

MAŁGORZATA GÓRSKA

TENTATIVE DIVISION OF LATIN ADVERBS OF DEGREE

Among Latin uninflected lexemes¹, as it can be observed in other languages, there is a group of gradation indices, traditionally called adverbs of degree. Latin grammar handbooks usually join adverbs of degree (intensifiers) and of measure (quantifiers) into one category and present these lexemes without any further classifying. In H. Menge's work, for example, one can find the following adverbs of quantification and degree (Adverbien der Quantität und des Grades): *tam, valde, maxime, minus, minime, parum, admodum, mediocriter*.² Whereas R. Kühner, C. Stegmann differentiate adverbs of intensity or degree (Adverbien der Intensität oder des Grades: *valde, magnopere, magis, maxime*) from adverbs of quantification or measure (Adverbien der Quantität oder des Maßes: *multum, plus, plurimum, tantum, quantum*)³, but then they mention that adverbs of quantification or degree (Adverbien der Quantität oder des Grades, e.g. *admodum, magnopere, bene, multum, parum, nimis, satis*) are both used for 'gradation of adjectives and adverbs' ('zur Steigerung von Adjektiven und Adverbien').⁴ The difficulties in specifying adverbs of degree as different from adverbs of measure are noticed by H. Pinkster. He points out a possibility of exchanging the intensifier *valde* by the quantifier *multum*: *valde bonus* and *multum bonus* mean *very*

Dr MAŁGORZATA GÓRSKA – asystent w Katedrze Filologii Łacińskiej Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II; adres do korespondencji: Al. Raławickie 14, 20-950 Lublin, e-mail: gorska@kul.pl

¹ With reference to a language such as Latin, where there is no possibility to refer to linguistic competence of native speaker and access to the linguistic system is very limited, one can talk only about presumed lexemes.

² Cf. H. MENGE, *Lehrbuch der lateinischen Syntax und Semantik*. Völlig neu bearbeitet von T. Burkard und M. Schauer, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2000, p. 197.

³ Cf. R. KÜHNER, C. STEGMANN, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache II. Satzlehre*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1962, p. 792-793.

⁴ Cf. R. KÜHNER, C. STEGMANN, *Ausführliche Grammatik...*, p. 793-794.

good, valde amare and *multum amare* both mean *to love very much*.⁵ It seems, however, that in the given examples *multum* has the role of an exponent of degree, because, as other intensifiers, it modifies the names of gradable properties and states. In other cases *multum* is a quantifier, e.g. *multum scire* – *to know a lot*, *multum temporis* – *a lot of time*. Semantic limits imposed by intensifiers on the expressions they refer to, will be discussed further.

Nevertheless, even if adverbs of measure are separated from adverbs of degree, the latter constitute a still heterogeneous group. First of all it comprises both adverbs used in nonrelative comparison, those which indicate intensity of the property in the object itself, without references to any other properties of the object or other objects (e.g. *valde* in *auctor valde bonus*) and those serving to relative comparison, indicating intensity of the property when compared to other properties of the object (e.g. *magis* in *verba magis vera quam falsa*) or to other objects (e.g. *minus* in *orator minus doctus quam alii*).

The paper will not describe adverbs expressing an analytical relative comparison, like *magis, maxime, minus, minime*. To the description of other lexical indices of degree, the characteristics proposed by the Polish language linguistics will be used. The division, in terms of traditional semantic description of adverbs, was accomplished by R. Grzegorzczkova who suggested distinguishing three groups of degree adverbs, which characterize a property or state, named by adjectives or verbs, according to the categories of intensity, sufficiency and completeness.⁶

The intensity category implies the nonrelative intensity degree of a property or state. Indices of intensity modify the quality adjectives which express gradable properties, that are present in an object with various intensity, in varied degrees of a scale (e.g. *big, small, good, bad, sad, happy* – pol. *duży, mały, dobry, zły, smutny, wesóły*) or with gradable verbs, referring primarily to mental states, will and feelings (e.g. *to enjoy, to worry, to want, to love* – pol. *cieszyć się, martwić się, chcieć, kochać*).⁷ Grzegorzczkova specifies three degrees of intensity: high, medium and low. The ‘high degree’ is communicated by neutral *very/very much* – pol. *bardzo* (e.g. *very big, to love*

⁵ Cf. H. PINKSTER, *On Latin Adverbs*, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company 1972, p. 58.

⁶ Cf. R. GRZEGORCZYKOWA, *Funkcje semantyczne i składniowe polskich przysłówków*, Wrocław: Ossolineum 1975, p. 39-44, 64-70.

⁷ Cf. also E. JANUS, *Wykładniki intensywności cechy (na materiale polskim i rosyjskim)*, Wrocław: Ossolineum 1981; D. BAŁABANIAK, *Semantyczne ograniczenia łączliwości intensyfikatorów leksykalnych*, „Prace Filologiczne” 52(2007), p. 15-22.

very much – pol. *bardzo duży, bardzo kochać*) as well as by a list of expressive adverbs (e.g. *awfully hard, to enjoy incredibly* – pol. *strasznie twardy, nieziemsko się cieszyć*). As the indices of the ‘medium degree’ the author mentions the following adverbs: *medium, averagely, moderately* – pol. *średnio, przeciętnie, miernie* and *w miarę* (e.g. *medium-high, middling afraid, relatively big* – pol. *średnio wysoki, średnio się bać, w miarę duży*). The ‘low degree’ is represented by adverbs of the type *a bit, slightly* – pol. *trochę, nieco, mało* (e.g. *a bit stiff, to miss a bit, slightly tight, a bit inaccurate* – pol. *trochę sztywny, trochę tęsknić, nieco ciasny, mało dokładny*).⁸

The category of sufficiency is relative because it informs about a degree as regards to a norm, to an average state or to other reference points (e.g. *This table is too big to this room* – pol. *Ten stół jest za duży do tego pokoju*). According to Grzegorzczkova one can talk about ‘an excessive degree’ which is expressed by adverbs *too, too much, excessively, exceedingly* – pol. *za, zbyt, za bardzo, zanadto* (e.g. *too small, too big, to enjoy too much, to worry too much* – pol. *za mały, zbyt duży, za bardzo się cieszyć, zanadto się smucić*), about ‘a sufficient degree’ where the following adverbs are the indices: *enough, fairly, rather, pretty* – pol. *dość, dosyć, dostatecznie, wystarczająco* (e.g. *big enough, rather good, to grow enough, to want enough* – pol. *dość duży, dosyć dobry, dostatecznie urosnąć, wystarczająco chcieć*) and also about ‘a non-sufficient degree’ expressed by adverbs *not enough, not too* – pol. *za mało, nie dość* (e.g. *not too warm, not too good, to enjoy not enough, to love not enough* – pol. *za mało ciepły, nie dość dobry, za mało się cieszyć, nie dość kochać*).⁹

The category of completeness informs about a complete or an incomplete degree. The indices of ‘a complete degree’ are the adverbs *completely, totally* and *entirely* – pol. *całkowicie, zupełnie* and *całkiem*. They modify the adjectives denoting non-gradable, boundary (or binary) properties, namely the properties that are or are not granted to objects. They cannot, however appear with various intensity (e.g. *totally new, completely empty* – pol. *całkiem nowy, zupełnie pusty*). They also refer to these verbs which describe achieving certain states (e.g. *to go completely gray, to dry completely, to forget completely* – pol. *całkowicie osiwieć, całkiem wyschnąć, zupełnie zapomniać*). ‘An incomplete degree’, expressed by the adverb *almost* – pol. *prawie* when modifying adjectives means that the property is not owed by the

⁸ Cf. R. GRZEGORCZYKOWA, *Funkcje semantyczne...*, p. 39, 41-42, 64-67.

⁹ Cf. R. GRZEGORCZYKOWA, *Funkcje semantyczne...*, p. 39, 42-43, 67-68.

object but almost to reach (e.g. *almost dry* – pol. *prawie suchy*), and when referring to verbs, specially perfective ones, indicates, that an event does not happen but almost takes place (e.g. *almost finish* – pol. *prawie skończyć*).¹⁰

In more recent studies on uninflected lexemes, the description of traditional degree adverbs has been precised. First of all the notion of an adverb has been limited to the lexemes, modifying a verb or an adjective, of extratextual references, i.e. referring to the states of affairs in the real world. Indices of degree differ from the adverbs defined in this way, both in terms of syntactic features and the linguistic status. They modify various parts of speech (even nouns), having not extra- but intratextual references, i.e. they do not refer to reality but to language expressions which they are connected to. In M. Grochowski terminology they belong to functional expressions¹¹, and according to J. Wajszczuk to metapredicative operants¹². In the proposed classifications of lexemes indices of gradation are usually specified as particles or modalisators.¹³ However, even within the class of particles/modalisators they constitute a separate group because they refer only to gradable predicates. Thus R. Laskowski designates them as quantifying modalisators and J. Wajszczuk suggests assigning them to a separate class of intensifiers, the class that is different from adverbs as well as particles.¹⁴ Since none of the presented terms are precise, it seems the most appropriate to remain with the most general label ‘indices of degree’.

As for the internal differentiation of indices of degree, the categorisation proposed by R. Grzegorzczkova was modified by D. Bałabaniak¹⁵, where

¹⁰ Cf. R. GRZEGORCZYKOWA, *Funkcje semantyczne...*, p. 39, 40, 43, 44, 64-70.

¹¹ Cf. M. GROCHOWSKI, *Wyrażenia funkcyjne. Studium leksykograficzne*, Kraków: IJP PAN 1997, p. 36.

¹² Cf. J. WAJSZCZUK, *O metatekście*, Warszawa: UW 2005.

¹³ They are described as particles in classifications of M. GROCHOWSKI (cf. *Wyrażenia funkcyjne...*), H. WRÓBEL (cf. *Nowa propozycja klasyfikacji syntaktycznej polskich leksemów*, in: *Studia z leksykologii i gramatyki języków słowiańskich: IV polsko-szwedzka konferencja slawistyczna, Mogilany, 1-3 października 1995*, Kraków: IJP PAN 1996, p. 53-60), Z. ZARON (cf. *Funkcjonalna klasyfikacja leksemów polskich (kolejna propozycja)*, in: *Studia z gramatyki i leksykologii języka polskiego*, M. GĘBKA-WOLAK, I. KAPROŃ-CHARZYŃSKA, M. URBAN (ed.), Toruń: UMK 2003, p. 179-188), M. BAŃKO (cf. *Wykłady z polskiej fleksji*, Warszawa: PWN 2002) while in R. LASKOWSKI's as modalisators (cf. *Zagadnienia ogólne morfologii*, in: *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego. Morfologia*, R. GRZEGORCZYKOWA, R. LASKOWSKI, H. WRÓBEL (ed.), 2. ed., Warszawa: PWN 1998, part 1, p. 27-86).

¹⁴ Cf. R. LASKOWSKI, *Zagadnienia ogólne...*, p. 64, J. WAJSZCZUK, *O metatekście...*, p. 65-67.

¹⁵ Cf. D. BAŁABANIAK, *Kategoria intensywności na tle wykładników stopnia*, „Polonica” 28(2007), p. 13-21 and also D. BAŁABANIAK, *Polskie intensyfikatory leksykalne na tle wyrażen gradacyjnych*, Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego 2013.

she divides sufficiency into two distinct categories: sufficiency and excess. The formula ‘not less than needed’ is assigned to the category of sufficiency, while ‘more than needed’ to the category of excess. Both the categories are seen as belonging to relative gradation, where the comparison refers to a norm. Intensity and completeness, on the other hand, are treated as categories of nonrelative gradation. Moreover, within intensity (following J. Puzyńska¹⁶) she specifies intensification, that is increasing the intensity of a property or state (e.g. *very nice, to enjoy a lot* – pol. *bardzo miły, bardzo się cieszyć*) and disintensification, which means decreasing the intensity of a property or state (e.g. *slightly wet, to be afraid a bit* – pol. *trochę mokry, trochę się bać*). This division, which includes the categories of intensity, completeness, sufficiency and excess, will be used to describe indices of degree in the Latin language.

INDICES OF INTENSITY

The elementary lexical index of intensity in Latin, referring to nonrelative intensity degree of a property or state, is *valde*.¹⁷ When used without negation, it denotes an increase of intensity of the property, thus it is an intensifier. *Valde* refers to numerous adjectives (examples 1-2), adverbs (examples 3-4) and verbs of gradable properties and states. Among the verbs there are those specifying feelings (examples 5-9) as well as approval and deprecation (examples 10-14)¹⁸:

- (1) Etenim, ut ait ingeniosus poeta et auctor *valde bonus* [...] /Cic. *Mur.* 30,10/

¹⁶ Cf. J. PUZYŃSKA, *O pojęciu intensyfikacji*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 49-50(2000-2001), fasc. 6, p. 321-327.

¹⁷ Nonrelative intensity degree of a property in Latin can be, allowedly, expressed morphologically, i.e. by means of a synthetic superlative, so called superlatus elativus (e.g. *longissimus* meaning *very long*) and formatively, i.e. by prefixes *per-* (e.g. *permagnus* – *very big*, *perbene* – *very well*, *pergaudeo* – *to enjoy a lot*) and *prae-* (e.g. *praealtus* – *very high/deep*) for intensifiers and *sub-* (e.g. *subamarus* – *a bit bitter*) for disintensifiers. Cf. D. RICCA, *Adverbs*, in: F. BALDI, P. CUZZOLIN (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax, Volume 2: Constituent Syntax: Adverbial Phrases, Adverbs, Mood, Tense*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton 2010, p. 123, P. CUZZOLIN, *Some remarks on the graded forms with sub- in Latin*, „Journal of Latin Linguistics” 9(2005), Issue 1, p. 37-44.

¹⁸ The examples quoted in the article generally come from the works of Cicero and other classical authors; non-classical writers are cited when finding the appropriate instances in Cicero’s writings was impossible or very difficult.

- (2) [...] est ille quidem *valde severus* – negare non possum [...] /Cic. *Cael.* 48,2/
 (3) [...] sed pauca etiam requirimus in primisque ea, quae *valde breviter* a te, Crasse, de ipsa arte percurta sunt [...] /Cic. *De orat.* 1,205,3/
 (4) [...] qui primum illud *valde graviter* tulerunt [...] /Cic. *Att.* 1,17,8,3/
 (5) deinde, quod maximum est, ego illum *valde amo*. /Cic. *Fam.* 8,13,1,7/
 (6) Nam Trebellium *valde iam diligit*: oderat tum, cum ille tabulis novis adversabatur [...] /Cic. *Phil.* 6,11,1/
 (7) *valde metuo* ne frigeas in hibernis. /Cic. *Fam.* 7,10,2,2/
 (8) [...] quo quidem nuntio *valde mehercule* de te *timueram*. /Cic. *Fam.* 7,10,2,6/
 (9) [...] non dici potest quam *valde gaudeam*. /Cic. *Fam.* 7,15,2,2/
 (10) Tu quod adhuc Brundisii moratus es *valde probo* et gaudeo [...] /Cic. *Fam.* 15,17,4/
 (11) De Venuleio, Latino, Horatio *valde laudo*. /Cic. *Fam.* 12,30,7/
 (12) hoc mihi prorsus *valde placet*. /Cic. *Fam.* 6,20,2,6/
 (13) Haec Rutilius *valde vituperabat* [...] /Cic. *De orat.* 1,228,11/
 (14) [...] deinde, cum ab ea sententia Pompeius *valde abhorreret* [...] /Cic. *Fam.* 7,3,2,10/

As mentioned above, *multum*, like *valde*, can be used as an intensifier:

- (15) Nam socer huius vir *multum bonus* est; neque ego nunc de illius bonitate, sed de generi impudentia disputo. /Cic. *Agr.* 3,13,4/
 (16) te *multum amamus* quod ea abs te diligenter parvoque curata sunt. /Cic. *Att.* 1,3,2,6/
 (17) [...] nolo quidem, ne offendam patrem, quem mehercule *multum diligo*. /Cic. *Att.* 6,3,9,7/

The intensifier which modifies, firstly, a verb is *magnopere/magno opere*. The literal meaning of the phrase (i.e. *with great effort*) is, certainly, decisive. Meaning *very* it refers to numerous gradable verbs: names of mental states (examples 18-19) and will (examples 20-22), verbs of approval and disapproval (examples 23-25) or verbs meaning *to ask, to demand, to order, to encourage* (examples 26-30):

- (18) [...] Quirites, quorum ego frequentia *magno opere laetor* [...] /Cic. *Sull.* 33,4/
 (19) Nunc istic quid agatur *magno opere timeo*. /Cic. *Att.* 3,8,2,1/

- (20) [...] cum has quam primum ad te perferri litteras *magno opere vellemus*. /Cic. *Fam.* 2,6,1,6/
 (21) [...] cur pecuniam *magno opere desideret* vel potius cur curet omnino? /Cic. *Tusc.* 5,89,11/
 (22) [...] suam clementiam laudari *magno opere nolebant* [...] /Cic. *Cluent.* 105,4/
 (23) Iste cum respondisset ea se libenter fecisse operasque Carpinati *magno opere laudasset* [...] /Cic. *Verr.* 2,2,173,3/
 (24) reliqua sunt epistularum genera duo, quae me *magno opere delectant* [...] /Cic. *Fam.* 2,4,1,7/
 (25) Itaque ego illum exercitum [...] *magno opere contemno* [...] /Cic. *Cat.* 2,5,4/
 (26) [...] Illud unum vos *magno opere oro* atque *obsecro*, iudices [...] /Cic. *Planc.* 56,8/
 (27) *rogat magno opere* ut sim Kalendis in senatu [...] /Cic. *Att.* 13,47,1,2/
 (28) nunc *magno opere* a te *peto*, de quo sum nuper tecum locutus, ut videas ne quid ei desit. /Cic. *Att.* 14,7,2,3/
 (29) Caesar enim per litteras Trebonio *magno opere mandaverat*, ne per vim oppidum expugnari pateretur [...] /Caes. *Civ.* 2,13,3,2/
 (30) Quam ob rem *magno opere te hortor*, mi Cicero, ut [...] de philosophia libros [...] *studiose legas* [...] /Cic. *De off.* 1,3,2/

Using *magno opere* as a modifier of the adjective *iucundus*, which can be found in Cicero, seems to be an exception:

- (31) quod te de Tadiano negotio decidisse scribis, id ego Tadio et gratum esse intellexi et *magno opere iucundum*. /Cic. *Att.* 1,8,1,6/

The next index of intensity is *admodum*. It is necessary to point out here that plenty of so called functional expressions, and indices of degree, as it was mentioned, belong to them, are grammatically polifunctional lexemes, i.e. possessing the properties which allow them to be assigned to different classes.¹⁹ *Admodum*, being the example, in the function of an intensifier²⁰, i.e. meaning *very*, appears only referring to gradable predicates, mainly adjectives (often *paucus*) and adverbs. It is worth noticing that *admodum* can appear in the postposition when it modifies them:

¹⁹ Cf. M. GROCHOWSKI, *Polifunkcyjność jednostek a ich homonimia (z punktu widzenia współczesnej leksykografii)*, „Prace Filologiczne” 33(1986), p. 35-42.

²⁰ More about the polifunctionality of *admodum* cf. M. GÓRSKA, *Cechy składniowe i semantyczne łacińskiego leksemu admodum*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 58-59(2010-2011), fasc. 3, p. 197-210.

- (32) Erit igitur in consolationibus prima medicina docere aut nullum malum esse aut *admodum parvum* [...] /Cic. *Tusc.* 3,77,2/
 (33) Superiore omni oratione perattentos vestros animos habuimus: id fuit nobis *gratum admodum*. /Cic. *Verr.* 2,3,10,4/
 (34) sin abesse patria miserum est, plenae miserorum provinciae sunt, ex quibus *admodum pauci* in patriam revertuntur. /Cic. *Tusc.* 5,106,7/
 (35) [...] secuti alii testudine facta in urbem perrumpunt deturbatisque Samnitibus quae circa portam erant muri occupavere; penetrare in interiora urbis, quia *pauci admodum* erant, non audent. /Liv. 10,41,14/
 (36) annis xiiii ante quam praetor factus est legatus esse <qui> potuisset? – nisi *admodum sero* praetor est factus, quod non arbitrator. /Cic. *Att.* 13,32,3,9/
 (37) Cum multis locis nostrorum hominum ingenia virtutesque, Brute, soleo mirari, tum maxime in is studiis, quae *sero admodum* expetita in hanc civitatem e Graecia transtulerunt. /Cic. *Tusc.* 4,1,3/

Admodum refers also to gradable verbs, the same verbs that the intensifiers *valde*, *multum* and *magnopere* modify, mainly mental states and feelings, especially *gaudere*, *delectare* and *diligere*:

- (38) {Marcvs} Gaudeo igitur me incunabula paene mea tibi ostendisse. {Atticvs} Equidem me cognosse *admodum gaudeo*. /Cic. *Leg.* 2,5,1/
 (39) me quidem *admodum delectabat* etiam Triari in illa aetate plena litteratae senectutis oratio. /Cic. *Brut.* 265,7/
 (40) nam et complectar eius familiaris simos, qui me *admodum diligunt* multumque mecum sunt [...] /Cic. *Fam.* 4,13,6,3/

As grammars state²¹, in Latin the function of an intensifier can be held by a relatively large group of adjectival lexemes, which, primarily, are adverbs of manner.²² The meaning *very* is expressed by the evaluative adverbs²³ *bene* and *male* when they modify gradable adjectives and adverbs:

²¹ Cf. H. MENGE, *Lehrbuch...*, p. 197-198, R. KÜHNER, C. STEGMANN, *Ausführliche Grammatik...*, p. 793-794, H. PINKSTER, *On Latin Adverbs...*, p. 58-63, D. RICCA, *Adverbs...*, p. 161-163.

²² It seems that, apart from semantic distinctions, the lexemes in these two functions differ morphologically, i.e. as adverbs they undergo analytical comparison, as intensifiers they appear only in the positive degree – cf. M. GÓRSKA, *Stopniowanie a polifunkcyjność przysłówek łacińskich*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 59(2011), fasc. 6, p. 7-28.

²³ Cf. M. GÓRSKA, *Typy łacińskich przysłówek oceniających*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 62(2014), fasc. 3, p. 97-109.

- (41) Quod autem magnum dolorem brevem, longinquum levem esse dicitis, id non intellego quale sit. video enim et magnos et eosdem *bene longinquos dolores* [...] /Cic. *Fin.* 2,94,3/
 (42) Commodum ad te dederam litteras de pluribus rebus cum ad me *bene mane* Dionysius fuit [...] /Cic. *Att.* 10,16,1/
 (43): strabonem / appellat paetum pater, et pullum, *male parvos* / sicui filius est [...] /Hor. *Sat.* 1,3,45/

It should be indicated that *male*, as an intensifier, occurs as a modifier of names of negative properties or states (modifying the predicates denoting positive properties or states fulfills the function of a disintensifier, which will be discussed further).²⁴ This happens also when it refers to the verbs of negative mental states:

- (44) Nescioquid iam dudum audio hic tumultuari misera: *male metuo* ne Philumenae mage morbus adgravescat [...] /Ter. *Hec.* 337/
 (45) atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est. tamen non dubito quin me *male oderit.* /Cic. *Att.* 14,1,2,12/

Next examples of the polifunctional lexemes which occasionally play the role of intensifiers with *very*-meaning are the adverbs *sane* and *plane*²⁵. They are, of course, the indices of the high degree of a property modifying gradable adjectives and adverbs:

- (46) Explicat orationem *sane longam* et verbis *valde bonis.* /Cic. *Agr.* 2,13,11/
 (47) Nam P. Fabius nuper emit agrum de C. Claudio senatore, cui fundo erat adfinis M. Tullius, *sane magno*, dimidio fere pluris incultum exustis villis omnibus quam quanti integrum atque ornatissimum carissimis pretiis ipse Claudius <emerat>. /Cic. *Tull.* 14,6/
 (48) Summo iste quidem dicitur ingenio fuisse, inquit; et vero hic Scipio conlega meus mihi *sane bene* et loqui videtur et dicere. /Cic. *Brut.* 212,4/
 (49) [...] eodem autem die tuas litteras vesperi acceperam in Pompeiano *sane celeriter* tertio abs te die. /Cic. *Att.* 14,18,1,9/

²⁴ Cf. R. KÜHNER, C. STEGMANN, *Ausführliche Grammatik...*, p. 794.

²⁵ Cf. M. GÓRSKA, *Stopniowanie...*, p. 12-13, 19-20, 22-24, M. GÓRSKA, *Łaciński leksem sane jako tzw. wyrażenie funkcyjne*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 57(2009), fasc. 6, p. 11-27 and also R. RISSE-LADA, *The discourse function of sane: Latin marker of agreement, interaction and concession*, „Journal of Pragmatics” 30(1998), p. 225-244.

(50) coram igitur, ut scribis, constituemus quem ad modum rem explicemus. quod reliquos coheredes convenisti, fecisti *plane bene*. /Cic. Att. 13,6,2,8/

(51) Primo respondisti *plane ferociter* et, ne omnia videar contra te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas [...] /Cic. Phil. 2,72,1/

The index of intensity is also the negated disintensifier *mediocriter* (which will be discussed later), i.e. *non mediocriter*. The expression is strongly stylistically marked, it denotes the very high degree of a state and refers to the verbs specifying mental states (examples 52-53), as well as disapproval (examples 54-55):

(52) Eloquentia Q. Hortensi ne me in dicendo impediat, non nihil commoveor, gratia Sex. Naevi ne P. Quinctio noceat, id vero *non mediocriter pertimesco*. /Cic. Quinct. 2,1/

(53) idque *non mediocriter desidero*, ut mihi non modo solus esse sed Romae te profecto solitudo videatur facta [...] /Cic. Fam. 8,3,1,6/

(54) *Reprehensus est* in hac parte *non mediocriter* Cicero [...] /Quint. Inst. 11,1,17,6/

(55) Ideoque mihi illud Cassi Severi *non mediocriter displicet*. /Quint. Inst. 11,1,57,5/

Apart from *bene*, *male*, *sane*, *plane* and *non mediocriter*, a number of manner adverbs with expressive characteristics can function as intensifiers. This phenomenon occurs also in the Polish language. As R. Grzegorzczkova notices, the expressive adverbs in the function of indices of degree, constitute an open class which is expanded by using occasionally a variety of adverbs in new meanings. Thus, one can use in this way the lexemes informing about a huge or unlimited size (*to grieve greatly*, *be extremely terrified*, *to miss endlessly*, *be extremely surprised* – pol. *ogromnie się smucić*, *kolosalnie się bać*, *nieskończenie tęsknić*, *niemiernie się dziwić*), strength (*to love very much* – pol. *mocno kochać*), fear (*be terribly worried* – pol. *strasznie się martwić*, *przeraźliwie cierpieć*), supernaturalness (*unearthly*, *wonderfully beautiful*, *devilishly good* – pol. *nieziemsko*, *cudownie piękny*, *piekielnie dobry*) or unusualness (*extremely*, *extraordinarily*, *remarkably*, *astonishingly beautiful* – pol. *niezwykle*, *nadzwyczajnie*, *zadziwiająco*, *zdumiewająco piękny*).²⁶

As these intensifiers comprise an open class, the grammar books enumerate a lot of adverbs used in this way. Among them, as it seems, four

²⁶ Cf. R. GRZEGORCZYKOWA, *Funkcje semantyczne...*, p. 65-66.

groups of intensifiers modifying gradable adjectives and verbs can be specified. They correspond to those mentioned by R. Grzegorzczkova. The first group is formed by the lexemes referring to size and excess: *abunde* (*abundantly, excessively*) and *impense* (*immoderately, exceedingly*):

(56) sed dux atque impe rator vitae mortalium animus est. qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, *abunde pollens potensque et clarus* est [...] /Sall. *Iug.* 1,3,3/

(57) [...] *abunde magna* praesidia nobis in vostra amicitia fore [...] /Sall. *Iug.* 14,18,4/

(58) [...] Cn. Matius, homo *impense doctus* [...] /Gell. *Noc. Att.* 10,24,10,3/

(59) Quia tamen in hoc quoque indulsisti, admoneo simul et *impense rogo*, ut Attium Suram praetura exornare digneris, cum locus vacet. /Plin. *Epist.* 10,12,1,3/

The intensifiers *vehementer* and *graviter* (*strongly, very, hugely*) refer to strength:

(60) Qui licet? leges enim sunt veteres neque eae consulares, si quid interesse hoc arbitramini, sed tribuniciae vobis maioribusque vestris *vehementer gratae* atque *iucundae* [...] /Cic. *Agr.* 2,21,11/

(61) erat enim et studiosus Crassi et ad eius optima studia *vehementer aptus*; itaque ab eo admodum diligebatur. /Cic. *Fam.* 13,16,1,6/

(62) Ego res Romanas *vehementer exspecto* et *desidero*, in primisque quid agas scire cupio. /Cic. *Fam.* 2,14,1,9/

(63) Tum Brutus: orationes quidem eius mihi *vehementer probantur*. /Cic. *Brut.* 262,1/

(64) Hanc rem tam atrocem, tam indignam, tam repentinam nuntiat M. Tullio Philinus, quem antea nominavi, qui *graviter saucius* e caede effugerat. /Cic. *Tul.* 22,3/

(65) O nomen dulce libertatis! o ius eximium nostrae civitatis! o lex Porcia legesque Semproniae! o *graviter desiderata* et aliquando red-dita plebi Romanae tribunicia potestas! /Cic. *Verr.* 2,5,163,2/

Next groups comprise intensifiers expressing exceptionality: *egregie* and *eximie* (*exceptionally, extremely*):

(66) [...] P. Cornelius, homo, ut existimabatur, avarus et furax, sed *egregie fortis* et bonus imperator [...] /Cic. *De orat.* 2,268,4/

- (67) tum fuit Lysias ipse quidem in causis forensibus non versatus, sed *egregie subtilis* scriptor atque elegans [...] /Cic. Brut. 35,3/
 (68) Minime vero; nam mihi *egregie probata est* ora tio tua. /Cic. Tusc 4,8,6/
 (69) satis agentes rerum suarum *eximieque trepidi* [...] /Apul. Met. 8,17,3/
 (70) Itaque ille Marius item *eximie* L. Plotium *dilexit* [...] /Cic. Arch. 20,7/

and those expressing unusualness: *mire*, *mirifice*, *mirabiliter* (unusually, surprisingly):

- (71) eius filio *mire studioso et erudito et modesto* pecuniam Nicaeenses grandem debent [...] /Cic. Fam. 13,61,1,3/
 (72) id *mire gratum* regi atque ciuitati fuit. /Liv. 1,45,7,4/
 (73) Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen aduentu consulum *mire gaudere*. /Liv. 22,40,7,2/
 (74) *Mirifice* enim Servius maiorum continentiam *diligebat*, huius saeculi insolentiam vituperabat. /Cic. Phil. 9,13.4/
 (75) *mirifice sollicitus* sum quod iam diu mihi ignota sunt ista omnia. /Cic. Att. 5,15,3,6/
 (76) Litterae tuae *mirabiliter gratae* sunt senatui [...] /Cic. Fam. 10,19,1,6/
 (77) *Mirabiliter*, mi Brute, *laetor* mea consilia measque sententias a te probari de decem viris, de ornando adulescente. /Cic. Fam. 11,14,1/

Apart from the lexemes of these four groups, a lot of other adverbs can, probably, function as intensifiers. Determining whether it is an adverb of manner or an index of degree seems to be not straightforward.²⁷

The disintensifiers denoting decreasing of a property or state, when compared to intensifiers, constitute a definitely smaller, and infrequently used, group of lexemes. The negated intensifiers *valde*, *magnopere* and *admodum*, i.e. *non valde*, *non magnopere* and *non admodum* should be mentioned primarily:

- (78) sed mehercules, quoniam illi ceterisque quos illa delectant *non valde inimici* sumus, nescio an ignoscendum sit huic si tanto opere

²⁷ See more about the ambiguity in: H. MENGE, *Lehrbuch...*, p. 197-198, R. KÜHNER, C. STEGMANN, *Ausführliche Grammatik...*, p. 794, H. PINKSTER, *On Latin Adverbs...*, p. 60-62, D. RICCA, *Adverbs...*, p. 161-163.

laborat [...] /Cic. *Fam.* 13,1,4,15/

(79) Quoniam testibus meis intellexi, Laeli, te *non valde moveri*, non desinam te uti teste, ut hoc, quod dico, probem. /Cic. *Rep.* 1,61,4/

(80) sed tamen ipsa re publica nihil mihi est carius; in qua tu *non valde* te *iactas*. /Cic. *Fam.* 2,15,3,3/

(81) Hic tum Oppianicus *non magno opere pertimuit* [...] /Cic. *Cluent.* 73,9/

(82) de causa autem ipsa malim qui dem te ab hoc dissentire; sin cesseris, *non magnopere mirabor* [...] /Cic. *Luc.* 63,19/

(83) Metellus tuus est egregius consul; unum reprehendo, quod otium <e> Gallia nuntiari *non magno opere gaudet*. /Cic. *Att.* 1,20,5,2/

(84) haec sunt exercitationes ingenii, haec curricula mentis, in his desudans atque elaborans corporis vires *non magno opere desidero*. /Cic. *Sen.* 38,15/

(85) quamquam eum colere coepi *non admodum grandem* natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. /Cic. *Sen.* 10,4/

(86) is soceri instituto, quem, quia cooptatus in augurum conlegium non erat, *non admodum diligebat* [...] /Cic. *Brut.* 101,4/

As stated earlier, also *male*, when modifying positive properties, can function as a disintensifier (which is used in poetry):

(87) ille quidem *male gratus* et ad mea munera surdus, / et quo, si non sim stulta, carere velim /Ov. *Her.* 7,27/

(88) quis ubi nil agitur, patrias *male fortis* ad artes / confugit, et flammam ore sonante vomit /Ov. *Fast.* 1,571/

(89) pignusque dereptum lacertis / aut digito *male pertinaci*. /Hor. *Carm.* 1,9,24/

and *mediocriter*, when referring to gradable adjectives and verbs:

(90) Sed ego in hoc tamen Postumo non ignoscam, homini *mediocriter docto*, <in> quo videam sapientissimos homines esse lapsos? /Cic. *Rab. Post.* 23,2/

(91) nam ut corpus, etiamsi *mediocriter aegrum* est, sanum non est, sic in animo ista mediocritas caret sanitate. /Cic. *Tusc.* 3,22,11/

(92) quid? Theophrastus *mediocriterne delectat*, cum tractat locos ab Aristotele ante tractatos? /Cic. *Fin.* 1,6,12/

INDICES OF COMPLETENESS

The indices of completeness informing about a complete or incomplete degree of a property or state, refer, as it was mentioned, not to gradable adjectives but to the binary ones, i.e. the adjectives describing the properties that are or are not granted to objects. Binary properties, according to E. Janus, can be defined by negation, e.g. *completely healthy* = *not ill*, *completely empty* = *not full*, *completely drunk* = *not sober*.²⁸ As it seems, the adverbs *sanus* and *insanus* (*sane/insane*, *reasonable/unreasonable*) can be recognised as the binary adjectives. Thus, one can classify the lexemes *bene*, *male* and *plane*²⁹ (in the following examples) as the indices of a complete degree with the meaning *completely/totally*:

(93) *Invitat igitur vera ratio bene sanos ad iustitiam, aequitatem, fidem [...] /Cic. Fin. 1,52,1/*

(94): *ego autem illum male sanum semper putavi, nunc etiam impurum et sceleratum puto [...] /Cic. Att. 9,15,5,8/*

(95) *ex quo etiam illud adsequor, ut, si quis mihi male dicat, petulans aut plane insanus esse videatur. /Cic. De orat. 2,305,10/*

Hence, in example (93) it would be said not about 'very reasonable' but about 'completely/totally reasonable' people, and in (94) not about somebody 'not too reasonable' but about 'completely/totally unreasonable', and, further, in (95) not about somebody 'extremely insane' but about 'completely insane'. However, there is no clear-cut distinction whether these are gradable or binary properties.

While less controversial is the role of *plane* as an index of the complete degree, meaning *completely/totally*, when it refers to perfective forms of verbs which denote achieving a state, e.g. 'a total destruction', as in the following example:

(96) *Tu quid egeris nescio, utrum aliquid teneas an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata. /Cic. Epist. 14,4.4,2/*

An index of completeness, when modifying perfective forms of verbs, is also *admodum*:

²⁸ Cf. E. JANUS, *Wykładowi intensywności...*, p. 61, A. WIERZBICKA, *Dociekania semantyczne*, Wrocław: Ossolineum 1969, p. 109-111 and also D. BAŁABANIAK, *Semantyczne ograniczenia...*, p. 15-22.

²⁹ Cf. M. GÓRSKA, *Stopniowanie...*, p. 17-20.

(97) legati ex Macedonia *exacto admodum* mense Februario redierunt.
/Liv. 43,11,9,2/

(98) [...] carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo
facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent; prorae *admodum*
erectae atque item puppes, ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque
adcommodatae [...] /Caes. Gall. 3,13,2,1/

Example (97) may convey ‘a completely finished month’ while (98) ‘completely straight poops’.³⁰

Contrary to the indices of gradation discussed so far, *plane* and *admodum* can refer to nouns:

(99) at vero C. Marius, rusticanus vir, sed *plane* vir, cum secaretur
[...] /Cic. Tusc. 2,53,1/

(100) haud multo post Oezalce quoque mortuo maior ex duobus filiis
eius Capussa, *puero admodum* altero, paternum imperium accepit.
/Liv. 29,29,8/

(101) An hic, si sese isti vitae dedidisset, consularem hominem
admodum adulescens in iudicium vocavisset? /Cic. Cael. 47,2/

(102) [...] ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo repetendus esset,
quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantis *iuvenis admodum* audivi.
/Tac. Dial.1,2,7/

(103) [...] quod declarat in eo libro quem ad Philippum Macedonem
scripsit, cum iam *admodum* esset *senex* [...] /Cic. Orat. 176,13/

The lexemes can be interpreted as indices of the complete degree. In example (99) *plane* vir is ‘a man in the full sense of the word’. However, the nouns denoting age, when modified by *admodum*, can be viewed as binary properties. And thus, in example (100) *admodum* puer – ‘completely small’ means not an adult, in (101) *admodum* adulescens – ‘a complete adolescent’ means a person who is not mature, in (102) *admodum* iuvenis – ‘quite young’ means a person who is not old, and in (103) *admodum* senex – ‘quite old’ means not a young one.³¹

The next adverb functioning as an index of the complete degree of a property or state is *longe* as a modifier of adjectives and adverbs meaning ‘different’ (*longe alius* – *completely different*), ‘differently’ (*longe aliter* –

³⁰ Cf. M. GÓRSKA, *Cechy składniowe i semantyczne...*, p. 206.

³¹ Cf. M. GÓRSKA, *Cechy składniowe i semantyczne...*, p. 206-207.

completely differently) which can be regarded as the names of binary properties and states: ‘different’ is ‘not the same’, ‘differently’ is ‘not identically’:

(104) Sed aliud quiddam, *longe aliud*, Crasse, quaerimus [...] /Cic. *De orat.* 1,223,2/

(105) quod cum facitis illud profecto confitemini, *longe aliter* se rem habere atque hominum opinio sit [...] /Cic. *Nat. deor.* 3,63,6/

(106) sapienter aiebant ad opinionem imperitorum esse fictas religiones. Quod *longe secus* est [...] /Cic. *Div.* 1,105,13/

The lexeme *omnino* (*completely, utterly*), also polifunctional, can serve as an index of the complete degree of a state when it modifies perfective verb forms:

(107) neque uti satis firmo praesidio defensus Sex. Roscius verum uti ne *omnino desertus* esset. /Cic. *S. Rosc.* 5,5/

(108) Cum defensionum laboribus senatoriisque muneri bus aut *omnino* aut magna ex parte *essem* aliquando *liberatus* [...] /Cic. *Tusc.* 1,1,2/

An incomplete degree of a property or state, expressed, as mentioned before, by the lexeme meaning ‘almost, nearly’ indicates that the property or state is not owed by the object but can almost be achieved. This is the function of the lexemes *prope*³² and *paene*, as well as *non plane* modifying adjectives and perfective verb forms:

(109) tum vero *omnes prope* Hispaniae populi ad Romanos defecerunt [...] /Liv. 23,49,14/

(110) [...] Solonis lege sublata sunt, quam legem *eisdem prope* verbis nostri decemviri in decimam tabulam coniecerunt. /Cic. *Leg.* 2,64,4/

(111) [...] *prope* iam *desperata* salute nonnullae huiusmodi sententiae dicebantur [...] /Caes. *Gall.* 3,3,3/

(112) eo die acerbum habuimus Curionem, Bibulum multo iustiozem, *paene* etiam *amicum*. /Cic. *Fam.* 1,4,1,7/

(113) Quin hesterno die, cum domi meae *paene interfectus essem*, senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris convocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. /Cic. *Cat.* 2,12,6/

(114) manus extrema non accessit operibus eius: praeclare inchoata multa, *perfecta non plane*. /Cic. *Brut.* 126,7/

³² For various functions of *prope* see M. GÓRSKA, *Łacińskie prope – jaka to część mowy?*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 57(2009), fasc. 3, p. 131-145 and also M. GÓRSKA, *Stopniowanie...*, p. 13-16, 21-22.

Prope modifies also the noun *victor*, which also denotes a perfective state:

- (115) [...] Troiae *prope victor* altae / Pthius Achilles [...] /Hor. *Carm.* 4,6,3/

INDICES OF SUFFICIENCY

Contrary to intensity and excess, the category of sufficiency is relative because it informs, as stated before, about a sufficient degree of a property or state in relation to a norm or any other reference point. The point is, usually, not expressed and it implies the speaker's point of view. The indices of the sufficient degree of a property or state in Latin are the lexemes: *satis/sat* (*enough, sufficiently, adequately*) which refer to adjectives, adverbs and verbs:

- (116) Planities erat magna et in ea tumulus terrenus *satis grandis*. /Caes. *Gall.* 1,43,1,2/
 (117) hoc sibi Caesar *satis opportune* accidisse arbitratus [...] /Caes. *Gall.* 4,22,2,1/
 (118) Ita Brutos Cassiumque defendis quasi eos ego reprehendam; quos *satis laudare* non possum. /Cic. *Att.* 14,14,2,2/
 (119) et cum plebem hinc provocatione, hinc tribunicio auxilio *satis firmassent* [...] /Liv. 3,55,6,2/
 (120) Qua re si iam me vultis esse oratorem, si etiam *sat bonum*, si bonum denique, non repugnabo [...] /Cic. *De orat.* 3,84,4/
 (121) Brutum apud me fuisse gaudeo, modo et libenter fuerit et *sat diu*. /Cic. *Att.* 15,3,2,11/

The insufficient degree of a property or state is expressed by *non satis/sat* and *parum* (*not enough, insufficiently*):

- (122) Et iam querimur saepe hominibus novis *non satis magnos* in hac civitate esse fructus? /Cic. *Cluent.* 111.6/
 (123) tanta onera navium regi velis *non satis commode* posse arbitrabantur. /Caes. *Gall.* 3,13,6,5/
 (124) Quod si ipsius summa dignitas maximaeque res gestae *non satis valerent*, tamen filii pietas [...] /Cic. *Red. pop.* 6,14/
 (125) quamquam choreis aptior et iocis / ludoque dictus *non sat idoneus* /pugnae ferebaris /Hor. *Carm.* 2,19,26/
 (126) Quod si in alterutro peccandum sit, malim videri nimis timidus

quam parum prudens. /Cic. Marc. 21,6/

(127) Multa enim quae scio a te esse commissa, quod aut nimium turpia aut *parum credibilia* sunt, praetermittam. /Cic. Verr. 2,2,180,4/

(128) [...] inopia cibariorum, cui rei *parum diligenter* ab iis erat provisum [...] /Caes. Gall. 3,18,6,3/

(129) Hoc si vos temere fecistis et rei publicae *parum consulistis*, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur. /Cic. Man. 64,1/

The indices of sufficiency are sometimes used as nouns and modify adjectival abstracts specifying properties, like *satis* and *parum* in the following example:

(130) animus audax subdolos varius [...] ardens in cupiditatibus; *satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum*. /Sall. Cat. 5,5,1/

INDICES OF EXCESS

The category of excess is also relative because it refers to a degree of a property or state which is excessive as regards to a norm or other reference point. In Latin the indices of excess are the lexemes *nimis/nimum* (*too*) and *oppido* (*excessively*), they modify adjectives, adverbs and verbs:

(131) Neglegimus ista et *nimis antiqua ac stulta* ducimus [...] /Cic. Phil. 1,25,10/

(132) [...] neque ullius horum in ulciscendo acerbitas progressa ultra mortem est; quae tamen poena in civis *nimis crudelis* putabatur. /Cic. Phil. 11,1,12/

(133) At ille vobis audientibus cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit. *Nimis iracunde* hoc quidem et valde intemperanter. /Cic. Phil. 1,12,9/

(134) Res enim gestae, credo, meae me *nimis extulerunt* ac mihi nescio quos spiritus attulerunt. /Cic. Sull. 27,4/

(135) Neque vero vos ad eam rem video esse cohortandos, quos, cum mihi quoque sitis molesti, *nimis etiam flagrare* intellego cupiditate. /Cic. De orat. 1,135,1/

(136) [...] longumque illud tempus cum non ero magis me movet quam hoc exiguum, quod mihi tamen *nimum longum* videtur. /Cic. Att. 12,18,1,5/

- (137) itaque primum eum qui *nimum diu* de rebus nostris tacuerat /Cic. Att. 1,19,7/
 (138) ex quo uno genere totus est Tutor, mimus vetus, *oppido ridiculus*. /Cic. De orat. 2,259,4/
 (139) {So.} te exspecto; *oppido opportune* te obtulisti mi obviam. /Ter. Ad. 322/

The lack of excess is expressed by a negated *nimis*, i.e. *non nimis*:

- (140) [...] et quinquaginta annorum possessiones movere *non nimis aequum* putabat [...] /Cic. Off. 2,81,11/
 (141) sed is locus praesidio ab his, *non nimis firmo*, tenebatur. /Caes. Gall. 7,36,6,1/
 (142) Quam ob rem hoc statuere, iudices, debetis, Q. Caecilium [...] *non nimis* hanc causam *severe, non nimis accurate, non nimis diligenter* acturum. /Cic. Div. Caec. 71,7-12/
 (143) cuius auditor P. Orbius meus fere aequalis in dicendo *non nimis exercitatus*, in iure autem civili non inferior quam magister fuit. /Cic. Brut. 179,2/
 (144) Pansae autem et Hirtio *non nimis credebat*. /Cic. Att. 15,12,2,11/

The division of adverbs of degree, proposed above, can be presented schematically as follows:

1. Indices of intensity
 - a. intensifiers (*valde, multum, magnopere/magno opere, admodum, bene, male, sane, plane, non mediocriter, abunde, impense, vehementer, graviter, egregie, eximie, mire, mirifice, mirabiliter*)
 - b. disintensifiers (*non valde, non magnopere, non admodum, male, mediocriter*)
2. Indices of completeness
 - a. describing the complete degree of a property or state (*bene, male, plane, admodum, longe, omnino*)
 - b. describing the incomplete degree of a property or state (*prope, paene, non plane*)
3. Indices of sufficiency
 - a. describing the sufficient degree of a property or state (*satis/sat*)
 - b. describing the insufficient degree of a property or state (*non satis/sat, parum*)
4. Indices of excess
 - a. describing the excess of a property or state (*nimis/nimum, oppido*)

b. describing the lack of excess of a property or state (*non nimis*)

The presented division is only of a tentative character. Definitely the lexemes mentioned above do not encompass the list of indices of degree in Latin. The classification of the particular lexemes to the mentioned categories should not be also regarded as final.

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PRÓBA PODZIAŁU ŁACIŃSKICH PRZYSŁÓWKÓW STOPNIA

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł jest próbą podziału łacińskich leksemów służących do wskazywania bezwzględniego stopnia cechy lub stanu, określanego przez predykaty gradualne, tradycyjnie nazywanych przysłówkami stopnia. Proponuje się rozróżnianie czterech grup wykładników stopnia, charakteryzujących cechę lub stan ze względu na kategorie intensywności, kompletności, dostateczności i nadmiaru: (1) wykładniki intensywności: a. intensyfikatory, wskazujące na wysoki stopień cechu lub stanu (*valde, multum, magnopere/magno opere, admodum, bene, male, sane, plane, non mediocriter, abunde, impense, vehementer, graviter, egregie, eximie, mire, mirifice, mirabiliter*), b. dezintensyfikatory, wskazujące na niski stopień cechy lub stanu (*non valde, non magnopere, non admodum, male, mediocriter*); (2) wykładniki kompletności: a. wskazujące na pełny stopień cechy lub stanu (*bene, male, plane, admodum, longe, omnino*), b. wskazujące na niepełny stopień cechy lub stanu (*prope, paene, non plane*); (3) wykładniki dostateczności: a. wskazujące na dostateczny stopień cechy lub stanu (*satis/sat*), b. wskazujące na niedostateczny stopień cechy lub stanu (*non satis/sat, parum*) i (4) wykładniki nadmiaru: a. wskazujące na nadmiar cechy lub stanu (*nimis/nimum, oppido*), b. wskazujące na brak nadmiaru cechy lub stanu (*non nimis*).

Słowa kluczowe: stopniowanie, przysłówki stopnia, wykładniki gradacji, intensywność, kompletność, dostateczność i nadmiar

TENTATIVE DIVISION OF LATIN ADVERBS OF DEGREE

SUMMARY

The paper is an attempt of dividing Latin lexemes of the nonrelative degree of a property or state, which is expressed by gradable predicates, traditionally called adverbs of degree. The distinction of four groups of degree indices is proposed, which characterize a property or state according to categories of intensity, completeness, sufficiency and excess, i.e. (1) Indices of intensity: a. intensifiers describing the high degree of a property or state (*valde, multum, magnopere/magno opere, admodum, bene, male, sane, plane, non mediocriter, abunde, impense, vehementer, graviter, egregie, eximie, mire, mirifice, mirabiliter*), b. disintensifiers describing the

low degree of a property or state (*non valde, non magnopere, non admodum, male, mediocriter*); (2) Indices of completeness: a. describing the complete degree of a property or state (*bene, male, plane, admodum, longe, omnino*), b. describing the incomplete degree of a property or state (*prope, paene, non plane*); (3) Indices of sufficiency: a. describing the sufficient degree of a property or state (*satis/sat*), b. describing the insufficient degree of a property or state (*non satis/sat, parum*) and (4) Indices of excess: a. describing the excess of a property or state (*nimis/nimum, oppido*), b. describing the lack of excess of a property or state (*non nimis*).

Key words: comparison, adverbs of degree, indices of gradation, intensity, completeness, sufficiency and excess