truc.* 930\*), amēt (*Bacch.* 618, *Cas.* 565\*, *Mil.* 984, *Pseud.* 774, *Pseud.* 1256), amentur (*Asin.* 536\*\*)

comparative clause (*quasi*) (1): amēs (*Epid.* 276)

*quod*-clause<sup>487</sup> (1): amēt (*Asin.* 52)

imperfect subjunctives (8=1 MC, 7 SC): amārem (*Amph.* 525 SC, *Cist.* 85 SC, *Most.* 183 MC), amārēs (*Mil.* 1262 SC), amārēt (*Bacch.* 818 SC, *Cist.* 239 SC, *Mil.* 1247 SC, *Pseud.* 1278 SC)

(excluded: ament (*Cist.* 281<sup>488</sup>), amārēt (*Epid.* 359<sup>489</sup>))

- *ambīre*: 1 perfect subjunctive  
perfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): ambīuerīt (*Amph.* 74 SC)
- *āmittere*: 9 present subjunctives, 8 subjunctives of other tenses  
positive command (1): āmittāt (*Cas.* 573)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (3): āmittam (*Capt.* 460), āmittās (*Rud.* 1031), āmittāmus (*Mil.* 1421)  
object clause without *ut* (1): āmittāt (*Pseud.* 1123)  
subordinate *nē*-clauses (3): āmittam (*Mil.* 983), āmittāt (*Aul.* 303, *Aul.* 305)  
indirect question (1): āmittāt (*Capt.* 36)  
imperfect subjunctives (3=1 MC, 2 SC): āmitterēs (*Cist.* 625 MC, *Persa* 687 SC), āmitterēt (*Bacch.* 964 SC)  
perfect subjunctives<sup>490</sup> (5=1 MC, 4 SC): āmīserim (*Amph.* 1054 SC, *Mil.* 1096\* SC), āmīserīs (*Curc.* 599 MC, *Trin.* 1054\* SC), āmīserīt (*Capt.* 23 SC)  
(āmittam=future: *Capt.* 332, *Cist.* 463\*, *Poen.* 403, *Rud.* 730, *Rud.* 1006\*, *Stich.* 187)

<sup>487</sup>Lindsay (1907: 112) does not think that this is an instance of what we find in later Latin, namely the replacement of the Acl by *quod*-clauses. But H-S 576 argue that the *quod*-clause does stand for an Acl here because in the Acl it would be unclear which of the two accusatives is the agent.

<sup>488</sup>The context has been lost.

<sup>489</sup>The passage is corrupt.

<sup>490</sup>The token in *Curc.* 599 is prohibitive.

- *appellāre*: 12 present subjunctives, 2 subjunctives of other tenses  
 positive commands (2): appellēmus (*Asin.* 618, *Mil.* 420)  
 potential/unreal statement (1): appellēs (*Stich.* 322)  
 subordinate *ut*-clause (1): appellem (*Pseud.* 185)  
 object clause without *ut* (1): appellem (*Poen.* 990)  
 conditional clauses (2): appellem (*Cist.* 321), appellēt (*Epid.* 589)  
 relative clauses (4): appellēs (*Bacch.* 1169, *Capt.* 546, *Capt.* 565\*, *Mil.* 435)  
 temporal clause (*ubi*<sup>491</sup>) (1): appellēs (*Epid.* 588\*)  
 imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): appellārem (*Mil.* 124 SC)  
 pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): appellāssēs (*Trin.* 927 SC)
- *audēre*: 8 present subjunctives, 2 imperfect subjunctives  
 potential/unreal statement (1): audeāt (*Stich.* 296)  
 question (1): audeant (*Pseud.* 205b\*\*)  
 subordinate *ut*-clause (1): audeam (*Men.* 712)  
 subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): audeāt (*Capt.* 753, *Most.* 423)  
 conditional clauses (2): audeam (*Capt.* 238, *Pseud.* 542)  
 relative clause (1): audeāt (*Rud.* 646)  
 imperfect subjunctives (2=1 MC, 1 SC): audērem (*Mil.* 962\* MC<sup>492</sup>, *Rud.* 538\*\* SC)  
 (excluded: audeam (*Asin.* 25<sup>493</sup>))
- *capere*: 20 present subjunctives, 5 subjunctives of other tenses  
 subordinate *ut*-clauses (7): capiam (*Amph.* 462, *Most.* 384), capiās (*Most.* 558, *Poen.* 396), capiātur (*Pseud.* 384, *Pseud.* 585a), capiantur (*Amph.* 68)  
 subordinate *nē*-clauses (3): capiās (*Merc.* 146), capiāt (*Mil.* 599\*<sup>494</sup>), capiātur (*Capt.* 803)  
 conditional clause (1): capiam (*Trin.* 64)  
 indirect questions (2): capiam (*Merc.* 645, *Truc.* 765\*\*)  
 relative clauses (6): capiam (*Bacch.* 67, *Bacch.* 68, *Bacch.* 71), capiās (*Pseud.* 215), capiāt (*Capt.* 722, *Men.* 454\*)  
 temporal clause (*prius quam*) (1): capiāt (*Truc.* 524)  
 imperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): caperēs (*Rud.* 842 MC)

<sup>491</sup>There are non-temporal connotations. We could translate this as 'given that'.

<sup>492</sup>This is in an indignant question with *ut*.

<sup>493</sup>This line is excluded by Lindsay.

<sup>494</sup>There is contamination between a relative clause and a subordinate *nē*-clause.

perfect subjunctives (3=1 MC, 2 SC): cēperim (*Mil.* 709\* SC, *Truc.* 629\*\* MC), capta sīt (*Poen.* 109 SC)

pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): cēpisse (*Mil.* 718\* MC)

(excluded: captī fuant (*Pseud.* 1029<sup>495</sup>), captum sīt (*Men.* 165<sup>496</sup>))

- *cēlāre*: 6 present subjunctives, 1 imperfect subjunctive  
questions (2): cēlem (*Bacch.* 375, *Rud.* 1245)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (2): cēlēs (*Trin.* 800), cēlētur (*Amph.* 490)  
indirect questions (2): cēlem (*Aul.* 74, *Cas.* 875)  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): cēlārentur (*Truc.* 798\*\* SC)
- *cūrāre*: 28 present subjunctives, 2 perfect subjunctives  
positive commands (4): cūrēs (*Stich.* 319–20, *Trin.* 192\*<sup>497</sup>), cūrētur (*Epid.* 269<sup>498</sup>), cūrēmus (*Poen.* 1422)  
questions (3): cūrem (*Most.* 209, *Poen.* 352, *Poen.* 354)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (11): cūrem (*Most.* 992\*\*), cūrēr (*Pseud.* 774\*), cūrēs (*Bacch.* 751, *Curc.* 517, *Merc.* 495, *Mil.* 812, *Pseud.* 235), cūrēt (*Cas.* 44, *Cas.* 503), cūrētur (*Persa* 527, *Rud.* 1215\*\*)  
object clauses without *ut* (2): cūrem (*Bacch.* 692), cūrētur (*Poen.* 1151)  
indirect question (1): cūrēt (*Amph.* 87)  
relative clauses (6): cūrem (*Trin.* 1057), cūrēr (*Poen.* 693), cūrēs (*Most.* 35), cūrēt (*Amph.* 827, *Cas.* 105, *Mil.* 994\*\*)  
comparative clause (*quasi*) (1): cūrētur (*Mil.* 910\*)  
perfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): cūrāta sint (*Amph.* 981 SC, *Aul.* 273 SC)  
(excluded: cūrēs (*Most.* 208<sup>499</sup>))
- *dīcere*<sup>500</sup>: 165 present subjunctives, 44 subjunctives of other tenses  
positive commands (12): dīcās (*Curc.* 130<sup>501</sup>, *Curc.* 456, *Mil.* 1101, *Mil.* 1118, *Mil.* 1166\*, *Trin.* 737), dīcāt (*Asin.* 783, *Persa* 373, *Stich.* 106, *Trin.* 776, *Trin.* 779), dīcāmus (*Merc.* 1015)  
prohibitions (3): dīcāt (*Asin.* 780, *Asin.* 800, *Aul.* 498)  
potential/unreal statements (16): dīcam (*Asin.* 393, *Cist.* 667, *Curc.* 13, *Merc.* 286, *Most.* 555, *Trin.* 897, *Truc.* 299), dīcās (*Amph.* 572, *Mil.*

<sup>495</sup>This cannot count as a regular form because of the auxiliary *fuant*.

<sup>496</sup>The context has been lost.

<sup>497</sup>This instance may also be dependent on *uolō*, which is to be understood from the preceding utterance.

<sup>498</sup>Alternatively, *ut* might depend on some verb like *uidē* to be understood from the context; however, the preceding *arbitrētur* is without *ut*.

<sup>499</sup>This instance is merely a conjecture.

<sup>500</sup>I include *maledīcere*.

<sup>501</sup>Alternatively, *ut* may depend on a verb to be understood from context. The same is true of the token in *Stich.* 106.



1429, *Most.* 896, *Trin.* 538), *dīcant* (*Aul.* 346, *Mil.* 1369\*, *Mil.* 1370, *Rud.* 981, *Trin.* 740)

questions (24): *dīcam* (*Asin.* 587, *Capt.* 533, *Cas.* 616, *Cist.* 61, *Cist.* 713, *Curc.* 1, *Curc.* 12, *Men.* 538, *Merc.* 128, *Merc.* 516, *Mil.* 55, *Mil.* 1201, *Most.* 633, *Persa* 400\*, *Pseud.* 744, *Pseud.* 966, *Rud.* 265, *Rud.* 440, *Stich.* 288\*, *Trin.* 163, *Truc.* 689, *Truc.* 775), *dīcās* (*Asin.* 813), *dīcātur* (*Asin.* 489)

ambiguous between positive command and object clause without *ut* (1): *dīcātis* (*Mil.* 1341)

ambiguous between prohibitions and subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): *dīcās* (*Persa* 391, *Rud.* 1390)

subordinate *ut*-clauses (24): *dīcam* (*Asin.* 843, *Capt.* 744, *Capt.* 907, *Mil.* 239\*\*, *Most.* 664, *Most.* 893, *Rud.* 1231, *Trin.* 849), *dīcās* (*Amph.* 345, *Bacch.* 1038, *Curc.* 629, *Epid.* 278, *Men.* 892, *Poen.* 1100, *Rud.* 638, *Rud.* 961, *Trin.* 762), *dīcāt* (*Epid.* 365, *Poen.* 175, *Rud.* 756, *Rud.* 1063\*), *dīcāmur* (*Asin.* 313), *dīcant* (*Amph.* 205, *Stich.* 640)

object clauses without *ut* (16): *dīcam* (*Bacch.* 382, *Cist.* 454, *Epid.* 19, *Merc.* 722, *Merc.* 728, *Mil.* 300, *Persa* 750, *Poen.* 439, *Pseud.* 522, *Stich.* 115), *dīcās* (*Cas.* 234, *Pseud.* 949), *dīcāt* (*Amph.* 806, *Bacch.* 864, *Cist.* 734, *Truc.* 643)

subordinate *nē*-clauses (5): *dīcās* (*Persa* 597), *dīcāt* (*Stich.* 114), *dīcant* (*Amph.* 528, *Persa* 372, *Trin.* 105)

subordinate *quīn*-clauses (4): *dīcam* (*Cas.* 239, *Trin.* 641\*\*), *dīcāt* (*Amph.* 750), *dīcant* (*Trin.* 105)

conditional clauses (3): *dīcās* (*Asin.* 414), *dīcāt* (*Cist.* 667, *Cist.* 734)

indirect questions (24): *dīcam* (*Amph.* 197, *Amph.* 825, *Asin.* 703, *Aul.* 67, *Aul.* 804, *Capt.* 268, *Capt.* 967, *Cist.* 520, *Curc.* 128–9, *Curc.* 463, *Men.* 887, *Merc.* 270, *Merc.* 723, *Most.* 676, *Most.* 1042\*\*, *Pseud.* 106, *Rud.* 611, *Trin.* 2, *Truc.* 70), *dīcās* (*Trin.* 98<sup>502</sup>, *Trin.* 148), *dīcāmus* (*Poen.* 596), *dīcātis* (*Asin.* 730), *dīcant* (*Trin.* 218\*\*)

relative clauses (20): *dīcam* (*Amph.* 824, *Capt.* 541, *Merc.* 628), *dīcās* (*Amph.* 695, *Men.* 313, *Men.* 495, *Merc.* 293, *Merc.* 642), *dīcāt* (*Aul.* 489<sup>503</sup>, *Bacch.* 807, *Bacch.* 1055, *Men.* 243, *Men.* 654, *Mil.* 687, *Mil.* 691, *Rud.* 114, *Rud.* 1073<sup>504</sup>, *Stich.* 260, *Stich.* 261), *dīcantur* (*Amph.* 815)

comparative clauses<sup>505</sup> (9): *dīcam* (*Mil.* 20), *dīcās* (*Curc.* 78, *Merc.* 512\*, *Pseud.* 209, *Pseud.* 609, *Pseud.* 634, *Pseud.* 635, *Rud.* 99, *Trin.* 891)

*quod*-clauses<sup>506</sup> (2): *dīcāt* (*Asin.* 761, *Mil.* 163)

<sup>502</sup>This and the following token are introduced by *sī*.

<sup>503</sup>This instance is semantically equivalent to a conditional clause.

<sup>504</sup>The token is potential/unreal.

<sup>505</sup>*Mil.* 20 has *praeut*, *Pseud.* 209 has *quam*; all the other tokens are introduced by *quasi*.

<sup>506</sup>Both are theme constituents and could be translated ‘as for the fact that’.

imperfect subjunctives (17=4 MC, 13 SC): *dīcerem* (*Bacch.* 217 MC, *Cas.* 681\* SC, *Merc.* 731 MC, *Truc.* 681 SC), *dīcerēs* (*Amph.* 944 SC, *Bacch.* 699 SC, *Capt.* 871 MC, *Merc.* 294 SC, *Poen.* 387 MC, *Truc.* 816\* SC), *dīcerēt* (*Cist.* 541 SC, *Merc.* 70 SC, *Most.* 244 SC, *Most.* 493\*\* SC, *Persa* 634\*\* SC, *Poen.* 773 SC, *Stich.* 653 SC)

perfect subjunctives<sup>507</sup> (21=6 MC, 15 SC): *dīxerim* (*Asin.* 491 MC, *Bacch.* 1012 SC, *Mil.* 860\* SC, *Trin.* 755 SC), *dīxerīs* (*Asin.* 564 SC, *Asin.* 698 SC, *Cist.* 110 MC, *Merc.* 401–2 MC, *Most.* 252\* SC, *Persa* 389 MC, *Pseud.* 657 SC, *Trin.* 555 MC), *dīxerīt* (*Bacch.* 701 SC, *Men.* 644 SC, *Poen.* 1206 SC, *Pseud.* 962 SC, *Stich.* 555 SC, *Trin.* 207 SC), *dīxerītis* (*Mil.* 862 MC), *dicta sīt* (*Asin.* 838 SC), *dicta sint* (*Poen.* 913\* SC)

pluperfect subjunctives (5=5 SC): *dīxissem* (*Poen.* 529 SC), *dīxem* (*Pseud.* 499\* SC<sup>508</sup>), *dīxissēt* (*Merc.* 993 SC, *Stich.* 510 SC), *dictum forēt* (*Amph.* 21 SC)

past prospective subjunctive (1=1 SC): *dictūrus fuerim* (*Persa* 296\*\* SC)

(*dīcam*=future: *Amph.* 18, *Amph.* 261, *Amph.* 460, *Amph.* 1101, *Asin.* 7, *Asin.* 10, *Asin.* 302, *Asin.* 913, *Aul.* 283, *Bacch.* 599, *Bacch.* 600, *Capt.* 494, *Capt.* 646, *Capt.* 920, *Cas.* 372, *Cas.* 654, *Cist.* 249, *Cist.* 603, *Curc.* 370, *Curc.* 437, *Curc.* 442, *Curc.* 453, *Curc.* 633, *Curc.* 635, *Curc.* 702, *Epid.* 69, *Epid.* 164\*, *Epid.* 708, *Men.* 10, *Men.* 119, *Men.* 228, *Men.* 331, *Men.* 751, *Men.* 1044, *Merc.* 14, *Merc.* 159, *Merc.* 208, *Merc.* 638, *Merc.* 727, *Merc.* 783, *Mil.* 241, *Mil.* 246, *Mil.* 296\*, *Mil.* 679, *Mil.* 800, *Mil.* 810, *Mil.* 1075, *Mil.* 1191, *Most.* 92, *Most.* 484, *Most.* 661, *Most.* 757, *Most.* 888, *Most.* 932, *Most.* 1026 b, *Persa* 390\*, *Persa* 664, *Persa* 746, *Poen.* 51, *Poen.* 294, *Poen.* 407, *Poen.* 477, *Poen.* 1264, *Pseud.* 336, *Pseud.* 581–2, *Pseud.* 637, *Pseud.* 751, *Pseud.* 801, *Rud.* 388, *Rud.* 951, *Rud.* 1103, *Rud.* 1134, *Rud.* 1135, *Stich.* 207, *Stich.* 364, *Trin.* 7, *Trin.* 90, *Trin.* 346, *Trin.* 480, *Trin.* 522, *Trin.* 1099, *Truc.* 159, *Truc.* 849, *Vid.* fr. xi (x))

(excluded: *dīcāt* (*Vid.* 46<sup>509</sup>), *dīcerem* (*Merc.* 900<sup>510</sup>), *dicta sint* (*Poen.* 580<sup>511</sup>, *Pseud.* 432))

- *emere*: 10 present subjunctives, 17 subjunctives of other tenses

potential/unreal statements (3): *emam* (*Capt.* 274), *emāt* (*Persa* 524, *Rud.* 980)

subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *emās* (*Persa* 662)

subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *emāt* (*Most.* 284–5)

<sup>507</sup>The items in *Cist.* 110, *Merc.* 401–2, *Mil.* 862, *Persa* 389 and *Trin.* 555 are prohibitive. Those in *Persa* 389 and *Trin.* 555 are introduced by *cauē*. The item in *Asin.* 491 is in a potential statement and does not have past meaning.

<sup>508</sup>*Sī dīxem* is Ritschl's emendation, while Lindsay prints *si id faxem*.

<sup>509</sup>The context cannot be recovered.

<sup>510</sup>This is merely a conjecture by Leo.

<sup>511</sup>Here and in the following item, *dicta* is a noun.

- subordinate *quān*-clause (1): *emās* (*Curc.* 34)
- conditional clause (1): *emam* (*Persa* 626)
- indirect question (1): *emam* (*Cas.* 500)
- relative clauses (2): *emam* (*Aul.* 377, *Poen.* 274<sup>512</sup>)
- imperfect subjunctives (8=1 MC, 7 SC): *emerem* (*Capt.* 455 SC, *Capt.* 455 SC, *Merc.* 427 SC, *Merc.* 428 SC, *Persa* 262 SC), *emerēs* (*Trin.* 134 MC), *emerētur* (*Epid.* 48 SC, *Epid.* 565 SC)
- perfect subjunctives (6=1 MC, 5 SC): *ēmerīs* (*Men.* 1101 SC, *Merc.* 221 SC, *Merc.* 221 SC, *Merc.* 504\* SC), *ēmerīt* (*Capt.* 205 SC, *Most.* 1026d MC)
- pluperfect subjunctives (3=3 SC): *ēmīssēt* (*Merc.* 623 SC, *Trin.* 178 SC), *ēmp̄tae forent* (*Most.* 799–800 SC)
- (*emam*=future: *Merc.* 466, *Persa* 651)
- *excēdere*: 1 perfect subjunctive  
perfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *excesserīt* (*Merc.* 61\* SC)
  - *excutere*: 2 present subjunctives  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (2): *excutiam* (*Capt.* 601), *excutiās* (*Merc.* 576<sup>513</sup>)  
(*excutiam*=future: *Persa* 794)
  - *facere*: 220 present subjunctives, 73 subjunctives of other tenses  
positive commands (8): *faciās* (*Amph.* 558, *Asin.* 644, *Bacch.* 990a, *Bacch.* 993, *Capt.* 865, *Cas.* 373), *faciāt* (*Truc.* 966\*), *faciāmus* (*Pseud.* 1167)  
prohibitions (3): *faciās* (*Curc.* 539), *faciāt* (*Asin.* 792, *Asin.* 797)  
wishes<sup>514</sup> (16): *faciāt* (*Aul.* 776, *Poen.* 489), *faciant* (*Amph.* 380, *Aul.* 545, *Aul.* 789, *Aul.* 789, *Bacch.* 626a, *Cas.* 813, *Curc.* 130, *Men.* 1021, *Mil.* 570, *Mil.* 1419, *Most.* 222, *Persa* 488, *Persa* 823, *Pseud.* 272<sup>515</sup>)  
potential/unreal statements (8): *faciam* (*Aul.* 153, *Merc.* 505, *Poen.* 971), *faciās* (*Aul.* 539, *Merc.* 874, *Persa* 375), *faciāt* (*Bacch.* 46), *faciant* (*Persa* 206)  
questions (31): *faciam* (*Amph.* 155, *Asin.* 537, *Bacch.* 857, *Cas.* 117, *Cas.* 549, *Cist.* 63, *Cist.* 301, *Curc.* 555, *Curc.* 589, *Epid.* 98, *Epid.* 255, *Men.* 833, *Men.* 963, *Merc.* 207, *Merc.* 565, *Merc.* 568, *Merc.* 712, *Mil.* 305, *Mil.* 459, *Most.* 346, *Most.* 371, *Most.* 523, *Most.* 1149, *Persa* 26, *Persa* 42, *Poen.* 357, *Pseud.* 78, *Pseud.* 1229, *Pseud.* 1316, *Truc.* 405), *faciās* (*Asin.* 489)

<sup>512</sup>This is an *irreālis*.

<sup>513</sup>The main clause is not expressed, but recoverable from the preceding question.

<sup>514</sup>The subjects are always gods.

<sup>515</sup>This token is the only one that is negated.

ambiguity between prohibitions and subordinate *nē*-clauses (3): *faciās* (*Aul.* 173, *Curc.* 565, *Rud.* 1273)

subordinate *ut*-clauses (44): *faciam* (*Asin.* 268, *Aul.* 77, *Aul.* 612, *Mil.* 1094, *Mil.* 1399, *Most.* 234, *Persa* 46, *Persa* 496, *Rud.* 1206, *Stich.* 194, *Trin.* 27\*), *faciās* (*Bacch.* 692, *Bacch.* 909, *Bacch.* 988a, *Bacch.* 1153, *Capt.* 437, *Capt.* 748, *Cas.* 253, *Cist.* 62, *Curc.* 631, *Men.* 425, *Men.* 893, *Merc.* 179, *Merc.* 504\*\*, *Merc.* 990, *Mil.* 972, *Most.* 396, *Poen.* 165, *Poen.* 411, *Stich.* 73, *Trin.* 1168), *faciāt* (*Aul.* 387\*\*, *Capt.* 409, *Curc.* 218, *Curc.* 330, *Persa* 671, *Poen.* 703, *Rud.* 130, *Stich.* 26), *faciant* (*Cas.* 828, *Epid.* 235, *Merc.* 908\*, *Pseud.* 134<sup>516</sup>, *Rud.* 703)

object clauses without *ut* (12): *faciam* (*Asin.* 647, *Capt.* 858, *Merc.* 158, *Mil.* 335\*\*, *Pseud.* 324), *faciās* (*Men.* 947\*\*, *Poen.* 1150, *Rud.* 1415\*), *faciāt* (*Cas.* 206–7, *Pseud.* 436), *faciāmus* (*Asin.* 644), *faciātis* (*Merc.* 992)

subordinate *nē*-clauses (11): *faciās* (*Bacch.* 874, *Most.* 744–5, *Truc.* 836\*\*), *faciāt* (*Cist.* 531, *Epid.* 311, *Persa* 384, *Poen.* 378, *Stich.* 117, *Stich.* 122), *faciāmus* (*Cas.* 1006), *faciant* (*Mil.* 164)

object clauses without *nē*<sup>517</sup> (2): *faciant* (*Cas.* 902, *Pseud.* 206\*\*)

subordinate *quīn*-clauses (10): *faciam* (*Amph.* 1052, *Cas.* 506, *Trin.* 341), *faciās* (*Aul.* 132\*\*, *Most.* 435), *faciāt* (*Amph.* 889, *Asin.* 945, *Aul.* 85, *Poen.* 882\*\*), *faciāmus* (*Aul.* 262)

conditional clauses (17): *faciam* (*Merc.* 578\*), *faciās* (*Bacch.* 1194, *Capt.* 632, *Cas.* 260, *Curc.* 223, *Men.* 502, *Men.* 1023, *Poen.* 635, *Poen.* 636, *Poen.* 812, *Truc.* 616), *faciāt* (*Bacch.* 410, *Stich.* 27\*\*), *faciāmus* (*Cist.* 27), *faciant* (*Aul.* 478, *Persa* 206, *Stich.* 44)

indirect questions<sup>518</sup> (22): *faciam* (*Capt.* 617, *Epid.* 86, *Most.* 381, *Most.* 678\*\*, *Pseud.* 398, *Pseud.* 779\*\*, *Truc.* 823), *faciās* (*Amph.* 508, *Cas.* 490, *Men.* 911, *Mil.* 1034, *Persa* 154\*\*, *Persa* 221), *faciāt* (*Asin.* 182, *Bacch.* 334, *Men.* 789, *Mil.* 168\*\*, *Mil.* 346, *Persa* 82, *Pseud.* 755), *faciātis* (*Poen.* 1245), *faciant* (*Aul.* 363)

relative clauses (23): *faciam* (*Bacch.* 634\*\*, *Mil.* 692\*, *Pseud.* 89, *Stich.* 82), *faciās* (*Aul.* 253, *Aul.* 338, *Epid.* 136, *Persa* 494, *Pseud.* 161, *Trin.* 638), *faciāt* (*Men.* 242\*\*, *Merc.* 397, *Mil.* 465, *Poen.* 178, *Poen.* 658\*, *Poen.* 1109, *Pseud.* 599, *Pseud.* 1086, *Stich.* 69), *faciant* (*Bacch.* 617, *Cist.* 232, *Persa* 844\*\*, *Poen.* 127\*\*)

causal clauses (*quia* and *quom*) (2): *faciāt* (*Bacch.* 466<sup>519</sup>, *Bacch.* 908)

temporal clauses (*dum*<sup>520</sup>, *ubī* and *priusquam*) (4): *faciam* (*Cas.* 486), *faciās* (*Bacch.* 63), *faciāt* (*Men.* 846, *Truc.* 716)

<sup>516</sup>The token is wrongly cited as *Poen.* 134 by Lodge (1924: 581).

<sup>517</sup>The superordinate verbs are *cauēbunt* and *prohibēt*.

<sup>518</sup>Some of them have deontic modality.

<sup>519</sup>The token is potential/unreal.

<sup>520</sup>The items introduced by *dum* are in *Cas.* 486 and *Truc.* 716; both have final nuances.

comparative clauses (2) (*perinde ut* and *potius quam*): *faciās* (*Pseud.* 578), *faciāt* (*Asin.* 798)

limiting clauses (*dum (nē)*<sup>521</sup>) (2): *faciās* (*Curc.* 36), *faciāmus* (*Mil.* 893\*)

imperfect subjunctives (42=18 MC, 24 SC): *facerem* (*Amph.* 526 MC, *Asin.* 75 SC, *Asin.* 678 MC, *Bacch.* 351 SC, *Merc.* 247 SC, *Merc.* 633 MC, *Merc.* 958 SC, *Merc.* 994 MC, *Mil.* 139 SC, *Persa* 538\*\* SC, *Pseud.* 913 SC, *Trin.* 143 SC), *facerēs* (*Amph.* 915 SC, *Aul.* 222 SC, *Aul.* 736 SC, *Aul.* 828 MC, *Bacch.* 555 SC, *Curc.* 426 SC, *Merc.* 633 MC<sup>522</sup>, *Merc.* 884\* MC, *Mil.* 838 MC, *Persa* 434 SC, *Pseud.* 437 MC, *Trin.* 135 MC, *Trin.* 632 MC), *facerēt* (*Amph.* 47 SC, *Amph.* 834 SC, *Asin.* 860 MC, *Bacch.* 551 SC, *Bacch.* 689 SC, *Capt.* 912\*\* SC, *Epid.* 316\*\* SC, *Epid.* 501 SC, *Persa* 837 MC, *Rud.* 379 MC, *Rud.* 379 SC, *Rud.* 599\*\* SC, *Truc.* 396 SC), *facerēmus* (*Bacch.* 1209 MC), *facerent* (*Bacch.* 1208 MC, *Mil.* 734\* MC, *Poen.* 1140 MC)

perfect subjunctives<sup>523</sup> (26=14 MC, 12 SC): *fēcerim* (*Cas.* 425 MC, *Cas.* 617\*\* MC, *Men.* 397 SC, *Most.* 1136 SC, *Truc.* 828 SC), *fēcerīs* (*Asin.* 48 SC, *Cas.* 332 MC, *Epid.* 148 MC, *Men.* 414–15 MC, *Merc.* 957 SC, *Mil.* 20\*\* SC, *Mil.* 498\*\* SC, *Mil.* 1167\*\* SC, *Mil.* 1368 MC, *Most.* 272 MC, *Poen.* 1023 MC, *Pseud.* 654 MC, *Stich.* 285 MC, *Trin.* 85 SC, *Trin.* 347 SC, *Trin.* 348 SC, *Trin.* 513 MC), *fēcerīt* (*Men.* 994 MC, *Poen.* 886 MC, *Poen.* 928 MC), *fēcerint* (*Truc.* 295\* SC)

pluperfect subjunctives (5=2 MC, 3 SC): *fēcissēt* (*Amph.* 84 SC, *Aul.* 471 SC, *Trin.* 172 MC), *fēcissent* (*Amph.* 44 SC, *Amph.* 386 MC)

(*faciam*=future: *Amph.* 54, *Amph.* 59, *Amph.* 63, *Amph.* 345, *Amph.* 357, *Amph.* 541, *Amph.* 549, *Amph.* 583, *Amph.* 613, *Amph.* 876, *Amph.* 878, *Amph.* 887, *Amph.* 966, *Amph.* 1001, *Amph.* 1030, *Amph.* 1085, *Amph.* 1144, *Asin.* 28, *Asin.* 138, *Asin.* 138, *Asin.* 140, *Asin.* 369, *Asin.* 692, *Aul.* 31, *Aul.* 32, *Aul.* 365, *Aul.* 443, *Aul.* 622, *Aul.* 623, *Aul.* 774, *Bacch.* 184, *Bacch.* 228, *Bacch.* 241, *Bacch.* 383, *Bacch.* 785, *Bacch.* 871, *Bacch.* 888\*, *Capt.* 65, *Capt.* 123, *Capt.* 337, *Capt.* 338, *Capt.* 385, *Capt.* 409, *Capt.* 610, *Capt.* 798, *Capt.* 800, *Capt.* 856<sup>524</sup>, *Capt.* 962, *Cas.* 124, *Cas.* 158, *Cas.* 307, *Cas.* 419, *Cas.* 468, *Cas.* 607, *Cas.* 1004, *Cist.* 107, *Cist.* 236, *Curc.* 88, *Curc.* 122, *Curc.* 576, *Curc.* 689, *Curc.* 691, *Curc.* 707, *Epid.* 293, *Epid.* 349, *Epid.* 606, *Men.* 850, *Men.* 858, *Men.* 1012, *Men.* 1152, *Men.* 1153, *Merc.* 153, *Merc.* 896, *Mil.* 157, *Mil.* 283, *Mil.* 512, *Mil.* 661, *Mil.* 847, *Mil.* 1044, *Most.* 94, *Most.* 389, *Most.*

<sup>521</sup>*Dum nē* occurs in *Curc.* 36 and perhaps in *Mil.* 893\*, if we read *dum nē scientēs* instead of Lindsay's *dum nēscientēs*.

<sup>522</sup>Lindsay prints *Quid tu facerēs? Mēn rogās?* We could also take the first clause as subordinate and read *Quid tu facerēs mēn rogās?*

<sup>523</sup>The items in the following lines are prohibitive: *Cas.* 332, *Epid.* 148, *Men.* 414–15, *Mil.* 1368, *Most.* 272, *Poen.* 1023, *Pseud.* 654, *Stich.* 285, *Trin.* 513, *Men.* 994 (third person). Only four of these prohibitive perfect subjunctives are not introduced by *cauē*: *Epid.* 148, *Men.* 414–15, *Most.* 272 and *Pseud.* 654.

<sup>524</sup>Lodge (1924: 581) wrongly cites this as *Capt.* 956.

428, *Most.* 898, *Most.* 928, *Most.* 1116, *Persa* 147, *Persa* 178, *Persa* 191, *Persa* 263, *Persa* 494, *Persa* 500, *Persa* 662, *Persa* 743, *Persa* 760, *Poen.* 165, *Poen.* 197, *Poen.* 357, *Poen.* 359, *Poen.* 377, *Poen.* 702, *Poen.* 1236, *Poen.* 1289, *Poen.* 1364, *Poen.* 1422, *Pseud.* 145, *Pseud.* 214, *Pseud.* 513, *Pseud.* 586, *Pseud.* 674, *Pseud.* 868, *Pseud.* 872, *Pseud.* 884, *Pseud.* 939, *Rud.* 404, *Rud.* 436, *Rud.* 722, *Rud.* 767, *Rud.* 795\*, *Rud.* 928, *Rud.* 931, *Rud.* 932, *Rud.* 959, *Rud.* 962, *Rud.* 1084, *Rud.* 1088, *Rud.* 1132, *Rud.* 1408, *Stich.* 81, *Stich.* 84, *Stich.* 86, *Stich.* 354, *Stich.* 407, *Stich.* 445, *Stich.* 566, *Stich.* 674–5, *Trin.* 233, *Trin.* 235, *Trin.* 685, *Trin.* 806, *Trin.* 883, *Trin.* 1064, *Trin.* 1172, *Truc.* 614, *Truc.* 759, *Vid.* 50\*)

(excluded: *faciam* (*Men.* 984<sup>525</sup>, *Trin.* 948<sup>526</sup>), *faciāt* (*Asin.* 889<sup>527</sup>), *faciātis* (*Poen.* 1390<sup>528</sup>), *fēcissēt* (*Artemo* ii<sup>529</sup>))

- *fraudāre*: 2 perfect subjunctives  
perfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): *fraudāuerīs* (*Asin.* 561 SC), *frausus sīt* (*Asin.* 286 SC)
- *immūtāre*: 1 perfect subjunctive  
perfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *immūtāuerīt* (*Mil.* 432 SC)
- *indicāre*: 7 present subjunctives  
question (1): *indicem* (*Trin.* 750)  
subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *indicēs* (*Merc.* 170)  
subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *indicētis* (*Men.* 881)  
indirect question (1): *indicēt* (*Persa* 575)  
relative clause (1): *indicēt* (*Rud.* 1322)  
comparative clauses (*quam*) (2): *indicem* (*Asin.* 811), *indicēt* (*Cist.* 629)
- *indūcere*: 3 present subjunctives, 2 subjunctives of other tenses  
potential/unreal statement (1): *indūcam* (*Poen.* 877)  
subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *indūcās* (*Persa* 643)  
limiting clause (*dum modo*) (1): *indūcāmus* (*Mil.* 254)  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *indūcerēs* (*Amph.* 915 SC)  
perfect subjunctive<sup>530</sup> (1=1 MC): *indūxerīs* (*Trin.* 704 MC)  
(*indūcam*=future: *Bacch.* 1191, *Cist.* 633, *Epid.* 550, *Stich.* 346)

<sup>525</sup>This is corrupt.

<sup>526</sup>This is merely a conjecture.

<sup>527</sup>This is cited in Lodge (1924: 581), but I have not found it either by reading or by doing a computerized search using the BTL-2.

<sup>528</sup>This is merely a conjecture for †*facite et*†.

<sup>529</sup>There is not enough context.

<sup>530</sup>The token is prohibitive.

- *licēre*: 32 present subjunctives, 5 imperfect subjunctives  
wishes<sup>531</sup> (3): *liceāt* (*Cas.* 275<sup>532</sup>, *Persa* 290, *Rud.* 680a<sup>533</sup>)  
potential/unreal statements (3): *liceāt* (*Amph.* 157, *Aul.* 381, *Persa* 377)  
questions (2): *liceāt* (*Amph.* 986, *Rud.* 723)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (15): *liceāt* (*Amph.* 388, *Asin.* 916, *Capt.* 411, *Capt.* 451, *Capt.* 512, *Cas.* 706, *Epid.* 722, *Mil.* 70, *Mil.* 71, *Mil.* 1039, *Persa* 601, *Poen.* 1343, *Poen.* 1362, *Rud.* 834, *Trin.* 21)  
object clause without *ut* (1): *liceāt* (*Rud.* 621)  
conditional clauses (5): *liceāt* (*Capt.* 464, *Merc.* 724, *Mil.* 1263, *Persa* 374, *Pseud.* 428)  
relative clauses (2): *liceāt* (*Aul.* 407, *Poen.* 440\*)  
limiting clause (*dum*<sup>534</sup>) (1): *liceāt* (*Truc.* 736\*)  
imperfect subjunctives (5=1 MC, 4 SC): *licērēt* (*Amph.* 465 SC, *Aul.* 319 SC, *Merc.* 152 SC, *Most.* 753 SC, *Most.* 800\* MC)
- *locāre*: 5 present subjunctives, 2 subjunctives of other tenses  
subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *locēs* (*Aul.* 251)  
object clause without *ut* (1): *locēs* (*Aul.* 568)  
subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *locēt* (*Rud.* 474)  
conditional clause (1): *locem* (*Rud.* 535)  
relative clause (1): *locēre* (*Cist.* 560)  
perfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *locātum sīt* (*Asin.* 443 SC)  
pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): *locāssem* (*Most.* 242\* MC)
- *negāre*: 15 present subjunctives  
positive commands (2): *negēs* (*Rud.* 427, *Rud.* 1331)  
potential/unreal statement (1): *negem* (*Men.* 504)  
questions (2): *negem* (*Amph.* 434, *Mil.* 556)  
ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *negēs* (*Poen.* 1155)  
*cauē* (without *nē*) (1): *negēs* (*Most.* 1025\*)  
subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *negēt* (*Pseud.* 929)  
subordinate *nē*-clauses (3): *negēs* (*Pseud.* 119), *negēt* (*Pseud.* 125, *Pseud.* 186\*\*)   
conditional clause (1): *negēt* (*Cas.* 573)

<sup>531</sup>All three are positive.

<sup>532</sup>Formally this is a relative clause.

<sup>533</sup>This wish is introduced by *sī modo*.

<sup>534</sup>There is no negation.

relative clauses (3): negem (*Capt.* 937, *Men.* 397), negēs (*Men.* 818\*)  
(excluded: negent (*Cist.* 392<sup>535</sup>))

- *obicere*: 3 present subjunctives  
question (1): obiciās (*Asin.* 814)  
subordinate *nē*-clause (1): obiciātur (*Poen.* 606)  
comparative clause (*quam sī*) (1): obiciās (*Trin.* 410\*\*) (obiciam=future: *Rud.* 770)
- *occultāre*: 1 present subjunctive  
positive command (1): occultēmus (*Curc.* 95)
- *occupāre*: 4 present subjunctives  
positive command (1): occupēmus (*Stich.* 89)  
ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): occupēs (*Pseud.* 548)  
object clause without *ut* (1): occupēs (*Pseud.* 921\*)  
relative clause (1): occupēs (*Rud.* 109)
- *optāre*: 5 present subjunctives  
relative clauses<sup>536</sup> (5): optēs (*Asin.* 46, *Cist.* 497, *Mil.* 1038\*\*, *Pseud.* 936\*\*, *Trin.* 437)
- *parcere*: 3 present subjunctives, 5 subjunctives of other tenses  
question (1): parcam (*Epid.* 464)  
subordinate *ut*-clause (1): parcās (*Merc.* 680)  
subordinate *nē*-clause (1): parcās (*Bacch.* 751)  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): parcerēt (*Capt.* 32 SC)  
perfect subjunctives<sup>537</sup> (3=2 MC, 1 SC): parserīs (*Persa* 572 MC, *Poen.* 993\* MC), pepercerīs (*Aul.* 381 SC)  
pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): parsissem (*Pseud.* 5 MC)
- *prohibēre*: 6 present subjunctives  
prohibition (1): prohibeās (*Trin.* 370)  
epistemic modality in a main clause (1): prohibeam (*Bacch.* 57)  
subordinate *ut*-clause (1): prohibeam (*Amph.* 1008)  
subordinate *nē*-clause (1): prohibeās (*Curc.* 605)  
relative clauses (2): prohibeās (*Epid.* 289), prohibeant (*Capt.* 493)

<sup>535</sup>The token is only in the *apparātus criticus*.

<sup>536</sup>All five of them have attraction of mood.

<sup>537</sup>The items in *Persa* 572 and *Poen.* 993\* are prohibitive.



- *respicere*: 2 present subjunctives  
 potential/unreal statement (1): respiciās (*Aul.* 231)  
 subordinate *ut*-clause (1): respiciās (*Pseud.* 264)  
 (respiciam=future: *Pseud.* 265)
- *respondēre*: 5 present subjunctives, 2 subjunctives of other tenses  
 potential/unreal statement (1): respondeās (*Curc.* 13)  
 subordinate *ut*-clauses (2): respondeam (*Persa* 417), respondeās (*Merc.* 629)  
 relative clauses (2): respondeam (*Trin.* 188\*\*), respondeāt (*Most.* 452\*\*)  
 perfect subjunctive<sup>538</sup> (1=1 MC): responderīs (*Amph.* 608 MC)  
 pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): respondissēt (*Trin.* 927 MC)
- *seruāre*: 19 present subjunctives, 3 subjunctives of other tenses  
 positive command (1): seruēt (*Asin.* 805)  
 wishes<sup>539</sup> (3): seruēt (*Pseud.* 934), seruent (*Poen.* 1258, *Pseud.* 121)  
 potential/unreal statements (2): seruem (*Truc.* 347), seruēt (*Aul.* 557)  
 question (1): seruem (*Aul.* 82)  
 subordinate *ut*-clauses (9): seruem (*Aul.* 364, *Capt.* 257, *Pseud.* 876),  
 seruēs (*Amph.* 1144, *Rud.* 276, *Rud.* 774), seruēt (*Poen.* 128), seruētur  
 (*Merc.* 112), seruētis (*Poen.* 16\*\*)  
 subordinate *nē*-clause (1): seruēs (*Men.* 123)  
 conditional clause (1): seruēt (*Aul.* 555)  
 relative clause (1): seruēt (*Bacch.* 1065)  
 imperfect subjunctives (2=1 MC, 1 SC): seruārem (*Aul.* 8 SC), seruārētur  
 (*Bacch.* 314 MC)  
 pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): seruāssem (*Truc.* 140 SC)
- *supplicāre*: 1 present subjunctive  
 relative clause (1): supplicēt (*Asin.* 150)
- *surripere*: 4 present subjunctives, 9 subjunctives of other tenses  
 subordinate *ut*-clause (1): surripiam (*Asin.* 885)  
 subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): surripiās (*Pseud.* 876), surripiāt (*Capt.* 292)  
 relative clause (1): surripiās (*Aul.* 349\*)  
 imperfect subjunctives (4=2 MC, 2 SC): surriperem (*Pseud.* 675 SC),  
 surriperēs (*Pseud.* 288\* MC), surriperēt (*Pseud.* 288 MC), surriperent  
 (*Aul.* 464 SC)

<sup>538</sup>The subjunctive is prohibitive and introduced by *cauē*.

<sup>539</sup>All of them are positive and have deities as subjects.

perfect subjunctives (4=4 SC): *surrupta sīt* (*Persa* 150 SC, *Poen.* 109\*\* SC), *surrupta fuerīs* (*Persa* 380 SC), *surruptum siēt* (*Aul.* 39 SC)

pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *surrupta essēt* (*Men.* 647 SC)

(*surrupiam*=future: *Bacch.* 507)

- Verbs attested in Plautus, but without relevant tokens (subjunctives, simple futures that look like present subjunctives): *abiūrāre*, *adigere*, *celebrāre*, *dēmūtāre*, *exstinguere*

## G: The Regular Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs with *s*-Subjunctives

In this section, I have collected all the regular subjunctives in Terence that belong to those verbs that have sigmatic subjunctives in Plautus and Terence. Where simple futures look like subjunctives, I have also listed them. Those future perfects that look like regular subjunctives have not been listed here. They can be found in appendix 6, sections I and J.

- *amāre*: 30 present subjunctives, 5 subjunctives of other tenses  
wishes (21)<sup>540</sup>: *ament* (*Ad.* 749, *Andr.* 947, *Eun.* 474, *Eun.* 615, *Eun.* 882, *Eun.* 1037, *Haut.* 308, *Haut.* 383, *Haut.* 569, *Haut.* 686, *Haut.* 953, *Hec.* 206\*, *Hec.* 233, *Hec.* 258, *Hec.* 276, *Hec.* 579, *Hec.* 642, *Hec.* 864, *Phorm.* 165, *Phorm.* 883\*, *Phorm.* 954)  
subordinate *ut*-clause<sup>541</sup> (1): *amēs* (*Eun.* 193)  
object clause without *ut* (1): *amēs* (*Ad.* 681)  
subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *amēt* (*Eun.* 1080)  
conditional clause (1): *amēs* (*Andr.* 687)  
indirect question<sup>542</sup> (1): *amēt* (*Ad.* 667\*)  
relative clauses (3): *amēs* (*Eun.* 309\*\*, *Haut.* 1060), *amētur* (*Eun.* 1052)  
causal clause (*quō*) (1): *amem* (*Eun.* 96\*\*)  
imperfect subjunctives (3=3 SC): *amārēt* (*Eun.* 446 SC, *Hec.* 539 SC), *amārent* (*Eun.* 1092\* SC)  
perfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *amārīt* (*Andr.* 520 SC)  
pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *amāssēt* (*Andr.* 112 SC)
- *āmittere*: 3 present subjunctives, 1 imperfect subjunctive  
subordinate *nē*-clause<sup>543</sup> (1): *āmittās* (*Eun.* 751)

<sup>540</sup>The wishes are always in the formula *ita mē dī* (*bene*) *ament* and never negated.

<sup>541</sup>If we adopt Kauer and Lindsay's punctuation, this is a main clause jussive.

<sup>542</sup>The token depends on semi-fossilized *haud sciō an*.

<sup>543</sup>The token is dependent on *cauē nē*.

- indirect question (1): *āmittam* (*Phorm.* 507\*\*)
- comparative clause (*prius quam*, ‘rather than’) (1): *āmittās* (*Haut.* 480)
- imperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): *āmitterem* (*Eun.* 606 MC)  
(*āmittam*=future: *Phorm.* 714)
- *appellāre*: 1 imperfect subjunctive  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *appellārēt* (*Hec.* 652 SC)
  - *audēre*: 4 present subjunctives, 2 subjunctives of other tenses  
question (1): *audeam* (*Andr.* 613)  
subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *audeāt* (*Haut.* 925\*)  
relative clauses (2): *audeam* (*Haut.* 575), *audeās* (*Phorm.* 758)  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): *audērēt* (*Haut.* 953 MC)  
perfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *ausus sim* (*Eun.* 1045 SC)
  - *capere*: 4 present subjunctives, 3 imperfect subjunctives  
potential/unreal statements (2): *capiās* (*Eun.* 370, *Eun.* 373)  
indirect questions (2): *capiam* (*Eun.* 867, *Phorm.* 167)  
imperfect subjunctives (3=1 MC, 2 SC): *caperem* (*Phorm.* 370 MC),  
*caperēs* (*Eun.* 573\*\* SC), *caperēt* (*Hec.* 580 SC)
  - *cēlāre*: 5 present subjunctives, 1 imperfect subjunctive  
question (1): *cēlem* (*Haut.* 414)  
subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *cēlēt* (*Haut.* 705)  
subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *cēlēt* (*Ad.* 54)  
conditional clause (1): *cēlētur* (*Phorm.* 825)  
indirect question (1): *cēlem* (*Hec.* 445)  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *cēlārēt* (*Hec.* 384 SC)
  - *cūrāre*: 6 present subjunctives, 3 imperfect subjunctives  
positive command (1): *cūrēmus* (*Ad.* 130)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (3): *cūrēs* (*Haut.* 76), *cūrētur* (*Hec.* 257<sup>544</sup>),  
*cūrentur* (*Andr.* 30)  
object clauses without *ut* (2): *cūrem* (*Ad.* 138), *cūrēs* (*Eun.* 501\*\*)
    - imperfect subjunctives (3=2 MC, 1 SC): *cūrārem* (*Ad.* 772 MC), *cūrārēs*  
(*Ad.* 797\* SC, *Hec.* 230 MC)

<sup>544</sup>Here, *ut* is equivalent to *nē nōn*.

- *dīcere*: 46 present subjunctives, 20 subjunctives of other tenses
  - positive commands (4): *dīcās* (*Hec.* 79<sup>545</sup>), *dīcāt* (*Andr.* 895, *Eun.* 529, *Phorm.* 720)
  - potential/unreal statements (3): *dīcās* (*Andr.* 652, *Eun.* 356), *dīcāt* (*Andr.* 640)
  - questions (11): *dīcam* (*Ad.* 528, *Ad.* 531, *Ad.* 625\*, *Ad.* 946, *Andr.* 252, *Andr.* 384, *Andr.* 612, *Eun.* 968, *Haut.* 701, *Haut.* 937), *dīcās* (*Eun.* 460\*)
  - ambiguous between positive command and object clause (1): *dīcāt* (*Andr.* 895\*\*)
  - ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *dīcās* (*Ad.* 160)
  - subordinate *ut*-clauses (6): *dīcam* (*Andr.* 355), *dīcās* (*Ad.* 350\*\*<sup>546</sup>, *Ad.* 599), *dīcāt* (*Hec.* 558, *Hec.* 591, *Hec.* 827)
  - object clauses without *ut* (3): *dīcam* (*Andr.* 708), *dīcās* (*Eun.* 769), *dīcāt* (*Ad.* 210)
  - subordinate *nē*-clauses (4): *dīcam* (*Ad.* 375), *dīcās* (*Andr.* 205<sup>547</sup>, *Andr.* 509\*\*, *Andr.* *ae* 2)
  - indirect questions (5): *dīcam* (*Andr.* 746), *dīcās* (*Eun.* 799\*), *dīcāt* (*Andr.* 877, *Haut.* 541, *Phorm.* 444)
  - relative clauses (6): *dīcās* (*Hec.* 154), *dīcāt* (*Eun.* 15, *Eun.* 705\*\*, *Eun.* 711\*\*, *Phorm.* 12\*), *dīcant* (*Andr.* 892)
  - comparative clause (*quasi*) (1): *dīcās* (*Andr.* 502)
  - quod*-clause<sup>548</sup> (1): *dīcās* (*Eun.* 1064\*\*)
  - imperfect subjunctives (14=5 MC, 9 SC): *dīcerem* (*Ad.* 624 SC, *Ad.* 676\* MC, *Andr.* 661 SC, *Haut.* 9 MC, *Phorm.* 397 MC, *Phorm.* 592 SC), *dīcerēs* (*Eun.* 175 MC, *Phorm.* 104 SC, *Phorm.* 836 SC), *dīcerēt* (*Andr.* 138 MC, *Hec.* 550 SC, *Phorm.* 15 SC, *Phorm.* 15 SC, *Phorm.* 381 SC)
  - perfect subjunctives<sup>549</sup> (6=2 MC, 4 SC): *dīxerīs* (*Ad.* 458\* MC, *Eun.* 995 SC, *Hec.* 79 MC, *Phorm.* 637 SC), *dictum sīt* (*Eun.* 41 SC, *Haut.* 849 SC<sup>550</sup>)
  - (*dīcam*=future: *Ad.* 257, *Ad.* 646, *Ad.* 719, *Ad.* 985, *Andr.* 323, *Andr.* 375, *Andr.* 400, *Andr.* 554, *Andr.* 585, *Andr.* 594, *Andr.* 599, *Andr.* 615,

<sup>545</sup>The command contains *utī*.

<sup>546</sup>Ashmore (1908: 276) thinks that *ut* is causal and that we should read *dīcis*, not *dīcās*. Martin (1976: 158) believes that the subjunctive is correct and translates 'I grant that your argument is better'.

<sup>547</sup>*Neque* continues subordinating *nē*.

<sup>548</sup>This is a theme constituent, with *quod* meaning 'as for the fact that'.

<sup>549</sup>The forms in *Ad.* 458\* and *Hec.* 79 are prohibitive perfect subjunctives; the former is introduced by deverbalized *cauē*.

<sup>550</sup>Jenkins (1932: 41) wrongly lists this item as *Haut.* 489.

*Eun.* 371, *Eun.* 951, *Haut.* 3, *Haut.* 200, *Haut.* 340, *Haut.* 500, *Haut.* 598, *Haut.* 608, *Haut.* 864, *Haut.* 986, *Haut.* 1033, *Hec.* 113, *Hec.* 398, *Phorm.* 124, *Phorm.* 127, *Phorm.* 488, *Phorm.* 566, *Phorm.* 838, *Phorm.* 1051)

- *excutere*: 1 present subjunctive  
subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *excutiam* (*Phorm.* 586\*)
- *exstinguere*: 2 imperfect subjunctives  
imperfect subjunctives (2=2 MC): *exstinguerem* (*Ad.* 314 MC), *exstinguerent* (*Phorm.* 108 MC)
- *facere* (only active, including *malefacere*): 69 present subjunctives, 40 subjunctives of other tenses  
positive commands (6): *faciās* (*Eun.* 388\*, *Hec.* 391), *faciāt* (*Ad.* 515, *Ad.* 997, *Haut.* 464\*), *faciāmus* (*Eun.* 864)  
wishes<sup>551</sup> (2): *faciant* (*Ad.* 918, *Phorm.* 394)  
potential/unreal statement (1): *faciāt* (*Ad.* 935)  
questions (20): *faciam* (*Ad.* 625, *Ad.* 732, *Ad.* 789, *Eun.* 46, *Eun.* 966, *Haut.* 131, *Haut.* 469, *Haut.* 585, *Haut.* 692, *Haut.* 924, *Haut.* 993, *Hec.* 340, *Phorm.* 534, *Phorm.* 540), *faciās* (*Ad.* 431, *Ad.* 733\*\*, *Andr.* 143\*, *Andr.* 910, *Haut.* 317), *faciāt* (*Haut.* 333\*\*\*)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (8): *faciam* (*Andr.* 904, *Eun.* 1026, *Haut.* 79\*\*), *faciās* (*Haut.* 493, *Haut.* 721), *faciāt* (*Haut.* 552, *Phorm.* 113, *Phorm.* 785\*\*)
  - object clauses without *ut* (5): *faciam* (*Eun.* 1054, *Haut.* 846), *faciās* (*Hec.* 753, *Hec.* 767, *Phorm.* 449)
  - subordinate *nē*-clauses (9): *faciam* (*Ad.* 711, *Andr.* 212, *Hec.* 730, *Hec.* 738), *faciās* (*Andr.* 205, *Eun.* 807, *Haut.* 1049, *Phorm.* 945), *faciāt* (*Eun.* 616)
  - conditional clause (1): *faciam* (*Haut.* 136)
  - indirect questions<sup>552</sup> (14): *faciam* (*Ad.* 611, *Andr.* 383<sup>553</sup>, *Andr.* 614, *Eun.* 849, *Haut.* 336, *Haut.* 944, *Phorm.* 223\*\*), *faciās* (*Andr.* 795, *Eun.* 837\*, *Haut.* 944, *Haut.* 1008\*\*\*), *faciāt* (*Eun.* 790, *Haut.* 188, *Hec.* 666)
  - relative clauses (3): *faciam* (*Phorm.* 565<sup>554</sup>), *faciās* (*Eun.* 802, *Haut.* 806)
  - imperfect subjunctives (27=10 MC, 17 SC): *facerem* (*Ad.* 869 SC, *Andr.* 258 SC, *Andr.* 259 MC, *Andr.* 259 SC, *Andr.* 584 MC, *Eun.* 591 MC, *Eun.* 831 MC, *Eun.* 1045 SC, *Phorm.* 733 SC, *Phorm.* 902\*\* SC), *facerēs* (*Andr.* 496\*\* SC, *Andr.* 582 SC, *Eun.* 866 SC, *Hec.* 249 SC, *Hec.* 427

<sup>551</sup>Both have *dī* as subjects and are positive.

<sup>552</sup>Some of them are deontic, for example *Phorm.* 223.

<sup>553</sup>This could also be a direct question.

<sup>554</sup>Since this is modalized, we could translate the subjunctive by using ‘would’ or ‘could’.

SC, *Phorm.* 207 MC, *Phorm.* 972 SC), *facerēt* (*Ad.* 110 SC, *Andr.* 578 MC, *Eun.* 956 SC, *Eun.* 1001 SC, *Haut.* 532 MC, *Haut.* 640 SC, *Hec.* 756 SC, *Phorm.* 121 MC), *facerēmus* (*Ad.* 107 MC), *facerent* (*Eun.* 787\*\* MC)

perfect subjunctives (8=1 MC, 7 SC): *fēcerim* (*Eun.* 303 SC, *Eun.* 862\* SC), *fēcerīs* (*Haut.* 627 SC, *Hec.* 609 SC, *Hec.* 852 SC, *Phorm.* 970 SC), *fēcerīt* (*Ad.* 84 MC<sup>555</sup>), *fēcerint* (*Hec.* 618\* SC)

pluperfect subjunctives (3=3 SC): *fēcissēt* (*Andr.* 3\* SC, *Eun.* 1013 SC, *Hec.* 220\*\* SC)

present posterior subjunctives (2=2 SC): *factūrus sim* (*Hec.* 614\* SC), *factūrus sīt* (*Ad.* 514 SC)

(*faciam*=future: *Ad.* 163, *Ad.* 252, *Ad.* 343, *Ad.* 459, *Ad.* 497, *Ad.* 848, *Ad.* 995, *Andr.* 46, *Andr.* 276, *Andr.* 384, *Andr.* 597, *Andr.* 682, *Andr.* 701, *Eun.* 174, *Eun.* 207, *Eun.* 220, *Eun.* 309, *Eun.* 362, *Eun.* 389, *Eun.* 504, *Eun.* 724, *Eun.* 769, *Eun.* 801, *Eun.* 901, *Haut.* 236, *Haut.* 262, *Haut.* 416, *Haut.* 763, *Haut.* 797, *Haut.* 871, *Haut.* 873, *Haut.* 996, *Haut.* 1012, *Haut.* 1051, *Haut.* 1054, *Haut.* 1055, *Haut.* 1059, *Hec.* 244, *Hec.* 404, *Hec.* 439, *Hec.* 447, *Hec.* 612, *Hec.* 719, *Hec.* 756, *Phorm.* 22, *Phorm.* 198, *Phorm.* 531, *Phorm.* 776, *Phorm.* 785, *Phorm.* 795, *Phorm.* 1046, *Phorm.* 1051)

(excluded: *fēcissēt* (*Phorm.* 11a<sup>556</sup>))

- *indicāre*: 1 imperfect subjunctive  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *indicārēs* (*Eun.* 1014 SC)
- *indūcere*: 3 present subjunctives, 1 perfect subjunctive  
subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): *indūcās* (*Andr.* 834, *Haut.* 1028)  
indirect question (1): *indūcās* (*Andr.* 399)  
perfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *indūxerīs* (*Eun.* 490 SC)
- *licēre*: 6 present subjunctives, 2 imperfect subjunctives  
wish<sup>557</sup> (1): *liceāt* (*Hec.* 207)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (3): *liceāt* (*Eun.* 466, *Haut.* 36, *Hec.* 11)  
limiting clauses (*modo* and *ut* ‘on condition that’) (2): *liceāt* (*Haut.* 981, *Phorm.* 165)  
imperfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): *licērēt* (*Ad.* 334 SC, *Eun.* 262 SC)
- *locāre*: 1 imperfect subjunctive  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *locārēt* (*Phorm.* 646 SC)

<sup>555</sup>The token is in an echo-question.

<sup>556</sup>The line is excluded by Lindsay.

<sup>557</sup>There is no negation.

- *negāre*: 3 present subjunctives
  - subordinate *ut*-clause (1): negēt (*Andr.* 149)
  - subordinate *quān*-clause (1): negēs (*Andr.* 405)
  - conditional clause (1): negēs (*Haut.* 632)
- *obicere*: 1 imperfect subjunctive
  - imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): obicerem (*Haut.* 186 SC)
- *occupāre*: 1 pluperfect subjunctive
  - pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): occupātus essēt (*Phorm.* 502 SC)
- *optāre*: 1 present subjunctive
  - question (1): optem (*Andr.* 962\*)
- *prohibēre*: 5 present subjunctives
  - wishes<sup>558</sup> (3): prohibeant (*Andr.* 568<sup>559</sup>, *Haut.* 1038, *Hec.* 207)
  - question (1): prohibeās (*Eun.* 808)
  - subordinate *ut*-clause (1): prohibeant (*Ad.* 275)
- *respicere*: 1 present subjunctive
  - relative clause (1): respiciāt (*Ad.* 932\*)
- *respondēre*: 12 present subjunctives
  - positive commands (2): respondeās (*Phorm.* 212<sup>560</sup>), respondeāt (*Ad.* 516)
  - questions (2): respondeam (*Eun.* 153), respondeāt (*Phorm.* 992)
  - subordinate *ut*-clause (1): respondeās (*Phorm.* 379)
  - object clause without *ut* (1): respondeāt (*Eun.* 692)
  - indirect questions (2): respondeam (*Ad.* 485), respondeāt (*Andr.* 419)
  - relative clauses (3): respondeam (*Haut.* 224), respondeāt (*Andr.* 7, *Eun.* 810)
  - temporal clause (*ubi*<sup>561</sup>) (1): respondeās (*Phorm.* 280)
- *seruāre*: 6 present subjunctives, 1 imperfect subjunctive
  - wish<sup>562</sup> (1): seruēt (*Phorm.* 807\*)
  - subordinate *ut*-clauses (3): seruem (*Andr.* 280), seruēs (*Ad.* 845, *Hec.* 786)
  - indirect questions (2): seruēs (*Ad.* 241, *Haut.* 1040)
  - imperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): seruārēt (*Haut.* 535 MC)

<sup>558</sup>All of them are positive.

<sup>559</sup>This is formally a relative clause.

<sup>560</sup>Alternatively, *ut* might depend on a verb to be understood from the context.

<sup>561</sup>There are non-temporal connotations. We can translate 'given that'.

<sup>562</sup>It is not negated.

- Verbs attested in Terence, but without relevant tokens (subjunctives, simple futures that look like present subjunctives): *adigere*, *ambīre*, *emere*, *excēdere*, *immūtāre*, *occultāre*, *parcere*, *supplicāre*
- Verbs that are not attested in Terence, but have sigmatic subjunctives in Plautus: *abiūrāre*, *celebrāre*, *dēmūtāre*, *fraudāre*, *surripere*

## H: The Form *ausim* after 100BC

This section contains all the tokens of the form *ausim* after 100BC insofar as it was in real use rather than just cited.

- **Titus Lucretius Carus (c. 94–55BC)**

Nam quamūis rērum ignōrem prīmōrdia quae sint,  
hoc tamen ex ipsīs caelī ratiōnibus *ausim*  
cōfirmāre aliisque ex rēbus reddere multīs,  
nēquāquam nōbīs diuīnitus esse creātam  
nātūram mundi. (Lucr. 2. 177–81)

Quod sī\* iam rērum ignōrem prīmōrdia quae sint,  
hoc tamen ex ipsīs caelī ratiōnibus *ausim*  
cōfirmāre aliisque ex rēbus reddere multīs,  
nēquāquam nōbīs diuīnitus esse parātam  
nātūram rērum. (Lucr. 5. 195–9)

- **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)<sup>563</sup>**

Nōn mehercule, inquit, tibi reprōmittere istuc quidem *ausim*\*. (Cic. *Brut.* 18)

Nōn *ausim* dīcere, sed tamen ueeor, nē, quā in rē laudem modestiae uēnentur, in eā ipsā rē sint impudentēs. (Rhet. *Her.* 4. 3. 5)

Item: ‘Tū istuc audēs dīcere, quī nūper aliēnae domī — nōn *ausim* dīcere, nē, cum tē digna dīcerem, mē indignum quippiam dīxisse uidear’. (Rhet. *Her.* 4. 30. 41)

<sup>563</sup>I include the *Rhētorica ad Herennium*.



• **Publius Vergilius Maro (c. 70–19BC)**

Nōn nostrum est tantās, nōn, inquam, attingere laudēs;  
quīm *ausim* hoc etiam dīcere: uix hominum est. (Verg. *catal.* 9. 55–6)

---

Dē grege nōn *ausim* quicquam dēpōnere tēcum. (Verg. *ecl.* 3. 32)

---

*Ausim* uel tenuī uītem committere sulcō. (Verg. *georg.* 2. 289)

---

• **Quintus Horatius Flaccus (c. 65–8BC)**

Neque ego illī dētrahere *ausim*  
haerentem capitī cum multā laude corōnam. (Hor. *sat.* 1. 10. 48–9)

---

• **Sextus Propertius (c. 50–10BC?)**

Nec tibi periūrō scindam dē corpore uestēs  
nec mea praeclūsās frēgerit ira forēs  
nec tibi cōnexōs irātus carpere crīnēs  
nec dūrīs *ausim* laedere pollicibus.  
Rūsticus haec aliquis tam turpia proelia quaerat,  
cuius nōn hederæ circuiere caput. (Prop. 2. 5. 21–6)

---

Incipiam captāre ferās et reddere pīnū  
cornua et audācēs ipse monēre canēs;  
non tamen ut uastōs *ausim* temptāre leōnēs  
aut celer agrestēs comminus ire suēs.  
Haec igitur mihi sit leporēs audācia mollēs  
excipere et strictō fīgere auem calamō. (Prop. 2. 19. 19–24)

---

• **Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)**

Factūrusne operae pretium sim sī ā pīrmōrdiō urbis rēs populī Rōmānī  
perscripserim nec satis sciō nec, sī sciam, dīcere *ausim*. (Liu. *pr.*, 1)

---

Certum affirmāre, quia nūlla apud uetustiorēs scriptōrēs eius reī mentiō  
est, nōn *ausim*. (Liu. 3. 23. 7)

---

Illud alterum prō mē maiōribusque meīs contendere *ausim*, Quirītēs, nisī, quae prō ūniuersā rē publicā fiant, ea plēbī tamquam aliam incolentī urbem aduersa quis putet, nihil nōs neque prīuātōs neque in magistrātibus quod incommodum plēbī esset scientēs fecisse nec ūllam factum dictumue nostrum contrā ūtilitātem uestram, etsī quaedam contrā uoluntātem fuerint, uērē referrī posse. (Liu. 6. 40. 5)

---

Quamquam dē glōriā uix dīcere *ausim*, sī nōs et hostēs haud secus quam fēminās abditōs intrā uallum omnibus contumēliīs elūdunt, et tū imperātor noster — quod aegrius patimur — exercitum tuum sine animīs, sine armīs, sine manibus iūdicās esse et, priusquam expertus nōs essēs, dē nōbīs ita dēspērāstī ut tē mancōrum ac dēbilium ducem iūdicārēs esse. (Liu. 7. 13. 6)

---

Vix equidem *ausim* affirmāre, quod quīdam auctōrēs sunt, duo mīlia et octingentōs hostium caesōs nōn plūs quīngentīs Rōmānōrum āmissīs. (Liu. 23. 16. 15)

---

Cuius egō reī nōn tam ipse *ausim*\* tantum uirum īnsimulāre quam ea suspiciō, uitiō orātiōnis an reī, haud sānē pūrgāta est. (Liu. 28. 43. 3)

---

Egō nullī omnium neque populōrum neque rēgum, quōs in magnō honōre habētis, nōn *ausim* mē comparāre. (Liu. 37. 53. 20)

---

Egō, patrēs cōscriptī, quoniam dīcere utique uolentibus uōbīs pārendum est, sī uōs eā mente ultrā Taurī iuga emōstis Antiochum, ut ipsī tenērētis eās terrās, nullōs accolās nec finitimōs habēre quam uōs mālō, nec ūllā rē aliā tūtius stabiliusque rēgnum meum futurum spērō; sed sī uōbīs dēcēdere inde atque dēducere exercitūs in animō est, nēminem digniōrem esse ex sociīs uestrīs, quī bellō ā uōbīs parta possideat quam mē dīcere *ausim*. (Liu. 37. 53. 25)

---

• **Lygdamus (born c. 43BC) (Corpus Tibullianum)**

Nec solum tibi Pierīi tribuentur honōrēs:

prō tē uel rapidās *ausim*\* maris ire per undās,

aduersīs hiberna licet tumeant freta uentīs,

prō tē uel dēnsīs sōlus supsistere turmīs

uel paruum Aetnaeae corpus committere flammae. (Tib. 3. 7. 192–6 (=Paneg. in Mess.))

---

• **Publius Ovidius Naso (c. 43BC–AD17)**

Nōn ego mendōsōs *ausim* dēfendere mōrēs  
falsaque prō uitīis arma mouēre meīs. (Ou. *am.* 2. 4. 1–2)

---

Cum dominā Libycās *ausim* perrumpere Syrtēs  
et dare nōn aequīs uēla ferenda Notīs. (Ou. *am.* 2. 16. 21–2)

---

Hoc quoque post facinus (uix *ausim* crēdere) fertur  
saepe suā lacerum repetīsse libīdine corpus. (Ou. *met.* 6. 561–2)

---

Et cūr ūlla foret mē fortior? Īre per ignēs  
et gladiōs *ausim*! (Ou. *met.* 8. 76–7)

---

Haec ego nōn *ausim*, cum sint uērissima, cuiuīs  
scrībere, dēliciās nē mala nostra uocet. (Ou. *Pont.* 1. 10. 15–16)

---

Sed neque sōlārī prūdentem stultior *ausim*  
uerbaque doctōrum nōta referre tibi,  
fīnītumque tuum, sī nōn ratiōne, dolōrem  
ipsā iam prīdem suspicor esse morā. (Ou. *Pont.* 4. 11. 11–14)

---

Et potes in uersum Tuticānī mōre uenīre,  
fiat ut ē longā syllaba prīma breuis,  
aut ut dīcātur, quae nunc correptius exit,  
et sit porrēctā longa secunda morā.  
Hīs ego sī uitīis *ausim*\* corrumpere nōmen  
rīdear et meritō pectus habēre neger. (Ou. *Pont.* 4. 12. 11–16)

---

Tē tamen in turbā nōn *ausim*, Cotta, silēre,  
Pīeridum lūmen praesidiumque forī,  
māternōs Cottās cui Messāllāsque paternōs,  
Maxime, nōbilitās ingeminata dedit. (Ou. *Pont.* 4. 16. 41–4)

---

Nōn ego Dūlichīō frūstrārī mōre sagittās  
nec raptās *ausim* tinguere in amne facēs. (Ou. *rem.* 699–700)

---

Improba pugnat hiems indignaturque, quod *ausim*  
scribere sē rigidās incutiente minās. (Ou. *trist.* 1. 11. 41–2)

---

- **Grattius Faliscus (c. AD8)**

At tibi contrā  
Callaecīs lūstrātur equīs scrūpōsa Pyrēnē,  
nōn tamen Hispānō mārtem temptāre ministrō  
*ausim*: mūricibus uix ōra tenācia ferrō  
concedunt. (Gratt. 513–17)

---

- **Gaius Plinius Secundus (c. AD23/24–79)**

Item nē quod animal pāstū maleficō decerpat frondem, fimō boum dilūtō  
spargī folia, quotiēns imber interueniat, quoniam abluātur ita uīrus medi-  
cāminis, mīra quaedam excōgitante sollertia hūmāna, quippe cum āuertī  
grandinēs carmine crēdant plērīque, cuius uerba īnserere nōn equidem  
sēriō *ausim*, quamquam ā Catōne prōditīs contrā luxāta membra iungenda  
harundinum fissūrae. (Plin. *nat.* 17. 267)

---

- **Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella (first century AD)**

Duo iūgera trēs operae commodē occābunt arborēsque, quae intererunt,  
ablaqueābunt, quamuis antiqū singulis operīs singula iūgera sarīrī et occā-  
rī uelint; quod an rēctē fieri possit, affirmāre nōn *ausim*. (Colum. 11. 2.  
82)

---

- **Aulus Persius Flaccus (c. AD34–62)**

Hīc ego centēnās *ausim* dēposcere faucēs,  
ut quantum mihi tē sinuōso in pectore fixī  
uōce traham pūrā, tōtumque hoc uerba resignent  
quod latet arcānā nōn ēnarrābile fibrā. (Pers. 5. 26–9)

---

- **Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (born c. AD35–40)<sup>564</sup>**

*Ausim* dīcere utīque in hōc genere lītis nullās esse digniōrēs quae retineant  
maritōrum hērēditātes quam eās quae uxōrēs ex raptū esse coepērunt,

---

<sup>564</sup>I include Pseudo-Quintilian.

quoniam post raptum nulla uxor est nisi beneficiō suō. (Quint. *decl.* 247. 10)

---

*Ausim* dīcere nēminem sic ex hōc ōrdine, nec ex aliō. (Quint. *decl.* 302. 5)

---

Hoc dīligentiae genus *ausim* dīcere plūs collātūrum discentibus quam omnēs omnium artēs, quae iuuant sine dubiō multum, sed lātiōre quādam comprēsiōne per omnēs quidem speciēs rērum cotīdiē paene nāscētium ire quī possunt? (Quint. *inst.* 2. 5. 14)

---

Vērū hoc quicquid est, ut nōn *ausim* dīcere carēre omnīnō arte, quia nōnnullam obseruātiōnem habet suntque ad id pertinentia et ā Graecis et ā Latinis composita praecepta, ita plānē affirmō praecipuē positum esse in nātūrā et in occasiōne. (Quint. *inst.* 6. 3. 11)

---

Ā quō dissēnsūrōs sciō quī libenter patrēs figurā laedunt: quod nōn *ausim* dīcere numquam esse faciendum — potest enim māteria incidere quae hoc exigat. (Quint. *inst.* 7. 4. 28)

---

Ergō cū lātius complectī cōnfōrmatiōnēs uerbōrum ac sentiētiarū placuerit habet quod sequatur, nec affirmāre *ausim*\* quicquam esse melius; sed haec ad prōpositi meī ratiōnem legat. (Quint. *inst.* 9. 2. 1)

---

Sī meherculēs inexpiābilēs odiōrum causae et compositis quoque fābulis ulteriōrēs inimicitiae fuissent, *ausim* dīcere, sī propter illum liberōs perdidissēs, accipiēda tamen erat ā fortūnā tālis satisfactiō, certē ad uītandam īsolēntiae opīniōnem quae ferē immeritam quoque potentiam carpit, nē uagārētur per urbem inuidiōsus mendīcus, et calamitātis auctōrī crīminis causā uulgus sē gereret odiōsum. (Ps. Quint. *decl.* 9. 18)

---

• **Gaius Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus (died c. AD92/93)**

Ei mihi, sī dūrae nātum subdūcere sortī  
mōliar\* atque meis *ausim* cōnfidere rēgnīs,  
frāter adhūc Amycī maeret nece cūnctaque dīuum  
turba fremunt quōrum nātī cecidēre cadentque. (Val. Fl. 6. 624–7)

---

• **Publius Papinius Statius** (c. AD45–96)

Ī (neque\* enim\* tantōs *ausim* reuocāre parātūs)

ī cautus, nec uāna Thetin timuisse mementō. (Stat. *Ach.* 1. 940–1)

---

Līmes mihi carminis estō

Oedipodae cōnfusa domus, quando Ītala nōndum

signa nec Arctōōs *ausim* spīrāre\* triumphōs

bisque iugō Rhēnum, bis adāctum lēgibus Histrum

et coniūrātō dēiectōs uertice Dācōs

aut dēfēnsa prius uix pūbēscētibz annīs

bella Iouis tēque, ō Latiae decus addite fāmae,

quem noua mātūrē subeuntem exōrsa parentis

aeternum sibi Rōma cupit. (Stat. *Theb.* 1. 16–24)

---

Quīn ego nōn dextrās miserīs complexibus *ausim*

dīuidere et tantī cōnsortia rumpere lētī. (Stat. *Theb.* 3. 165–6)

---

• **Publius Cornelius Tacitus** (c. AD55–after AD115)

Et augēbat miserātiōnem cōnstāns rūmor uenēnō interceptum: nōbīs nihil compertī affirmāre *ausim*. (Tac. *Agr.* 43. 2)

---

Dē comitiīs cōsulāribz, quae tum prīmum illō prīncipe ac deinceps fuere, uix quicquam firmāre *ausim*. (Tac. *ann.* 1. 81. 1)

---

*Ausim* contendere Mārcellum hunc Ĕprium, dē quō modo locūtus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim nouīs et recentioribus quam remōtīs et obliterātīs exemplīs ūtor) nōn minōris nōminis esse in extrēmīs partibus terrārum quam Capuae aut Vercellīs, ubī nātī dīcuntur. (Tac. *dial.* 8. 1)

---

Vt conqūirere fābulōsa et fictīs oblectāre legentium animōs procul grauitāte coeptī operis crēdiderim, ita uolgātīs trādītisque dēmere fidem nōn *ausim*. (Tac. *hist.* 2. 50. 2)

---

Ōrdinem agminis disiectī per īram ac tenebrās asseuērāre nōn *ausim*, quamquam aliī trādiderint quārtam Macedōnicam dextrum suōrum cornū, quīntam et quīntam decumam cum uexillīs nōnae secundaēque et uīcēnsimae Britannicārum legiōnum mediam aciem, sextādecumānōs duoetūcēnsimānōsque et prīmānōs laeuum cornū complēsse. (Tac. *hist.* 3. 22. 2)

---

- **Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (c. AD61/62–before AD114)**

Multa beneficia in multōs contulistī: *ausim* contendere nūllum tē melius, aequē bene ūnum aut alterum collocāsse. (Plin. *epist.* 4. 4. 3)

---

Vērane haec, affirmāre nōn *ausim*; interest tamen exemplī, ut uēra uideantur. (Plin. *epist.* 9. 13. 25)

---

- **Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. AD100–166)<sup>565</sup>**

Quās tū litterās tē ad mē exīstimās scrīpsisse! *Ausim* dīcere, quae mē genuit atque aluit, nihil umquam tam iūcundum tamque mellitum eam ad mē scrīpsisse. (Aur. Fronto p. 26. 8–10)

---

Valēbis mihi magister cārissime et dulcissime, quem egō, *ausim* dīcere, magis quam ipsam Rōmam dēsīderō. (Aur. Fronto p. 62. 6–7)

---

Bellicae igitur tuae laudis et adōriae multōs habēs amministrōs multaue armātōrum mīlia undique gentium accīta uictōriam tibi annūtuntur et adiuant, ēloquentiae uirtūs, *ausim* dīcere, meō ductū, Caesar, meōque auspiciō parta est. (Fronto p. 118. 20–p. 119. 1)

---

Quīn ipsum quoque certum habeō et affirmāre *ausim* eādem modestiā ūsūrum, quā Calpurnius Iūliānus meus ūsus est. (Fronto p. 168. 9–10)

---

*Ausim* dīcere honestātem quoque et probitātem inter duōs bonōs uirōs nōnihil tamen distāre. (Fronto p. 168. 19–20)

---

- **Minucius Felix (around AD200)**

Nec tamen temere (*ausim* enim interim et ipse concēdere et sīc melius errāre) maiōrēs nostrī aut opseruandīs auguriīs aut extīs cōsulendīs aut īstituendīs sacrīs aut dēlūbrīs dēdicandīs operam nāuāuerunt. (Min. Fel. 7. 1)

---

- **Aelius Festus Aphthonius/Asmonius (third century AD)**

Vnde orta prōgeniēs pedum, *ausim* dīcere, meritō crēdatur. (Ps. Mar. Victorin. *gramm.* vi. 46. 20)

---

<sup>565</sup>I include letters by Marcus Aurelius to Fronto.

---

Nec tamen omnia, quōrum īnfīnītus atque immēnsus est numerus, *ausim* prōmittere, sed quae potior auctōritās approbat uel frequēns ūsus celebrandō commendat. (Ps. Mar. Victorin. *gramm.* vi. 74. 5–7)

---

Hērōicī uersūs hexametērī cōla seu commata alia sunt, ut Graecī dīcunt, ἀρχαϊκά, alia τελικά, alia κοινά, ē quīs alia initiūs, alia clausulīs uersuum cōnexa respondent, quās portiunculās, sī necesse sit, *ausim*\* dīcere initiālēs et finālēs seu nouissimālēs, commūnēs autem, quae et initiō et finī sociātae congruunt. (Ps. Mar. Victorin. *gramm.* vi. 74. 8–12)

---

Hinc crēdō fierī ut amantibus fēlicius tum quam aliās carmen metricum pulchriusque respondeat, cum aestuantibus animī affectibus incitantur, ut ignārū artis, *ausim* dīcere, amor docēre, amor poētā facere possit. (Ps. Mar. Victorin. *gramm.* vi. 160. 3–6)

---

Nunc uērō, etiāmsī nōn omnia, quaecumque apud Graecōs possunt inuenīrī, hōc commentārīō comprehenderim (sunt enim apud lyricōs et tragicōs et cōmicōs poētās innumerābilēs metrōrum speciēs), illud tamen nōn arroganter *ausim* dīcere, id nōs hīs uolūminibus quattuor cōsecūtōs, ut, sī nouum atque incognitum auribus metrum commentum sē quispiam dūxerit, īnfitiās ire nōn possit ad haec uelut omnium generum sēmīna, quae inuestīgāta ā nōbīs et huic commentārīō trādita reperiuntur, necessārīō referri ab īsdemque, ut ita dīxerim, fontibus procul dubiō dēriuarī; praetereā utcumque sub incertā atque ambiguā speciē astū prōferuntur, prōtinus intellegāmus, quā metrōrum orīgine prōcreāta uel quā sint ratiōne studiōsa composita, quō simul et ea quae fallunt incōnexa inter sē metra magistra lēctiōnis īnstrūctiōne nōscāmus et ipsī ex nōbīs nouā īnstīgante glōriā comminācī ac prōferre possīmus. (Ps. Mar. Victorin. *gramm.* vi. 173. 19–31)

---

- **Consult(i)us Fortunatianus (fourth century AD?)**

In trānslātiōne quid opseruandum est? Vt nōn longē sūmātur; sī quandō audentius uerbum aliquod trānsferēmus, nē omnīnō praeceps abruptumque uideātur. Quem ad modum id pōnēmus? Aliquō uerēcundiōre amminiculō fulciēmus, ut īnserāmus paene aut quōdammodō aut prope dīxerim aut *ausim* dīcere et tālia. (Fortun. *rhet.* 3. 7)

---

- **Ammianus Marcellinus Antiochenus (born c. AD330)**

At nunc aliud accidit, *ausim* dīcere praeteritīs maestius, quod per fortitudinem uōbīs ingenitam adiūmenta caelestia coercēbunt. (Amm. 21. 13. 12)



---

- **Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (c. AD340–402)**

*Ausim* dicere, ūberiorē rēbus quam uerbis fuisse illius epistolae paginam. (Symm. *epist.* 2. 8. 1<sup>566</sup>)

---

- **Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (born c. AD348)**

Sum memor ipse meī satis et mea frūola nōuī,  
nōn *ausim* cōferre pedem nec spīcula tantae  
indocilis fandī coniecta lacessere linguae. (Prud. *c. Symm.* 1. 645–7)

---

Nōn cōferre deō uelut aequiperābile quicquam  
*ausim* nec dominō famulum compōnere signum,  
ex minimīs sed grande suum uoluit pater ipse  
coniectāre hominēs, quibus ardua uisere nōn est. (Prud. *ham.* 79–82)

---

- **Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (around AD400)**

Latīnōrum uerbōrum fināle ō sunt quī longum aestiment, sunt quī breue  
defīniant. Nam scribōne caedōne ō nōn minus cōsensū omnium prōduc-  
tum habet, quam amōne doceōne nūtriōne. Egō tamen de rē, quae auctōres  
magmī nōminis dubitāre fēcit, certam quidem nōn *ausim* ferre sententiam.  
(Macr. *exc. gramm.* v. 617. 7–11<sup>567</sup>)

---

*Ausim* dicere ut uilitās edūlium animōs hominum ad parandās opsōniōrum  
cōpiās incitāret et gūlae seruīre etiam quī paruīs essent facultātibus pos-  
sent. (Macr. *Sat.* 3. 17. 11)

---

Sed istam mihi necessitatem altam et prōfundam remittās uolō: quia nōn  
nostrum inter illōs tantās compōnere litēs, nec *ausim* in utramuīs partem  
tālis sententiae auctor uidērī. (Macr. *Sat.* 5. 1. 4)

---

- **Digesta Iustiniani Augusti (c. AD530–533)**

Egō autem *ausim* sententiam Proculi uerissimam dicere. (Scaeu. *dig.* 29.  
7. 14. *pr.*)

---

<sup>566</sup>This is not in Neue-Wagener iii (1897).

<sup>567</sup>These excerpts date from the ninth century *Ad*. I follow the old *TLL* norms and cite from Keil.

Quārē *ausim* dīcere, etsī pater huius puerī eiusdem sortis fuerit, cuius māter moram passa in libertāte fideīcommissa, ipseque moram passus est, suum eum patrī nāscī exemplō captiūōrum parentium, cum quibus rediit. (Vlp. *dig.* 38. 16. 1. 1)

## I: *Ausīs, ausit* etc after 100BC

In this section, I list all the sigmatic forms of *audēre* except for *ausim*.

- **Titus Lucretius Carus (c. 94–55BC)**

Quandōquidem tōtis mortālibus assimilāta  
ipsa quoque ex aliīs dēbent cōnstāre elementīs,  
inde alia ex aliīs, nusquam cōsistere ut *ausīs*. (Lucr. 2. 980–2)

---

Nōn modo enim ratiō ruat omnis, uīta quoque ipsa  
concidat extemplō, nisi crēdere sēnsibus *ausīs*  
praecipitīsque locōs uītāre et cētera quae sint  
in genere hōc fugienda, sequī contrāria quae sint. (Lucr. 4. 507–10)

---

Vt Babylōnica Chaldaeum doctrīna refūtāns  
astrologōrum artem contrā conuincere tendit,  
prōinde quasi id fierī nequeat quod pugnat uterque  
aut minus hoc illō sit cūr amplectier *ausīs*. (Lucr. 5. 727–30)

---

Et simul in multās partīs quī crēdere possīs  
mittere? An hoc *ausīs* numquam contendere factum,  
ut fierent ictūs ūnō sub tempore plūrēs? (Lucr. 6. 411–13)

- **Gaius Valerius Catullus (c. 84–54BC)**

Nīl potest sine tē Venus,  
fāma quod bona comprobet,  
commodī capere, at potest  
tē uolente. Quis huīc deō  
comparārier *ausit*?  
Nūlla quit sine tē domus

liberōs dare, nec parēns  
stirpe nītier; at potest  
tē uolente. Quis hūc deō  
comparārier *ausit*?  
Quae tuīs careat sacrīs,  
nōn queat dare praesidēs  
terra finibus: at queat  
tē uolente. Quis hūc deō  
comparārier *ausit*? (Catull. 61. 61–75)

---

Anne bonum oblīta es facinus, quō rēgium adepta\* es\*  
coniugium, quod nōn fortior *ausit*\* alis? (Catull. 66. 27–8)

---

• **Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)**

Quae sī perpetua concordia sit, quis nōn spondere *ausit* maximum hoc  
imperium inter finitimōs breuī futurum esse? (Liu. 5. 3. 10)

---

• **Publius Ouidius Naso (c. 43BC–AD17)**

Quis Cereris rītūs *ausit* uulgāre profānīs,  
magnaue Thrēiciā sacra reperta Samō? (Ou. *ars* 2. 601–2)

---

Et nihil est, quod nōn effrēnō captus amōre  
*ausit*, nec capiunt inclūsās pectore flammās. (Ou. *met.* 6. 465–6)

---

• **Grattius Faliscus (before AD8)**

Per illōs  
cantātūs Grāiīs Acragās uictaeque fragōsum  
Nēbrōdēn līquere ferae: (ō quantus in armīs  
ille meīs quoius docilēs pecuāria fētūs  
sufficient) quis Chāoniōs contendere contrā  
*ausit*, uix meritā quōs signat Achāia palmā? (Gratt. 526–31)

---

• **Pomponius Mela (around AD40)**

Intrā spatium est magis quam ut\* prōgredi quisquam *ausit* horribile et  
ideō incognitum. (Mela 1. 74)

---

• **Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus (c. AD26–101)**

Quis crēdere saluīs  
hoc *ausit* uōbīs? (Sil. 7. 450–1)

---

Nunc Hannibal ipsī  
(tam laetus bellō est) *ausit* certāre Tonantī. (Sil. 10. 53–4)

---

Approperēmus, ut hostis  
nēquīquam armātōs *ausit* succēdere mūrōs. (Sil. 10. 595–6)

---

Anxia turba patrum quassō medicāmina maestī  
imperīo circumspectant diuōsque precantur  
quī lacerīs *ausit* ductor succēdere castrīs. (Sil. 15. 7–9)

---

• **Publius Papinius Statius (c. AD45–96)**

Nōn mihi quis uātum dubiīs in cāsibus *ausit*  
fata uidere prior. (Stat. *Ach.* 1. 544–5)

---

Quāre iterum repetēns iterumque ēdicō\*: suprēmā  
nē quis ope et flammīs *ausit* iūuisse Pelasgōs. (Stat. *Theb.* 12. 100–1)

---

Nunc pār infandum miserisque incognita terrīs  
pugna subest: auferte oculōs! Apsentibus *ausint*\*  
ista deīs lateantque Iouem. (Stat. *Theb.* 11. 125–7)

---

• **Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (born c. AD348)**

Quis dixisse duōs rem maiestāte sub ūnā  
rēgnantem propriamque sibī retrōque perennem  
*ausit*\* et ūnūs nātūrae excindere uīrēs? (Prud. *ham.* 45–7)

---

Quis perfidōrum crēdere  
*ausit*\* rapācem bēluam,  
taurīs parātam congregī\*,  
cessisse plūmīs mollibus? (Prud. *perist.* 5. 413–16)

---

• **Auianus** (c. AD400)

Nam licet ipse nihil possīs\* temptāre nec *ausīs*\*  
saeuior hōc, aliōs quod facis esse malōs. (Auian. *fab.* 39. 15–16)

---

- (excluded: *ausīs* (Publil. N 8)<sup>568</sup>)

## J: Sigmatic Subjunctives of *facere* and Compounds after 100BC

• **Inscriptions**

Sāncte.

Dē decumā, uictor, tibi<sup>569</sup> Lūcius Mu<n>ius dōnum

mōribus antīqueis pro ūsūrā hoc dare sēsē:

uīsum animō sūō perfēcit, tuā pāce, rogāns tē

cōgendei, dissoluendei tu ut facilia<sup>570</sup> *faxseis*.

Perficiās, decumam ut faciat uērae ratiōnis,

prōque hōc atque alieis dōnīs dēs digna merentī. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 632, beginning of the first century BC<sup>571</sup>)

---

Sī s<ciē>ns fa<ll>ō fefellerōque tum mē liberōsq meōs Iuppiter optimus  
maximus ac dīuus Augustus cēterīq omnēs dī immortalēs expertem patriā  
incolumitāte fortūnīsque omnibus *faxint*. (*CIL* ii. 172. 13–17, c. AD37,  
Alvéga near Abrantes in Portugal)

---

Iūnō rēgīna, ast quid est <quod melius> siet p.R.<Q., perimite, utī  
ōrēmus tē matrēs familiae CX p.R>Q. nupt<ae opse>crēmusquae, utī

<sup>568</sup>Ribbeck conjectured *ausīs* for *possīs*, but has no manuscript support.

<sup>569</sup>This counts as two shorts, despite the spelling.

<sup>570</sup>Either this scans as four shorts, which would be odd, or we have to take it as a dactyl (*facilia*), which would not be very elegant either.

<sup>571</sup>The name is nowadays normally read as Munius, while the *CIL* has Mummius. Mummius had a triumph in 145BC. It seems more likely that the inscription was written by a provincial — the famous Mummius would certainly have been able to find a more skilful poet.

tū im<peri>um maiestātem<que p.R.Q. du>ellī domīque auxiliū utīque  
... rem pūblicam p.R.Q. saluam seruē<s> *faxīs* sisque uolēns propitia ...  
(*CIL* vi. 32329, Rome)

---

<H>aec facilis patet aula sāctīs. <In>grediēns fabrē factum paruīs  
<sūmpt>ibus uidēbis opus. Nam Pater <Se>cundus<sup>572</sup> operam nāuāuit.  
Sī quī ... ctu<sup>573</sup> facile putārit, <sī> potis est, meli<us> *faxit*. (RA (1908),  
4th series, vol. 12: 464. The inscription belongs to the Christian era and  
was found in Henchir Oumkif (near Khenchela, Algeria).)

---

• **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)**

Quod prōmittis dī *faxint*! (Cic. *Att.* 15. 29. 1)

---

Dī *faxint* ut faciat ea quae prōmittit! (Cic. *Att.* 16. 1. 6)

---

Dī *faxint* ut tālī generō mihi praesentī tēcum simul et cum liberīs nostrīs  
fruī liceat! (Cic. *fam.* 14. 3. 3)

---

Dī *faxint* ut meus collēga, uir fortissimus, hoc Catilinae nefarium latrō-  
cinium armātus opprimat! (Cic. *Mur.* 84)

---

V̄nus adhūc fuit post Rōmam conditam — dī immortalēs *faxint* nē sit  
alter! — cū rēs pūblica tōtam sē trāderet temporibus et malīs coācta  
domesticīs L. Sulla. (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3. 81)

---

• **Quintus Horatius Flaccus (c. 65–8BC)**

Nam male rē gestā cum uellem mittere opertō  
mē capite in flūmen, dexter stetit et ‘cauē *faxīs*  
tē quicquam indignum; pudor’ inquit ‘tē malus angit. (Hor. *sat.* 2. 3.  
37–9)

---

Nīl amplius ōrō,

Maiā nāte, nisi ut propria haec mihi mūnera *faxīs*. (Hor. *sat.* 2. 6. 4–5)

---

<sup>572</sup>This is the name of a bishop.

<sup>573</sup>We should probably read *factū*.

• **Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)**

Vbī illūxit, Scīpiō ē praetōriā nāue silentiō per praecōnem factō ‘Dīuī dīuaeque’ inquit ‘quī maria terrāsque colitis, uōs precor quaeque uti\* quae in meō imperiō gesta sunt geruntur postque gerentur, ea mihi populō plēbīque Rōmānae sociīs nōminīque Latīnō quī populī Rōmānī quīque meam sectam imperium auspiciumque terrā marī amnibusque sequuntur bene uerruncēt\*, eaque uōs omnia bene iuuētis, bonīs auctibus auxītis\*; saluōs incolumēsque uictīs perduellibus uictōrēs spoliīs decorātōs praedā onustōs triumphantēsque mēcum domōs reducēs sistātis; inimicōrum hostiumque ulciscendōrum cōpiam faxītis; quaeque populus Carthāginiēnsis in cīuitātem nostram facere mōlītus est, ea ut mihi populōque Rōmānō in cīuitātem Carthāginiēnsium exempla ēdendī facultātem dētis.’ (Liu. 29. 27. 1)

---

• **Aulus Persius Flaccus (c. AD34–62)**

Hoc iuuat? ‘Hīc’ inquis ‘uetō quisquam *faxit* olētum.’ (Pers. 1. 112)

---

• **Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus (c. AD26–101)**

Summe deum, Libycō *faxīs* dē praeside nunc hīs,  
hīs umerīs tibi opīma feram. (Sil. 15. 362–3)

---

• **Ambrosius (c. AD337–397)**

Nēmō igitur uel sōlus uel cum alterō aliquid turpe aut improbum *faxit*\*.  
(Ambros. *epist.* 36. 10 (Zelzer))

---

• **Historia Augusta (c. AD362–363)**

Quārē, commilitōnēs, egō Caesareānum nōmen, quod mihi Commodus dētulit, nōlō. Dī *faxint*, ut nē aliī quidem uelint. (Hist. Aug. *Alb.* 13. 10)

---

Dī *faxint* et bona Iūnō, quam colis, ut et ille Antōnīnī meritum effingat, et egō, quī sum pater Antōnīnī, dignus omnibus uidear. (Hist. Aug. *Diad.* 7. 7)

---

Iam egō *faxim* ut Galliēnus, sordidissimus fēminārum omnium, ducēs suī parentis intellegat. (Hist. Aug. *trig. tyr.* 12. 11)

---

- **Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (born c. AD348)**

Cōnfido in sānctō spīritū numquam tibi  
dandum, ut beātum līmen attingās pede,  
nisi forte noster factus in nostrum gregem  
mereāre sūmī, quod pater *faxit* deus. (Prud. *perist.* 10. 104–7)

---

- **Claudius Claudianus (around AD400)**

Nōn ita dī Geticī *faxint*\* Mānēsque parentum  
ut mea conuersō relegam uestīgia cursū. (Claud. 26. 528–9)

---

- **Martianus Minneus Felix Capella (around AD420)**

Tūque potissimum, quem prīncipālis ante cūnctōs prōcreāuit ēmissiō, tuae  
singulāris prīmigeniaeque nātūrae fontem, Iuppiter, recognōsce. Nec dēspi-  
cābilem uestrum omnium mātrem Mercuriāle quod habeō mē *faxit* offi-  
cium, cum prōsāpiam arcānae sortis orīginisque prīmōrdiālem uōbīs stu-  
deam comprobāre. (Mart. Cap. 7. 730)

---

- **Mamertus Claudianus (c. AD470)**

Ēn lēgistī, ērudītissime uirōrum, quod lēctitābis: tū modo *faxis*\* utī\*  
meminerīs nōn apsque cūrā tuī prōdī oportēre, quod pūblicārī iubēs.  
(Claud. Mam. *anim., pr.* p. 20. 11–13)

---

*Faxint* tamen istī quod foret libitum salūbrēsque monitūs spernant\*, haud  
impūne scīlicet, egō uērō praeelēgerim ab istīs cum Euchēriō reicī, quam  
cum istīs ā uēritāte damnārī. (Claud. Mam. *anim.* 2. 9 p. 137. 16–p.  
138. 3)

## K: The Remaining Sigmatic Subjunctives after 100BC

In this section, I list all the sigmatic subjunctives which were used after 100BC, but which were not listed in the preceding sections (H, I and J).

- **Lucius Pomponius Bononiensis (wrote c. 100–85BC)**

At tē di omnēs cum cōnsiliō, calue, *mactāssint* malō! (Pompon. *Atell.*  
137)

---



- **Marcus Terentius Varro (c. 116–27BC)**

Sed ō Petrūlle, nē meum *tāxīs* librum,  
sī tē pepugerit hic modus scaenātilis. (Varro *Men.* 304)

---

(excluded: *dēuorāssēt* (Varro *Men.* 378<sup>574</sup>))

---

- **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)**

Sēparātim nēmō *habēssit* deōs nēue nouōs nēue\* aduenās nisi pūblicē  
ascītōs. (Cic. *leg.* 2. 19)

- **Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)**

Iuppiter pater, sī est fās hunc Nūmam Pompīlium cuius egō caput teneō  
rēgem Rōmae esse, utī tū signa nōbīs certa *acclārāssīs*\* inter eōs finēs quōs  
fēcī. (Liu. 1. 18. 9)

---

Vbī illūxit, Scīpiō ē praetōriā nāue silentiō per praecōnem factō ‘Dīuī  
dīuaeque’ inquit ‘quī maria terrāsque colitis, uōs precor quaeōque utī\*  
quae in meō imperiō gesta sunt geruntur postque gerentur, ea mihī populō  
plēbīque Rōmānae sociīs nōminīque Latīnō quī populī Rōmānī quīque  
meam sectam imperium auspiciūque terrā marī amnibusque sequun-  
tur bene uerruncent (some: ueretant or uertant), eaque uōs omnia bene  
iuuētis, bonīs auctibus *auxītis*\*; saluōs incolumēsque uictīs perduellibus  
uictōrēs spoliīs decorātōs praedā onustōs triumphantēsque mēcum domōs  
reducēs sistātis; inimicōrum hostiumque ulciscendōrum cōpiam faxītis;  
quaeque populus Carthāginiēnsis in cīuitātem nostram facere mōlītus est,  
ea ut mihī populōque Rōmānō in cīuitātem Carthāginiēnsium exempla  
ēdendī facultātem dētis.’ (Liu. 29. 27. 1)

- **Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. AD100–166)**

Quod sī umquam scīssem, tum mē dī omnēs male *affixint*, sī egō uerbō  
laedere ausus fuissem quemquam amīcum tibi. (Fronto p. 37. 10–11)

- **Inscription (around AD200)**

Iūnō rēgīna, ast quid est <quod melius> siet p.R.<Q., perimite, utī  
ōrēmus tē matrēs familiae CX p.R>Q. nupt<ae opse>crēmusquae, utī  
tū im<peri>um maiestātem<que p.R.Q. du>ellī domīque *auxīs* utīque

---

<sup>574</sup>*Dēuorāssēt* has been suggested.

... rem pūblicam p.R.Q. saluam seruē<s> faxīs sīsque uolēns propitia ....  
(*CIL* vi. 32329, Rome)

---

(excluded: *ausīs* (Fronto p. 211. 11<sup>575</sup>), *exīstimāssēs* (Fronto p. 170. 14<sup>576</sup>))

## L: Citations of Sigmatic Subjunctives after 100BC

This section contains the sigmatic subjunctives that are cited in the literature after 100BC — they are not explained by the writers.

- **Marcus Terentius Varro (c. 116–27BC)**

Apud Pācūūm: ‘Dī monerint meliōra atque āmentiam āuerruncāssint tuam.’ Ab āuertendō āuerruncāre, ut deus quī in eīs rēbus praestet Āuerruncus. Itaque ab eō precārī solent, ut perīcula āuertat. (Varro *ling.* 7. 102)

---

- **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)**

Solōnis quidem sapientis ēlogium est, quō sē negat uelle suam mortem dolōre amīcōrum et lāmentīs uacāre. Volt crēdō sē esse cārum suīs; sed haud sciō an melius Ennius:

Nēmō mē dacrumīs decorēt neque fūnera flētū

*faxīt.*

Nōn cēnsēt lūgendam esse mortem quam immortālītās cōsequātur. (Cic. *Cato* 73)

---

Melior Ennī quam Solōnis ōrātiō. Hic enim noster: ‘nēmō mē lacrimīs decorēt’ inquit ‘nec fūnera flētū *faxīt!*’ At uērō ille sapiēns: ‘Mors mea nē careat lacrimīs.’ (Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 117)

---

- **Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 5/4BC–AD65)**

Et apud nōs in XII tabulīs cauētur nē quis aliēnōs frūctūs *excantāssit*\*. (Sen. *nat.* 4b. 7. 2)

---

<sup>575</sup>This line is so fragmentary that *ausīs* might also be a noun.

<sup>576</sup>This is a past ‘jussive’; *exīstimāssīs* was conjectured by Heindorf, while Friedrich suggested *exīstimārēs*.

- **Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. AD100–166)**

Estne lēge colōniae Concordiēnsium cautum, nē quis scribam *faxit* nisi eum quem decuriōnem quoque rēctē facere possit? (Fronto p. 189. 21–p. 190. 1)

---

Nam egō potius tē caruerō, tametsī amōre tuō ardeō, potius quam ‘tē ad hoc noctis natāre tantum prōfundī patiar, nē lūna occidat, nē uentus lūcernam interemat, nē quid ibī ex frīgore impliciscāre\*, nē fluctus nē uadus nē piscis aliquō *noxsit*’. (Fronto p. 47. 3–6<sup>577</sup>)

---

- **Scripta Probiana (second century AD or later)**

Similiter et Ennius in Mēdēa exule in hīs uersibus:

Iuppiter tūque adeō summe Sōl, qui omnīs rēs īnspicis,  
quīque lūmine tuō maria terram caelum continēs,  
īnspice hoc facinus: priusquam fiāt\*, *prohibēssis*\* scelus.

Iam et hic Iuppiter et Sōl prō ignī, quī mare et terram et caelum continet,  
(ut) nōn dubiē caelum prō āere dīxerit. (Prob. *Verg. ecl.* 6. 31)

---

- **Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century AD)**

Tama dicitur, cum labōre uiae sanguis in crūra dēscendit et tumōrem facit.  
Lucilius: ‘Inguen ne existāt, papulae, tama, nē boa *noxit*.’ (Fest. p. 494)

---

- **Marius Plotius Sacerdos (third century AD)**

Decaschematistī dactylicī fiunt modīs decem: sī p̄m̄us et secundus dactylī sint, cēterī spondēī, ut

saxa per et scopulōs et dēpressās conuallis ...

p̄m̄us et quīntus dactylī, cēterī spondēī, ut

dē grege nōn *ausim* quicquam dēpōnere\* tēcum ... (Sacerd. *gramm.* vi. 504. 3–5 + 10–11)

---

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

Āuerruncāre, āuertere. Lūcilius lib. XXVI:

Dī\* monerint\* meliōra! Āmentiam āuerruncāssint tuam! ...

M. Tullius dē Fīn. Bon. et Mal.:

---

<sup>577</sup>This looks like a slightly adapted citation from an Archaic Latin poet.

Dī monerint meliōra atque āmentiam *āuerruncāssint* meam! (Non. p. 104. 22 + 25–6)

---

Fortūnāre est prosperāre et omnibus bonīs augēre. ...

Āfrānius Ēmancipātō:

Dēōs ego omnīs, ut *fortūnāssint*, precōr. (Non. p. 156. 10 + 14–15)

---

Scēnātilis uel scēnāticus prō scēnicō. Varrō Modiō:

Sed, ō Petrūlle, nē meum *tāxīs* librum,

sī tē†pepigat haec modo † scēnātilis. (Non. p. 259. 14–16)

---

Taetritūdō. Accius Philoctētā:

Quod te opsecrō, ne haec aspernābilem

taetritūdō mea inculta *faxsūt*. (Non. p. 264. 32–264. 1)

---

Vānitūdō prō uānitāte. ...

Pācuuius Dūloreste:

prīmum hoc aps te ōrō, nī\* me\*<sup>578</sup> inexōrābilem

*faxīs*; nī *turpāssīs* uānitūdine aetātem tuam. (Non. p. 270. 3 + 5–7<sup>579</sup>)

---

Līmāre etiam dīcitur coniungere. ...

Caecīlius Pausīmachō:

Hoc ā tē postulō,

nē cum mēō gnātō posthāc *līmāssīs*\* caput. (Non. p. 526. 2–3 + 527. 11–13<sup>580</sup>)

---

Mactāre malō afficere significat. ...

Pompōnius Praecōne Posterīore:

At tē di omnēs cum cōnsiliō, calue, *mactāssint* malō! ...

Ennius Telephō:

qui illum dī deaeque<sup>581</sup> magnō *mactāssint* malō!

---

<sup>578</sup>This is Lachmann's conjecture, the manuscripts have *nimi*.

<sup>579</sup>Ribbeck writes *minus*. The manuscripts contain *nimis* (from *nimi*), which Lachmann corrected to *nī mē*.

<sup>580</sup>In the next quotation, it seems preferable to read *līmāssēt* rather than *Veritus sum ne amōris causā cum illā līmāssūt caput*.

<sup>581</sup>*Deae* scans as one syllable.

Āfrānius Prīuignō:

‘Ā, ā, fūlica, bene perīstī!’ — ‘Dī tē *mactāssint*\* malō!’ (Non. p. 540. 6 + 13–14 + 541. 19–22)

---

(excluded : *dēuorāssēt* (Non. p. 38. 26<sup>582</sup>))

---

• **Marius Seruius Honoratus (fourth century AD)**

‘Sulcō’ fossā: cīuitās enim, nōn domus circumdatur sulcō: ut alibī *ausim* uel tenuī uītem committere sulcō. (Seru. *Aen.* 1. 425)

---

‘Fossā’ sulcō. Et sunt ista reciproca; nam et sulcum pōnit prō fossā, ut *ausim* uel tenuī uītem committere sulcō, id est fossā. (Seru. *Aen.* 7. 157)

---

Cuius rei etiam Plautus in Amphitryōne facit mentiōnem quod utinam ille *faxit* Iuppiter, ut rāsō capite portem\* pilleum. (Seru. *Aen.* 8. 564)

---

‘Dē grege nōn *ausim* q. d. t.’ Suprā enim eum aliēna pāscere dīxit animālia, ut ‘dīc mihi Dāmoetā, cuium pecus?’ (Seru. *ecl.* 3. 32)

---

‘Sulcīs’ fossīs, ut *ausim* uel tenuī uītem committere sulcō. (Seru. *georg.* 2. 24)

---

• **Aelius Donatus (fourth century AD)**

‘Et tibi libēns bene *faxim*.’ ‘Libēns’ ad quam rem adiectum est? an εἰρωνυχῶς addidit? ‘Et tibi libēns bene *faxim*.’ ‘Et’ additum est ut ostendat hanc esse sententiam: nōn solum tē laudō, sed etiam iuuō .... ‘Et tibi libēns bene *faxim*.’ Potest hoc et sic intellegī, ‘tibi bene *faxim* et libēns’; multī enim bene, sed nōn ex animō faciunt. (Don. *Ter. Ad.* 886. 3<sup>583</sup>)

---

‘Neque pol seruandum tibi quicquam dare *ausim*.’ Tōtum garrulē et gesticulōsē, ut puellam cum adulēscēntulō fābulārī uideās. (Don. *Ter. Eun.* 903<sup>584</sup>)

---

‘Vtinam istuc ita dī *faxint*.’ Dīligentiōre officiō loquitur ut rea apud filium socrus. (Don. *Ter. Hec.* 354. 3)

---

<sup>582</sup>Vahlen suggests *dēuorāssēt*.

<sup>583</sup>In Kauer-Lindsay this is l. 887.

<sup>584</sup>This is l. 904 in Kauer-Lindsay.

• **Flavius Sospater Charisius (late fourth century AD)**

Aliās prō aliter Terentius in Andriā,

‘quid aliās mālim quam hodie istās fierī nuptiās?’

ubī Fl. Caper dē Latīnitāte ‘nōn *ausim* affirmāre aliās prō aliter dīcī. Nam neque prōnōmen est neque aduerbium temporis’. (Char. *gramm.* 253. 9–13)

---

St Naeuius in Corōllāriā,

‘st\*, tacē\*,

caue uerbum *faxīs*’. (Char. *gramm.* 314. 1–3)

---

• **Scholia codicis Veronensis in Vergilium (fifth century AD or earlier)**

(About snakes:) Etiam Persius: Veto quisquam *faxit* olētum; pingue duōs anguēs, puerī, sacer est locus. (Schol. Veron. *Aen.* 5. 95)

---

• **Iunius Philargyrius (fifth century AD)**

‘Nōn *ausim*\*’ id est Cornīficius negat contendere, quod filius familiās. (Philarg. *Verg. ecl.* 3. 32 rec. i)

---

‘Nōn *ausim*\*’ id est Cornīficius negat contendere, quod est filius familiās id est sub potestāte rēgiā. (Philarg. *Verg. ecl.* 3. 32 rec. ii)

---

• **Fabius Planciades Fulgentius Afer (late fifth century AD)**

Antidamās in mōrālībus librīs ait: ‘Fabrē compāctum animal hominem quis ferat sic ire pecuātum’ et ‘*āuerruncāssit*\* deus tam arīcīnās hominum mentēs’; fabrē dīcitur perfectē, āuerruncāre ērādīcāre, arīcīnās testeās uel argilleās, pecuātum stultum. (Fulg. *serm. ant.* 51)

---

• **Priscianus (early sixth century AD)**

Persius:

(On *olētum*:) Hoc iuuat? Hīc, inquis, uetō quisquam *faxit*\* olētum. (Prisc. *gramm.* ii. 490. 5–6)

---

Persius:

(On *inquis*:) Hoc iuuat? Hīc, inquis, uetō quisquam *faxit* olētum. (Prisc. *gramm.* ii. 496. 2–3)

---

- **Paul the Deacon (eighth century AD)**

Tāma dicitur, cum labōre uiae sanguis in crūra dēscendit et tumōrem facit. Lucrētius:<sup>585</sup> ‘Inguen ne existāt, papulae, tama, nē boa *noxīt*\*.’ (Paul. Fest. p. 495)

---

Verruncēt uertant. Pācuuius: ‘Dī monerint meliōra atque āmentiam āuerruncāssent tuam’, id est āuertissent. (Paul. Fest. p. 511<sup>586</sup>)

## M: Explanations of Sigmatic Subjunctives after 100BC

- **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)**

Lubenter etiam cōpulandō uerba iungēbant, ut sōdēs prō sī audēs, sīs prō sī uīs. Iam in ūnō *capsīs* tria uerba sunt. (Cic. *orat.* 154)

- **Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (born between AD35 and 40)**

Nam ex tribus nostrae utīque linguae nōn concesserim, quamuis *capsīs* Cicerō dicat compositum esse ex\* ‘cape\* sī\* uīs\*’. (Quint. *inst.* 1. 5. 66)

- **Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century AD)**

‘Bene *spōnsīs*, beneque uoluerīs’ in precātiōne augurālī Messālla augur ait significāre sponderīs, uoluerīs\*.<sup>587</sup> (Fest. p. 476)

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

*Adāxint*, adigant. Plautus Aululāriā:

Vtinam mē dīui *adāxint* ad suspendium! (Non. p. 105. 3–4)

---

*Perpetuāssīt*\*, sit\* perpetua\*, aeterna. Ennius Annālī lib. IX:

libertātemque, ut *perpetuāssīt*\*,

†que maximae. (Non. p. 220. 37–40)

---

*Tāxīs* prō tetigerīs. Varrō Modiō:

Sed, ō Petrūlle, nē meum *tāxīs* librum. (Non. p. 264. 6–7)

<sup>585</sup>*Sic.* This should of course be Lucilius.

<sup>586</sup>It is unclear whether Paulus the Deacon read pluperfect subjunctives here or *ī*-subjunctives.

<sup>587</sup>Should we read *uolerīs*?

---

*Āxim*, ēgerim. Pācuuius Periboeā:

Vt quae\* ēgi\*, agō uel *āxim*, uerruncent\* bene. (Non. p. 812. 27–8)

---

*Faxim*, fēcerim. Ennius Phoenīce:

Plus miser sum, sī scelestim *faxim*; quod dīcam fore. (Non. p. 816. 22–3)

---

- **Marius Seruius Honoratus (fourth century AD)**

*Ausim* ausus sim\*, audēbō. (Seru. *georg.* 2. 289)

---

- **Maximus Victorinus (fourth century AD?)**

Rūrsus assīs *faxīs* uelīs: nam īs nouissima syllaba ideō longa est, quia plūrālis numerus eam prōdūcit: dīcimus enim prōductā mediā syllabā assītis *faxītis* uelītis. (Max. Victorin. *gramm.* vi. 225. 20–2)

---

- **Scripta Probiana (fourth century AD)**

Item apud Vergilium

Dē grege nōn *ausim* quicquam dēpōnere tēcum,

et significat ‘nōn audeam’. (Prob. *inst. gramm.* iv. 186. 26–7)

---

- **Aelius Donatus (fourth century AD)**

Ōrdō: ‘caue *faxīs*.’<sup>588</sup> (Don. *Ter. Andr.* 753. 3)

---

‘Caue quōquam ex istō *excessīs* locō.’ ... *excessīs* prō ‘excēdās’, ut ‘*faxīs*\*’.  
(Don. *Ter. Andr.* 760. 1–2)

---

‘Nōn *ausim*\*’ prō ‘nōn audēbō’. Et est uerbum huius temporis tantum. ‘Nōn *ausim*’, utrum propter aetātem an potius propter frātre Phaedriam? (Don. *Ter. Eun.* 884. 1–2)

---

- **Phocas (fifth century AD)**

Dēfectīua in modīs sunt haec: quaesō, quod prīmam persōnam habet indicātīuō modō dumtaxat, licet quaesere lēctum sit apud Sallustium et Tullium: ouat, īffit; haec quoque tertiam persōnam habent sōlam; sed ouat

---

<sup>588</sup>Terence writes *sī ... faxis: cauē*. Donatus is misinterpreting the sigmatic form as a subjunctive. It belongs to the preceding conditional clause.



participium facit praesentis temporis, ouāns, cum in declīnātiōne uerbī dēficiat. Similiter *ausim* et duint. (Phoc. *gramm.* v. 436. 4–8)

---

• **Priscianus Grammaticus Caesariensis (early sixth century AD)**

In hōc uerbō etiam illud animaduertendum, quod ‘*ausim ausīs ausit*’ prō subiūctiūō ‘audeam audeās\* audeat’ inuenīmus. Virgilius in II geōrgicōn:

*Ausim* uel tenuī uītem committere sulcō.

Ouidius in VI metamorphōseōn:

Et nihil est, quod nōn inopīnō captus amōre

*ausit*, nec capiunt inclūsās pectora flammās. (Prisc. *gramm.* ii. 482. 16–22)

---

• **Eugraphius (sixth century AD)**

‘Non *ausim.*’ ... respondit ille ‘nōn audeō. (Eugraph. *Ter. Eun.* 884)

---

‘Caue *faxīs*’ ... caue faciās. (Eugraph. *Ter. Haut.* 187)

---

‘Nē quid illum plūs satis *faxit*\* pater.’ Hoc uereor, nē aliquid amplius faciat\* pater quam quod satis est. (Eugraph. *Ter. Haut.* 198)

---

‘Ita dī deaeque *faxint.*’ ... Faciant hoc quidem dī deaeque. (Eugraph. *Ter. Hec.* 102)

---

‘Nē plūs minusue *faxīs.*’<sup>589</sup> Omnia temptā, omnia experīre, nē aut plūs aut minus faciās quod post incūsēs aut cuius tē paeniteat. (Eugraph. *Ter. Phorm.* 554)

---

(On *nē* ... *appellāssīs*;) Dēnique ammonet, ut a foribus paululum concēdat et nōn iam sē hōc nōmine appellet. (Eugraph. *Ter. Phorm.* 742)

---

• **Glosses (sixth century AD and later)**

*Baesīs*\* προσέληθης (*CGL* ii. 27. 55)

---

*Noxīt*\* noxia est uel noceat (*CGL* v. 34. 1)

---

<sup>589</sup>In Kauer-Lindsay, this is in the third person.

*Ausim* audeam. Ovidius Metam.: Et nihil est quod nō inopinō captus Amōre *ausit*. (Gloss. *Verg.* (Thilo et Hagen) p. 529. 10–11)

---

*Ausim* prō ‘ausus sim’ ā uerbō ‘audeō’. (Expositio *Verg. ad georg.* 2. 289 (Thilo et Hagen) 302. 11)

---

• **Beda Venerabilis (AD673–735)**<sup>590</sup>

Item *faxīs* uelīs assīs longa sunt, quia plūralis numerus ea prōducit, cum dicimus prōductā mediā assītis uelītis *faxītis*. (Beda vii. 239. 25–7)

---

• **Paul the Deacon (eighth century AD)**

*Ausīs* audeās. (Paul. Fest. p. 25)

## N: Verbs with Regular Subjunctives in *Aul.* and *Curc.*

There are 559 regular subjunctives formed from 212 verbs. 460 subjunctives are in the present tense, 53 in the imperfect, 36 in the perfect, and 10 in the pluperfect. For the present subjunctives I have merely given the figures without writing ‘present’.

abdūcere (1 imperfect), abesse (1), abigere (1), abīre (4, 1 perfect), accersere (1), accipere (5), accubāre (1), accūsāre (2), adesse (1 imperfect), adīre (3), afferre (1 imperfect, 2 pluperfect), agere (10), alere (1), amāre (5), amittere (2, 1 perfect), apstinēre (2), apstrūdere (2), arbitrārī (1), asserere (2 imperfect, 1 pluperfect), assidēre (1), auferre (6, 1 imperfect, 4 perfect), auscultāre (2), bibere (2), cadere (1), cēlāre (1), cēnsēre (4), cōgitāre (1), colere (1), colloquī (1), comedere (1), committere (1), commōnstrāre (2, 1 imperfect), commūtāre (1), compellāre (1 imperfect), comprimere (1 perfect), concludere (1 pluperfect), condere (1), coniungere (1 perfect), cōnscribere (1), cōsignāre (1), cōsistere (1), continēre (1), conuenīre (1 perfect), coquere (1), crēdere (3, 2 imperfect), cupere (3), cūrāre (1, 1 perfect), currere (2), dare (12, 3 imperfect), dēcumbere (1), dēmōnstrāre (1), dēpōnere (1), dēsinerē (1), dēspondēre (2), dēripere (1), dēuorāre (1), dīcere (15), differre (1), dirrumpere (1), dispertīre (1 imperfect), docēre (1), dormītāre (2), dūcere (4), ēdere (2), ēdiscere (1), effodere (1 perfect), emere (2), emittere (2), emorī (1), ēnicāre (1), ēripere (2 imperfect), esse (54, 2 imperfect, 1 perfect), ēuenīre (1), excidere (1), excūsāre (1), exigere (1), expetere (1), exturbāre (1), facere (27, 4 imperfect, 1 perfect, 1 pluperfect), fatērī (1), ferre (5, 1 imperfect), fierī (7, 3 imperfect), fugere (1), gaudēre (2), gerere (4), habēre (10, 3 imperfect, 1 pluperfect), iacēre (1), ignōscere (2), incēdere (1), incomitiāre (1), incumbere (1), incursāre (1), īnspicere (1), intellegere (1),

---

<sup>590</sup>Bede is not in the *TLL*.

inuenire (4, 1 perfect), ire (4, 1 imperfect), irridere (2), iubere (1), iudicare (1),  
 iuuare (1), laborare (1), liberare (1), licere (2, 1 imperfect), locare (2), loqui  
 (1 imperfect), lubere (4), ludere (2), malle (1, 1 imperfect), manere (2), memi-  
 nisse (2 perfect), memorare (1), mentiri (1), metuere (2), mirari (1), mittere (3,  
 1 imperfect, 2 perfect), moderari (1), monere (1 perfect), morari (1), mouere  
 (1), nare (1), narrare (1), nasci (2 perfect), nequere (1), nescire (1), nouisse (3  
 perfect), nubere (1), oboedire (1 imperfect), occentare (1), occlamitare (1), oc-  
 cultare (1), offendere (1), opperiri (1), opsistere (1), opsorbere (1), opstrudere  
 (1), parere (1, 2 perfect), parcere (1 perfect), patere (1), peierare (1 perfect),  
 percipere (1), percontari (1), perdere (6), perire (1, 1 perfect, 1 pluperfect),  
 persentiscere (1), persequi (1), peruelle (1), peruenire (2 perfect), peruincere  
 (1), petere (5), pigere (1), ponere (1), poscere (5), posse (8, 1 imperfect), potare  
 (1),prehendere (1 perfect), procurare (2), prodigere (1 perfect), prohibere (1),  
 properare (2), pudere (1), purgare (1), quaerere (5), quere (1), recipere (1, 1  
 imperfect), recondere (1 imperfect), recusare (1), reddere (7), redire (1), referre  
 (1), reperire (1, 1 imperfect, 1 pluperfect), respicere (1), respondere (1), rogare  
 (2), rogare (2), sacrificare (1), scatere (1), scindere (1), scire (10, 1 imperfect),  
 scribere (1 perfect), sentire (1), sequi (1), serere (1), seruare (4, 1 imperfect),  
 seruire (2), sinere (2), sistere (2), sitire (1), solere (1), soluere (1, 1 imperfect),  
 sospitare (1), spernere (1 imperfect), subuenire (1 pluperfect), sumere (1), sup-  
 petere (1), surripere (1, 1 imperfect, 1 perfect), suspicari (1), tacere (2), tangere  
 (1 imperfect), territare (2), tolerare (1), ualere (3, 1 pluperfect), uelire (1), uelle  
 (10, 7 imperfect), uenire (8, 1 perfect), uidere (3), uisere (1), uitare (1), uiuere  
 (2, 1 imperfect), uocare (2), uorsari (1), uortere (8), uti (2)

# Appendix 8: The Sigmatic Forms of Unclear Mood

All the words which are textually problematic and which are relevant for understanding how the sigmatic forms function are marked with asterisks.

## A: Archaic Latin

- **Quintus Ennius** (c. 239–169BC)

Rāstrōs dentefabrēs *capsit* causā poliendī  
agrī. (Enn. *ann.* 319–20)

---

- **Marcus Pacuuius** (c. 220–130BC)

Topper tēcum, sīst\* potestās, *faxsit*: sīn mēcum uelīt (Pacuu. *trag.* 424)

## B: Citations in Grammarians

- **Sextus Pompeius Festus** (late second century AD)

(On *topper* meaning *fortasse*:) Pācuuius: ‘Topper tēcum sīt potestās  
*faxsit*, sī mēcum uelīt.’ (Fest. p. 482)

---

- **Nonius Marcellus** (early fourth century AD)

(On *politiō* and *polīre*:) Īdem (=Ennius) Annālī lib. IX:  
Rāstrōs dentefabrēs *capsit* causā poliendī  
agrī. (Non. p. 92. 22–4)

## C: Explanations in Grammarians and Glosses

- **Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century AD)**

*Occentāssint* antīquī dīcēbant quod nunc conuīcium fēcerint\* dīcimus, quod id clārē et cum quōdam canōre fit, ut procul exaudīri possit. (Fest. p. 190)

---

*Propriāssit* proprium fēcerit. (Fest. p. 254)

---

*Surempsit* ... puerum sustulerit\*. (Fest. p. 382+384)

---

<*Serpsit*>*t* antīquī prō serpsit <ūsī sunt.> (Fest. p. 472<sup>591</sup>)

---

‘Serpula *serpsit*’, ait īdem Messālla, serpens irrēpsit. (Fest. p. 476)

- **Glosses (sixth century AD and later)**

*Āuerruncāssit*\* āuellerit uel āuerterit (*CGL* v. 49. 2)

---

*Dēlāssit* dēlēberit inquināuerit\* (*CGL* v. 61. 9)

---

*Dērupsit*\* dispersit (*CGL* v. 61. 23)

- **Paul the Deacon (eighth century AD)**

*Āxit* autem dīxisse antīquōs prō ēgerit, manifestum est. (Paul. Fest. p. 3)

---

*Adāxint*\*: adēgerint. (Paul. Fest. p. 25)

---

*Capsit* prēnderit. (Paul. Fest. p. 50)

---

*Cēlāssis* cēlāueris. (Paul. Fest. p. 53)

---

*Dicāssit*\* dīxerit\*. (Paul. Fest. p. 66)

---

<sup>591</sup>The restoration of this passage is only possible because we have Paulus.

*Incēnsit\**, incenderit, sicut *incepsit*, incēperit. (Paul. Fest. p. 95)

---

Īnseque apud Ennium dīc. *Īnsexit* dīxerit\*. (Paul. Fest. p. 99)

---

Surēmit sūmpsit: ‘Inque manū surēmit hastam.’ *Surempsit* sustulerit. (Paul. Fest. p. 383)

---

*Serpsit* antiqū prō serpsit ūsī sunt. (Paul. Fest. p. 473)

---

Serpula *serpsit*\*<sup>592</sup> cum legitur apud Messāllam, significat serpens irrēpserit. (Paul. Fest. p. 477)

---

(excluded: *astāsint* steterint (Paul. Fest. p. 24<sup>593</sup>), *uallēsīt\** perierit (Paul. Fest. p. 519))

---

<sup>592</sup>Lindsay prints *serpsit*, but cf. the corresponding passage in Festus.

<sup>593</sup>This is Scaliger's correction for †*Astāsēnt* statuērunt.

# Appendix 9: The Rhotacized Forms

In this appendix, I list all the extra-paradigmatic forms that have undergone rhotacism.<sup>594</sup> The structure is as follows:

A: The indicatives of *(ad-)iuuāre*

B: The subjunctives of *(ad-)iuuāre*

C: The indicatives of *monēre*

D: The subjunctives of *monēre*

E: The indicatives of *sinere*

F: The subjunctives of *sinere*

G: The remaining rhotacized form

The special forms of *monēre* are different enough from the regular future perfects and perfect subjunctives to be readily recognized, so I have not listed any of the regular forms. This cannot be said of the special forms of *(ad-)iuuāre* and *sinere*; therefore, I also present all the regular future perfects and perfect subjunctives. I have marked as bold all the forms that scan differently from the regular ones, and also those subjunctives that have non-past meaning, whether they are regular or not.

All words which are textually problematic and which are relevant for understanding how the rhotacized forms function are marked with asterisks.

## A: The Relevant Indicatives of *(ad-)iuuāre*

- **Quintus Ennius (c. 239–169BC)**

Ō Tite, sī quid ego **adiūerō\*** cūramue leuāssō\*

---

<sup>594</sup>The appendix is based on my own reading and on a search of forms with the BTL-2; I have not taken any inscriptions into account.

quae nunc tē coquit et uersāt in pectore fixa,  
ecquid erit praemī? (Enn. *ann.* 335–7)

---

• **Publius Terentius Afer** (c. 185–159BC)

Aut cōnsōlando aut cōnsilio aut rē *iūuerō*. (*Haut.* 86)

---

• **Marcus Tullius Cicero** (c. 106–43BC)

‘Ō Tite, sī quid ego **adiūerō** cūramue leuāssō  
quae nunc tē coquit et uersāt in pectore fixa,  
ecquid erit praemī?’ (Cic. *Cato* 1)

---

Quā rē omnibus dē rēbus fac ut quam primum sciam. ‘Aut cōnsōlando  
aut cōnsilio aut rē *iūuerō*\*.’<sup>595</sup> (Cic. *fam.* 7. 10. 4)

---

Sī nōs mediocris modo fortūna rē pūblica *adiūuerit*, et audāciae perditōrum  
et nostrae sollicitūdinis hīc finem reperiēmus. (Cic. *fam.* 10. 15. 4<sup>596</sup>)

---

Quod sī, quantam dēbeō, habuerō apud eum auctōritātem, plūrimum ip-  
sum *adiūuerō*\*. (Cic. *fam.* 10. 24. 7<sup>597</sup>)

---

Grātissimum igitur mihi fēceris sī hūc commendātiōnī meae tantum tribu-  
eris quantum cū tribuistī plūrimum, id est, sī T. Mānlium quam maximē,  
quibuscumque rēbus honestē ac prō tuā dignitāte poteris, *iūueris* atque  
ōrnāueris. (Cic. *fam.* 13. 22. 2)

---

Quā rē pergrātum mihi fēceris sī eum in amīcitiam tuam recēperis atque  
eum, quod sine molestiā tuā fiat, sī quā in rē opus eī fuerit, *iūueris*. (Cic.  
*fam.* 13. 23. 2)

---

Hōc in genere sī eum *adiūueris* eō studiō quō ostendistī, apud ipsum  
praeclārissimē posueris, sed mihi etiam grātissimum fēceris. (Cic. *fam.*  
13. 64. 2)

---

<sup>595</sup>This is a citation of Terence, cf. above.

<sup>596</sup>This is in a letter written to Cicero by Plancus.

<sup>597</sup>Again, this is in a letter written to Cicero by Plancus.



Fēceris igitur mihi grātissimum sī eī dēclārāris quantī mē faciās, id est sī recēperis eum in fidem tuam et, quibuscumque rēbus honestē ac sine molestiā tuā poteris, *adiūueris*. (Cic. *fam.* 13. 67. 2)

---

Postrēmō negātis pācem fierī posse, nisi aut ēmiserō Brūtum aut frūmentō *iūuerō*. (Cic. *Phil.* 13. 34)

---

Sī mē rēctis sēnsibus euntem dī immortalēs, ut spērō, *adiūuerint\**, uīam libenter. (Cic. *Phil.* 13. 45)

---

• **Quintus Horatius Flaccus (c. 65–8BC)**

Opīma quod sī praeda curuō litore  
porrēcta mergōs *iūueris\**,  
libīdinōsus immolābitur caper  
et agna Tempestātibus. (Hor. *epod.* 10. 21–4)

---

Nam quamuis memori referās mihi pectore cūncta,  
nōn tamen interpres tantundem *iūueris*. Adde  
uultum habitumque hominis. (Hor. *sat.* 2. 4. 90–2)

---

• **Publius Ovidius Naso (c. 43BC–AD17)**

Quamlibet exiguā sī nōs ea *iūuerit* aurā,  
obruta dē mediīs cumba resurget aquīs. (Ov. *Pont.* 4. 8. 27–8)

---

• **Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 5/4BC–AD66)**

Eadem cēterōrum beneficiōrum condiciō est: nisi illa *adiūueris*, perdēs.  
(Sen. *benef.* 2. 11. 5)

---

Illud quoque tē nōn minimum *adiūuerit*, sī cōgitāueris nihil prōfutūrum  
dolōrem tuum, nec illī quidem quem dēsīderās nec tibi. (Sen. *dial.* 11  
(olim 12). 2. 1)

---

Illud quoque tē nōn minimum *adiūuerit*, sī cōgitāueris nullī minus grātum  
esse dolōrem tuum quam eī cū praestārī uidētur. (Sen. *dial.* 11 (olim  
12). 5. 1)

---

Pröderit autem ille perfectus, sī cōsiliū commūnī prūdentīā *iūuerit*.  
(Sen. *epist.* 109. 15)

---

Hoc probārī nisi geōmetrae *adiūuerint* nōn potest, quī argūmentīs nihil  
dubiū relinquentibus docent sōlis illam esse effigiem nōn similem. (Sen.  
*nat.* 1. 5. 13)

---

- **Gaius (or Titus?) Petronius Arbiter (died c. AD66)**

Contentus sum, sī nōs dēscendentēs *adiūuerit* cāsus. (Petron. 102. 2)

---

- **Gaius Plinius Secundus (c. AD23/24–79)**

Nunc circā aegritūdinēs sermō dē uīnīs erit. Salūberrimum liberālīter  
genitīs Campāniae quodcumque tenuissimum, uulgō uērō quod quemque  
maximē *iūuerit* ualidum. (Plin. *nat.* 23. 45)

---

- **Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. AD100–166)**

Quārē suādēō uōbīs patrōnōs creāre et dēcrēta in eam rem mittere ad eōs  
quī nunc forī prīncipem locum occupant: Aufīdium Victōrīnum, quem in  
numerō mūnicipum habēbitis\*, sī dī cōsilia mea *iūuerint*. (Fronto p. 199.  
8–10)

---

Historia cōsiliō et diligenter scrīpta nōnnihil studiū et rūmōris auctūra sit,  
sicut ignem quamuīs magnum uel leuis aura sī afflāuerit *adiūuerit*. (Fronto  
p. 202. 10–12)

---

- **Ammianus Marcellinus (born c. AD330)**

Grātīānum hunc meum adultum, quem diū uersatum inter liberōs uestrōs  
commūne diligitis pignus, undique mūniendae tranquillitātis pūblicaē causā  
in augustum sūmere commilitium parō, sī propitia caelestis nūminis ue-  
straeque maiestātis uoluntās parentis amōrem *iūuerit* praeuēntem, nōn  
rigidō cultū ab incūnābulis ipsis ut nōs educatum nec tolerantīā rerum  
coalitum asperarum nec capācem adhūc Mārtīi pulueris, ut uidētis, sed  
familiae suae laudibus maiōrumque factis praestantibus concinentem, par-  
cius inuidiae metū dīcitur, prōtinus surrectūrum. (Amm. 27. 6. 8)

---

• **Marius Seruius Honoratus (fourth century AD)**

Sunt item aliquanta uerba, quae primās syllabās temporum ratiōne permūtant, quae sup̄ter collēcta in omnī praeteritō perfectō uel in omnī praeteritō plūsquamperfectō uel in ūnō futūrō modī tantum coniūctiū prōdūcuntur, in cēterīs autem modīs et temporibus breuiantur, ut sunt haec, lēgō lēgī lēgeram lēgerō, ... iūuō iūuī iūueram iūuerō, ... sīnō sīuī\* sīueram\* sīuerō\*.  
(Seru. *gramm.* iv. 450. 22–451. 2)

---

• **Aelius Donatus (fourth century AD)<sup>598</sup>**

Īrōnīa est tropus per contrārium quod cōnātur ostendēs, ut:

‘ēgregiam uērō laudem et spolia ampla refertis

tūque puerque tuus’

et cētera. Hanc nisī grauitās prōnūntiātiōnis *adiūuerit*, cōnfitērī uidēbitur quod negāre contendit. (Don. *gramm.* iv. 401. 30–402. 3)

---

• **Diomedes (late fourth century AD)**

Item:

‘Mē duce Dardanius Spartam expugnāuit adulter?’

Hanc (sc. sententiam) nisī grauitās prōnūntiātiōnis *adiūuerit*, cōnfitērī uidēbitur quod negāre contendit. (Diom. *gramm.* i. 462. 11–14)

---

• **Beda Venerabilis (c. AD673–735)<sup>599</sup>**

Sunt item aliquanta uerba quae primās syllabās temporum ratiōne permūtant, quae sup̄ter collēcta in omnī praeteritō perfectō uel in omnī praeteritō plūsquamperfectō uel in ūnō futūrō modī tantum coniūctiū prōdūcuntur, in cēterīs autem modīs et temporibus breuiantur, ut sunt haec, lēgō lēgī cum lēgerō, ... iūuō iūuī cum iūuerō, ... sīnō sīuī\* cum sīuerō .... (Beda vii. 235. 10–19)

---

Īrōnīa est tropus per contrārium quod cōnātur ostendēs, ut: Clāmāte uōce maiōre; deus est enim Beel et forsitan loquitur, aut in diuersōriō est aut dormit, ut excitetur. Hanc enim nisī grauitās prōnūntiātiōnis *adiūuerit*, cōnfitērī uidēbitur\* quod negāre contendit. (Beda Halm 615. 36–9)

---

<sup>598</sup>I use the old citation norms (according to Keil iv).

<sup>599</sup>Since Bede is not in the *TLL*, I cite the passages by giving the editors, pages, and lines.

- **Iulianus Toletanus (end of the seventh century AD)**

Īrōnīa est tropus per contrāria quod cōnātur ostendēs, ut:

‘Ēgregiam uērō laudem et spolia ampla refertis

tūque puerque tuus’,

et cētera.

Hanc enim nisi grauitās prōnūntiātiōnis *adiūuerit*, cōnfitērī uidēbitur quod negāre contendit. (Iul. Tol. p. 216. 347–50 (Maestre Yenes))

- **Remigius Autissiodorensis (c. AD841–908)<sup>600</sup>**

‘Ēgregiam uērō laudem’ i.(=id est) nōn ēgregiam, ‘et spolia ampla refertis’ i. nōn ampla, utpote dē ūnā fēminā. Hanc s. (=scilicet) īrōnīam; nisi grauitās prōnūntiātiōnis *adiūuerit* i. subleuāuerit; quod negāre contendit i. uult. (Rem. Aut. *gramm. suppl.* 272. 23–6)

## B: The Relevant Subjunctives of (*ad-*)*iuuāre*

- **Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 254–184BC)**

Melius anno hōc mihī nōn fuit domī

nec quod ūna ēsca mē *iūuerit* magis. (*Most.* 690–1)

Nunc Venerem hanc uenerēmur bonam, ut nōs lepide **adiūerit** hodiē.  
(*Rud.* 305)

- **Publius Terentius Afer (c. 185–159BC)**

Itane hunc patiēmur, Geta,

ferī miserum, quī mē dūdum ut dīxti **adiūerit** cōmiter?  
(*Phorm.* 536–7)

- **Lucius Accius (c. 170–85BC)<sup>601</sup>**

quī rem pūblicam animō certo *adiūuerit*

statuerit, steterit cum Achīuīs (Acc. *trag.* 357–8)

<sup>600</sup>As this author is not in the *TLL*, I give the page numbers and the lines in Keil.

<sup>601</sup>I cite the text from Dangel’s edition, but, following the *TLL*, I use Ribbeck’s numbers.

• **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)**

Intercessōrem dictatūrae sī *iūuerit* manū et praesidiō suō, Pompeium metuit inimicum; sī nōn *iūuerit*, timet nē per uim perferatur. (Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 3. 6. 6)

---

Quae est ista societās, quae amicitia, quod foedus, ut aut nostra ciuitās careat in suis periculis Massiliēnsi prōpugnātore, careat Gādītānō, careat Sāguntinō, aut siquis ex hīs populis sit exortus, quī nostrōs ducēs auxiliō labōris, commeātūs periculō suō *iūuerit*, quī cum hoste nostrō comminus in aciē saepe pugnārit\*, quī sē saepe tēlis hostium, quī dīmicationī capitis, quī mortī obiēcerit, nullā condicione huius ciuitātis praemiis affici possit? (Cic. *Balb.* 23)

---

Quaerō igitur quid *adiūuerit* orātorem in hīs causis iuris scientia, cum hic iuris cōsultus superior fuerit\* discessurus, quī esset nōn suō artificiō, sed aliēnō, hoc est nōn iuris scientiā, sed ēloquentiā sustentatus. (Cic. *de orat.* 1. 239)

---

Velim igitur, mī Brūte, tibi persuādeās nihil maiore studiō ā tē petere, nihil tē mihi grātius facere posse quam sī omnibus tuis opibus, omnī studiō Lāmiam in petitiōne *iūueris*.<sup>602</sup> (Cic. *fam.* 11. 17. 2)

---

Ita nōn idem erunt necessitudinum gradūs quī temporum, suntque officia, quae aliis magis quam aliis dēbeantur, ut uicinum citius *adiūueris* in fructibus percipiendīs quam aut frātre aut familiārem, at, sī lis in iudiciō sit, propinquum potius et amicum quam uicinum dēfenderis. (Cic. *off.* 1. 59)

---

Et Themistoclē quidem nihil dixerit, in quō ipse Arēopagum *adiūuerit*, at ille uerē ā sē adiutum Themistoclem. (Cic. *off.* 1. 75)

---

Rēgem Dēiotarum patrem et rēgem Dēiotarum filium, sī, ut multis bellis saepe numerō imperium populī Rōmānī *iūuerint*, item C. Cassium prō cōsule cōpiis suis opibusque iūuissent, senātūi populōque Rōmānō grātum esse factūrōs. (Cic. *Phil.* 11. 31)

---

Planciō quod mē uel uī pulsum uel ratiōne cēdentem recēperit *iūuerit* custodierit, hīs et senātūi populōque Rōmānō ut habērent quem redūcerent cōseruārit, honōrī hanc fidem misericordiam uirtūtem fuisse mīrāris? (Cic. *Planc.* 26)

---

<sup>602</sup>This might also be an indicative.

---

Sed quō sīs Āfricāne alacrior ad tūtandam rem pūblicam, sīc habētō: omnibus quī patriam cōseruāuerint, *adiūuerint*, auxerint, certum esse in caelō dēfīnītum locum, ubī beātī aeuō sempiternō fruantur. (Cic. *rep.* 6. 13)

---

Summī enim poētae ingenium nōn solum arte suā, sed etiam dolōre exprimēbat. Quā enim uī:

‘quī rem pūblicam certo animo *adiūuerit*,  
statuerit, steterit cum Achīuīs —’

uōbiscum mē stetisse dicēbat, uestrōs ordinēs dēmōstrābat! (Cic. *Sest.* 120)

---

Attendite quaesō iūdicēs quantō opere istius āmentiae fortūna ipsa aduersāta sit, et simul uidēte quī Sthenī causam cāsus *adiūuerit*. (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 2. 98)

---

• **Gaius Valerius Catullus (c. 84–54BC)**

Bona tē Venus

**iūuerit\***, quoniam palam

quod cupis cupis, et bonum

nōn apscendis amōrem. (Catull. 61. 195–8)

---

Nōn, ita mē diuī, uēra gemunt, **iūuerint**. (Catull. 66. 18)

---

Nōn possum reticēre, deae, quā\* me Allius in rē

*iūuerit\** aut quantīs *iūuerit\** officiīs,

nē fugiēns saeculis obliuiscētibz aetās

illius hōc caecā nocte tegat studium. (Catull. 68. 41–4)

---

• **Publius Vergilius Maro (c. 70–19BC)**

Sī sine pāce tua atque inuītō nūmine Trōes

Ītaliā petiēre, luanz peccāta neque illōs

**iūueris**<sup>603</sup> auxiliō; sīn tot respōnsa secūtī

---

<sup>603</sup>This is a subjunctive, despite the short *-i-*. *-i-* occurs by analogy to the subjunctive *iūuerit*; before final *-t*, vowels are shortened. For the subjunctive cf. Seru. *Aen.* 10. 33 below.

quae superī m̄nēsque dabant, cūr nunc tua quisquam  
uertere iussa potest aut cūr noua condere fāta? (Verg. *Aen.* 10. 31–5)

---

• **Quintus Horatius Flaccus (c. 65–8BC)**

Nōn mē Lucrīna **iūuerint**<sup>604</sup> conchylia  
magisue rhombus aut scarī,  
sī quōs Ēōis intonāta flūctibus  
hiems ad hoc uertat mare,  
nōn Āfra auis dēscendat in uentrem meum,  
nōn attagēn Iōnicus  
iūcundior quam lēcta dē pinguissimīs  
olīua rāmīs arborum  
aut herba lapathī prāta amantis et grauī  
maluae salūbrēs corporī  
uel agna fēstīs caesa Terminālibus  
uel haedus ēreptus lupō. (Hor. *epod.* 2. 49–60)

---

• **Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)**

Hāc cōmitāte Mārcellī ferōcis iuuenis animus adeō est mollītus ut nēmō  
inde sociōrum rem Rōmānam fortius ac fidēlius *iūuerit*. (Liu. 23. 16. 1)

---

Cupere sē illī populōque Rōmānō operam nāuāre ita ut nēmō ūnus exter-  
nus magis ēnīxē *adiūuerit* rem Rōmānam. (Liu. 28. 35. 9)

---

Cēterum cum longē maximus omnium aetātis suae rēgum hic fuerit plūri-  
mumque rem Rōmānam *iūuerit*, operae pretium uidētur excēdere paulum  
ad ēnarrandum quam uariā fortunā ūsus sit in āmittendō reciprandōque  
paternō rēgnō. (Liu. 29. 29. 5)

---

Dē hīs rēbus interrogātī Macedonēs cum perplexē respondērent, nēquāquam  
ipsī mītē respōnsum tulērunt: bellum quaerere rēgem et sī pergat prope-  
diem inuentūrum; dupliciter ab eō foedus uiolātum et quod sociīs populī  
Rōmānī iniūriās fēcerit ac bellō armisque laccessiuerit, et quod hostēs aux-  
iliīs et pecūniā *iūuerit*. (Liu. 30. 42. 7–8)

---

<sup>604</sup>This is a potential subjunctive.

Rhodiī et in hōc et in omnibus bellīs, quae in illā orā gessistis, quam fortī fidēlique uōs operā *adiūuerimus*, uestrō iūdicio relinquimus. (Liu. 37. 54. 28)

---

• **Sextus Propertius (c. 50–10BC)**

Et quās Euphrātēs et quās mihi mīsit Orontēs,  
mē **iuuerint**\*.<sup>605</sup> nōlim fūrta pudīca torī. (Prop. 2. 23. 21–2)

---

• **Publius Ovidius Naso (c. 43BC–AD17)**

Sī roget\* haec aliquis cūr sint narrāta Pedōnī,  
quidue loquī certīs *iūuerit* ista modīs,  
dētinuī, dicam, cūrās tempusque fefellī! (Ou. *Pont.* 4. 10. 65–7)

---

• **Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella (around AD40)**

Nōn enim nātūra, quod uult, satis efficit\*, nisi eam labōre cum studiō  
*iūuerīs*\*. (Colum. 4. 28)

---

• **Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. AD50)**

Cēterum tanta uīs medicāmentī fuit, ut, quae secūta sunt, crīmīnātiōnem  
Parmeniōnis *adiūuerint*: interclūsus spīritus artē meābat. (Curt. 3. 6. 14)

---

• **Publius Papinius Statius (c. AD45–96)**

Aut cum mē dape *iūuerīs* opīmā  
exspectēs similēs et ipse cēnās? (Stat. *silu.* 4. 9. 51–2)

---

• **Publius Cornelius Tacitus (c. AD55–after 115)**

Vt prō uirīlī portiōne armīs ac manū uictōriam *iūuerit*, ratiōne et cōsiliō,  
propriīs ducis artibus, prōfutūrum. (Tac. *hist.* 3. 20. 2)

---

• **Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (c. AD69–140)**

Nec Plīnī opīniōnem īscriptiō arae quicquam **adiūuerit**,<sup>606</sup> cum Agrippīna  
bis in eā regiōne filiās enīxa sit, et quālisicumque partus sine ūllō sexūs

---

<sup>605</sup>This is a wish.

<sup>606</sup>This is a potential subjunctive.



discrimine puerperium uocetur, quod antiqui etiam puellas pueras, sicut et pueros puellōs dictitarent\*. (Suet. *Cal.* 8. 3)

---

- **Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. AD100–166) and Marcus Aurelius (c. AD121–180)**

Nunc, crēdō, post hoc quaeris, quid mē maximē *iūuerit*. (Aur. Fronto p. 10. 12–13)

---

Quantō opere autem eum *iūuerit*\*, nihil mē oportet persequi, quom tū et illius summam beniuolentiam et tuarum litterarum egregiam elegantiam nōris. (Fronto p. 26. 20–2)

---

In quantum mē *iūuerit* lectiō orationum istarum Gracchi, nōn opus est mē dicere, quom tū sciās optimē, quī mē ut eās legerem doctissimō iudiciō ac benignissimō animō tuō hortatus es. (Aur. Fronto p. 51. 2–4)

---

- **Apuleius (born c. AD123)**

Holitōri et caupōni meritō est concessum holus et unum ex nobilitate soli commendare, unum Thāsium, holus Phlāsium; quippe illa terrae alumna multum ad meliorem saporem *iūuerit* et regio fecunda et caelum pluuium et uentus clemens et sol apricus et solum succidum. (Apul. *apol.* 24. 4)

---

- **Historia Augusta (c. AD362–363)**

Militēs expeditionis tempore sic disposuit, ut in mansiōnibus annōnās acciperent nec portarent cibaria decem et septem, ut solent, diērum nisi in barbaricō, quamuis et illi mūlis eōsdem atque camēlis *adiūuerit* dicens militēs sē magis seruāre quam sē ipsum, quod salūs pūblica in hīs esset. (Hist. Aug. *Alex.* 47. 1)

---

In Nilō autem tam multa fecit, ut uectigal frumentarium sōlus *adiūuerit*. (Hist. Aug. *Prob.* 9. 3)

---

- **Marius Seruius Honoratus (fourth century AD)**

‘Struxi manibus’ quasi sceleris contaminata, et quasi ipsa interitum sorōris *adiūuerit*\*. (Seru. *Aen.* 4. 680)

---

Et licet eum Iuppiter *iūuerit*, Apollō tamen sibi suum officium uindicat, quod dicit sē concessisse, quia nōn prōhibuit. (Seru. *Aen.* 9. 651)

---

‘Neque illōs **iūueris** auxiliō’: concessiūus est iste modus secundum Probum; namque in artibus nōn inuenītur. Fit autem quotiēns taediō contentiōnis quasi uidēmur concēdere quod tamen nōlumus\* fierī: nam id agit Venus hōc locō, ut Iuppiter magis praestet auxiliū. (Seru. *Aen.* 10. 33)

---

- **Sulpicius Victor (fourth century AD?)**

Erit igitur dīuisiō in huiusmodī causīs, ut sit prōpositiō crīminis ā summō ad īmum, quibus commemoret accūsātor, quae beneficia praestiterit, quibus *iūuerit*\*, quem ad modum ꝑnōn potuerit intrāre. (Sulp. Vict. *rhet.* 55 p. 349. 31–3)

---

- **Gaius Iulius Victor (fourth century AD?)**

Assumptiua per compēnsātiōnem: ‘Tyranus trecentōs nōbilēs utī sēcum gubernātor trānsueheret imperāuit: ille omnēs naufragiō per dolum perdidit; reus est laesae rei pūblicae.’ Ab initiō ad finem: ‘an laeserit rem pūblicam trecentis perditis, an nōbilibus.’ Ā compēnsātiuā assumptiōne: ‘an, cum simul et tyrannum perdiderit, nōn modo nōn laeserit, uerum etiam *iūuerit* rem pūblicam.’ (Iul. Vict. *rhet.* p. 24. 21–6)

---

- **Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (around AD 400)**

Dīcās quaeō quae causa difficile dīgestū facit īsicium, quod ab īnsectiōne īsicium dictum āmissiōne N litterae postea quod nunc habet nōmen optinuit, cum multum in eō dīgestiōnem futūram *iūuerit* trītūra tam dīligēns, et quicquid graue erat carnis apsūmpserit, cōsummātiōnemque eius multā ex parte cōfēcerit. (Macr. *Sat.* 7. 8. 1)

---

Hīs uerbīs eius ostenditur: ‘Sed quō sis, Āfricāne, alacrior ad tūtandam rem pūblicam, sic habētō: omnibus, quī patriam cōseruārint *adiūuerint*\* auxerint, certum esse in caelō dēfīnītum locum ubī beātī aeuō sempiternō fruuntur.’ (Macr. *somn.* 1. 4. 3–4)

---

‘Sed quō sis, Āfricāne, alacrior ad tūtandam rem pūblicam, sic habētō, omnibus, quī patriam cōseruārint *adiūuerint* auxerint, certum esse in caelō dēfīnītum locum ubī beātī aeuō sempiternō fruuntur.’ (Macr. *somn.* 1. 8. 1)

---

- **Priscianus (early sixth century AD)**

Alia uerō in -uī dīuisās praeteritum dēsinentia -uī in -itum conuertunt in supīnō paenultimā correptā: ‘domuī, domitum’, ‘cubuī, cubitum’, ‘sonuī, sonitum’, ‘tonuī, tonitum’. Horātius tamen in epōdō ‘intonāta’ prōtulit secundum analogīam prō ‘intonita’:

‘Nōn mē Lucrīna **iūuerint** conchylia  
magisue rhombus aut scarī,  
sī quōs Ēōis intonāta flūctibus  
hiemps ad hoc uertat\* mare.’ (Prisc. *gramm.* ii. 473. 10–17)

---

Illud quoque est notandum, quod Horātius pōnit in epōdō:

‘Nōn mē Lucrīna **iūuerint** conchylia  
magisue rhombus aut scarī,  
sī quōs Ēōis intonāta flūctibus  
hiemps ad hoc uertat mare.’  
‘Intonāta’ dixit, nōn ‘intonita’. (Prisc. *gramm.* ii. 570. 23–571. 1)

### C: The Relevant Indicatives of *monēre*

- **Marcus Pacuuius (c. 220–130BC)**

Dīc quid faciam: quod mē **moneris**, effectum dabō\*. (Pacuu. *trag.* 30)

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

**Moneris**, prō monueris. Pācuuius Armōrum Iūdicīō:

Dīc quid faciam. Quod mē **moneris**, effectum dā. (Non. p. 816. 24–5)

### D: The Relevant Subjunctives of *monēre*

- **Marcus Pacuuius (c. 220–130BC)**

Dī **monerint**\* meliōra atque āmentiam āuerruncāssint\* tuam! (Pacuu. *trag.* 112)

- **Gaius Lucilius (c. 180–102BC)**

Dī **monerint**\* meliōra, āmentiam āuerruncāssint tuam. (Lucil. 653)

- **Marcus Terentius Varro (c. 116–27BC)**

Apud Pācūiūm: ‘Dī **monerint** meliōra atque āmentiam āuerruncāssint tuam.’ Ab āuertendō āuerruncāre, ut deus quī in eīs rēbus praestet **Āuerruncus**. Itaque ab eō precārī solent, ut pericula āuertat. (Varro *ling.* 7. 102)

---

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

Āuerruncāre, āuertere. Lūcīlius lib. XXVI:

Dī\* **monerint**\* meliōra! Āmentiam āuerruncāssint tuam! ...

M. Tullius dē Fīn. Bon. et Mal.:

Dī **monerint** meliōra atque āmentiam āuerruncāssint meam! (Non. p. 104. 21–7)

---

**Monerīs**, prō monuerīs.

Īdem (=sc. Pācuuius) Chrṽsē:

Dī **monerint** meliōra! (Non. p. 816. 24 + 26–7)

## E: The Relevant Indicatives of *sinere*

- **Aulus Gellius (c. AD123–165)**

Item ex īsdem tabulīs id quoque est: ‘Quī sē *sierit* testārier libripēnsue fuerit, nī testimōnium fāriātur\*, improbus intestābilisque estō. (Gell. 15. 13. 11)

---

- **Ammianus Marcellinus (born c. AD330)**

Id sānē prōnūntiō, quod, sī haec mea lēgātiō redierit irrita, post tempus hiemālīs quiētis exēptum uīribus tōtīs accinctus fortunā condiōnumque aequitāte spem successūs secundī fundante uenīre, quoad ratiō *sīuerit*, festīnābō. (Amm. 17. 5. 8)

---

- **Marius Seruius Honoratus (fourth century AD)**

Sunt item aliquanta uerba, quae pīmās syllabās temporum ratiōne permūtant, quae sup̄ter collēcta in omnī praeteritō perfectō uel in omnī praeteritō plūsquamperfectō uel in ūnō futūrō modī tantum coniūctiūi prōdūcuntur, in cēterīs autem modīs et temporibus breuiantur, ut sunt haec, lēgō lēgī lēgeram lēgerō, ... iūuō iūuī iūueram iūuerō, ... sīnō sīuī\* sīueram\* *sīuerō*\*. (Seru. *gramm.* iv. 450. 22–451. 2)

---

- **Beda Venerabilis (c. AD673–735)**<sup>607</sup>

Sunt item aliquanta uerba quae primās syllabās temporum ratiōne permūtant, quae sup̄ter collēcta in omnī praeteritō perfectō uel in omnī praeteritō plūsquamperfectō uel in ūnō futūrō modī tantum coniūctiūi prōdūcuntur, in cēterīs autem modīs et temporibus breuiantur, ut sunt haec, lēgō lēgī cum lēgerō, ... iūuō iūuī cum iūuerō, ... sīnō sīuī\* cum sīuerō .... (Beda vii. 235. 10–19.)

## F: The Relevant Subjunctives of *sinere*

- **Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 254–184BC)**

Cauē sīs tē superāre seruom sīrīs faciundō bene. (*Bacch.* 402)

---

Nē dī sīrint! (*Bacch.* 468)

---

Nec me ille sīrit\* Iuppiter! (*Curc.* 27)

---

Cauē sīrīs cum filiā  
mēā cōpulāri hanc. (*Epid.* 400–1)

---

Nē\* dī sīuerint\*! (*Merc.* 323)

---

Nē dī sīrint\*! (*Merc.* 613)

---

Intus cauē muttīre quemquam sīuerīs. (*Most.* 401)

---

Deōs deāsque uenerōr qui hanc urbem colunt  
ut quod dē mēā re hūc rīte uēnerim,  
mēāsque hīc ut gnātās et mēī frātris filium  
reperīre mē sīrītīs, dī uostram fidem! (*Poen.* 950–3)

---

Per deōs atque hominēs dīcō, nē tu illunc agrum  
tūom sīrīs unquam fierī neque gnātī tuī. (*Trin.* 520–1)

---

<sup>607</sup>Bede is not in the *TLL*.

• **Marcus Porcius Cato** (c. 234–149BC)

Vicinis bonus estō: familiam nē **sīueris** peccāre. (Cato *agr.* 4)

---

Amphorās operitō, nē aqua accēdāt, et nē plūs quadriennium in sōle **sīueris**. (Cato *agr.* 113. 2)

---

Iānum Iouemque uinō praefāminō, sic dicitō: ‘Mārs pater, tē precōr quae-sōque, utī siēs uolēns propitius mihi domō familiaeque nostrae: quouis rēi ergō, agrum terram fundumque meum suouitaurilia circumagī iussī; utī tū morbōs uīsōs inuisōsque, uiduertatem uāstitūdinemque, calamitātēs in-temperiasque prohibēssis dēfendās auerruncēsque; utīque tū frūgēs, frūmen-ta, uinēta uirgultaque grandire beneque euenire *sīris*; pāstōrēs pecuaque salua seruāssis duīsque bonam salūtem ualētūdinemque mihi domō famil-iaeque nostrae. (Cato *agr.* 141. 2–3)

---

• **Cornelia** (around 150BC)

Nē ille **sīrit** Iuppiter tē ea perseuerāre, nec tibi tantam dēmentiam uenire in animum. (Nep. fr. 59 Marsh.)

---

• **Marcus Tullius Cicero** (c. 106–43BC)

Sed recordāre quī tum fuerint cōsulum nōmine hostēs, quī solī in hāc urbe senātum senātūi pārere nōn *sierint*\*, ēdictōque suō nōn lūctum patribus cōnscripētis, sed indicia lūctūs adēmerint. (Cic. *Planc.* 87<sup>608</sup>)

---

• **Gaius Valerius Catullus** (c. 84–54BC)

Tū uērō, rēgīna, tuēns cum sīdera diuam  
plācābis fēstis lūminibus Venerem,  
unguinis expertem nōn **sīris**\*<sup>609</sup> esse tuam mē,  
sed potius largīs affice mūneribus. (Catull. 66. 89–92)

---

• **Titus Liuius Patauinus** (c. 59BC–AD17)

Inde Iouem testem facit: ‘Sī egō iniūstē impiēque illōs hominēs illāsque rēs dēdier mihi exposcō, tum patriae compotem mē numquam **sīris**\* esse. (Liu. 1. 32. 7)

---

<sup>608</sup>Other manuscripts read *sīuerint*.

<sup>609</sup>The manuscript readings vary. Scaliger suggested *sīueris*, Lachmann proposed *sīris*.

Nē istuc Iuppiter optimus maximus **sīrit**\*, urbem auspicātō dīs auctōribus in aeternum conditam hūc fragilī et mortālī corporī aequālem esse. (Liu. 28. 28. 11)

---

‘Nē istuc’ inquit ‘Iuppiter optimus maximus **sīrit** Iūnōque rēgīna, cuius in tūtēlā Argī sunt, ut illa cīuitās inter tyrannum Lacedaemōnium et latrōnēs Aetōlōs praemium sit posita in eō discrīmine, ut miserius ā uōbīs recipiātur, quam ab illō capta est.’ (Liu. 34. 24. 2)

---

- **Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. AD50)**

At Meleāger, ūnus ē ducibus, cōfirmātō animō, quem Perdiccae cūctātiō ērēxerat: ‘Nec dī **sierint**,’ inquit, ‘ut Alexandrī fortūna tantīque rēgnī fastīgium in istōs humerōs ruat: hominēs certē nōn ferent. (Curt. 10. 6. 20)

---

- **Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius (c. AD400)**

Eōsque egō uicāriōs prō mē fidē magistrātūque meō prō populō Rōmānō exercitibus legiōnibusque nostrīs dō dēuoueō\*, ut mē meamque fidem imperiumque legiōnēs exercitumque nostrum quī in hīs rēbus gerundīs sunt bene saluōsque **sīrītis**\* esse.<sup>610</sup> (Macr. *Sat.* 3. 9. 11)

## G: The Remaining Rhotacized Form

- **Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century AD)**

In Seruī Tullī (sc. lēgibus) haec est: ‘Sī parentem puer **uerberit**\*, ast\* olle\* plōrāssit\* parēns, puer diuīs parentum sacer estō.’ (Fest. p. 260)

---

<sup>610</sup>This is in an old *dēuōtiō*.

# Appendix 10: The Sigmatic Infinitives

Any forms that are textually problematic and relevant for understanding how the sigmatic infinitives function syntactically are marked with asterisks. S stands for senarius, C stands for canticum.

## Archaic Latin

- **Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 254–184BC)**

Sīn aliter sient animātī neque dent quae petāt,  
sēse igitur summā uī uirisque eōrum oppidum *oppugnāssere\**. (*Amph.*  
209–10 C)

---

Scīs tūte facta uelle mē quae tū uelīs,  
et īstuc cōnfido ā frātre me *impetrāssere*. (*Aul.* 686–7 S)

---

Habē modo bonum animum, nam illum cōnfidō domum  
in hīs diēbus mē *reconciliāssere*. (*Capt.* 167–8 S)

---

Atquē hoc crēdo *impetrāssere*. (*Cas.* 271 C)

---

Crēdō tē facile *impetrāssere*. (*Mil.* 1128 S)

---

Grātiam per sī petimus\*, spēro ab eō *impetrāssere*. (*Stich.* 71 C)

---



- **Marcus Pacuuius (c. 220–130BC)**

Possum\* ego ĩstam capite clādem *āuerruncāssere*. (Pacuu. *trag.* 236 S)

---

- **Gaius Lucilius (c. 180–102BC)<sup>611</sup>**

*dēpōclāssere*\* aliquā spērāns me ac *deargentāssere*,  
dēcalauticāre\*, eburnō speculō *dēspeculāssere*\* (Lucil. 682–3 C)

## Grammarians and Glosses

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

āuerruncāre, āuertere. ...

Pācuuius Mēdō:

Possum ego ĩstam capite clādem *āuerruncāssere*. (Non. p. 104. 21 + 23–4)

---

*Dēpeculāssere*\* ac *deargentāssere* et dēcalauticāre.

Lūcīlius lib. XXVI:

*Dēpeculāssere* aliquā spērāns me ac *deargentāssere*,  
dēcallauticāre, eburnō speculō *dēspeculāssere*\*. (Non. p. 137. 5–138. 8)

---

- **Placidus (fifth or sixth century AD)<sup>612</sup>**

*Abiugāssere* abiungere, abdūcere (Placid. 9. 13)

---

- **Fragmenta Bobiensia (sixth century AD?)**

*Occentāssere*, in aliōs conuīciōsa carmina dīcere. (Fr. Bob. *gramm.* vii. 544. 29)

---

- **Glosses (sixth century AD and later)**

*Abiugāssere* ἀποζεύξαι (CGL ii. 3. 41)

---

*Abiugāssere* disiungere (CGL iv. 201. 16)

---

*Caperāssere*\* *inrūgāssere*\* contrahī (CGL v. 15. 30)

<sup>611</sup>I follow the *TLL* norm and cite from Marx vol. 1.

<sup>612</sup>This is not in the *TLL*. I cite the page and line from Deuerling (1875).

---

*Caperāsse inrogāsse* contrahī (CGL v. 51. 21)

---

- (excluded: repastināssere (Afran. *com.* 288<sup>613</sup>))

---

<sup>613</sup>This is merely a conjecture. In the edition, Daviault writes *Repastinā, sere, utī senex frūgīs ....*

# Appendix 11: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives and Their Regular Counterparts

Appendix 11 contains all the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives in Latin and also their regular counterparts in Plautus and Terence. It is structured as follows:

## **Archaic Latin (until 100BC)=A–J**

A: the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives in Plautus — verbs

B: the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives in Plautus — clause types

C: the indicatives of  $\bar{i}$ -forms in Plautus

D: the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives in Terence — verbs

E: the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives in Terence — clause types

F: the remaining  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives and their corresponding indicatives

G: the regular subjunctives in Plautus — verbs with  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives

H: the remaining regular subjunctives in Plautus

I: the regular subjunctives in Terence — verbs with  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives

J: the remaining regular subjunctives in Terence

## **Latin after 100BC=K–M**

K: the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives

L: citations of  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives

M: explanations of  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives

In sections B, D, G and I, I have classified the irregular and the present subjunctives according to clause types, whereas for the other subjunctives a distinction between main and subordinate clauses was sufficient. In those sections where

the subjunctives are listed according to clause types, I have observed the following order: main clauses — clauses that are ambiguous between main and subordinate clauses — subordinate clauses. In main clauses, the order is: commands — clauses that might be commands or wishes — prohibitions — wishes — potential or unreal statements — questions. In clauses that could be main or subordinate clauses, the order is: positive commands/*ut*-clauses — prohibitions/subordinate *nē*-clauses. In subordinate clauses, the order is: *ut*-clauses — object clauses without *ut* — *nē*-clauses — *quīn*-clauses — conditional clauses — indirect questions — relative clauses — causal clauses — temporal clauses — comparative clauses — other.

In those appendices where I have only listed isolated forms one asterisk indicates that the verb form itself is marked as doubtful in the *apparātus criticus*, while two asterisks tell us that the subordinator or the superordinate verb are problematic; three asterisks mean that the verb itself and its superordinate verb and/or its subordinator are problematic. In those appendices where I cite complete sentences, I put asterisks behind all words that are problematic and might influence the interpretation of the relevant forms. Finally, I have marked all quantities, but metre does not help to distinguish between the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives and their corresponding indicatives where the tokens are in verses.

## A: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

- *addere* (1 S): addunt (*Aul.* fr. v S\*)
- *crēdere* (3 C): crēduīs (*Amph.* 672 C, *Capt.* 605 C), crēduīt (*Truc.* 307 C)
- *dare* (9 S, 5 C): duim (*Aul.* 672 S\*), duīs (*Capt.* 331 C, *Capt.* 947 C, *Men.* 267 S\*, *Rud.* 1368 C, *Vid.* 51 S, *Vid.* 52 S, *Vid.* 85 S), duīt (*Asin.* 460 C, *Aul.* 62 S), duint (*Amph.* 72 S, *Most.* 655 S, *Pseud.* 936 C\*, *Trin.* 436 S)
- *interdare* (2 C): interduim (*Rud.* 580 C\*, *Trin.* 994 C\*)
- *perdere* (8 S, 12 C): perduim (*Aul.* 672 S\*, *Poen.* 884 C\*), perduīs (*Amph.* 845 C, *Capt.* 728 S), perduīt (*Epid.* 66 C, *Poen.* 739 S), perduint (*Asin.* 467 C, *Aul.* 785 C, *Cas.* 642 C, *Curc.* 720 C, *Men.* 308 S, *Men.* 451 C, *Men.* 931–3 C\*, *Merc.* 710 S, *Merc.* 793 S, *Most.* 668 S, *Poen.* 610 C, *Poen.* 863 C, *Stich.* 595 C\*, *Truc.* 331 S)

## B: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives in Plautus — Clause Types

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

- positive command (1 S): adduint (*Aul. fr. v S\**)
- prohibitions (3 S, 5 C): crēduīs (*Capt. 605 C*), duīs (*Capt. 331 C, Capt. 947 C, Rud. 1368 C, Vid. 51 S, Vid. 52 S, Vid. 85 S*), duīt (*Asin. 460 C*)
- wishes<sup>614</sup> (8 S, 11 C): duint (*Most. 655 S*<sup>615</sup>, *Pseud. 936 C\**, *Trin. 436 S*), perduīt (*Epid. 66 C, Poen. 739 S*), perduint (*Asin. 467 C, Aul. 785 C, Cas. 642 C, Curc. 720 C, Men. 308 S, Men. 451 C, Men. 931–3 C\**, *Merc. 710 S, Merc. 793 S, Most. 668 S, Poen. 610 C, Poen. 863 C, Stich. 595 C\**, *Truc. 331 S*)
- potential/unreal statements (2 S, 2 C): duim (*Aul. 672 S\**), interduim (*Rud. 580 C\**, *Trin. 994 C\**), perduim (*Aul. 672 S\**)
- ambiguity between wishes and prohibitions (2 C): crēduīs (*Amph. 672 C*), crēduīt (*Truc. 307 C*)
- subordinate *nē*-clauses (3 S, 2 C): duīs (*Men. 267 S\**), duīt (*Aul. 62 S*), perduim (*Poen. 884 C\**), perduīs (*Amph. 845 C, Capt. 728 S*)
- conditional clause (1 S): duint (*Amph. 72 S*)

## C: The indicatives of *ī*-forms in Plautus

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

- conditional clause (1 S): concrēduō (*Aul. 585 S*)
- main clause (1 (metre unclear)): interduō (inc. fab. fr. ii)
- main clause, *u*-perfect (1 S): concrēduī (*Cas. 479 S*)

## D: The *ī*-Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs

- *dare* (5): duīt (*Phorm. 713\**), duint (*Andr. 666, Phorm. 519, Phorm. 976, Phorm. 1005*)
- *perdere* (4): perduint (*Haut. 811, Hec. 134\*, Hec. 441, Phorm. 123*)

## E: The *ī*-Subjunctives in Terence — Clause Types

- wishes<sup>616</sup> (8): duint (*Andr. 666, Phorm. 519, Phorm. 976, Phorm. 1005*), perduint (*Haut. 811, Hec. 134\*, Hec. 441, Phorm. 123*)
- subordinate *nē*-clause (1): duīt (*Phorm. 713\**)

<sup>614</sup>None of them is negated.

<sup>615</sup>This wish is formally in a relative clause.

<sup>616</sup>None of the wishes is negated.

## F: The Remaining $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives and Their Indicatives in Archaic Latin

- **Lex Regia (before 500BC)**

Sī quī hominem līberum dolō sciēns mortī *duit*, pāricidās estō. (Lex reg. ap. Paul. Fest. p. 247)

---

- **Twelve Tables (c. 450BC)**

Quī corōnam parit ipse pecūniae eius, uirtūtis suae ergō *duītor*\* eī. (Lex XII tab. ap. Plin. *nat.* 21. 7)

---

Sī pater ter filium uēnum *duit*\*, ā patre filius līber estō. (Lex XII tab. ap. Gaius *inst.* 1. 132)

---

Sī pater filium ter uēnum *duit*\*, filius ā patre līber estō. (Lex XII tab. ap. Vlp. *reg.* 10. 1)

---

- **Lex Silia (third century BC)**

Sī quis magistrātus aduersus hāc dolō malō pondera modiōsque uāsaque pūblica modica, minōra maiōraue faxit iussitue fierī dolumue *adduit* quō ea fiant, eum quis uolēt magistrātus multāre ... licētō; siue quis im sacrum iūdicāre uoluerit, licētō. (Lex Sil. ap. Fest. p. 288)

---

- **Lex Cincia de donationibus (c. 204BC)**

(There are certain exceptions to the law.)

Sī quis ā seruīs suīs quīque prō seruīs seruitūtem seruiērunt, accipit *duit*. (Lex Cincia fr. Vat. 307)

---

- **Marcus Porcius Cato (c. 234–149BC)**

Iānum Iouemque uīnō praefāminō, sīc dicitō: ‘Mārs pater, tē precōr quae-sōque, utī siēs uolēns propitiū mihī domō familiaeque nostrae: quoius rēi ergō, agrum terram fundumque meum suouitaurīlia circumagī iussī; utī tū morbōs uīsōs inuisōsque, uiduertātem uāstitūdinemque, calamitātēs in-temperiāsque prohibēssīs dēfendās āuerruncēsque; utīque tū frūgēs, frūmen-ta, uīnēta uirgultaque grandīre beneque ēuenīre sīrīs; pāstōrēs pecuaque salua seruāssīs *duīs*que bonam salūtem ualētūdinemque mihī domō famil-iaeque nostrae. (Cato *agr.* 141. 2–3)

---

- **Marcus Pacuuius (c. 220–130BC)**

Tē, Sōl, inuocō,

inquīrendi ut mēi parentis mihi potestātem *duīs*. (Pacuu. *trag.* 219–20)

---

- **Sextus Turpilius (died c. 103BC)**

Vidēn tū Phrūgīs incessum? Quam est cōfidēns! Di istunc *perduint!*  
(Turpil. *com.* 102)

---

- **Excluded:** *duere*<sup>617</sup> (Paul. Fest. p. 335), *perduō*<sup>618</sup> (Caecil. *com.* 124)

## G: The Regular Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs with $\bar{i}$ -Forms

In this section, I list the regular subjunctives in Plautus of those verbs that have  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives in Plautus and Terence. The present subjunctives are listed according to their syntactic contexts. Among the subjunctives of the other tenses the only distinction which I draw is that between main clauses (MC) and subordinate clauses (SC). Simple futures that look like present subjunctives are also listed. Future perfects that look like perfect subjunctives can be found elsewhere (appendix 6, sections G and H).

- *addere*: 6 present subjunctives, 1 imperfect subjunctive  
potential/unreal statement (1): *addam* (*Asin.* 610)  
subordinate *ut* (2): *addās* (*Men.* 526), *addantur* (*Men.* 427)  
object clause without *ut* (1): *addam* (*Merc.* 437)  
relative clause (1): *addās* (*Rud.* 1329<sup>619</sup>)  
limiting clause (*dum*, ‘on condition that’) (1): *addās* (*Stich.* 554)  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *addērēs* (*Pseud.* 287 MC)  
(*addam*=future: *Cist.* 52, *Epid.* 474, *Poen.* 385, *Truc.* 894)
- *crēdere*: 45 present subjunctives, 22 subjunctives of other tenses  
positive commands (2): *crēdāt* (*Rud.* 486), *crēdāmus* (*Persa* 243)  
potential/unreal statement (1): *crēdam* (*Curc.* 58)  
questions (5): *crēdam* (*Capt.* 556, *Curc.* 641, *Merc.* 627, *Merc.* 903, *Pseud.* 318)

---

<sup>617</sup>*Duere* seems to be a form of *luere*, cf. Paulus’ gloss as *soluere*; however, the change *-l- > -d-* is badly attested for Latin.

<sup>618</sup>This is only a conjecture by Bothe, not a manuscript reading.

<sup>619</sup>The clause has deontic modality.

ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *crēdāt* (*Persa* 270)

subordinate *ut*-clauses (8): *crēdam* (*Asin.* 494, *Poen.* 404, *Poen.* 877\*), *crēdās* (*Most.* 198, *Trin.* 107), *crēdāt* (*Bacch.* 697, *Mil.* 254), *crēdātis* (*Most.* 94)

subordinate *nē*-clauses (6): *crēdam* (*Pseud.* 633), *crēdāt* (*Bacch.* 750, *Pseud.* 506, *Pseud.* 904), *crēdant* (*Pseud.* 128, *Pseud.* 298\*\*\*)

conditional clause (1): *crēdam* (*Rud.* 1420)

indirect questions (9): *crēdam* (*Bacch.* 500, *Merc.* 252, *Mil.* 402, *Poen.* 896\*\*, *Pseud.* 176), *crēdās* (*Asin.* 842, *Bacch.* 491), *crēdāt* (*Capt.* 292, *Persa* 44<sup>620</sup>)

relative clauses (11): *crēdam* (*Amph.* 271\*\*, *Merc.* 513, *Merc.* 921, *Poen.* 276, *Pseud.* 318\*\*, *Trin.* 962<sup>621</sup>), *crēdās* (*Curc.* 481, *Merc.* 628), *crēdāt* (*Capt.* 346, *Most.* 558), *crēdātis* (*Poen.* 1264)

temporal clause (*quom*) (1): *crēdās* (*Persa* 356<sup>622</sup>)

imperfect subjunctives (16=3 MC, 13 SC): *crēderem* (*Amph.* 598 SC, *Amph.* 913 SC, *Bacch.* 283 SC, *Bacch.* 285 SC, *Curc.* 552 SC, *Persa* 241 SC, *Persa* 433 SC, *Trin.* 154 SC, *Trin.* 961 MC), *crēderēs* (*Asin.* 462 SC, *Asin.* 503 MC, *Curc.* 551 SC), *crēderēt* (*Bacch.* 644 SC, *Trin.* 115 MC, *Trin.* 954 SC, *Trin.* 1144 SC)

perfect subjunctives (5=5 SC): *crēdiderim* (*Trin.* 891 SC), *crēdiderīs* (*Persa* 435 SC, *Trin.* 621\* SC, *Trin.* 1054 SC), *crēditum sīt* (*Asin.* 572 SC)

pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *crēdita essēt* (*Mil.* 838\*\* SC)

(*crēdam*=future: *Asin.* 195, *Asin.* 463, *Asin.* 837, *Aul.* 676, *Bacch.* 922, *Cas.* 999, *Poen.* 878, *Poen.* 878, *Poen.* 889, *Poen.* 889, *Pseud.* 629, *Pseud.* 644, *Rud.* 581)

- *dare*: 150 present subjunctives, 52 subjunctives of other tenses

positive commands (18): *dēs* (*Cist.* 250, *Curc.* 436, *Curc.* 436, *Curc.* 660<sup>623</sup>, *Mil.* 1030, *Mil.* 1420, *Persa* 36, *Pseud.* 1015), *dēt* (*Curc.* 257, *Persa* 68, *Pseud.* 307, *Pseud.* 307\*, *Pseud.* 570\*, *Trin.* 776, *Truc.* 233\*), *dētur* (*Bacch.* 537), *dēmus* (*Mil.* 78\*), *dent* (*Poen.* 24)

prohibitions (3): *dēt* (*Asin.* 777, *Asin.* 778, *Poen.* 37)

wishes<sup>624</sup> (10): *dent* (*Asin.* 46, *Epid.* 6, *Mil.* 1038, *Persa* 483, *Poen.* 208, *Poen.* 667, *Poen.* 687, *Poen.* 1055, *Stich.* 469, *Trin.* 1152)

<sup>620</sup>The indirect question is introduced by *sī*.

<sup>621</sup>The relative clause is potential/unreal.

<sup>622</sup>This is an impersonal second person.

<sup>623</sup>Here and in *dēs* (*Persa* 36) and *dēt* (*Curc.* 257), *ut* is perhaps dependent on some verb to be understood from the context.

<sup>624</sup>All of them have divine subjects and all are positive.



potential/unreal statements (2): dem (*Bacch.* 1040), dēs (*Truc.* 571<sup>625</sup>)

questions (6): dem (*Epid.* 574, *Persa* 188, *Pseud.* 626, *Trin.* 968, *Truc.* 842\*), dētur (*Asin.* 482\*)

ambiguous between positive command and object clause without *ut*<sup>626</sup>  
(1): dēs (*Curc.* 526)

ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): dētis (*Persa* 93)

subordinate *ut*-clauses (30): dem (*Bacch.* 769, *Capt.* 381, *Capt.* 449, *Capt.* 1028, *Trin.* 681\*\*), dēs (*Aul.* 793, *Epid.* 571, *Men.* 1007\*\*\*, *Merc.* 678, *Mil.* 927, *Most.* 1036, *Poen.* 1015, *Trin.* 762\*\*, *Truc.* 841), dēt (*Asin.* 916, *Aul.* 310\*\*, *Cas.* 42, *Men.* 53, *Merc.* 665, *Most.* 529\*\*, *Persa* 327, *Pseud.* 1100, *Rud.* 1084), dētur (*Cas.* 254, *Cas.* 268, *Curc.* 433), dētis (*Capt.* 212, *Cas.* 22, *Men.* 1155), dent (*Capt.* 495)

object clauses without *ut* (8): dem (*Capt.* 121, *Poen.* 375, *Truc.* 924\*\*), dēs (*Capt.* 340\*\*<sup>627</sup>, *Persa* 196, *Poen.* 1414), dēt (*Merc.* 488), dent (*Pseud.* 937)

subordinate *nē* (5): dem (*Persa* 817), dēs (*Capt.* 437<sup>628</sup>), dēt (*Bacch.* 744, *Merc.* 332\*\*), dētur (*Cas.* 341)

subordinate *quīn*-clauses (3): dem (*Persa* 612), dēs (*Capt.* 354), dētur (*Trin.* 730)

conditional clauses (7): dēt (*Pseud.* 785, *Trin.* 370), dētur (*Cist.* 308, *Curc.* 211, *Merc.* 841, *Pseud.* 267), dent (*Amph.* 209)

indirect questions (9): dem (*Bacch.* 607, *Persa* 440), dēs (*Pseud.* 1148<sup>629</sup>), dēt (*Asin.* 182, *Asin.* 805, *Poen.* 1242\*\*, *Pseud.* 175), dētur (*Men.* 973\*\*, *Persa* 333)

relative clauses (40): dem (*Asin.* 234, *Asin.* 631, *Asin.* 725, *Aul.* 238, *Bacch.* 743, *Capt.* 121, *Capt.* 122, *Mil.* 692\*, *Pseud.* 413, *Pseud.* 536, *Pseud.* 705, *Stich.* 256\*\*, *Trin.* 158, *Trin.* 761, *Truc.* 941\*), dēs (*Asin.* 188, *Asin.* 242, *Bacch.* 219, *Merc.* 492, *Pseud.* 487, *Truc.* 356\*\*, *Truc.* 569\*\*<sup>630</sup>, *Vid.* 25), dēt (*Asin.* 83, *Asin.* 104, *Cist.* 562, *Cist.* 738, *Mil.* 920\*\*, *Poen.* 833, *Poen.* 928\*\*, *Pseud.* 948\*\*, *Trin.* 564, *Truc.* 242\*, *Truc.* 243), dētur (*Bacch.* 72, *Epid.* 115\*), dēmus (*Truc.* 62\*\*), dent (*Cas.* 770, *Truc.* 76, *Truc.* 146)

causal clause (*quia*) (1): dēs (*Cas.* 677<sup>631</sup>)

temporal clauses (*ubī* and *prius quam*) (2): dēt (*Truc.* 230), dētur (*Aul.* 337)

<sup>625</sup>This is an impersonal second person.

<sup>626</sup>*Volō* could be understood from the preceding utterance.

<sup>627</sup>Here and in *dēt* (*Merc.* 488), *ut* is athetized in Lindsay's edition.

<sup>628</sup>*Neque* continues subordinating *nē*.

<sup>629</sup>The introductory word is *sī*.

<sup>630</sup>This is an impersonal second person.

<sup>631</sup>The subjunctive is used because this is quotative.

comparative clauses (*quam* and *quasi*) (3): *dem* (*Aul.* 662), *dēs* (*Cas.* 257\*\*), *dētis* (*Vid. fr.* v (i))

limiting clause (*dum modo*) (1): *dēs* (*Mil.* 785\*\*)

imperfect subjunctives (38=4 MC, 34 SC): *darem* (*Asin.* 675 SC, *Aul.* 384 SC, *Men.* 733 SC, *Merc.* 400 SC, *Mil.* 798 SC, *Mil.* 913\*\* SC, *Persa* 119 SC, *Poen.* 681 SC, *Rud.* 602 SC, *Trin.* 1143 SC, *Trin.* 1144 SC, *Truc.* 843\*\* SC, *Vid.* 84 SC), *darēs* (*Asin.* 736 SC, *Asin.* 929 SC, *Bacch.* 635a MC, *Cist.* 484 MC, *Men.* 688 SC, *Mil.* 803 SC, *Persa* 118 SC, *Pseud.* 1154 SC, *Stich.* 255 SC, *Trin.* 741\* SC), *darēt* (*Aul.* 27 SC, *Bacch.* 676 SC, *Bacch.* 939 SC, *Curc.* 347 SC, *Persa* 261 SC, *Pseud.* 285 SC, *Truc.* 81 SC, *Truc.* 201\*\* SC), *darētur* (*Asin.* 336 SC, *Cas.* 365 SC, *Cas.* 366 MC, *Cas.* 431 SC, *Trin.* 1101 SC), *darent* (*Mil.* 731 MC, *Poen.* 1252\*\* SC)

perfect subjunctives (12=2 MC, 10 SC): *dederim* (*Epid.* 258 MC<sup>632</sup>, *Most.* 922 SC, *Pseud.* 93 SC), *dederīs* (*Men.* 683 MC<sup>633</sup>, *Poen.* 559 SC, *Pseud.* 641 SC, *Trin.* 700 SC, *Trin.* 1051\* SC, *Truc.* 51 SC), *dederīt* (*Bacch.* 334 SC, *Mil.* 797 SC, *Truc.* 234\*\*\* SC)

pluperfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): *dedissēs* (*Cist.* 484 SC), *dedissēt* (*Cist.* 574\*\* SC)

(excluded: *dem*<sup>634</sup> (*Cist.* 523, *Trin.* 691), *darent* (*Cist.* 403<sup>635</sup>))

- *perdere*: 51 present subjunctives, 9 subjunctives of other tenses

wishes<sup>636</sup> (36): *perdāt* (*Amph.* 570, *Cas.* 238, *Curc.* 622, *Pseud.* 251, *Rud.* 569), *perdant* (*Aul.* 645, *Aul.* 658, *Capt.* 868, *Capt.* 909, *Cas.* 275, *Cas.* 279, *Cas.* 609, *Cist.* 481, *Cist.* 497, *Curc.* 317, *Epid.* 23, *Men.* 595a, *Men.* 666, *Merc.* 967, *Mil.* 286, *Mil.* 833, *Most.* 39, *Most.* 684, *Persa* 292, *Persa* 298, *Persa* 622, *Persa* 784, *Poen.* 588, *Pseud.* 837, *Pseud.* 1230, *Rud.* 1112, *Rud.* 1166, *Trin.* 923, *Trin.* 992, *Trin.* 997, *Boeotia* i. 1)

potential/unreal statement (1): *perdās* (*Trin.* 1054<sup>637</sup>)

question (1): *perdam* (*Bacch.* 490)

subordinate *ut* (7): *perdam* (*Men.* 217, *Poen.* 423, *Stich.* 348\*), *perdās* (*Bacch.* 1042, *Poen.* 575), *perdant* (*Poen.* 864, *Poen.* 865)

object clause without *ut* (1): *perdāt* (*Epid.* 36)

subordinate *nē*-clauses (3): *perdās* (*Aul.* 341, *Curc.* 197, *Pseud.* 322)

indirect question (1): *perdam* (*Truc.* 598\*\*\*)

---

<sup>632</sup>The meaning is non-past.

<sup>633</sup>This is an echo-question with *ut*.

<sup>634</sup>Both items are conjectures.

<sup>635</sup>The token is only in the *apparātus criticus*.

<sup>636</sup>All subjects are deities, and none of the instances is negated.

<sup>637</sup>I do not analyse this as a jussive.

relative clause (1): *perdam* (*Men.* 665)

imperfect subjunctives (5=1 MC, 4 SC): *perderem* (*Stich.* 576 SC), *perderēs* (*Men.* 490 SC, *Trin.* 643 SC), *perderēmus* (*Poen.* 816 SC), *perderent* (*Capt.* 537 MC)

perfect subjunctives (3=3 SC): *perdiderim* (*Bacch.* 1103 SC), *perdiderīt* (*Rud.* 1295 SC), *perdiderīmus* (*Mil.* 429 SC)

pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): *perdidissem* (*Men.* 460 MC)

(*perdam*=future: *Asin.* 132, *Asin.* 148, *Cist.* 533, *Epid.* 519, *Mil.* 371)

- Attested, but without relevant tokens (regular subjunctives, simple futures that look like present subjunctives): *interdare*

## H: The Remaining Regular Subjunctives in Plautus

In this section, I list the regular subjunctives in Plautus which belong to compounds of *dare* and which were not collected in section G. Those simple futures that look like present subjunctives are also listed. The future perfects that look like perfect subjunctives can be found elsewhere (appendix 6, sections G and H).

- *accrēdere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *accrēdāt* (*Asin.* 627)
- *apscondere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *apscondās* (*Cist.* 63\*)
- *concrēdere*: 4 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctive (1): *concrēdāt* (*Capt.* 348)  
imperfect subjunctives (2): *concrēderēt* (*Asin.* 80, *Trin.* 957)  
pluperfect subjunctive (1): *concrēdita essēt* (*Cist.* 245)  
(*concrēdam*=future: *Rud.* 1127\*)
- *condere*: 3 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (3): *condam* (*Aul.* 712, *Pseud.* 534), *condāmus* (*Poen.* 1269)  
(*condam*=future: *Rud.* 936*a*, *Vid.* 59)
- *dēdere*: 4 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (2): *dēdam* (*Pseud.* 1226), *dēdās* (*Pseud.* 1226)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *dēderent* (*Amph.* 226)  
perfect subjunctive (1): *dēdiderīt* (*Bacch.* 45)  
(*dēdam*=future: *Aul.* 59, *Curc.* 627, *Mil.* 567\*)

- *dādere*: no subjunctives  
(*dādam*=future: *Mil.* 707)
- *indere*: 2 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctive (1): *indās* (*Persa* 571)  
perfect subjunctive (1): *indiderīs* (*Merc.* 205)  
(*indam*=future: *Rud.* 934*a*)
- *recondere*: 2 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctive (1): *recondās* (*Stich.* 231)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *reconderem* (*Curc.* 388)
- *reddere*: 36 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (32): *reddam* (*Asin.* 455, *Aul.* 45, *Aul.* 634, *Aul.* 651, *Aul.* 829, *Curc.* 540, *Trin.* 515), *reddās* (*Amph.* 928, *Bacch.* 1150, *Capt.* 938, *Cist.* 767, *Poen.* 535, *Poen.* 1084, *Poen.* 1399\*\*, *Poen.* 1414, *Rud.* 1128), *reddāt* (*Asin.* 122, *Asin.* 807, *Bacch.* 330, *Bacch.* 353, *Bacch.* 576, *Bacch.* 590, *Men.* 672, *Men.* 1049, *Pseud.* 386, *Truc.* 839), *reddātur* (*Aul.* 829, *Bacch.* 609, *Merc.* 418), *reddant* (*Capt.* 473, *Curc.* 378), *reddantur* (*Rud.* 1137)  
imperfect subjunctives (3): *redderem* (*Bacch.* 198, *Trin.* 133), *redderēs* (*Trin.* 133)  
pluperfect subjunctive (1): *redditum essēt* (*Asin.* 442\*\*)
 

(*reddam*=future: *Asin.* 145, *Asin.* 456, *Aul.* 573, *Bacch.* 767, *Bacch.* 1034, *Capt.* 822, *Curc.* 727, *Men.* 546, *Merc.* 956, *Mil.* 1214, *Poen.* 853, *Poen.* 1394, *Pseud.* 86, *Pseud.* 530, *Pseud.* 733, *Trin.* 156, *Trin.* 819, *Bacaria* 5)
- *subdere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *subdās* (*Epid.* 140)  
(*subdam*=future: *Curc.* 297)
- *uendere*: 15 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (14): *uendam* (*Capt.* 181, *Persa* 340, *Persa* 357), *uendās* (*Merc.* 424–5, *Persa* 135, *Persa* 146, *Persa* 338\*, *Pseud.* 284, *Pseud.* 322), *uendāt* (*Asin.* 764, *Merc.* 104, *Merc.* 332\*\*, *Persa* 136, *Persa* 156)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *uenderēs* (*Trin.* 134)  
(*uendam*=future: *Bacch.* 977, *Men.* 1153)
- Attested in Plautus, but without relevant forms (subjunctives, simple future forms that look like present subjunctives): *abdere*, *circumdare*, *disperdere*, *ēdere*, *obdere*, *prōdere*

## I: The Regular Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs with $\bar{i}$ -Forms

In this section, I list the regular subjunctives in Terence of those verbs that have  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives in Plautus and Terence. The present subjunctives are listed according to their syntactic contexts. Among the subjunctives of the other tenses the only distinction which I draw is that between main clauses (MC) and subordinate clauses (SC). Simple futures that look like present subjunctives are also listed. Future perfects that look like perfect subjunctives can be found elsewhere (appendix 6, sections I and J).

- *addere*: 3 present subjunctives
  - prohibition (1): *addās* (*Eun.* 78)
  - subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *addant* (*Phorm.* 42)
  - subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *addam* (*Phorm.* 168)
- *crēdere*: 31 present subjunctives, 5 imperfect subjunctives
  - potential/unreal statements (2): *crēdās* (*Andr.* 787\*, *Haut.* 1063)
  - questions (8): *crēdam* (*Andr.* 618, *Eun.* 705, *Phorm.* 997), *crēdās* (*Ad.* 330, *Ad.* 330, *Andr.* 499, *Haut.* 591\*), *crēdāt* (*Andr.* 489\*)
  - ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *crēdās* (*Andr.* 706)
  - subordinate *ut* (6): *crēdam* (*Hec.* 857), *crēdās* (*Haut.* 881), *crēdāt* (*Andr.* 701, *Haut.* 712), *crēdant* (*Ad.* 627<sup>638</sup>, *Hec.* 787\*\*)
  - subordinate *nē* (5): *crēdam* (*Hec.* 844), *crēdās* (*Andr.* 899, *Haut.* 623), *crēdāt* (*Andr.* 699\*\*), *crēdant* (*Phorm.* 839)
  - conditional clause (1): *crēdās* (*Eun.* 711\*\*)
  - indirect questions (4): *crēdam* (*Eun.* 128, *Hec.* 103, *Hec.* 261, *Phorm.* 855\*\*)
  - relative clauses (4): *crēdās* (*Ad.* 857, *Hec.* 869, *Phorm.* 878), *crēdāt* (*Ad.* 66)
  - imperfect subjunctives (5=1 MC, 4 SC): *crēderem* (*Andr.* 524 SC, *Eun.* 176 SC, *Haut.* 560\* SC, *Phorm.* 278 MC), *crēderēt* (*Phorm.* 302 SC)
- *dare*: 33 present subjunctives, 25 subjunctives of other tenses
  - positive commands (3): *dētur* (*Andr.* *ae* 11), *dēmus* (*Ad.* 950, *Andr.* 560)
  - question (1): *dem* (*Haut.* 1050<sup>639</sup>)

---

<sup>638</sup> *Vt* equals *nē nōn* here.

<sup>639</sup> This could also be an *ut*-clause taking the form of a question and depending on what precedes: '(do you want to persuade me) in order that?'

- subordinate *ut*-clauses (7): *dēs* (*Haut.* 470<sup>640</sup>, *Haut.* 855, *Haut.* 868, *Hec.* 390\*\*), *dēt* (*Andr.* 431, *Andr.* 592, *Haut.* 605\*)
- subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): *dem* (*Haut.* 90), *dēt* (*Eun.* 138)
- subordinate *quān* (1): *dēt* (*Andr.* 392)
- conditional clause (1): *dētur* (*Eun.* 647)
- indirect questions (3): *dem* (*Phorm.* 715), *dēm* (*Haut.* 477), *dent* (*Andr.* 8)
- relative clauses (11): *dem* (*Haut.* 741, *Haut.* 841), *dēs* (*Eun.* 1075, *Haut.* 322), *dēt* (*Eun.* 1078, *Phorm.* 146, *Phorm.* 522), *dētur* (*Andr.* 334, *Andr.* 335<sup>641</sup>, *Eun.* 365), *dentur* (*Haut.* 914<sup>642</sup>)
- causal clause (*quia*) (1): *dēt* (*Andr.* 376)
- temporal clause (*quom*) (1): *dem* (*Phorm.* 715)
- comparative clause (*quam sī*) (1): *dēs* (*Eun.* 63)
- theme-clause (*quod*=‘as for the fact that’) (1): *dem* (*Haut.* 228)
- imperfect subjunctives (20=4 MC, 16 SC): *darem* (*Ad.* 318 MC, *Andr.* 402 SC, *Andr.* 606\*\* SC, *Andr.* 830 SC, *Haut.* 508 SC, *Phorm.* 910 SC), *darēs* (*Haut.* 781 SC, *Haut.* 893 SC, *Phorm.* 524\*\* SC), *darēt* (*Andr.* 101 SC, *Eun.* 983 SC, *Haut.* 534 SC, *Phorm.* 119 MC, *Phorm.* 121 MC, *Phorm.* 625 SC, *Phorm.* 643 SC), *darētur* (*Phorm.* 84\*\* SC, *Phorm.* 933\* SC), *darētis* (*Phorm.* 297 MC), *darent* (*Andr.* 668 SC)
- perfect subjunctives (4=4 SC): *dederīt* (*Andr.* 143\*\* SC, *Haut.* 2 SC), *data sīt* (*Ad.* 530 SC, *Ad.* 530\* SC)
- pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *dedissem* (*Ad.* 368\* SC)
- *perdere*: 8 present subjunctives, 2 perfect subjunctives
    - positive commands (2): *perdāt* (*Ad.* 134\*, *Haut.* 465)
    - wishes<sup>643</sup> (5): *perdāt* (*Ad.* 714), *perdant* (*Eun.* 302, *Eun.* 431, *Hec.* 469, *Phorm.* 688)
    - indirect question (1): *perdās* (*Ad.* 241)
    - perfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): *perdiderīs* (*Haut.* 891 SC), *perdiderīt* (*Ad.* 383 SC)
  - Not attested: *interdare*

<sup>640</sup>This depends on *fac* to be understood from the preceding context.

<sup>641</sup>This token is negated with final *nē*.

<sup>642</sup>The clause is introduced by *quō facilius*.

<sup>643</sup>The subjects are always deities. None of the clauses is negated.

## J: The Remaining Regular Subjunctives in Terence

In this section, I list the regular subjunctives in Terence that belong to compounds of *dare* and were not collected in section I. Those simple futures that look like present subjunctives are also listed. Those future perfects that look like perfect subjunctives can be found elsewhere (appendix 6, sections I and J).

- *dēdere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *dēdam* (*Eun.* 1026)  
(*dēdam*=future: *Andr.* 199, *Andr.* 953)
- *prōdere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *prōdāt* (*Andr.* 313)
- *reddere*: 11 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (10): *reddam* (*Eun.* 147, *Eun.* 157, *Hec.* 150), *reddās* (*Hec.* 669), *reddāt* (*Ad.* 202, *Ad.* 205, *Ad.* 280, *Eun.* 797), *reddātur* (*Ad.* 249\*), *reddant* (*Phorm.* 404)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *redderēt* (*Andr.* 479)  
(*reddam*=future: *Ad.* 849, *Ad.* 982, *Andr.* 703, *Andr.* 864, *Eun.* 277, *Eun.* 1019, *Phorm.* 559)
- Attested in Terence, but without relevant forms (subjunctives, simple future forms that look like present subjunctives): *abdere*, *ēdere*, *obdere*, *subdere*, *uendere*

## K: The $\bar{i}$ -Subjunctives after 100BC

Here I list the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives that are used in literature after 100BC.

- **Marcus Tullius Cicero (c. 106–43BC)**

Ille enim numquam reuertisset, nōs timor cōfirmāre eius ācta nōn coēgisset, aut, ut in Saufeī eam relinquamque Tusculānās disputātiōnēs ad quās tū etiam Vestōrium hortāris, ita grātiosī erāmus apud illum (quem dī mortuum *perduint*\*) ut nostrae aetātī, quoniam interfectō dominō liberī nōn sumus, nōn fuerit dominus ille fugiendus. (Cic. *Att.* 15. 4. 3)

---

Quamquam quid loquor? Tē ut ūlla rēs frangat, tū ut umquam tē colligās, tū ut ūllam fugam meditēre, tū ut ūllum exsilium cōgitēs? Vtinam tibi istam mentem dī immortalēs *duint*\*) (Cic. *Catil.* 1. 22)

---

Dī tē *perduint*\* fugitūe! Ita nōn modo nihili et improbus, sed fatuus et amēns es. (Cic. *Deiot.* 21)

---

Cum septem cohortibus esse Apollōniae scribit Antōnium, quī iam aut captus est — quod dī *duint*\* — aut certē homō uerēcundus in Macedoniam nōn accēdit, nē contrā senātūs cōsultum fēcisse uideātur. (Cic. *Phil.* 10. 13)

---

• **Titus Liuius Patauinus (c. 59BC–AD17)**

Dicitur Appius in mediō pugnae discrīmine, ita ut inter p̄ima signa manibus ad caelum sublātis cōspicerētur, ita precātus esse: ‘Bellōna, sī hodiē nōbis uictōriam *duis*\*, ast egō tibi templum uoueō.’ (Liu. 10. 19. 17)

---

Sī rēs p̄blica populī Rōmānī Quirītium ad quīnquennium proximum, sicut uelim uoueamque\*, salua seruāta\* erit\* hīsce duellis, quod duellum populō Rōmānō cum Carthāginiēnsī est quaeque duella cum Gallīs sunt quī cis Alpēs sunt, tum dōnum *duit* populus Rōmānus Quirītium quod uēr atulerit ex suillō ouillō caprīnō bouillō grege quaeque profāna erunt Iouī fierī, ex quā diē senātus populusque iusserit. (Liu. 22. 10. 2–3)

---

• **Publius Cornelius Tacitus (c. AD55–after AD115)**

Proinde sociōs ciuēs et deōs ipsōs precor, hōs ut mihī ad finem ūsque uītae quiētam et intellegentem hūmānī dīuinīque iūris mentem *duint*, illōs ut, quandōque concesserō, cum laude et bonīs recordātiōnibus facta atque fāmam nōminis meī prōsequantur. (Tac. *ann.* 4. 38. 3)

---

• **Marcus Aurelius (c. AD121–180)**

Sed tamen propitiae plācātaeque sint et mihī prō istīs ioculāribus bonam ueniam *duint*. (Aur. *Fronto* p. 60. 26–p. 61. 1)

---

• **Apuleius (born c. AD123)**

At tibi, Aemiliāne, prō istō mendaciō *duit*\* deus iste superum et īferum commeātor utrōrumque deōrum malam grātiam semperque obuīās speciēs mortuōrum, quicquid umbrārum est usquam, quicquid lemurum, quicquid mānium, quicquid laruārum, oculīs tuīs oggerat, omnia noctium occursācula, omnia bustōrum formidāmina, omnia sepulchrōrum terriculāmenta, ā quibus tamen aeuō et meritō haud longē abes. (Apul. *apol.* 64)

---



In hāc etiam aetāte quā nunc est — quī istum dī\* *perduint*\*! multus honōs auribus praefandus est — domus eius tōta lēnōnia, tōta familia contāmināta. (Apul. *apol.* 75)

---

‘At tē’, inquit, ‘nēquissimum et periūrum caput, dominus iste tuus et cūncta caeli nūmina, quae dēierandō temere dēuorāstī, pessimum pessimē *perduint*, quī dē balneīs soleās hesternā diē mihi fūrātus es.’ (Apul. *met.* 9. 21)

---

- **Aurelius Augustinus (c. AD354–430)**

Nam quisquis dīcit ‘perge ad uīllam’ uel ‘utinam pergat ad uīllam’ uel ‘dī illum *perduint*\*’, nōn potest arguī quod mentiātur aut crēdī quod uērum dīcat. Nihil enim affirmāuit aut negāuit. (Aug. *dial.* 2)

## L: Citations of *ī*-Subjunctives after 100BC

Here I list the *ī*-subjunctives which are cited by various sources after 100BC. These authors do not provide explanations of the forms.

- **Marcus Terentius Varro Reatinus (c. 116–27BC)**

Ciccum dīcēbant membrānam tenuem, quae est ut in mālō Pūnicō discrimen; ā quō etiam Plautus dīcit: ‘quod uolt dēnsūm, ciccum nōn *interduō*\*.’ (Varro *ling.* 7. 91)

---

- **Gaius Plinius Secundus (c. AD23/24–79)**

Inde illa XII tabulārum lēx: quī corōnam parit ipse pecūniae eius, uirtūtis suae ergō *duītor*\* ēī. (Plin. *nat.* 21. 7)

---

- **Gaius (second century AD)**

Lēx enim XII tabulārum tantum in persōnā filiī dē tribus mancipātiōnibus loquitur hīs uerbīs: ‘sī pater ter filium uēnum *duīt*\*’, ā patre filiū liber estō.’ (Gaius *inst.* 1. 132)

---

- **Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century AD)**

Sī quis magistrātus aduersus hāc dolō malō pondera modiōsque uāsaque pūblica modica, minōra maiōraue faxit iussitue fierī dolumue *adduīt* quō ea fiant, eum quis uolēt magistrātus multāre ... licētō; siue quis im sacrum iūdicāre uoluerit, licētō. (Fest. p. 288)

---

- **Domitius Ulpianus (died c. 228AD)**

Sed filius quidem ter mancipātus ter manūmissus suī iūris fit; id enim lēx duodecim tabulārum iubet hīs uerbīs: sī pater filium ter uēnum *duit*\*, filius ā patre liber estō. (Ulp. *reg.* 10. 1)

---

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

(Nonius is making remarks on *cōfidentia*.)

Turpilius Leucadiā:

Vidēn tū Phrygis incessum? Quam est cōfīdēns! Di istunc *perduint*!  
(Non. p. 400. 10–11)

---

- **Flavius Sospater Charisius (late 4th century AD)**

Nēmō enim aut secundam hērēdem dicit aut bonam parentem aut malam hominem, sed masculinē, tametsī dē fēminā sermō habeātur. Nam Mārcus ait ‘hērēdēs ipsus secundus’; et Pācuuius in Mēdō, cum ostenderet ā Mēdō mātrem quaerī, ait

‘tē, Sōl, inuoco ut mihi potestātem *duīs* inquīrēndī mēi parentis’. (Char. *gramm.* 130. 23–6)

---

- **Fragmenta Iuris Romani Vaticana (unclear date)**

(There are exceptions to the *lēx Cincia dē dōnātiōnibus*.)

Item excipit: ‘sī quis ā seruīs suīs quīque prō seruīs seruitūtem seruiērunt, accipit *duit*’. (Lex Cincia fr. Vat. 307)

---

- **Paul the Deacon (eighth century AD)**

Nam parricīda nōn utīque is, quī parentem occīdisset, dīcēbātur, sed quālemcumque hominem indemnātum. Ita fuisse indicat lēx Nūmae Pompīlī rēgis hīs composita uerbīs: ‘Sī quī hominem liberum dolō sciēns mortī *duit*, pāricīdās estō.’ (Paul. *Fest.* p. 247)

## M: Explanations of *ī*-Subjunctives after 100BC

In this section I list the explanations of *ī*-subjunctives that the grammarians and glosses afford.

- **Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century AD)**

*Prōduit*, porrō dederit, ut est in lēge cēnsōriā: ‘porticum sartam tēctamque habētō, prōditō’; aliās prōdiderit. (Fest. p. 254)

---

- **Phocas (fifth century AD)**

Dēfectīua in modīs sunt haec: quaesō, quod p̄imam persōnam habet indicātīuō modō dumtaxat, licet quaesere lēctum sit apud Sallustium et Tullium: ouat, īnfit; haec quoque tertiam persōnam habent sōlam; sed ouat participium facit praesentis temporis, ouāns, cum in declīnātiōne uerbī dēficiat. Similiter ausim et *duint*. (Phoc. *gramm.* v. 436. 4–8)

---

- **Priscianus (early sixth century AD)**

Terentius in Phormiōne:

Vt illum dī deaeque<sup>644</sup> omnēs *perduint*\*

prō ‘perdant’. (Prisc. *gramm.* iii. 289. 23–290. 2)

---

- **Glosses (6th century and later)**

*Dūint*<sup>645</sup> δούειν δώσωσιν<sup>646</sup> (*CGL* ii. 56. 35)

---

*Duit* δούει<sup>647</sup> (*CGL* ii. 56. 36)

---

*Duent* dent tribuant (*CGL* iii. 333. 53)

---

*Duit* tribuit (*CGL* iii. 508. 24)

---

*Duunt* dant tribuunt (*CGL* iii. 508. 25)

---

*Duent* dent tribuant (*CGL* iii. 508. 26)

---

*Duit* dedit (*CGL* v. 63. 13)

---

*Duent* dent tribuant (*CGL* v. 191. 27)

---

*Duere* uincere (*CGL* v. 191. 28)

---

<sup>644</sup>*Deae* scans as a monosyllable.

<sup>645</sup>Sic!

<sup>646</sup>Sic!

<sup>647</sup>Sic!

*Duet det* (*CGL* v. 191. 29)

---

*Duint dent*. Torentius: at tibi diī dignum factīs exitium *duint*. (*CGL* v. 191. 30)

---

*Duint dent tribuant* (*CGL* v. 287. 59)

---

*Duit tribuit uel det* (*CGL* v. 287. 60)

---

*Duunt dant tribuant* (*CGL* v. 409. 51)

---

*Duit det tribuit* (*CGL* v. 409. 52)

---

*Duerit dederit* (*CGL* v. 452. 20)

---

*Duent dent* (*CGL* v. 452. 22)

---

*Duerit dederit* (*CGL* v. 497. 41)

---

*Duerit dederit* (*CGL* v. 567. 53)

---

*Duet det* (*CGL* v. 567. 54)

---

*Duem dem* (*CGL* v. 567. 55)

---

*Duent dent uel imbuunt* (*CGL* v. 567. 56)

---

*Duis* duās rēs significat; nam et prō dis pōnēbātur et prō dederis. (*CGL* v. 567. 57)

---

*Duit dedit* (*CGL* v. 567. 58)

---

• **Paul the Deacon (eighth century AD)**

*Addues* addideris. (Paul. Fest. p. 25)

---

*Duīs* duās habet significātiōnēs. Nam et prō dīc pōnēbātur et prō dederīs.  
(Paul. Fest. p. 58)

# Appendix 12: The Extra-Paradigmatic $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives and Their Regular Counterparts

Appendix 12 presents the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives in Latin together with their regular counterparts in Plautus and Terence. Its structure is as follows:

**Archaic Latin (until 100BC)=A–I:**

A: the  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives in Plautus — verbs

B: the  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives in Plautus — clause types

C: the  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives in Terence — verbs

D: the  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives in Terence — clause types

E: the remaining  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives and the corresponding indicative forms

F: the regular subjunctives in Plautus — verbs with  $\bar{a}$ -forms

G: the remaining regular subjunctives in Plautus

H: the regular subjunctives in Terence — verbs with  $\bar{a}$ -forms

I: the remaining regular subjunctives in Terence

**Latin after 100BC=J–L:**

J: the  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives

K: citations of  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives

L: explanations of  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives

In those sections where the subjunctives are listed according to clause types,

I have observed the following order: main clauses — clauses that are ambiguous between main and subordinate clauses — subordinate clauses. In main clauses, the order is: commands — clauses that might be commands or wishes — prohibitions — wishes — potential or unreal statements — questions. In clauses that could be main or subordinate clauses, the order is: positive commands/*ut*-clauses — prohibitions/subordinate *nē*-clauses — *cauē*.<sup>648</sup> In subordinate clauses, the order is: *ut*-clauses — object clauses without *ut* — *nē*-clauses — *quīn*-clauses — conditional clauses — indirect questions — relative clauses — causal clauses — temporal clauses — comparative clauses — other. Auxiliaries follow all other types.

In those appendices where I have only listed isolated forms one asterisk indicates that the verb form itself is marked as doubtful in the *apparātus criticus*, while two asterisks tell us that the subordinator or the superordinate verb are problematic; three asterisks mean that the verb itself and its superordinate verb and/or its subordinator are problematic. In those appendices where I cite complete sentences, I put asterisks behind all words that are problematic and might influence the interpretation of the relevant forms.

## A: The *ā*-Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

### root *du*-

- *accrēdere* (1 C): *accrēduās* (*Asin.* 854 C)
- *crēdere* (3 S, 2 C): *crēduam* (*Poen.* 747 S), *crēduās* (*Bacch.* 476 C\*\*, *Trin.* 606 C\*), *crēduāt* (*Bacch.* 504 S, *Bacch.* 847 S)
- *dare* (2 C): *duās* (*Aul.* 238 C, *Merc.* 401–2 C)

---

### root *fu*-

- *deesse* (1 S): *defuāt* (*Mil.* 595 S\*\*\*)
- *esse* (8 S, 14 C): *fiam* (*Bacch.* 156 S), *fuās* (*Capt.* 431 C\*\*, *Capt.* 443 C, *Persa* 51 C, *Trin.* 267–8 C<sup>649</sup>), *fuāt* (*Amph.* 985 C, *Aul.* 233 C, *Aul.* 405 S\*, *Aul.* 426 C\*, *Capt.* 260 C, *Epid.* 584 C, *Merc.* 844 C\*, *Mil.* 299 C, *Mil.* 492 S, *Poen.* 1085 S, *Pseud.* 432 S\*\*, *Trin.* 594 S, *Truc.* 709 C), *fuant* (*Bacch.* 1033 S, *Epid.* 619 C, *Men.* 171 C, *Pseud.* 1029 S)

<sup>648</sup>Deverbalized *cauē* introduces main clause prohibitions, but where *cauē* is not deverbalized, it takes object clauses.

<sup>649</sup>This and the tokens in *Capt.* 260 and *Pseud.* 432 scan as two light syllables.

---

root *tag-*

- *attingere* (1 S, 4 C): *attigās* (*Bacch.* 445 C\*, *Epid.* 723 C\*, *Persa* 816 C, *Truc.* 276 C\*), *attigātis* (*Most.* 468 S\*<sup>650</sup>)

---

root *tul-*

- *auferre* (1 (metre uncertain)): *apstulās* (*Rud.* fr.)
- (excluded: *attolāmus* (J) (*Cas.* 357\*)=*attollāmus* rather than *attulāmus*)

---

root *uen-*

- *aduenīre* (1 S): *aduenāt* (*Pseud.* 1030 S)
- *ēuenīre* (2 S, 3 C): *ēuenāt* (*Curc.* 39 S, *Epid.* 290 C, *Mil.* 1010 C, *Trin.* 41 S), *ēuenant* (*Epid.* 321 C\*)
- *peruenīre* (1 S, 1 C): *peruenāt* (*Rud.* 626 C\*), *peruenant* (*Trin.* 93 S\*)

## B: The *ā*-Subjunctives in Plautus — Clause Types

C stands for canticum and S for senarius.

- prohibitions (1 S, 9 C): *attigās* (*Bacch.* 445 C\*, *Epid.* 723 C\*, *Truc.* 276 C\*), *attigātis* (*Most.* 468 S\*), *crēduās* (*Bacch.* 476 C\*\*, *Trin.* 606 C\*), *duās* (*Aul.* 238 C, *Merc.* 401–2 C), *fuāt* (*Amph.* 985 C, *Epid.* 584 C)
- wishes<sup>651</sup> (2 S, 1 C): *crēduāt* (*Bacch.* 847 S), *ēuenāt* (*Curc.* 39 S, *Mil.* 1010 C)
- ambiguity between wishes and prohibitions (1 S, 1 C): *accrēduās* (*Asin.* 854 C), *crēduāt* (*Bacch.* 504 S)
- *fors fuāt an* (1 S): *fuāt* (*Pseud.* 432 S\*\*\*)
- ambiguity between prohibitions and subordinate *nē*-clauses (2 C): *fuās* (*Capt.* 443 C, *Trin.* 267–8 C)

---

<sup>650</sup>Metre shows that the subjunctive *-ā-* is long.

<sup>651</sup>The item in *Bacch.* 847 is negated.



- *cauē* (1 S, 3 C): *attigās* (*Persa* 816 C), *fuās* (*Capt.* 431 C\*\*, *Persa* 51 C), *fuant* (*Bacch.* 1033 S)
- subordinate *ut*-clause (1 S): *ēuenāt* (*Trin.* 41 S)
- subordinate *nē*-clauses (5 S, 1 C): *aduenāt* (*Pseud.* 1030 S), *dēfuāt* (*Mil.* 595 S\*\*\*), *ēuenāt* (*Epid.* 290 C), *fuam* (*Bacch.* 156 S), *fuāt* (*Aul.* 405 S\*, *Mil.* 492 S)
- conditional clauses (1 S, 2 C): *fuāt* (*Aul.* 233 C, *Capt.* 260 C, *Poen.* 1085 S)
- indirect questions (2 S, 4 C): *ēuenant* (*Epid.* 321 C\*), *fuāt* (*Aul.* 426 C\*, *Mil.* 299 C, *Trin.* 594 S, *Truc.* 709 C), *peruenant* (*Trin.* 93 S\*)
- relative clause (1 C): *fuāt* (*Merc.* 844 C\*)
- temporal clause (*priusquam*) (1 C): *peruenāt* (*Rud.* 626 C\*)
- comparative clause (1 S): *crēduam* (*Poen.* 747 S)
- auxiliaries (1 S, 1 C): *fuāt* (*Pseud.* 1029 S), *fuant* (*Epid.* 619 C)
- context unrecoverable (1 C, 1 with uncertain metre): *apstulās* (*Rud.* fr.), *fuant* (*Men.* 171 C)
- (excluded (1): *attolāmus* (J) (*Cas.* 357\*), which stands for *attollāmus* rather than *attulāmus*)

## C: The *ā*-Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs

### root *du*-

- *crēdere* (1): *crēduās* (*Phorm.* 993\*)

---

### root *fu*-

- *esse* (1): *fuāt* (*Hec.* 610\*)

---

### root *tag*-

- *attingere* (1): *attigās* (*Andr.* 789\*)

## D: The $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives in Terence — Clause Types

- prohibition (1): attigās (*Andr.* 789\*)
- *fors fuat* (1): fuāt (*Hec.* 610\*)
- *cauē* (1): crēduās (*Phorm.* 993\*)

## E: The Remaining $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives and their Indicatives in Archaic Latin

I exclude the indicative forms belonging to the root *du-* because they were already discussed in Ch. 9 and are listed in appendix 11. The citation of plays follows the norms in the *TLL*, but I add the names of the plays in brackets.

- **Lex Plaetoria (not before 242BC)**

Praetōr urbānus quī nunc est quīque posthāc *fuāt*\* duō līctōrēs apud sē habētō iūsque ad suprēmam inter cīuēs dīcitō. (*Lex Plaetor. ap. Cens.* 24. 3)

---

- **Liuius Andronicus (c. 284–204BC)**

Opsecrō te, Anciāle, mātrī nē quid tuae<sup>652</sup> aduorsus *fuās*. (*Liu. Andr. trag.* 23)

---

- **Quintus Ennius (c. 239–169BC)**

At ego, omnipotēns <Iuppiter>,  
tēd exposco ut hoc cōnsilium Achīuīs auxiliī *fuāt*. (*Enn. scaen.* 141–2)

---

Senex sum: utinam mortem oppetam priūs quam *ēuenāt*  
quod in pauperiē meā senex grauiter gemam. (*Enn. scaen.* 170–1)

---

- **Marcus Pacuuius (c. 220–130BC)**

Pro imperio agendum est. — Quis uetāt, quin\* *attolāt*\*<sup>653</sup>? (*Pacuu. trag.* 41–2)

---

Respōnsa explānāt: mandāt nē mātrī *fuāt*

<sup>652</sup>This scans as *tw(ae)*, that is, it does not constitute a syllable.

<sup>653</sup>Ribbeck himself prints *quī ne* and *attollāt*, but cf. section L under Nonius.

cognōscendi umquam aut contuendī cōpia. (Pacuu. *trag.* 116–17)

---

At nōn cernam, nisi *tagam*\*. (Pacuu. *trag.* 165)

---

Custōdīte istunc uōs, nē uim qui *attolāt*\*<sup>654</sup> nēue *attigāt*. (Pacuu. *trag.* 228)

---

ut egō, sī quisquam mē *tagit* (Pacuu. *trag.* 344)

---

• **Titinius (c. 150BC)**

Perii hercle uērō: Tīberī, nunc tēcum opsecrō  
ut mihi subueniās, nē\* egō maiālis *fuam*\*. (Titin. *com.* 32–3 (Fullonia))

---

• **Sextus Turpilius (died c. 103BC)**

Nē me *attigās*\*! Atque aufer  
manūm. Heia quam ferōcula est! (Turpil. *com.* 106–7)

---

(excluded: *tagō* ((Turpil. *com.* 131<sup>655</sup>))

---

• **Lucius Accius (c. 170–85BC)**

Nisī quid tua facultās nōbīs *tulāt* opem, peream\*.<sup>656</sup> (Acc. *trag.* 102)

---

Age, age, amōlire, amitte! Caue uestem *attigās*! (Acc. *trag.* 304)

---

• **Lucius Afranius (born c. 150BC)**

Caue nē pendeās,  
sī *fuās* in quaestiōne. (Afran. *com.* 279–80)

---

<sup>654</sup>Ribbeck prints *attolāt*, but the Nonius-edition has *attollāt*, cf. section L.

<sup>655</sup>The manuscripts have †*cauo*†, which may stand for *cadō* ‘jug’; *tagō* is merely a conjecture. Nonius cites the passage to show that *tangere* can mean *circumuenīre*, not for any strange verb forms, so there is no need to assume an irregular form *tagō*; a regular form of *tangere* could have followed in the next line.

<sup>656</sup>The final iamb is missing.

- **Nouius (born in the second half of the second century BC)**

Dōtem ad nōs nūllam *attulās\**. (Nouius *Atell.* 87)

---

- **Lucius Pomponius Bononiensis (c. 100BC)**

Bene *ēuenāt\**! —

Ita *fiāt\**<sup>657</sup>: et tibi bene sīt, quī rēcte ōminās. (Pompon. *Atell.* 35–6)

---

- **Unknown tragedies (unclear date)**

Thesprōte, sī quis sanguine exortam tuō

prōlem inter ārās sacrificās sacram immolēt,

quid meritus hic sīt, dubium id an cuiquam *fuāt\**? (Trag. *inc.* 120–2)

---

Religentem esse tēd\* oportēt, religiōsus nē\* *fuās\**. (Trag. *inc.* 148)

---

- **Archaic Inscriptions (unclear date)**

Nē *at(t)igās*; nōn sum tua: M(ārcī) sum. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 499<sup>658</sup>)

---

N(ē) *atigās* mē, Gemucī sum. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 500<sup>659</sup>)

---

(excluded: *attigāt* (Lex repetund. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 583) 10<sup>660</sup>), *cēduēs* + *cēduās* (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2841<sup>661</sup>))

## F: The Regular Subjunctives in Plautus — Verbs with *ā*-Forms

In this section, I list the regular subjunctives in Plautus that belong to the verbs with extra-paradigmatic *ā*-subjunctives in Plautus and Terence. The present subjunctives are listed according to the clause types in which they occur. For the subjunctives of other tenses, I merely distinguish between main clauses (MC) and subordinate clauses (SC). Aux stands for ‘auxiliary’.

<sup>657</sup>The manuscripts have *sīt*; *fiāt* is Ribbeck’s conjecture.

<sup>658</sup>The inscription is on a lamp.

<sup>659</sup>Again, this inscription is on a lamp.

<sup>660</sup>The actual reading is *atigāt*; it is possible that we have to restore *attigāt* rather than *attigāt*, cf. also *fuērit* in the same line, which stands for *fuērint*. It seems that the nasals were not written consistently before stops. *Attigerēt* in l. 21 presumably stands for *attingerēt*.

<sup>661</sup>These forms are best analysed as belonging to *cēdere* rather than *cēdō*. The *-u-* remains problematic.

Simple futures that look like present subjunctives have been listed as well. But future perfects that look like perfect subjunctives can be found elsewhere (appendix 6, sections G and H).

**root *du-***

- *accrēdere*: 1 present subjunctive  
question (1): *accrēdāt* (*Asin.* 627)
- *crēdere*: 45 present subjunctives, 22 subjunctives of other tenses  
positive commands (2): *crēdāt* (*Rud.* 486), *crēdāmus* (*Persa* 243)  
potential/unreal statement (1): *crēdam* (*Curc.* 58)  
questions (5): *crēdam* (*Capt.* 556, *Curc.* 641, *Merc.* 627, *Merc.* 903, *Pseud.* 318)  
ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *crēdāt* (*Persa* 270)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (8): *crēdam* (*Asin.* 494, *Poen.* 404, *Poen.* 877\*), *crēdās* (*Most.* 198, *Trin.* 107), *crēdāt* (*Bacch.* 697, *Mil.* 254), *crēdātis* (*Most.* 94)  
subordinate *nē*-clauses (6): *crēdam* (*Pseud.* 633), *crēdāt* (*Bacch.* 750, *Pseud.* 506, *Pseud.* 904), *crēdant* (*Pseud.* 128, *Pseud.* 298\*\*\*)  
conditional clause (1): *crēdam* (*Rud.* 1420)  
indirect questions (9): *crēdam* (*Bacch.* 500, *Merc.* 252, *Mil.* 402, *Poen.* 896\*\*, *Pseud.* 176), *crēdās* (*Asin.* 842, *Bacch.* 491), *crēdāt* (*Capt.* 292, *Persa* 44<sup>662</sup>)  
relative clauses (11): *crēdam* (*Amph.* 271\*\*, *Merc.* 513, *Merc.* 921, *Poen.* 276, *Pseud.* 318\*\*, *Trin.* 962<sup>663</sup>), *crēdās* (*Curc.* 481, *Merc.* 628), *crēdāt* (*Capt.* 346, *Most.* 558), *crēdātis* (*Poen.* 1264)  
temporal clause (*quom*) (1): *crēdās* (*Persa* 356<sup>664</sup>)  
imperfect subjunctives (16=3 MC, 13 SC): *crēderem* (*Amph.* 598 SC, *Amph.* 913 SC, *Bacch.* 283 SC, *Bacch.* 285 SC, *Curc.* 552 SC, *Persa* 241 SC, *Persa* 433 SC, *Trin.* 154 SC, *Trin.* 961 MC), *crēderēs* (*Asin.* 462 SC, *Asin.* 503 MC, *Curc.* 551 SC), *crēderēt* (*Bacch.* 644 SC, *Trin.* 115 MC, *Trin.* 954 SC, *Trin.* 1144 SC)  
perfect subjunctives (5=5 SC): *crēdiderim* (*Trin.* 891 SC), *crēdiderīs* (*Persa* 435 SC, *Trin.* 621\* SC, *Trin.* 1054 SC), *crēditum sīt* (*Asin.* 572 SC)  
pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *crēdita essēt* (*Mil.* 838\*\* SC)

<sup>662</sup>The indirect question is introduced by *sī*.

<sup>663</sup>The relative clause is potential/unreal.

<sup>664</sup>This is an impersonal second person.

(*crēdam*=future: *Asin.* 195, *Asin.* 463, *Asin.* 837, *Aul.* 676, *Bacch.* 922, *Cas.* 999, *Poen.* 878, *Poen.* 878, *Poen.* 889, *Poen.* 889, *Pseud.* 629, *Pseud.* 644, *Rud.* 581)

- *dare*: 150 present subjunctives, 52 subjunctives of other tenses
  - positive commands (18): *dēs* (*Cist.* 250, *Curc.* 436, *Curc.* 436, *Curc.* 660<sup>665</sup>, *Mil.* 1030, *Mil.* 1420, *Persa* 36, *Pseud.* 1015), *dēt* (*Curc.* 257, *Persa* 68, *Pseud.* 307, *Pseud.* 307\*, *Pseud.* 570\*, *Trin.* 776, *Truc.* 233\*), *dētur* (*Bacch.* 537), *dēmus* (*Mil.* 78\*), *dent* (*Poen.* 24)
  - prohibitions (3): *dēt* (*Asin.* 777, *Asin.* 778, *Poen.* 37)
  - wishes<sup>666</sup> (10): *dent* (*Asin.* 46, *Epid.* 6, *Mil.* 1038, *Persa* 483, *Poen.* 208, *Poen.* 667, *Poen.* 687, *Poen.* 1055, *Stich.* 469, *Trin.* 1152)
  - potential/unreal statements (2): *dem* (*Bacch.* 1040), *dēs* (*Truc.* 571<sup>667</sup>)
  - questions (6): *dem* (*Epid.* 574, *Persa* 188, *Pseud.* 626, *Trin.* 968, *Truc.* 842\*), *dētur* (*Asin.* 482\*)
  - ambiguous between positive command and object clause without *ut*<sup>668</sup> (1): *dēs* (*Curc.* 526)
  - ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *dētis* (*Persa* 93)
  - subordinate *ut*-clauses (30): *dem* (*Bacch.* 769, *Capt.* 381, *Capt.* 449, *Capt.* 1028, *Trin.* 681\*\*), *dēs* (*Aul.* 793, *Epid.* 571, *Men.* 1007\*\*\*, *Merc.* 678, *Mil.* 927, *Most.* 1036, *Poen.* 1015, *Trin.* 762\*\*, *Truc.* 841), *dēt* (*Asin.* 916, *Aul.* 310\*\*, *Cas.* 42, *Men.* 53, *Merc.* 665, *Most.* 529\*\*, *Persa* 327, *Pseud.* 1100, *Rud.* 1084), *dētur* (*Cas.* 254, *Cas.* 268, *Curc.* 433), *dētis* (*Capt.* 212, *Cas.* 22, *Men.* 1155), *dent* (*Capt.* 495)
  - object clauses without *ut* (8): *dem* (*Capt.* 121, *Poen.* 375, *Truc.* 924\*\*), *dēs* (*Capt.* 340\*\*<sup>669</sup>, *Persa* 196, *Poen.* 1414), *dēt* (*Merc.* 488), *dent* (*Pseud.* 937)
  - subordinate *nē* (5): *dem* (*Persa* 817), *dēs* (*Capt.* 437<sup>670</sup>), *dēt* (*Bacch.* 744, *Merc.* 332\*\*), *dētur* (*Cas.* 341)
  - subordinate *quīn*-clauses (3): *dem* (*Persa* 612), *dēs* (*Capt.* 354), *dētur* (*Trin.* 730)
  - conditional clauses (7): *dēt* (*Pseud.* 785, *Trin.* 370), *dētur* (*Cist.* 308, *Curc.* 211, *Merc.* 841, *Pseud.* 267), *dent* (*Amph.* 209)

<sup>665</sup>Here and in *dēs* (*Persa* 36) and *dēt* (*Curc.* 257), *ut* is perhaps dependent on some verb to be understood from the context.

<sup>666</sup>All of them have divine subjects, and all are positive.

<sup>667</sup>This is an impersonal second person.

<sup>668</sup>*Volō* could be understood from the preceding utterance.

<sup>669</sup>Here and in *dēt* (*Merc.* 488), *ut* is athetized in Lindsay's edition.

<sup>670</sup>*Neque* continues subordinating *nē*.

indirect questions (9): *dem* (*Bacch.* 607, *Persa* 440), *dēs* (*Pseud.* 1148<sup>671</sup>), *dēt* (*Asin.* 182, *Asin.* 805, *Poen.* 1242\*\*, *Pseud.* 175), *dētur* (*Men.* 973\*\*, *Persa* 333)

relative clauses (40): *dem* (*Asin.* 234, *Asin.* 631, *Asin.* 725, *Aul.* 238, *Bacch.* 743, *Capt.* 121, *Capt.* 122, *Mil.* 692\*, *Pseud.* 413, *Pseud.* 536, *Pseud.* 705, *Stich.* 256\*\*, *Trin.* 158, *Trin.* 761, *Truc.* 941\*), *dēs* (*Asin.* 188, *Asin.* 242, *Bacch.* 219, *Merc.* 492, *Pseud.* 487, *Truc.* 356\*\*, *Truc.* 569\*\*<sup>672</sup>, *Vid.* 25), *dēt* (*Asin.* 83, *Asin.* 104, *Cist.* 562, *Cist.* 738, *Mil.* 920\*\*, *Poen.* 833, *Poen.* 928\*\*, *Pseud.* 948\*\*, *Trin.* 564, *Truc.* 242\*, *Truc.* 243), *dētur* (*Bacch.* 72, *Epid.* 115\*), *dēmus* (*Truc.* 62\*\*), *dent* (*Cas.* 770, *Truc.* 76, *Truc.* 146)

causal clause (*quia*) (1): *dēs* (*Cas.* 677<sup>673</sup>)

temporal clauses (*ubī* and *prius quam*) (2): *dēt* (*Truc.* 230), *dētur* (*Aul.* 337)

comparative clauses (*quam* and *quasi*) (3): *dem* (*Aul.* 662), *dēs* (*Cas.* 257\*\*), *dētis* (*Vid.* fr. v (i))

limiting clause (*dum modo*) (1): *dēs* (*Mil.* 785\*\*)

imperfect subjunctives (38=4 MC, 34 SC): *darem* (*Asin.* 675 SC, *Aul.* 384 SC, *Men.* 733 SC, *Merc.* 400 SC, *Mil.* 798 SC, *Mil.* 913\*\* SC, *Persa* 119 SC, *Poen.* 681 SC, *Rud.* 602 SC, *Trin.* 1143 SC, *Trin.* 1144 SC, *Truc.* 843\*\* SC, *Vid.* 84 SC), *darēs* (*Asin.* 736 SC, *Asin.* 929 SC, *Bacch.* 635a MC, *Cist.* 484 MC, *Men.* 688 SC, *Mil.* 803 SC, *Persa* 118 SC, *Pseud.* 1154 SC, *Stich.* 255 SC, *Trin.* 741\* SC), *darēt* (*Aul.* 27 SC, *Bacch.* 676 SC, *Bacch.* 939 SC, *Curc.* 347 SC, *Persa* 261 SC, *Pseud.* 285 SC, *Truc.* 81 SC, *Truc.* 201\*\* SC), *darētur* (*Asin.* 336 SC, *Cas.* 365 SC, *Cas.* 366 MC, *Cas.* 431 SC, *Trin.* 1101 SC), *darent* (*Mil.* 731 MC, *Poen.* 1252\*\* SC)

perfect subjunctives (12=2 MC, 10 SC): *dederim* (*Epid.* 258 MC<sup>674</sup>, *Most.* 922 SC, *Pseud.* 93 SC), *dederīs* (*Men.* 683 MC<sup>675</sup>, *Poen.* 559 SC, *Pseud.* 641 SC, *Trin.* 700 SC, *Trin.* 1051\* SC, *Truc.* 51 SC), *dederīt* (*Bacch.* 334 SC, *Mil.* 797 SC, *Truc.* 234\*\*\* SC)

pluperfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): *dedissēs* (*Cist.* 484 SC), *dedissēt* (*Cist.* 574\*\* SC)

(excluded: *dem*<sup>676</sup> (*Cist.* 523, *Trin.* 691), *darent* (*Cist.* 403<sup>677</sup>))

---

<sup>671</sup>The introductory word is *sī*.

<sup>672</sup>This is an impersonal second person.

<sup>673</sup>The subjunctive is used because this is quotative.

<sup>674</sup>The meaning is non-past.

<sup>675</sup>This is an echo-question with *ut*.

<sup>676</sup>Both items are conjectures.

<sup>677</sup>The token is only in the *apparātus criticus*.

root *fu-*

- **deesse**: 2 present subjunctives, 2 perfect subjunctives  
wish<sup>678</sup> (1): *dēsint* (*Persa* 289\*)  
comparative clause (*potius quam*) (1): *dēsīt* (*Truc.* 442)  
perfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): *dēfuerīt* (*Bacch.* 37 SC, *Bacch.* 38 SC)
- **esse**.<sup>679</sup> 811 present subjunctives, 165<sup>680</sup> subjunctives of other tenses  
positive commands (14): *sīs* (*Poen.* 856\*, *Trin.* 496, *Trin.* 979, *Trin.* 1189), *sīt* (*Amph.* 960, *Amph.* 961, *Amph.* 961, *Asin.* 766, *Bacch.* 660–1, *Bacch.* 660–1, *Rud.* 1165, *Truc.* 855, *Astraba* iv), *siēt* (*Asin.* 770)  
ambiguous between positive command and wish (1): *sīt* (*Persa* 189)  
prohibitions (4): *siēs* (*Men.* 502, *Most.* 886a), *sīt* (*Asin.* 762, *Most.* 922\*)  
wishes<sup>681</sup> (31): *sīs* (*Bacch.* 456, *Bacch.* 536, *Epid.* 549, *Men.* 776, *Men.* 910, *Mil.* 902\*, *Persa* 579, *Poen.* 330, *Poen.* 751, *Poen.* 858, *Rud.* 103, *Stich.* 316, *Truc.* 123\*, *Truc.* 358\*), *siēs* (*Aul.* 182, *Epid.* 548), *sīt* (*Amph.* 935, *Asin.* 418, *Cas.* 382\*\*<sup>682</sup>, *Cas.* 402\*, *Cas.* 634, *Curc.* 588, *Merc.* 327, *Persa* 851<sup>683</sup>, *Poen.* 912, *Poen.* 1002, *Pseud.* 714, *Rud.* 158), *siēt* (*Amph.* 392), *sītis* (*Poen.* 623), *sient* (*Mil.* 1316)  
potential/unreal statements (18): *siem* (*Merc.* 125), *sīt* (*Amph.* 158, *Amph.* 871, *Bacch.* 139, *Bacch.* 310, *Mil.* 736, *Mil.* 878\*, *Pseud.* 339, *Pseud.* 937\*, *Trin.* 694, *Truc.* 221), *siēt* (*Amph.* 158, *Mil.* 1436, *Trin.* 694), *sīmus* (*Aul.* 484), *sint* (*Merc.* 408), *sient* (*Asin.* 602, *Truc.* 325)  
questions (15): *sim* (*Amph.* 813, *Curc.* 119, *Mil.* 426), *sīt* (*Amph.* 77, *Amph.* 576, *Amph.* 769, *Asin.* 407, *Cas.* 114\*, *Curc.* 616, *Mil.* 615, *Most.* 370, *Persa* 636, *Pseud.* 542, *Pseud.* 1095), *siēt* (*Merc.* 825)  
ambiguous between prohibitions and subordinate *nē*-clauses (19): *sīs* (*Asin.* 469, *Aul.* 458, *Capt.* 854, *Men.* 250, *Men.* 692, *Merc.* 528, *Mil.* 1215, *Mil.* 1422, *Most.* 74, *Most.* 601\*, *Most.* 771, *Most.* 877, *Persa* 140, *Pseud.* 118, *Pseud.* 889, *Rud.* 969\*, *Rud.* 1255, *Truc.* 754\*\*\*), *siēs* (*Amph.* 924)  
*cauē* (without *nē*) (2): *sīs* (*Cas.* 530), *sīt* (*Curc.* 461)

<sup>678</sup>It is not negated.

<sup>679</sup>The tokens with *potis* were counted under *posse*, but not here. They are in *Merc.* 331 and *Poen.* 875.

<sup>680</sup>If we add up the figures presented here, we get a total of 167, not of 165. The reason is that there are two subjunctives of the type *futūrum sit*, which I listed both under ‘auxiliaries’ because of the copula and under ‘present prospective subjunctives’.

<sup>681</sup>Only one of them is negated.

<sup>682</sup>This and the following item are in relative clauses.

<sup>683</sup>This wish is negated.



subordinate *ut*-clauses<sup>684</sup> (111): *sim* (*Amph.* 842\*, *Men.* 983, *Merc.* 129, *Persa* 191, *Rud.* 929, *Rud.* 1217, *Trin.* 234\*\*), *siem* (*Men.* 1149–50, *Rud.* 890), *sīs* (*Amph.* 380, *Amph.* 593\*\*, *Asin.* 44–5, *Aul.* 443, *Bacch.* 1178, *Cas.* 119, *Cas.* 818\*\*, *Cas.* 823, *Cist.* 632\*\*, *Men.* 192, *Merc.* 890, *Mil.* 355\*\*<sup>685</sup>, *Mil.* 1238, *Most.* 789, *Persa* 190\*\*, *Persa* 237, *Persa* 289\*\*, *Poen.* 1038, *Poen.* 1072, *Poen.* 1365, *Pseud.* 276, *Trin.* 486, *Trin.* 487), *siēs* (*Amph.* 934, *Asin.* 505, *Cas.* 819–20\*\*, *Merc.* 885, *Most.* 396, *Poen.* 372, *Poen.* 721\*, *Truc.* 688), *sīt* (*Amph.* 55, *Amph.* 59, *Amph.* 60, *Amph.* 555, *Amph.* 568, *Amph.* 724, *Amph.* 1001, *Asin.* 90, *Asin.* 783, *Aul.* 225, *Bacch.* 972, *Bacch.* 1022, *Capt.* 553, *Capt.* 844, *Capt.* 948\*\*, *Capt.* 1025, *Cas.* 482, *Cas.* 819–20\*\*, *Curc.* 252, *Curc.* 258, *Curc.* 563\*\*, *Men.* 359, *Men.* 677, *Mil.* 1, *Mil.* 82, *Mil.* 346, *Mil.* 1229, *Mil.* 1397, *Most.* 234, *Most.* 1174, *Persa* 178, *Persa* 181, *Persa* 327, *Persa* 735, *Persa* 851, *Poen.* 23, *Poen.* 708, *Poen.* 1289, *Pseud.* 113, *Rud.* 632, *Rud.* 1409, *Stich.* 445, *Trin.* 284, *Trin.* 653, *Trin.* 1123, *Truc.* 894<sup>686</sup>), *siēt* (*Asin.* 21, *Aul.* 450, *Aul.* 545, *Bacch.* 142, *Cas.* 514, *Mil.* 1230, *Mil.* 1395, *Poen.* 1290, *Pseud.* 1062\*\*), *simus* (*Cist.* 32, *Merc.* 583\*\*), *sītis* (*Poen.* 47), *sint* (*Asin.* 284, *Capt.* 583, *Merc.* 1006\*\*, *Mil.* 356, *Most.* 124, *Most.* 417, *Poen.* 549, *Poen.* 580, *Pseud.* 145, *Pseud.* 146<sup>687</sup>, *Stich.* 65), *sient* (*Merc.* 432, *Trin.* 76\*\*)

object/subject clauses without *ut* (25): *sim* (*Poen.* 1244, *Pseud.* 239), *sīs* (*Asin.* 726, *Capt.* 439, *Merc.* 497\*\*, *Mil.* 1360, *Pseud.* 481\*\*\*, *Rud.* 139), *siēs* (*Curc.* 521), *sīt* (*Amph.* 63, *Amph.* 972, *Persa* 438, *Pseud.* 157, *Rud.* 877, *Rud.* 1215\*), *siēt* (*Curc.* 517, *Pseud.* 159, *Truc.* 62a, *Truc.* 63<sup>688</sup>, *Truc.* 348), *sītis* (*Aul.* 716), *sint* (*Amph.* 971\*\*<sup>689</sup>, *Merc.* 829, *Trin.* 221\*), *sient* (*Aul.* 495)

subordinate *nē*-clauses (48): *sim* (*Bacch.* 1197, *Mil.* 1086, *Rud.* 412, *Trin.* 689), *sīs* (*Amph.* 169, *Cist.* 311, *Cist.* 465, *Curc.* 30, *Men.* 627, *Merc.* 779, *Poen.* 395, *Pseud.* 663, *Truc.* 919), *siēs* (*Epid.* 63, *Mil.* 1279, *Persa* 287, *Rud.* 1031, *Truc.* 897\*\*), *sīt* (*Asin.* 230, *Asin.* 767, *Aul.* 38, *Aul.* 92, *Bacch.* 224, *Capt.* 738, *Cas.* 535\*\*, *Cas.* 575, *Cist.* 593, *Cist.* 761\*\*, *Curc.* 29, *Mil.* 1190, *Persa* 86, *Poen.* 178, *Poen.* 402, *Poen.* 663, *Pseud.* 168\*\*, *Pseud.* 1020, *Rud.* 618, *Stich.* 45, *Truc.* 15), *siēt* (*Cas.* 513<sup>690</sup>, *Merc.* 992\*, *Mil.* 955, *Poen.* 400, *Poen.* 1405), *sint* (*Poen.* 35, *Rud.* 1247), *sient* (*Men.* 178\*, *Mil.* 597)

subordinate *quān* (17): *sim* (*Amph.* 398), *siem* (*Amph.* 399, *Men.* 1146\*),

<sup>684</sup>*Parātus* is an adjective rather than a past participle in the following cases (the line of the copula and of the adjective is always the same here): *sīt* (*Asin.* 90, *Curc.* 252, *Stich.* 445), *siēt* (*Cas.* 514), *sint* (*Poen.* 549).

<sup>685</sup>Here, *ut* equals *nē nōn*.

<sup>686</sup>*Acceptum* is an adjective here, but in *Bacch.* 1182 and in *Ad.* 166 it is a past participle combined with an auxiliary.

<sup>687</sup>The negation is word negation. I take *picta* as an adjective rather than as a participle.

<sup>688</sup>This instance could either depend on *faxim* or be co-ordinated with it.

<sup>689</sup>*Parāta* is an adjective, not a past participle here.

<sup>690</sup>*Parātum* is an adjective, not a participle with auxiliary.

sīs (*Asin.* 305\*\*, *Mil.* 1194), sīt (*Aul.* 164<sup>691</sup>, *Curc.* 164, *Mil.* 332\*\*, *Mil.* 474\*\*, *Persa* 365, *Persa* 367\*\*, *Stich.* 208, *Truc.* 553), siēt (*Capt.* 626, *Mil.* 742, *Poen.* 184, *Truc.* 907)

conditional clauses (44): sim (*Bacch.* 1039, *Cas.* 293, *Cas.* 529, *Merc.* 489, *Persa* 215, *Poen.* 1219), siem (*Rud.* 1381), sīs (*Amph.* 904, *Amph.* 907, *Aul.* 540, *Most.* 896, *Rud.* 1062), siēs (*Men.* 110), sīt (*Asin.* 393, *Asin.* 764, *Asin.* 895\*, *Asin.* 933, *Aul.* 320, *Bacch.* 635\*, *Bacch.* 1045, *Capt.* 850, *Merc.* 650, *Mil.* 685\*\*\*, *Mil.* 764\*\*\*, *Mil.* 1256, *Poen.* 928, *Pseud.* 377, *Pseud.* 740\*, *Rud.* 978, *Rud.* 1128, *Rud.* 1419, *Trin.* 219, *Vid. fr.* xiii (xvii)), siēt (*Curc.* 58, *Epid.* 257, *Merc.* 693, *Trin.* 962), sint (*Amph.* 961, *Men.* 982\*\*\*, *Merc.* 913, *Pseud.* 433\*, *Stich.* 43, *Stich.* 112), sient (*Amph.* 209)

indirect questions (221): sim (*Amph.* 336, *Amph.* 671, *Amph.* 844, *Amph.* 1029, *Amph.* 1038, *Aul.* 1, *Aul.* 714, *Aul.* 714, *Cas.* 413, *Men.* 279\*\*<sup>692</sup>, *Men.* 302, *Mil.* 925\*, *Most.* 199, *Most.* 237, *Most.* 996, *Persa* 276, *Trin.* 6, *Trin.* 929, *Truc.* 776\*\*\*), siem (*Amph.* 130, *Bacch.* 594, *Capt.* 969, *Merc.* 267, *Rud.* 925), sīs (*Amph.* 346, *Amph.* 354\*, *Asin.* 140, *Aul.* 217, *Bacch.* 400, *Capt.* 248, *Cas.* 515, *Men.* 301\*\*, *Poen.* 856, *Pseud.* 275, *Trin.* 698, *Trin.* 994, *Trin.* 994), siēs (*Men.* 188\*, *Rud.* 1026\*\*, *Truc.* 34), sīt (*Amph.* 56\*, *Amph.* 104, *Amph.* 172, *Amph.* 185, *Amph.* 609, *Amph.* fr. xix (xiv), *Asin.* 27, *Asin.* 36, *Asin.* 51, *Asin.* 60, *Asin.* 353, *Asin.* 465, *Asin.* 465, *Asin.* 495, *Asin.* 898, *Aul.* 29, *Aul.* 296, *Aul.* 551, *Aul.* 563, *Aul.* 697, *Aul.* 800, *Aul.* 802, *Bacch.* 189, *Bacch.* 405\*, *Bacch.* 555, *Bacch.* 786, *Bacch.* 856, *Bacch.* 1133, *Bacch.* 1160, *Capt.* 698, *Cas.* 184, *Cas.* 274, *Cist.* 565, *Cist.* 615, *Cist.* 615, *Cist.* 676, *Cist.* 717, *Cist.* 735, *Curc.* 372, *Curc.* 590, *Epid.* 81, *Epid.* 101, *Epid.* 322, *Epid.* 322\*\*\*, *Epid.* 458, *Epid.* 462\*\*\*, *Epid.* 532\*\*, *Epid.* 580\*\*\*, *Men.* 246, *Men.* 341, *Men.* 384, *Men.* 530\*\*, *Men.* 639, *Men.* 755, *Men.* 762, *Men.* 763a, *Men.* 1046, *Merc.* 121\*\*, *Merc.* 129, *Merc.* 170, *Merc.* 254, *Merc.* 354–5, *Merc.* 452, *Merc.* 721, *Merc.* 732–5, *Merc.* 789, *Merc.* 888, *Merc.* 892, *Merc.* 935, *Mil.* 317, *Mil.* 448, *Mil.* 536, *Mil.* 1012, *Mil.* 1051, *Mil.* 1051\*\*, *Mil.* 1365, *Most.* 627, *Most.* 627, *Most.* 725, *Most.* 1101, *Persa* 34, *Persa* 278, *Persa* 281, *Persa* 635\*\*, *Poen.* 92, *Poen.* 109, *Poen.* 590, *Poen.* 592, *Poen.* 768, *Poen.* 993\*\*, *Poen.* 993, *Poen.* 1008, *Poen.* 1111, *Poen.* 1250, *Pseud.* 16, *Pseud.* 684, *Pseud.* 951, *Pseud.* 1038, *Pseud.* 1120\*\*, *Pseud.* 1131a, *Pseud.* 1161, *Pseud.* 1212, *Rud.* 385, *Rud.* 628, *Rud.* 638, *Rud.* 750, *Rud.* 752, *Rud.* 991, *Rud.* 1142\*\*, *Stich.* 204, *Stich.* 356, *Stich.* 573, *Trin.* 230, *Trin.* 231, *Trin.* 257\*\*, *Trin.* 320, *Trin.* 584\*, *Trin.* 849, *Trin.* 960, *Truc.* 346, *Truc.* 570\*\*\*, *Truc.* 785\*\*\*, *Truc.* 868, *Caecus uel Praedones viii, Sitellitergus i\*\*\**), siēt (*Amph.* 58, *Amph.* 105, *Amph.* 106, *Amph.* 485, *Amph.* 787\*\*, *Asin.* 348, *Aul.* 765, *Bacch.* 461, *Bacch.* 827, *Capt.* 193, *Capt.* 560, *Cas.* 637–8\*, *Cist.* 164, *Curc.* 372,

<sup>691</sup>*Parātum* is an adjective rather than a past participle.

<sup>692</sup>The context is not entirely clear because of a lacuna, but this seems to be an indirect question.

*Epid.* 575, *Men.* 341, *Men.* 764a, *Merc.* 110, *Merc.* 175, *Mil.* 448, *Most.* 407–8\*, *Most.* 661, *Poen.* 97, *Poen.* 649, *Poen.* 1121\*\*, *Rud.* 1163, *Stich.* 118, *Stich.* 202\*\*, *Stich.* 268, *Trin.* 6, *Trin.* 88\*\*\*, *Trin.* 283\*, *Vid. fr.* xi (x)), *sīmus* (*Mil.* 431, *Pseud.* 683, *Rud.* 293), *sītis* (*Mil.* 452), *sint* (*Capt.* 958, *Curc.* 321, *Men.* 575, *Merc.* 1016, *Most.* 309, *Most.* 932, *Pseud.* 432\*\*<sup>693</sup>, *Pseud.* 451\*\*, *Pseud.* 451\*\*\*, *Rud.* 1106, *Stich.* 32, *Trin.* 636), *sient* (*Aul.* 542\*\*, *Curc.* 322, *Merc.* 839, *Mil.* 1358, *Most.* 708, *Poen.* 1404\*\*, *Poen.* 1416\*\*)

relative clauses (74): *siem* (*Amph.* 57), *sīs* (*Asin.* 658, *Men.* 323, *Mil.* 59\*\*\*, *Persa* 340, *Poen.* 234, *Stich.* 395\*\*, *Truc.* 587\*\*\*), *siēs* (*Pseud.* 611, *Rud.* 522), *sīt* (*Amph.* 506, *Asin.* 86\*, *Asin.* 435, *Aul.* 148, *Bacch.* 70, *Bacch.* 84, *Bacch.* 84, *Bacch.* 1181\*\*, *Capt.* 271, *Capt.* 347\*\*, *Capt.* 986, *Cas.* 255, *Cas.* 519, *Cas.* 749–50, *Cist.* 502\*\*, *Curc.* 23, *Curc.* 140, *Curc.* 519, *Epid.* 372, *Epid.* 466, *Men.* 220, *Men.* 603, *Merc.* 520, *Mil.* 529–30\*\*, *Mil.* 659, *Mil.* 660\*\*\*, *Mil.* 783, *Mil.* 785, *Mil.* 787, *Mil.* 1276, *Most.* 626\*\*, *Persa* 391, *Poen.* 867, *Poen.* 867, *Pseud.* 98, *Pseud.* 191, *Pseud.* 237, *Pseud.* 248, *Pseud.* 460, *Pseud.* 1022\*\*, *Trin.* 260, *Trin.* 552\*, *Truc.* 717), *siēt* (*Amph.* 856, *Cas.* 176–7, *Cas.* 565, *Curc.* 440, *Epid.* 168\*\*, *Merc.* 898\*, *Persa* 699, *Poen.* 92, *Poen.* 547, *Poen.* 860, *Poen.* 1213\*, *Pseud.* 97, *Pseud.* 785, *Pseud.* 929), *sīmus* (*Trin.* 356), *sint* (*Aul.* 810, *Merc.* 36\*, *Merc.* 336), *sient* (*Amph.* 10, *Poen.* 616, *Pseud.* 390)

causal clauses with *quia* (2): *sīt* (*Merc.* 406, *Most.* 1107)

temporal clauses (*dum*<sup>694</sup>, *quandō*, *quom*, *ubi*(*cumque*)) (21): *sim* (*Pseud.* 184\*\*\*, *Rud.* 1220), *siem* (*Aul.* 229), *sīs* (*Merc.* 550, *Merc.* 552\*, *Persa* 291, *Trin.* 496), *sīt* (*Asin.* 945, *Bacch.* 140, *Capt.* 495, *Curc.* 526, *Men.* 363\*\*, *Mil.* 743\*\*, *Poen.* 855\*, *Pseud.* 307, *Trin.* 700\*\*, *Truc.* 433), *siēt* (*Aul.* 370, *Bacch.* 653, *Poen.* 20), *sint* (*Persa* 76)

comparative clauses (e.g. with *potius quam*, *quam*, *quasi*, *tamquam sī* or *utquomque*) (24): *sim* (*Asin.* 427, *Mil.* 798, *Most.* 884, *Poen.* 600, *Poen.* 922, *Truc.* 867\*\*\*), *siem* (*Persa* 237, *Poen.* 276), *siēs* (*Mil.* 1181), *sīt* (*Amph.* 1074, *Bacch.* 662, *Curc.* 51, *Merc.* 315, *Persa* 157, *Poen.* 272, *Poen.* 845, *Rud.* 340, *Trin.* 766), *siēt* (*Amph.* 115, *Aul.* 369), *sint* (*Aul.* 719, *Poen.* 1103, *Trin.* 775), *sient* (*Stich.* 100\*\*)

limiting clauses (*dum*<sup>695</sup>) (8): *sim* (*Persa* 657\*), *sīs* (*Trin.* 979), *sīt* (*Cas.* 331, *Most.* 71, *Persa* 387\*, *Trin.* 58), *siēt* (*Cas.* 76, *Merc.* 906)

auxiliaries<sup>696</sup> (112): *sim* (*Aul.* 778, *Bacch.* 722, *Bacch.* 1182, *Capt.* 258, *Merc.* 14, *Mil.* 1183\*, *Most.* 249, *Persa* 271\*\*, *Pseud.* 339\*, *Pseud.* 565,

<sup>693</sup>This depends on *fors fuāt an*.

<sup>694</sup>There are two tokens with *dum*: *Curc.* 526 and *Poen.* 20.

<sup>695</sup>We find *dum nē* in *Persa* 657 and *Trin.* 979.

<sup>696</sup>I count *esse* with past or future participle as auxiliary, but not *esse* in the type *sīs sciēns* (present participle). The following auxiliaries have, in combination with the past participle, present state meaning: *sim* (*Most.* 249, *Rud.* 208, *Rud.* 573), *sīs* (*Amph.* 979), *siēs* (*Men.* 190), *sīt* (*Bacch.* 96, *Cas.* 743, *Curc.* 427, *Men.* 867\*\*\*, *Pseud.* 190), *siēt* (*Capt.* 736, *Men.*

*Pseud.* 567, *Rud.* 208, *Rud.* 573, *Rud.* 1419\*), *siem* (*Aul.* 231, *Merc.* 572, *Rud.* 566, *Truc.* 736\*\*<sup>697</sup>), *sīs* (*Amph.* 979, *Asin.* 563, *Asin.* 570, *Capt.* 295, *Cas.* 335, *Cist.* 518\*\*\*, *Men.* 723, *Persa* 144, *Persa* 590, *Poen.* 1057, *Pseud.* 981, *Rud.* 1337, *Rud.* 1381), *siēs* (*Asin.* 569, *Men.* 190, *Poen.* 148), *sīt* (*Amph.* 137, *Asin.* 286, *Asin.* 443, *Asin.* 572, *Asin.* 744, *Asin.* 838, *Bacch.* 43, *Bacch.* 96, *Capt.* 952, *Cas.* 53, *Cas.* 743, *Cist.* 555, *Curc.* 427, *Epid.* 377, *Epid.* 574, *Men.* 165<sup>698</sup>, *Men.* 519, *Men.* 867\*\*\*, *Men.* 1045, *Merc.* 198, *Merc.* 213, *Mil.* 188, *Mil.* 242\*\*, *Mil.* 934, *Most.* 555, *Most.* 976, *Most.* 1124\*\*\*, *Persa* 150, *Persa* 302\*\*, *Persa* 596\*\*, *Poen.* 109\*\*, *Pseud.* 190, *Pseud.* 727\*, *Pseud.* 1071, *Pseud.* 1096, *Rud.* 64, *Trin.* 373, *Trin.* 470, *Trin.* 742, *Trin.* 768), *siēt* (*Amph.* 858\*, *Aul.* 39\*\*<sup>699</sup>, *Bacch.* 1037, *Capt.* 736, *Cas.* 194\*, *Curc.* 396, *Men.* 992, *Mil.* 199, *Mil.* 261, *Mil.* 1186\*\*\*, *Trin.* 472), *sīmus* (*Aul.* 749, *Poen.* 284, *Rud.* 272\*, *Rud.* 321, *Rud.* 410\*\*), *sītis* (*Truc.* 778), *sint* (*Amph.* 225, *Amph.* 981, *Asin.* 759, *Aul.* 273, *Epid.* 377, *Mil.* 227\*\*\*, *Most.* 413\*, *Poen.* 913, *Pseud.* 164, *Trin.* 471, *Truc.* 774\*), *sient* (*Amph.* 1106, *Aul.* 278, *Bacch.* 989, *Mil.* 227\*\*\*<sup>700</sup>, *Most.* 400, *Poen.* 817, *Rud.* 746, *Rud.* 979, *Truc.* 338\*, *Truc.* 486)

imperfect subjunctives (128=22 MC, 2 MC aux, 104 SC): *essem* (*Amph.* 127 SC, *Amph.* 575 MC, *Bacch.* 217 SC, *Capt.* 273 SC, *Mil.* 476\* SC, *Mil.* 746\* SC, *Truc.* 140 SC, *Truc.* 169 SC), *essēs* (*Asin.* 502 SC, *Asin.* 848 SC, *Aul.* 797 SC, *Capt.* 417\*\* SC, *Cas.* 811 SC, *Cas.* 811 MC, *Cist.* 3 SC, *Men.* 160 MC, *Persa* 686 SC, *Pseud.* 1236 MC, *Trin.* 568 MC, *Trin.* 632 SC), *essēt* (*Amph.* 377 SC, *Asin.* 442\*\* SC, *Asin.* 674 SC, *Asin.* 753 SC, *Aul.* 740 SC, *Bacch.* 393 SC, *Bacch.* 412 SC, *Bacch.* 487 MC, *Bacch.* 554 SC, *Bacch.* 788 SC, *Bacch.* 1048 SC, *Capt.* 714 MC, *Capt.* 754 SC, *Cas.* 46 SC, *Cas.* 440 SC, *Cas.* 556 SC, *Cas.* 556\* MC, *Cas.* 910\* MC, *Cist.* 243 SC, *Cist.* 245\* SC, *Cist.* 587 SC, *Epid.* 356 SC, *Epid.* 429 MC aux, *Men.* 460\* SC, *Men.* 482 SC, *Men.* 647 SC, *Men.* 1022 SC, *Merc.* 199–200 SC, *Merc.* 383 MC, *Merc.* 595 SC, *Merc.* 634 SC, *Merc.* 634 SC, *Merc.* 731 SC, *Merc.* 823 MC, *Mil.* 143 SC, *Mil.* 391\*\*\* SC, *Mil.* 577 SC, *Mil.* 731 SC, *Mil.* 733\* MC, *Mil.* 838\*\* SC, *Mil.* 1043 SC, *Mil.* 1356 SC, *Most.* 844 SC, *Persa* 45 SC, *Persa* 634\*\* SC, *Poen.* 454 SC, *Poen.* 1134 SC, *Pseud.* 640 SC, *Pseud.* 796 SC, *Pseud.* 1118 SC, *Pseud.* 1163 SC, *Rud.* 203 MC, *Rud.* 380 MC, *Rud.* 392 SC, *Rud.* 744 MC, *Rud.* 802 MC, *Rud.* 1262 MC, *Stich.* 680 SC, *Trin.* 115 SC, *Trin.* 135 SC, *Trin.* 178 MC, *Trin.* 314 SC, *Trin.* 954 MC, *Trin.* 1141\*\* SC, *Truc.* 395 SC, *Truc.* 816\*\* SC), *essēmus* (*Capt.* 253 SC), *essent* (*Amph.* 1096 SC, *Asin.* 364 SC, *Asin.* 860 SC, *Cas.* 533 SC, *Epid.* 392 SC, *Merc.* 231\*\* SC, *Mil.* 732\* SC, *Mil.* 733 MC, *Mil.* 735 SC, *Most.* 978\*\*\* SC, *Rud.* 553 SC,

992), *sīmus* (*Poen.* 284), *sint* (*Amph.* 981, *Asin.* 759, *Aul.* 273), *sient* (*Aul.* 278, *Bacch.* 989, *Most.* 400).

<sup>697</sup>The translation is ‘for fear that I should have forgotten’.

<sup>698</sup>There is not enough context, but this seems to be an auxiliary.

<sup>699</sup>This *nē*-clause is close to an indirect question.

<sup>700</sup>Here I follow Spengel and read *ut facta nē sient*.

*Trin.* 1029 MC), forem (*Merc.* 78\*\* SC, *Rud.* 218 SC, *Stich.* 177 SC), forēt (*Amph.* 21 SC, *Bacch.* 488\*\* SC, *Bacch.* 916 SC, *Bacch.* 1047 SC, *Men.* 647 SC, *Merc.* 91 SC, *Merc.* 622 SC, *Mil.* 53 SC, *Mil.* 170\* SC, *Mil.* 1083 SC, *Most.* 494 SC, *Persa* 837 SC, *Poen.* 262 MC aux, *Rud.* 202 SC, *Rud.* 802\* SC, *Rud.* 1259 SC, *Trin.* 646 SC, *Trin.* 822\*\* SC, *Trin.* 832 SC, *Trin.* 837 SC, *Trin.* 1127 SC, *Truc.* 90 SC), forent (*Bacch.* 953\* SC, *Curc.* 449 SC, *Most.* 800 SC, *Rud.* 553 MC)

perfect subjunctives<sup>701</sup> (35=4 MC, 31 SC): fuerim (*Amph.* 177 SC, *Mil.* 740\*\* SC, *Mil.* 1364 SC, *Persa* 296 SC, *Truc.* 341 SC), fuerīs (*Amph.* 818 MC, *Asin.* 140 SC, *Asin.* 561 SC, *Asin.* 568 SC, *Asin.* 571 SC, *Asin.* 573 SC, *Asin.* 839–40 MC, *Aul.* 618 MC, *Capt.* 248 SC, *Capt.* 407 SC, *Epid.* 595 MC), fuerīt (*Amph.* 744 SC, *Amph.* 1016 SC, *Capt.* 145 SC, *Men.* 229 SC, *Mil.* 261\*\* SC, *Mil.* 406 SC, *Mil.* 742 SC, *Most.* 967 SC, *Persa* 583 SC, *Pseud.* 305 SC, *Pseud.* 439 SC, *Rud.* 353 SC, *Trin.* 1001 SC), fuerint (*Men.* 1083\*\* SC, *Persa* 150 SC, *Persa* 381 SC, *Poen.* 110 SC, *Poen.* 966 SC, *Truc.* 809 SC)

pluperfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): fuissēt (*Mil.* 719–20 SC), fuissent (*Bacch.* 1207 SC)

present prospective subjunctives (2<sup>702</sup>): futūrum sīt (*Persa* 302\*\* SC), futūra sint (*Epid.* 377 SC)

(excluded: sim (*Men.* 644<sup>703</sup>, sīt (*Amph.* 59, *Bacch.* 656<sup>704</sup>, *Merc.* 900, *Most.* 627, *Stich.* 57<sup>705</sup>, fr. dub. et susp. vi (xvi uel vii)<sup>706</sup>))

---

### root tag-

- *attingere*: 3 present subjunctives, 2 subjunctives of other tenses
  - subordinate *nē*-clause<sup>707</sup> (1): attingās (*Asin.* 373)
  - subordinate *quān*-clause (1): attingās (*Bacch.* 915)
  - conditional clause (1): attingās (*Bacch.* 440)
  - perfect subjunctive (1=1 MC): attigerīs (*Persa* 793 MC<sup>708</sup>)
  - pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): attigissēt (*Bacch.* 197 SC)

<sup>701</sup>The tokens in *Asin.* 839–40, *Aul.* 618 and *Epid.* 595 are prohibitive. The item in *Aul.* 618 is introduced by *cauē*.

<sup>702</sup>The auxiliaries have already been listed above.

<sup>703</sup>This is merely a conjecture. The same is true of the forms in *Amph.* 59, *Merc.* 900, and *Most.* 627.

<sup>704</sup>The verb is deleted by Lindsay.

<sup>705</sup>The scene is excluded by Lindsay.

<sup>706</sup>*Quod sōlus sit* in the non-literal citation does not mean that Plautus used a subjunctive as well.

<sup>707</sup>The superordinate verb is *cauēbis*.

<sup>708</sup>This is in a prohibition.

---

root *tul-*

- *auferre*: 22 present subjunctives, 11 subjunctives of other tenses
  - positive commands (2): *auferāt* (*Mil.* 1100, *Mil.* 1304)
  - wish<sup>709</sup> (1): *auferam* (*Aul.* 433)
  - potential/unreal statement (1): *auferās* (*Persa* 797)
  - question (1): *auferam* (*Pseud.* 486)
  - subordinate *ut*-clauses (7): *auferam* (*Aul.* 582, *Aul.* 614, *Aul.* 695\*, *Bacch.* 825), *auferās* (*Bacch.* 694, *Pseud.* 486), *auferāt* (*Bacch.* 740)
  - object clause without *ut* (1): *auferant* (*Truc.* 585)
  - subordinate *nē*-clauses (3): *auferāt* (*Aul.* 82, *Curc.* 704, *Poen.* 1293)
  - conditional clause (1): *auferāt* (*Bacch.* 480)
  - indirect questions (3): *auferam* (*Epid.* 160, *Epid.* 193, *Persa* 326)
  - comparative clause (*potius quam*) (1): *auferās* (*Asin.* 816\*\*)
  - limiting clause (*dum*) (1): *auferam* (*Curc.* 428\*)
  - imperfect subjunctives (3=2 MC, 1 SC): *auferrēs* (*Aul.* 440\* MC, *Truc.* 748 MC), *auferrēt* (*Rud.* 1124\* SC)
  - perfect subjunctives (8=8 SC): *apstulerim* (*Men.* 1061 SC), *apstulerīt* (*Aul.* 716 SC, *Aul.* 773 SC, *Aul.* 774 SC, *Cist.* 679\*\* SC, *Curc.* 650 SC, *Mil.* 696 SC), *ablātus siēt* (*Men.* 992 SC)
  - (*auferam*=future: *Bacch.* 571, *Curc.* 619)

---

root *uen-*

- *aduenīre*: 8 present subjunctives, 5 subjunctives of other tenses
  - subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *adueniās* (*Amph.* 544)
  - object clause without *ut* (1): *adueniāt* (*Most.* 11)
  - conditional clause (1): *adueniam* (*Epid.* 365)
  - temporal clauses (*quom* and *dum*) (4): *adueniāt* (*Bacch.* 76\*\*, *Mil.* 578\*\*, *Most.* 249\*\*, *Poen.* 929)
  - comparative clause (*quam*) (1): *adueniāt* (*Truc.* 96\*\*)
  - perfect subjunctives (4=4 SC): *aduēnerim* (*Merc.* 940 SC), *aduēnerīt* (*Bacch.* 235 SC, *Rud.* 1243 SC, *Stich.* 456 SC)
  - pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *aduēnissem* (*Capt.* 871 SC)

---

<sup>709</sup>It is not negated.

- *ēuenīre*: 15 present subjunctives, 1 pluperfect subjunctive  
 wish<sup>710</sup> (1): *ēueniāt* (*Trin.* 715\*)  
 subordinate *ut*-clauses (3): *ēueniāt* (*Cas.* 390), *ēueniant* (*Persa* 629\*,  
*Rud.* 640)  
 object clauses without *ut* (2): *ēueniant* (*Amph.* 632, *Persa* 293\*)  
 subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): *ēueniāt* (*Capt.* 91, *Curc.* 271)  
 conditional clause (2): *ēueniāt* (*Bacch.* 79\*, *Mil.* 669)  
 indirect questions (4): *ēueniāt* (*Bacch.* 144, *Most.* 58, *Most.* 132),  
*ēueniant* (*Most.* 395)  
 relative clause (1): *ēueniant* (*Cas.* 618\*)  
 pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *ēuēnissēt* (*Poen.* 1252\* SC)
- *peruenīre*: 4 perfect subjunctives  
 perfect subjunctives (4=4 SC): *peruēnerīs* (*Trin.* 886 SC), *peruēnerīt*  
 (*Curc.* 608 SC, *Curc.* 632 SC, *Trin.* 947\*\* SC)

## G: The Remaining Regular Subjunctives in Plautus

This section contains the regular subjunctives in Plautus which belong to the five roots with extra-paradigmatic *ā*-subjunctives, but which were not listed in section F.

I have also listed those simple futures that look like present subjunctives. The future perfects that look like perfect subjunctives can be found elsewhere (appendix 6, sections G and H).

### compounds of *dare*

- *addere*: 7 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (6): *addam* (*Asin.* 610, *Merc.* 437), *addās* (*Men.* 526, *Rud.* 1329, *Stich.* 554), *addantur* (*Men.* 427)  
 imperfect subjunctive (1): *adderēs* (*Pseud.* 287)  
 (*addam*=future: *Cist.* 52, *Epid.* 474, *Poen.* 385, *Truc.* 894)
- *apscondere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
 present subjunctive (1): *apscondās* (*Cist.* 63\*)
- *concrēdere*: 4 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctive (1): *concrēdāt* (*Capt.* 348)  
 imperfect subjunctives (2): *concrēderēt* (*Asin.* 80, *Trin.* 957)

---

<sup>710</sup>It is not negated.

- pluperfect subjunctive (1): *concrēdita essēt* (*Cist.* 245)  
 (concrēdam=future: *Rud.* 1127\*)
- *condere*: 3 present subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (3): *condam* (*Aul.* 712, *Pseud.* 534), *condāmus* (*Poen.* 1269)  
 (condam=future: *Rud.* 936*a*, *Vid.* 59)
  - *dēdere*: 4 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (2): *dēdam* (*Pseud.* 1226), *dēdās* (*Pseud.* 1226)  
 imperfect subjunctive (1): *dēderent* (*Amph.* 226)  
 perfect subjunctive (1): *dēdiderīt* (*Bacch.* 45)  
 (dēdam=future: *Aul.* 59, *Curc.* 627, *Mil.* 567\*)
  - *dīdere*: no subjunctives  
 (dīdam=future: *Mil.* 707)
  - *indere*: 2 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctive (1): *indās* (*Persa* 571)  
 perfect subjunctive (1): *indiderīs* (*Merc.* 205)  
 (indam=future: *Rud.* 934*a*)
  - *perdere*: 60 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (51): *perdam* (*Bacch.* 490, *Men.* 217, *Men.* 665, *Poen.* 423, *Stich.* 348\*, *Truc.* 598\*\*\*), *perdās* (*Aul.* 341, *Bacch.* 1042, *Curc.* 197, *Poen.* 575, *Pseud.* 322, *Trin.* 1054), *perdāt* (*Amph.* 570, *Cas.* 238, *Curc.* 622, *Epid.* 36, *Pseud.* 251, *Rud.* 569), *perdant* (*Aul.* 645, *Aul.* 658, *Capt.* 868, *Capt.* 909, *Cas.* 275, *Cas.* 279, *Cas.* 609, *Cist.* 481, *Cist.* 497, *Curc.* 317, *Epid.* 23, *Men.* 595*a*, *Men.* 666, *Merc.* 967, *Mil.* 286, *Mil.* 833, *Most.* 39, *Most.* 684, *Persa* 292, *Persa* 298, *Persa* 622, *Persa* 784, *Poen.* 588, *Poen.* 864, *Poen.* 865, *Pseud.* 837, *Pseud.* 1230, *Rud.* 1112, *Rud.* 1166, *Trin.* 923, *Trin.* 992, *Trin.* 997, *Boeotia* i. 1)  
 imperfect subjunctives (5): *perderem* (*Stich.* 576), *perderēs* (*Men.* 490, *Trin.* 643), *perderēmus* (*Poen.* 816), *perderent* (*Capt.* 537)  
 perfect subjunctives (3): *perdiderim* (*Bacch.* 1103), *perdiderīt* (*Rud.* 1295), *perdiderīmus* (*Mil.* 429)  
 pluperfect subjunctive (1): *perdidissem* (*Men.* 460)  
 (perdam=future: *Asin.* 132, *Asin.* 148, *Cist.* 533, *Epid.* 519, *Mil.* 371)
  - *recondere*: 2 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctive (1): *recondās* (*Stich.* 231)  
 imperfect subjunctive (1): *reconderem* (*Curc.* 388)



- *reddere*: 36 regular subjunctives
 

present subjunctives (32): *reddam* (*Asin.* 455, *Aul.* 45, *Aul.* 634, *Aul.* 651, *Aul.* 829, *Curc.* 540, *Trin.* 515), *reddās* (*Amph.* 928, *Bacch.* 1150, *Capt.* 938, *Cist.* 767, *Poen.* 535, *Poen.* 1084, *Poen.* 1399\*\*, *Poen.* 1414, *Rud.* 1128), *reddāt* (*Asin.* 122, *Asin.* 807, *Bacch.* 330, *Bacch.* 353, *Bacch.* 576, *Bacch.* 590, *Men.* 672, *Men.* 1049, *Pseud.* 386, *Truc.* 839), *reddātur* (*Aul.* 829, *Bacch.* 609, *Merc.* 418), *reddant* (*Capt.* 473, *Curc.* 378), *reddantur* (*Rud.* 1137)

imperfect subjunctives (3): *redderem* (*Bacch.* 198, *Trin.* 133), *redderēs* (*Trin.* 133)

pluperfect subjunctive (1): *redditum essēt* (*Asin.* 442\*\*)

(*reddam*=future: *Asin.* 145, *Asin.* 456, *Aul.* 573, *Bacch.* 767, *Bacch.* 1034, *Capt.* 822, *Curc.* 727, *Men.* 546, *Merc.* 956, *Mil.* 1214, *Poen.* 853, *Poen.* 1394, *Pseud.* 86, *Pseud.* 530, *Pseud.* 733, *Trin.* 156, *Trin.* 819, *Bacaria* 5)
- *subdere*: 1 regular subjunctive
 

present subjunctive (1): *subdās* (*Epid.* 140)

(*subdam*=future: *Curc.* 297)
- *uendere*: 15 regular subjunctives
 

present subjunctives (14): *uendam* (*Capt.* 181, *Persa* 340, *Persa* 357), *uendās* (*Merc.* 424–5, *Persa* 135, *Persa* 146, *Persa* 338\*, *Pseud.* 284, *Pseud.* 322), *uendāt* (*Asin.* 764, *Merc.* 104, *Merc.* 332\*\*, *Persa* 136, *Persa* 156)

imperfect subjunctive (1): *uenderēs* (*Trin.* 134)

(*uendam*=future: *Bacch.* 977, *Men.* 1153)
- Attested, but without relevant tokens (regular subjunctives, simple futures that look like present subjunctives): *abdere*, *circumdare*, *disperdere*, *ēdere*, *interdare*, *obdere*, *prōdere*

---

### compounds of *esse*

- *abesse*: 5 regular subjunctives
 

present subjunctives (4): *apsim* (*Amph.* 542, *Curc.* 164), *apsīs* (*Capt.* 611), *apsīt* (*Amph.* 644)

perfect subjunctive (1): *āfuerīs* (*Stich.* 523)
- *adesse*: 24 regular subjunctives
 

present subjunctives (19): *assīs* (*Amph.* 1037), *assiēs* (*Amph.* 976), *assīt* (*Amph.* 636, *Cas.* 572, *Cas.* 572, *Men.* 969, *Merc.* 362, *Mil.* 608, *Mil.*

1137, *Rud.* 119, *Stich.* 322, *Trin.* 146, *Vid.* 57, *Hortulus*), assiēt (*Asin.* 415, *Pseud.* 924\*, *Pseud.* 1115), assint (*Men.* 454\*\*, *Pseud.* 181)

imperfect subjunctives (3): adessēs (*Aul.* 439, *Persa* 595), adessēt (*Asin.* 396)

perfect subjunctives (2): affuerim (*Amph.* 200), affuerīs (*Bacch.* 90<sup>711</sup>)

- *inesse*: 6 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (3): īnsīt (*Cas.* 380, *Rud.* 1140, *Rud.* 1149)

perfect subjunctives (3): īnfuerīt (*Cist.* 733, *Cist.* 734, *Rud.* 1310\*)

- *obesse*: 5 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (4): opsīt (*Mil.* 601\*\*, *Persa* 832, *Trin.* 589), opsint (*Mil.* 996)

imperfect subjunctive (1): obsessent (*Capt.* 705)

- *posse*: 112 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (85): possim (*Amph.* 340, *Asin.* 559, *Bacch.* 180, *Capt.* 932, *Capt.* 940, *Cist.* 116, *Curc.* 464\*\*, *Men.* 743, *Merc.* 346, *Pseud.* 236, *Pseud.* 274\*, *Pseud.* 290, *Stich.* 486, *Trin.* 42, *Trin.* 953, *Truc.* 377, *Vid.* 56), possiem (*Bacch.* 762, *Persa* 319, *Stich.* 479), possīs (*Asin.* 235, *Asin.* 558, *Asin.* 878, *Aul.* 54, *Aul.* 441, *Capt.* 118, *Capt.* 448, *Cas.* 95, *Cas.* 133, *Curc.* 715, *Men.* 163, *Men.* 722, *Merc.* 518, *Most.* 838, *Pseud.* 236, *Pseud.* 827, *Stich.* 697, *Trin.* 653), possiēs (*Asin.* 819, *Aul.* 747, *Men.* 1104, *Mil.* 842, *Most.* 465, *Most.* 835), possīt (*Asin.* 112, *Asin.* 767, *Aul.* 488, *Bacch.* 1082, *Cas.* 125, *Curc.* 299, *Curc.* 479, *Men.* 53, *Merc.* 36, *Mil.* 182\*, *Mil.* 225, *Mil.* 329, *Mil.* 670\*\*, *Mil.* 686\*, *Mil.* 1098, *Most.* 355, *Most.* 1053\*, *Poen.* 893, *Poen.* 1251\*, *Rud.* 1110, *Trin.* 558\*, *Truc.* 363\*, *Truc.* 830), possiēt (*Bacch.* 370, *Capt.* 996, *Cist.* 185, *Merc.* 145, *Most.* 14, *Poen.* 881, *Stich.* 769), possīmus (*Poen.* 554, *Pseud.* 684, *Neruolaria* iii), possītis (*Amph.* 142), possint (*Men.* 549, *Most.* 1095, *Pseud.* 470, *Trin.* 532, *Trin.* 654), potis siem (*Merc.* 331), potis sīs (*Poen.* 875\*)

imperfect subjunctives (22): possem (*Amph.* 126, *Mil.* 1207, *Pseud.* 3), possēs (*Bacch.* 554, *Trin.* 120\*), possēt (*Bacch.* 550, *Capt.* 28, *Capt.* 33, *Capt.* 154, *Cas.* 48, *Cist.* 715, *Curc.* 700, *Men.* 20, *Merc.* 623, *Pseud.* 900, *Rud.* 390, *Stich.* 563, *Trin.* 155, *Trin.* 1145), potissēt (*Mil.* 884), possent (*Capt.* 917, *Epid.* 384)

perfect subjunctives (4): potuerim (*Cist.* 237\*), potuerīs (*Cist.* 4\*), potuerīt (*Merc.* 380), pote fuerīt (*Mil.* 926\*)

pluperfect subjunctive (1): potuissēt (*Persa* 173\*)

(excluded: possint (*Epid.* 385<sup>712</sup>))

---

<sup>711</sup>The token is in a prohibition.

<sup>712</sup>This token is deleted by Lindsay.

- *praeesse*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): praesim (*Amph.* 12)
- *prōdesse*: 2 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (2): prōsim (*Amph.* 842), prōsint (*Trin.* 35)
- *subesse*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): supsiēt (*Most.* 920)
- *superesse*: 2 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (2): supersīt (*Men.* 221, *Persa* 331)
- Attested, but no subjunctives: confore, interesse

---

### ***tangere* and compounds**

- *contingere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): contingāt (*Asin.* 720)
- *optingere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
perfect subjunctive (1): optigerīt (*Truc.* 344)
- *tangere*: 6 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (2): tangam (*Amph.* 313, *Truc.* 276)  
imperfect subjunctives (3): tangerem (*Most.* 454–5, *Most.* 462), tangerēs (*Aul.* 740)  
perfect subjunctive (1): tetigerīs (*Poen.* 281)  
(tangam=future: *Pseud.* 120, *Rud.* 785, *Rud.* 797)

---

### **compounds of *tollere/ferre* (and *ferre* as *uerbum simplex*)**

- *afferre*: 17 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (9): afferam (*Amph.* 9, *Persa* 256, *Rud.* 681), afferās (*Asin.* 238, *Capt.* 855), afferāt (*Asin.* 369, *Most.* 68, *Poen.* 29, *Rud.* 666)  
imperfect subjunctives (3): afferrēt (*Aul.* 258, *Pseud.* 57\*\*, *Pseud.* 649)  
perfect subjunctives (3): attulerīt (*Bacch.* 316, *Bacch.* 320\*\*, *Truc.* 97\*\*)  
pluperfect subjunctives (2): attulissēt (*Curc.* 347, *Curc.* 550)  
(afferam=future: *Men.* 1037, *Vid.* 85)

- *attollere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *attollāmus* (*Cas.* 357\*)
- *circumferre*: no subjunctives, or 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive? (0 or 1): *circumferam* (*fab. inc. fr.* *xlvi* (*lxviii*),  
might also be a future)
- *cōnferre*: 6 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (6): *cōnferam* (*Asin.* 258), *cōnferās* (*Amph.* 788\*\*),  
*cōnferāt* (*Capt.* 795, *Truc.* 3), *cōnferant* (*Asin.* 318, *Poen.* 34)  
(*cōnferam*=future: *Asin.* 88, *Epid.* 547, *Men.* 6, *Most.* 931)
- *contollere*: no subjunctives  
(*contollam*=future: *Aul.* 813, *Bacch.* 535\*)
- *dēferre*: 13 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (9): *dēferam* (*Asin.* 885), *dēferās* (*Men.* 426), *dēferāt*  
(*Cist.* 169, *Epid.* 287, *Men.* 561\*, *Mil.* 131, *Poen.* 174), *dēferātur* (*Men.*  
948), *dēferant* (*Men.* 952)  
imperfect subjunctives (2): *dēferrem* (*Mil.* 960\*), *dēferrēt* (*Poen.* 559)  
perfect subjunctives (2): *dētulerīt* (*Mil.* 912), *dēlātum sīt* (*Pseud.* 190)  
(*dēferam*=future: *Aul.* 416, *Bacch.* 1075, *Pseud.* 1242\*, *Truc.* 661\*)  
(excluded: *dēferās* (*Men.* 525<sup>713</sup>))
- *efferre*: 5 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (4): *effērāt* (*Capt.* 457), *effērāmur* (*Asin.* 615),  
*effērantur* (*Amph.* 629, *Trin.* 1106)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *efferrēs* (*Bacch.* 423)  
(*efferam*=future: *Bacch.* 1050)
- *extollere*: no subjunctives  
(*extollam*=future: *Mil.* 861\*)
- *ferre*: 49 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (40): *feram* (*Amph.* 870, *Capt.* 908, *Curc.* 10, *Men.*  
116\*\*, *Mil.* 1191, *Most.* 62, *Trin.* 728), *ferās* (*Asin.* 355, *Asin.* 700, *Capt.*  
146, *Capt.* 964, *Cas.* 389, *Cist.* 248, *Curc.* 696, *Poen.* 15, *Rud.* 992, *Rud.*  
1397, *Trin.* 495, *Truc.* 827), *ferāre* (*Most.* 1133), *ferāt* (*Bacch.* 480\*,  
*Bacch.* 1061, *Capt.* 451, *Curc.* 226, *Merc.* 276, *Mil.* 1127, *Most.* 912\*,  
*Poen.* 195, *Pseud.* 753, *Pseud.* 765, *Rud.* 969, *Trin.* 774, *Carbonaria* ii),  
*ferātur* (*Aul.* 156), *ferant* (*Amph.* 1093, *Aul.* 493, *Men.* 956, *Mil.* 1303\*\*,  
*Persa* 352, *Truc.* 549)

---

<sup>713</sup>The line is marked as corrupt by Lindsay.

imperfect subjunctives (7): ferrem (*Curc.* 412\*, *Merc.* 704), ferrēs (*Men.* 681, *Men.* 682), ferrēt (*Bacch.* 264, *Trin.* 1143), ferrētur (*Truc.* 798)

perfect subjunctives (2): tetulerīt (*Rud.* 1040), lātae sient (*Amph.* 1106)  
(feram=future: *Amph.* 645, *Amph.* 877, *Aul.* 449, *Epid.* 295, *Most.* 614)

- *īnferre*: 2 regular subjunctives  
imperfect subjunctives (2): īnerrēt (*Mil.* 141), īnerrēmus (*Poen.* 319)  
(īnferam=future: *Persa* 307)
- *offerre*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): offerant (*Capt.* 355\*)
- *perferre*: 4 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (4): perferam (*Men.* 726, *Most.* 1170), perferāt (*Capt.* 343, *Capt.* 377)
- *prōferre*: 2 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctive (1): prōferātur (*Amph.* 90)  
perfect subjunctive (1): prōlātī sient (*Rud.* 979)  
(prōferam=future: *Amph.* 118, *Men.* 754)
- *rēferre*: 9 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (7): referam (*Aul.* 759, *Men.* 1049, *Merc.* 999), referās (*Epid.* 339\*\*, *Trin.* 619), referātur (*Men.* 907), referantur (*Men.* 539–40\*)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): referrēt (*Pseud.* 623)  
perfect subjunctive (1): rettulerīs (*Epid.* 439<sup>714</sup>)  
(referam=future: *Epid.* 297, *Men.* 467, *Men.* 1036, *Poen.* 1417, *Rud.* 575, *Stich.* 451)
- *rēferre*: 2 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (2): rēferāt (*Mil.* 882, *Rud.* 949)
- *sufferre*: 2 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (2): sufferās (*Poen.* 855), sufferant (*Cist.* 202\*\*) (sufferam=future: *Cas.* 950, *Curc.* 376, *Merc.* 861)
- *sustollere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): sustollāt (*Mil.* 310)
- *trānsferre*: no subjunctives  
(trānsferam=future: *Stich.* 647)

---

<sup>714</sup>The token is prohibitive and introduced by *cauē*.

- Attested, but no subjunctives and simple futures looking like present subjunctives: *prōtollere*

---

### *uenire* and compounds

- *anteuenire*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctives (1): *anteueniāt* (*Pseud.* 417\*)  
(*anteueniam*=future: *Most.* 1061)
- *conuenire*: 11 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (9): *conueniam* (*Asin.* 274\*\*, *Bacch.* 348, *Capt.* 919, *Epid.* 196), *conueniās* (*Capt.* 514–15), *conueniāt* (*Capt.* 342\*, *Trin.* 583), *conueniant* (*Pseud.* 177, *Trin.* 551)  
perfect subjunctives (2): *conuēnerīt* (*Capt.* 395, *Curc.* 435)  
(*conueniam*=future: *Aul.* 176, *Epid.* 294, *Men.* 557, *Merc.* 559, *Mil.* 931, *Mil.* 1379, *Persa* 182)
- *dēuenire*: 6 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (3): *dēueniās* (*Cist.* 301), *dēueniāt* (*Mil.* 1103\*\*, *Poen.* 627)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *dēuenirēs* (*Pseud.* 287)  
perfect subjunctives (2): *dēuēnerim* (*Mil.* 96\*), *dēuēnerīs* (*Most.* 968\*<sup>715</sup>)  
(*dēueniam*=future: *Epid.* 364)
- *interuenire*: 1 regular subjunctive  
perfect subjunctive (1): *interuēnerīs* (*Mil.* 1333<sup>716</sup>)
- *inuenire*: 24 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (13): *inueniam* (*Aul.* 620, *Curc.* 586, *Rud.* 228, *Stich.* 449), *inueniās* (*Trin.* 1052), *inueniāt* (*Aul.* 609, *Trin.* 663, *Truc.* 473, *Truc.* 849), *inueniātis* (*Curc.* 467), *inueniant* (*Merc.* 664, *Rud.* 874), *inueniantur* (*Poen.* 1171\*\*)
  - imperfect subjunctives (4): *inuenirēs* (*Bacch.* 562, *Merc.* 636, *Pseud.* 286), *inuenirēt* (*Bacch.* 390)
  - perfect subjunctives (4): *inuēnerīt* (*Aul.* 610, *Cas.* 201, *Rud.* 1312), *inuenta sint* (*Truc.* 774)
  - pluperfect subjunctives (3): *inuēnissēs* (*Men.* 239), *inuēnissēt* (*Merc.* 57), *inuēnissēmūs* (*Men.* 241)
 (*inueniam*=future: *Epid.* 603, *Pseud.* 405)

<sup>715</sup>The token should not be taken as prohibitive; we should interpret this as (*sc. uidē*), *nē dēuēnerīs*, like *uidē sis nē ... dēuorterīs atque ... biberīs* in l. 966–7.

<sup>716</sup>This is in a prohibition.

- *obuenīre*: 1 regular subjunctive  
perfect subjunctive (1): *obuēnerīt* (*Trin.* 469\*)
- *prōuenīre*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *prōueniant* (*Most.* 414)
- *reuenīre*: 4 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (2): *reueniāt* (*Most.* 57), *reueniant* (*Poen.* 27\*)  
pluperfect subjunctives (2): *reuēnissēs* (*Bacch.* 431), *reuēnissēt* (*Bacch.* 1048)  
(*reueniam*=future: *Capt.* 447)
- *subuenīre*: 3 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (2): *subueniās* (*Bacch.* 36), *subueniātis* (*Poen.* 1390)  
pluperfect subjunctive (1): *subuēnissēt* (*Aul.* 669)
- *uenīre*: 87 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (61): *ueniam* (*Amph.* 1078, *Cas.* 527, *Curc.* 339, *Men.* 445, *Men.* 989, *Stich.* 486), *ueniās* (*Asin.* 897, *Aul.* 505, *Bacch.* 82, *Capt.* 191, *Men.* 437, *Mil.* 1177\*, *Rud.* 111, *Stich.* 594), *ueniāt* (*Asin.* 740, *Aul.* 100, *Aul.* 156, *Aul.* 239, *Aul.* 278, *Aul.* 670, *Bacch.* 48, *Bacch.* 58, *Bacch.* 224, *Capt.* 383, *Cas.* 437\*, *Cas.* 559, *Cist.* 74, *Curc.* 253\*, *Epid.* 165\*\*, *Epid.* 277, *Epid.* 638, *Men.* 737\*\*, *Merc.* 788, *Mil.* 3, *Mil.* 1132, *Mil.* 1244, *Most.* 929–30, *Most.* 1074, *Persa* 388, *Poen.* 1288, *Pseud.* 168, *Pseud.* 1061\*, *Rud.* 328, *Rud.* 456, *Rud.* 969, *Rud.* 1021, *Rud.* 1212\*\*, *Rud.* 1296, *Stich.* 299, *Stich.* 687, *Trin.* 772, *Trin.* 864, *Truc.* 225\*\*, *Truc.* 592\*\*, *Truc.* 693\*\*\*, *Truc.* 709), *ueniāmus* (*Cas.* 786), *ueniant* (*Amph.* 61, *Cas.* 524, *Cist.* 673, *Poen.* 322)  
imperfect subjunctives (2): *uenīrēs* (*Men.* 1051), *uenīrēt* (*Mil.* 133)  
perfect subjunctives (20): *uēnerim* (*Amph.* 17, *Amph.* 130, *Most.* 969, *Poen.* 951), *uēnerīs* (*Amph.* 346, *Aul.* 506, *Poen.* 831, *Trin.* 468), *uēnerīt* (*Men.* 1006, *Merc.* 518, *Merc.* 906, *Mil.* 946, *Poen.* 181, *Poen.* 731\*\*, *Poen.* 992, *Stich.* 152, *Stich.* 366, *Trin.* 1050), *uēnerīmus* (*Bacch.* 1132), *uēnerint* (*Poen.* 6)  
pluperfect subjunctives (4): *uēnissēt* (*Asin.* 395, *Epid.* 628\*, *Mil.* 387), *uēnissent* (*Mil.* 1318\*)  
(*ueniam*=future: *Capt.* 187, *Most.* 441, *Rud.* 928))  
(excluded: *ueniam* (*Most.* 1089<sup>717</sup>))
- Attested, but no subjunctives and simple futures looking like present subjunctives: *praeuenīre*

<sup>717</sup>The token is marked as corrupt by Lindsay.

## H: The Regular Subjunctives in Terence — Verbs with $\bar{a}$ -Forms

In this section, I list the regular subjunctives in Terence that belong to the verbs with extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives in Plautus and Terence. The present subjunctives are listed according to the clause types in which they occur. For the subjunctives of other tenses, I merely distinguish between main clauses (MC) and subordinate clauses (SC). Aux stands for ‘auxiliary’.

The simple futures that look like present subjunctives are listed as well. But the future perfects looking like perfect subjunctives can be found elsewhere (appendix 6, sections I and J).

### root *du-*

- *crēdere*: 31 present subjunctives, 5 imperfect subjunctives  
potential/unreal statements (2): *crēdās* (*Andr.* 787\*, *Haut.* 1063)  
questions (8): *crēdam* (*Andr.* 618, *Eun.* 705, *Phorm.* 997), *crēdās* (*Ad.* 330, *Ad.* 330, *Andr.* 499, *Haut.* 591\*), *crēdāt* (*Andr.* 489\*)  
ambiguous between prohibition and subordinate *nē*-clause (1): *crēdās* (*Andr.* 706)  
subordinate *ut* (6): *crēdam* (*Hec.* 857), *crēdās* (*Haut.* 881), *crēdāt* (*Andr.* 701, *Haut.* 712), *crēdant* (*Ad.* 627<sup>718</sup>, *Hec.* 787\*\*)  
subordinate *nē* (5): *crēdam* (*Hec.* 844), *crēdās* (*Andr.* 899, *Haut.* 623), *crēdāt* (*Andr.* 699\*\*), *crēdant* (*Phorm.* 839)  
conditional clause (1): *crēdās* (*Eun.* 711\*\*)  
indirect questions (4): *crēdam* (*Eun.* 128, *Hec.* 103, *Hec.* 261, *Phorm.* 855\*\*)  
relative clauses (4): *crēdās* (*Ad.* 857, *Hec.* 869, *Phorm.* 878), *crēdāt* (*Ad.* 66)  
imperfect subjunctives (5=1 MC, 4 SC): *crēderem* (*Andr.* 524 SC, *Eun.* 176 SC, *Haut.* 560\* SC, *Phorm.* 278 MC), *crēderēt* (*Phorm.* 302 SC)
- *dare*: 33 present subjunctives, 25 subjunctives of other tenses  
positive commands (3): *dētur* (*Andr.* *ae* 11), *dēmus* (*Ad.* 950, *Andr.* 560)  
question (1): *dem* (*Haut.* 1050<sup>719</sup>)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (7): *dēs* (*Haut.* 470<sup>720</sup>, *Haut.* 855, *Haut.* 868, *Hec.* 390\*\*), *dēt* (*Andr.* 431, *Andr.* 592, *Haut.* 605\*)

<sup>718</sup> *Vt* equals *nē nōn* here.

<sup>719</sup> This could also be an *ut*-clause taking the form of a question and depending on what precedes: ‘(do you want to persuade me) in order that?’

<sup>720</sup> This depends on *fac* to be understood from the preceding context.



subordinate *nē*-clauses (2): dem (*Haut.* 90), dēt (*Eun.* 138)  
subordinate *quān* (1): dēt (*Andr.* 392)  
conditional clause (1): dētur (*Eun.* 647)  
indirect questions (3): dem (*Phorm.* 715), dēmus (*Haut.* 477), dent (*Andr.* 8)  
relative clauses (11): dem (*Haut.* 741, *Haut.* 841), dēs (*Eun.* 1075, *Haut.* 322), dēt (*Eun.* 1078, *Phorm.* 146, *Phorm.* 522), dētur (*Andr.* 334, *Andr.* 335<sup>721</sup>, *Eun.* 365), dentur (*Haut.* 914<sup>722</sup>)  
causal clause (*quia*) (1): dēt (*Andr.* 376)  
temporal clause (*quom*) (1): dem (*Phorm.* 715)  
comparative clause (*quam sī*) (1): dēs (*Eun.* 63)  
theme-clause (*quod*=‘as for the fact that’) (1): dem (*Haut.* 228)  
imperfect subjunctives (20=4 MC, 16 SC): darem (*Ad.* 318 MC, *Andr.* 402 SC, *Andr.* 606\*\* SC, *Andr.* 830 SC, *Haut.* 508 SC, *Phorm.* 910 SC), darēs (*Haut.* 781 SC, *Haut.* 893 SC, *Phorm.* 524\*\* SC), darēt (*Andr.* 101 SC, *Eun.* 983 SC, *Haut.* 534 SC, *Phorm.* 119 MC, *Phorm.* 121 MC, *Phorm.* 625 SC, *Phorm.* 643 SC), darētur (*Phorm.* 84\*\* SC, *Phorm.* 933\* SC), darētis (*Phorm.* 297 MC), darent (*Andr.* 668 SC)  
perfect subjunctives (4=4 SC): dederīt (*Andr.* 143\*\* SC, *Haut.* 2 SC), data sīt (*Ad.* 530 SC, *Ad.* 530\* SC)  
pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): dedissem (*Ad.* 368\* SC)

- Not attested: accrēdere

---

## root *fu*-

- *deesse*: 2 present subjunctives  
conditional clause (1): dēsīt (*Phorm.* 170\*\*)  
comparative clause (*quasi*) (1): dēsīt (*Haut.* 587)
- *esse*: 284 present subjunctives, 93<sup>723</sup> subjunctives of other tenses  
prohibitions (3): sīs (*Eun.* 273), siēs (*Phorm.* 508), siēt (*Eun.* 529)  
wishes<sup>724</sup> (7): sīs (*Andr.* 802, *Andr.* 906, *Haut.* 1030), siēs (*Ad.* 890), sīt (*Ad.* 411, *Andr.* 931), sint (*Eun.* 655)

<sup>721</sup>This token is negated with final *nē*.

<sup>722</sup>The clause is introduced by *quō facilius*.

<sup>723</sup>If we add up the figures, we get 94 rather than 93 subjunctives. The reason is that *futūrum esset* in *Haut.* 569\* was counted twice, under ‘auxiliaries’ because of the copula, and under ‘past prospective subjunctive’.

<sup>724</sup>None of them is negated.

potential/unreal statements (3): *sīt* (*Haut.* 482, *Phorm.* 717<sup>725</sup>, *Phorm.* 1015<sup>726</sup>)

questions (7): *sim* (*Hec.* 485, *Hec.* 524\*), *sīt* (*Ad.* 261, *Andr.* 191, *Andr.* 915), *siēt* (*Haut.* 620\*\*, *Hec.* 661\*)

ambiguous between main clause wishes and subordinate clauses (2): *siēt* (*Ad.* 398, *Haut.* 1015)

subordinate *ut*-clauses (41): *sim* (*Haut.* 681), *siem* (*Ad.* 611<sup>727</sup>), *sīs* (*Andr.* 508, *Andr.* 775, *Eun.* 195, *Hec.* 764, *Phorm.* 204\*\*, *Phorm.* 957), *siēs* (*Andr.* 408, *Eun.* 192, *Eun.* 885), *sīt* (*Ad.* 234, *Andr.* 158, *Andr.* 166, *Andr.* 487, *Andr.* 705<sup>728</sup>, *Eun.* 1059, *Haut.* 328, *Haut.* 360, *Haut.* 646, *Haut.* 980, *Hec.* 48, *Hec.* 769, *Phorm.* 151, *Phorm.* 176<sup>729</sup>, *Phorm.* 533, *Phorm.* 770\*\*), *siēt* (*Ad.* 298, *Andr.* 626<sup>730</sup>, *Eun.* 240\*, *Hec.* 509, *Hec.* 637, *Hec.* 737, *Hec.* 860), *simus* (*Phorm.* 431), *sint* (*Eun.* 396\*\*, *Eun.* 499<sup>731</sup>, *Hec.* 101<sup>732</sup>, *Hec.* 211), *sient* (*Andr.* 390, *Eun.* 314)

object clauses without *ut* (7): *sim* (*Hec.* 10\*\*), *sīs* (*Ad.* 511, *Eun.* 196\*\*, *Haut.* 162, *Hec.* 721), *sīt* (*Ad.* 847), *sītis* (*Haut.* 28)

subordinate *nē*-clauses (18): *sim* (*Phorm.* 314), *siem* (*Ad.* 712, *Phorm.* 675), *sīs* (*Andr.* 467, *Haut.* 352\*), *siēs* (*Ad.* 684, *Andr.* 424, *Phorm.* 635\*\*), *sīt* (*Ad.* 171, *Eun.* 380, *Eun.* 611, *Haut.* 1, *Hec.* 338, *Phorm.* 245\*\*), *siēt* (*Ad.* 354, *Phorm.* 887\*), *sint* (*Ad.* 830, *Haut.* 39\*)

*quīm*-clauses (also relative *quīm*) (6): *sim* (*Phorm.* 825), *sīt* (*Eun.* 997, *Hec.* 728\*), *siēt* (*Ad.* 976, *Haut.* 805, *Haut.* 1021\*\*)

conditional clauses (12): *siem* (*Ad.* 146), *sīs* (*Ad.* 934, *Andr.* 310\*), *siēs* (*Hec.* 493), *sīt* (*Ad.* 753, *Andr.* 276, *Andr.* 728\*, *Eun.* 223, *Haut.* 456, *Phorm.* 171), *siēt* (*Eun.* 479, *Haut.* 452)

indirect questions (91): *sim* (*Ad.* 177, *Andr.* 503, *Eun.* 555\*, *Eun.* 556\*, *Eun.* 1035, *Haut.* 308, *Hec.* 734, *Hec.* 766), *siem* (*Andr.* 586, *Eun.* 66\*\*, *Eun.* 566), *sīs* (*Andr.* 198, *Andr.* 825\*\*), *siēs* (*Eun.* 307, *Eun.* 374), *sīt* (*Ad.* 325, *Ad.* 429, *Ad.* 570, *Ad.* 572, *Ad.* 723, *Andr.* 25, *Andr.* 124, *Andr.* 750, *Andr.* 811, *Andr.* 867, *Eun.* 11, *Eun.* 12\*, *Eun.* 349, *Eun.* 548\*\*, *Eun.* 562, *Eun.* 644, *Eun.* 659, *Eun.* 663\*\*, *Haut.* 8, *Haut.* 189, *Haut.* 284, *Haut.* 347, *Haut.* 370, *Haut.* 454, *Haut.* 485, *Haut.* 555, *Haut.* 558\*\*, *Haut.* 578, *Haut.* 620\*\*, *Haut.* 662\*\*, *Haut.* 820, *Haut.* 971, *Hec.* 246, *Hec.* 530, *Hec.* 571, *Hec.* 665, *Hec.* 676, *Hec.* 698, *Hec.* 733\*\*, *Hec.* 785, *Hec.* 831, *Hec.* 851, *Hec.* 873, *Phorm.* 93, *Phorm.* 130\*, *Phorm.* 444, *Phorm.* 580, *Phorm.* 762\*\*, *Phorm.* 993), *siēt* (*Ad.* 83, *Ad.* 361,

<sup>725</sup>This token occurs in the fixed phrase *fors sīt an*.

<sup>726</sup>*Quī* here means 'somehow' and is adverbial.

<sup>727</sup>The negation is word negation.

<sup>728</sup>*Vt* here is equivalent to *nē nōn*.

<sup>729</sup>The negation is word negation.

<sup>730</sup>*Innāta* is an adjective, not a participle.

<sup>731</sup>*Parāta* is an adjective.

<sup>732</sup>*Vt* is equivalent to *nē nōn*.

*Andr.* 234, *Andr.* 919, *Eun.* 351, *Eun.* 726, *Eun.* 986, *Haut.* 210\*\*, *Haut.* 211\*, *Haut.* 221, *Haut.* 237\*\*, *Haut.* 251, *Haut.* 450, *Hec.* 145, *Hec.* 567, *Hec.* 573\*\*, *Phorm.* 446, *Phorm.* 806\*), *sīmus* (*Phorm.* 58), *sint* (*Ad.* 555, *Andr.* 27, *Andr.* 525, *Eun.* 603, *Eun.* 938, *Phorm.* 344, *Phorm.* 344), *sient* (*Andr.* 288)

relative clauses (24): *sim* (*Andr.* 619), *siem* (*Hec.* 547\*\*), *sīs* (*Phorm.* 156), *siēs* (*Ad.* 852), *sīt* (*Ad.* 39, *Andr.* 738\*, *Haut.* 108\*\*, *Haut.* 1016, *Hec.* 391, *Hec.* 491, *Hec.* 549, *Hec.* 609\*, *Hec.* 730, *Hec.* 768\*, *Hec.* 782, *Hec.* 783\*\*, *Hec.* 878\*\*, *Phorm.* 563, *Phorm.* 721), *siēt* (*Andr.* 454, *Haut.* 1018\*), *sint* (*Phorm.* 125\*\*, *Phorm.* 449), *sient* (*Eun.* 325)

causal clauses (*nōn quō, quom*) (2): *sīt* (*Ad.* 825\*\*, *Hec.* 705)

temporal clauses (*quom, ubī, ut*) (9): *sīt* (*Ad.* 34<sup>733</sup>, *Ad.* 354, *Andr.* 424, *Andr.* 736, *Hec.* 341<sup>734</sup>, *Hec.* 608\*\*), *siēt* (*Eun.* 394\*, *Haut.* 415), *sient* (*Phorm.* 822)

comparative clauses (e.g. with *quasi*) (9): *sim* (*Andr.* 549\*), *sīt* (*Ad.* 941, *Andr.* 372, *Andr.* 549, *Eun.* 209, *Haut.* 720, *Phorm.* 409), *siēt* (*Haut.* 65), *sint* (*Ad.* 223)

limiting clauses (*modo* and positive *dum*) (2): *sīt* (*Eun.* 890), *sint* (*Eun.* 742)

auxiliaries<sup>735</sup> (41): *sim* (*Ad.* 166, *Andr.* 203, *Andr.* 967\*, *Eun.* 1045, *Hec.* 614\*), *siem* (*Eun.* 555), *sīs* (*Haut.* 617, *Haut.* 826, *Haut.* 1035, *Hec.* 65\*\*, *Phorm.* 413, *Phorm.* 971), *siēs* (*Phorm.* 514\*), *sīt* (*Ad.* 443<sup>736</sup>, *Ad.* 507<sup>737</sup>, *Ad.* 514\*, *Ad.* 530, *Ad.* 530\*, *Andr.* 463, *Andr.* 791, *Andr.* 937, *Eun.* 41, *Eun.* 350, *Haut.* 231, *Haut.* 435, *Haut.* 849, *Hec.* 334, *Hec.* 468, *Hec.* 567, *Phorm.* 272, *Phorm.* 455, *Phorm.* 960\*), *siēt* (*Ad.* 282\*\*, *Eun.* 970\*\*, *Haut.* 456<sup>738</sup>, *Hec.* 193, *Hec.* 330), *sint* (*Andr.* 499\*, *Phorm.* 463\*), *sient* (*Eun.* 1061\*, *Hec.* 388\*\*<sup>739</sup>)

imperfect subjunctives (78=10 MC, 5 MC aux, 63 SC): *essem* (*Andr.* 282 MC, *Eun.* 574 MC<sup>740</sup>, *Eun.* 606 MC, *Haut.* 436 SC, *Haut.* 917 SC, *Hec.* 38 SC, *Hec.* 526 MC aux, *Hec.* 548 SC, *Phorm.* 159 MC aux, *Phorm.* 189 MC aux, *Phorm.* 751 SC), *essēs* (*Ad.* 107 SC, *Ad.* 176 MC aux, *Ad.* 218 SC, *Ad.* 770 SC, *Ad.* 770 MC, *Ad.* 772 SC, *Andr.* 37 SC, *Andr.* 281 SC, *Andr.* *ae* 19 SC, *Haut.* 665 SC, *Hec.* 279 SC, *Phorm.* 394 MC), *essēt* (*Ad.* 106 SC, *Ad.* 532 SC, *Ad.* 642 SC, *Ad.* 708 SC, *Andr.* 81 SC, *Andr.* 182 SC, *Andr.* 445 SC, *Andr.* 479 SC, *Andr.* 490 SC, *Andr.* 606 MC,

<sup>733</sup>There are adversative connotations.

<sup>734</sup>There are non-temporal connotations. We could translate this as 'even though'.

<sup>735</sup>I count *esse* with past or future participle as auxiliary, but not *esse* in the type *sīs sciēns*. Unless otherwise marked, the cases of *esse* with past participles have past or anterior meaning or are used in prohibitive clauses.

<sup>736</sup>This is a potential perfect subjunctive in a main clause.

<sup>737</sup>Auxiliary and participle have present state meaning.

<sup>738</sup>*Actum siēt* has present meaning.

<sup>739</sup>The auxiliary with the two past participles has present meaning.

<sup>740</sup>This could also be a subordinate clause if *ut* from the preceding line is to be understood.

*Eun.* 21 SC, *Eun.* 91 MC, *Eun.* 117 SC, *Eun.* 418 MC, *Eun.* 598\*\* SC, *Haut.* 7 SC, *Haut.* 157 SC, *Haut.* 185 SC, *Haut.* 238\* SC, *Haut.* 368 SC, *Haut.* 534 SC, *Haut.* 569 SC, *Haut.* 652 SC, *Haut.* 830\* SC, *Haut.* 988 SC, *Hec.* 26 SC, *Hec.* 227\* SC, *Hec.* 236\*\* SC, *Hec.* 249 MC, *Hec.* 279 SC, *Hec.* 534 SC, *Hec.* 545 SC, *Hec.* 548 SC, *Hec.* 652 SC, *Hec.* 756 SC, *Phorm.* 66 SC, *Phorm.* 188\* SC, *Phorm.* 397 SC, *Phorm.* 502 SC, *Phorm.* 826\* SC, *Phorm.* 904 SC), *essent* (*Eun.* 518 SC, *Eun.* 581 SC, *Haut.* 230 SC, *Haut.* 963 SC, *Hec.* 289 MC aux, *Phorm.* 269 SC), *forem* (*Hec.* 525 SC), *forēt* (*Hec.* 121\*\* SC, *Hec.* 220 MC, *Hec.* 601 SC, *Phorm.* 207 SC, *Phorm.* 271 SC, *Phorm.* 734\*\* SC), *forent* (*Haut.* 382 SC)

perfect subjunctives (13=13 SC): *fuerim* (*Ad.* 527 SC, *Haut.* 1025 SC, *Hec.* 296\*\* SC, *Phorm.* 1032 SC), *fuerīs* (*Haut.* 1007 SC), *fuerīt* (*Andr.* 36 SC, *Eun.* 658 SC, *Phorm.* 129\* SC, *Phorm.* 224 SC, *Phorm.* 354 SC, *Phorm.* 356 SC, *Phorm.* 970\* SC), *fuerint* (*Hec.* 840 SC)

pluperfect subjunctives (2=1 MC, 1 SC): *fuissem* (*Phorm.* 155\*\*\* SC), *fuissēt* (*Phorm.* 159 MC)

past prospective subjunctive (1=1 SC): *futūrum essēt* (*Haut.* 569\* SC)  
(excluded: *essēt* (*Eun.* 699<sup>741</sup>), *fuissēt* (*Phorm.* 535<sup>742</sup>))

---

#### root *tag-*

- *attingere*: 1 pluperfect subjunctive  
pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *attigissēs* (*Ad.* 178 SC)

---

#### root *tul-*

- *auferre*: 4 present subjunctives, 1 imperfect subjunctive  
question (1): *auferāt* (*Phorm.* 955)  
subordinate *ut*-clauses (2): *auferam* (*Eun.* 627), *auferāmus* (*Phorm.* 898)  
relative clause (1): *auferant* (*Andr.* 979)  
imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *auferrētur* (*Haut.* 850 SC)

---

#### root *uen-*

- *aduenīre*: 1 present subjunctive, 3 subjunctives of other tenses  
temporal clause (*dum*<sup>743</sup>) (1): *adueniāt* (*Phorm.* 480)

<sup>741</sup>The line is excluded by Lindsay.

<sup>742</sup>This is an instance of *pote fuissēt*. I count it under *posse*.

<sup>743</sup>There are final connotations.

- perfect subjunctives (2=2 SC): *aduēnerīs* (*Hec.* 790 SC, *Hec.* 859 SC)  
 pluperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *aduēnissem* (*Phorm.* 396\*\* SC)
- *ēuenīre*: 5 present subjunctives, 4 subjunctives of other tenses  
 subordinate *ut*-clause (1): *ēueniāt* (*Hec.* 396)  
 conditional clause (1): *ēueniāt* (*Andr.* 165\*\*)
    - indirect questions (2): *ēueniāt* (*Andr.* 568<sup>744</sup>, *Hec.* 279\*)
    - relative clause (1): *ēueniāt* (*Phorm.* 246\*\*\*)
  - imperfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *ēuenīrēt* (*Hec.* 839\* SC)
  - pluperfect subjunctives (2=2 MC): *ēuēnissēt* (*Andr.* 604 MC), *ēuēnissent* (*Haut.* 157 MC)
  - present prospective subjunctive (1=1 SC): *ēuentūrum siēt* (*Hec.* 193 SC)
- *peruenīre*: 1 perfect subjunctive  
 perfect subjunctive (1=1 SC): *peruēnerīt* (*Eun.* 13 SC)

## I: The Remaining Regular Subjunctives in Terence

This section contains the regular subjunctives in Terence which belong to the five roots with extra-paradigmatic *ā*-subjunctives, but which were not listed in section H.

I also list the simple futures that look like present subjunctives. But the future perfects looking like perfect subjunctives can be found elsewhere (appendix 6, sections I and J).

### compounds of *dare*

- *addere*: 3 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (3): *addam* (*Phorm.* 168), *addās* (*Eun.* 78), *addant* (*Phorm.* 42)
- *dēdere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
 present subjunctive (1): *dēdam* (*Eun.* 1026)  
 (*dēdam*=future: *Andr.* 199, *Andr.* 953)
- *perdere*: 10 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (8): *perdās* (*Ad.* 241), *perdāt* (*Ad.* 134\*, *Ad.* 714, *Haut.* 465), *perdant* (*Eun.* 302, *Eun.* 431, *Hec.* 469, *Phorm.* 688)  
 perfect subjunctives (2): *perdiderīs* (*Haut.* 891), *perdiderīt* (*Ad.* 383)

<sup>744</sup>This is an indirect question with *sī*.

- *prōdere*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *prōdāt* (*Andr.* 313)
- *reddere*: 11 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (10): *reddam* (*Eun.* 147, *Eun.* 157, *Hec.* 150), *reddās* (*Hec.* 669), *reddāt* (*Ad.* 202, *Ad.* 205, *Ad.* 280, *Eun.* 797), *reddātur* (*Ad.* 249\*), *reddant* (*Phorm.* 404)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *redderēt* (*Andr.* 479)  
(*reddam*=future: *Ad.* 849, *Ad.* 982, *Andr.* 703, *Andr.* 864, *Eun.* 277, *Eun.* 1019, *Phorm.* 559)
- Attested, but without subjunctives or simple futures that look like present subjunctives: *abdere*, *ēdere*, *obdere*, *subdere*, *uendere*

---

### compounds of *esse*

- *abesse*: 2 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctive (1): *apsīs* (*Ad.* 28)  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *abessēt* (*Ad.* 524)
- *adesse*: 8 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (4): *assīs* (*Eun.* 373), *assiēt* (*Ad.* 619\*\*), *assītis* (*Eun.* 506), *assient* (*Phorm.* 313)  
imperfect subjunctives (4): *adessēt* (*Ad.* 453, *Eun.* 22\*, *Hec.* 129), *adessent* (*Haut.* 238\*)
- *inesse*: 1 regular subjunctive  
imperfect subjunctive (1): *inessēt* (*Phorm.* 108\*)
- *interesse*: 1 regular subjunctive  
present subjunctive (1): *intersiēt* (*Eun.* 685)
- *obesse*: 3 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (3): *opsīt* (*Haut.* 643\*), *opsiēt* (*Hec.* 735), *opsint* (*Andr.* 160)
- *posse*: 66 regular subjunctives  
present subjunctives (41): *possim* (*Andr.* 409, *Andr.* 531, *Andr.* 729, *Andr.* 944, *Eun.* 613, *Eun.* 869, *Haut.* 557, *Hec.* 80\*\*, *Hec.* 266, *Phorm.* 727, *Phorm.* 738, *Phorm.* 827\*), *possiem* (*Ad.* 877, *Hec.* 729, *Hec.* 766), *possīs* (*Ad.* 823, *Eun.* 50, *Eun.* 210, *Eun.* 761, *Haut.* 454, *Hec.* 608\*, *Phorm.* 59, *Phorm.* 794, *Phorm.* 822\*\*), *possīt* (*Andr.* 31, *Andr.* 306\*,

*Eun.* 662\*, *Eun.* 910, *Eun.* 1076\*\*, *Haut.* 27, *Haut.* 47, *Haut.* 395, *Hec.* 7\*, *Hec.* 569, *Hec.* 724, *Phorm.* 279, *Phorm.* 697, *Phorm.* 965), *possēt* (*Andr.* 874, *Haut.* 675, *Phorm.* 773\*\*)

imperfect subjunctives (23): *possem* (*Ad.* 222, *Eun.* 177, *Eun.* 842\*, *Haut.* 916\*, *Hec.* 750, *Phorm.* 208), *possēs* (*Andr.* 53, *Haut.* 964\*), *possēt* (*Ad.* 525\*, *Eun.* 487\*, *Eun.* 523, *Eun.* 932, *Hec.* 61\*, *Hec.* 99, *Hec.* 131, *Hec.* 225, *Hec.* 374, *Hec.* 471, *Hec.* 554, *Hec.* 573\*, *Phorm.* 14\*, *Phorm.* 756), *possent* (*Ad.* 273)

perfect subjunctive (1): *potuerīs* (*Haut.* 362)

pluperfect subjunctive (1): *pote fuissēt* (*Phorm.* 535\*)

- *prōdesse*: 7 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (5): *prōsim* (*Andr.* 677), *prōsīs* (*Eun.* 965\*\*), *prōsīt* (*Haut.* 643, *Hec.* 742, *Hec.* 795)

imperfect subjunctive (1): *prōdessēt* (*Eun.* 446)

perfect subjunctive (1): *prōfuerīs* (*Hec.* 876)

- Attested, but no subjunctives: *confore*, *superesse*

---

### *tangere* and compounds

- *contingere*: 1 regular subjunctive

perfect subjunctive (1): *contigerint* (*Phorm.* 845\*)

- *optingere*: 4 regular subjunctives

present subjunctive (1): *optingant* (*Hec.* 579\*)

perfect subjunctives (3): *optigerīt* (*Andr.* 966, *Andr.* 966, *Phorm.* 577)

- *tangere*: 5 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (4): *tangam* (*Eun.* 798, *Eun.* 809), *tangās* (*Eun.* 373, *Eun.* 797)

perfect subjunctive (1): *tetigerim* (*Eun.* 420)

---

### *tollere/ferre* and compounds

- *afferre*: 7 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (3): *afferāt* (*Andr.* 235, *Haut.* 680), *afferant* (*Ad.* 300)

imperfect subjunctives (3): afferrēs (*Phorm.* 490), afferrēt (*Andr.* 515, *Phorm.* 655)

perfect subjunctive (1): attulerīs (*Hec.* 841)

(afferam=future: *Haut.* 701<sup>745</sup>)

- *cōnferre*: 3 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (3): cōnferās (*Eun.* 388, *Eun.* 450\*\*), cōnferant (*Ad.* 299)

- *dēferre*: no subjunctives

(dēferam=future: *Haut.* 799)

- *differre*: 1 regular subjunctive

present subjunctive (1): differāt (*Andr.* 408\*\*)

- *efferre*: 1 regular subjunctive

present subjunctive (1): efferant (*Haut.* 745\*)

- *ferre*: 15 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (9): ferās (*Andr.* 832, *Andr.* 921\*, *Eun.* 78, *Phorm.* 1020), ferāt (*Haut.* 860, *Phorm.* 170, *Phorm.* 272), ferant (*Phorm.* 242), ferantur (*Hec.* 612)

imperfect subjunctives (3): ferrēs (*Ad.* 178), ferrēt (*Haut.* 202, *Haut.* 202)

perfect subjunctive (1): tulerīt (*Eun.* 82)

pluperfect subjunctive (1): tetulisse (*Andr.* 808)

present prospective subjunctive (1): lātūrus sīt (*Hec.* 567)

(feram=future: *Ad.* 880, *Andr.* 898)

- *offerre*: 1 regular subjunctive

present subjunctive (1): offerant (*Ad.* 978\*\*\*)

- *rēferre*: 3 regular subjunctives

present subjunctives (3): referam (*Eun.* 719\*, *Eun.* 911, *Phorm.* 728)

(referam=future: *Eun.* 385)

- *sufferre*: 1 regular subjunctive

present subjunctive (1): sufferam (*Andr.* 888)

- *tollere*: 1 regular subjunctive

present subjunctive (1): tollam (*Hec.* 571)

---

<sup>745</sup>This could also be a deliberative subjunctive, but because of the parallel *appellābō* in the question in l. 700, I have analysed it as a future.



- Attested, but no subjunctives or simple futures looking like present subjunctives: *attollere*, *perferre*, *rēferre*, *trānsferre*

---

### *uenīre* and compounds

- *conuenīre*: 4 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (4): *conueniam* (*Andr.* 227, *Eun.* 1005, *Hec.* 436), *conueniāt* (*Phorm.* 719)  
 (*conueniam*=future: *Ad.* 209, *Ad.* 499, *Ad.* 513, *Ad.* 636, *Andr.* 528)
- *interuenīre*: 1 regular subjunctive  
 perfect subjunctive (1): *interuēnerīt* (*Hec.* 351\*)
- *inuenīre*: 13 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (11): *inueniam* (*Ad.* 569\*, *Andr.* 338, *Andr.* 468, *Eun.* 643, *Phorm.* 185, *Phorm.* 200, *Phorm.* 534, *Phorm.* 728), *inueniās* (*Andr.* 66, *Andr.* 460\*, *Phorm.* 540)  
 perfect subjunctive (1): *inuēnerīt* (*Haut.* 1040\*)  
 pluperfect subjunctive (1): *inuēnissēs* (*Eun.* 453)  
 (*inueniam*=future: *Eun.* 719, *Haut.* 329)
- *uenīre*: 24 regular subjunctives  
 present subjunctives (16): *ueniam* (*Andr.* 713, *Haut.* 725), *ueniās* (*Ad.* 240, *Ad.* 583, *Andr.* 687, *Andr.* 712\*\*, *Phorm.* 973), *ueniāt* (*Ad.* 294, *Eun.* 266, *Eun.* 739, *Haut.* 170\*\*, *Haut.* 556\*, *Hec.* 809, *Phorm.* 161, *Phorm.* 314\*\*\*), *ueniant* (*Hec.* 360\*\*\*)  
 imperfect subjunctives (5): *uenīrem* (*Eun.* 528), *uenīrēt* (*Ad.* 674, *Andr.* 917, *Haut.* 305, *Haut.* 640)  
 perfect subjunctives (2): *uēnerīt* (*Ad.* 895, *Haut.* 764)  
 pluperfect subjunctive (1): *uēnissent* (*Haut.* 231)  
 (*ueniam*=future: *Andr.* 713, *Eun.* 530, *Haut.* 274, *Haut.* 728)
- Attested, but no subjunctives or simple futures looking like present subjunctives: *circumuenīre*, *dēuenīre*

## J: The $\bar{a}$ -Subjunctives after 100BC

This section lists the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives in Latin literature after 100BC.

• **Titus Lucretius Carus (c. 94–55BC)**

Nunc aliīs alius quī sit cibus ut uideāmus,  
expediam, quārēue, aliīs quod trīste et amārumst,  
hoc tamen esse aliīs possit perdulce uidērī,  
tantaque in hīs rēbus distantia differitāsque est,  
ut quod aliīs cibus est aliīs *fuat*\* ācre uenēnum. (Lucr. 4. 633–7)

---

• **Publius Vergilius Maro (c. 70–19BC)**

Quandoquidem Ausoniōs coniungī foedere Teucrīs  
haud licitum, nec uestra capit discordia finem,  
quae cūque est fortūna hodiē, quam quisque secat spem,  
Trōs Rutulusne *fuat*\*, nūllō discrīmine habēbō,  
seu fātīs Italum castra opsiōne tenentur  
sīue errōre malō Troiae monitīsque sinistrīs. (Verg. *Aen.* 10. 105–10)

---

(excluded: *fuās* (Verg. *Aen.* 2. 75<sup>746</sup>)

---

• **Titus Liuius Patauinus (59BC–AD17)**

Sed neque crēdēs tū mihi, dōnec complēris sanguine campum, multaue  
mīlia occīsa tua dēferet amnis in pontum magnum ex terrā frūgiferā; pis-  
cibus atque auibus ferīsque quae incolunt terrās iīs *fuat*\* ēsca carō tua;  
nam mihi ita Iuppiter fātus est. (Liu. 25. 12. 6)

---

• **Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. AD100–166)**

Sī mē interrogēs, concupīscamne bonam ualētūdinem, abnuam equidem,  
sī sim philosophus: nihil est enim fās concupīscere sapientī aut appetere,  
quod fors *fuat* an frūstrā concupīscat; nec quicquam, quod in manū Fortū-  
nae situm uideat, concupīscet. (Fronto p. 139. 5–8)

---

In orātiōne Bīthynā, cuius partem lēgisse tē scrībīs, multa sunt noua ad-  
dita, ut arbitror egō nōn inōrnātē, locus imprīmīs dē āctā uītā, quem  
tibī placitūrum putō, sī lēgeris quid in simili rē M. Tullius prō P. Syllā  
ēgregiē scrīptum reliquit, nōn ut pār parī comparēs, sed ut aestimēs nos-  
trum mediocre ingenium quantum ab illō exīmiaie ēloquentiae uirō *abfuat*\*.  
(Fronto p. 180. 8–13)

---

<sup>746</sup>Ribbeck conjectured *quūue fuās* for *quidue ferat*.

• **Apuleius (born c. AD123)**

Fors *fuat* an nē sic quidem crēdat Aemiliānus sōla trecenta mīlia nummum scrīpta eōrumque repetitiōnem filiīs Pudentillae pāctō datam. (Apul. *apol.* 92. 1)

---

• **Iulius Valerius Alexander Polemius (between the third and fourth centuries AD)**

Enimuērō egō cessī Candacēs grātiaē uesterque iam *fuam*, sī quidem ita nōbīs ad fidem sēderit, utī ex praedicātiōne uestri, praesertim hīsce liberālītātis indicīis facile Alexandrum ductem hūc ad uōs sponte peruenire, praesertim adeō immodicē habendī cupidum atque opibus inhiantem. (Iul. Val. 3. 41)

---

Nuptiās uērō cum māribus dērelinquimus pāctīs et lēgibus, ut quaeque exim ad sexum hunc ēditae *fuant*\*, eadem post septennium in exercitum dīmittantur. (Iul. Val. 3. 45)

---

• **Decimus Magnus Ausonius Burdigalensis (c. AD310–394/395)**

Fors *fuat*\*, ut sī mihī uīta suppetet\*, aliquid rērum tuārum quamuis incultus expoliam: quod tū etsī lēctum nōn probēs, scrīptum bonī cōsulēs. (Auson. 405/406 p. 238. 14–17)

---

Sed nēmō quisquam tam malus iūdex *fuat*\*,  
quī nōn bonōrum partibus sē cōpulet,  
siue ille uērē bonus est, seu dīcī studet. (Auson. 306. 9–11 p. 179)

---

(excluded: *fuat* (Auson. 286. 5 p. 145<sup>747</sup>, Auson. 408. 1 p. 243<sup>748</sup>)

---

• **Itinerarium Alexandri (shortly after AD340)**

Sed enim nōmen hoc Indiae lātē dispersum multōrum admodum gentium est ferāx, praecipuē beluārum inter odōra gignentium, quae sunt elephantī draconēsque iūgerālēs; nam pardī leōnēsue uel tigrēs iuxtim haec cicurēs *fuant*. (Itin. *Alex.* 49<sup>749</sup>)

---

<sup>747</sup>*Fuat* is Barth's conjecture. The editions print *fuit*, which makes good sense.

<sup>748</sup>*Fuat* is a conjecture by Toll. The editions print *fuit*.

<sup>749</sup>I follow the conventions of the *TLL* and cite the chapters like Volkmann.

• **Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (c. AD340–402)**

Hinc uōs mūnere salūtatiōnis impertiō dōque nūntium, properē nōs deō uolente esse reditūrōs. Fors *fuat*\* huiusce prōmissī. Vestra tamen indulgentia affātum saepe tribuat, quasi diūtius abfutūrīs. (Symm. *epist.* 1. 3. 5)

---

Fors *fuat*\* an optineāmus apud tē ueterem grātiam. (Symm. *epist.* 1. 20. 3)

---

Vtut est tamen ista condiciō, supersēdendum officiō nōn putāuī. Fors *fuat* an haec mātūrē in manūs tuās scrīpta sint uentūra. (Symm. *epist.* 1. 39)

---

Fors *fuat*\* an possit biduō tenuis eiusdem nōs praediū annōna retinēre. (Symm. *epist.* 2. 3)

---

Fors *fuat*\* an\* diēs longa quandōque hebetet laxātum dolōrem. (Symm. *epist.* 3. 6. 1)

---

Fors *fuat*\* an quis tantum uiae ob rem prīuātam mihi ignōrātus arripiat. (Symm. *epist.* 4. 28. 1)

---

Spērō tē, ut fandō didici, ad uicīna uentūrum. Fors *fuat*\* an uēra compererim. (Symm. *epist.* 4. 29. 1)

• **Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (born c. AD348)**

Marmora tābentī respergine tīncta lauāte,  
ō procerēs! Liceat statuās cōsistere pūrās,  
artificum magnōrum opera; haec pulcherrima nostrae  
ōrnāmenta *fuant*\*<sup>750</sup> patriae nec dēcolor ūsus  
in uitium uersae monumenta coinquinet artis. (Prud. *c. Symm.* 1. 501–5)

• **Martianus Minneus Felix Capella (c. AD420)**

Aequum quippe putō foedere caelitum  
quae sectanda *fuant*\* ōrsa probārier. (Mart. Cap. 1. 91 (vers.))

---

<sup>750</sup>Bergman prints *fiant* (=unmetrical *fiant*?) in his edition and has *fuant* in the apparatus.

Certē loquentur illae  
quicquid *fuat*\* docendum,  
habitūsque cōnsequuntur  
asōmato in profātū. (Mart. Cap. 3. 222 (vers.))

---

Nunc iam compāctis cursanda est syllaba formīs,  
ut fastīgētur longa brevisque *fuat*\*. (Mart. Cap. 3. 262 (vers.))

---

Haec quoque contortīs stringēns effāmina nōdīs,  
quā sine nīl sequitur nīlque repugnat item,  
in coetum superum ueniēns prīmōrdia fandī  
aduehit et scholicum praestruit axioma,  
ambiguīs memorāns uōcem cōsistere uerbīs,  
nīl nōrmāle putāns, nī *fuat* associum. (Mart. Cap. 4. 327 (vers.))

---

• **Claudius Marius Victor(ius) (first half of the fifth century AD)**

Hīc nunc excurrere paulum  
fās *fuat*\* et turpēs ueterum dēflēre ruīnās.  
Ā nimium miserī gentīlēs, quōs furor ēgit  
in uariōs rītūs! (Mar. Victor *aleth.* 1. 405–8)

---

• **Gaius Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius (c. AD430–479 (or later))**

Ipse autem secundum mēnsūrās quās ferunt nauticās in decem et septem  
stādīa prōcēdit, fluuiō intrātus, quī salebrātīm saxōrum obicibus affractus  
spūmōsō cānēscit impulsū et nec longum scopulis praecipitibus exēptus  
lacus conditur; quem fors\* *fuat* an incurrat an faciat, praeterit certē,  
coactus per cōla supterrānea dēliquārī, nōn ut flūctibus, sed ut piscibus  
pauperārētur. (Sidon. *epist.* 2. 2. 17)

---

Quid multis? Sī uēra mētīmur aestimāmusque, fors *fuat* an philosophī  
uītae scrīptor aequālis maiōrum temporibus accesserit, certē pār saeculō  
meō per tē lēctor obuēnit. (Sidon. *epist.* 8. 3. 6)

---

Quīdam ab Aruernīs Belgicam petēns (persōna mihi cognita est, causa  
ignōta; nec rēfert), postquam Rēmōs aduēnerat, scrībam tuum siue by-  
bliopōlam pretiō fors *fuat* officione dēmeritum cōpiōsissimō uelīs nōlīs  
dēclāmātiōnum tuārum schediō emūnxit. (Sidon. *epist.* 9. 7. 1<sup>751</sup>)

<sup>751</sup>The letter is addressed to Pope Remigius.

## K: Citations of *ā*-Subjunctives after 100BC

This section contains those instances where authors after 100BC cite extra-paradigmatic *ā*-forms without explaining them.

- **Aulus Gellius (c. AD123–165)**

Nigīdīus Fīgulus, homō, ut egō arbitror, iūxtā M. Varrōnem doctissimus, in undecimō ‘commentāriōrum grammaticōrum’ uersum ex antiquō carmine refert memoriā hercle dignum:

‘Religentem esse oportēt, religiōsus nē\* *fuās*\*.’

Cuius autem id carmen sit, non scribit. (Gell. 4. 9. 1)

---

- **Censorinus (third century AD)**

Est in XII tabulīs scriptum sic: ‘Sōlis occāsus suprēma tempestās estō.’ Sed postea M. Plaetōrius tribūnus plēbiscītum tulit, in quō scriptum est: ‘Praetōr urbānus quī nunc est quīque posthāc *fuāt*\* duō līctōrēs apud sē habētō isque ūsque suprēmam ad sōlem occāsū iūs inter cūēs dicitō.’ (Cens. 24. 3)

---

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

Attollere, afferre. Pācuuius Mēdō:

‘Custōdīte istum uōs, nē uim qui *attolāt*\* neu qui *attigāt*\*.’

Īdem Armōrum Iūdicīo:

‘Pro imperio agendumst.’ — ‘Quis uetāt, quīn\* *attolāt*\*?’ (Non. p. 369. 3–370. 6)

---

Ōminās. Pompōnius Crētulā uel Petītōre:

‘Bene *ēuenāt*!’<sup>752</sup> — ‘Īta sīt. Et tibi bene sīt, quī rēcte ōminās.’ (Non. p. 760. 10–11)

---

‘Pauperiēs’ prō paupertāte. Ennius Hecubā:

‘Senex sum: utinam mortem oppetam, prius quam *ēuenāt*

quod in pauperiē mēā senex grauiter gemam!’ (Non. p. 792. 3–5)

---

<sup>752</sup>The Nonius edition reads *bene ēueniāt*, but cf. Ribbeck on Pomponius (section E in this appendix). Presumably a new line begins after the first speaker has finished.

- **Marius Seruius Honoratus (fourth century AD)**

‘Forte suā’ cāsū suō, id est quō solet. ‘Forte’ autem nōmen est ā nōminā-tiūō fors, ut Terentius ‘fors *fuāt\** pol’. (Seru. *Aen.* 1. 377)

---

- **Flavius Sosipater Charisius (late fourth century AD)**

Per trānsitum siue trānsmūtātiōne persōnārū, cum ā nostrā ad alteram trānsimū et per illam trānsfigurantēs quod uolumus retinēmus, ut

‘Thesprōte, sīquis sanguine exortam tuō

prōlem inter ārās sacrificās sacram immolēt,

quid meritus hic sīt, dubiumne\* an cuiquam *fuāt\**?’

Hic ā suā persōnā in aliam persōnam trānsiit, ut argūtāns per illam ostenderet quid uellet increpāre. (Char. *gramm.* 374. 8–15)

## L: Explanations of *ā*-Subjunctives after 100BC

This section contains the instances where authors after 100BC try to explain the meaning of extra-paradigmatic *ā*-subjunctives.

- **Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century AD)**

*Tagit* Pācuuius in Teucrō: ‘Vt ego, sī quisquam mē *tagit*.’ Et *tagam* idem in Hermionā: ‘Aut nōn cernam, nisi *tagam*’, sine dubiō antiquā cōnsuetūdine ūsurpāuit. Nam nunc ea sine praepositīōnibus nōn dīcuntur, ut contigit, attigit. (Fest. p. 490)

---

- **Marius Plotius Sacerdos (third century AD)**

F: hanc litteram ante uo positam nōn inuēnī uerba regere; nouō mōre ūnam dēclīnātiōnem ex hāc quasi dēscendentem legī apud Terentium in Hecyrā, ‘fors *fuāt* pol’. (Sacerd. *gramm.* vi. 489. 12–15)

---

- **Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century AD)**

*Attigāt*, contingat\*. Turpīlius Leucadiā: ‘nē me *attigāt\**!

Atque aufer manum!’ — ‘Heia, quam ferōcula est!’

Accius Epigonīs:

‘Age age, āmōlire, āmitte, caue uestem *attigās*!’

Plautus Bacchidibus:

‘Ne *attigās* puerum istā causā, quandō fēcit strēnuē!’ (Non. p. 106. 25–30)

*Fuam*, sim uel fiam. Pācuuius Dūloreste:

‘Respōnsa explānāt: mandāt nē\* māt̄rī *fuāt*  
cognōscendi umquam aut contuendī cōpia.’

Titīnius Fullōniā:

‘Perii hercle uērō! Tīberī, nunc tēcum opsecrō,  
ut mihi subueniās, nē\* egō maiālis *fuam*\*.’

Līuius Hermionā:

‘Opsecrō te, Anciāle, māt̄rī nēquid tuae<sup>753</sup> aduorsus *fuās*.’

Āfrānius Prōmō:

‘Cauē nē pendeās,  
sī *fuās* in quaestiōne.’

Ennius Hectoris Lŷtrīs:

‘At ego, omnipotēns  
tēd exposco, ut hoc cōnsilium Achīuīs auxiliō *fuāt*.’ (Non. p. 159. 7–20)

---

*Ēuenāt*, prō ēueniat. Ennius Hecubā:

‘Senex sum: utinam mortem oppetam, prius quam *ēuenāt*  
quod in pauperiē meā senex grauiter gemam!’ (Non. p. 816. 19–21)

---

• **Marius Seruius Honoratus (fourth century AD)**

*Fuat* id est ‘fuerit’: futūrī temporis est uerbum dēfectiuum. (Seru. *Aen.*  
10. 108)

---

• **Diomedes (late fourth century)**

Item forem forēs foret prō eō quod est essem essēs esset dumtaxat dīcimus.  
Cētera dēclīnātiōne dēficit. Quaerī autem solet utrum sit positiō huius  
uerbī sum et haec duo īfīnīta habeat, esse et fuisse, an tertium etiam  
assūmat fore, quod uerbum est apud antīquōs, quod dīcēbant *fuō fuās*  
*fuat*; unde et Terentius ait

‘fors *fuāt* pol’,

et Vergilius

‘Trōs Rutulusue\* *fuat*’:

īfīnītum eius fore\*. (Diom. *gramm.* i. 379. 29–380. 6)

---

<sup>753</sup>We could also scan *nē quid tw(ae)*.



Item afferō attulī, quoniam et ferō tulī dīcimus. Quamquam et id perfectum quod est attulī ex aliō uerbō proficiscī reperimus apud ueterēs, ex eō quod est attollō<sup>754</sup>, ut Naeuius<sup>755</sup> in Tabellariā dōtem ad nōs nullam *attulās*<sup>756</sup>.

Plautus plūrāliter \* compositum efficit in Rudente ‘aullās *apstulās*’, ut sit instāns *apstulō*\*. (Diom. *gramm.* i. 380. 14–20)

---

Item attingō attingis omnium ērudītōrum cōsēnsū dīcimus. Vērūm reperimus apud nōn nullōs auctōrēs, quibus ēloquentiae et ēlegantiae tribūta est opīniō, sine n litterā dictum, quasi *attigō*\* *attigis*, ut Pācuuius in Mēdō: ‘Custōdīte hunc uōs, nē quis uim *attulāt* nēue\* *attigāt*.’

Item Plautus in Mūstellariā plūrāliter:

‘Apscēdite. Aedīs ne *attigātis*\*.’ (Diom. *gramm.* i. 382. 14–20)

---

• **Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius (around AD400)**

Ferō tulī et tollō tulī, sustulō\* sustulī attulō\* attulī: Accius uērō in Andrōmedā etiam ex eō quod est tulō quasi ā thēmate *tulat*\* dēclīnat, ‘nisi quod tua facultās nōbīs *tulat* operam.’ (Macr. *gramm.* v. 606. 37–607. 2)

---

• **Sergius (fifth or sixth century AD)**

*Fuat* pōnitur prō fuerit futūrī temporis: Vergilius

Trōs Rutulusue *fuat*\*, nullō discrimine habēbō. (Explan. in Don. *gramm.* iv. 557. 16–17)

---

• **Scripta Probiana (fourth century AD)**

F: hanc litteram ante uō positam uerba regere nōn inuēnī; nouō mōre ūnam dēclīnātiōnem ex hāc quasi dēscendentem lēgī apud Terentium ‘fors *fuāt* pol’, in Hecyrā scīlicet. (Prob. *cath. gramm.* iv. 37. 11–13)

---

• **Paul the Deacon (eighth century AD)**

*Crēduās* crēdās. Plautus: ‘Ipsus nec amāt, nec tū crēduās.’ (Paul. Fest. p. 52)

---

*Tagit* simpliciter dīcitur quod attigit, contigit\* facit compositum. (Paul. Fest. p. 491)

---

<sup>754</sup>Should we read *attulō*, as some manuscripts do?

<sup>755</sup>Ribbeck cites this fragment as belonging to Novius, not to Naeuius.

<sup>756</sup>Some manuscripts have a form with *-ll-*.

# Appendix 13: Tests for Statistical Significance

## General Explanations

Let us look at the data from Table 7. 1:

	Sigmatic subjunctives	Regular subjunctives
Main clauses	81 ( $\alpha$ )	284.5 ( $\delta$ )
Subordinate clauses	25 ( $\beta$ )	596.5 ( $\epsilon$ )
Total	106 ( $\gamma$ )	881 ( $\zeta$ )

Table 7. 1: Data from Plautus

Compared with the regular subjunctives, the sigmatic subjunctives prefer main clauses over subordinate clauses in Plautus. In other words, if we randomly pick a sigmatic subjunctive and a regular one, both from Plautus, the likelihood that the sigmatic form occurs in a main clause is greater than the likelihood that the regular form does so. We can formulate this as follows:

Hypothesis: Compared to the regular subjunctives, the sigmatic subjunctives prefer main clauses.

$$P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{sigmatic subjunctive}) > P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{regular subjunctive})$$

(‘If we pick a sigmatic subjunctive, the likelihood  $P$  that it occurs in a main clause is greater than the likelihood that a regular subjunctive occurs in a main clause.’)

The problem is that our sample (Plautus) is limited in size. Can we generalize from our findings in Plautus to all Archaic Latin? The likelihood that we can do so depends on two factors: the size of our sample and the size of our ‘population’. To begin with the latter, our population is the whole of Archaic Latin, spoken and written. Most of this population is not accessible any more, but for practical purposes we can assume that the population size is infinite. The likelihood that we can make accurate guesses increases if our sample size increases.

The ‘t-test’ is a test for statistical significance. It shows how likely it is that we can generalize from a sample of a certain size to an infinite population. I shall now demonstrate in detail how the t-test is done, using the data from Table 7.1.<sup>757</sup> In the subsequent sections, I shall use shorthand formulations.

## T-Test for Table 7. 1 — Plautus

- Step 1: Formulating a hypothesis

Hypothesis: Compared to the regular subjunctives, the sigmatic subjunctives prefer main clauses.

$P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{sigmatic subjunctive}) > P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{regular subjunctive})$

- Step 2: Probability estimates

Here we must use the sample from above.

$\alpha=81, \beta=25, \gamma=106, \delta=284.5, \epsilon=596.5, \zeta=881$

The probability estimate that sigmatic subjunctives occur in main clauses is  $\hat{p}_1$ .  $\hat{p}_1 = \frac{\alpha}{\gamma} = \frac{81}{106} = 0.76415$

The probability estimate that regular subjunctives occur in main clauses is  $\hat{p}_2$ .  $\hat{p}_2 = \frac{\delta}{\zeta} = \frac{284.4}{881} = 0.32293$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct because  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2$  is greater than zero.  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.44122$

- Step 3: Calculating the ‘standard deviations’ of  $\hat{p}_1$  and  $\hat{p}_2$

$\sigma_1$ , the standard deviation of  $\hat{p}_1$ , is  $\frac{\sqrt{(1-\hat{p}_1) \times \hat{p}_1 \times \gamma}}{\gamma}$ , which is 0.04123.

$\sigma_2$ , the standard deviation of  $\hat{p}_2$ , is  $\frac{\sqrt{(1-\hat{p}_2) \times \hat{p}_2 \times \zeta}}{\zeta}$ , which is 0.01575.

The standard deviation of  $\hat{p}_2$  is smaller than that of  $\hat{p}_1$  because we have more data for  $\hat{p}_2$ .

- Step 4: Calculating the standard deviation  $\sigma$  of the difference between  $\hat{p}_1$  and  $\hat{p}_2$

$\sigma = \sqrt{\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2} = 0.04414$

- Step 5: Calculating t

$t = \frac{\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2}{\sigma} = 9.996$

In order to look up this t-value on a t-table, we must now calculate the ‘degree of freedom’, *df*.

---

<sup>757</sup>I cannot explain here why the test works. In order to gain a better understanding of this one may consult general introductions, e.g. Woods, Fletcher and Hughes (1986) or Évrard and Mellet (1998).

- Step 6: Calculating the degree of freedom  
 The degree of freedom for  $\hat{p}_1$  is  $df_1$ , which is  $\alpha + \beta - 1$ , which is 105.  
 The degree of freedom for  $\hat{p}_2$  is  $df_2$ , which is  $\delta + \epsilon - 1$ , which is 880.  
 The degree of freedom that we need is  $df$ , which is the sum of  $df_1$  and  $df_2$ , which is 985.
- Step 7: Looking up the results on the t-table  
**The likelihood that our findings are statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 2. 4

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to future perfects, simple futures prefer main clauses.  
 $P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{simple future}) > P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{future perfect})$
- Step 2:

	Simple futures	Future perfects
Main clauses	185	5
Subordinate clauses	17	24
Total	202	29

$$\alpha=185, \beta=17, \gamma=202, \delta=5, \epsilon=24, \zeta=29$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{185}{202} = 0.91584, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{5}{29} = 0.17241$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.74343$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1 = 0.01953, \sigma_2 = 0.07014$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma = 0.07281$
- Step 5:  
 $t = 10.211$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1 = 201, df_2 = 28, df = 229$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 2. 5

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to future perfects, simple futures prefer main clauses.

$$P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{simple future}) > P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{future perfect})$$

- Step 2:

	Simple futures	Future perfects
Main clauses	133	9
Subordinate clauses	16	14
Total	149	23

$$\alpha=133, \beta=16, \gamma=149, \delta=9, \epsilon=14, \zeta=23$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{133}{149} = 0.89262, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{9}{23} = 0.39130$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.50132$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.02536, \sigma_2 = 0.10176$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.10488$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 4.780$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 148, df_2 = 22, df = 170$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 4. 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the perfect subjunctives, the present subjunctives prefer the third person.

$$P(\text{third person} \mid \text{present}) > P(\text{third person} \mid \text{perfect})$$

- Step 2:

	Present	Perfect
Third person	40	1
Second person	20	27
Total	60	28

$\alpha=40, \beta=20, \gamma=60, \delta=1, \epsilon=27, \zeta=28$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{40}{60} = 0.66667, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{1}{28} = 0.03571$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.63095$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$\sigma_1 = 0.06086, \sigma_2 = 0.03507$

- Step 4:

$\sigma = 0.07024$

- Step 5:

$t = 8.983$

- Step 6:

$df_1 = 59, df_2 = 27, df = 86$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to infinitives with present reference, infinitives with future reference tend to be telic.

$P(\text{telic} \mid \text{future reference}) > P(\text{telic} \mid \text{present reference})$

- Step 2:

	Future reference	Present reference
Telic	185	87
Atelic	104	637
Total	289	724

$\alpha=185, \beta=104, \gamma=289, \delta=87, \epsilon=637, \zeta=724$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{185}{289} = 0.64014, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{87}{724} = 0.12017$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.51997$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$\sigma_1 = 0.02823, \sigma_2 = 0.01208$

- Step 4:

$\sigma = 0.03071$

- Step 5:

$t = 16.932$

- Step 6:

$df_1 = 288, df_2 = 723, df = 1011$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to future infinitives, present infinitives with future force tend to be telic.

$P(\text{telic} \mid \text{present infinitive with future force}) > P(\text{telic} \mid \text{future infinitive})$

- Step 2:

	Present with future force	Future tense
Telic	74	111
Atelic	6	98
Total	80	209

$\alpha=74, \beta=6, \gamma=80, \delta=111, \epsilon=98, \zeta=209$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{74}{80} = 0.925, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{111}{209} = 0.53110$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.39390$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$\sigma_1 = 0.02945, \sigma_2 = 0.03452$

- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.04537$
- Step 5:  
 $t=8.681$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=79, df_2=208, df=287$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 4

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to future infinitives, present infinitives with future force prefer identity of subjects between the superordinate verbs and the embedded events.

$P(\text{same subject} \mid \text{present infinitive with future force}) > P(\text{same subject} \mid \text{future infinitive})$

- Step 2:

	Present with future force	Future tense
Same subjects	62	65
Not the same subjects	18	144
Total	80	209

$\alpha=62, \beta=18, \gamma=80, \delta=65, \epsilon=144, \zeta=209$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{62}{80} = 0.775, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{65}{209} = 0.31100$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.46400$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.04669, \sigma_2=0.03202$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.05661$
- Step 5:  
 $t=8.196$



- Step 6:  
 $df_1=79, df_2=208, df=287$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 5

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to future infinitives, present infinitives with future force prefer identity of subjects between the superordinate verbs and the embedded events.

$P(\text{same subject} \mid \text{present infinitive with future force}) > P(\text{same subject} \mid \text{future infinitive})$

- Step 2:

	Present with future force	Future tense
Same subjects	61	50
Not the same subjects	13	62
Total	74	112

$\alpha=61, \beta=13, \gamma=74, \delta=50, \epsilon=62, \zeta=112$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{61}{74} = 0.82432, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{50}{112} = 0.44643$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.37789$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.04424, \sigma_2=0.04697$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.06453$
- Step 5:  
 $t=5.856$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=73, df_2=111, df=184$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 6

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to infinitives with present reference, infinitives with future reference prefer identity of subjects between superordinate verbs and embedded events.

$P(\text{same subject} \mid \text{future reference}) > P(\text{same subject} \mid \text{present reference})$

- Step 2:

	Future reference	Present reference
Same subjects	127	149
Not the same subjects	162	575
Total	289	724

$\alpha=127, \beta=162, \gamma=289, \delta=149, \epsilon=575, \zeta=724$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{127}{289} = 0.43945, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{149}{724} = 0.20580$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.23365$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$\sigma_1 = 0.02920, \sigma_2 = 0.01503$

- Step 4:

$\sigma = 0.03284$

- Step 5:

$t = 7.115$

- Step 6:

$df_1 = 288, df_2 = 723, df = 1011$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 8

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the present infinitives (regardless of their time reference), the future infinitives prefer the active voice.

$P(\text{active} \mid \text{future}) > P(\text{active} \mid \text{present})$

- Step 2:

	Future	Present
Active	202	720
Passive	7	84
Total	209	804

$$\alpha=202, \beta=7, \gamma=209, \delta=720, \epsilon=84, \zeta=804$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{202}{209} = 0.96651, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{720}{804} = 0.89552$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.07099$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.01244, \sigma_2 = 0.01079$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.01647$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 4.310$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 208, df_2 = 803, df = 1011$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 10 – Part 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: The present infinitives with present force are more likely to have subject accusatives than the future infinitives.

$$P(\text{subject accusative} \mid \text{present}) > P(\text{subject accusative} \mid \text{future})$$

- Step 2:

	Present	Future
With subject accusatives	396	103
Without subject accusatives	100	51
Total	496	154

$\alpha=396, \beta=100, \gamma=496, \delta=103, \epsilon=51, \zeta=154$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{396}{496} = 0.79839, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{103}{154} = 0.66883$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.12956$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$\sigma_1 = 0.01801, \sigma_2 = 0.03792$

- Step 4:

$\sigma = 0.04198$

- Step 5:

$t = 3.08623$

- Step 6:

$df_1 = 495, df_2 = 153, df = 648$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is between 99.5% and 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 10 – Part 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Future infinitives are more likely to have subject accusatives than present infinitives with future force.

$P(\text{subject accusative} \mid \text{future}) > P(\text{subject accusative} \mid \text{present with future force})$

- Step 2:

	Future	Present with future force
With subject accusatives	103	34
Without subject accusatives	51	36
Total	154	70

$\alpha=103, \beta=51, \gamma=154, \delta=34, \epsilon=36, \zeta=70$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{103}{154} = 0.66883, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{34}{70} = 0.48571$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.18312$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.03792, \sigma_2=0.05974$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.07076$
- Step 5:  
 $t=2.58804$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=153, df_2=69, df=222$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is between 99.5% and 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 5. 14

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Plautus (early Archaic Latin) is more likely to have present infinitives with future force than Terence (late Archaic Latin).  
P (present with future force | Plautus) > P (present with future force | Terence)
- Step 2:

	Plautus	Terence
Present with future force	63	17
Future tense	76	35
Total	139	52

$$\alpha=63, \beta=76, \gamma=139, \delta=17, \epsilon=35, \zeta=52$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{63}{139} = 0.45324, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{17}{52} = 0.32692$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.12632$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.04222, \sigma_2=0.06505$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.07755$
- Step 5:  
 $t=1.62888$

- Step 6:  
 $df_1=138, df_2=51, df=189$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is between 90% and 95%.**

### T-Test for Table 6. 3

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the regular future perfects, the sigmatic futures prefer conditional clauses.  
P (conditional clause | sigmatic future) > P (conditional clause | regular future perfect)
- Step 2:

	Sigmatic futures	Regular future perfects
Conditional clauses	48	204
Other clauses	5	150
Total	53	354

$$\alpha=48, \beta=5, \gamma=53, \delta=204, \epsilon=150, \zeta=354$$

$$\hat{p}_1=\frac{48}{53}=0.90566, \hat{p}_2=\frac{204}{354}=0.57627$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2=0.32939$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.04015, \sigma_2=0.02626$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.04798$
- Step 5:  
 $t=6.866$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=52, df_2=353, df=405$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 7. 1 – Terence

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the regular subjunctives, the sigmatic subjunctives prefer main clauses.

$P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{sigmatic subjunctive}) > P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{regular subjunctive})$

- Step 2:

	Sigmatic subjunctives	Regular subjunctives
Main clauses	10	111
Subordinate clauses	2	180
Total	12	291

$\alpha=10, \beta=2, \gamma=12, \delta=111, \epsilon=180, \zeta=291$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{10}{12} = 0.83333, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{111}{291} = 0.38144$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.45189$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$\sigma_1 = 0.10758, \sigma_2 = 0.02847$

- Step 4:

$\sigma = 0.11128$

- Step 5:

$t = 4.061$

- Step 6:

$df_1 = 11, df_2 = 290, df = 301$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 7. 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to other verbs, *facere* is more likely to have sigmatic subjunctives.

$P(\text{sigmatic subjunctive} \mid \textit{facere}) > P(\text{sigmatic subjunctive} \mid \text{other verb})$

- Step 2:

	<i>facere</i>	Other verbs
Sigmatic subjunctives	44	62
Other	293	588
Total	337	650

$\alpha=44, \beta=293, \gamma=337, \delta=62, \epsilon=588, \zeta=650$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{44}{337} = 0.13056, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{62}{650} = 0.09538$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.03518$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.01835, \sigma_2 = 0.01152$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.02167$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 1.62371$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 336, df_2 = 649, df = 985$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is between 90% and 95%.**

## T-Test for Table 7. 3 – Part 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the sigmatic subjunctives, the present subjunctives prefer commands.

$$P(\text{command} | \text{present subjunctive}) > P(\text{command} | \text{sigmatic subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	Present sub- junctives	Sigmatic sub- junctives
Commands	34.5	0
Other clauses	186	81
Total	220.5	81



$\alpha=34.5, \beta=186, \gamma=220.5, \delta=0, \epsilon=81, \zeta=81$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{34.5}{220.5} = 0.15646, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{0}{81} = 0$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.15646$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.02447, \sigma_2 = 0$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.02447$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 6.395$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 219.5, df_2 = 80, df = 299.5$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 7. 3 – Part 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the present subjunctives, the sigmatic subjunctives prefer prohibitions.

$$P(\text{prohibition} \mid \text{sigmatic subjunctive}) > P(\text{prohibition} \mid \text{present subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	Sigmatic sub- junctives	Present sub- junctives
Prohibitions	30	12
Other clauses	51	208.5
Total	81	220.5

$\alpha=30, \beta=51, \gamma=81, \delta=12, \epsilon=208.5, \zeta=220.5$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{30}{81} = 0.37037, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{12}{220.5} = 0.05442$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.31595$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.05366, \sigma_2=0.01528$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.05579$
- Step 5:  
 $t=5.66298$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=80, df_2=219.5, df=299.5$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

### T-Test for Table 7. 4 – Part 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the sigmatic subjunctives, the present subjunctives prefer commands.  
 $P(\text{command} | \text{present subjunctive}) > P(\text{command} | \text{sigmatic subjunctive})$
- Step 2:

	Present sub- junctives	Sigmatic sub- junctives
Commands	13.5	0
Other clauses	71.5	10
Total	85	10

$$\alpha=13.5, \beta=71.5, \gamma=85, \delta=0, \epsilon=10, \zeta=10$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{13.5}{85} = 0.15882, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{0}{10} = 0$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.15882$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.03964, \sigma_2=0$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.03964$

- Step 5:  
t=4.006
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=84, df_2=9, df=93$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 7. 4 – Part 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the present subjunctives, the sigmatic subjunctives prefer prohibitions.  
P (prohibition | sigmatic subjunctive) > P (prohibition | present subjunctive)
- Step 2:

	Sigmatic subjunctives	Present subjunctives
Prohibitions	3	0.5
Other clauses	7	84.5
Total	10	85

$$\alpha=3, \beta=7, \gamma=10, \delta=0.5, \epsilon=84.5, \zeta=85$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{3}{10} = 0.3, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{0.5}{85} = 0.00588$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.29412$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.14491, \sigma_2=0.00829$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.14515$
- Step 5:  
t=2.026
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=9, df_2=84, df=93$

- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is between 97.5% and 99%.**

## T-Test for Table 7. 5 – Part 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the sigmatic subjunctives, the present subjunctives prefer *ut*-clauses.  
 $P(\textit{ut}\text{-clause} \mid \text{present subjunctive}) > P(\textit{ut}\text{-clause} \mid \text{sigmatic subjunctive})$
- Step 2:

	Present sub- junctives	Sigmatic sub- junctives
<i>ut</i> -clauses	177.5	2
Other clauses	288	23
Total	465.5	25

$$\alpha=177.5, \beta=288, \gamma=465.5, \delta=2, \epsilon=23, \zeta=25$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{177.5}{465.5} = 0.38131, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{2}{25} = 0.08$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.30131$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1 = 0.02251, \sigma_2 = 0.05426$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma = 0.05874$
- Step 5:  
 $t = 5.129$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1 = 464.5, df_2 = 24, df = 488.5$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 7. 5 – Part 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the present subjunctives, the sigmatic subjunctives prefer  $n\bar{e}$ -clauses.

$$P(n\bar{e}\text{-clause} \mid \text{sigmatic subjunctive}) > P(n\bar{e}\text{-clause} \mid \text{present subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	Sigmatic sub- junctives	Present sub- junctives
$n\bar{e}$ -clauses	10	45
Other clauses	15	420.5
Total	25	465.5

$$\alpha=10, \beta=15, \gamma=25, \delta=45, \epsilon=420.5, \zeta=465.5$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{10}{25} = 0.4, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{45}{465.5} = 0.09667$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.30333$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.09798, \sigma_2 = 0.01370$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.09893$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 3.066$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 24, df_2 = 464.5, df = 488.5$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is between 99.5% and 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 9. 1 – Plautus

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the regular subjunctives, the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives prefer main clauses.

$$P(\text{main clause} \mid \bar{i}\text{-subjunctive}) > P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{regular subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	$\bar{i}$ -subjunctives	Regular subjunctives
Main clauses	34	98
Subordinate clauses	6	235
Total	40	333

$\alpha=34, \beta=6, \gamma=40, \delta=98, \epsilon=235, \zeta=333$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{34}{40} = 0.85, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{98}{333} = 0.29429$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.55571$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.05646, \sigma_2 = 0.02497$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.06174$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 9.001$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 39, df_2 = 332, df = 371$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 9. 1 – Terence

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the regular subjunctives, the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives prefer main clauses.

$$P(\text{main clause} \mid \bar{i}\text{-subjunctive}) > P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{regular subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	$\bar{i}$ -subjunctives	Regular subjunctives
Main clauses	8	27
Subordinate clauses	1	79
Total	9	106

$\alpha=8, \beta=1, \gamma=9, \delta=27, \epsilon=79, \zeta=106$

$\hat{p}_1=\frac{8}{9}=0.88889, \hat{p}_2=\frac{27}{106}=0.25472$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2=0.63417$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.10476, \sigma_2=0.02388$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.10745$
- Step 5:  
 $t=5.902$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=8, df_2=105, df=113$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

### T-Test for Table 9. 3 – Part 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives, the present subjunctives prefer commands.  
 $P(\text{command} \mid \text{present subjunctive}) > P(\text{command} \mid \bar{i}\text{-subjunctive})$
- Step 2:

	Present sub- junctives	$\bar{i}$ -subjunctives
Commands	20.5	1
Other clauses	67	33
Total	87.5	34

$\alpha=20.5, \beta=67, \gamma=87.5, \delta=1, \epsilon=33, \zeta=34$

$\hat{p}_1=\frac{20.5}{87.5}=0.23429, \hat{p}_2=\frac{1}{34}=0.02941$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2=0.20488$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.04528, \sigma_2=0.02898$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.05376$
- Step 5:  
 $t=3.811$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=86.5, df_2=33, df=119.5$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

### T-Test for Table 9. 3 – Part 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the present subjunctives, the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives prefer prohibitions.

$$P(\text{prohibition} \mid \bar{i}\text{-subjunctive}) > P(\text{prohibition} \mid \text{present subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	$\bar{i}$ -subjunctives	Present subjunctives
Prohibitions	9	4
Other clauses	25	83.5
Total	34	87.5

$$\alpha=9, \beta=25, \gamma=34, \delta=4, \epsilon=83.5, \zeta=87.5$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{9}{34} = 0.26471, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{4}{87.5} = 0.04571$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.21900$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.07566, \sigma_2=0.02233$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.07889$



- Step 5:  
t=2.776
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=33, df_2=86.5, df=119.5$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is between 99.5% and 99.95%.**

### T-Test for Table 9. 5 – Part 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives, the present subjunctives prefer *ut*-clauses.  
 $P(\textit{ut}\text{-clause} \mid \textit{present subjunctive}) > P(\textit{ut}\text{-clause} \mid \bar{i}\text{-subjunctive})$
- Step 2:

	Present sub- junctives	$\bar{i}$ -subjunctives
<i>ut</i> -clauses	57.5	0
Other clauses	107	6
Total	164.5	6

$$\alpha=57.5, \beta=107, \gamma=164.5, \delta=0, \epsilon=6, \zeta=6$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{57.5}{164.5} = 0.34954, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{0}{6} = 0$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.34954$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.03718, \sigma_2=0$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.03718$
- Step 5:  
t=9.401
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=163.5, df_2=5, df=168.5$

- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 9. 5 – Part 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the present subjunctives, the  $\bar{i}$ -subjunctives prefer  $n\bar{e}$ -clauses.  
 $P(n\bar{e}\text{-clause} \mid \bar{i}\text{-subjunctive}) > P(n\bar{e}\text{-clause} \mid \text{present subjunctive})$
- Step 2:

	$\bar{i}$ -subjunctives	Present subjunctives
$n\bar{e}$ -clauses	5	15
Other clauses	1	149.5
Total	6	164.5

$$\alpha=5, \beta=1, \gamma=6, \delta=15, \epsilon=149.5, \zeta=164.5$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{5}{6} = 0.83333, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{15}{164.5} = 0.09119$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.74215$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1 = 0.15215, \sigma_2 = 0.02245$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma = 0.15380$
- Step 5:  
 $t = 4.826$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1 = 5, df_2 = 163.5, df = 168.5$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 10. 1 – Plautus

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the regular subjunctives, the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives prefer main clauses.

$$P(\text{main clause} \mid \bar{a}\text{-subjunctive}) > P(\text{main clause} \mid \text{regular subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	$\bar{a}$ -subjunctives	Regular subjunctives
Main clauses	21	189
Subordinate clauses	22	1132
Total	43	1321

$$\alpha=21, \beta=22, \gamma=43, \delta=189, \epsilon=1132, \zeta=1321$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{21}{43} = 0.48837, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{189}{1321} = 0.14307$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.34530$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.07623, \sigma_2 = 0.00963$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.07684$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 4.494$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 42, df_2 = 1320, df = 1362$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 10. 5 – Part 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives, the present subjunctives are more likely to occur in commands.

$$P(\text{command} \mid \text{present subjunctive}) > P(\text{command} \mid \bar{a}\text{-subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	Present sub- junctives	$\bar{a}$ -subjunctives
Commands	37	0
Other clauses	114	21
Total	151	21

$$\alpha=37, \beta=114, \gamma=151, \delta=0, \epsilon=21, \zeta=21$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{37}{151} = 0.24503, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{0}{21} = 0$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.24503$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.03500, \sigma_2 = 0.0$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.03500$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 7.001$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 150, df_2 = 20, df = 170$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 10. 5 – Part 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the present subjunctives, the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives are more likely to occur in prohibitions.

$$P(\text{prohibition} \mid \bar{a}\text{-subjunctive}) > P(\text{prohibition} \mid \text{present subjunctive})$$

- Step 2:

	$\bar{a}$ -subjunctives	Present sub- junctives
$n\bar{e}$ -clauses	16	19.5
Other clauses	5	131.5
Total	21	151

$\alpha=16, \beta=5, \gamma=21, \delta=19.5, \epsilon=131.5, \zeta=151$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{16}{21} = 0.76190, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{19.5}{151} = 0.12914$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.63276$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$\sigma_1 = 0.09294, \sigma_2 = 0.02729$

- Step 4:

$\sigma = 0.09686$

- Step 5:

$t = 6.532$

- Step 6:

$df_1 = 20, df_2 = 150, df = 170$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 10. 7 – Part 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives, the present subjunctives are more likely to occur in *ut*-clauses.

$P(\textit{ut-clause} \mid \textit{present subjunctive}) > P(\textit{ut-clause} \mid \bar{a}\textit{-subjunctive})$

- Step 2:

	Present sub- junctives	$\bar{a}$ -subjunctives
<i>ut</i> -clauses	197.5	1
Other clauses	708.5	21
Total	906	22

$\alpha=197.5, \beta=708.5, \gamma=906, \delta=1, \epsilon=21, \zeta=22$

$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{197.5}{906} = 0.21799, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{1}{22} = 0.04545$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.17254$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.01372, \sigma_2=0.04441$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.04648$
- Step 5:  
 $t=3.712$
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=905, df_2=21, df=926$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 10. 7 – Part 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to the present subjunctives, the extra-paradigmatic  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives prefer  $n\bar{e}$ -clauses.  
 $P(n\bar{e}\text{-clause} \mid \bar{a}\text{-subjunctive}) > P(n\bar{e}\text{-clause} \mid \text{present subjunctive})$
- Step 2:

	$\bar{a}$ -subjunctives	Present subjunctives
$n\bar{e}$ -clauses	7	75.5
Other clauses	15	830.5
Total	22	906

$$\alpha=7, \beta=15, \gamma=22, \delta=75.5, \epsilon=830.5, \zeta=906$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{7}{22} = 0.31818, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{75.5}{906} = 0.08333$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.23485$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.09930, \sigma_2=0.00918$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.09972$

- Step 5:  
t=2.355
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=21, df_2=905, df=926$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is between 99% and 99.5%.**

## T-Test for Table 12. 1

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to poetry, prose prefers the first person singular *ausim* over the other persons.  
P (first person singular | prose) > P (first person singular | poetry)
- Step 2:

	Prose	Poetry
First singular	46	27
Other forms	2	21
Total	48	48

$$\alpha=46, \beta=2, \gamma=48, \delta=27, \epsilon=21, \zeta=48$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{46}{48} = 0.95833, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{27}{48} = 0.5625$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.39583$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:  
 $\sigma_1=0.02884, \sigma_2=0.07160$
- Step 4:  
 $\sigma=0.07719$
- Step 5:  
t=5.128
- Step 6:  
 $df_1=47, df_2=47, df=94$
- Step 7:  
**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**

## T-Test for Table 12. 2

- Step 1: Hypothesis: Compared to poetry, prose prefers the phrase *fors fuat (an)*.

$$P(\text{fors fuat (an)} \mid \text{prose}) > P(\text{fors fuat (an)} \mid \text{poetry})$$

- Step 2:

	Prose	Poetry
<i>fors fuat (an)</i>	13	0
Other phrases	5	9
Total	18	9

$$\alpha=13, \beta=5, \gamma=18, \delta=0, \epsilon=9, \zeta=9$$

$$\hat{p}_1 = \frac{13}{18} = 0.72222, \hat{p}_2 = \frac{0}{9} = 0$$

In this sample, the hypothesis is correct:  $\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2 = 0.72222$ , which is greater than zero.

- Step 3:

$$\sigma_1 = 0.10557, \sigma_2 = 0$$

- Step 4:

$$\sigma = 0.10557$$

- Step 5:

$$t = 6.841$$

- Step 6:

$$df_1 = 17, df_2 = 8, df = 25$$

- Step 7:

**The likelihood that the hypothesis is statistically significant is higher than 99.95%.**