Purposive Constructions from Ancient to Late Latin

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«Purposive relations link two SoAs [state of affairs] one of which (the main one) is performed with the goal of obtaining the realization of another one (the dependent one)»   (Cristofaro 2003: 157)
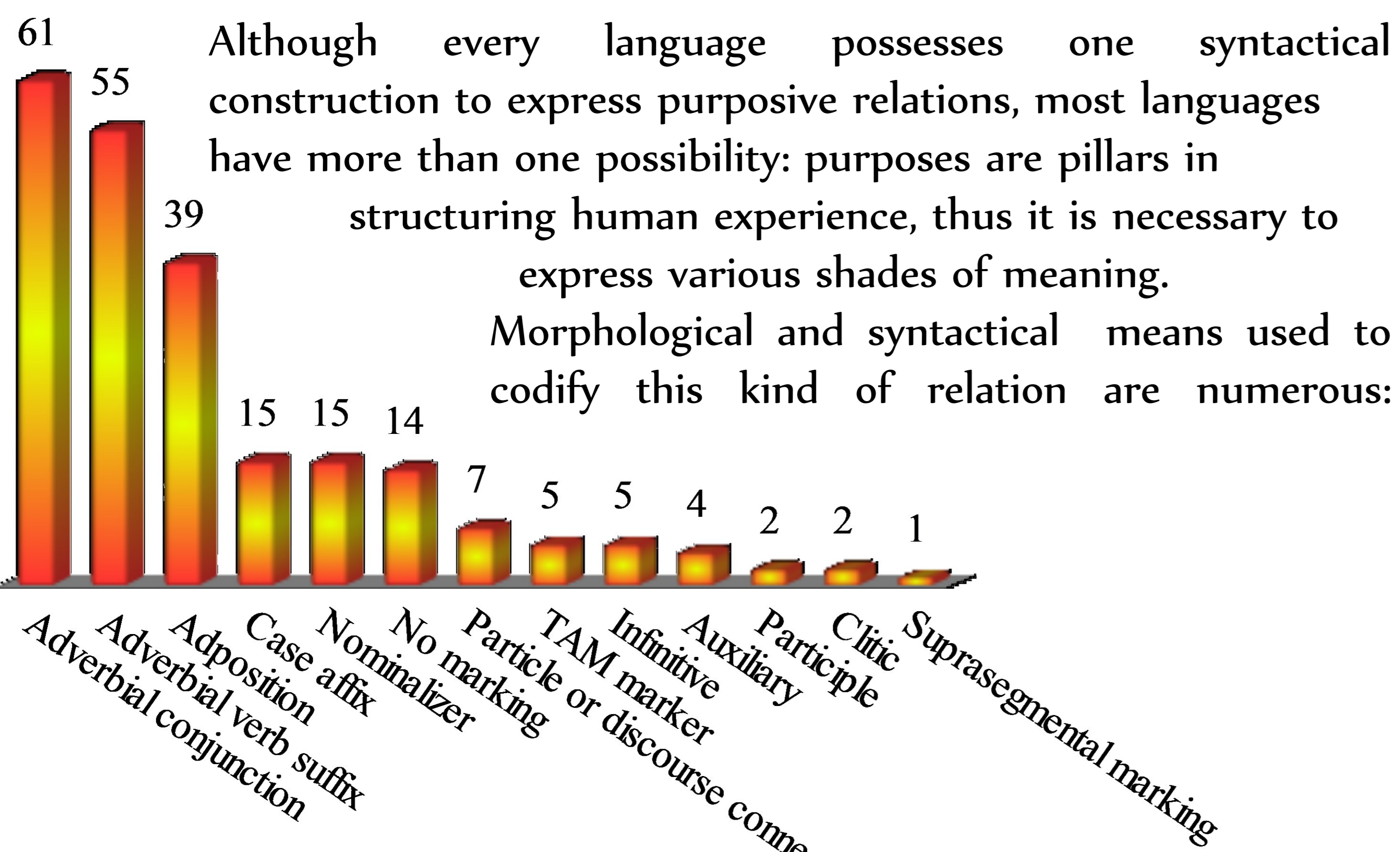
A typological overview:

Although every language possesses one syntactical construction to express purposive relations, most languages have more than one possibility: purposes are pillars in structuring human experience, thus it is necessary to express various shades of meaning.

Morphological and syntactical means used to codify this kind of relation are numerous:

61 55 39 15 15 14 7 5 5 4 2 2 1

Adverbial conjunction
Adverbial verb suffix
Adposition
Case affix
Nominalizer
No marking
Particle or discourse connector
TAM marker
Infinitive
Auxiliary
Participle
Clitic
Suprasegmental marking

Table 1:
Primary gestalt features in purpose clauses (adapted from Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 72, on a sample of 225 languages).

The status of purposive clauses:

Purpose clauses (PCs) are generally included among adverbial clauses. These clauses fill the functional slots of the *sentence margins*, i.e. the structural units draped around the edges of the *nucleus* (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 206). Nuclear position is occupied by arguments and completives. But not all non-completive clauses occupy the same position, with respect to the main verb.

In comparison with other adverbial clauses, such as causal or temporal ones, PCs establish a **higher semantic integration** (Givón 1990) with their main clause: in signaling the purpose of the agent for acting as s/he did in the event coded by the main clause, a «mental state relation with the agent of the main clause» is established (Verstraete 2008: 764); tense, aspect and mood values are largely predetermined (Hengeveld 1998: 377); the subject is typically the same as the main clause. Syntax iconically mirrors the semantic relation existing between the two clauses: a deranked, often nominalized, verb form is involved in PCs more frequently than in any other adverbial clause (Cristofaro 2003: 168). Moreover, purposive constructions often overlap with completive constructions (cf. Latin *ut*). Thus, PCs can be considered as **margins of the predicate** (Prandi 2005: 40), whereas other adverbial clauses are just margins of the process, for they occupy an external, more independent, position.

What about Latin?

It is evident that Latin has a wide array of morphological and syntactical constructions to express a purpose relation.
But how are different constructions distributed in texts, and how they change diachronically?

Extraction from texts: 757 purposive constructions for **Ancient Latin** (Plautus: Amphitruo, Aulularia, Bacchides, Miles Gloriosus, Pseudolus, Casina; Terence: Andria, Heautontimorumenos, Hecyra, Adelphoe, Eunuchus, Phormio), **686** purposive constructions for **Vulgar and Late Latin** (Petronius: Satyricon; Cyprian, epp. II – XI; Vegetius: Epitoma Rei Militaris I-II; Itinerarium Egeriae ad loca sancta; Augustine of Hippo: Confessiones II- III; Sermones ad Populum 192, 198, 200, 213, 344, 350, 355, 357; Gregory of Tours: Historia Francorum I-II).

| Constructions	Examples	Ancient Lat.	Late Lat.
Ut/ne + subjunctive:	Invocat deos immortales *ut* sibi auxilium *ferant* (PL. amph. 1093)	(470)62.10%	(447)65.16%
Ut + ne/non + subjunctive:	Ea quippe invenitur vita, quae invenitur *ut* omnino perire *non possit*.(AUG. serm. 344, 7)	(20)2.65%	(19)2.77%
Relative clause:	Crescant enim eleemosynae nostrae, *quibus exaudiantur* facilius orationes nostrae (AUG. serm. 357, 5)	(106)14.10%	(67)9.77%
Quo/quominus + subjunctive:	Et in umbilico eius *quo* tenacius *haererem*, calcabat me inimicus invisibilis (AUG. conf. 2, 8)	(14)1.85%	(4)0.58%
Quatenus + subjunctive:	Mementoque viatorum manus gravare chartis, *quatenus* amicorum cura *relevetur* (SID. epist. 3, 7, 2)	0	(2)0.29%
Dum + subjunctive:	Inde huc exii, crapulam *dum amoverem* (PL. ps. 1282)	(1)0.13%	0
Predicative gerund:	Quae *utenda vasa* semper vicini rogant, fures venisse atque abstulisse dicito (PL. Aul. 96)	(22)2.91%	(13)1.90%
Gerund (dat.) :	Volo te uxorem domum ducere liberis *procreandis* (PL. au. 147)	(4)0.53%	0
Ad + gerund (acc.):	*Ad aquam praebendam* commodum adveni domum (PL. amph. 669)	(18)2.39%	(92)13.41%
Propter/pro/in + gerund:	Veni ad istam civitatem *propter videndum amicum* (AUG. serm. 355, 2); Salus praesentis temporis, *pro qua obtinenda* vel *reparanda* multum homines laborant (AUG. serm. , 1); Tamen *in cuncta haec adipiscenda* non est egrediendum abs te, Domine (AUG. conf. 2, 10)	0	(11)1.60%
De + gerund (abl.):	Quantum *de auferenda* laborandum est (AUG. serm. 344, 3)	(1)0.13%	(1)0.15%
Gerund (gen.) + causa:	Ne mittas quidem *visendi causa* quemquam (TER. hec. 342)	(2)0.26%	(4)0.58%
Gerund (gen.) + gratia:	Coeperam litteraturae atque oratoriae *percipiendae gratia* peregrinari (AUG. conf. 2, 5)	0	(2)0.29%
Future participle:	Quod eis relicturus fuerat, impendunt, *redempturi* quem possint efferre (AUG. serm. 344, 5)	(1)0.13%	(9)1.31%
Supine:	Quasi non nosses, *temptatum* advenis (TER. ph. 388)	(78)10.30%	(1)0.15%
Infinitive:	*Reddere* hoc erus me misit (PL. ps. 641)	(20)2.65%	(14)2.04%

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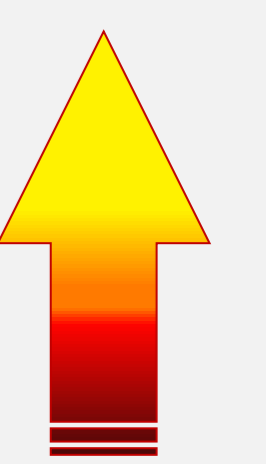
Deranked Verb Forms
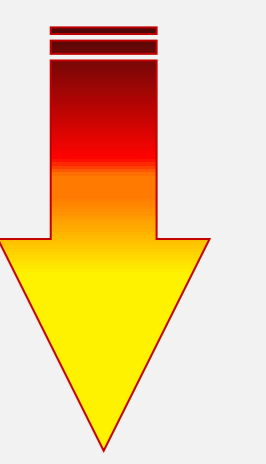
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Two main tendencies characterize the evolution of purposive constructions from AL to LL, that are reflexes of more general trends, as the later evolution to Romance Languages clearly shows. These can be summarized as follows:

a) **From synthetic forms to analytic constructions:** The general preference given at any period to analytic constructions (*ut*+subj., prep.+gerund) complies with typological trends, and it is strengthen on the one hand by the decreasing use of synthetic forms (supine, gerund, infinitive), on the other hand by the rising of new analytic constructions in Late Latin (*quatenus*+subj., *pro*, *propter*, *in*+ gerund). The tendency to substitute synthetic forms with analytic ones in Late Latin is evident in many aspect of the language and in general characterizes the evolution of Latin toward the Romance languages (Cuzzolin and Ramat, 2008).

b) **From more polysemous markers to more specific ones:** More explicit and phonologically consistent markers are favoured. This is demonstrated by the emerging of a heavy conjunction as *quatenus*, beside *ut* (a polyfunctional, bleached and phonologically weak conjunction), by the preference given to *propter* with comparison to *ob* (that had a similar meaning and was used in AL to express purpose) and by the presence of *ut non/ut ne* instead of *ne* for negative purpose relations.

;**Cristofaro**, S. 2003. *Subordination*, Oxford. **Givón**, T. 1990. *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction*. Vol. II, Amsterdam. **Cuzzolin**, P. - **Ramat**, P. 2008. *A typological outline of classical Greek and Latin. AION* 68(4): 189-217. **Prandi**, M. - **Gross**, G. - **De Santis**, C. 2005. *La finalità. Strutture concettuali e forme di espressione in italiano*, Firenze. **Schmidtke-Bode**, K. 2009. *A typology of Purpose Clauses*, Amsterdam. **Thompson**, S. A. - **Longacre**, R. E. 1985. *Adverbial clauses*. In Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol.II: Complex Constructions, T. Shopen (ed.), 171-234, Cambridge. **Verstraete**, J.C. 2008. *The status of purpose, reason and intended endpoint in the typology of complex sentences*. Linguistics 46: 757-788.