PEROTTI'S USE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE:

Semantic Ornamentation in the Latin *Genus Sublime*

By Camilla Plesner Horster

An examination of Perotti's moods and tenses in subordinate clauses with quoniam, dum, si, cum, quamquam, *and* postquam *and a comparison to Cicero's linguistic practice reveal that Perotti sometimes uses the subjunctive where Cicero does not, and that Perotti varies the choice of tense within the subjunctive clauses more than Cicero does, the latter occasionally causing Perotti to choose a tense that breaks with the classical Latin sequence of tenses. These findings indicate that Perotti's use of the subjunctive – especially frequent within the richly varied language of the* genus sublime *– serves linguistic variation and expression rather than grammatical, obligatory rules.*

Introduction

This article addresses some aspects of Niccolò Perotti's Latin syntax with the aim of pointing out parts of neo-Latin syntax that may reveal interesting circumstances in the field of tension between neo-Latin, classical Latin, and the vernaculars, and the development of a prestige language among non-native speakers.

The focus of this investigation will be Perotti's use of the subjunctive mood in subordinate clauses. In classical Latin, the use of mood and tense, especially of the subjunctive tenses, is to some degree subject to grammatical systems, such as the sequence of tenses.[1] An important difference between classical Latin and neo-Latin may be that most writers of classical Latin were native speakers of the language, which had developed naturally through centuries of usage, while writers of neo-Latin all learned Latin as a

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[1] In this article I refer to the main rule governing the sequence of tenses: that subjunctive verbs in subordinate clauses following a verb of a primary tense (mainly present and future tenses) are in either the present or the perfect subjunctive; verbs in clauses subordinate to secondary tenses (mainly preterite tenses) are in either the imperfect or the pluperfect subjunctive (see Hofmann & Szantyr 1965, §297,II,B).

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language that had ceased to function as a native language centuries before. The grammarians contemporary with the writers of ancient Latin did not describe the system of the sequence of tenses; according to W. Keith Percival, it was probably not identified in classical Latin until the nineteenth century.[2]

Neither were grammatical systems such as a sequence of tenses – or other rules for the use of tenses or moods to be applied to the Latin language in general – apparent in the grammars of the Renaissance. For instance, in his grammatical works *Rudimenta Grammatices* and *Cornu Copiae*, Perotti mentions rules that usually describe the constructions following individual words – for instance, verbs or conjunctions governing the subjunctive or the indicative – and often the exact construction is not described in grammatical terms but is to be deduced from examples cited from the classical authors or composed by Perotti himself.[3] However, the verbal syntax in Renaissance as well as medieval grammars mainly treats questions concerning the valence of verbs and what cases they govern.[4]

Thus, neither the grammatical tradition in which Perotti himself was taught Latin, nor his own grammatical works mention these larger scale systems of the usage of moods and tenses like the one that is used for teaching Latin syntax to present-day students of Classics. In the Latin language of Perotti, then, we should not expect to find a usage of tense and mood that corresponds completely to the grammatical systems identified by modern research – helped, for instance, by easier access to classical Latin texts – though Perotti does his best to imitate classical Latin. This part of his language will probably rather depend on the Renaissance humanist's imitative reading of many classical and contemporary Latin *sententiae* (sentences); that is, reading Latin texts with the purpose of writing down and memorizing good *sententiae* to use in one's own Latin writing.[5]

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[2] I would like to thank W. Keith Percival for valuable advice in this matter. Though the term *consecutio temporum* is perhaps medieval (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965, §297,II,B,), the concept of the sequence of tenses does not seem to remarkably gain acceptance until later.

[3] E.g. Perotti 1989–2001 11,2 vol. 5,74 on the conjunction *dum*: "DUM. Quando. Dum enim aliquando aduerbium temporis est et pro quando accipitur. Virgilius: *Multa quoque et bello passus dum conderet urbem*, hoc est quando condebat Troiam quam Aeneas, ut primum in Italiam uenit, aedificauit: dum enim hoc faceret, ob uulneratum regium ceruum commota sunt bella. Aliquando pro donec, ut hoc ipso loco, si per urbem Laurolauinium intelligamus: tam diu enim dimicauit, donec ad tempus faciendae ciuitatis ueniret. Non nunquam pro dummodo, ut in eodem uersu, si per urbem accipiamus Romam, ut sit sensus: multa passus dummodo conderet urbem. Quod si cum praeterito subiunctiui iungatur significat postquam. Martialis: *Audieris dum grande sophos*. Hoc est postquam audieris.

[4] On the grammatical tradition, see, e.g., Percival 1981, 2004; Black 2001; Taylor 1987.

[5] As suggested in, e.g., Pade 2005.

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Since the authors of both classical and neo-Latin were not taught grammatical rules concerning the sequence of tenses, the differences in the ways the tenses of the subjunctive mood are used probably do not result from different meta-linguistic skills, the actual grammatical knowledge in the authors' respective time periods. Rather they may be caused by the different contexts of the languages:

1. Classical Latin was developed gradually as a natural language, the written Latin being influenced by the spoken; neo-Latin was developed intentionally under the influence of classical as well as medieval and scholastic Latin.

2. Latin is the mother tongue of most writers of classical Latin; it is a second language for most writers of neo-Latin, which may result in vernacular influence on neo-Latin.[6]

Preliminary observations and methodology

When I first read Perotti's letter to Lorenzo Valla of December 1453,[7] I became aware of a change in style following Perotti's words "Sed satis est iocorum, nunc serio loquar" (But that is enough small talk, now I shall speak seriously). After these words, the sentences become longer, more complex, and more varied. The increased variation is evident in, for instance, the use of many different clause types and of both the indicative and the subjunctive mood. The distribution of clause types in the two parts of the letter is shown in Illustration 1. Furthermore, in the first part of the letter only 7% of the finite verbs are in the subjunctive mood; in the second part, 44%.[8] It must be stressed that these numbers are only based on a single letter. However, the difference in style is conspicuous enough to make us consider whether these elements – variation in clause types and with the subjunctive – are typical for what Perotti would consider to be high style.

To gain some general knowledge about Perotti's use of the subjunctive, a broader, more systematic study is needed. The following observations are based on my study of six different types of subordinate clauses carried out on a corpus containing c. 38,500 words from Cicero's letters (to Atticus and *Ad Familiares* 1–3) and 52,000 words from letters written by Perotti.[9] The

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[6] Cook 2001.

[7] Davies 1984.

[8] However, some verbs in the future indicative may instead be in the present subjunctive.

[9] On Cicero as Perotti's primary, but not sole, model of style in letters, see Ramminger 2009.

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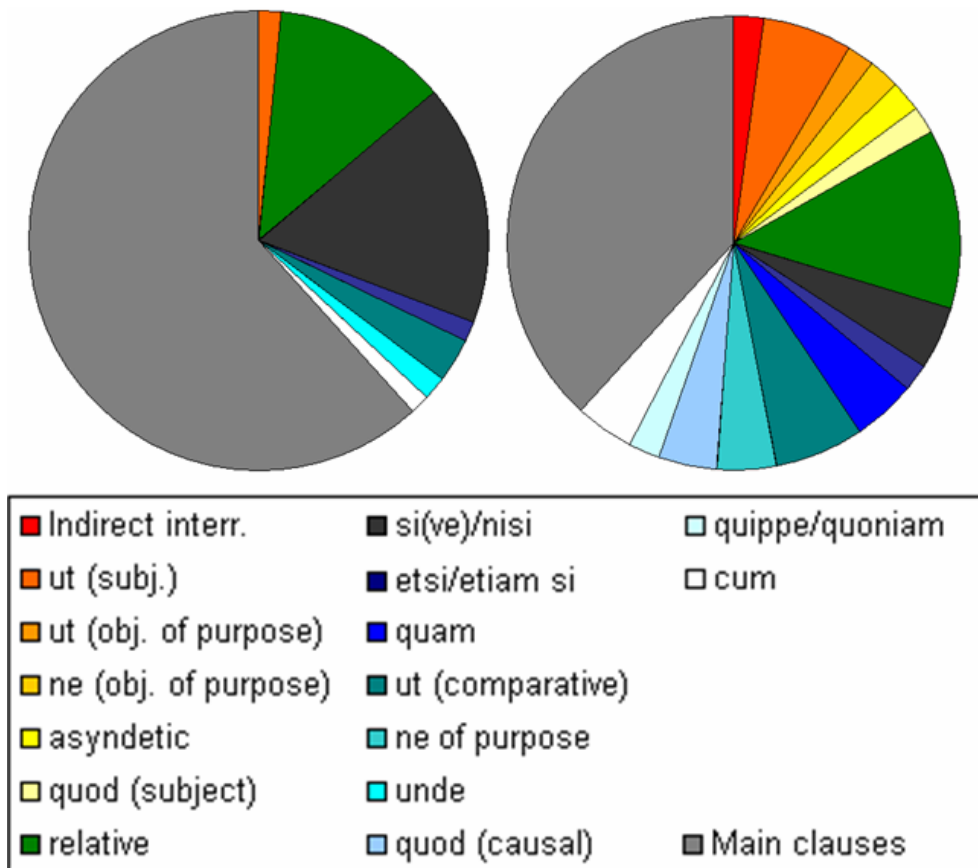| Legend		
■ Indirect interr.	■ si(ve)/nisi	□ quippe/quoniam
■ ut (subj.)	■ etsi/etiam si	□ cum
■ ut (obj. of purpose)	■ quam	
□ ne (obj. of purpose)	■ ut (comparative)	
□ asyndetic	■ ne of purpose	
□ quod (subject)	■ unde	
■ relative	□ quod (causal)	■ Main clauses

Illustration 1. The distribution of clause types in Perotti's letter to Valla, before and after "Sed satis est iocorum, nunc serio loquar."

clause types studied are *quoniam, dum, si, cum, quamquam*, and *postquam*. The method used involved counting appearances of, for instance, a specific word form (tense and mood) in a particular type of subordinate clause, thus creating quantitative data on the similarities and differences between the two authors, perhaps even between the two eras of Latin, classical and Renaissance Latin. For each finite verb counted in a subordinate clause, data pertaining to these three parameters were stored:

1. the type of subordinate clause,

2. the tense and mood of the verb, and

3. the context of the subordinate clause (i.e. is the word subordinate to primary or secondary tenses, to a main clause or a subordinate clause? Is it part of indirect discourse?).

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An examination of the total number of finite verbs in these clause types (Illustration 2) reveals an almost equal relation between the subjunctive (the yellow, orange, and red colors) and the indicative (the blue colors) in the Latin of the two authors. This even holds true if we consider that in the Renaissance the future perfect indicative was considered to be a future subjunctive.[10] The future perfect being considered an indicative verb form, 48 % of Cicero's verbs are indicative, and 42% subjunctive (the rest being ambiguous); 46% of Perotti's are indicative, and 44% subjunctive. In general, I have found that the total sum of verbs and clause types in the corpus of Perotti's and Cicero's letters reveals little difference between the two authors. It therefore seems that Perotti successfully imitates the Latin language of Cicero if we consider the overall picture based on average numbers collected across several different clause types. I will not, now, discuss the differences in the uses of tenses, which are also evident in Illustration 2. Rather, to understand how the two authors use the subjunctive differently, it is necessary to study in detail the use of moods in the different clause types individually.

Finite forms in Cicero's letters   Finite forms in Perotti's letters

- Fut. ind
- Fut.perf. ind
- Pres. ind.
- Imperf. ind.
- Perf. ind.
- Pluperf. ind.
- Pres. subj.
- Imperf. subj.
- Perf. subj.
- Pluperf. subj.
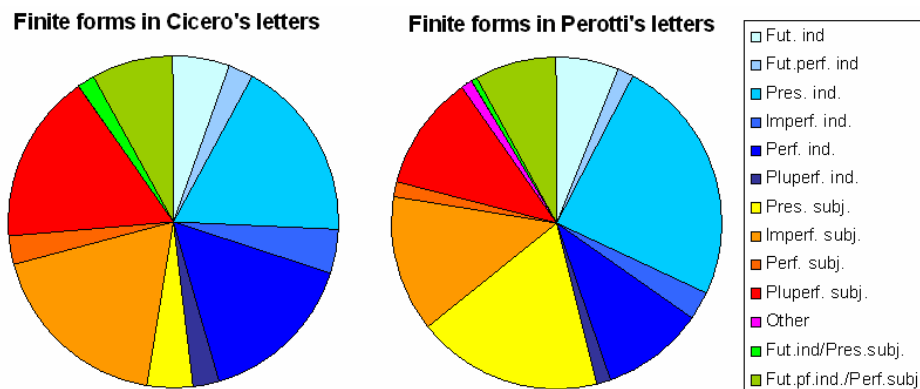- Other
- Fut.ind/Pres.subj.
- Fut.pf.ind./Perf.subj.

Illustration 2. The distribution of verb forms appearing in all the six types of subordinate clauses.

However, it must be stressed that comparing Perotti to Cicero is not an attempt to discover how exact and successful Perotti is in his imitation of classical Latin, as Cicero is not the only classical Latin author whom Perotti finds worth imitating. Furthermore, Perotti does not claim that his Latin should be an exact copy of classical Latin; rather, the Renaissance humanists consider their own Latin language to be of value itself. Thus, we must

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[10] As described by Perotti in the *Rudimenta Grammatices* (see Perotti 2010, 59).

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not conclude that Perotti's Latin is a less correct language than Cicero's, just because, as we shall see, Cicero's use of tenses fits more correctly into the system of the sequence of tenses than Perotti's use of tenses does. For the sequence of tenses is to some degree a description of the Latin usage identified just in Cicero's language. Thus, naturally Cicero's Latin meets the requirements of this system. In establishing whether the two authors respect the sequence of tenses, this paper merely aims to measure the similarities and differences between classical and neo-Latin, not to celebrate one author as the better Latin writer.

The subjunctive in *si*, *cum*, and *quamquam* clauses

In my study of clause types in the letters of Perotti and Cicero, three clause types have proved to be of particular interest concerning the use of the subjunctive mood: clauses with *si* (if), *cum* (when, because, whereas etc.), and *quamquam* (though). Within these particular clause types, Perotti uses a larger variety of verb forms than Cicero. This may be worth pointing out, since in the other three clause types that I have studied – but will not present here – just the opposite is true: Perotti seems to prefer some verb forms within a given clause type, while Cicero uses more different forms for the majority of expressions (i.e., clauses with *postquam* (after), *quoniam* (because) and *dum* (while)). For example, the three most frequent verb forms in Perotti's clauses with *dum* cover 84% of the total number of verbs in his clauses with *dum*, while Cicero's three most used verb forms in clauses with *dum* cover only 67% of all his verbs in these clauses (see Illustration 3a), leaving a larger part of the clauses to variation with the rest of the verb forms for Cicero. As mentioned, this is not the case in the clauses with *si*, *cum*, and *quamquam*. For example, in clauses with *quamquam* Cicero covers 82% of all the verbs with only three verb forms, while Perotti's three most used verb forms cover only 62% (see Illustration 3b), leaving a larger part of Perotti's clauses with *quamquam* free to employ a variety of other grammatical tenses.

Cicero	
1st	22%
+2nd	44%
+3rd	67%
+4th	89%
+5th	100%
+6th	
+7th	

Perotti	
1st	58%
+2nd	77%
+3rd	84%
+4th	90%
+5th	94%
+6th	97%
+7th	100%

Illustration 3a. Clauses with *dum*.

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Cicero			Perotti	
1st	39%		1st	24%
+2nd	64%		+2nd	43%
+3rd	82%		+3rd	62%
+4th	89%		+4th	76%
+5th	93%		+5th	86%
+6th	96%		+6th	90%
+7th	100%		+7th	95%

Illustration 3b. Clauses with *quamquam*.

Illustration 3. The accumulated percentage of verbs covered by the 1st most used verb form, the 1st and 2nd most used verb forms together, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd most used forms together, and so forth.

This difference is most evident in the clauses just mentioned, the difference between the two authors being smaller in the other clause types. Still, because Perotti, when writing high style Latin, seems to prefer a language that uses the subjunctive and is rich in variation, I will now identify the parameters that Perotti varies more than Cicero in the three clause types – *si*, *cum*, and *quamquam* – to uncover the role of the subjunctive mood in Perotti's richly varied verb constructions.

Not all clause types are, of course, equally frequent in Latin texts. In the corpus of texts used for this study, the first 155 appearances of verbs in clauses with *si*[11] are counted in Cicero's letters; the first 157 in Perotti's. The 100 first verbs in clauses with *cum* are counted for each author, and all verbs in clauses with *quamquam*, which is a rarer clause type, representing only 28 verbs in Cicero's letters and 21 in Perotti's. In the following, some results will be presented as percents of these totals of counted verbs, but I must stress that results on clauses with *quamquam* are based on a small number of clauses.

Si

The most noticeable difference between the two authors' uses of verbs in *si* clauses is to be found in their use of the present tense. In these cases, Cicero prefers to use the present indicative, which he uses three times more often than the present subjunctive (19 present indicatives; 6 present subjunctives). Perotti, however, uses the two moods equally (16 present indicatives; 19

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[11] And *siue*, *etsi*, and *etiamsi*.

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present subjunctives). Some of Perotti's present subjunctives may be explained by their subordination to other subjunctive clauses (e.g., unreal and ideal conditions). Nonetheless, 18 of the 70 subjunctive verbs are to be found in *si* clauses subordinate to indicative verbs in primary tenses, in which context Cicero only chooses the subjunctive for four verbs. Thus, Perotti apparently uses the subjunctive mood more frequently in the indicative context, and thus increases variety within his text.

Cum

In the *cum* clauses, Perotti uses more indicative than Cicero, and amongst the indicative verbs he clearly prefers the present tense. Cicero, on the other hand, uses the present and the perfect tenses with almost equal frequency in his indicative *cum* clauses. Thus, in the indicative we see the general picture mentioned above of Perotti preferring a few ways of constructing a clause type, and Cicero varying his language more freely. Among the subjunctive verbs in *cum* clauses, the two authors both use all four normal subjunctive tenses. Cicero prefers the imperfect (42% of the subjunctive verbs) and the pluperfect (45%); Perotti the present (42%), the pluperfect (31%), and the imperfect (20%). That is, within the subjunctive clauses with *cum*, Perotti varies his verb forms more than Cicero. However, contrary to what we found in the *si* clauses, in the *cum* clauses Perotti does not seem to use the subjunctive mood itself as an extra means of variation, as he uses the subjunctive mood less than Cicero, but within the subjunctive verbs in *cum* clauses, Perotti apparently chooses more freely between the tenses than Cicero.

Furthermore, as a result of Perotti's freer use of subjunctive tenses, his Latin does not necessarily follow the classical system for the sequence of tenses in the subjunctive.[12] Not once in the 100 *cum* clauses studied here does Cicero use a tense that breaks the main rule for the sequence of tenses. But in five of the 100 *cum* clauses written by Perotti, the subjunctive verb has a tense that is not usually found in such a context in classical Latin (see the examples beneath). That is, twice he uses the imperfect subjunctive subordinate to a primary tense verb (where the present or perfect is expected according to the sequence of tenses), twice he uses the present subjunctive and once the perfect subjunctive subordinate to a secondary tense verb (where the imperfect or pluperfect is expected). The following two examples will illustrate the occurrence in Perotti's *cum* (=*qum*) clauses of the imperfect subjunctive (*diceretur* and *produceret*) subordinate to a present tense

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[12] As described in note 1.

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indicative (*censendum est*), and the perfect subjunctive (*cognouerim*) subordinate to a perfect indicative (*statui*):

> Hinc igitur et non ab alicuius animalis pelle uocabuli huius rationem petendam esse <u>censendum est</u>, <u>qum</u> praesertim á pelle deriuatiuum pellea, non pellina <u>diceretur</u>, et ll geminans primam syllabam <u>produceret</u>, quae breuis est, ut in uersu ipso apparet:[13]

> Nam <u>qum</u> te, Federice princeps, unum ex iis esse <u>cognouerim</u> qui hanc commentariorum aeditionem maxime concupierunt, <u>statui</u> hoc opus tuo sacratissimo nomini dedicare […][14]

Examples similar to the latter might also be found in classical Latin, since the perfect verb *statui* (I decided) could logically be understood as either an action in the past time (the "usual" meaning of a perfect in Latin) or the present time result of a past action (what is known as the present perfect, meaning "I have decided"). Also in classical Latin, a verb in the perfect tense with the latter meaning is sometimes followed by tenses that are found after primary tenses, as if the perfect had the present tense. This could result in the same "breaking" with the sequence of tenses as we see in this clause by Perotti. However, since there are several occurrences in Perotti's Latin of verbs breaking the normal sequence of tenses – and none in Cicero's *cum* clauses – this impels us to consider the problem further on in this study.

Quamquam

In Cicero's *quamquam* clauses only three of the 28 verbs are subjunctive; one is subordinate to an indicative, one is part of indirect discourse, and one corresponds to an unreal statement. It would therefore appear that Cicero seems only to choose the subjunctive mood if there is some reason for doing so in the context – that is, if the context somehow triggers the subjunctive. In Perotti's clauses, eight or nine (one of them can be either future perfect indicative or perfect subjunctive) out of 21 verbs are subjunctive, all but one being subordinate to an ordinary indicative clause. This, once again, suggests that Perotti gives himself the opportunity to choose freely between the two moods, creating some extra variety in his expressions, which Cicero does not use nearly as much as Perotti in this particular clause type. Furthermore, twice Perotti lets the subjunctive verb in a *quamquam* clause have a tense not corresponding to the classical Latin system of the sequence of

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[13] Perotti 1997.
[14] Perotti 1989–2001, prohoemium, 9.

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tenses. Every verb in Cicero's *quamquam* clauses fits into the ordinary system.

To sum up, these results from the study of clauses with *si*, *cum* and *quamquam* suggest that Perotti does not have a theoretical, meta-linguistic awareness of the system of the sequence of tenses in classical Latin. However, for the majority of verbs, he manages to choose subjunctive tenses corresponding to Ciceronian usage. That is, only 9.7% of his subjunctive verbs in the clauses with *cum* and *quamquam* have a tense that does not fit into the classical system of sequence of tenses (see note 1). If we count in *si* clauses, where breaking the sequence of tenses is more natural, and where Cicero breaks with the sequence of tenses as well, 11.3% of Perotti's and 4.4% of Cicero's verbs do not fit into the main rule for the sequence of tenses. Overall, therefore, Perotti pays remarkably less attention to this grammatical regularity of subjunctive tenses, than does Cicero.

Because these results suggest, in addition, that in certain situations, Perotti uses the possibility of choosing between the indicative and the subjunctive mood significantly more than Cicero, I shall now examine further the relation between the subjunctive mood used as a facultative mood to gain some semantic nuance in an expression and the obligatory subjunctive automatically caused by grammatical systems. This problem can be illustrated best through the example of indirect discourse, where the use of the obligatory, oblique subjunctive mood of the classical Latin is probably most complete and consistent.

The mood in indirect discourse

In classical Latin, as is well known, subordinate clauses in indirect discourse are constructed with a grammatically almost mandatory subjunctive, unless the author wants to stress the certainty of an utterance, pulling it out, as it were, of the reported speech and guaranteeing the statement himself. However, in Perotti's Latin, as we shall see, the indicative seems to be the normal choice of mood in the subordinate clauses of indirect discourse. The subjunctive mood, which is used as well, seems therefore to be chosen to stress some uncertainty in or distance to the utterance (perhaps equal to the use in the same kind of clause when not part of indirect discourse). The following quotation from Perotti's dedicatory letter to his *Cornu Copiae*[15] contains a passage of indirect discourse. In the example, I color all finite verbs in subordinate clauses that are part of the reported speech: If green, the verb is indicative; if red, it is subjunctive.

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[15] Perotti 1989–2001, prohoemium §4.

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Non deerant autem qui eas rationes ita infringerent: nequaquam turpe esse Pontifici emendare atque interpretari eum librum quem non puduit sanctissimum senem Hieronymum non modo lectitare, sed etiam testimonio eius plerunque inter sacras litteras uti. Contemnendum praeterea uulgi iudicium, cuius mos est damnare quae nescit. Nihil apud hunc poetam esse non religiosum et sanctum, reprehendi ab eo obscenitate quadam uerborum uitia, non laudari, ut mos eorum est qui hodie que in templis contionantes uulgo praedicatores uocantur: quod si hunc legere nefarium sit, certe non minus illos audire. Neminem profecto non modo ex Poetis, sed ex omnibus latinae linguae autoribus eligi potuisse in quo tanta esset et uocabulorum et sententiarum et rerum omnium copia, tanta ubertas, tanta uarietas. Postremo breuitatem ibi tantum custodiendam esse ubi causa postulat; alioquin praeuaricationem esse transire quae necessaria et utilia sunt, aut quae inculcare, infigere, repetere oportet cursim breuiter que attingere. Commentarios huiusmodi eo meliores esse quo longiores, ut inter Demosthenis et M. Tulli orationes eae feruntur optimae esse quae maximae. Ob id uero in primis expeti quod non modo multarum rerum cognitionem habeant, sed plane omnem latinam linguam comprehendere uideantur, nec propterea minus probandos si qua in iis ex aliis probatissimis autoribus sumpta sunt, quando quidem optimi quique scriptores idem fecere. Ita denique dispositos esse atque ordinatos ut non sit necesse aliquos perlegere, sed tantum quisque ex iis quaerere possit quantum concupierit,[16] et quod quisque quaesierit facile inuenire.

It is apparent that the indicative is used more than the subjunctive in this passage. For instance, it is used in almost all relative clauses, even those that must be understood as actual parts of the indirect discourse rather than additional, parenthetic information offered by the author. For example: "alioquin praeuaricationem esse transire quae necessaria et utilia sunt…" (for the rest, it was a violation of duty to pass over things that are necessary or useful…). In this example, the relative clause could not be left out of the utterance without leaving it incomplete. But then why is it indicative? In classical Latin, choosing the indicative mood for a clause such as this one would signal to the reader that the clause was really to be understood as a fact and not part of the reported speech. However, the sheer number of indicative verbs

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[16] *Concupierit* and *quaesierit* could be future perfect indicative as well as perfect subjunctive. However, Perotti would consider both subjunctive – that is, future subjunctive and perfect subjunctive (cp. note 10).

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in subordinate clauses of the indirect discourse suggests that the indicative mood is not understood as denoting authorial expression in neo-Latin reported speech as it is in classical Latin. Perotti perhaps sees the indicative mood as the normal means of expression and the subjunctive as a semantic variation dependent not on grammatical rules, but on the meaning he wants to express.

In the quotation above, the reported speech is dependent on a verbum dicendi in a secondary tense (*infringerent*). However, the tenses of the subjunctive verbs do not reflect that. They rather seem to depend on the present tense of the several indicative verbs in the oratio obliqua (e.g., *est* (is), *nescit* (knows not), and *vocantur* (call)), if they are indeed dependent on specific words. Apparently, Perotti does not at all consider the dependency from any superordinate verbs, but chooses the tense that corresponds to the logical relation between the time at which he wrote the letter and the time at which the action that he describes took place. Thus, Perotti's tense system seems more dependent on the actual, logical time than the relative time that is usually expressed in the aspect of the subjunctive verb in the classical sequence of tenses. This is again an example of what we saw in the study of the three clause types above: that Perotti does not strictly follow a system of tenses.

Furthermore, in this example it is also evident how Perotti chooses his grammatical tenses, because we can follow his language through a longer, coherent succession of expressions than in the part of the study that represents his language in graphs and counts. Within this passage, which is actually one grammatically coherent part in which all the minor expressions (accusative and infinitives as well as subordinate clauses) depend on the same verbum dicendi, Perotti expresses many different ideas that are not all logically dependent on each other. Here, he chooses the tenses that fit into the logical sequence of thoughts. Following the grammatical sequence of tenses would lead to grammatical tenses that do not correspond to what is "logically correct." For instance, in the last lines of the example, the clause "ut non <u>sit</u> necesse aliquos perlegere" (that it is not necessary to read through several <commentaries>), which describes one of the positive results of the magnitude of Perotti's commentaries, the *Cornu Copiae*, should have a verb in the imperfect subjunctive (*esset* instead of *sit*). Writing this verb in a preterite tense would be a violation of the logical meaning of a clause that describes the quality of a book that still exists and still has the same qualities at the time of Perotti writing the dedicatory letter and the reader studying it. This violation is often accepted by classical authors because it corresponds to the grammatical systems. But for Perotti, who is apparently not aware of these systems, this would not be logically correct.

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Concluding remarks

What, then, can be said about the difference between the language of Perotti and Cicero, between neo-Latin and classical Latin? Firstly, we can conclude that the history of the Latin language, of grammatical knowledge and the difference in language acquisition of the two authors does result in some differences in their Latin syntax, though Perotti, for instance in the *Rudimenta Grammatices*, explicitly holds up Cicero as the linguistic norm. These are, probably, differences that Perotti is not aware of, since he does not seem to notice the systems – of, for instance, the sequence of tenses and of the oblique subjunctive in indirect discourse – that he violated in both his grammatical works and his written Latin. But what defines Perotti's usage of the subjunctive mood and its tenses? He appears to consider richness in subordinate clauses and in the variation between the moods part of the *genus sublime*, the high style.[17] From this study of the subjunctive mood as a means of semantic variation in three clause types, in which Perotti varies his use of tenses more than Cicero does, it may therefore be concluded that Perotti appears to:

1. use the subjunctive for extra variation even in clause types and contexts in which Cicero uses it sparsely or sticks to the indicative,

2. use the subjunctive tenses more freely than Cicero does, and

3. break the sequence of tenses as a consequence of his freer use of the subjunctive tenses.

The study of the mood and the sequence of tenses in a piece of Perotti's indirect discourse supports these points by indicating that Perotti does not automatically choose a subjunctive verb in the subordinate clauses of the reported speech. Rather, he seems to choose the indicative – if it would also be appropriate outside the indirect discourse – unless he wants to stress the semantic value of the subjunctive mood. That is, he uses the variation in moods for semantic rather than grammatical reasons. The same can be said about his choice of subjunctive tenses, which seems to depend on the logical time instead of the relative time that governs the subjunctive tenses of classical Latin.

This study provides a clue to the differences between neo-Latin and classical Latin, which can probably be found in a part of the language that the

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[17] See Ramminger 2011 (this volume), on examples from Perotti's lexicon of intentional deviation from classical Latin.

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grammatical tradition of the Renaissance was not aware of. The study indicates that the neo-Latin writers in the linguistic practice we just saw reveal some of their unconscious ideas about language that cause them to develop a slightly different Latin syntax from the classical Latin that they imitate. Perhaps they are strongly influenced by their native language, perhaps their grammatical tradition taught them something that prevented them from attaining an even closer imitation of classical Latin, and perhaps some differences are deliberate attempts to surpass their models, to create a Latin language more excessive in variation and semantic expression.

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