Contents

Preface *page* xxi
Acknowledgements xxvii
List of Abbreviations xxix

PART I INTRODUCTION 1

I Asyndetic and Syndetic Coordination: Definitions and Types 3
1 Coordination and Asyndeton 3
2 Asyndeton with Two Members, Conjunctive, Disjunctive and Adversative 7
3 Ancient Classifications of Asyndeton 10
4 Longer Single-Word Asyndeta in Latin 14
5 Asyndeta Bimembria in Which at Least One of the Coordinates Is a Pair of Words Forming a Unit 16
6 Phrasal Asyndeton with Two Members 17
7 A Mixed Type 19
8 Clausal Asyndeton 20
9 Causal, Explanatory, Explicative (etc.) 'Asyndeton' 27
10 Asyndeton with Anaphora 29
11 Conclusions 32

II 'Asyndeta' That May Not Be Asyndeta: Roles of Adjectives; Appositional Compounds; and 'Asyndetic Hendiadys' 33
1 Introduction 33
2 Juxtaposed Adjectives That Are Not Asyndetic 33
2.1 Attributive and Predicative Adjectives; Secondary Predicates 33
2.2 Groups of Adjectives; Other Classifications ('Rank', 'Hierarchy', 'Stacking', 'Layering') 34
2.3 Poetic Periphrases and Additional Adjectives 35
2.4 Scholarly Classifications of Adjectival Roles 36
2.5 Conclusions 44

3 Quasi-compounds, and Pairs in Which One Term Is a Modifier of the Other 44
3.1 Appositional Compounds 44
3.2 Modifier + Modified et al. 46
3.2.1 *uolens propitius* 46
3.2.2 Some Pairs in Which One Term Is a (Predicative) Modifier of the Other 49
3.2.3 Pairs of Uncertain Interpretation 52
3.2.3.1 Pairs of Verbs 52
3.2.3.2 Pairs of Nouns 53
3.2.3.3 Conclusions 54

III Asyndeton Versus Coordination, an Introduction 55
1 The Antiquity of Asyndeton versus Syndetic Coordination 55
2 Dvandva Compounds 57
3 Textual Criticism: Asyndeton versus Coordination 61

IV Lists of Two Types 66
1 Introduction 66
2 Lists as Totalities 66
3 Open-Ended Lists: 'Illustrations' 71
4 Open-Ended Lists Comprising Pairs of Adjectives: a Specific Case 74
5 Conclusions 75

V Supposed 'Effects' of Asyndeton 76
1 'Rapidity' et sim. and the Articulation of Asyndetic Pairs; Some Ancient Evidence 76
2 'Pauses for Thought' and Postponed Adjectives in Latin 79
3 Possible Variability of Articulation 82

PART 2 'GRAMMATICAL' TYPES 85

VI Asyndetic Pairs (Mainly of Adjectives) of Which at Least One Member Is a Term with a Negative Prefix (in Latin, Usually *in-*) 87
1 Introduction 87
2 Asyndetic Pairs of Which Both Members Are Privatives 88
2.1 Greek 88
2.2 Latin 91
2.2.1 Some Conclusions 93
2.3 The Rigveda 94
3 Asyndetic Pairs with *in-* or alpha at the Start of Both Members, but with at Least One Member That Is Not a Privative Compound 95
4 Asyndetic Pairs with Just One Member (Usually the Second) That Is a Privative 96

4.1 Greek 96
4.2 Latin 97
5 Asyndetic Triplets (or Longer Sequences) Comprising Terms That All Have a Privative Prefix 99
5.1 Greek 99
5.2 Latin 101
5.3 The Rigveda 101
6 Oppositions, with a Privative Compound Negating Its Simplex 102
7 Positive–Negative Pairs in Latin of Which the Negated Term Has a Prefix other than Privative *in-* 106
8 Prefixes other than the Privative That Are Repeated in Asyndetic Pairs 108
8.1 Greek 108
8.2 Latin 108
9 Conclusions 109
Appendix: English 111

VII Simplex + Compound in Asyndeton 113
1 Evidence 113
2 Conclusions 120

VIII Juxtaposition of Active and Passive Forms of the Same Verb 121
1 Evidence 121
2 Conclusions 124

IX Asyndetic Pairs of Verbs of Different Tense or Mood 125
1 Evidence 125
2 Conclusions 127

X Pairs of Imperatives 128
1 'Go' + Imperative 128
1.1 Early Latin 128
1.2 An Official Formula 130
1.3 A Reversal of Order 131
1.4 Later Latin 132
1.5 Italo-Romance Dialects 133
2 Pseudo-Asyndeton: the Use of *age* 135
3 Some Special Types of Asyndetic Imperatives 136
4 Greek: New Comedy and Miscellaneous 136
5 Conclusions 137

XI Masculine + Feminine Pairs 138
1 Introduction 138
2 Gods, Goddesses 138
3 Men, Women 140

4 Boys, Girls 141
5 Miscellaneous Pairs, Mainly in Legal Contexts 141
6 Conclusions 142

XII Recapitulation: 'Grammatical' Types and Their Distribution 143

PART 3 SEMANTIC TYPES 147

XIII Pairs of Opposites 149
1 Introduction 149
2 Definitions: Complementarities, Antonyms, Converses and Directional Opposites 150
3 Statistics 155
4 Structures and Uses 156
4.1 Accumulations: Juxtaposed Asyndetic Pairs of Opposites 156
4.2 Accumulations: Asyndetic Pairs of Opposites Juxtaposed with Syndetic Pairs of Opposites 159
4.3 Accumulations: Asyndetic Pairs of Opposites Juxtaposed with Asyndetic Pairs of Other Types 160
5 A Few Types of Opposites Worthy of Comment 161
5.1 'Town' : 'Country' et sim. 161
5.2 'Public' : 'Private' et sim. 162
5.3 Pairs Denoting Opposites of Social Status 162
5.4 Asyndetic Pairs of Adverbs 163
5.5 Variations on the Type of Asyndetic Pair That Is Composed of Explicit Opposites 165
6 Conclusions 166

XIV Pairs Denoting Family Members 167
1 Introduction 167
2 A Selection of Pairs 167
2.1 Father, Mother 167
2.2 Brother, Sister 168
2.3 Women/Wives, Children 168
2.4 Parent, Children 169
2.5 Forms of Kinship of Diverse Types 169
3 Conclusions 170

XV 'Semantic' Types: Some Conclusions 171

PART 4 STRUCTURES 175

XVI Rule of Ascending Length (?) 177
1 'Behaghel's Law' 177
2 Statistics 179

3 Some Other Factors Determining the Order of the Constituents of an Asyndetic Pair 184
4 Conclusions 187

XVII Correlative Distribution 188
1 Evidence 188
2 Conclusions 191

XVIII End-of-List Coordination and 'Weak' Asyndeton Bimembre 192
1 Introduction 192
2 Statistics 193
2.1 Livy 8 193
2.1.1 Asyndeta 193
2.1.2 Groups with Internal Coordination (but Not End-of-List Type) 194
2.1.3 End-of-List Coordination 195
2.2 Cicero *De officiis* 1.1–100 195
2.2.1 Asyndeta 195
2.2.2 *Coordinations* 196
2.2.3 End-of-List Coordination 196
2.3 Cato 197
2.4 Plautus 197
3 Internal Unities Expressed by Coordinators 198
4 Examples of the Structure ABC*que* That Arguably Do Not Have End-of-List Coordination 200
5 End-of-List Coordination 204
6 Special Structures That May Have 'Weak' Asyndeton Bimembre + Third Element 206
7 Further Ambiguities of Interpretation 209
8 Conclusions 210

XIX Accumulations of Asyndeta: a Few Patterns 211
1 Antiquity and Continuity 211
2 Types, Statistics, Textual Criticism 216
3 Juxtaposed Asyndeta That Are Open to Misinterpretation 218
4 Conclusions 218

XX Discontinuous Asyndeton and Conjunct Hyperbaton 220
1 Conjunct Hyperbaton 220
2 Discontinuous Asyndeton 221
3 Discontinuous Asyndeton in Menander 224
4 Conclusions 224

XXI Asyndetic Pairs Dependent on a Single Preposition 225
1 Introduction 225
2 Structural Patterns 225
3 Pairs Dependent on a Preposition in Caesar, *Bellum Ciuile* 227
4 Asyndetic Pairs Dependent on a Single Preposition That Are Not in Significant Structures 228
5 Conclusions 230

PART 5 GENRES AND TEXTS 231

XXII Laws and Prayers 233
1 Introduction 233
2 Coordination in the *Lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus*, *Lex Antonia de Termessibus*, *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* 234
2.1 *Lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus* 234
2.2 *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* 237
2.3 *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* 240
3 Asyndeton and Coordination in Selected Prayers 241
3.1 A Spell in Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.9.7–8 241
3.2 Prayers in Cato, *Agr.* 141 242
3.3 Varro *Ling.* 7.8 and the Formula for Taking the Auspices 242
3.4 A Prayer for the Devotion of Cities to Destruction, Uttered only by Generals and Dictators (Macr. *Sat.* 3.9.10–11) 243
3.5 Quotations from the Books of the *haruspices* Found in Cicero's *Har.* 245
4 Asyndeton in Umbrian 246
4.1 Introduction 246
4.2 Nouns 246
4.3 Adjectives 248
4.4 Verbs 248
4.5 'Prepositional' Type 249
4.6 Accumulations of Pairs of Different Types 249
4.7 Phrasal and Mixed Asyndeta 251
4.8 Conclusions 251
5 Some Legal Pairs, Mainly Old 252
5.1 *patres conscripti* 252
5.2 *uelitis iubeatis* 254
5.3 *sarta tecta* 256
5.4 *loca lautia* 257
5.5 *ruta caesa* 258
5.6 *usus fructus* 258
5.7, 8 *emptio uenditio*, *locatio conductio* 259
5.9 *populus Romanus Quirites* (?) 262
5.10 *usus auctoritas* 263

5.11 Conclusions 263
6 Some Religious Pairs 263
6.1 *sub diu(o) columine* 263
6.2 *(Iuppiter) optimus maximus* 264
6.3 Some Augural Formulae 264
6.4 *prima postrema* 265
6.5 *porci sacres sinceri* 265
7 Legal Phrases in Literary Texts 265
7.1 Proposals in the Senate; Other Contexts 265
7.2 Offices, Officials, Titles, Honours 266
7.3 Groups or Individuals within the State of a Defined Status; External Groups Possessing an Official Relationship with the State 267
7.4 Abstract Terms Denoting Relationships with States 267
7.5 Types of States and Foundations, Methods of Government 267
7.6 Activities Regulated by Law 268
8 Religious Phrases in Literary Texts 268
9 Conclusions 268

XXIII Plautus 272
1 Statistics 272
2 Diversity of Types 272
3 Religious and Legal Expressions 274
4 Compounds or Long Suffixal Derivatives, Often Coinages, Juxtaposed 276
5 Verbs 280
5.1 Imperatives 280
5.2 Subjunctives 282
5.3 Non-Imperatival Pairs of Verbs Consisting of a Verb of Motion and Another Verb 282
5.4 Asyndetic Pairs of Verbs Marked by Assonance of One Type or Another 283
5.5 Miscellaneous Pairs of Verbs in Asyndeton 286
6 Privatives 289
7 Structures 292
7.1 Juxtaposed Asyndetic Pairs 292
7.2 Asyndeton Juxtaposed with Coordinations 294
7.3 Embedded Pairs 295
7.4 Anaphora of Prepositions 296
8 Semantic Categories 297
8.1 Adornment and the Like, Mainly Female 297
8.2 Decadent or Depraved Behaviour 299
8.3 'Eat, Drink' 300
8.4 Vices, Adjectives Applied to Disapproved Behaviour 300
8.5 Food Lists, Recipes, Shopping Lists etc. 301

8.6 Precious Metals and the Like 301
8.7 Athletic Pursuits 301
8.8 Adjectives to Do with Age and Decrepitude 302
8.9 Numerical Approximations 302
8.10 Pairs of Opposites 303
8.11 Relationships by Blood, Marriage, Alliance and Friendship 304
8.12 Complementary Parts of the Body 304
8.13 Masculine + Feminine Pairs 304
8.14 Some Miscellaneous Pairs That Occur more than Once, in Plautus or in Plautus and elsewhere 305
uiuo ualeo 305
opus/opera labor 305
do dono 305
frigus fames 305
iocus ludus 305
9 Conclusions 306
Appendix: Lists of Asyndetic Pairs of Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs in Plautus 308

XXIV Virgil and Early High-Style Poetry 313
1 Introduction 313
2 Virgil 314
2.1 Asyndeta Bimembria Where the Two Parts Consist of a Single Word 314
2.1.1 Adjectives 314
2.1.2 Nouns, Names 318
2.1.3 Adverbs 319
2.1.4 Verbs 319
2.1.5 Prepositional Expressions 319
2.2 Adjectival Asyndeta with Two Members, One of Extended Length 320
2.3 Conclusions 323
3 Homer 324
4 Conclusions: Homer and Virgil 330
5 Asyndeton Bimembre in Ennius 331
5.1 The *Annals* 331
5.1.1 Adjectives 331
5.1.2 Adjective + Adverb 336
5.1.3 Nouns 337
5.1.4 Verbs 338
5.1.5 Some False or Dubious Examples 338
5.2 Tragedies 339
5.2.1 Adjectives 339
5.2.2 Nouns 340
5.2.3 Adverbs 341

5.2.4 Verbs 341
5.2.5 Some False or Dubious Examples 342
5.2.6 Aspects of Coordination and Longer Asyndeta in Ennius 343
5.3 Conclusions: a Comparison of Ennius and Virgil (and Plautus) 345
6 Pacuvius, Tragedies 347
6.1 Adjectives 347
6.2 Nouns 348
6.3 Verbs 349
6.4 Pairs with One Member of Extended Length 351
6.5 Conclusions 352
7 Asyndeton Bimembre in Lucretius 352
7.1 Pairs with Single-Word Members 353
7.1.1 Adjectives 353
7.1.2 Nouns 354
7.1.3 Verbs 356
7.1.4 Prepositional type 358
7.1.5 Adverbs 358
7.2 Type with One Member of Extended Length 358
7.3 Examples That Are Difficult to Classify 359
7.4 Some Long Asyndeta 361
7.5 End-of-List Coordinations in Lucretius 362
7.6 Multiple Coordinations 362
7.7 Conclusions: Some Comparisons of Lucretius with Ennius, Pacuvius and Virgil 363
8 Livius Andronicus, *Odyssea* and Naevius, *Belli Punici Carmen* 364
9 Final Conclusions 367
Appendix: Some Coordinated Pairs with *-que* (mainly) in Lucretius and Virgil 368

XXV Lucilius 373
1 Asyndeton Bimembre 373
1.1 Asyndeton Bimembre Consisting for the Most Part of Single Words 374
1.1.1 'Stylised' examples 374
1.1.2 Accumulations 375
1.1.3 Open-ended lists 379
1.1.4 Adjectives 381
1.1.5 Imperatives 384
1.1.6 Other Verb Forms 384
1.1.7 Adverbs 385
1.1.8 Names 385
1.1.9 Nouns 386
1.1.10 Prepositional Type 387
1.2 Conclusions 388
2 Terms with Privative Prefix 389

3 Long Asyndeta 392
4 End-of-List Coordination 398
5 Multiple Coordinations 399
6 Some Stylistic Features of Asyndetic and Coordinated Pairs 400
7 Conclusions 403

XXVI Cicero 405
1 Introduction 405
2 Data: Speeches 406
2.1 Nouns 406
2.2 Names 416
2.3 Adjectives 418
2.4 Verbs 421
2.5 Adverbs 427
2.6 Prepositional Type 428
3 Data: Philosophica 429
3.1 Nouns 429
3.2 Names 437
3.3 Adjectives 438
3.4 Verbs 439
3.5 Prepositional Type 442
4 Data: Letters *Ad Atticum* 443
4.1 Nouns 443
4.2 Names 446
4.3 Adjectives 447
4.4 Adverbs 448
4.5 Verbs 448
4.6 Prepositional Type 450
5 Data: Letters *Ad familiares* 452
5.1 Nouns 452
5.2 Names 455
5.3 Adjectives 456
5.4 Verbs 457
5.5 Prepositional Type 458
6 Some Letters of Caelius 458
6.1 Nouns 458
6.2 Names 459
6.3 Adverbs 459
6.4 Verbs 461
6.5 Prepositional Type 461
7 Conclusions 461
7.1 Distributions 461
7.2 Observations on the Speeches 462
7.2.1 Nouns 462
7.2.2 Adjectives 464

7.2.3 Verbs 465
7.2.4 Prepositional Type 467
7.2.5 Accumulations: Statistics 467
7.2.6 Pairs of Opposites in the Speeches 467
7.3 Observations on the Philosophica 467
7.3.1 Accumulations and Opposites, of Nouns and Verbs 467
7.4 Observations on the Letters *Ad Atticum* 470
7.4.1 Types and Distributions 470
7.4.2 Accumulations 472
7.4.3 Opposites 472
7.4.4 Further Remarks 472
7.5 Observations on the Letters *Ad familiares* 472
7.5.1 Accumulations 473
7.5.2 Types and Distributions 473
7.5.3 Addressees and Asyndeton 473
7.6 Contexts and Genres as Determinants of Asyndeton 474
7.7 Punctuation, Textual Issues and Some Influences on Asyndeton 475
7.8 Some Semantic Categories 479
7.8.1 Legal and Religious Pairs 479
7.8.2 Miscellaneous Semantic Types 480

XXVII Catullus 482
1 Asyndeta Bimembria 482
1.1 Nouns 482
1.2 Adjectives 484
1.3 Adverbs 485
1.4 Imperatives 487
1.5 Other Verb Forms 488
1.6 Asyndeton Bimembre: Conclusions 489
2 Sequences of Three or More Words: Asyndeton, Coordination and End-of-List Coordination 490
3 Coordinated Pairs 492
4 Conclusions 495

XXVIII Caesar, *Bellum Ciuile*: Asyndeton and Textual Criticism 496
1 Introduction 496
2 Categories 497
2.1 Place Names and Designations of Peoples 497
2.2 Noun Pairs 502
3 Conclusions 506
Appendix 1: Pairs of Nouns or Phrases Dependent on a Preposition 508
Appendix 2: Some Coordinated Military Pairs in Caesar *Civ.* 511

XXIX Horace 512
1 Introduction 512
2 Asyndeton Bimembre 512

2.1 *Satires* 512
2.1.1 Privatives 513
2.1.2 Accumulations 515
2.1.3 Discontinuous Asyndetic Pairs 516
2.1.4 Some Other Types 516
2.1.4.1 Masculine + Feminine Pairs 516
2.1.4.2 Family Members 517
2.1.4.3 The City and its Components 517
2.1.4.4 Pairs of Names 517
2.1.4.5 Opposites 518
2.1.4.6 Verbal Pairs with One Member of Extended Length 518
2.1.4.7 A Special Case 519
2.1.5 Conclusions 519
2.2 *Epistles* 520
2.2.1 Conclusions 522
2.3 *Odes* 522
2.3.1 Conclusions 523
2.4 *Ars Poetica* 523
3 Longer Asyndeta 523
3.1 *Satires* 523
3.1.1 Conclusions 525
3.2 *Epistles* 525
3.2.1 Conclusions 527
3.3 *Odes* 527
3.3.1 Conclusions 527
3.4 *Ars Poetica* 527
4 Forms of Explicit Coordination 528
4.1 Coordinated Pairs 528
4.1.1 Totalities/Merisms 529
4.1.2 Masculine + Feminine 529
4.1.3 Opposites 530
4.1.4 Adverbial Opposites 530
4.1.5 Family Members 530
4.1.6 Different Moods/Tenses 531
4.1.7 Miscellaneous 531
4.1.8 Conclusions 531
4.2 End-of-List Coordination 532
4.2.1 *Satires* 532
4.2.2 *Epistles* 533
4.2.3 *Odes* 534
4.2.4 *Epodes* 534

4.3 Multiple Coordinations 535
4.3.1 *Satires* 535
4.3.2 *Epistles* 536
4.3.3 *Odes* 537
4.4 Conclusions: Longer Sequences, Asyndetic and Coordinated 539
4.5 A Selective Corpus from Pindar 540
5 Conclusions 542

XXX The Annalists, Sallust and Tacitus 544
1 Introduction 544
2 Annalists 544
2.1 Asyndeta Bimembria with Members Comprising Single Words 545
2.2 Longer Asyndeta of Single Terms, Possible Embedded Pairs and a Few Complex Types 548
2.3 Phrasal or Clausal Asyndeta with More Members than Two 552
2.4 Phrasal or Clausal Asyndeta with Two Members 552
2.5 Conclusions 552
3 Sallust 553
3.1 Introduction 553
3.2 The Evidence 554
3.2.1 Nouns 554
3.2.2 Adjectives 570
3.2.3 Verbs 575
3.2.4 Adverbs 581
3.2.5 Prepositional Type 581
3.3 Sallust: Conclusions 582
3.3.1 Contexts, Narrative versus Speech 582
3.3.2 Parts of Speech and Some Aspects of Uniformity 582
3.3.3 Structural Patterns 584
3.3.4 Textual Matters 586
4 Tacitus *Histories* 587
4.1 The Evidence 587
4.1.1 Nouns 587
4.1.2 Adjectives 593
4.1.3 Verbs 595
4.1.4 Adverbs 599
4.1.5 Prepositional Type 599
4.2 Tacitus *Histories*: Conclusions 600
4.2.1 Narrative versus Speeches 600
4.2.2 Parts of Speech and Other Features 600
4.2.3 Semantic Relationships 601
4.2.4 Structural Patterns 601
5 Tacitus *Annals* 602
5.1 The Evidence 602
5.1.1 Nouns 602

5.1.2 Adjectives 618
5.1.3 Verbs 621
5.1.4 Adverbs 627
5.1.5 Prepositional Type 628
5.2 Tacitus *Annals*: Conclusions 629
5.2.1 Distributions 629
5.2.2 Types: Parts of Speech and Difficulties of Interpretation 630
5.2.3 Semantic and Structural Features 631
5.2.4 Some Textual Points 634
6 Conclusions: Sallust and Tacitus 635
6.1 Lexical and Syntactic Similarities and Differences 635
6.2 Some Structural Similarities and Differences 636

XXXI Livy 644
1 Introduction 644
2 Data 645
2.1 Nouns 645
2.2 Adjectives 657
2.3 Verbs 661
2.4 Adverbs 663
2.5 Prepositional Type 664
3 Conclusions 667
3.1 Incidence 667
3.2 Speeches versus Narrative 667
3.3 Nouns 668
3.4 Adjectives 669
3.5 Verbs 671
3.6 Pairs of Opposites 671
3.7 Some Other Features of Distribution and Structure 672
3.8 Contextual Factors and Other Determinants 674
3.9 Asyndeton Bimembre and Textual Criticism 675
Appendix: Prepositions with Two Dependent Nouns in Selected Books 678

PART 6 CONCLUSIONS 681

XXXII Asyndeton in Latin 683
1 Some Types of Asyndeton Bimembre 683
2 Asyndetic Tricola (and Longer), versus Asyndeton Bimembre 686
3 Some Determinants of Asyndeton Bimembre 687
3.1 Accumulations and Structures 687
3.2 Genre 688
3.3 Formulae versus ad hoc Asyndetic Pairs Reflecting Intonation Patterns (?) 689

3.4 A Few Semantic Types 691
3.5 Personal Taste 692
3.6 Addressees, Contexts, Circumstances 692
4 Asyndeton and Latin Literature 693

Bibliography 700
Subject Index 715
Index Mainly of Selected Pairs and Longer Sequences 721
Selective Index Locorum 734