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Debere in complement clauses

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DEBERE IN COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

This paper examines the use of the verb debere *in imperative complement clauses found in Late Latin texts from the 4ᵗʰ to the 8ᵗʰ centuries, with the aim to offer an account of violation of the restrictions that apply in the instances that are not classical. It is argued that the type of the clauses (*ut *clauses or accusative + infinitive clauses), is of lesser importance in Late Latin, and that the boundary between imperative and declarative clauses is not always clear in the texts under examination. It is further argued that context plays an important role in the interpretation of the verb* debere *and the complement clauses. The verb* debere *can indeed take on various meanings; it can express intention, polite request, appeal to take an action, exhortation, and appropriateness. Therefore, it cannot be conceived of as a meaningless element used only to reinforce subjunctive. Apart from the arguments raised in relation to the texts under discussion, a case in Cicero's work, where a modal verb is used in an imperative clause, is analysed.*

Keywords: debere, debeo, complement clauses, Late Latin, Latin, ut clause, accusative + infinitive clause, modal verbs.

Introduction[1]

The aim of the present paper is to suggest possible interpretations in respect to the use of the verb *debere* in imperative[2] complement clauses, and to determine factors which explain its use which is different from that in Classical Latin. Specifically, it focuses on the verb *debere* in complement clauses with *ut* and in an accusative with infinitive (henceforth *AcI*) with

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[1] I would like to express my sincere thanks to an anonymous reviewer for providing useful comments that contributed to the final version of the paper.

[2] Bolkestein's (1976) use of the terms 'imperative' and 'declarative' is followed in this paper.

an imperative meaning, governed by *verba dicendi, sentiendi* and *cogitandi*, found in Latin texts from the 4th to the 8th centuries. Clauses headed by nouns and adjectives were not examined.[3] The research topic was determined on the basis of the use in Classical Latin, where *ut* clauses governed by these verb classes express an imperative meaning, whereas *AcI* conveys a declarative meaning; after certain verbs *AcI* can also carry an imperative meaning, see BOLKESTEIN (1976: 161ff.). Where necessary, declarative *AcI* are also mentioned.

For the purpose of the current analysis, a *corpus* of texts from the 4th to the 8th centuries was formed with the help of *The electronic Monumenta Germaniae historica* database, in the series *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*. In searching the database, the following queries were entered: *ut + debe*, ut + debu*, debere, debuisse, deberi, ne + debe*, ne + debu*, debet*, debit**. Queries for variants with *-v-* instead of *-b-* did not yield any results.

Debere in Classical Latin

A large number of studies have been devoted to the modal verbs in Latin texts. For instance, NÚÑEZ (1991: 64) and MAGNI (2010: 208) argue that Latin modal verbs show the ability to express both a deontic and an epistemic meaning.[4] In a similar vein, BOLKESTEIN (1980: 1) focuses on the expressions of necessity and obligation, and provides us with an analysis of a gerundive construction with the verb *esse*. Distinguishing between the deontic and epistemic meaning,[5] these authors also offer some further categorizations. NÚÑEZ (1991: 41) adds a radical meaning, which – together with the deontic meaning – stands in opposition to the epistemic meaning. He uses the example of the Spanish verb *deber* 'to have to, to be obligated', and states that "…no se trata tanto de una imposición de obligaciones como del reconocimiento de la existencia de una norma". In turn, BOLKESTEIN

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3   Clauses governed by matrix predicates like *consilium dare* 'to give advice' were excluded from the corpus, because the noun *consilium* 'advice' can govern a subordinate clause. In contrast, matrix predicates like *ponere in corde suo* 'to invite (him), lead (him) to the decision/intention, put into (his) mind' were included, because the phrase *in corde suo* by itself cannot govern a subordinate clause.

4   Despite the different views of the researchers working in this area, the deontic meaning can be understood as connected with the concepts of necessity or possibility, whereas the epistemic meaning is related to the speaker's attitude towards the content of the clause, and to the degree of probability.

5   BOLKESTEIN (1980: 2 et passim) uses the term *inferential meaning*.

(1980: 2 et passim) only distinguishes between the epistemic and the deontic meaning, but points out that the deontic *debere* does not always need to be directive.[6]

In her study of the diachronic evolution of Latin modal verbs, MAGNI (2010: 223) suggests that modality viewed only as a necessity or possibility does not cover other important modal meanings, such as volition and intention, which are "in intermediate position between possibility and necessity". The development of the meaning of intention can be exemplified by the verb *oportet.*[7]

According to ORLANDINI (1998: 255ff.), *debere* can have both a "weak" meaning in the sense of 'to have permission to do something, to be allowed to' and a "strong" meaning expressing necessity. The latter is usually used in prescriptive contexts and the former in "phrases négatives ou de sens négatif ou, plus généralement, dans des contextes non-assertifs".[8] FRUYT and ORLANDINI (2003: 702ff.) expand on this view and describe the deontic modality as a scale from permission (expressed by the verbs *posse, licet,* and *debere*) to obligation. In their view, the verb *debere* in non-declarative sentences expressing doubt "…peut aussi exprimer le judgement du locuteur à propos de ce qui est convenable, souhaitable, bon, bien adapté". In declarative sentences, in contrast, the verb *debere* expresses a strong obligation.[9] The negation of the verb can lead to the neutralization of its meanings from 'to be allowed to' to 'to have to', and thus to the prohibition 'not to be allowed to' *(non possum, non debeo, non licet, nequeo)*, a meaning which can be found in both legal and non-legal contexts.[10] This semantic feature of permission is mentioned in *Thesaurus linguae Latinae (TLL),*[11] where it is indicated that *debere* means *"sensu debilitato, fere i. q. posse vel licere"* and that *"plerumque additur negatio"*.

Finally, the meaning of *debere* is reflected in the restrictions on its distribution in complement clauses. In imperative clauses, neither deontic modal verbs[12] nor epistemic modal verbs and other expressions (e.g. adverbs) indicating speaker's attitude towards the truth of a statement can be used.[13]

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[6]   BOLKESTEIN (1980: 122).

[7]   See MAGNI (2010: 224–226).

[8]   ORLANDINI (1998: 256).

[9]   FRUYT – ORLANDINI (2003: 704).

[10]   Ibid.

[11]   *TLL,* s. v. *debeo,* V/1, 100, 8–9.

[12]   See BOLKESTEIN (1980: 43).

[13]   See BOLKESTEIN (1976: 292, 1980: 43, 1996: 125–126).

Debere in Late Latin

BONNET (1890: 691ff.) analyses the use of the verb *debere* in different types of subjunctive subordinate clauses found in the work of Gregory of Tours, suggesting that the verb *debere* can be viewed in these texts as an analytic device used to express the same meaning as the Classical Latin subjunctive does.[14] In these cases, the original meaning of the verb seems to have been almost lost, possibly because of the "weakening" of the value of the subjunctive mood and a consequent need for explicitness. Apart from *ut* clauses, BONNET also mentions infinitive constructions with pleonastic *debere*, where – instead of *ut* clauses – the verb *debere* is used to emphasize the purpose-oriented meaning of the infinitive. It remains unclear, however, whether *debere* only reinforces the meaning of the subjunctive, or whether there can be other reasons for its use in this context.

The verb *debere* in subjunctive complement clauses with *ut* can also be found in other authors from the period, which were included in the corpus analysed in this study. These texts provided a large number of subjunctive *ut* clauses without the verb *debere*. The verb *debere* is always used in a subjunctive in *ut* clauses and its tense corresponds to the rule of *consecutio temporum*. An imperfect subjunctive is used for simultaneity with a past tense or historical present. The pluperfect subjunctive occurs four times in my corpus. The present subjunctive after a secondary tense appears three times. Thus, it does not seem likely that the verb *debere* was used only because of "trouble apporté dans l'emploi des modes".[15]

The analysed instances of the verb *debere* and of the matrix verb of the main clause do not present many variant readings. Out of the total number of 87 instances (including *ut* clauses, all *AcI,* and two *quod* clauses as well), the verb *debere* alternates with a subjunctive of a full verb or a different verb only four times. Additionally, I noted infinitive constructions with *debere* instead of an *ut* clause four times and a subjunctive instead of an infinitive only once. My data show that the use of the verb *debere* in complement *ut* clauses is quite common in Late Latin.

A problem closely related to the spread of *debere* in complement clauses is that of the form of the clauses used, i. e. whether it is an *AcI* or an *ut* clause, and their declarative or imperative value. In Latin, there is no one-to-one correlation between the form and meaning of complement clauses. BOLKESTEIN (1976: 161ff.), in fact, classified *verba dicendi* into three groups according to whether they can govern 1/ imperative *(ut)* and declar-

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14   He provides the following examples: Greg. Tur. *Hist.* 2, 32; 5, 14; 4, 20; and 5, 20.
15   BONNET (1890: 692).

ative clauses (*AcI*); 2/ only imperative clauses (*ut* and *AcI* are without a difference in meaning); or 3/ only declarative clauses *(AcI)*. She claims[16] that "SD's (= subordinating devices), at least in the case of class I verb, do carry meaning". However, Bolkestein[17] further points out that "in post-classical Latin the SD *ut* + subjunctive is also found for declarative clauses governed by class (I) verbs", suggesting[18] that *hortari* probably belongs to this group as early as in Silver Latin.

SZNAJDER (1995) focuses on constructions of verbs that can govern both *AcI* and *ut* clauses. In contrast to Bolkestein, she does not postulate transitions between groups, but emphasizes[19] the influence of context on the interpretation of a sentence. Sznajder provides several examples which prove the importance of context and semantics of elements found in the main and subordinate clauses. For example, *AcI* can take on an imperative meaning if the verb is in a gerundive form.[20] The same principle can be rarely applied to *ut* clauses. The form of the subordinate clause thus seems to be a factor of a lesser importance than meaning of the matrix verb and context.[21] Sznajder gives the following example of an *AcI* with an imperative meaning: *Spectare oliveta in favonium… censet* (PLIN. *nat.* 15, 21).

Both parameters, the context and the meaning of the matrix verb, are relevant for the declarative or imperative interpretation of a subordinate clause occurring in my corpus. As illustrated in example (1) below, the meaning of the matrix verb leads to a declarative interpretation of the clause; the verb *debere* has an epistemic value, which fits in declarative clauses.

(1)　*Cumque omnes eum sic cernerent graviter cruentatum, crediderunt, ut ob hoc emittere deberet spiritum*. (*Pass. Leud.* 30)

In the next section, I will go through the collected material and discuss the three categories of matrix verbs distinguished by BOLKESTEIN (1976). Where it is useful, verbs within these categories will be grouped according to the classification of complement *ut* clauses proposed by PANCHÓN (2003: 366ff.).

16　BOLKESTEIN (1976: 168).
17　Ibid., p. 162.
18　Ibid., p. 299.
19　SZNAJDER (1995: 291).
20　Ibid., p. 289.
21　Ibid., p. 290.

Verbs governing declarative clauses (group III)

Apart from the *ut* clause in (1), declarative *ut* clauses are also found after other verbs or verb classes governing only *AcI* in Classical Latin. It is the case of verbs of promising, for example, which are classified by BOLKESTEIN (1976: 164) as verbs governing only declarative clauses. The author argues, however, that these verbs differ from other verbs of the same class, among other things, in that there are restrictions on the tense of the infinitive used in *AcI*. She claims that "these restrictions are different from those resting on imperative clauses".[22] PANCHÓN (2003: 400) classifies these verbs as *verba statuendi* (i.e. verbs governing *AcI* and *ut* clauses) and specifies that they "peuvent aussi dénoter des actes commissifs-directifs". In the case of the verb *promittere* 'to promise', the *TLL* notes instances of *ut* and *ne* clauses[23] and quotes, for example, Petronius, *Anthologia Latina,* and *Vetus Latina* in this regard. I noted several examples of verbs of promising in (2) and (3) below. Instances of *AcI* and *ut* clauses without the verb *debere* also occur in my corpus.[24]

> (2)   *...vovitque, ut per singulos menses una ebdomada ad sanctum templum debeat deservire.* (GREG. TUR. *Mart*. 3, 56)

> (3)   *Remistanius (...) promisit, ut semper fidelis tam praedicto rege quam et filios suos omni tempore esse deberet.* (FREDEG. *Chron. cont.* 45)

Other verbs governing declarative *ut* clauses found in my corpus were *confidere* 'to trust' (5), *suspicari* 'to imagine, infer' and *fingere* 'to simulate' (7), and predicates expressing intention (4), (6) *(animo disponere, in corde defigere…)*. Additionally, a declarative *ut* clause after the verb *confidere* can be found as early as in Pliny's work.[25]

> (4)   *...insederat enim animis, ut locum venerabilis sepulchri visitare deberem.* (GREG. TUR. *Mart*. 1, 32)

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22   Ibid., p. 296.

23   *TLL,* s. v. *promitto,* X/2, 1875, 1–13.

24   For an example of an *AcI,* see Greg. Tur. *Hist.* 2, 32; for an example of an *ut* clause, see *Pass. Sig.* 8.

25   See *TLL,* s. v. *confido,* IV, 209, 64–66.

(5)   *Sed confido de vestra opima atque exuberantissima caritate, ut me non oblivisci debeatis,…* (*Pass. Leud.* 1)

(6)   *Tamen defixit in corde suo, ut illo et illo die (…) deberet ambulare.* (*Pass. Praeiect.* 37)

(7)   *…pergite ad Sighibertum et simulantes fingite, ut eum regem levare debeatis super vos, eumque interficite.* (*Lib. hist. Franc., rec. A* 32)

Interpretation of the verb *debere* is conditioned by context and a range along the scale of the possible meanings of the verb. A choice of one interpretation thus does not necessarily exclude other interpretations. In (7), for instance, the verb *debere* expresses an intention, while *debere* in (4) may express what is considered to be desirable and appropriate.

In Late Latin texts, use of declarative *quod* or *quia* clauses instead of *AcI* can be expected. Nevertheless, only two instances of a *quod* clause with *debere* occur in my corpus. Their matrix verbs *(audire, cognoscere)* belong to group III and the verb *debere* has epistemic meaning in one case and deontic in the other.

Verbs governing declarative and imperative clauses (group I)

Late Latin verbs that can govern both declarative *(AcI)* and imperative clauses *(ut)* seem to be open to a greater range of interpretations since a correspondence between the formal device and the meaning is not as close as in Classical Latin. The *ut* clause can, for instance, be viewed as holding an intermediate position between a declarative and an imperative clause. The verb *debere* can express the existence of obligation, appropriateness, or necessity, with the aim to make the addressee act, and as such it can represent a certain form of exhortation or appeal to take an action. This is what SZNAJDER (1995: 289) suggests in the case of the *AcI* construction after the verb *censere* 'to think, recommend, suppose', where the use of a future infinitive or a gerundive construction yields an imperative meaning of the clause. It is possible that the choice of the *ut* clause, rather than *AcI*, emphasizes the imperative meaning that is usually present in *ut* clauses.

Only two instances of the *ut* clause after *verba dicendi* in a narrower sense,[26] namely *scribere* 'to write' (8) and *adclamare* 'to protest' were iden-

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[26]   I.e. *ait, inquit, dicere, respondere, nuntiare, scribere, clamare, adclamare,* and *revelare.*

tified in the present study. Perhaps the verb *revelare* 'to reveal, to notify' could be also added to this group of matrix verbs. Such a use of *debere* is excluded in Classical Latin (apart from special situations such as (25)).

(8)   *...scripsistis per vestram epistolam, ut in loco vestro alium debere-mus elegere successorem... (V. Arn.* 16)

These cases, however, present variant readings: the matrix verb is substi-tuted (*scribere* is substituted by *petere*), the *ut* clause replaced by the infin-itive construction (after the verb *adclamare*) or the verb *debere* omitted in the subordinate clause (after the verb *revelare*). There was also an instance of a variant reading of the subjunctive *deberet* instead of an infinitive after matrix verb *clamare* 'to shout',[27] creating a mixed construction of an accu-sative with a subjunctive. Apart from this instance, there were nine sentenc-es with *AcI* governed by *verba dicendi* in a narrower sense. These sentences represent typical examples of the clause with a declarative meaning, such as that presented in (9).

(9)   *...nuntiavit (...) quam primum fidei catholicae debere succurri.* (CONST. *V. Germ.* 12)

In this regard, *verba dicendi* in a narrower sense differ from other verbs, which mostly govern an *ut* clause, included by Bolkestein in the first group. It is the case of verbs with the meaning of *monere* 'to remind, tell, rec-ommend' (10), *praecipere* 'to advise, recommend' (11), and *decernere* 'to decide' (12) which emphasize the "manipulation" of the addressee. The meaning of the matrix verb in combination with *ut* clauses with such ma-trix verbs mostly receive an imperative interpretation in both Classical and Late Latin. These cases may be considered as instances of the pleonastic *debere*. It can be supposed that the meaning of the verb *debere* has not been completely lost. The verb *debere* may to some extent weaken the directive force of an utterance, make an order less strict, and function as an appeal to take an action. Some of these sentences can be interpreted in a similar way as some instances of *AcI* governed by *verba dicendi* in a narrower sense, see (13).

There are no instances of *AcI* after the verb *praecipere* and only one instance after the verb *decernere* (14). Contrary to instances of the verb *decernere* governing an *ut* clause, the verb *debere* in (14) expresses obliga-tion that is not associated with an actual situation or addressee. There is one

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27   *V. Aman.* 18.

example of the infinitive *debere* after the verb *monere*.[28] It seems, however, that its use may be connected with the complicated sentence structure.

(10) *...iudices locorum terribiliter commonens, ut ipsos cum armatis custodire debeant,...* (GREG. TUR. *Hist.* 5, 20)

(11) *Precipis itaque, ut sancta illa opera (...) litterarum paginis in processu temporis mandare debeam...* (*V. Amat.* 4, 1)

(12) *Cumque hisdem Dotto decrevisset, ut eum patibulo deberent adfigi,...* (*V. Aman.* 14)

(13) *Sed beatus ille vir (...) respondit, eam illi potius debere referre gratias, cuius virtus et pietas omnibus merentibus et lamentantibus adesse consuevit.* (CYPR. *V. Caes.* 1, 40)

(14) *Antunius decernit Quintilem mensem Iulium debere dicere, quia in eo fuisset natus.* (FREDEG. 2, 32).

Verba hortandi can also be mentioned in this connection, as illustrated in (15).

(15) *Tunc hortabatur fratres suos, ut ibidem consistere deberent.* (BOBOL. *V. Germ.* 8)

LAKOFF (1968: 172–173) distinguishes between *[imp]* and *[hort]* verbs, assigning the meaning of 'to urge, to advise, to suggest' to *[hort]* verbs and claiming that the use of *[hort]* verbs is "slightly less restricted" than that of *[imp]* verbs. This distinction corresponds with an observation made by BOLKESTEIN (1976: 299–300), concerning the convergence between *verba hortandi* and verbs like *dicere*. The same pattern can be observed in the case of the verb *invitare* 'to urge, to invite'.

Within the verbs of the first group, predicates expressing a kind of "manipulation" of an addressee tend to be followed by *ut* clauses and *verba dicendi* in a narrower sense by *AcI*. In some cases, however, the verb *debere* can be perceived as expressing a similar meaning (exhortation, appeal to take an action), irrespective of whether it occurs in an *ut* clause or an *AcI*. A decisive role seems to be played by meanings of the verbs involved in a sentence and by its broader context.

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28   MESS., STEPH. *V. Caes.* 2, 22.

Verbs governing imperative clauses (group II)

Most instances of the verb *debere* in *ut* clauses were found after verbs of requesting and asking (24 instances out of 87). The verb *iubere* 'to order' was found only three times in this regard.

This varied frequency of use can be explained by less directive force of the verbs of requesting, which may make them closer to *verba hortandi*. Although a purely redundant use of *debere* cannot be excluded, other interpretations may be offered. In some cases, the verb *debere* seems to express a polite request, when used in combination with a verb of requesting or asking as it is the case in examples (16) – (18) below. The verb *debere* may be interpreted in a similar way as the verb *dignari*, used predominantly in *ut* clauses after verbs of requesting in my corpus. In these cases, the subject of the matrix verb (which fulfils the role of agent at the same time) is not coreferent with the subject of the verb *debere*. *Debere* in (18) may be interpreted as polite request as well because the subjects are coreferent, but the subject of *rogatur* is not an agent.

(16) *… coepit (…) Dei auxilium inplorare, ut (…) ipse* (= Deus) *hoc ei demonstrare deberet.* (*Pass. Praeiect.* 34)

(17) *Cumque repertus fuisset, ut ad monasterium remeare deberet, deposcunt, quia abbas fratresque anxii merentesque essent pro illo…* (*V. Amat.* 3)

(18) *Rogatur servus Dei a principe, ut ad suam deberet, ut sanctum decet, praesentiam ambulare.* (*Pass. Desid.* 8)

Only two instances of the coreference between subject (and agent) of the matrix verb and subject of the verb *debere* were found, see (19). These cases cannot be interpreted as expressing polite request, but the verb *debere* may be interpreted as expressing permission.

(19) *…quem (…) multis precibus coram fratribus precabatur, ut deberet fratres vel ecclesiam, quae eum educaverat, visitare.* (*V. Acaun.* 5)

The verb *debere* can be perceived as expressing exhortation, appropriateness, or an action that should be done if it is licensed by the context. Father's request to his ill daughter in (20) can serve as an example. The same interpretation of the verb *debere* is possible in (17). Due to the context and

the use of a passive infinitive after the verb *debere*, example (21) may most probably be interpreted as exhortation or appeal.

(20) *...prefatus genitor postulat filiam, ut ad limina martiris cum nimia humilitate deberet accedere.* (*Pass. Desid.* 11)

(21) *...supplicarent abbati, ut* (ille) *deberet a cellario removeri...* (CYPR. *V. Caes.* 1, 6)

The verb *debere* is found also in clauses governed by verbs of compelling, classified by LAKOFF (1968: 172–173) as *verba hortandi*, by BOLKESTEIN (1976: 164) as imperative verbs and by PANCHÓN (2003: 380–381) as a special class labelled *verba cogendi*. Similarly to the cases presented above, the verb *debere* can be interpreted as expressing polite request, exhortation, appropriateness, or an action considered by the speaker to be right and proper, see (22). In example (23) below, the meaning of an exhortation is emphasized by the fact that the referent of the object *illum* is included within the referents pointed to by the subject (and agent) of the subordinate clause, which is evident from the context.

(22) *Ipse quoque pontifex cum a multis crebrius urgueretur, ut ad occursum Chariberthi regis deberet accedere...* (GREG. TUR. *glor. conf.* 19)

(23) *...illi cum vociferatione caeperunt cogere illum, ut festinanter iterare deberent.* (*V. Goar.* 5)

These examples demonstrate that the verb *debere* in imperative clauses does not need to be interpreted only as a semantically redundant device, used to reinforce the meaning of a subjunctive. This seems to be true even in cases, where the verb *debere* is coordinated with a verb in a simple subjunctive form (in total, I found five such instances, once a verb in a subjunctive is connected asyndetically). For example, in (24), the verb *debere* can be interpreted as expressing exhortation, "manipulation", or appeal to take an action, which is put in contrast with an action in a negative clause introduced by *ne*.

(24) *Cumque mater eius contra eam valde frenderet petiretque ab ea, ne humiliaret diutius nobile genus, sed, demisso servo, similem sibi de genere regio (...) deberet accipere...* (GREG. TUR. *Hist.* 3, 31)

It appears that the restrictions applied on the use of modal verbs in some types of clauses are not as important as the necessity of an explicit expression of certain semantic features. This "violation" of restrictions can also be found in Cicero's work, albeit marginally. The following example, where two modal verbs are used to emphasize obligation and necessity and to contrast a different attitude towards Tauromenitans and Mamertines, illustrates the case well.

(25) *Si eiusmodi esse haec duo foedera duorum populorum iudices doceo, ut Tauromenitanis nominatim cautum et exceptum sit foedere* **ne** *navem dare* **debeant**, *Mamertinis in ipso foedere sanctum atque praescriptum sit,* **ut** *navem dare* **necesse sit**,... (Cɪc. *Verr.* II 5, 50)

Since the first clause is introduced by the conjunction *ne*, it cannot be considered a declarative clause. The *ut* clause governed by *praescribere* 'to prescribe' does not usually have a declarative meaning in Classical Latin. Since in Cicero's case ignorance or negligence in terms of the use of modal verbs is unlikely, the contrast between these clauses suggests that there is an intention of the author at play. Thus, the necessity of an explicit expression of some semantic features seems to be more important than restrictions which are otherwise obeyed. This corresponds to the observations made by Sznajder (see above). In other words, although Late Latin texts are clearly very different from Cicero's work, there is an indication that at least some of the Late Latin authors may have been using the verb *debere* intentionally.

The use of the verb *debere* in imperative *ut* clauses or imperative *AcI* is likely to be influenced by other factors as well. Its use generally increases in the typically prescriptive contexts in Late Latin texts of Christian writers. Also, a weaker relationship between the main verb and a subordinate clause can contribute to the necessity of expressing obligation explicitly. The weaker relationship can occur in clauses preceding the main clause (six times in my corpus), because they can have a higher degree of independence and also in sentences where a relatively large amount of lexical material is inserted between the conjunction and the verb *debere*. In this way, the verb *debere* was probably used to reinforce the imperative meaning and to facilitate an understanding of complicated sentences. However, a subjunctive without any reinforcement was also commonly used in such sentences. Moreover, the verb *debere* also occurs in very short sentences. Thus, the insertion of a rich lexical material between the conjunction and *debere* may not represent a universal explication of the phenomenon under

discussion, but rather be considered as a supporting factor. The same holds for complex sentences, where there is no neat boundary between a direct and an indirect speech.[29]

Conclusions

The results of the present analysis can be summarized as follows:

- The choice between an *ut* clause or an *AcI* after certain types of verbs does not need to relate to either an imperative or a declarative meaning of a clause. Especially in the case of *ut* clauses, it is apparent that – in contrast to the standard classical use – they can have a declarative meaning. The boundary between declarative and imperative sentences is not always clear in Late Latin.
- In imperative clauses, the verb *debere* can, among other functions, explicitly express exhortation, polite request, appropriateness, appeal to take an action, or "manipulation" of an addressee. The main function of the verb *debere* thus does not seem to lie only in the pleonastic reinforcement of a subjunctive. This function of the verb cannot be excluded either, however.
- The meaning of the matrix verb and a broader context are very important factors for the meaning of *debere* and the whole sentence; the verb *debere* can take on a variety of meanings.
- Explicit expressions of meaning can lead to a violation of restrictions also in Classical Latin, but this case is rather exceptional.
- *AcI* tends to be used after *verba dicendi* in a narrower sense. On the other hand, the verbs that focus on the "manipulation of the addressee" often govern *ut* clauses. The verb *debere* after verbs of promising is found only in *ut* clauses.
- An increased use of the verb *debere* in Late Latin texts can be also influenced by other factors, such as its use in other types of sentences, a complicated sentence structure, and unclear boundaries between a direct and an indirect speech.

In conclusion, the use of *debere* in imperative complement *ut* clauses and in *AcI* is highly likely explicable by the fact that the use of subordinating devices is less systematic in Late Latin than it is the case in Classical Latin. What seems to be more important is the context, the meaning of matrix verbs and an explicit expression of a modal meaning.

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[29]   See BONNET (1890: 665), for his discussion on the use of the conjunction *quia*.

Since this research focused on the use of *debere* in a fairly limited context, it is recommended that further research in the area attempts at offering a systematic view of the use of complement clauses (including clauses without *debere*) in Late Latin texts as well as the verb *debere* in other types of sentences.

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Abbreviations[30]

BOBOL. *V. Germ.*	BOBOLENUS, *Vita S. Germani abb. Grandivallensis*
CONST. *V. Germ.*	CONSTANTIUS, *Vita Germani ep. Autissiodorensis*
CYPR. *V. Caes.*	CYPRIANUS, *Vita Caesarii*
FREDEG.	FREDEGARIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *Chronicarum libri IV*
FREDEG. *Chron. cont.*	FREDEGARIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *Chronicarum continuationes*
MESS., Steph. *V. Caes.*	MESSIANUS, STEPHANUS, *Vita Caesarii*
Pass. Desid.	*Passio Desiderii ep. Viennensis*
Pass. Leud.	*Passio Leudegarii ep. Augustodunensis I*
Pass. Praeiect.	*Passio Praeiecti ep. et mart. Arverni*
Pass. Sig.	*Passio s. Sigismundi regis*
Lib. hist. Franc., rec. A	*Liber Historiae Francorum. Recensio A*
V. Acaun.	*Vita sanctorum abbatum Acaunensium*
V. Aman.	*Vita Amandi ep. I*
V. Amat.	*Vita Amati abb. Habendensis*
V. Arn.	*Vita s. Arnulfi*
V. Austr.	*Vita Austrigisili ep. Biturigi*
V. Elig.	*Vita Eligii ep. Noviomagensis*
V. Goar.	*Vita Goaris conf. Rhenani*

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30   Abbreviations not listed in *TLL*.

APPENDIX

A survey of verbs, the types of construction they govern, and their frequency in the analysed texts.

Matrix verb	ut	AcI	quod	Matrix verb	ut	AcI	quod
ait		1		inplorare	1		
inquit		1		obtestari	1		
dicere		2		coniurare	1		
respondere		2		cogere	1		
nuntiare		2		urguere	1		
adclamare, clamare	1	1		iniungere	1		
scribere	1	1		instare	1		
revelare	1			instigare	1		
monere, admonere, com-monere	4	1		flectere	1		
praecipere	3			promittere	1		
instruere	1			vovere	1		
perdocere, edocere		2		spondere	1		
suggerere	2			animis insedere	1		
convenire	3			fingere	1		
decernere	3	1		adsimulare	1		
sancire		1		audire		1	1
hortari, cohortari	2			confidere	1		
invitare	1	1		credere	1		
iubere	3			animo disponere	1		
petere	8			in corde defigere, ponere	2		
precari, deprecari	4			suspicari	1		
rogare	3			meminisse	1		
postulare	1			scire		1	
deposcere	1			cognoscere			1
supplicare	1			adserere		2	
Total					65	20	2

RESUMÉ

Článek se zabývá použitím slovesa *debere* v žádacích obsahových větách, které je doloženo v pozdně latinských textech z 4.–8. století. Zkoumají se faktory, které by mohly vysvětlovat porušení restrikcí na používání modálních sloves v tomto typu vět. Lze pozorovat, že volba formálních prostředků (volba vedlejší věty s *ut* nebo akuzativu s infinitivem) je méně významná než v klasické latině. Hranice mezi žádacími a oznamovacími

větami není vždy přesně vymezena. Pro interpretaci slovesa *debere* i celé věty je důležitý zejména kontext, na jehož základě může sloveso *debere* nabývat různých významů. Může vyjadřovat úmysl, zdvořilou žádost, apel, pobídku, náležitost atd. Způsob použití slovesa *debere* naznačuje, že neslouží pouze jako prostředek pro posílení konjunktivu či infinitivu. Kromě argumentů vycházejících ze zkoumaných textů lze poukázat na souvislost s jedním místem z Ciceronova díla, kde je modální sloveso použito v žádací větě.