Telicity and the Imperfect Subjunctive in Latin: A Corpus-Based Study

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Structure of the talk

Introduction: The unique nature of Latin corpora

Telicity in Latin

Subjunctives in Latin

Corpus Patterns and Observations

Closer look

Conclusion and Further Research





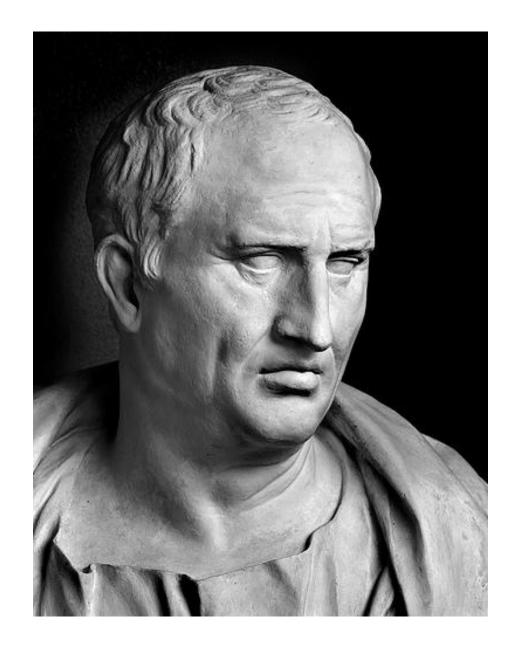
Introduction:
the unique nature of Latin corpora

Archaic Latin

- Latin corpora ≠ modern corpora
- → Not large, balanced, or representative
- → Shaped by education, ideology, and manuscript tradition
- Earliest texts (6th–3rd c. BCE):
- → Fragmentary, non-native productions
- → First literary texts were "school exercises" by Greeks
- Plautus and Comedy:
- → Stage Latin, not colloquial
- → Stylized, register-shifting, exaggerated







Classical Latin

- Cicero's legacy:
- → Literary norm of high-register, complex prose
- → Syntax divorced from everyday speech
- Later writers from provinces
- → Seneca from Hispania
- Selective survival through medieval transmission:
- → Scribes preserved what fit moral/educational norms
- → Large parts of Latin lost



Corpus is **literary**, incomplete, selective

Corpus **frequencies** are **distorted**

Many forms missing by accident, not rarity

Interpretation must account for **gaps**

Research implications

LASLA Opera Latina

Corpus S	Corpus Selection (click here)						
<u>Lemma :</u>	EXHAVRIO						
Subordina	ation Code : <none></none>						

<u>Category</u>	<u>Subcategory</u>	<u>Case</u>	<u>Degree</u>
O (No Category)	(all conj.)	(No Case)	(No Degree)
O _{Noun}	O 1st conj.	O Nominative	Opositive
O Verb	O 2nd conj.	O Vocative	Comparative
O Adjective	O 3rd conj.	O Accusative	Superlative
O Numeral	O 4th conj.	O Genitive	
O Personal Pronoun	O 4th bis conj.	O Dative	<u>Voice</u>
O Possessive Pronoun	O Anomalous	O Ablative	(No Voice)
O Reflexive Pronoun		OLocative	O Active
O Possessive Reflexive Pronoun		Ondeclinable	O Passive
O Demonstrative Pronoun			Opeponent
O Relative Pronoun			O Semi-deponent
O Interrogative Pronoun			Mood



	Future Perfect				
Author	-us fui/fuer MAtik se		Reference	Form	
CAESAR	Commentarii Belli Gallici		1,2,1	exirent	<u>View Context</u>
CAESAR	Commentarii Belli Gallici		1,33,4	exirent	<u>View Context</u>
CICERO	De domo sua		51,2	exirem	<u>View Context</u>
CICERO	De domo sua		51,5	exirem	<u>View Context</u>
CICERO	In C. Verrem actio prima		39,6	exirent	<u>View Context</u>
HORATIUS	Sermones		1,2,31	exiret	<u>View Context</u>
HORATIUS	Sermones		1,6,103	exirem	<u>View Context</u>
HORATIUS	Sermones		2,7,12	exiret	<u>View Context</u>
LUCRETIUS	De Rerum Natura		6,1217	exiret	View Context
OVIDIUS	Fasti		3,43	exiret	<u>View Context</u>
PETRONIUS	Satiricon		54,4	exiret	<u>View Context</u>
PLINIUS	Epistulae		1,22,8	exiret	<u>View Context</u>
PLINIUS	Epistulae		5,1,7	exirent	<u>View Context</u>
SENECA	Ad Helviam Matrem De Consolatione		19,7	exiret	<u>View Context</u>
SENECA	Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales		9,18	exiret	<u>View Context</u>
SENECA	Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales		72,4	exiret	View Context
SENECA	Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales		108,3	exiremus	View Context
SENECA	Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales		120,7	exiret	View Context
SENECA	Ad Marciam De Consolatione			exiret	View Context
TACITUS	Annales		4,16,2	exiret	View Context
TACITUS	Annales		6,49,2	exiret	View Context
VERGILIUS	Eclogae		1,33	exiret	View Context





Telicity in Latin:

summary of my previous research

Latin tense – mood system

Tenses:

- present, imperfect, future (from the "infectum stem")
- = <u>laudat</u>, <u>laudā**ba**t</u>, <u>laudā**bi**t</u>
- perfect, pluperfect, future perfect (from the "perfectum stem")
- = <u>laudāv</u>it, <u>laudāv</u>erat, <u>laudāv</u>erit
- NB: perfect = "he has built" and "he built"

Moods

- indicative
- subjunctive



Telicity (my previous research)

Telicity =
whether an
action has a
defined endpoint

Case study: prefix ex-(exīre, expellere...)
Tested use of ex-verbs in the imperfect indicative

Findings

ex- verbs almost not in the imperfect "progressive" interpretations

Instead, imperfect implies:

ightarrow Iterativity ightarrow Unfulfilled intention

Study extended to present tense:

- → Present tense rarely used for telic predicates
- → Most telic cases = historic present or habitual use



Telicity (my previous research)

perfect:

CIC. *Phil.* 14,27

Qui re audita e castris duas legiones **eduxit** ...

Who, upon hearing the matter, **led** two legions out of the camp....

• imperfect (iterativity):

Liv. 28,14,3

Hoc idem per dies aliquot factum. Prior semper Poenus copias castris educebat...

This same thing was done for several days. The Carthaginian <u>always</u> **led** his troops out of the camp first...



O Subjunctives in Latin

Latin subjunctives

Independent subjunctives (expressing modality:

• present: potentiality in the present

• imperfect: irreality in the present, potentiality in the past (limited)

• perfect: potentiality in the present

• pluperfect: irreality in the past

Consecutio temporum (sequence of tenses in subordinate clauses)

event in the main clause	simultaneity	anterioriy
non-past	subj. present	subj. perfect
past	subj. imperfect	subj. pluperfect



O Work with the corpus

Corpus

- LASLA (from Plautus to Plinius, roughly 2nd century BC 2nd century AD)
- selection of 14 verbs with the prefix *ex* and 13 verbs of atelic nature (states or activities)



GROUP 1		subjur	ictives		partio	iples
	pres.	impf.	perf.	plsqpf.	present	perfect
educere	7	7	3	2	1	36
effodere	3	2	1	0	0	15
elicere	1	10	0	0	1	0
eligere	19	4	5	0	6	33
evocare	7	3	0	1	1	21
eripere	22	32	11	10	2	91
evolare	3	0	2	0	0	0
exhaurire	2	2	3	4	0	33
exornare	4	0	0	1	0	10
explere	5	4	3	5	2	14
extraho	8	2	0	3	2	9
ехео	39	22	8	18	16	0
effugio	13	7	7	2	0	0
eicio	2	4	2	2	0	51
sum	135	99	45	48	31	313
% of all subj.	41,28%	30,28%	13,76%	14,68%		

GROUP 2		subjur	ctives		partio	iples
	pres.	impf.	perf.	plsqpf.	present	perfect
habitare	7	5	2	1	6	6
vivere	109	60	27	17	34	4
amare	111	16	7	2	27	26
scire	276	116	4	8	20	0
currere	21	2	2	0	39	0
ambulare	8	5	1	1	7	0
volare	7	5	1	0	53	0
dormire	11	2	0	1	25	0
bibere	47	9	3	4	5	0
cenare	16	5	1	2	9	6
clamare	16	12	0	2	20	2
laudare	57	18	9	2	20	50
cano	20	16	0	2	27	0
sum	706	271	57	42	292	94
% of all subj.	65,61%	25,19%	5,30%	3,90%		

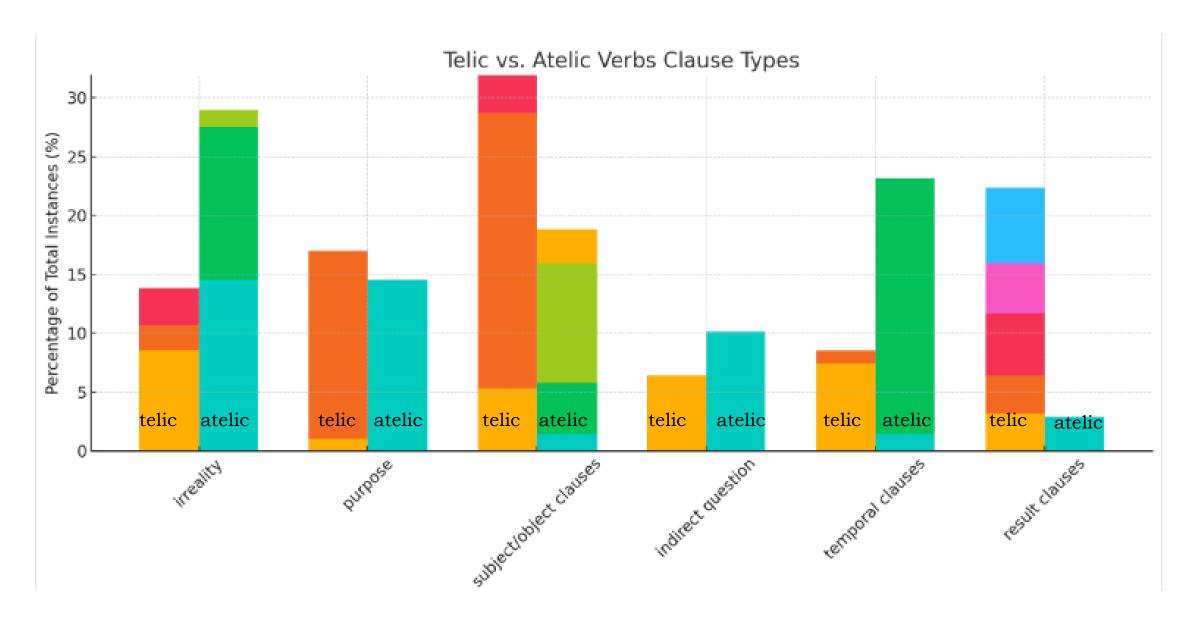
	pres.	impf.	perf.	plsqpf.		pres.	impf.	perf
educere	7	7	3	2				
effodere	3	2	1	0	habitare	7	5	2
elicere	1	10	0	0	vivere	109	60	27
eligere	19	4	5	0	amare	111	16	7
evocare	7	3	0	1	scire	276	116	4
eripere	22	32	11	10	currere	21	2	2
evolare	3	0	2	0	ambulare	8	5	1
exhaurire	2	2	3	4	volare	7	5	1
exornare	4	0	0	1	dormire	11	2	0
explere	5	4	3	5	bibere	47	9	3
extraho	8	2	0	3	cenare	16	5	1
exeo	39	22	8	18	clamare	16	12	0
effugio	13	7	7	2	laudare	57	18	9
eicio	2	4	2	2	cano	20	16	0
sum	135	99	45	48	sum	706	271	57
% of all subj.	41,28%	30,28%	13,76%	14,68%	% of all subj.	65,61%	25,19%	5,30

plsqpf.

3,90%

	pres.	impf.	perf.	plsqpf.		pres.	impf.	perf.	plsqpf.
educere	7	7	3	2					
effodere	3	2	1	0	habitare	7	5	2	1
elicere	1	10	0	0	vivere	109	60	27	17
eligere	19	4	5	0	amare	111	16	7	2
evocare	7	3	0	1	scire	276	116	4	8
eripere	22	32	11	10	currere	21	2	2	0
evolare	3	0	2	0	ambulare	8	5	1	1
exhaurire	2	2	3	4	volare	7	5	1	0
exornare	4	0	0	1	dormire	11	2	0	1
explere	5	4	3	5	bibere	47	9	3	4
extraho	8	2	0	3	cenare	16	5	1	2
ехео	39	22	8	18	clamare	16	12	0	2
effugio	13	7	7	2	laudare	57	18	9	2
eicio	2	4	2	2	cano	20	16	0	2
sum	135	99	45	48	sum	706	271	57	42
% of all subj.	41,28%	30,28%	13,76%	14,68%	% of all subj.	65,61%	25,19%	5,30%	3,90%

	pres.	impf.	perf.	plsqpf.		pres.	impf.	perf.	plsqpf.
educere	7	7	3	2					
effodere	3	2	1	0	habitare	7	5	2	1
elicere	1	10	0	0	vivere	109	60	27	17
eligere	19	4	5	0	amare	111	16	7	2
evocare	7	3	0	1	scire	276	116	4	8
eripere	22	32	11	10	currere	21	2	2	0
evolare	3	0	2	0	ambulare	8	5	1	1
exhaurire	2	2	3	4	volare	7	5	1	0
exornare	4	0	0	1	dormire	11	2	0	1
explere	5	4	3	5	bibere	47	9	3	4
extraho	8	2	0	3	cenare	16	5	1	2
exeo	39	22	8	18	clamare	16	12	0	2
effugio	13	7	7	2	laudare	57	18	9	2
eicio	2	4	2	2	cano	20	16	0	2
sum	135	99	45	48	sum	706	271	57	42
% of all subj.	41,28%	30,28%	13,76%	14,68%	% of all subj.	65,61%	25,19%	5,30%	3,90%





Irreality (main, conditional, comparison)

GROUP 1			GROUP 2		
the form	type of clause	detailed	the form	type of clause	detailed
eriperes	main	irreality	canerem	main	irreality
eriperes	main	irreality	canerem	main	irreality
eriperet	main	irreality	caneret	main	irreality
eriperes	main	irreality	caneret	main	irreality
eriperes	main	irreality	canerem	main	irreality
eriperes	main	irreality	biberes	main	irreality
eriperes	main	irreality	biberent	main	irreality
eriperes	main	irreality	volaret	main	irreality
effugeret	conditional	irreality	amarem	main	irreality
exiret	conditional	irreality	clamares	main	irreality
eicerem	conditional	irreality	ambularemi	u conditional	irreality
eliceret	conditional/purpose		clamaret	conditional	irreality
eligeret	comparison	irreality	biberet	conditional	irreality
eriperet	comparison	irreality	amarem	conditional	irreality
			amarem	conditional	irreality
			amaret	conditional	irreality
			amares	conditional	irreality
			clamaret	conditional	irreality
			clamaret	conditional	irreality
			amaret	comparison	irreality



Irreality (main, conditional, comparison)

Use of **imperfect subjunctive** is standard

→ Expresses potentiality, counterfactuality, or wishes

Occurs in both telic and atelic groups

No special interaction with telicity

→ Clause function is **modal**, not aspectual



Irreality (main, conditional, comparison)

SENECA, Ad Polybium De Consolatione - 2,3

Pecuniam <u>eriperes</u>. ... <u>Eriperes</u> illi amicos.

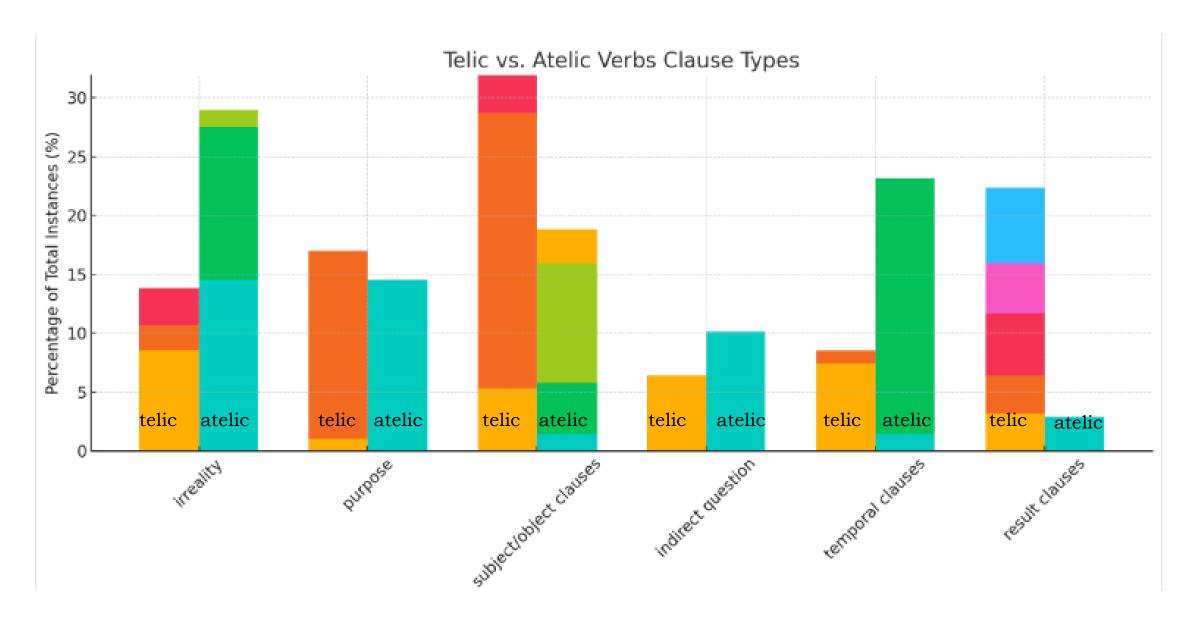
You would take away his money. (He was never dependent on it.) You would take away his friends. (He is so lovable that he could easily replace those.)

PLAUTUS, Bacchides - 818

Hunc si ullus deus <u>amaret</u>...

If any god <u>loved</u> him...







Purpose clauses

GROUP 1			GROUP 2	
the form	type of clause	detailed	the form	type of clause
exiret	purpose	iteration	caneret	purpose
exirem	purpose	iteration	canerem	purpose
effoderent	purpose	iteration	ambularemus	purpose
elicerent	purpose		foderet	purpose
effugerent	purpose		dormirem	purpose
eliceret	purpose		biberem	purpose
eliceret	purpose		biberet	purpose
eriperet	purpose		biberes	purpose
eligeret	purpose		cenares	purpose
eriperet	purpose		habitaret	purpose
eriperet	purpose			
eriperet	purpose			
eriperem	purpose			
eliceret	purpose			
exiret	purpose			



Common in both telic and atelic verbs

Atelic verbs:

- → Enables or maintains ongoing activity or state
- → Focus on ability, not endpoint

Telic verbs:

- → Emphasize goal-directed, completed actions
- → Occasionally used **iteratively**

Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses

LUCRETIUS, De Rerum Natura - 6,1217

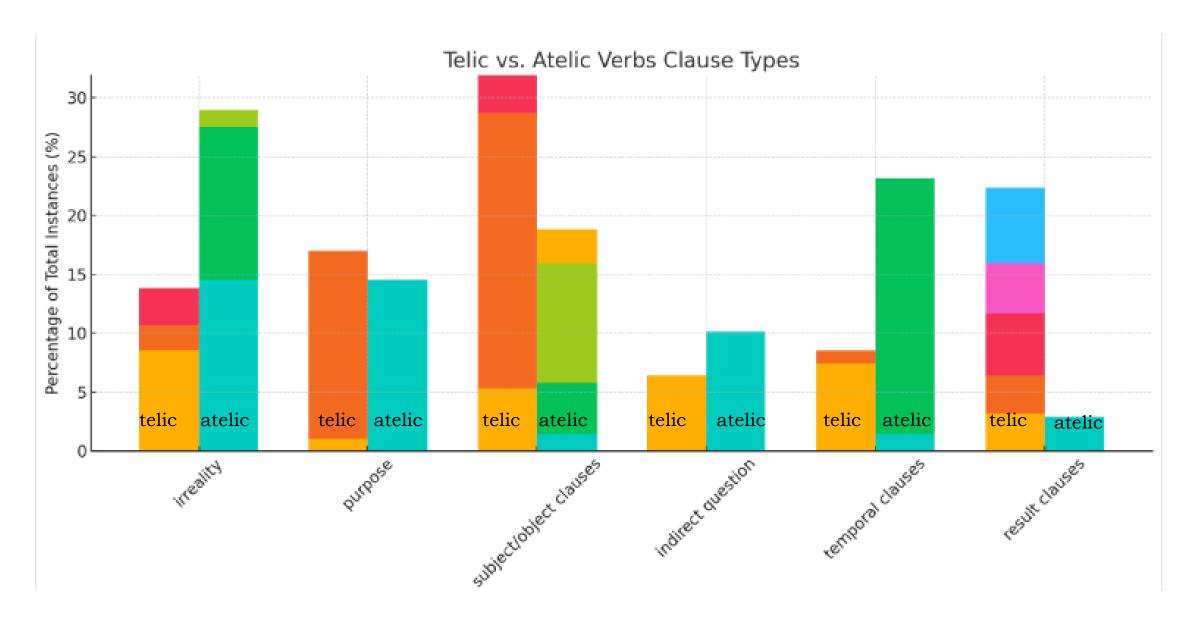
alituum genus atque ferarum procul absiliebat <u>ut</u> acrem <u>exiret</u> odorem. The birds and beasts sprang aside <u>to escape</u> the stench.

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris – 499

Saepe ego <u>ne biberem</u> uolui dormire uideri ...

Often I wanted to appear to be asleep so that I wouldn't drink (have to drink)..."







Clausal subjects/ complements

GROUP 1			GROUP 2		
the form	type of clause	detailed	the form	type of clause	detailed
exiret	subject/object	fear	amares	subject/object	irreality
eriperet	subject/object	fear	biberet	subject/object	preventive
exiret	subject/object	fear	clamarem	subject/object	preventive
extraheret	subject/object	fear	amares	subject/object	preventive
exirent	subject/object	fear	dormiret	subject/object	volition
eiceret	subject/object	volition	biberet	subject/object	volition
educerent	subject/object	volition	habitaret	subject/object	volition
educeret	subject/object	volition	amaret	subject/object	volition
excederet	subject/object	volition	amarent	subject/object	volition
eriperet	subject/object	volition	amarent	subject/object	volition
educerent	subject/object	volition	amarent	subject/object	volition
eriperet	subject/object	volition	cenarem	subject/object	
eriperes	subject/object	volition	amarem	subject/object	
effugeret	subject/object	volition			
excederet	subject/object	volition			
educeret	subject/object	volition			
eriperet	subject/object	volition			
exirem	subject/object	volition			
eriperent	subject/object	volition			
educerem	subject/object	volition			
exirent	subject/object	volition			
excederet	subject/object	volition			
eriperes	subject/object	volition			
eriperemus	subject/object	volition			
exirent	subject/object	volition			
eliceret	subject/object	volition			
exirem	subject/object	volition			_
effugerent	subject/object				
eicerem	subject/object				
exiret	subject/object				

Introduced by verbs of desire, command, avoidance, fear

Atelic verbs:

→ Express wish for a continuous or openended state

Telic verbs:

- → Express wish/command to complete a bounded action
- → Often behave like intentional goal expressions

Clausal subjects/ complements

Clausal subjects/clausal complements

SENECA, De Vita Beata – 2,3

omnem **operam dedi** <u>ut</u> me multitudini <u>educerem</u>

I tried my best to get out of the crowd

SENECA, Epistulae Morales – 120,7

sollicitus ... ut saluus <u>exiret</u>

concerned that he would get out alive

SENECA, De Ira - 3,14,1

monebat ut parcius biberet

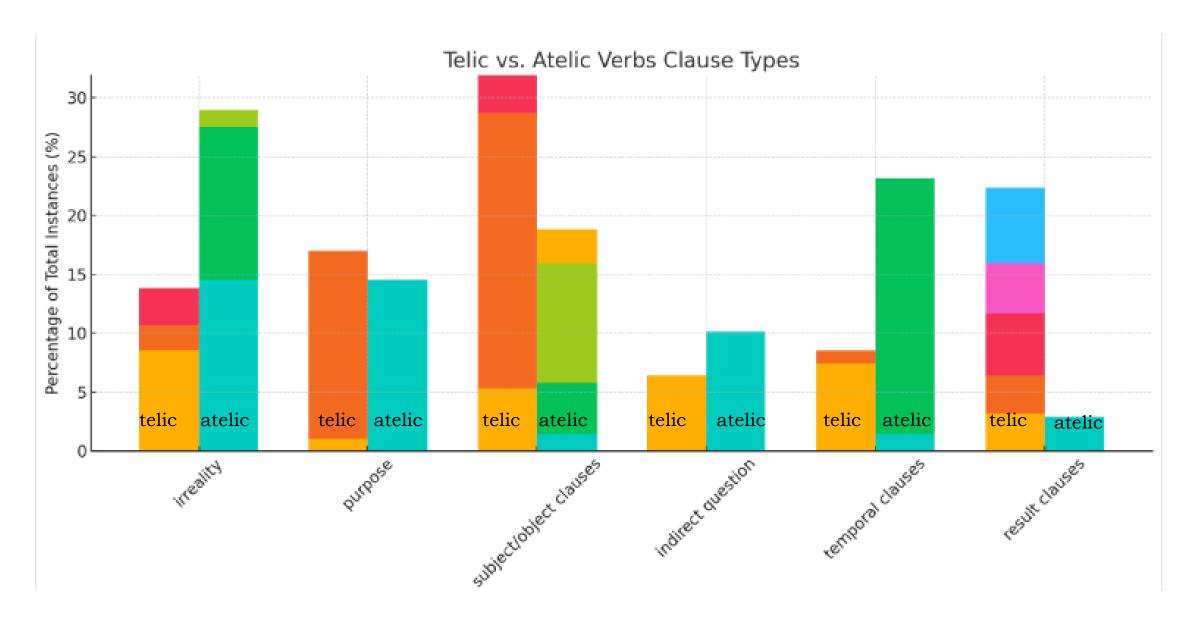
he **warned** him to drink less

CURTIUS, Historiae Alexandri Magni - 6,10,34

deterrere eum uoluit <u>quominus</u> medicamentum <u>biberet</u>

he wanted to **prevent** him <u>from drinking</u> the medicine







Indirect questions

GROUP 1			GROUP 2	
the form	type of clause	note	the form	type of clause
exiret	indirect question	could	ambularem	indirect question
effoderet	indirect question	could	ambularem	indirect question
effugerent	indirect question	could	biberent	indirect question
educeres	indirect question	plan	cenaret	indirect question
educeret	indirect question	deliberation	volarent	indirect question
eligeres	indirect question	should	amaret	indirect question
			amares	indirect question



Atelic verbs:

- → Fit well with imperfect subjunctive = simultaneity with main clause
- → Denote ongoing events

Telic verbs:

- → Rare in this context
- → Imply intention or deliberation
- → Not real-time events, but mental planning

Indirect questions



Indirect questions

CICERO, In Catilinam – 1,9

delegisti ... quos tecum educeres

you **chose** ... <u>whom</u> <u>you would take</u> with you

SENECA, Epistulae Morales – 110,9

quaereret quid ex illa mali effoderet

he was asking what harm <u>he could get from</u> her.

PLINIUS, Panegyricus – 86,1

quantum amares eum desiderio expertus es

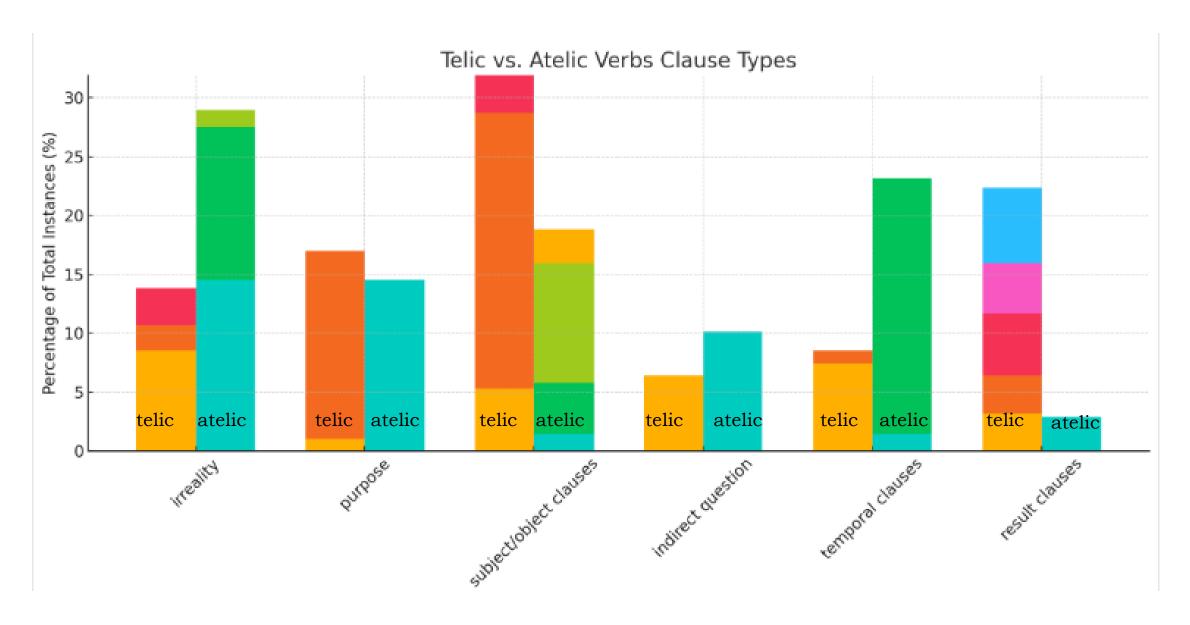
how much you loved him, you have found out through longing

PETRONIUS, Satyrica – 62,11

Melissa mea **mirari** coepit <u>quod</u> tam sero <u>ambularem</u>

my Melissa began to **wonder** why I was coming so late







Temporal clauses

GROUP 1				GROUP 2		
the form	type of clause	note	detail	the form	type of clause	detailed
eriperet	temporal	cum historicum	iteration	volarent	temporal	antequam
evocaremus	temporal	cum historicum	iteration	caneret	temporal	cum
exiret	temporal	cum historicum	iteration	traheret	temporal	cum
eicerent	temporal	cum historicum	plan	canerem	temporal	cum
exiret	temporal	cum historicum	was leaving	caneret	temporal	cum
exiret	temporal	cum historicum	was leaving	canerem	temporal	cum
eriperet	temporal	cum historicum	intention	curreret	temporal	cum
exiret	temporal	until		ambularet	temporal	cum
				foderet	temporal	cum
				cenaret	temporal	cum
				clamaret	temporal	cum
				clamarent	temporal	cum
				clamaret	temporal	cum
				clamaret	temporal	cum
				clamaret	temporal	cum
				clamarem	temporal	cum
				caneret	temporal	dum
				caneret	temporal	quotiens



Temporal clauses (cum historicum)

SENECA, Epistulae Morales – 108,3

Haec nobis praecipere Attalum memini <u>cum</u> ... primi <u>ueniremus</u> et nouissimi <u>exiremus</u>...

I remember Attalus instructing us in these things when we used to arrive the first and to leave the last...

CICERO, Pro Milone – 9

Pudicitiam <u>cum</u> <u>eriperet</u> militi tribunus militaris

When the military tribune was trying to take the soldier's chastity by force

OVIDIUS, Ars amatoria – 2,493

haec ego <u>cum canerem</u> subito while I was singing this, suddenly...

CICERO, Pro Marco Tullio – 19

<u>cum</u> <u>ambularet</u> in agro, animaduertit... while he was walking in the field, he noticed...



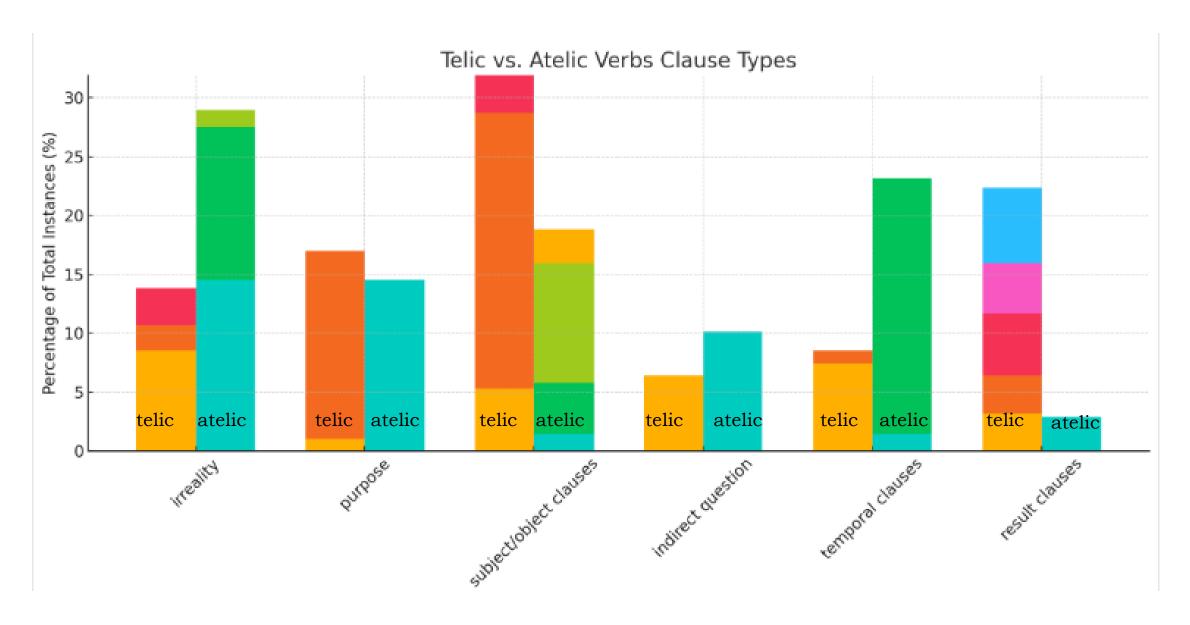
Imperfect subjunctive = backgrounding or co-occurring events

Telic verbs require reinterpretation:

- → **Iteration** (e.g., repeated exits)
- → Unfulfilled attempts
- → **Ongoing process** or narrative backgrounding

Rarely express simple, completed simultaneity

Temporal clauses (cum historicum)





Result (consecutive) clauses

GROUP 1				GROUP 2		
the form	type of clause	note	detail	the form	type of clause	detailed
eriperet	result	?		canerent	result	real
eliceret	result	fore ut		curreret	result	real
eriperem	result	intention				
explerent	result	intention				
eligeremus	result	intention				
explerent	result	irreality				
exiret	result	irreality				
exhauriret	result	irreality				
exiret	result	iteration				
exhauriret	result	iteration				
evocaret	result	iteration				
exirent	result	iteration				
evocaret	result	iteration				
eriperet	result	potential (past)				
expleret	result	purpose				
effugerent	result	real	effugerunt			
effugeret	result	real	effugit			
eriperem	result	real	eripui			
eriperet	result	real	eripuisti			
eriperet	result	real	eripuit			
expleret	result	real	explebat			



Result clauses

Introduced by *ut* + expression of degree (tam, tantus, etc.) Real Results: Completed Potential/Irreal: **Intentional Results**: $outcomes \rightarrow Imperfect =$ Hypothetical outcomes → Aim/future-oriented \rightarrow Similar to purpose clauses iteration or background Imperfect = modal past Puzzle: reinterpretation

Result clauses

real result (atelic verb):

HORATIUS, Sermones – 2,3,142

lethargo **grandi** est oppressus <u>ut</u> heres iam circum loculos et clauis laetus ouansque <u>curreret</u>

He was overcome by **(such) a deep** lethargy, so that the heir was already running around the chests and keys, joyful and triumphant.

→ Heres currebat ...



Result clauses – telic verbs

• intention:

CICERO, In Verrem - 2,2,138

ita potestatem gererent <u>ut</u> illam lacunam rei familiaris <u>explerent</u> they exercised power in **such** a way <u>that they might fill</u> that gap in the family estate

• irreality:

CICERO, De haruspicum responso – 59

Quam denique **tam** immanem Charybdim poetae fingendo exprimere potuerunt <u>quae</u> tantos <u>exhauriret</u> gurgites...

They were able to depict **such** a gigantic Charybdis <u>that</u> <u>she could swallow</u> such enormous whirlpools...



Result clauses - telic verbs

real results:

CAESAR, Bellum Hispaniense – 6,4

concidunt **sic** <u>ut</u> uix in ea caede pauci <u>effugerent</u>

they fell with **such** force that in that slaughter scarcely a few <u>escaped</u>

→ Pauci effugerunt (perfect!)

CATO, Orationum fragmenta – 2,10

Numquam ego praedam... inter pauculos amicos meos diuisi <u>ut</u> illis <u>eriperem</u> qui cepissent.

Never did I divide the spoils among a few of my friends in **such** a way <u>as to take</u> them <u>away</u> from those who had captured them.

→illis eripui, qui ceperant (perfect!)

CICERO, In Verrem – 2,1

..hunc dolorem cineri eius ... inussisti <u>ut</u> liberis eius bona patria uoluntate patris iure legibus tradita <u>eriperes</u> you branded **this** grief upon his ashes <u>that you took away</u> from his children the estate—handed down by their father's will, by right, and by the laws

→ liberis eripuisti (perfect!)

Conclusion

The imperfect subjunctive, especially with telic verbs, is not just a mechanical outcome of sequence rules—it participates in shaping meaning in subtle, discourse-sensitive ways.

In particular, result clauses offer a window into how formal grammatical structures accommodate deep semantic tensions—and how Latin authors used these tools not just mechanically, but creatively. Exploring this further could illuminate broader principles of aspectual interpretation in Latin.



