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Towards a Unified Account of the *ab urbe condita* Construction in Latin and Ancient Greek

Abstract: This article is devoted to participial clauses, consisting of a noun as subject and a participle as predicate, for example *occisus dictator* 'the killing of the dictator'. This phenomenon is also called 'dominant participle' or *ab urbe condita* construction. Participial clauses are distinguished from participles used attributively (noun phrases) and participles used as secondary predicates (*participium coniunctum*). As the construction is structurally the same in Latin and in Ancient Greek, it can be described in the same way in both languages. Participial clauses can function as arguments, especially as subject or object, or as satellites (bare or prepositional participial clauses). Participial clauses are also used as genitival attributes at the noun phrase level.

Keywords: ablative absolute, argument, genitive absolute, noun phrase, participial clause, prepositional clauses

1 Introduction

In Latin, the functions of the participial clause — traditionally called *ab urbe condita* or dominant participle construction — have been extensively discussed[1] and this phenomenon can now be said to be well-described. In Greek, this construction has received relatively little attention.[2] As the functions of these participial clauses are comparable in Latin and Greek, I aim at presenting a unified account of their properties in both languages.

The participial clause called *ab urbe condita* consists of a noun (phrase) and a participle. The best example of this construction, which is also often quoted, is (1).[3]

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1 See Pinkster 1990/1995, 7.4.7; 2021, 25–31, 220–224, 386–406, 451–454; Bolkestein 1980; 1981; Storme 2010; Ruppel 2013, 82–126; Novotná 2014; Spevak 2018; 2019.

2 Jones 1939 and Denizot 2017. See also Ruppel 2013, 33–81.

3 For discussion, see Bolkestein 1980; 1981; Longrée 1995; Denizot 2017, 31–32, among others. This example was already quoted by Lübbert 1871, 13.

1) ... cum *occisus dictator* Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum <u>facinus</u> videretur.

Tac. *Ann*. 1.8.6

... when the killing of the dictator Caesar to some had seemed the worst, and to others the fairest, of high exploits.

The fact that it is called a *facinus* shows that *occisus dictator Caesar* (literally 'the dictator Caesar killed') as a unit is the subject of *videretur*, and not *dictator Caesar* alone. It is a participial clause in which the participle *occisus* functions as predicate,[4] and *dictator Caesar* represents its subject. Unlike participles used attributively, predicative participles cannot be omitted (**dictator Caesar facinus videretur*). Participial clauses thus have the same internal structure as gerundival clauses;[5] an example of a gerundival clause in the dative functioning as argument is given in (2).

2) *Iis ludis faciendis* praeerit praetor is qui ...

Liv. 25.12.10

The celebration of these games will be presided over by the praetor who ...

Participial clauses must be distinguished from (i) participles used attributively and (ii) participles used as secondary predicates. In (3), the participle and the noun form a noun phrase ('the submerged horse'). In (4), the participle is used as secondary predicate (*participium coniunctum*, *praedicativum*).[6] The accusative and participle construction with perception verbs as in (5) belongs to this category.[7]

3) Qui (*sc.* Dionysius) cum ... equum ipse demisisset in flumen, *submersus equus* voraginibus non exstitit.

Cic. *Div*. 1.73

When he (*sc.* Dionysius) ... made his horse go down into a river, the horse was swallowed up in whirlpools and disappeared.

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4 This phenomenon is called "participialization of the predicate" by Bolkestein 1980 and 1981.

5 See Pinkster 2021, 26.

6 See Pinkster 2021, 781.

7 See Pinkster 2021, 796. *Pace* Denizot 2017, 30 who distinguishes it as a subtype of participial clauses, quoting ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα 'he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia' (Xen. *An*. 1.4.5). The accusative and participle construction was already included by Jones 1939, 24.

4) Ibi Lucius Cotta *pugnans* interficitur.

Caes. *Gal.* 5.37.4

There Lucius Cotta was killed fighting.

5) ... neque *tibicinam cantantem* neque alium quemquam audio.

Pl. *Mos.* 934

... and I cannot hear a flautist playing or anyone else.

The participial clause (*ab urbe condita*) is a clause with a non-finite verb form — a participle — that shows low sententiality, i.e. 'loss' (or better: lack) of sentential properties, as described by Lehmann 1989. Unlike finite subordinate clauses, clauses with non-finite verb forms (participles, gerunds, gerundives, and infinitives) lack expressions of mood and personal conjugation, and they express other verbal categories, especially tense and voice, in a limited way. On the other hand, they show some nominal properties, such as inflexion, combinability with prepositions, etc. Maximal nominality or desententialization is reached with verbal nouns. Clauses with gerunds, gerundives, participles, and partly also infinitives, serve to condensate clausal expressions. The effect of condensation can be shown with the following examples.[8] Because of its brevity, the participial clause is used on Roman coins.

6) ob civis servatos

RIC 1², Augustus 29A, aureus, 19–18 BC

For saving the citizens.

7) Aegypto capta

RIC 1², Augustus 275A, denarius, 28 BC

After the conquest of Egypt.

In accordance with the function they fulfill in the sentence, participial clauses can be divided into two categories:[9]

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8 For example (6), cf. Seneca's testimony: *Nullum ornamentum principis fastigio dignius pulchriusque est quam illa corona ob cives servatos.* 'No decoration is more worthy of the eminence of a prince or more beautiful than that crown bestowed for saving the lives of fellow-citizens.' (Sen. *Cl.* 1.26.5). Cf. also *RIC* 1² Augustus 277: CIVIBUS SERVATEIS 'after saving the citizens', an ablative absolute (or a dative of purpose?).

9 See Pinkster 2021, 220, 386, 404, and 451; Denizot 2017, 30 for Greek (but see my reservation above, n. 7).

1. participial clauses functioning as arguments, especially as subject or object; they compete with argument clauses, such as accusative and infinitive clauses or *quod* clauses. Participial clauses used at the noun phrase level also belong to this category.
2. participial clauses functioning as satellites, for example as means adjuncts. A sub-category of satellite participial clauses is represented by prepositional participial clauses, the best-known example of which is *ab urbe condita* 'from the foundation of the City'. The ablative absolute is the most frequently used type of participial clause.

I come now to the point that I would like to demonstrate. In the new *Grammar of Classical Greek*,[10] the participial clause is classified under the label 'Dominant use of circumstantial participles', belonging to the chapter on the 'Circumstantial participle'. The authors say:

> "Occasionally, a circumstantial participle is indispensable for the correct interpretation of a sentence, providing more relevant information than the head noun it modifies (syntactically speaking). The participle, together with the noun, serves as obligatory constituent (and as such, the participle is not syntactically 'optional'). This is called the dominant use of the participle:
> ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορθουμένη. 'The fact that the country was being ravaged grieved him.' (X. *An.* 7.7.12)," etc.

Then they add: "Dominant participle constructions are also often used to complement prepositions", quoting three examples of prepositional participial clauses:

> μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον 'after Solon's departure'
> Hdt. 1.34

> ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος 'during the archonship of Theophilus'
> D. 37.6

> *ἐς μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρα* σκῆψιν εἶχ' *ὀλωλότα*, παίδων δ' ἔδεισε μὴ φθονηθείη φόνωι.
> E. *El.* 29

> For with the respect to the death of her husband she had an excuse but she feared that she would be despised for the murder of her children.

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10 van Emde Boas *et al.* 2019, 630–631.

The definition they provide is far from being satisfactory: how can a 'circumstantial participle' serve as 'obligatory constituent'? This is a contradictory statement. Also it is not very clear what is meant by 'the dominant use of the participle': the fact that it is used, together with the noun, as obligatory constituent, i.e. argument (subject), or that the participle is not optional, i.e. cannot be omitted?

Additionally, no connection is established between ἡ χώρα πορθουμένη 'the plundering of the country' and the genitive absolute. The latter also figures in the chapter on the 'Circumstantial participle'. It is described from the point of view of the expression of the subject: "When the subject of the participle is not a constituent of the matrix clause, it must be expressed separately. In this case, both the participle and its subject are added in the genitive case".[11] Despite the mention of the subject, it is not clear whether the 'genitive absolute' is considered as a clause, unlike the 'connected participle' (i.e. *participium coniunctum*), dealt with in the preceding section.

Jones 1939, 14 already pointed out a close 'resemblance' between the genitive absolute and the *ab urbe condita* construction. Denizot 2017, 30 clearly distinguishes the genitive absolute as a subtype of the construction with a 'dominant participle'. However, in Greek grammars, the genitive absolute and the *ab urbe condita* construction are not considered together. Additionally, the grammars disagree concerning the status of the participle in the *ab urbe condita* construction. Smyth 1920, § 2058 and § 2053 classifies the ablative absolute under the 'circumstantial participle', and the *ab urbe condita* construction, corresponding to a verbal noun + genitive (or to an infinitive with an article), under the 'attributive participle'.[12] In Kühner/Gerth 1904, § 485, the genitive absolute is in the same section but the *ab urbe condita* construction, mentioned in note 1, is interpreted as *participium coniunctum*, i.e. as 'circumstantial (or: predicative) participle'.[13] The *ab urbe condita* construction is not connected with 'participial constructions' by Schwyzer/Debrunner 1950, 404 either. They deal with it in a section on 'Stylistic peculiarities' (*Stilistische Besonderheiten*).

The situation is no better in traditional Latin grammars; for example in Allen/Greenough 1903, 263 and 313, the ablative absolute and the *ab urbe condita* are also dealt with separately (the former under the syntax of the cases and the latter under the use of participles). In other reference works the *ab urbe condita* con-

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11 van Emde Boas *et al.* 2019, 624.

12 Also, Goodwin 1889, § 829b takes the participle for 'attributive' participle. Also, Draeger 1881, 779–786 for Latin.

13 The participle is considered as a "participle in predicative position" by Crespo *et al.* 2003, 313; Jiménez López *et al.* 2020, 2.711.

struction is not dealt with in a systematic way. Most often, authors point to the fact that in modern languages, it is equivalent to a verbal noun with a genitive.[14] Kühner/Stegmann 1914 I, 766–774 are an exception: they present it as "*Participien in Vertretung eines Nebensatzes*" ('participles representing a subordinate clause'); but they do not link it with the ablative absolute (*ibid.* 1.779).

The reason why no clear connection is established between the ablative absolute or the genitive absolute in traditional grammars is probably that the *ab urbe condita* construction is considered as corresponding to a verbal noun with a genitive ('from the founding of the city') or as a construction in which the participle "contains the main idea".[15] These two characteristics do not apply to the ablative/genitive absolutes, which are satellites with mainly a time or a conditional interpretation; in other words, ablative/genitive absolutes cannot be paraphrased with a verbal noun + genitive. However, a parallel can be drawn between ablative/genitive absolutes and prepositional participial clauses, as we will see below in section 3.2.2.

2 Corpus

For the purpose of my demonstration, I will use a corpus of Cicero's works, established on the basis of Heick 1936 and Laughton 1964, 84–99 — this corpus provides 101 instances of participial clauses —, as well as data that I have collected for an examination of competitors of verbal nouns in Latin — 44 more instances.[16] For Greek, I will use Jones' 1939 collection of examples.

3 The functions of participial clauses

As the participial clauses ('dominant participles') in Latin and Ancient Greek are similar — they consist of a noun as subject and a non-finite verb form (participle) as predicate, they can be described in a similar way, according to the functions

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14 See, for example, Szantyr 1972, 393; Bennett 1910, 1.441.

15 *Sic* Allen/Greenough 1903, 313.

16 Spevak 2022. This corpus consists of Cicero's texts of a narrative character (*De divinatione*, Book 1, *Pro Milone* and a selection of letters to Atticus, Book 9 and 10, 1 and 8) and of technical treatises (Cicero's *De inventione*, Book 1, Vitruvius' *De architectura*, Books 2–5, and Frontinus' *De aquaeductu*).

they fulfill in a clause. They can be divided into two groups: (i) participial clauses functioning as argument and (ii) participial clauses functioning as satellite.

3.1 Participial clauses functioning as argument

In Latin, participial clauses are used with verbs expressing causation, especially of an emotion or a state of mind, such as *delecto* 'to delight', *efficio* 'to cause' *moveo* 'to affect', *perturbo* 'to confuse' (8), *terreo* 'to terrify'.[17] They can function as the subject of an active or a passive verb.

8) *Dies intermissus* aut *nox interposita* saepe perturbat omnia.

Cic. *Mur.* 35

    The interval of one day or the lapse of one night often throws everything into confusion.

Also, for Greek, Jones 1939, 30 ff. quotes examples with ἐγείρω 'rouse', εἰσμαίο-μαι 'to affect greatly', κατεπείγω 'to press hard', ὁρμάω 'to urge on' (9), etc. See also the example with λυπέω 'to grieve', quoted above.

9) Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε *χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη* πλέειν.

Hdt. 4.159

    The advice of the Pythian priestess impelled all Greeks to cross the sea.

Participial clauses in the accusative are used with verbs that Laughton 1964, 92 characterizes as expressing "mental reaction to a situation". Among them, there are verbs expressing 'to leave something unmentioned': *neglego*, *relinquo*, *mitto* (10), and verbs of emotion such as *queror* 'to complain', (*moleste*) *fero* 'to annoy someone'. Participial clauses express a content ('the fact that').

10) Mitto *ereptam libertatem* populis ac singulis.

Cic. *Pis.* 90

    I say nothing of your robbing both communities and individuals of their liberties.

As for Greek examples, the situation is complicated by the fact that Jones 1939, 21–27 includes the accusative and participle construction with verbs of perception and communication as well as other participles as secondary predicates. Exam-

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17 See Pinkster 2021, 220–222; Spevak 2018, 72–73. Verbs with which participial clauses occur were already reported by Lübbert 1871, 15.

ples illustrating a participial clause (dominant participle) are with ἀνέχω 'to hold up' (11), also quoted by Hahn 1928, 272, and with μένω 'to await' (12).

11) ἀλλὰ *τήν γε χώραν* οὐ πρὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν ἀνέχεσθαι *πεπορθημένην*.

<div align="right">Isoc. 14.58</div>

Yet it is not to your advantage to suffer the devastation of the territory.

12) … ὄφρ' ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένοιεν *νοστήσαντα ἄνακτα*.

<div align="right">Hom. *Il.* 13.37</div>

… so that without stirring they might there await their master's return.

Participial clauses functioning as argument in the dative, the ablative or the adverbal genitive are relatively rare in Latin. An example of a participial clause in the dative is given in (13), a third argument of *reservo* 'to reserve'. To them, arguments taking the form of a prepositional phrase can be added, especially the prepositional phrase with *de* introducing the object of inquiry (*quaero de* 'to inquire into') in (14).

13) Reditum ad vestitum *confectae victoriae* reservate. Confectio autem huius belli est D. Bruti salus.

<div align="right">Cic. *Phil.* 14.1</div>

Reserve a return to normal dress for final victory. And final victory in this war means Decimus Brutus' rescue.

14) Proxime deos accessit Clodius …, cuius *de morte* tamquam *de caerimoniis violatis* quaeritur.

<div align="right">Cic. *Mil.* 59</div>

Clodius has approached very near to the gods …, (Clodius) whose death is being inquired into, like a profanation of ceremonies.

As for objects in a case other than the accusative, Jones 1939, 26 quotes a participial clause with γάνυμαι 'to be glad', a verb of emotion (15).

15) οὐδὲ γὰρ ἣ Προμάχοιο δάμαρ … *ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ ἐλθόντι* γανύσσεται.

<div align="right">Hom. *Il.* 14.504</div>

For neither will the wife of Promachus … rejoice at the coming of her dear husband.

The participial clause is used as attribute at the noun phrase level in Latin. It is found with two-place nouns such as *commendatio* 'recommendation', *nuntius*

'message/messenger', *suspicio* 'suspicion', *testimonium* 'witness'; an example is (16).[18]

16)   ... vehementer exspectabam quinam isti viri boni <u>testes</u> *huius manifesto deprehensi veneni* dicerentur.

<div align="right">Cic. <i>Cael.</i> 63</div>

   ... I was eagerly waiting to hear the names of those honest gentlemen who would be stated to have been witnesses of the overt discovery of this poison.

Jones 1939, 10 states that he is not familiar with a similar use in Greek. As a Latin example, he quotes *belli confecti fama* 'the fame of having terminated the war' (Tac. *Ann.* 4.26). But on p. 73, he mentions a genitive "used as the object of ποινήν". He — rightly, in my view — interprets the noun and the participle Πα-τρόκλοιο θανόντος in (17) as an equivalent of Πατρόκλοιο φόνου 'Patroclus' death', with a reference to *Il.* 21.134 (Πατρόκλοιο φόνον).[19]

17)   ὃ δ᾿...ζωοὺς ἐκ ποταμοῖο δυώδεκα λέξατο κούρους <u>ποινὴν</u> *Πατρόκλοιο* Μενοιτιάδαο *θανόντος*.

<div align="right">Hom. <i>Il.</i> 21.28</div>

   And he, when his hands grew weary of slaying, chose twelve youths alive out of the river as blood price for dead Patroclus, son of Menoetius. (transl. W.F. Wyatt)

3.2 Participial clauses functioning as satellite

Participial clauses functioning as satellite can be divided into non-prepositional participial phrases and prepositional participial phrases.

3.2.1 Bare participial clauses

Non-prepositional participial phrases functioning as satellite are typically abla-tive absolute clauses expressing a circumstance: position in time, condition,

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18 For this participial clause, cf. the use of the verbal noun *deprehensio* 'discovery' in Cic. *Clu.* 50: *omnis accusatio ... ad extremum manifesta veneni deprehensione conclusa est* 'the whole in-dictment is brought to its culmination in the overt discovery of the poison'.
19 He discusses a few other examples, including a participial clause governed by αἴτιος 're-sponsible', also quoted by Goodwin 1889, § 829b.

cause, etc. in Latin.[20] Example (18) shows an ablative absolute indicating position in time (anterior event).[21]

18) Quam idem in Clodio non dubitandum, cum se ille *interfecto Milone* regnaturum putaret.

Cic. *Mil.* 43

> At the same time how undoubted is it in the case of Clodius, who thought that he should be a king as soon as Milo was slain.

However, not all instances of participial clauses in the ablative can be interpreted as ablative absolutes. For example, in (19), where *Milone interfecto* represents a means adjunct of the verb *assequor* 'to gain'; it competes with a verbal noun such as *interitus Milonis* 'Milo's death' (*Mil.* 51). In Vitruvius, I collected several instances of such ablative means adjuncts (20) — here, with *procreo* 'to produce' — which compete with verbal nouns (such as *interpositio columnarum* 'interposition of columns') in the ablative having the same semantic function.

19) Atqui *Milone interfecto* Clodius haec assequebatur, non modo ut praetor esset non eo consule quo ...

Cic. *Mil.* 32

> But Clodius, by Milo's death, gained this, not only that he should be praetor without having him for a consul ...

20) Ita e generibus duobus *capitulo interposito* tertium genus in operibus est procreatum.

Vitr. 4.1.3

> Thus from the two orders, a third order used in buildings is produced by the introduction of a new capital.

As for Greek, an example of a genitive absolute is given in (21).

21) Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη *Κόνωνος* μὲν *στρατηγοῦντος* ...

Isoc. 9.56

> And all this was accomplished with Conon as commander ....

Jones 1939, 68–72 discusses several instances of bare participial clauses in the dative, for which the term "dative absolutes" is as a rule avoided in the grammars;

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20 Pinkster 2021, 385–404.
21 Also, *Milone vivo* 'as long as Milo lived' is used several times (for example *Mil.* 26) as an ablative absolute.

they are usually dealt with under the various uses of the dative case.[22] Example (22) is interesting because the participial clause presents known information: it serves to condense a preceding statement about Mytilene. This instance can be taken as a means of ensuring discourse coherence.[23]

22) (... πυνθάνονται ... ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἑάλωκεν ...) ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν *τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἑαλωκυίᾳ* ἑπτὰ ὅτε ἐς τὸ Ἔμβατον κατέπλευσαν.

<div align="right">Thuc. 3.29.2</div>

(... they learn ... that Mytilene had been taken ...) It was about seven days after the capture of Mytilene that they came to Embatum.

There are also instances of participial clauses in the genitive ("unclassified genitives"),[24] such as (23), with an expression of emotion caused.

23) Σαρπήδοντι δ' ἄχος γένετο *Γλαύκου ἀπιόντος*.

<div align="right">Hom. *Il.* 12.392</div>

But over Sarpedon came grief at Glaucus' leaving.

3.2.2 Prepositional participial clauses

Participial clauses are used with prepositions. In Cicero prepositional participial clauses are almost as frequent as non-prepositional clauses (without counting ablative absolutes).[25] The most common are the time prepositions *post* 'after' and *ante* 'before' functioning as time adjuncts, but other prepositions are found as well, for instance *de* 'about', introducing content (cf. above, example (14)). An example is (24); note its complexity. An example with *ab* 'from', taken from Sallust, is given in (25).

24) Cui (*sc.* Catilinae) cum adfuit *post delatam ad eum primam illam coniurationem*, indicavit se audisse aliquid, non credidisse.

<div align="right">Cic. *Sul.* 81</div>

Inasmuch as he appeared for him after that first conspiracy had been reported to him, he indicated that he had heard something, but did not believe it.

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22 Smyth 1920, § 1498 quotes this example (22) as a dative of time. Kühner/Gerth 1904, § 423 and § 485, Rem. 1 quote it twice: as a dative of time and as "*ab urbe condita*".

23 See Pinkster 2021, 1153.

24 Jones 1939, 72.

25 Spevak 2018.

25) ... praeterea *ab incenso Capitolio* illum esse vigesumum annum ...

<div align="right">Sal. *Cat.* 47.2</div>

... furthermore, reckoning from the burning of the Capitol, this was the twentieth year ...

In Greek, prepositional participial clauses seem to be the most common type. According to Jones 1939, 45–68, various prepositions are involved, especially time prepositions, for example ἅμα and σύν 'with', expressing concomitance, εἰς + acc. 'before' and μετά + acc. 'after'. Examples are (26),[26] with a present participle (which does not qualify the noun) and (27), with an aorist participle.[27] As for the latter example, μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἴκισιν 'after the settlement of Syracuse' (Thuc. 6.4.3) with a verbal noun, refers to an already known event and its function is similar to the participial clause quoted above as example (22): it contributes to ensuring discourse coherence.

26) ἅμα δ'ἠελίῳ καταδύντι κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ.

<div align="right">Hom. *Il.* 1.592</div>

At sunset I fell in Lemnos.

27) (Συρακούσας ... Ἀρχίας ... ᾤκισε) Θουκλῆς δὲ καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἐκ Νάξου ὁρμηθέντες ἔτει πέμπτῳ *μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας* Λεοντίνους ... οἰκίζουσι.

<div align="right">Thuc. 6.3.3</div>

(... Syracuse was founded by Archias ...) In the fifth year after the settlement of Syracuse, Thucles and the Chalcidians, setting forth from Naxos, ... settled Leontini ...

When talking about prepositional participial clauses, it is important to briefly discuss the use of a preposition with a noun alone, as in μετὰ Συρακούσας 'after Syracuse' in (28), taken from the same passage in Thucydides. Denizot[28] argues that the participle in prepositional participial clauses can be omitted — non-omissibility of the participle is one of the criteria for identification of this construction.[29]

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26 Such expressions with ἅμα seem idiomatic, as well as Latin counterparts, mentioned by Jones 1939.
27 The beginning of Book 6 deals with the settlement of Sicily. In sections 4–5, Thucydides uses alternately the verbal nouns οἴκισις and κτίσις 'founding (of a colony)', as pointed out by Jones 1939, 58 and Denizot 2017, 35.
28 Denizot 2017, 32; cf. Petit 2019, 434–435.
29 Bolkestein 1980; 1981.

28) Ἄκραι δὲ καὶ Κασμέναι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων ᾠκίσθησαν, Ἄκραι μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεσι *μετὰ Συρακούσας*, Κασμέναι δ' ἐγγὺς εἴκοσι μετὰ Ἄκρας.

<div align="right">Thuc. 6.5.2</div>

Acrae and Casmenae were colonized by the Syracusans: Acrae seventy years after Syracuse, Casmenae nearly twenty years after Acrae.

In this example, the action of founding, which is expressed by a participle (cf. example (27)) or by a verbal noun (μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἴκισιν 'after the settlement of Syracuse' Thuc. 6.4.3), is inferable from the context. But there are several other situations in which a noun can be used alone or with a participle as participial clause after the prepositions *ante* 'before' and *post* 'after':[30]

1. nouns with a temporal lexical meaning or implying duration in time: *hiems* 'winter', *vesperus* 'evening', *proelium* 'battle';
2. nouns of magistrates, laws, and personal names (or personal pronouns, for example *ante me* 'before me'); these nouns do not have a temporal lexical meaning, but they can be used as an orientation point in time.

Nouns with a temporal lexical meaning (i) occur alone, for example *ante hiemem* 'before winter' (Cic. *Fam.* 3.7.3), but they are also found in a participial clause: *ante exactam hiemem* 'before the winter was over' (Caes. *Gal.* 6.1.4).

As for the second category (ii), *lex* 'law' can serve as example: while the noun can be used alone as in (29), implying that the law has been adopted, the participial clause in (30) expresses the modality of the passing of the law in an explicit way (passed by the assembly of the people).

29) ... sin (*sc.* lex) esset QUICUMQUE *POST HANC LEGEM*, videret nequa nova quaestione alligaretur.

<div align="right">Cic. Rab. Post. 14</div>

... if it (*sc.* law) began "Whosoever after the passing of this law," then they were to see to it that they were not made liable to any new form of inquiry.

30) ... neve quis in eo loco *post hanc legem rogatam* quid opponito, molito ...

<div align="right">Fron. *Aq.* 129.6</div>

... no one shall, after the passage of this law, put in the way, construct ...

The same holds for nouns of magistrates (*consul* 'consul', *praetor* 'praetor') and proper names in (31) and (32). Note the parallelism of the prepositional expression

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30 See Spevak 2019.

post ... consules with the ablative expression *quibus consulibus* 'during which consulship', an instance of nominal (substantival) ablative absolute clause.[31]

31) Nam *post* Q. Fulvium Q. Fabium *consules*, <u>quibus consulibus</u> Capua devicta atque capta est, nihil est in illa urbe contra hanc rem publicam non dico factum, sed nihil omnino est cogitatum.

<div align="right">Cic. Agr. 2.90</div>

For, after the consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Quintus Fabius, during which Capua was subdued and taken, nothing has even been thought of in that city, much less done, that is against the interests of this republic.

32) Seditiosorum omnium *post Gracchos* L. Appuleius Saturninus eloquentissimus visus est.

<div align="right">Cic. Brut. 224</div>

Of all the radicals who succeeded the Gracchi, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus seemed to be the best speaker.

Similar examples are found in Greek:

33) κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας

<div align="center">Xen. Lac. 10.8</div>

in the days of the Heracleidae.

Persson 1921/1922, 59 and 61 interprets such instances as "brachylogical expressions" (*Brachylogische Ausdrücke*) with the omission of the participle. He proposes the following paraphrase:

34) μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον

after the Mede (Thuc. 3.68.1) (= after the Persian war) corresponding to *post Medum devictum* 'after the Persian defeat'.

However, in these expressions, there is no need to question the non-omissibility of the participle nor to claim brachylogy. Personal names or names of peoples used with these time prepositions denote a period of time (somebody's life or an event that happened during a certain time). With magistrates, we have to do with the period during which they exercise their office; with laws, the period of their validity, etc.

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31 Pinkster 2021, 427–430.

4 Conclusions

Participial clauses consisting of a noun and a participle represent non-finite clauses that serve to condense clausal expressions. The noun represents the subject, and the participle, the predicate. They can be used (i) as arguments, especially as subject or object, and as attribute at the noun phrase level, or (ii) as satellites. The ablative absolute in Latin and the genitive absolute in Greek are the most frequently used participial clauses, belonging to the second group of satellites. Ablative/genitive absolutes cannot be paraphrased by a bare verbal noun and a genitive since bare verbal nouns cannot express time or conditional circumstance. Ablative/genitive absolutes can compete with nouns used with a time preposition.

Even if some participial constructions pose problems of interpretation — it is not always easy to decide whether we are dealing with a participle used attributively or predicatively (secondary predicate) or with a participial clause — and some of them are ambiguous,[32] there are enough clear examples to show that this phenomenon is well represented both in Latin and Greek.

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32 For difficulties of interpretation, see, for example Jones 1939, 33, 40, and 60, or Heick's 1936 "dubious cases". For ambiguity, see Denizot 2017, 40. She quotes ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων (Hdt. 1.15) that can be interpreted as a participial clause 'while he was absolute ruler of Sardis' or as 'under Cyrus, absolute ruler of Sardis', interpreted as with an appositive participle.

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