The Sequence of Tenses in Latin

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THE SEQUENCE OF TENSES IN LATIN.

A Master's Thesis based on Cicero's Orations.

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In this paper I propose to examine the tenses of Cicero's orations I and II vs. Catiline, the one in favor of the Manilian Law, and the one for the poet Archias, to see if there is any such thing as a mechanical sequence of tenses. I have examined the verbs in the indicative as well as those in the subjunctive in order to prove or refute the truth of the statement that the indicative and the subjunctive behave alike. I have come to the conclusion, as I shall show later on, that while, as Professor Hale says, the subjunctive tenses have their own particular meanings, yet as Professor Walker holds, there is a mechanical sequence and the ancients felt it to be true. As my statistics will show, the indicative and the subjunctive do not behave alike because there are more exceptions proportionally in the indicative than in the subjunctive. This subject has been thoroughly discussed by Professor Hale, and a very complete treatise of it as illustrated by Caesar's Gallic War is shown in Professor Walker's thesis for the Doctor's degree. But in order to completely prove the theory, it is necessary to examine quite extensively more than one author. All I attempt to do is to prove it with reference to the orations mentioned, and the results of my investigation are practically the same as Professor Walker finds in examining Caesar's Gallic
The "rule of sequence", as ordinarily stated, says that in subjunctive subordinate clauses primary tenses depend on primary tenses and secondary on secondary. No one now holds, however, that this means simply what it implies, that the subjunctive tenses have no meaning of their own but are wholly dependent upon the tense of the main verb. It is generally conceded that they do have meaning of their own, although it is a question of debate as to how far this meaning governs the tense use and how far the mechanical dependence upon the main verb governs it. This can be solved only by the most careful examination of Latin authors. If we find that in some construction the subjunctive is invariably used out of sequence (which we do not find), it will be an evidence of the fact that the tense is used for its own meaning, while on the other hand if we find that instead of using a tense in the subjunctive out of sequence the same thought is expressed in some other way, as by using the indicative, it will go to prove that the ancients had a feeling of sequence and tried to avoid using the subjunctive out of sequence; it will also prove that they did not have the same feeling with regard to the indicative. Of course there is no absolute certainty as to what the author thought of using and decided to use something else, but in some cases the evidence is quite clear.

I have examined every subordinate tense, both indicative and subjunctive, and compared the number of each in sequence and
out. Exceptions to the rule of sequence fall under certain categories or tense idioms; some are classified according to the kind of clause in which they occur and others according to their meaning. As to the meanings of the tenses Professor Walker and Professor Hale practically agree.

All tenses of the indicative may express one or both of two ideas: 1. The time-sphere of an act or state (past, present, or future); 2. The stage of advancement of an act or state in its time-sphere (completed, in progress, or yet to take place). The tenses of the stage generally express the time of the subordinate act relatively to the time of the main act, as, relatively past, relatively present, or relatively future. The particular time with reference to which an act is looked at is called the Point of Reference or Point of View. The aoristic tenses are absolute because they express an act as a whole, and not in some stage with reference to some particular time or point of view. Professor Hale recognizes the aoristic perfect (aorist proper), aoristic present, and aoristic future. Professor Walker recognizes, in addition, the aoristic pluperfect and the aoristic future perfect. However, in this study of Cicero's orations I have taken account of only the historical perfect, or aorist proper, as it is very difficult to distinguish the others from the corresponding tenses of the stage.

Tenses of the stage express time-sphere as well as stage of advancement relative to a time which is in the mind as the point of reference. For the past, they are the pluperfect, imper-
fect, and periphrastic; for the present, they are the present, the present perfect (true perfect), and the periphrastic; for the future, they are the future, future perfect, and the periphrastic. But in this paper the periphrastics have been classified with reference to the auxiliary only. The ordinary imperfect is called the descriptive imperfect to distinguish it from the imperfect of repeated action.

In order to be in sequence both formally and logically, the dependent verb must be in a descriptive tense and must be of the same time-sphere as the verb on which it depends. This includes (1) the imperfect and pluperfect depending upon a tense of the past, as, imperfect, pluperfect, or aorist. (2) the present and present perfect depending on a present or present perfect. (3) future and future perfect depending on a future or future perfect.

We can easily see why the subordinate verb should be in a descriptive tense. When a man thinks of a series of events he naturally selects some as being more important than others in the series, consequently he expresses them aoristically, or by the aoristic tense, from the present as the point of view. In connection with the main events, he thinks of the condition of affairs at the time of the event in mind, or of natural laws affecting it, and these thoughts he naturally expresses by tenses of the stage, either present, past, or future. However, he thinks of these things only as they affect the main ideas and as being subordinate to them; therefore, he expresses them by subordinate sentences. However, if the sentence is too
clumsy, he may express the subordinate thoughts by independent sentences but he would still naturally use the descriptive tense, or tense of situation.

An aorist depending on a present, either historical or descriptive, is formally in sequence because the rule does not take account of the two kinds of presents and because the aorist has the same form as the present perfect. We see the rule is inconsistent, however, because it does not work both ways. A present depending on a present-perfect is formally in sequence but is formally out when depending on an aorist, although the aorist still has the form of a present perfect. Logically speaking, the aorist is out of sequence when used as a subordinate verb, no matter on what tense it depends, because the descriptive is the natural subordinate tense. An aorist depending upon an aorist is out of sequence both formally and logically, so, also, is a present depending on an aorist.

Professor Hale says the tenses in the subjunctive may have two uses. The present may represent a present idea or an idea future to the present; the perfect may serve as either perfect or future perfect; the imperfect as either imperfect or future to the past; the pluperfect as either pluperfect or future perfect to the past. Professor Walker enlarges upon this discussion showing that in clauses of result, charactering clauses, causal and adversative relative clauses, quam clauses, indirect questions and indirect discourse, concessive either independent or with quamvis or ut, the tense meanings of the
subjunctive correspond to those of the indicative and in these cases they develop out of constructions in which the subjunctive had the future idea.

The present subjunctive depending on a present has three different uses, examples of which we find in Cicero. 1. It may be equivalent to a present indicative e.g., posse, depending on est in the first sentence of Manilian Law, ch. XV. 2. It may be a present future, as in Oration II, ch. 7, l. 23, sit depending on timeo, in which case the tense seems to have two legs, so to speak, a present and a future. 3. It may be a present with the meaning of a future, or a "present-future" e.g., Oration II, ch. 7, l. 17, depellatur depending upon est. In the latter case it is logically out of sequence, although formally in. The last two are combined into one by Professor Hale when he says the present subjunctive may have a future meaning.

Depending on a future, a present subjunctive may be relatively present, e.g., Oration II, ch. X, l. 11, sentiant depending on corruent, i.e., present with reference to the future tense of the verb on which it depends. (2) It may be a relatively present future, as in Pro Archia III, l. 21, putetis depending on perficiam. (3) It may be a "relative present-future". There is no example of this in these four orations, but it corresponds to the English sentence, "I shall ask you what you will do", in which the doing takes place at the same time as the asking.

Now let us see what combinations of the subjunctive are in sequence. The same rule holds good here as was cited in the case of the indicative: the dependent verb must be in a descriptive
tense and must be of the same time-sphere as the verb on which it depends. This includes, as in the case of the indicative, all imperfects and pluperfects depending on an imperfect, imperfect, or aoristic perfect; a true present or true present perfect is in sequence depending on a present or present perfect; an aorist on a present is formally in but logically out; an aorist on an aorist is out both ways; also an aorist on an imperfect or pluperfect would be out both formally and logically. A subjunctive with future meaning is logically in sequence if its point of view belongs to the same time-sphere as that of the principal verb, or the verb on which it depends. For instance, a present with future meaning is in sequence with a future verb.

In this study, if a subordinate verb depends on an infinitive or participle which in turn depends on a finite verb, I have considered the tense of the verb from which the infinitive or participle derived its tense.

In the following list I and II refer respectively to the first and second orations vs. Catiline, M. denotes the one in favor of the Manilian Law, and A. means the oration for the poet Archias. In the text that I used (Chase and Stuart series), the lines are numbered according to the page and not according to the chapter, which will perhaps make it somewhat difficult to follow the references to the lines. In the lists of examples, the dependent verb is given first. In the four orations I find the following verbs in sequence both formally and logically:
Indicatives:

I, 2, 24, convenit depending on habemus; 2, 36, iussero --væn-
dum erit; 3, 30, oportuit--adducor; 3, 3, poterit--interficiere;
2, 2, erit--vives; 2, 13, potest--exspectes; 3, 13, illustrantur--
exspectes; 3, 14, erumpant--exspectes; 3, 17, licet--sunt;
3, 35, dicebas--potuisse; 4, 30, miferas--exclusi; 5, 32, praedix-
eram--venissent; 5, 35, goepisti--perge; 5, 5, effugimus--habenda
est; 5, 15, videbam--obstiti; 5, 30, est--facere; 5, 21, est(proprium)--
facere; 5, 24, iussero--residebit; 5, 26, exieris--exhaurietur;
5, 31, consulis--suadeo; 6, 33, est--possit; 6, 14, pertinent--venio;
6, 35, nescio--potes; 6, 33putas--devota sit; 7, 37, debeo--esse;
7, 38, debetur--esse; 7, 17, vulneras--dubitas; 7, 21, est--odit;
7, 26, agit--iudicat; 7, 26, loquitur--iudicat; 7, 38, est--opprimar;
8, 17-18, dubitas--videtur; 8, 18, potes--abire; 8, 27, espectas--
proficiscere; 8, 30-31, perspicit--espectas; 9, 35, quiescunt--
probant; 8, 35, patiuntur--decernunt; 8, 36, tacent-- clamant; 9, 37,
est--clamant; 8, 39, circumstant--probant; 9, 5, studes--prosequam-
tur; 9, 21, praedicis--vis; 9, 21, vis--perge; 9, 26, mavis--confer;
10, 12, audies--bacchabere; 10, 13, videbis--bacchabere; 11, 27, di-
cam--percipite; 11, 11, negligis--refers; 11, 11, est--est pertime-
scenda; 11, 14, vastabitur--conflagraturum; 11, 14, vexabuntur--ca-
flagraturum; 11, 15, ardebunt--conflagraturum; 12, 31, imminent--
videant; 12, 31, vident--dissimulent; 12, 4, eiuerit--extinguetur;
12, 4, eduxerit--extinguetur; 12, 5-6, aggregaverit--extinguetur;
13, 13, tolletur--videbimur; 13, 13, iactantur--videntur; 13, 35-39,
iunxerunt--proficiscere;

II, 1, 26, luget--retorquet; 26, videtur--retorquet; 2, 1, est--est
exsultat—accuset; triumphat—accuset; erat meritus—multassem;
fero—intelligatis; coeperat—eduxit; poterat—eduxit; chō,
comparantur—contemno; ostendero—concident; permanent—mementote;
deseruerunt—pertimescendos esse; cogitant—scire sentiunt;
sentiunt—timendi sunt; permoventur—timendi sunt; sperant—errant;
ch. 4, est—adsecutus sum; volent—consequentur;
eiecerit—(erit); amabat—fuit; serviebat—fuit; pollutabantur—
fuit; ch. 5, securi erunt—(erit); exierint—(erit); eructant—
(pres.); confido—(pres.); sustulerit—propagari;
poterunt—sanabo; resecanda erunt—patri manore; permanent—
exspectent; 0, accesserat—reliquerunt; fecerat—praemissam
esse; videbam—eiiciabam; 7, pertimerit—dicetur; mutaverit—
dictur; deseruerit—dicetur; abiecerit—dicetur; converterit—
dictur; fecerit—velint; dictitant—queruntur; verentur—queruntur;
quaruntur—est; 8, fatetur—loquimur; interest—timeo;
timeo—loquimur; dissimulant—dicimus; remanent—dicimus; sunt—
dicimus; studeo—dicimus; volent—possit fieri; potero—affirm
habent—est; possunt—habent; exspectant—errant; habent—pos-
sunt; possunt—puto; permanebunt—videntur facturi; 9, premuntur
exspectant; exspectant—est; volunt—est; despirant—arbitrantur
arbitrantur—est; videtur—est; conantur—consequi; est—est;
succedit—est; sentio—sunt; iactarunt—sunt; impulerunt—includerunt;
pono—impulerunt; 10, premuntur—est; emergunt—est;
vacillant—est; dicuntur—est; possunt—corruant; possunt—
velint; revoco—est; sunt—pereant; est—est; videtis—est;
expromitur—est; exsunt—scitote; persunt—scitote; perieri t—
scitote; dedicerunt—putant; 12, remanserunt—volo; re licti
sunt—volo; sunt—volo; sunt—volo; latebat—erumpert; est—
possum oblivisci; volunt—possum connivere; commoverit—senti
t; deprehendendo—commoverit; 13, administrabo—sufferat; poterit—
sufferat; ingressus sum—polliceor; defendunt—polliceor; debet-
tis—defendunt;

M. ,1, oblata est—video; 2, ducitur—proificiscatur; arbitran-
tur—infertur; aguntur—adferuntur; est—esse ; agitur—est;
consule ndum est—aguntur; 3, insedit—delenda est; inveteravit—
de lenda est; regnat—delenda est; regnat—delenda est; 4, ger-
bamus—misit; habebat—depulsam est; est—videte; 5, appellati
erant—voluerunt; vocatur—ferre debetis; carent—esse sentiunt;
licet—rogant; mittimus—rogant; commoratur—videantur esse;
6, e xportantur—antecellat; vultis—est defendenda; venit—acci-
pitur; absunt—relinquitur; facta est—absunt; amittitur—potest;
pensitant—existimatis esse; exercent—existimatis esse; exigunt-
existimatis esse; habent—habere; 7, pertinet—negligendum est;
habenda est—pertinet; debent—contulerunt; debetis—negotiantur
amiserant—concidisse; videtis—crede; versatur—cohaeret;
8, e laborandum est—esse; providenda sunt—videantur; 9, præ di-
cant—dicitur; acciperat—reliquit; congresserat—reliquit; per-
vaserat—erat; ceperat—commovebatur; usus erat—commovebatur;
collegerant—confirmarat; sunt—alliciant; vivunt—alliciant;
acciderat—fuit; pulsus erat—attingeret; solent—sinite; scri-
bunt—solent; confecti erant—dimisit; 10, sunt—superarit;
11, existimantur—sunt; sunt—sunt; 12, gesserat—esse sublatos; vi-
detis—praetereunda sunt; premebantur—apparavit; 13, voluerit—po-
terit; ventum est—ferant; continet—potest; vult—potest; 14,
videbatur—fuisse; habebamus—maluisse; excellit—videatur;
inest—valeat; 15, valet—est; 16, erat—maluerunt; potest—dicamus; possumus—dicamus; est aequum—dicamus; facit—is—tis velle; oblatum est—conferatis; datum est—conferatis; 17, habent—accipere possit; confiteor—dissentiunt; concedunt—possimus; capiebantur—videbatis; prohibebamur—videbatis; erant—videbatis; 18, dictur—dico; habebamus—carebamus; poteramus—carebamus; commeabant—timebat; timebat—carebamus; 19, e rant—dicere existimavit; senties batis—dicere existimavit; e st—dicam; postulat—est; constituta est—debet esse; constitutus est—debet esse; geritur—deberet esse; spero—sunt; dubitabant—relaturum esse; gravabuntur—relaturum esse; profiteor—spero; considerabunt—audiam; 20, est—dissentio; M et—debet frui; debet—dissentio; minitabantur—esse deletas; vult—recordamini; 21, constituta sunt—sunt; videmus—sunt; 22, dissentiunt—possit defendere; delegistis—possit; est—requiratur; sunt—arbitrantur—erit—erit; arbitrantur—ignorant; putatis—est; cognovistis—est; dissentiunt—videamus; 24, videmus—videamus; est—polliceor; possum—polliceor; praesident—testor; adeunt—perspiciunt; perspiciunt—testor; repellamus—consequemur; feret—consequemur;

A., 1, est—debet; sentio—est; profecta est—debet; confiteor—profecta est; potest—video; pertinent—habent; 2, spero—detis; sentiam—perficiam; 3, poterant—existir; marunt; coelebant—afficiabant; studebant—coelebant; simulebant—coelebant; 4, ferebatur—habuisse; dicit—adest; dicunt—adsunt; scimus—desideras; habemus—est dicere; possumus—est quaerere; possunt—est repudiare; dicis—est desiderare; est—videtis; impertiebant—credo moluisse; solebant—largi; uti-
tur—est scriptus; potes—quaerere; suppeditat—delectemur; sumps—
sero—reprehendat; crescit—concedendum est; videtur—sentio;
sunt—sentio; sentio—concedendum est; conformabam—reliquemurunt;
videbatur—commoveretur; attenditis—utar; appellat—constate;
videbatur—fuit; putabat—dilexit; gesserat—putabit posse;
efferuntur—celebratur; celebratur—sunt; putat—errat; leguntur—errat;
continentur—errat; definiuntur—deberemus; debemus—continentur;
scrbitur—sunt; sunt—deberemus; dimicant—est; est—deberemus;
continentur—obruisset; vendebat—vidimus iubere;
potest—est dissimulandum; scribunt—inscrivent; despidiunt—volunt;
est—desiderat; concitat—insidet; admonet—insidet; versamur—videamur;
duxerimus—moritura esse; gerebam—arbitratabar; videtis—conservate;
convenit—videtis; profitetur—accipiat; est—accipiat; sunt habiti—est;
sunt dicti—est; dixi—probata esse; locutus sum—accepta esse; exercet—(present).
Subjunctives:
I, 1, viemus—videamus; coercerent—fuit; 2, videret—decrevit;
caperet—videret; dicat—erit verendum; faciam—adducor; fatetur—poterit inveniri; audiet—erit; possis—oppressus; 3, espotes—est; recognoscat—licet; remansisset—dicebas; confides—sensisti; audiam—agis; videam—moliris; sentiam—cogitas; 4, cogitent—sunt; placet—statuisti; relinquere—delegisti;
educeris—delegisti; vivere—esse; liberarent—reperti sunt;
pollicerentur—reperti sunt; venissent—exclusi; 5, sint—perge;
intersit—liberavis; 6, possit—est; metuat—est; oderit—est;
irretisse—praetulisti; vadefecisses—cumulasti; videatur—pator; scias—esse; nesciat—esse; viderentur—coniektas; ini-
tiata sit—nescio; devota sit—nascio; sis—
expectas; metuerunt—putarem; viderem—mallem; agnoscas—dubitatis; timerent—concederes; odissent—concederes; posses—concederes; increpuerit—tmeri; abhorreant—posse inire; opprimarereipe; desinam—eripe; 3, loquatur—debeat; possit—debeat; adornserem—rogasti; tulisses—venisti; esses—posse; contineremur—esse; decreverit—obtemperaturum esse; sint—dubitas; intelligas—faciam; dixissem—intulisset; prosequantur—adducam; 9, induxeris—impendeat; impendeat—video; sit—est; seiungatur—est; commoveare—postulandum est; pertimescas—postulandum est; cedas postulandum est; videaris—infer; sciam—invitem; praestolarentur—esse praemissos; sciam—invitem; sciam—invitem; 10, ostentes—habes; posses—reppuli; nominaretur—reppuli; 11, detester—percipite; deprecor—percipite; loquatur—patiere; videatur—exire; 12, iudicarem—dedissem; redundaret—verendum erat; impenderet—fui; putarem—fui; videant—sunt; dissimulent—sunt; animadvertissem—dicerent; dicerent—corroboraverunt; pervenerit—inelligo fore; videat—fore; fateatur—fore; 13, biberint—videntur; sentiat—sit; videatis—fore;

II, 2, accuset—est; deferrem—crederent; crederent—fuisset; putatis; putarent—fuisses putatis; defenderen—fuisses putatis; faverent—fuisses putatis; iudicarem—sustulissem; viderem—deduxi; multassem—viderem fore; possem—viderem fore; possetis—deduxi; videretis—possetis pugnare; putem—intelligentis; intelligatis—licet; 3, eduxisset—mallem; sit attributa—video; habeat—video; depoposcerit—video; 4, videretis—expectavi; putet—est; fateatur—potest; 5, possitis—est; fateatur—est; commemret—est; consumeret—praedicabatur; quaererent—essent; pertimescavamus—est; possit—est; 6, dicant—sunt; possem—eicerem;
interfectus essem--convocavi; venisset--appellavit; fuisset--quaesivi; reticuisset--patefeci; egisset--edocui; constituissest--edocui; esset descripta--edocui; haesitaret--quaesivi; teneretur--quaesivi; dubitaret--quaesivi; pararet--dubitaret; scirem--quaesivi; 7, velint--erunt; audiatis--optabo; sit--timeo; profectus--sit--dicant; dicant--sint; interfectus esset--dicent; malit--est; cogitasset--mallet; eat--optamus; queramur--optamus; 3, possit--ulcisci studeo; possit--intelligo; voluissent--uterum; 9, desperent--videtur; sint adepti--sperant futuros; sint adepti--concedi sit necesse; sit--cupere; velint--excitandus sit; sit excitandus--inciderunt; videantur--inustus est; 10, corruant--arbitror; sentiant--corruant; velint--intelligo; pertant--perituros; arbitrentur--intelligo; possit--sunt; 11, sit habiturus--pertimescendum sit; velimus--possimus intellegere; iaceant--possimus intellegere; deficiant--cogant; 12, sint--defendite; esset--consultum est; erumperet--exspectavit; commoverit--sentiet; 13, sufferat--administrabo; intereat--perficiam; possitis--perficiam; defendant--debetis; M. auderem--putavi; statuerem--putavi; defenderent--fuit; iudicaretis--intellexi; praescriberetis--intellexi; possit--oblata est; 2, proificiscatur--infertur; successerit--esse paratum; sit--videtis; agendum sit--considerate; debet--est; 3, velit--regnat; reportarent--contenderunt; regnaret--triumpharet; 4, aedificasset--misit; ornasset--misit; potuisset--comparasset; comparasset--misit; simularet--misit; gereretur--dimicaretis; dimicaretis--misit; videatur--dicam; putetis--videte; 5, sit--videte; sint--esse sentiunt; existimetis--rogant; commende-
-15-
tis--existimetis; defendant--differant; differant--mittimus;
videantur--vident; agatur--convenit; possimus--sunt; anter--
lat--est; adsint--esse; possit--esse; arbitrentur--esse; con-
servaritis--posse frui; 7, esse dicturus--proposueram; trahant--
possunt; condidant--possunt; dubitandum sit--videte; defendantur--
videte incumbere; 8, sit gerendum--esse; sit pertimescendum--
esse; videantur--est elaborandum; intelligent--dico; debeatur--
impertire; raperetur--superatam esse; fuiisset--patefactum esse; 9,
sint--possit; persequeretur--dissipavisse; retardaret--dissipa-
pavisse; quaeraretur--fuit; alliciant--fieri; videatur--alliciant;
recepisset--fuit; attingeret--fuit; adferret--fuit; potuisset--
dimisit; putetis--perspicite; 10, esset--fecerit; videatur--ret-
tat; esset--haberetur; putaretis--esset; sit--est; superarit--
sit; possit--est; possit--declarant; 11, possit--est; premeretur--
expetivit; esset--habuit; lateret--fuit abditus; committeret--
navigavit; navigaret--commiteret; 12, venirent--captos esse; sci-
atis--commemorem; praepositus esset--capta est; recepisset--
adornavit; misissent--ademit; 13, sint--consideremus; veneant--
possumus putare; videamini--facit; ferant--ignorat; existimetis--
statuetis; hibernent--perferuntur; faciat--adferat; sit--con-
siderate; videatur--esse diguntur; sit--est; videatur--transmit-
tendum sit; 15, possit--est; existiment--ignorat; sciamus--igno-
rat; contemnunt--commoveri sciamus; metuant--commoveri sciamus;
oderint--commoveri sciamus; ament--commoveri sciamus; dioam--
sumantur; confirmem--sumantur; valeat--confirmem; potuisset--
consecuta est; pertimuissent--amisissetis; crevissent--amisissetis;
haberet--amisissetis; attulisset--amisissetis; perfectu--
rus sit—dubitabit; conservaturus sit—dubitabit; 16, esset—venerunt; existimetis—potetis; dicamus—est; dicam—utar; videamur—utar; videatur—videamur; gesserit—praedicaturus sum; sit—debetis velle; sit—dubitatis; possit—sit; sit administrandum—sit; possitis—dubitatis; sit—possitis; conferatis—dubitatis; 17, esset—deligendus erat; adiungatur—expectamus; adsit—adiungatur; habeat—adiungatur; posit—adiungatur; tribuenda sint—esse ait; promulgasset—dixisti; possemus—capie bantur; 18, defenderet—fuit; reliquisseint—pudebat; 19, viseremur—effeait; legaretur—obtrectatum esse; velit—postulat; impetret—est; fuissent—potuerunt; defendam—impediet; liceat—considerabunt; 20, videatur—est; quaereret—cepit; poneretis—quae reret; factum esset—quaereret; essetis habituri—factum esset; sit—est; possit—sit; poneretur—esse visum; administraret—esse visum; sint—recordamini; 21, abesset—(fuit); esse mittetur; mittetur—(aor.); esset—dixisse; diceret—esse; fieret—licuisset capere; licuisset—(aor.); triumphare t—(aor.); 22, videant—profecta sunt; sit—videant; possit—improbari; cogitet—versari est; simus—est; inferatur—re quiruntur; possit—est; 23, videatur—habetis; erit—mittatur; videatur—esse putatis; viseremur—videbat; profici-scantur—ignorant; videamus—ignorant; credatis—nolite dubitare; inventus sit—credatis; gaudeant—inventus sit; delibertis—exstiterunt; videamur—videte; 24, sint—laudo; maneas—hortor; pertimescas—hortor; videamus—est; dubitemus—est; putem—facere testor; quaeram—facere testor; videar—abest; intelligam—abest;
A., A., 1, sit—miretur; 2, videatur—quaeso; agatur—uti; abhorret—uti; detis—quaeso; patiamini—quaeso; esset—ascendendum fuisse; putetis—perficiam; 3, superaret—celebrantur; esset—venit; posset—nactus est; esset—receperunt; teneret—afficiebatur; 4, esset—venit; decederet—venit; esset—voluit; putaretur—impetravit; fuissent—data est; habuissent—data est; essent professi—data est; haberet—professus est; habeas—est repudiare; 5, dicerentur—fuit; resignasset—fuit; sint—est; dubitetis—est; fuerit ascriptus—dubites; sit—indicat; 6, reficiatur—suppeditat; conquiescant—suppeditat; dicamus—existimas possese; excolamus—posse suppeterere; relaxemus—posse suppeterere; possint—abdiderunt; hauriam—sentio; suasissem—obieissem; acce- deret—iacerent; 7, respondeam—est; accesserit—solere existere; adiuvarentur—contulissent; ostanderetur—iudicaretis; peteretur—iudicaretis; 8, possemus—deberemus; videremus—deberemus; commoveretur—fuit; esset—videbatur; scripsisset—vidi dicere; a- gerentur—vidi dicere; scripsisset—vidi prolare; perveniret—vidi prolare; videantur—appellat; 9, patiatur—est; quaeretur—dixisse; 10, fecerat—receperunt; exstitisset—obruitisset; esset—potuit; donaretur—potuit perficere; donaret—repudiasset; sub- iecisset—vidimus iubere; fecisset—subiecisset; scriberet—vi- dimus iubere; 11, faciat—indicabo; presintiret—frangeret; 12, arbitremur—videamur esse; videatis—comprolari; comprobetur—videatis esse; sint—petimus; petimus—comprobetur; accipias—debet; videatur—accipiatis;

Total number of indicatives in sequence, 352.

Total number of subjunctives in sequence, 425.

By mistake, the following verbs in sequence were omitted:
indicative, II, 5, merentur—exspectent; M., 1, est—de mau mus; 2, requiritis—amissis; 3, erant—esse captos; A., 2, pericliam—
hatiamini; petimus—comprobetur; Subjunctive, I, 13, secedant—
ingravescet; secerant—ingravescet; congregentur—ingravescet;
discernuntur—ingravescet; desinant—ingravescet; II, 7, depellatur—est; eat—dicatur; 8, voluissent—atremur; A., 1,
reprehendat—vivo; succinct auditor—vivo; 9, audiret—quaeretur;
predicaretur—dixisse; 10, inveneris—(pres.); cuperit—impe
travisset; dederet—cuperet;

Apresent indicative equal to a future is logically in se­
quence when it depends on a future, although it seems to be
logically out. Following are some of the examples:

Indicative, I, 4, negas—convicam; II, 5, potest—sustulerit;
11, eget—omissis; subjunctive, M., 17, cognoscetis—possimus;
A., 1, sit—utar; 23, possit—erit;  The corre cted total is

Indicatives, 301.  Subjunctives, 445.
Of this number many are in coordinate clauses and
should really not be counted as subordinate verbs:
Coordinate indicatives, 27; coordinate subjunctives, 11.

The exceptions to the “rule of sequence” fall under
certain categories or tense idioms by which they can be ac­
counted for. I shall first give all the indicatives out of
sequence under the various categories as far as I can classi­
fy them and then give the subjunctives. However the same
tense idiom is discussed only once, i.e. before giving the in­
dicatives under it. Capital B. means that the examples fol­
lowing it are out of sequence both formally and logically;
capital C. means they are out logically but formally in sequence.
In the four orations I find the following classes:
Indicatives:
1. Coordinates:
The Romans used the relative pronoun instead
of a demonstrative in a great many cases where the verb in the relative clause really added a new point to the story and in meaning was not dependent but independent and coordinate. In such cases it is very natural that the verb in the coordinate clause should be out of sequence, as an aorist depending on an aorist. Such in-
stances we find in: B., I, C, praetermitto—cumulasti; patior—
cumulasti; 8, auses—dixisti; rogasti—dixisti; demigrasti—
venisti; II, 2, licet—videretis; 6, appellavit—detuli; salutavit—
detuli; aspexit—detuli; M., 4, misit—contulit; 8, liberavit—
obsessam esse; 9, concitatae sunt—recreavit; 10, prefectus est—
debuit; fuit—debuit; confliget—debuit; gessit—debuit; con-
fectit—concuperunt; est erudita—debuit; 11, attenuatum est—
premerentur; imminutum est—premerentur; sublatum est—premeren-
tur; sepultum est—premerentur; 12, adiit—navigavit; exploravit—
navigavit; venit—navigavit; munivit—navigavit; adornavit—
navigavit; 15, fecisti—fuit; 16, debetis—detulerunt; 19, videtur—
liberavit; M., 21, dicitur—missus est; A., 4, voluit—venit; 9, il-
Iustrant—expressum est; 10, vidimus—reputiasset; 11, adornavi—
inhoavit; debent—dubitavit;
C., I, 5, faciam—vocas; 8, potuisti—( clamant); 9, transtulisti—
possis; 12, aluerunt—sunt; corroboraverunt—sunt; II, 3, con-
dent—collectum; 5, propagat—confido; 13, polliceor—( future); 
M., 2, detulerunt—adferuntur; 15, poterit—nomino; 15, consecuta—
est—sumantur; 19, impediet—spero; audiam—spero;
Total, 49.

2. Present depending on a past.
(1). This includes three uses of the present which may be grouped together:

a. The present may express a truth which exists at the present time but did not exist at the time of the past verb.

b. It may express a still existing truth which existed at the time of the main verb and up to the present.

c. It may express a general truth
or one that has existed, does now exist, and will continue into the future.

It is very easy to see how natural it is to express such truths by the present tense, without regard to the tense of the main verb. However, it is also common to have the still existing truth expressed by a past tense when referred to as having existed at some past time, even though it be still true. In this case, it should not be considered as taking its particular tense only in order to be in sequence. In independent sentences we may have such truths expressed by a present or by an imperfect, therefore it is not correct to say such a tense in a dependent sentence is used merely to conform to the rule of sequence.

B., I, 3, est admirandum—felleit; 9, confido—praemissam esse; 10, feruntur—sunt meditati; II, 3, video—eduxisset; nitent—eduxisset; fulgent—eduxisset; 6, loquuntur—oicorem; ticio—quaesivi; 7, agit—cogitasset; 8, est—voluissent sertare; M. 2, est—detulunt; est—existos esse; 8, obtructant—esse laudatum; 9, dicitur—profugit; 12, ducitis—sciatis fuisse; 14, solent—retardarunt; arbitrantur—existimavit; 15, facit—fecistis; potest—completis; 10, nomino—potuerunt; A., 1, miratur—dediti fuimus; 3, solet—excessit; 4, obtinent—professus; 5, criminaris—fecit; confirmat—fecit; indicat—fecit; voluit—utitur; 6, est—defuit; 7, sunt—fuerunt; effers—fuerunt; 2, violavit—sit; 10, adaequaevit—donavit; 11, est—terminaret.

(2) "ut aiunt" idiom. Such expressions as the parenthetical "as they say" must necessarily be present. B. I, 6, aiunt—effugi; C. II, 6, aiunt—conferet.

3. "Dum clauses"
“Dum” is regularly followed by the present tense, no matter what may be the tense of the main verb. It is more like an historical present than a real present. B. M., 9, colligunt—effugit; C. II, 9, aedificant—inciderunt; delectantur—inciderunt. Inciderunt has “two feet” so to speak, a present and a past. The past is used here making the subordinate verbs out of sequence logically.

4. Present and general truths not depending on a past.

C. I, 5, est—faciam; C, abhorret—referam; 11, est—loquatur; vides—patiere; sentis—patiere; II, 13, videtur—perfectiam; M., 8, sunt—conservaritis; 19, minantur—considerabunt; A., 5, utitur—reicietur; G, conceditur—sumpsero; tribuant—sumpsero; 9, est—repudiamus.

5. Past depending on a present or future time sphere.

(1). Aorist on a present or future. When the writer’s mind is on the past, giving a past event, if he wished to call attention to something else that happened in the past bearing upon the main thought, he naturally uses the descriptive imperfect or pluperfect. But if his mind is in the present, he looks at any past event as a whole and of course uses the aorist tense. If a Roman wished to say “He went because it was a pleasant day”, he would use “sivit” or probably “profectus est” and “erat”. But if he wanted to say “That is the man whom I saw”, he would use “est” and “vidi”.

C., I, 1, occidit—praetereo; 4, fuerunt—video; 7, contigit—exspectas; vacuefacta sunt—putas; reliquerunt—putas; 6, dedisti—(present); dixisti—(pres.); 9, fuit—missam esse; 11, rogatae sunt—impedit; extulit—refers; 12,
intendit—pervenerit; 13, constitutus es—arcobis; II, 1, a tuli—putatis esse; egressus est—putatis esse; extorsimus—putatis esse; reliquit—putatis esse; 3, habuit—contemno; maluerunt—collectum; 4, expectavi—adsecutus sum; 3, volui—interest; 9, concupiverunt—futurus esse; constituit—sunt; 12, putavit—continebuntur; voluerunt—esse sentier; M., 1, voluistis—sit; patuit—sit; dederunt—utar; possum—ostendam; duxerunt—ostendam; 2, tradita est—agitur; gesserunt—agitur; 5, fuistis—delenda est suscepit—delenda est; egerunt—tribuenda est; reliquerunt—danda est; revocavit—danda est; 4, acciderunt—videantur; 5, necavit—patiemini; fuit—sit; accipistis—posse; 6, gesserunt—convenit; M., 7, docuit—debecmus; duximus—dicemus; 9, fuit—prae—terire sinite; 11, fuerunt—sunt; confessus est—est; explicavit—est; redundavit—est; patetactum—est; conspexit—est; expetivit—est; 12, capta est—quarar; oppressa est—quarar; 10, dedierunt—declarat; venerunt—declarat; dixerunt—declarat; 17, commissa sunt—committamus; dicta sunt—concedunt; 10, valuerunt—dico; remansit—dico; 19, constituit—deberet esse; detulit—ascribitur; confecit—ascribitur; 20, cepit—est; 23, fecistis—conantur; A., 1, fuit—debecmus; 0, defuit—orescit; abstraxerit—vivo; avoca—rit—vivo; retardavit—vivo; 2, tractata est—patiamini; 5, irreps—serunt—reicietur; 7,viderunt—contendo esse; 9, contulerit—repudiabimus; fuit—expetunt; depressa (est)—feretur; 10, gessimus—definiuntur; 11, coluerunt—debent; 12, ornavit—acripia—tis.

(2). Imperfect or pluperfect on a present or future.

Sometimes we find a descriptive tense depending on a present or future, but in such a case we usually find some
word as tum, tunc, etc., to give a past point of view.

B., I, 5, faciebas—facere; 9, solebas—possis, Morris would say the tense reinforces the mode—Cicero had the past tense so clearly in mind he used the descriptive imperfect; II, 5, erat—permanent; the expression "in abundantia" calls attention to the past; 10, solebant—defendunt, after quondam; M., 7, proposueram—negligendum est; 12, videbatis—audiat; 13, coeperam—sunt; A., 10, adstisset—inquit; G, iacerent—sunt; 7, contulissent—esse;

C. "Ut dixi" idiom. This is so common a use of the past out of sequence that it is not necessary to say much about it. It could not very well be put under the aorist depending on a present of future, because sometimes the pluperfect is used. It always takes its tense regardless of the tense of the main verb, since it calls attention to a statement already made at the time referred to.

C., I, C, dixi—loquatur; 9, dixi—profiociscere; 15, dixi—discernantur; M., G, dixi—conservaritis;

7. Ubi, ut, postquam, simul atque,

These words regularly take the aorist after them in temporal clauses, although the English idiom often seems to require a pluperfect.

B., I, 7, adsestit—reliquerrunt; II, G, iussus est—paruit; convocavi—detuli; M., 9, venit—concitatae sunt; A., 3, excessit—contulit; C, IIC, videntur—ingravescet; afflictantur—ingravescet;

Date clause. In a sum clause of date we are more likely to find an exception than not to do so, since the writer is referring to something outside of the story in order to date
the particular event he may be relating. He refers to a fact wholly independent of the narration and therefore uses the aorist tense, not the descriptive.

B. I,3, profugerunt—contulisse; 5, voluisti—compressi.

9. Coincidence. A coincident clause is one which expresses an action equivalent to that expressed by the main verb. An act of coincidence or equivalent action would of course take the same tense as the verb on which it depends, or which expresses the same thought. This very frequently brings an aorist to depend upon an aorist.

B. I,10, repuli—profeci; II,1, depulsus est—motus est; coniecimus—perdidimus; 7, profectus est—acciderit; 13, visa est—exspectavit; M. 1, visus est—prohibuerunt; denuntiatus sum—intellexi; 19, voluerunt—eduxerunt; 28, susceptum est—suscepsse; A. 11, visa est—adornavi.

(a). Pseudo Coincidence. This name is applied to clauses which satisfy the following conditions:

1. The subordinate verb is possum, debeo, licet, or volo, or a verb of similar meaning.

2. The subject of the two clauses is the same.

3. The subordinate verb has in dependence, either expressed or implied, the infinitive of the verb in the main clause.

In such clauses the tense is regularly the same as that of the main verb.

B. I,7, potui—tuli; II,1, voluit—extulit.

10. Congruenz. This expresses an act which continues just as long as the action of the main verb but no longer. It takes place at the same time but is not an equivalent act as in the
case of coincidence. The tenses are regularly the same in both dependent and independent sentences.

B. I, 5, insidiatus es—defendi; A. 5, fuit—resignasset.

(a). Pseudo-Congruence. There is one example that appears so nearly that it ought to be classed with it, although it can't strictly be called Congruence. Perhaps pseudo-congruence is not the best term. Fere-Congruence would express the meaning better. B. I, 7, ferenda fuerunt—tuli.

11. Formally out, but logically in sequence.

Sometimes an imperfect depends upon a present when the meaning calls for the present, instead. The imperfect is really equal to a present but is used to show some meaning peculiar to itself. In all the following the imperfect is used to express contrariety to fact:

I, 1, machinaris—oportebat; 4, oportebat—vulnere; 7, metuunt—metuerunt; II, 2, oportebat—est; 6, loquuntur—eiaerem; A. 2, sit—asciendum fuisset.

12. Determining. Many of the exceptions in determining clauses have been accounted for under other categories, as present on a past, for instance. However there are a few examples which do not come under any of the other categories, but must be treated individually as far as possible. One can readily see that in determining clauses it would be quite necessary to use verbs out of the same time sphere. For instance, a place may be determined by an event which took place many years ago, in referring to which the writer would speak of the event as a whole and therefore use the aorist tense, even though the main verb be an aorist or descriptive tense. B. M. 3, putavit—ar at iniectus; ausus est—potuit;
10, concertavit—conflicuit; legerunt—gessit; concupiverunt—
confecit; 11, vidimus—fuerunt; audivimus—fuerunt; 12, naviga-
vit—potuit conficere; profectus est—adiunxit; fuerunt—
capti sunt; 15, depoposcerit—pervasavit; praepositus est—
consecuta est; admonuī—accepta; 16, iudicavit—misit;
aluerunt—misit; detulerunt—optare auderet; 20, distis—
depsit; A., I, 1, gessimus—attigit; bellavit—dubitavit; 5, fuit—
esset; 10, donavit—impetravisset; C., I, 2, vivis—vivēs; 11, com-
peristi—patiere; 12, sentiunt—respondeo; 13, est—imgravescēt;
II, 5, merentur—expectant; 9, cupiunt—sint adepti; 11, sup-
peditamur—omissis; M., C., sunt—conservaritis; exercet—ācemus.

13. Parenthetical. Again, these have nearly all been ac-
counted for under other categories, as for example, some of the
"ut dixi" idiom are parenthetical. We can see why an exception
could occur in a parenthetical clause, because the parenthetical
statement has no direct time relation to the main subject mat-
ter. In fact, in parenthetical clauses many times no other
tense would do except one that would be out of se quence.

B., II, C., posuit—indixit; M., 3, denotavit—suscepit;
9, putavístis—oac tus dimisit; 13, superarunt—poteramus; vice-
runt—poteramus; C., I, 2, fecerunt—speculabuntur; 5, hortor—
exieris; C., senties—praestímitto; 7, contineo—adducam; 10, sen-
ties—ostantes; 13, nominamus—arcebis; 13, praemisi—opprime t;
videtis—referemus; 13, voluerunt—defendant;

(a). There is one aside which should be named in this
connection: B., I, 3, putasti—démigrasti.

14. Others. Besides the foregoing classes, there are some
exceptions that should be treated separately.

Some of them are determining, some are parenthetical, while
others are something else. Generalizing clauses usually take
a verb in sequence, but the following two are out:
B., I, 5, petisti—obstiti; 11, defecerunt—tenuerunt. In the next two, there is no time relation, the verbs depend only syntactically: B., I, 13, contaminarunt—verendum est; honestarunt—verendum est. Fuerunt—reliquerunt; Cicero chose to look at this as an aorist instead of situation. The pluperfect would be natural instead of reliquerunt. B., M., 1, patuit—prohibuerunt; Cicero was thinking of each particular time any one had wished to enter the senate. B., I, 10, rapiebat—ibiis; this cannot be accounted for. B., I, 10, est susceptum—nominaretur; A., 1, colloquit—habuit; C., 1, fuit—esset; 10, duxerit—expetisset; 12, a futura est—delector; pertinebit—delector.

Many presents are out of sequence where nothing but a present could express the meaning intended: C., 5, audoe—faciam; 15, est—ingравescet; II, 10, putant—perferent; 13, sunt—continebuntur; M., 1, est—utter; 7, duximus—dicemus; 3, dixi—dicam; 12, agimus—utter; 24, oportet—repellemus; A., 4, dicimus—dico; 12, putaverunt—afutura est.

Subjunctives out of sequence:

1. Coordinates:

B., II, C, eicere—sunt; 3, uteremur—future idea.

2. Present depending on a past:

B., M., 3, intelligatis—esse laudatum; 9, coniungant—factum esse; renovent—factum esse; suscipiam—factum esse; accipiam—factum esse; 12, audiatis—potuit addurre; 13, dicatam—pervenerint; 13, valeat—cognovistis; 33, sit—pacatum fuisset.

3. Past depending on a present or future:

(1). Aorist on a present or future:

C., I, 1, egeris—arbitraris; fuiis—arbitraris; convocaveris—arbitraris; ceperis—arbitraris; 3, judicaret—debere videtur; 9, revocarit—es; II, 1, evomuerit—lastar
videtur; proiecerit—laetari videtur; 2, comprehenderim—acuepserit;
e miserim—accusset; exierit—fero; 4, conceperit—potest; 7, emiserim—sit; siegerim—sit; acciderit—optemus; 13, medicus—
perficiam; M. 5, miseritis—audient; venerit—repressoesset e; 10,
exerquerit—potest esse; 12, transmiserint—dicam; redempti sint—querar; pervenerint—dicam; gesta sint—videtis; 13, venierint—possumus; diviserit—possumus; reliquerit—possumus; fecerint—videamini; fecerint—recordamini; pervenerint—miramur; 14, iudicaret—putatis; timuerint—sit; dilexerint—sit; 15, pervaserit—putatis; perfecterint—perfecturus sit; defenderit—conservaturus sit; 16, gesserit—praedicaturas sum; 19, eduxerint—est.

(3). Imperfect or pluperfect on a present or future:
B, II, 8, comparentur—exponam; M. 22, praeponeretis—
delegistis; C. M. 17, valuisset—teneremus; teneremus is equal to a present.

4. Formally out, logically in sequence:
I, 3, esset—meministi dicere; meministi has a past
meaning. II, 7, sint—dicerent; M. 19 deferet—sunt; logically in
because the imperfect is equal to a present.

5. Result. In early Latin, verbs in clauses expressing
Ideal Certainty were nearly always in sequence. But we find excep-
tions in later Latin. Sequence is merely the habit of using ten-
ses in a fixed relation and in this idiom the habit has given way
to the meaning. If a Roman wished to say, “They worked so hard that
they now have their task finished”, he would usually prefer to say
“They worked hard, therefore they now have their task finished”,
rather than have an exception to sequence. The imperfect in re-
sult clauses developed a meaning equal to that of the aor ist, but
occasionally the aor ist meaning was felt so clearly that the aor-
The final results of this examination are as follows:

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-39-
Coincidence...
Pseudo coincidence...
Coincidence...
Pseudo congruence...
Formally out, logically in sequence...
Determining...
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Special cases...

Total...

Subjunctives:
Coordinates...
Present on past...
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Formally out, logically in...
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Pres. truth not on past...
Special cases...

Total...

In sequence, indicatives...
Coordinates...
Remainder...

Out of sequence...
Indicatives...
Coordinate...
Remainder...

Not counting the verbs in coordinate clauses, out of 570 sub-
ordinate indicatives or almost one-half, are out of sequence, while out of 51\textsuperscript{3}/, subordinate subjunctives only 5\textsuperscript{3}/, or less than one-sixth, are out of sequence.

This is surely very conclusive evidence that the indicative and subjunctive do not behave alike, at least as far as these orations are concerned, but that the ancients had a feeling concerning the subjunctive that they did not have with regard to the indicative. Of course the meaning is not sacrificed in order to use verbs in sequence and this makes a great many exceptions, as has been shown, that would not otherwise occur. Sequence is merely the habit of using tenses in a fixed relation and this habit is observed a far greater proportion of times in the subjunctive than in the indicative, being departed from only when, in order to observe it, the writer would have to break a stronger habit (tense idiom) or sacrifice his meaning.

Therefore Cicero had a feeling of sequence when dealing with the subjunctive that he did not have when using the indicative.