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(Università degli Studi di Udine)

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Plenary Papers

How to classify Latin verbs so it is of some use

Lucie PULTROVÁ

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Vendler's 1957 division of verbs into four classes (states, activities, accomplishments, achievements) set in motion a debate that has continued to this day. Although Vendler's classification has seen various modifications – the addition of a fifth class of semelfactives (Comrie 1976, p. 42), a change of focus from verbs as such to predicates, and many other refinements (a concise and clear account is in, e.g., Rothstein 2016) – its conceptual foundation has essentially been maintained. It has become part of the canon of Indo-European linguistics, and the terms introduced by Vendler are generally used. This is also true for Latin linguistics. Even Pinkster, for example, at the beginning of the first volume of his *Oxford Latin Syntax* has a chapter (2.9; pp. 22-24) devoted to the semantic types of verbs based on the Vendlerian concept. Significantly, however, in his subsequent interpretations Pinkster does not actually work with this classification at all. The reason for this is obvious: the classification is not in fact very useful for Latin.

Vendler's classification (and Vendler himself explicitly states this) was designed specifically for English; its main motivation was an attempt to explain why some verbs can form continuous tenses and others not. The classical Latin verbal system has no continuous tenses, and its notorious critical points lie elsewhere: the main one is the competition between what we call "imperfect tense" and "perfect tense", along with the double meaning of the perfect tense and the various meanings of the imperfect tense. The differences in how the Latin past tenses are used do not correspond with the demarcations made by Vendler's classification; it is therefore clear that the categories of telicity, dynamicity and durativity, on which this classification is based, are not sufficient to describe the Latin system and that something else is at play. This paper tries to identify what that might be.

At the same time, I want to focus on methodological issues. The classification of predicates along Vendlerian lines is entirely dependent on the native speaker's assessment of the acceptability of the forms or their combinations with different temporal determiners. In Latin linguistics, however, it is necessary to look for other methods – ones that not only do not rely on the assessment of a native speaker, but can also overcome the problematic nature of the extant corpus of texts (its small size, genre and temporal imbalance) and filter out influences that may distort the image of the language system (e.g. phenomena resulting from the use of Latin by non-native speakers). It is precisely in its necessary emphasis on objectivity of method that Latin linguistics can make a significant contribution to general linguistics.

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Verba dicendi e verba voluntatis in contesti negativi

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La nostra analisi si sviluppa dalla dicotomia tra contesti assertivi e contesti non-assertivi in presenza della negazione. Questa distinzione fondamentale è presente nella categorizzazione degli enunciati secondo tre componenti illocutori (cf. R.M. Hare 1970 e J. Lyons 1977, 771): il ‘neustico’ è un segno di sottoscrizione del locutore all’atto illocutorio realizzato, in contesti *de dicto* (modalità dichiarativa: DECL); il ‘tropico’ è un segno di modalità in relazione al tipo di proposizione realizzato: la modalità di base (‘sentence types’ secondo Palmer 2001) può essere dichiarativa (DECL), iussiva o volitiva (IMP), interrogativa (INTERR); il ‘frastico’ concerne il contenuto proposizionale dell’enunciato comune alle proposizioni assertive (*de re*), iussive e interrogative (non assertive, *de dicto*).

Questa tripartizione sarà integrata con un approccio per livelli semantico-funzionali, come quello sviluppato dai modelli teorici di S. Dik (1997) per la *Functional Grammar*, e di E. Sweetser (1990) per la pragmatica.

In presenza di un *verbum dicendi*, la negazione può realizzare atti linguistici dotati di diversa forza illocutoria. Con i *verba dicendi*, le tre negazioni sembrano distribuirsi così: *non dixerim* è una *negazione neustica* (che realizza un ‘atto di non-asserzione’); *nego* è una *negazione modale* che realizza un ‘atto polemico di negazione’, un ‘denial’, un *contraddittorio*; *dico non* è una semplice ‘asserzione negativa’ che porta sulla proposizione *p* e realizza un *contrario*.

Se la negazione fa blocco con il *verbum dicendi* agisce a livello del componente ‘neustico’. In tali contesti si incontrano gli “attenuatori”, i “distanziatori” (quali il potenziale realizzato alla prima persona del modo congiuntivo perfetto: *haud dixerim*, *haud negauerim*, *haud confirmaverim*). I *verba voluntatis* che hanno forza illocutoria basica IMP non possono mai

raggiungere il componente ‘neustico’, tranne nel caso di ‘deriva illocutoria’ che analizzeremo in seguito.

La *negazione neustica o soggettiva* è una negazione debole, graduabile, realizzata in latino dalle negazioni *non* e *haud*, in greco μή+ il congiuntivo alla prima persona singolare e plurale. Tre situazioni sono possibili all’interno del componente ‘neustico’, in relazione a diversi livelli funzionali. A livello epistemico, la negazione ‘soggettiva’ che ha nella sua portata il *verbum dicendi*, esprime il ‘*non-commitment*’ variamente graduato del parlante, la modalità epistemica soggettiva (*haud dixerim, haud confirmaverim*). A livello discorsivo, riconosciamo una negazione ‘soggettiva’ nella figura retorica della litote *haud negaverim*, di carattere valutativo, scalare, graduabile per *deminutio* o per *amplificatio*. A livello illocutorio, la negazione ‘soggettiva’ si esprime attraverso formule di preterizione (*ut non dicam, ut omittam*) “per non dire”.

Quando la negazione ha una portata più estesa agisce sui componenti ‘tropico’ e ‘frastico’, due situazioni sono possibili: la negazione modale e la negazione dichiarativa. La prima è una negazione forte, contrastiva, polemica, un ‘denial’, a natura illocutoria DECL. In molte lingue è realizzata da un verbo a *negazione inerente* (lat. *nego*, it. *negare*, fr. *nier*, ingl. *deny*). La negazione è *contraddittoria*, con portata sull’intera *sentence*, oggettiva, non graduabile. La *contraddittorietà* si risolve in un *contrario*, secondo una tendenza già segnalata da Horn (1989; 2020), quindi pragmaticamente in una asserzione negativa: *dico non p*. In enunciati a forza illocutoria IMP, dove il ‘tropico’ è ‘qualificato’ per la volizione, come nel caso dei *verba voluntatis*, dei *verba timendi*, dei *verba impediendi*, si realizza una proibizione o l’espressione di una volontà negativa.

A livello del componente ‘frastico’, *dico non* realizza una ‘asserzione negativa’ non polemica, una negazione interna al contenuto che può essere vero o falso.

In questo quadro, è importante osservare il fenomeno della ‘risalita’ (*raising*) della negazione, che si realizza tra il componente frastico e il componente tropico solo con determinati predicati, che, tuttavia, non in tutte le lingue (e neppure nella diacronia di ciascuna) sono passibili di essere *Negative Raising licensors* (NR).

In generale, solo i verbi che non ammettono il *raising* della negazione (*Not Negative Raising licensors*) figurano a livello neustico. L’eccezione, in latino, è quando i verbi originariamente NR sono negati e al congiuntivo perfetto della prima persona: *haud putaverim, haud negaverim* così come anche in greco i *verba dicendi* (NR) quando sono introdotti da μή + congiuntivo alla prima persona.

Alcune costruzioni presentano un problema di deriva della forza illocutoria di base. A tale riguardo è interessante l’uso epistemico-soggettivo del potenziale negato *nolim* che in certe strutture perde la natura volizionale e l’orientamento futuro per esprimere, a livello neustico, i dubbi, i sospetti del locutore, rivestendo, così, una modalità debole, quella epistemico-soggettiva.

In enunciati attenuativi, il *verbum voluntatis* negato al congiuntivo sempre alla prima persona (*nolim*) si indebolisce fino a perdere la forza illocutoria basica IMP e si comporta come *verbum timendi* e talvolta come vero e proprio *verbum dubitandi* (*dubito* è non-NR): “sono incline a ritenere con paura che”, “sospetto che”, “sono in dubbio che”:

(1) MI. *Nolim ceterarum rerum te socordem eodem modo* (Ter. Ad. 695)

«Non vorrei che tu continuassi ad essere un buono a nulla in tutte le altre cose allo stesso modo»

Su questo passo, molto finemente Donato commenta:

(2) *'nolim te' inquit 'socordem ceterarum rerum esse', non 'ne sis socors'* (Donat. ad Ter. Ad. 895).

Tale valore di *nolim* corrisponde a quello del condizionale italiano “non vorrei che...” Non a caso, nelle due lingue questo valore si realizza con il verbo modale negato alla prima persona, coerentemente con la definizione di ‘neustico’, luogo della soggettività del locutore.

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Latin *sentīō* at the Interface between Syntax and Semantics

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Mental verbs are one of the most intriguing semantic fields, and provide a prototypical means of expressing psychological processes in language (Fedriani, 2014; Giusti & Iovino, 2016; and so on). Within this group, verbs meaning ‘to feel’ stand out as polysemous, “multimodal” items (Fernández Jaén, 2012; Jansegers et al., 2012, 2016; etc.). In Classical Latin, *sentīō* is a prime example of this kind, encompassing both physical and intellectual experiences and reaching the referential domains of PERCEPTION, THOUGHT, EMOTION, and also OPINION. Since Morillon (1974)’s structural study is the only complexive analysis on *sentīō*, yet limited (Touratier, 2008; Hertegonne, 2014; Giura, 2017), our paper will aim to provide an updated perspective on this lexical unit.

Syntactically, *sentīō* often appears in a bi-argumental construction, with an Experiencer and a Theme, as is common with perception and opinion verbs. The lexical and formal features of these arguments — Experiencers-Subjects (animate, non-agentive, etc.) and Objects (prototypically AcI, moderately definite, etc.) — are essential for exploring *sentīō*’s

‘low transitive’ behaviour, and its link to subjectivity. My primary contribution, in this matter, will be to connect this non-prototypical transitivity with specific syntactic constructions.

Semantically, the range of meanings can be analysed through Prototype Theory. First, I propose that the prototype of the verb is PERCEPTION [‘to perceive’], in a broad sense — GENERAL OR BODILY (PROPRIO)CEPTION. Building on this, Conceptual Metaphor and Embodiment theories explain how abstract meanings herefrom arise. Both INTELLECTUAL PERCEPTION [‘to realise’] and EMOTIONAL PERCEPTION [‘to feel’] (though not pure EMOTION; Riesco, 2023) will be discussed as metaphorical extensions of this prototype. (In our view, true EMOTION meanings consolidate only in Proto-Romance.) Lastly, Subjetification Theory helps address *sentio*’s sense of OPINION. In these uses, as in all its applications, the verb entails high evidentiality, given that opinions coming from internal experiences, albeit subjective, are assigned a high epistemic value (*cfr.* Riesco, 2022b).

In any case, the polysemy of *sentio* is not to be considered in isolation. Rather, the syntax-semantics interface reveals a unified semantic core — maintained by a consistent, non-agentive, non-prototypical transitive construction that links the various uses to a central meaning (*cfr.* Riesco, 2022a). Simultaneously, non-prototypicality fosters increasing polysemy and subjectivity.

Lastly, the Romance continuation of *sentio* will also be examined. The descendants of *sentio* exhibit both continuity and innovation in several ways. On the one hand, they retain evidential traits, along with a tendency towards semantic dispersion, and increasing subjectivity over time. On the other hand, new meanings become naturalised, such as HEARING (ital. *sentire*, cat., ast. *sentir*) and pure EMOTION (cast. *sentir*) or APOLOGY (cast. *lo siento*).

In summary, this paper seeks to account for *sentio*’s behaviour from an updated perspective, while also offering some insights into the syntax-semantics interface in Latin. Through this case study, I will intend to highlight the significance of mental verbs, in the occasion of addressing the complexities of polysemy, transitivity, and subjectivity.

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Workshops

Highlights of *Latinitas*. Theoretical framework and grammatical practices

Organizers: Mario DE NONNO, Paolo DE PAOLIS, Alessandro GARCEA

Description: In a linguistic context, the term *Latinitas* first appears in Rhet. Her. 4.17, signifying purity of expression and the careful selection of words and grammar, free from defects such as barbarisms and solecisms. Varro provides a more detailed definition (fr. 268 p. 289-90 Funaioli = fr. 115 Goetz - Schoell) in a passage preserved by Diomedes (GL 1.439.15-30). Scholars agree that this passage, likely derived from a Greek model, was considered canonical by the late Republican era. It identifies four parameters: nature, analogy, usage, and authority, as both fundamental elements of language and criteria for assessing its correctness. Despite this consensus, Varro's definition has sparked considerable debate and even questions about its authenticity. Quintilian offers a different perspective, listing and succinctly defining the factors of *sermo* with a different hierarchy (*inst.* 1.6.1-3), possibly influenced by an antidogmatic stance found in Pliny's *Dubius sermo*. The evolution of thought on the Latin language and the diversification of textual typologies (theoretical or pedagogical works, commentaries, metrical and spelling handbooks, etc.) required continuous adaptations of the conceptual framework, resulting in a complex, multifaceted system that merits renewed study.

Starting from this definition of the beginnings and various interpretations of *Latinitas* in Latin grammatical and scholarly literature, this workshop aims to explore this essential concept in ancient Latin language studies. It will focus on the origin and development of *Latinitas* in relation to Greek linguistic and rhetorical doctrines introduced in Rome in the first century B.C. Another focus will be the evolution of *Latinitas* from the end of the Republic to the early imperial era, leading to the creation of *De Latinitate* treatises. These treatises represent the learned strand of Latin grammar, compiling significant linguistic observations and quotations from Latin literary texts that span from the archaic to more recent periods. This body of material later became a key resource for subsequent grammatical works, much of which has come down to us, providing examples to address incorrect usages proliferating in later centuries.

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Latinité importée, latinité exportée

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Le mot *Latinitas* apparaît au I^{er} s. a.C., dans une double acception, linguistique : le latin correct, authentique, 'pur' de tout élément corrompeur (*Latinitas est quae sermonem purum conseruat ab omni uitio remotum*, Rhet. Her. 4,12,17), et politico-juridique : le droit 'latin' (calqué dans le grec λατιν-ότης), plus restrictif que la *ciuitas*, la citoyenneté romaine (*multa illis [= Siculis] Caesar [sc. fecit]..., etsi Latinitas erat non ferenda*, Cic., Att. 14,12,1). Il témoigne de la prise de conscience, par Rome, de sa souveraineté sur un empire de plus en plus étendu et multilingue (*diuersitas, uarietas linguarum*), et des facteurs de cohésion et d'unification (*societas*) que représentent sa langue et son droit (*ciues...Romani qui et sermonis et iuris et multarum rerum societate iuncti sunt*, Cic. Verr. 2,5 = Suppl., 167).

Il s'agit avant tout d'un concept identitaire, qui n'a pu émerger que par contraste avec d'autres entités conceptuelles, dans des oppositions majoritairement binaires. Ce marqueur de l'identité latine primitive s'est développé 'en interne', en promouvant la langue des élites cultivées de Rome (*urbanitas*) face au parler du peuple (*uulgus*) et à la *rusticitas* des campagnes ; et 'en externe', par la confrontation avec l'altérité que représentent les langues étrangères, et tout particulièrement le grec.

La *Latinitas* est l'essence de l'identité latine originelle, celle du *Latium*, face aux autres langues de l'Italie primitive ; et dans un empire politique devenu 'romain' et bilingue, opposant un occident latinophone à un orient hellénophone (*Romani* / Ῥωμαῖοι, *Romanitas* / Ῥωμαϊότης), elle est demeurée le symbole de l'identité linguistique, face au grec (*Latinitas*, 'le latin' ~ *Graecitas*).

Mais cette identité linguistique, érigée en dogme et idéalisée, n'est pas immuable : elle est sujette à variations (*ipsa Latinitas et regionibus cotidie mutetur et tempore*, Hier., Gal. 2,3,8-9), et elle est surtout métissée (*mixta*) de toutes les influences extérieures (*peregrinitas*) auxquelles elle a été confrontée, et qu'elle a intégrées (Quint. 1,5,55-58). L'étroite cohabitation entre les langues grecque et latine, en particulier, et les multiples phénomènes de transfert qui se sont produits dans les deux sens (traductions, emprunts lexicaux, 'allers-retours', etc.), ont créé une zone d'intersection et de recouvrement à l'identité linguistique ambiguë. La latinité s'est 'exportée' dans le grec (et dans d'autres langues), comme le grec a été, conceptuellement et linguistiquement, importé dans le latin.

Nous replaçons le terme *Latinitas* dans les différents paradigmes, lexicaux et formels, dans lesquels il s'intègre, et nous nous interrogeons, en particulier, sur les notions connexes d'hellénisme et de latinisme, dans l'Antiquité (Ἑλλην-ισμός ; cf. ἄπτικ-ισμός, Cic., Att. 4,19,1. Diom., GL 1,440,4-26 ; βαρβαρ-ισμός, *barbarolexis*), et dans les analyses linguistiques modernes : 'hellénismes' en latin (*Graeca, peregrina, notha* ~ *Latina uerba*) et 'latinismes' en grec (Ῥωμαϊκά, ἰταλικά).

Un criterio minore della *Latinitas*: l'eufonia

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Concepita come forma di comunicazione prettamente orale, anche quando veicolata per iscritto, la produzione letteraria fu sempre considerata, in seno alla cultura antica, un fenomeno strettamente connesso con l'esperienza sensoriale. Ciò ha fatto sì che già a partire da Platone la riflessione sorta intorno al linguaggio non riguardasse soltanto il livello del significato, ma considerasse la *lexis* come una struttura composta da un insieme di regole, di specifici vizi e virtù. In questo senso, una composizione poetica, prima ancora che sul piano dei contenuti, poteva essere giudicata anche sulla base della successione dei puri suoni e sull'effetto che essi avrebbero prodotto sull'uditorio. L'eufonia, intesa ora come esito della coordinazione in successione di singoli lessemi e ora come selezione accurata di belle parole, divenne così uno degli strumenti impiegati per l'elaborazione di un'estetica dell'opera letteraria messa a punto in età ellenistica. In questo periodo, all'interno della vasta schiera di grammatici e filologi dediti all'esegesi dei testi, venne a crearsi una contrapposizione tra coloro che davano un peso maggiore al portato concettuale di un'opera, alla sua poetica, e coloro che preferivano piuttosto l'armonia fonica, metrica e musicale, scaturita dalla *synthesis* di suoni differenti.

Privata del contesto polemico in cui vide la luce, l'eufonia quale strumento di valutazione estetica è stata recepita anche nel mondo romano in due ambiti tra loro strettamente legati. Il primo, dove, peraltro, si trovano le prime attestazioni del termine in ambito latino, è quello della trattatistica retorica. In Cicerone prima e in Quintiliano poi l'eufonia costituisce uno degli aspetti di cui un oratore deve tenere conto nell'elaborazione del discorso, affinché le sue parole ottengano la giusta efficacia psicagogica. Il secondo, invece, è quello della trattatistica grammaticale. Qui l'eufonia non solo compare, con l'eccezione del solo Prisciano (per via, presumibilmente, delle sue fonti greche), con sporadica frequenza, ma soprattutto viene ripensata quale strumento di scelta tra forme linguisticamente tra loro concorrenti.

Oggetto del mio intervento consiste nell'illustrazione tramite una selezionata casistica degli ambiti di applicazione del criterio eufonico all'interno del *corpus* dei grammatici latini tardoantichi. Lo scopo sarà quello di mostrare come di fronte a due forme compresenti nell'*usus* e linguisticamente equivalenti rispetto alla *ratio*, l'eufonia sia talvolta apparsa agli artigiani, privati anche del supporto dell'*auctoritas*, quale ultima risorsa, valido e autorevole *escamotage* per determinare l'aderenza dell'una o dell'altra alla *Latinitas*.

Latinitas e solecismo dall'antichità alle grammatiche medievali

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Sin dai tempi del latino classico, come afferma la *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, lo scopo della grammatica era quello di preservare la *Latinitas*, un canone di correttezza grammaticale e di eleganza linguistica, strettamente legato al modello della lingua latina classica, così come veniva usata dagli autori dell'età d'oro (Cicerone, Cesare, Virgilio). I nemici della *Latinitas* erano i *vitia orationis*, che si manifestavano in errori classificati come barbarismi, solecismi e altri *vitia*, tra cui il *sermo dubius*, non meglio definito.

Il solecismo è definito come un errore grammaticale che riguarda la struttura morfo-sintattica di una frase, cioè una deviazione dalle regole grammaticali del canone linguistico (Zago 2023). Il solecismo comprende dunque errori nella costruzione delle frasi o nella connessione delle parole, l'uso scorretto dei casi, la mancanza di accordo tra soggetto e verbo, o altri errori nella sintassi, come una disposizione sbagliata delle parole o l'uso improprio di preposizioni, ben descritto secondo i parametri orientati alla *quadripertita ratio*.

Le grammatiche, i trattati e i commenti successivi a Donato e a Prisciano, continuarono a dedicare attenzione ai solecismi come uno dei principali *vitia orationis*. Tuttavia, essi fungevano parzialmente come strumenti didattici destinati anche a studenti stranieri, quindi, sebbene la prospettiva della *Latinitas* accompagnasse tutte queste transizioni, essa assumeva sfumature diverse. La definizione di questo latino tardo è complessa: standardizzazione, stratificazione e diversificazione rappresentano i suoi poli contraddittori che porteranno allo sviluppo di un nuovo parametro di grammaticalità rappresentato dal concetto di *congruitas*. Lo scopo di questo studio è di evidenziare le differenze dei tipi di solecismi che si registrano tra le grammatiche tardo antiche e quelle medievali, sia insulari che continentali, dalla *Ars Laurehamensis* a *Pietro Helias*, e fornire una caratterizzazione linguistica, completando idealmente il lavoro di Zago (2023) che comprende gli usi lessicali fino al latino tardo.

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Norme et perfection poétique : La *Latinitas* dans le *Vergilius Aspri* d'Aemilius Asper

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Cette communication se propose d'explorer deux aspects majeurs du *Vergilius Aspri*, œuvre fragmentaire d'Aemilius Asper, grammairien et commentateur du II^e siècle. Ce texte est conçu comme une grammaire prescriptive, fondée sur des exemples tirés des œuvres de Virgile et censés illustrer des écarts par rapport aux règles grammaticales. Dans un premier temps, nous montrerons comment cette structure répétitive et systématique rappelle celle des grammaires scolaires, en nous appuyant sur des passages précis du palimpseste, restitués grâce notamment à l'imagerie multispectrale. Ces passages complexes, souvent difficiles à lire, deviennent plus accessibles grâce à notre compréhension des principes normatifs qui sous-tendent le texte. Cela permet ainsi d'émettre des hypothèses solides lors de la transcription des sections endommagées du manuscrit.

Le second volet de cette étude portera sur la manière dont le *Vergilius Aspri* se distingue des *commentarii* d'Asper dans la gestion des écarts linguistiques de Virgile. Dans sa grammaire, Asper expose méthodiquement les déviations du poète par rapport aux règles établies, illustrant ainsi une approche strictement normative de la *Latinitas*, centrée sur le repérage des *uitia orationis*. Pour leur part, les fragments des commentaires de l'œuvre virgilienne, cités par des grammairiens postérieurs, adoptent une perspective différente : Asper valorise alors l'autorité de Virgile en tant que modèle poétique, justifiant ses choix stylistiques comme des licences conscientes au service de l'esthétique littéraire. Cette double approche questionne la place de l'*auctoritas* dans l'enseignement de la langue : si le *Vergilius Aspri* vise la stricte conformité aux normes, le *commentarius* célèbre l'autorité de Virgile au-delà des règles grammaticales.

Questioni di *Latinitas* nel V libro di Carisio

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Nell'edizione che dell'*Ars grammatica* di Carisio allestisce Karl Barwick nel 1925, il libro V occupa le pagine 379-480 e risulta quindi molto più corposo rispetto a come si presentava nell'edizione della stessa grammatica carisiana curata da Keil nel volume I dei suoi *Grammatici latini* (1857). Barwick, infatti, ingloba nell'opera alcuni testi che l'editore ottocentesco escludeva e che in parte pubblicava separatamente altrove.

Si tratta di una serie di materiali di cui si è discusso principalmente in relazione all'autorialità, ovvero alla loro attribuzione o meno a Carisio, questione che si basa sul fatto che tali materiali seguono l'*Ars* di questo grammatico nel manoscritto Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III', IV A 8, *codex unicus* per la quasi totalità dell'opera.

Oltre alla questione dell'autenticità, di questa sezione dell'edizione di Barwick sono stati studiati in maniera approfondita soltanto alcuni testi. Altri risultano a oggi piuttosto trascurati, sebbene appaiano molto interessanti; essi costituiscono infatti delle testimonianze importanti

di strumenti impiegati per l'insegnamento del latino, le cui tipologie sono in alcuni casi poco o quasi per nulla diffuse.

Nello specifico, nell'intervento che qui si propone, si intende approfondire lo studio di uno di questi testi, ovvero un trattato che nel manoscritto di Napoli viene riportato con il titolo di «De latinitate» e che consiste in una serie di espressioni idiomatiche, presentate secondo l'ordine alfabetico della prima lettera.

Tali espressioni, piuttosto varie per lunghezza e per natura (alcune sono costituite da due sole parole, altre invece da frasi più articolate), verranno analizzate sia nel loro complesso, nel tentativo di comprenderne le finalità e i destinatari, sia singolarmente, in modo da individuarne possibili paralleli con il resto della letteratura grammaticale e schedarne eventuali citazioni da testi di natura letteraria.

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Latinitas a Vivarium: la percezione della correttezza linguistica in Cassiodoro **Ilaria MORRESI**

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Nelle opere di Cassiodoro troviamo numerosi riferimenti alla limitata preparazione culturale dei monaci di Vivarium, oggetto quasi esclusivo delle sue attenzioni dopo la fondazione del monastero e destinatari di tutti i testi manualistici composti negli anni 554-580 ca. In particolare, la *praefatio* del *De orthographia* – aperta da un vivace dialogo in cui i monaci stessi supplicano l'autore di venire in loro aiuto – è comunemente citata dagli studiosi per illustrare le contraddizioni alla base del progetto culturale di Cassiodoro, attorniato di collaboratori che «ignorano del tutto come scrivere» ciò che hanno appreso grazie ai suoi insegnamenti.

Questa comunicazione si propone di analizzare nel loro complesso i riferimenti alla correttezza linguistica nelle opere vivariensi di Cassiodoro, sul piano tanto linguistico-grammaticale quanto retorico. In particolare, si cercherà di valutare in quale misura la rappresentazione tracciata dall'autore sia da ricondurre ai *topoi* delle prefazioni grammaticali e quanto, invece, possa essere una testimonianza affidabile sullo stato del latino in area italo-meridionale sul finire del VI secolo.

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La *recte loquendi scientia* secondo Quintiliano: principi di chiarezza e correttezza per un aspirante oratore

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In Cicerone non solo il lessico (*i verba*), ma anche la pronuncia (*vox*) rientrano nell'*urbanitas* (Calboli 1983): il *Latine dicere* si fonda sulla scelta delle parole adeguate, sull'uso grammaticale e sintattico corretto, ma anche sulla correttezza fonetico-articulatoria (*de orat.* 3, 40; 3, 41) e parlando di *rusticitas* e *peregrinitas* Cicerone polemizza con quanti si compiacciono di un modo di parlare contadinesco, credendo di conferire alla pronuncia una patina di 'antichità' (*de orat.* 3, 42). C'è, quindi, una virtù stilistica della *Latinitas* che non riguarda solo la scelta delle parole, ma anche il modo di pronunciarle e che rientra nella *grammatices prior pars*, l'*emendate loquendi regula*, di cui Quintiliano parla in *inst.* 1, 5 (Ax 2011). Per il Retore la grammatica si divide in *loquendi scientia* e *poetarum enarratio*, secondo una definizione che risale a Varrone (fr. 236 Funaioli = Diom. gramm. 1, 426 21 ss. Keil), ma a ben vedere manca una trattazione tecnica del *pronuntiandi sonus*, una zona d'ombra, illuminata dalla docenza d'eccezione del *comoedus*.

Ciò che si intende ricostruire è, dunque, questa 'terra di nessuno' cui Quintiliano accenna di continuo (Cavarzere 2011): in *inst.* 1, 5, 6 (Rispoli 1995; 1996) dove parla di barbarismi fonetici, con un'ampia gamma di *exempla*, confrontabili con i compiti del *comoedus* (1, 11, 4-7; Krumbacher 1920; Niedermann 1948; Katsouris 1989; Nocchi 2013); in 8, 1, 2 (Cristante-Cavarzere 2019), in cui trattando dell'*elocutio* distingue il *Latine et emendate loqui*, che riguarda la pronuncia, dalla scelta stilistica. Infine, ritorna sull'argomento in 11, 3, 30, dove la parola *pronuntiatio* ha il significato di 'dizione, espressione vocale'. Più specificamente le prescrizioni sulla corretta pronuncia rientrano nella sezione dedicata alla *dilucida pronuntiatio*, una dizione pura e chiara, cui mira Quintiliano per il successo dell'oratore, il cui discorso deve essere soprattutto comprensibile. Analizzando parallelamente queste sezioni, si chiarirà quale idea avesse Quintiliano della *Latinitas*, intesa come *plane dicere*. Un ulteriore oggetto d'indagine saranno le modalità con cui Quintiliano impartiva il proprio insegnamento: compito non facile, sottolinea il Retore, perché non si possono fornire esempi scritti della pronuncia, se non in poesia (1, 5, 18). Palesando le difficoltà che il *grammaticus* incontrava nella spiegazione di aspetti così imponderabili come quelli fonetici (ad es. l'anfibologia, 1, 5, 25-26), rivela gli espedienti didattici da lui messi in atto, in particolare la *praelectio* e gli esercizi fonoarticolatori (1, 5, 32; cfr. Cic. *div.* 2, 96). Il progetto educativo di Quintiliano punta all'*orthoepeia*, una pronuncia esatta e gradevole, funzionale al successo del discorso ed espressione di una corretta *Latinitas*.

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***Latinitas* in un giurista romano? Per un'esegesi di D. 50.16.103**

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Il frammento del Digesto D. 50.16.103, tratto dall'ottavo libro dei *Regularum libri X* di Erennio Modestino, contiene un'espressione, *Latine loquentibus*, abitualmente fraintesa dagli storici del diritto romano. Interpretata come una concessione del giurista nei confronti di un pubblico latinofono – col quale il giurista non si identificherebbe –, essa compare in opere di riferimento quali il *Römisches Strafrecht* di Th. Mommsen, la *History of Roman Legal Science* di F. Schulz, la monografia *Studi su Erennio Modestino. Profili biografici* di G. Viarengo, il capitolo *Jurisprudenz* del vol. IV della *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike* a cura di D. Liebs, prestandosi ora a sostenere una provenienza orientale del giurista, ora a generare un sospetto di interpolazione.

In assenza della voce *Latinus* nella sezione *Onomasticon* del *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, per sondare l'ipotesi di un'interpretazione differente si può ricorrere per il momento a *ThLL* VII, 2, 1664, 8-24, in cui l'espressione *Latine loqui*, non tradotta, registra occorrenze coerenti – pur senza esplicitare che si tratta di usi tecnici meno frequenti e più circostanziati di quanto si potrebbe pensare. Uno spoglio sistematico delle attestazioni di *Latine* nella *Library of Latin Texts* ha infatti consentito di osservare che l'avverbio *Latine* può chiaramente riferirsi tanto alla lingua latina in generale quanto alla *Latinitas*.

Interpretato con riferimento alla *Latinitas* quale risulta dalla trattatistica retorica e grammaticale, il frammento si arricchisce di significato: Modestino non sta istruendo un pubblico latinofono, ma polemizzando con coloro che, parlando *Latine*, ossia stando appresso al significato letterale delle parole, travisano i messaggi. Il bersaglio della polemica, come consentono di cogliere precisi paralleli testuali a orazioni e trattati di retorica – in qualche caso certamente noti ai giuristi –, è Cicerone, che aveva ripetutamente operato una disonesta assimilazione di *caput* ed *existimatio*, con conseguenze pericolose per il diritto, da cui Modestino sente di dover nuovamente mettere in guardia.

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Che significa *Latinus*? Usi metalinguistici, *opposita, iuxta posita*

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L'aggettivo *Latinus* e l'avverbio corrispondente, *Latine*, per i quali non si dispone ancora delle voci dell'*Onomasticon* del *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, oltre ad assumere un comune valore etnico, sono spesso usati anche in contesti metalinguistici (cfr. Forcellini s. v. *Latine*; s. v. *Latinus*; OLD s. v. *Latine*, 1-2; s. v. *Latinus*, 2; S. Schad, *A Lexicon of Latin Grammatical Terminology*, Pisa-Roma 2007, 233), non solo nella trattatistica grammaticale, ma anche in opere di altro genere (in particolare esegetiche, ma non di rado anche in letteratura, compresi alcuni testi poetici). Il presente contributo mira a presentare i risultati preliminari dell'esame complessivo delle attestazioni di *Latinus* e *Latine* in ambito metalinguistico, che sarà condotto sul materiale raccolto nell'*Archiv* del *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* e inoltre verificato sulle principali banche date di testi latini antichi e tardoantichi (*Library of Latin Texts*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Corpus Corporum* ecc.), prendendo in considerazione l'insieme dei testi latini conservati sino alla metà del VII secolo d. C.

La prima parte della relazione sarà dedicata a una breve sintesi degli altri valori semantici e ambiti di applicazione (in particolare quello giuridico) di *Latinus* e dei suoi derivati. Nella seconda parte dell'intervento si presenteranno i risultati dello spoglio sistematico di tutte le attestazioni di *Latinus* e *Latine* con funzione metalinguistica sia nel *corpus* dei grammatici latini e nei *commentarii* tardoantichi (Donato, Servio, raccolte di scolii a vari autori) sia in

testi non grammaticali. Nell'esame delle diverse sfumature semantiche dei due lemmi in questione, particolare attenzione sarà dedicata – conformemente alla metodologia lessicografica del *ThL* – agli *opposita* e *iuxta posita* di *Latinus/Latine*, allo scopo di distinguere le attestazioni in cui i due termini indicano genericamente la lingua latina in opposizione ad altre lingue da quelle in cui essi designano determinate varietà diastratiche o diafasiche del latino ovvero, secondo un uso tecnico corrispondente a quello del sostantivo astratto *Latinitas*, forme linguistiche conformi alla norma grammaticale e contrapposte a forme considerate scorrette.

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Argument structure alternations in Latin

Organizers: Jaume MATEU, Jesús de la VILLA

Description: The aim of this workshop is to examine some of the major empirical and theoretical results pertaining to the morphosyntax and semantics of predicate argument relations in Latin. More particularly, this workshop will primarily concentrate on extracting the empirical and theoretical generalizations of the lasting results of the past forty years or so on the so-called “argument structure alternations” in Latin (e.g. the causative/anticausative alternation, the locative alternation, alternations with psychological verbs, oblique and double object alternations, active-passive alternations, etc.). For example, see Lemaire (1983) for a distinguished pioneering work on this topic in Latin and Devine & Stephens (2013) for an informative overview of some relevant argument structure alternations found in this language.

What linguists often refer to under the label ‘argument structure’ is the relational semantics of participancy between arguments and predicates. Argument structure has been a major focus of past and present investigations in linguistics: for example, important work like the one developed by Levin (1993) has been a constant source of inspiration for many researchers of (verbal) argument structure in different languages, including Latin (e.g. see Torrego (2018) and Villa (2015), i.a.) and Ancient Greek (Villa 2017). The answers given to questions related to argument structure alternations, such as, for instance, whether the two alternating frames have the same or different semantics have had wide-ranging implications, often determined one’s position on the nature of said alternations, one’s analysis thereof and even one’s views of the clausal architecture underlying the alternation.

Descriptive and theoretical approaches to argument structure alternations in Latin are welcome. Despite the different theoretical approaches to argument structure (e.g. structuralist, functionalist, cognitivist or generativist ones), the relevant descriptive patterns that have been acknowledged by researchers of different theoretical persuasions in Latin Linguistics should form a solid empirical basis on which some kind of consensus in this fruitful research area could hopefully be established.

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Accusative / Dative Object Alternation with fear verbs in Latin

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The objective of this work is to analyse the syntactic and semantic function of a dative that appears with verbs like *timeo*, *metuo* or *uereor*. These verbs belong to one of the two major types of psychological verbs universally established in languages, the one in which the Experiencer is encoded as subject and the Stimulus as object (Fedriani 2014: 20-32; Dahl & Fedriani 2012: 346), as in (1):

- (1) Iuppiter non minus quam uostrum quivis formidat malum
 ‘Jupiter dreads evil not less than any one of you.’ (Plaut. *Amph.* 26)

Normally, the Stimulus appears in accusative case, as in (2a). Sometimes, however, a dative appears occupying what seems to be the same syntactic position (2b):

- (2a) nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi ciues
 ‘The citizens themselves did not fear the enemies, but their own’ (Liv. 2,9,5)
 (2b) apud timentes sibimet ipsos
 ‘among those who feared for themselves’ (Liv. 6,37,1)

The dative is not always human, but there is always a human entity involved, as can be seen in the texts of (3a) and (3b), where *oneri* refers to a daughter’s body:

- (3a) lassitudini militum timuit
 ‘he feared for the fatigue of the soldiers’ (Liv. 31,21,5)
 (3b) caroque oneri timet
 ‘and he fears for the dear burden’ (Verg. *Aen.* 11,550)

Since the semantic difference between the texts of (2) resides in the dative, the content of our exposition will deal with the values of the dative as a linguistic category. First, we will analyse cases of dative as first complement of verbs, which involve situations of low agentivity and therefore not typically transitive (cf. Baños 2023: 207), such as (4):

- (4) faueo aratori
 ‘I support the farmer’ (Cic. *Verr.* II 3, 28)

and the alternation Accusative/Dative with activity verbs (Baños 2023: 208-210; Pinkster 2015: 129), as in (5):

- (5a) Curato aegrotos domi
 ‘take care of the sick people at home’ (Plaut. *Capt.* 190)
 (5b) Cererem te melius quam Venerem sectarier: amori haec curat; tritico curat Ceres
 ‘It is better for you to be a follower of Ceres than of Venus. The latter is concerned with love; Ceres with wheat (Plaut. *Rud.* 145-146)

Finally, we will deal with the nominal complementation of verbs of fear in Latin, also paying attention to other languages. The hypothesis from which we start is that the two main different

morphological expressions for the Stimulus, accusative or dative case, respond to the two different conceptualisations described in the literature since Croft (1993: 64): the experiencer directs the attention to the stimulus, or the stimulus causes the experiencer to be in a certain mental state.

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Root, templatic and thematic constraints on anticausativization in Latin: a quantitative study

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This paper investigates the role played by the interplay of the *aspectual template of verbs*, the verb’s inherent *meaning* (the ‘root’) (e.g., property concept vs result roots) (Beavers et al. 2021), and the *nature of the -P subject* (e.g., animacy and control) in determining the distribution of the different strategies available in Latin to mark anticausativization (the (medio-passive) *-r* form, the reflexive pattern and the active intransitive). The different forms are usually described in the literature as interchangeable (Feltenius 1977). We will argue, instead, that the structural and root aspects of verb meaning (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005, int. al) as well as the inherent and relational properties of verbal arguments affect the use of the different patterns, interacting with the encoding of voice, both synchronically and diachronically.

We will carry out a quantitative investigation, testing the hypothesis put forward in Cennamo 2022, whereby the selection of the reflexive strategy in Latin was initially confined to inherently telic predicates (achievements and accomplishments) (e.g., *frangere* ‘break’, *dum calor se frangat* - till heat RFL breaks - ‘Till the heat goes down’, *fervefacere* ‘heat up’, *se patinae fervefaciunt* RFL - pans heat-up - ‘The pans heat up’), whilst the active intransitive, labile strategy mainly occurred with verbs of variable/reduced telicity (e.g., *fuscare* ‘darken’, *gratia fuscavit* - grace blurred - ‘Grace blurred’), with activities (e.g., *volutare* ‘roll’, *saxa volutant* - stones roll - ‘Stones roll’) and, marginally, with accomplishments lexicalizing a reversible state (e.g., *aperire* ‘open’, *foris aperit* - door opens - ‘The door opens’). Gradually, in the course of time, the reflexive spreads to non-inherently telic (e.g., *minuere* ‘decrease’, *minuente se morbo* - decreasing RFL illness) and atelic predicates (e.g., *servare* ‘keep’ - *mala se servant* - apples RFL keep - ‘Apples keep’), and the active intransitive expands to inherently telic predicates (e.g., *rumpere* ‘break’), until in

late texts the three anticausative forms become truly interchangeable (*rumpunt dentes/rumpuntur dentes/dentes se rumpunt* - break teeth/break-R teeth/teeth RFL break - 'Its teeth break' (sc. *equus* 'horse').

The Latin data, therefore, appear to offer an interesting contribution to the current debate on the role played by the verb's inherent meaning and its interaction and integration with the event structure template of predicates in determining argument realization, showing the relevance of these notions for the synchrony and diachrony of anticausativization in Latin.

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Argument structure alternations of preverbed verbs of *fero* 'bring'

Examples of Source-Goal asymmetry

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Preverbs have received much attention in Indo-European and Latin Linguistics. The study of preverbatization as a way of exploring the syntax-semantic interface was highlighted by McGillivray (2013) in her corpus-based account of Latin prefixed motion verbs. In the linguistics of space, Source-Goal asymmetry has enjoyed the interest of scholars (e.g. Kopecka/Vuillermet 2021).

This work aims at putting together these two research fields by examining Source-Goal asymmetries involving Latin preverbs. To do so, I investigate the argument structures of preverbed forms of *fero* 'bring' in the texts from Early to Postclassical Latin of the LASLA corpus. I selected *fero* because caused motion was less investigated than intransitive motion in previous studies. I annotate the argument structures of verbs having a transfer meaning compounded with: *ad-* 'to', *ab-* 'away', *circum-* 'around', *de* 'from', *prae-* 'in front', and *per-* 'through'.

Preliminary results show that the constructions of preverbed verbs have interesting implications on Source-Goal asymmetry. Latin verbs, on one hand, exhibit semantic congruence between the portion of Path expressed in the verbal locus and the one expressed in the adnominal locus (Iacobini et al. 2017). Consider *adfero* and *aufero* taking Goal and Source preverbs, respectively: the former selects Directions/Recipients, whereas the latter selects Sources/Maleficiaries. On the other hand, Latin preverbed verbs display the cross-linguistic tendency toward occurring with Goals more often than with Sources (Kopecka/Vuillermet 2021). This asymmetry is exemplified by *defero*: it selects Goal

arguments, even though it is compounded with a Source preverb. Zanchi (2017:171) observes similar cases in Ancient Greek: “if there is a mismatch between the spatial role expressed by the preverb and that played by the verbal participant, compounds containing a Source-preverb can take a Goal-participant”. Animate Goals are expressed by either the dative or *ad* + accusative (e.g. Napoli 2018 on ditransitives). Notably, *defero* occurs more often with *ad* + accusative animate Goals. This might be explained by the syncretism of the Latin dative case that encodes both Goal-like and Source-like participants.

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The Locative Alternation with Intransitive Verbs in Latin

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The locative alternation with intransitive verbs (aka the “swarm-alternation” in the literature: cf. *The bees swarm in the garden* and *The garden swarms with bees*; see Salkoff (1983), Levin (1993), Dowty (2000), Fried (2005), Hoeksema (2009), i.a.) shows two variants where the locatum and location appear in alternating positions. As can be seen in the Latin examples in (1) and (2) with the verbs *resonare* and *micare*, in the variant A in (1a) and (2a), the locatum appears in the subject position, whereas the location surfaces as a PP and a NP in the ablative case in (1a) and (2a), respectively. In turn, in the variant B in (1b) and (2b), the location is the subject, and the locatum is expressed via a NP in the ablative case (NB: variants A and B are the terms used by Fried (2005)).

- (1) a. Et resonet tota planctus in Aemilia (Mart. 6.85.6)
b. resonat magnis plangoribus aether (Verg. Aen. 4, 668)
- (2) a. oculis micat acribus ignis (Verg. Aen. 12, 102)
b. et crebris micat ignibus aether (Verg. Aen. 1, 90)

In this talk, we will deal with some issues that are still in debate in the literature: e.g. (i) the argumental or adjunct status of the non-subject constituent in this alternation and (ii) the eventive or stative nature of the verb/construction. These two questions will be addressed by using Ramchand’s (2009) approach to argument and event structure: in the variant A, the

locatum subject assumes both the roles of initiator and undergoer of the event, while the location subject of the variant B is solely the undergoer of the event, as the initiator role is borne by the locatum entity, which is typically expressed in Latin with the ablative case and less frequently with the genitive: e.g. cf. *villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caeso, melle* (Cic. *Sen.* 56) with *quarum et abundemus rerum et quarum indigeamus* (Lucil. 308). Although the two variants can refer to the same conceptual participants (e.g. locatum/Figure and location/Ground), they involve a different syntactico-semantic construal, with a different pragmatics as well. The meaning of the variant B goes beyond the well-known holistic effect: it entails theme and event abundance and what Dowty called “dynamic texture”, whereby the events described by the verb of the variant B happen simultaneously and repetitively throughout all parts of a space. The cluster of activities is so encompassing that it creates a “texture of movement” on the surface as a whole.

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Towards an anticausative-passive continuum: some considerations on a scalar division based on Latin

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This paper proposes a scalar distinction between anticausative and passive in verbs undergoing the causal-noncausal alternation, using Latin data. The causal alternant (1) is a transitive predicate, of which the subject may be an Agent (1a), an Instrument (1b), or a Force (1c) (Van Valin & Wilkins 1996). The noncausal alternant (2) can be realized through the mediopassive (exhibiting syncretism with the passive) (2a), reflexive (2b), and labile (the active intransitive) (2c) strategies (Gianollo 2014; Cennamo 2022).

- (1) a. *Graeci (...) hordeum siccant*. “The Greeks dry barley.” (Plin. nat. 18, 72)
 b. *Sponges (...) ulcera quoque umida et senilia inpositae siccant*. “Applied sponges also dry wet and senile ulcers.” (Plin. nat. 31, 126)
 c. *Haec (...) sol siccat*. “The sun dries these things.” (Plin. nat. 21, 84)
- (2) a. *focaneus palmes (...) priusquam corroboretur* “before the ‘throat-shoot’ becomes strong.” (COLVM. 4, 24, 10)
 b. *dum se vinea corroboret* “While the vine becomes strong.” (Colum. 4, 12, 2)
 c. *Radices (...) corroboraverint* “The roots will have become strong.” (Colum. 5, 5, 6)

Data are drawn from the *Library of Latin Texts* (subcorpus *Antiquitas*). A theoretical uncertainty remains whether inactivization with an expressed Force should be classified as a passive (Siewierska 1986: 78) or as an anticausative (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 41–53). When a Force is expressed in the ablative, inactivization selects either the mediopassive strategy (3a) or the labile strategy (3b), while the reflexive strategy is reserved for internal causation.

- (3) a. *Frumenta vento separantur*. “The grain is separated by the wind” (Colum. 2, 20, 5)
 b. *Flumina (...) frigore durant*. “The river hardens by the cold.” (Aetna 498)

We propose a scalar division between passive and anticausative diatheses, where deagentivization with expressed Force falls between the two. The labile strategy becomes predominant in contexts without a Force, while the mediopassive, although clearly in decline, remained stable in these contexts. This calls for a theoretical reassessment of the passive-anticausative distinction in Latin and in linguistic theory.

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Pragmatic patterns of choice among alternative verbal constructions

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Studies of verb alternations in Latin and other languages have as a central point the identification of the patterns of distribution among the different alternating constructions. In Villa (2023) we showed the possible coexistence of different patterns among the uses of the same verb, the verb *misco*. This paper focuses on the existence of pragmatic patterns of choice between alternating constructions.

So far, to explain the specific choice of one construction or another among those associated with the same verb, patterns of semantic and stylistic-diachronic character have usually been proposed. In the case of lexical patterns, choice depends on the semantic content of the elements that fill the different argument boxes. An example is the following (cf. Villa 2023):

- (1) *Iam **caelum terramque** meo sine numine uenti miscere et tantas audetis tollere moles?*
 (Verg. *A.* 1.133–134)

‘Reckless of my will, do you dare to ride through earth and heaven, and stir these mountain waves?’

The construction with the coordinative structure ‘A *miscet* B et C’ is restricted to those cases where the referents of B and C have similar characteristics, what is reflected in the lexical meaning of the terms that describe both elements.

Stylistic-diachronic patterns associated with author preferences have been proposed, for example, by Martín Rodríguez (1996): in some cases, certain authors or genres would prefer one construction and others another. An example for the verb *miscere* is presented in the following Table.

(2)

	Comedy	Classical poetry	Classical prose	Late prose
Acc. + abl.	2 (5,9%)	31 (14,2%)	21 (8,3%)	3 (2,2%)
Acc. + <i>cum</i> abl.	8 (23,5%)	14 (6,4%)	41 (16,2%)	3 (2,2%)

(NB. Percentages refer to the total of uses of the verb *misceo* in each period)

The fact that Classical poetry seems to prefer the construction with ablative to the construction with *cum* + ablative, apparently, whereas Classical prose presents the opposite distribution can only be explained by the stylistic preference of the authors or the literary genres.

Rarely, however, the existence of pragmatic patterns for the choice among alternative constructions has been described. The most relevant antecedent of this type of approach are the studies by Bolkestein (1985a, 1985b) and by Bolkestein-Risselada (1987). This pattern would justify the choice of one construction or another in contextual conditions and would be associated with the informative relevance of the different participants. An example, also taken from the data of the verb *misceo* is the following: this verb uses a construction with the plural ‘A *miscet* B-[more than one entity]’ (3) or a coordinate structure ‘A *miscet* B and C’ (cf. [1]) when none of the elements that are objects of the union has a greater informative relevance than the other.

(3) *Erant interea ... qui, si offusa rei publicae sempiterna nox esset, ita ruebant in tenebris omniaque miscebant* (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 91)

‘there were men who ... rushed about in the darkness and threw everything into confusion as if eternal night had enveloped the whole Republic.’

On the contrary, it seems that in many cases constructions of the type ‘A *miscet* B (Ac), C (Dat)’ (4) or ‘A *miscet* B (Ac), C (*cum* + Abl.)’ (5) are preferred when one of the two elements is focalized. Then, this element receives the marking different from the accusative.

(4) *sensit peritus dux quae res uictoriae obstaret: temperandum ingenium suum esse et seueritatem miscendam comitati*, (Liv. 8.36.6)

‘The skilful leader realized what was that was preventing him from winning: he had to moderate his character and combine severity with courtesy.’

(5) Magna laetitia nobis quom te talem uirum di monuere uti ... *neue te optimum cum pessumo* omnium **lughurta** miscendo connmaculares (Sal. Jug. 102.5)

‘It gives us great pleasure that the gods have at length induced a man, so eminent as yourself, to... , and no longer to stain your own excellent character by an alliance with Jugurtha, the most infamous of mankind.’

In these two examples, an entity, previously cited in context (underlined), is taken up -literally in the case of (5)- by another element also governed by *misco*, which is set against a new focused reference (in bold), appearing in another case or prepositional syntgm.

The aim of the present paper is to present the results of the analysis of the data of a certain number of verbs which are associated with more than one alternating argument structure, where the pattern of selection between those variants can also be attributed to pragmatic factors. This is, in our opinion, a rather widespread pattern and one that should be taken into account from now on when explaining the conditions of choice between variants of the same alternating structure.

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Argument structure alternation with ditransitives in Latin

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Some Latin ditransitives allow for construction alternation of Recipient-like (R) and Theme/Instrument-like (T/Inst) participants (Lemaire 1983; Napoli 2018). This alternation has been explained with pragmatic/discourse-related factors (Bolkestein 1985) and

semantic/syntactic properties of participants (Pinkster 2015; Napoli 2018). To date, no quantitative and diachronic account of this alternation is available. We aim to fill this gap by investigating the NomAccAbl/NomAccDat alternation in a corpus ranging from Early (3rd century BCE) to Postclassical Latin (2nd century CE) taking a constructionist approach (Goldberg 1995).

To track changes over time, we manually annotate the argument structure constructions of a verb sample including *aspergo* 'strew on', *circumdo* 'surround', *dono* 'present', *impertio* 'give a share of, impart', and *munero(r)* 'present, bestow'. We discuss the meaning of either construction by examining the verb classes that select it and compare the distribution of the two constructions among verbs allowing for alternation. We analyze the semantic contribution of argument structure constructions to verbs' meanings to shed light on cases of semantic specialization (Martín Rodríguez 1996 on NomAccDat with *dono*). To do so, we focus on parameters overlooked in previous literature, including transitivity-related properties.

Our analysis shows that construction alternation is related to event profiling: NomAccDat highlights the transfer of the T, whereas NomAccAbl highlights the change of state of the R due to the transfer of the T participant. NomAccAbl decreases in favor of NomAccDat in diachrony. While the NomAccDat construction progressively became the basic construction of ditransitives of physical and cognitive transfer, the NomAccAbl construction remained related to the specialized meaning 'provide someone with something'.

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Style & Latin Linguistics¹

Organizers: Suzanne ADEMA, Margherita FANTOLI, Lidewij VAN GILS, Caroline KROON

Description: In 1985 Harm Pinkster ended his linguistically thrust article on Latin Stylistics with the words: „Gibt es eigentlich überhaupt eine Stilistik?“ After four decades of advancements in the field of Latin linguistics, in which the relatively new subfields of pragmatics and sociolinguistics came to be enriched by, *inter alia*, discourse, cognitive and digital approaches, it seems relevant and opportune to raise this question anew.

In the abovementioned article, Pinkster draws attention to the methodological divide in main stream Latin philology between studies that approach style as ‘Sprachstil’, focusing on linguistic particularities at a micro level of the text, and studies that approach style as ‘literarischer Stil’, in which stylistic analysis is taken as more or less equivalent to interpretation and in which the object of interest is more at the macro level.² Both approaches are not very explicit as to what they mean by ‘style’ and show a lack of clarity as to both the type of phenomena involved and the methods of research to be applied. The result is, in Pinkster’s words, ‘ein unsystematischer Katalog linguistischer Beobachtungen’ (1985: 67).

In the proposed workshop, we would like to pick up the discussion Pinkster started in 1985, in an attempt to contribute – from the field of contemporary Latin linguistics – to a more general discussion on the complex concept of style. This general discussion centres around questions such as: what definition of style do we use, what phenomena exactly are we talking about when we use the term, and what are our research objectives in stylistic research? The more specific and modest questions we would like to address in the proposed workshop are how the achievements of many centuries of research in Latin stylistics (starting with Antiquity itself) relate to, and may be sharpened by, the results of recent developments in Latin linguistics; and how the ‘style’ and ‘stylistic devices’ of our texts can best be determined.

It is our conviction that in answering these and related questions, substantive progress could be made based on recent developments in the field of Latin linguistics. These may, on the one hand, enable us to bridge the gap between research on ‘Sprachstil’ and research on ‘literarischer Stil’, and on the other hand offer us the (digital and other) tools to develop a systematic method of stylistic analysis in which a heterogeneous set of features can be studied in combination, and in large corpora of texts. A first development is linguistic research on the (*macro*)structure of the text, based on acquired insights into pragmatic linguistic phenomena like word order, particles/discourse markers, speech acts/illocution, tense usage,

¹ The proposed workshop is the next in a series of workshops which contribute from the field of linguistics to the *Anchoring Innovation* Gravitation Grant research agenda of OIKOS, the National Research School in Classical Studies in the Netherlands. An earlier linguistic workshop in this context was held at the ICLL in Las Palmas in 2019, with the topic of *Communicative Anchoring* (see Martín Rodríguez 2020).

² Pinkster 1985: 67–68. A representative example of the more traditional linguistic approach to Latin stylistics is Szantyr 1965; for the literary approach see e.g. Richter’s studies (1972; 1973) on the style of Tacitus and Sallust. For recent literary work on style in Latin, see Dainotti, Hasegawa, and Harrison 2024.

active–passive variation, anaphoric reference, and combinations of these. This research can be roughly divided into two branches, following the two types of discourse they focus on: narrative structure and conversational structure.³ A second relevant development is the introduction of *cognitive theories* in the study of the Latin language and literature, drawing attention to, *inter alia*, the effects (emotive, affective, or otherwise) of linguistic choices on recipients, and on such cognitive aspects as experientiality, epistemic immediacy, processing ease and cognitive alignment.⁴ Thirdly, reference can be made here to the progress made in recent years in quantitative and digital research methods, including specific studies on computational stylometry.⁵ We believe the time is ripe to synthesize these promising trends and advancements and try to take the discussion on Latin linguistics and stylistic research to the next level.

As a starting point, we suggest using Pinkster's functionally oriented definition of style (1985: 69), which approaches style primarily as *linguistic choice*:⁶ style involves the particular way in which speakers/authors give linguistic form to a particular event, fact or thought, thereby consciously or unconsciously led by the communicative goal they attempt to achieve, and the intended effect on their addressee/audience. Thus, in this view, style is approached as a choice between several available linguistic options that are related to a specific communicative function, rather than as an inventory of quite random authorial or generic preferences.

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³ For state of the arts studies on Latin pragmatics, see e.g. Denizot & Spevak 2017, Martin, Iurescia, Hof & Sorrentino 2020, and Berger & Unceta 2022; for narrative structure an upcoming volume by Adema & Allan (in prep); and for conversational structure an upcoming volume by Verano (in prep).

⁴ See e.g. Fedriani 2014; Devereaux 2016; Adema 2019; van Gils & Kroon 2019; and the upcoming volume by Fedriani & De Felice (in prep.).

⁵ See e.g. Longrée and Mellet 2018 for the application of the method of computational stylometry to Latin literature. See e.g. Chen et al. 2024; Kestemont 2016 and Agapitos and van Cranenburgh 2024 for the method of computational stylometry to texts whose authorship attribution has been disputed in scholarship. In the last few years a couple of dissertations have appeared in which quantitative data and methods were used in the investigation of the style and language of individual authors and genres. See e.g. Breunesse (to app.) on Plautus, Fantoli (2020) on Pliny the Elder, Stienaers (2024) on Sallust, Caesar and Tacitus, and Vendel (2023) on Cicero's oratory.

⁶ Since Marouzeau's seminal study on stylistics from 1935 this view has been commonplace. See also Eckert & Rickford 2002 for a sociolinguistic approach.

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‘Talking wounds’. The experientiality of exile between metaphors and vivid engagement

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This study investigates *style* in Latin linguistics through the concept of *linguistic choices*, aligning with Pinkster’s definition (1985: 69) as the distinct ways authors express specific events or ideas guided by communicative intent.

Analyzing occurrences of specific lexemes – such as *vulnus*, *plaga*, *cicatrix*, *ulcus* and *exulceratio* – and adopting a comparative perspective, I intend to explore how Seneca and Ovid conceptualize exilic pain as an embodied experience. Using a methodology rooted in cognitive linguistics and metaphor analysis, this paper examines how, for both authors, the wound is a metaphor that functions as a *source concept*, articulating exile through the conceptual framework PAIN IS A WOUND (Fedriani forth. 2025). Nonetheless, I investigate whether the wound may also serve as a *target concept* and consider which author describes exilic vulnerability as a more embodied experience. In this cognitive framework, the ‘wound metaphor’ contributes to the creation of *linguistic bodies*, where language, as an active participant in meaning-making (Di Paolo et al. 2018), shapes vulnerability as an intersubjective, embodied, and collective experience.

Both authors use letters to express their feelings - Ovid in poetic verse and Seneca in prose - a stylistic choice that not only highlights their adherence to genre conventions but also reveals distinct communicative purposes. These stylistic differences influence their linguistic choices and reflect their unique ways of representing the experience of exilic pain. For instance, whereas Senecan *consolationes* frame suffering within a Stoic therapeutic context emphasizing the treatment of vulnerability (Rimell 2020), Ovid’s exilic epistles delve into the dynamics of wounding itself, vividly portraying injury as an ongoing psychological struggle.

In conclusion, this research aims to deepen our understanding of how linguistic choices in Latin literature, shaped by genre conventions and communicative goals, construct the experience of exilic pain as both an individual and collective phenomenon. By combining cognitive linguistics and metaphor analysis, this study sheds light on how metaphorical language acts as a powerful tool to frame vulnerability and emotional landscapes, revealing the role of language in shaping embodied and intersubjective experiences within a shared cultural context.

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Speech Presentation as a Stylistic Device: A Comparative Study of Epigram (Martial) and Novel (Apuleius)

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Speech presentation is a way of integrating alterity in one's own discourse by presenting the discourse of other people. That alterity can tell us a lot about the nature of the text in which it is incorporated: the choices pertaining to speech presentation can differ widely from one genre – or one author – to another and thus constitute a stylistic signature of the genre or the work. The aim of this study will be to characterise speech presentation in the *Epigrams* of Martial and in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in order to show how each of these authors integrates the discourse of others into the genre they practice.

Our communication will focus on the field of enunciation linguistics. We will study the variations that can occur in speech presentation using the theoretical frame given by Authier-Revuz (2020). Our aim will be to provide quantified data on each variety of speech presentation, so as to be able to compare speech presentation in Martial's epigrams and in Apuleius' novel. We will distinguish the following categories:

- mode of speech presentation: direct discourse / indirect discourse / bivocal (aka free indirect discourse) / modalisation as a second assertion / autonymic modalisation of borrowing;
- realisation of the speech act: virtual speech (potential / future / negative / interrogative / jussive) / effective speech (past / contemporary / iterative);
- source of speech: collective (first person plural / second person plural / third person plural) / individual (first person singular / second person singular / third person singular); human speaker / divinity or allegory / speaking animal / speaking object;
- speech channel : written / internal (thoughts) / oral.

Examination of these different categories will enable us to highlight the stylistic choices made by Martial and by Apuleius, choices that are partly dependent on the literary genre they have chosen. The most common type of speech representation in Martial's epigrams is Indirect Discourse introduced by *dico* in the second person singular, whereas in Apuleius' novel, Direct Discourse is used most of the time, usually accompanied by an *inquit* formula with the verb in the first or third person plural. Other differences will also appear, such as the extent to which less common types of speech presentation show up (autonymic modalisation of borrowing, virtual speech, written or internal discourse...).

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Linguistic features for stylometry: the Ovidian *Consolatio ad Liviam*

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Stylometry is a quantitative approach to analyzing texts, focusing on identifying similarities and differences within a corpus. Traditionally, it has leveraged the frequency of common words (like articles and prepositions) to create a “fingerprint” of an author’s writing style (Mosteller and Wallace (1964), Kestemont (2014)). While authorship attribution is the most recognized application, stylometric techniques have also been employed to explore genre similarities and literary characteristics across various corpora (Storey and Mimno, 2020).

Several studies have addressed authorship attribution in Latin literature, examining works such as Seneca’s disputed plays and Caesar’s writings. However, the inflected nature of Latin results in fewer function words than English, which limits the analysis of syntactic preferences. Simply counting word frequencies may overlook important grammatical features, such as inflectional suffixes.

This paper aims to identify the linguistic features that best characterize authorship in Latin texts. To achieve this, a stylometric analysis is conducted across multiple linguistic layers, focusing on a specific case study: the *Consolatio ad Liviam*. The analysis utilizes the manually annotated LASLA corpus.

We employ an information theory framework, modelling each author as a source that generates tokens. The probability of encountering specific words is determined by vocabulary expansion tendencies and their frequency in the author’s texts. We use the Constrained Probability 2-parameters Poisson-Dirichlet (CP2D) model (Tani Raffaelli 2024), examining

not only traditional tokens but also lemmatized forms, character sequences, and various syntactic and morphological features, including part-of-speech and grammatical case.

Consolatio ad Liviam is a pseudo-Ovidian poem consisting of 474 elegiac distichs, written to console Empress Livia Drusilla after her son's death, Drusus Maior, around 9 BC. First published alongside Ovid's works in 1471, the poem's authorship has been debated since the late 16th century. In 1572, Justus Scaliger attributed it to Albinovanus Pedo, an Augustan poet, facing scepticism from later scholars. In 1849, Maurice Haupt suggested the poem might be a Renaissance forgery without gaining widespread acceptance. A more plausible theory, proposed by Karl Schenkl in 1880, posits that the anonymous poet could intentionally imitate Ovid's style.

With all token kinds, CP2D points to a similarity between *Consolatio* and the Ovidian style. The similarity permeates the authorial style's different lexical and syntactical aspects in comparable measures. On the one hand, this means that only a very skilful imitator could produce such a work. On the other hand, it shows that grammatical features can be considered part of the stylistic identity of a writer.

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Fronto as editor of his letter collections? The contribution of a stylistic analysis

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This paper aims to shed light on the editing phases of Fronto's Letters by analyzing the presence and distribution of morphological, syntactical, and lexical archaisms in the different sections of the corpus.

Fronto's corpus collects letters written over several decades and for multiple addressees, including his beloved pupil Marcus Aurelius and other members of Antoninus Pius' family. Every correspondence included in the main collection has its own peculiarities as far as language, style, topics and length of the letters are concerned. However, it is not clear to what extent these discrepancies are the result of the intentionality of the author, or if they have to

be attributed to the intervention a posthumous editor, who might have gathered Fronto's writings by putting together both the letters that had been edited for publication by the author and other, more private, texts.

In this respect, a stylistic analysis may help casting light on the dynamics that led to the making of the corpus, and on the impact that Fronto had in the process. Fronto identifies the archaism of forms and terms as the main stylistic feature that any learned prose and letter writer should adopt; thus, the paper will assess the consistency between Fronto's statements on style and his own linguistic choices, by considering the occurrence, use and distribution of terms, morphological forms and constructions typical of early Latin in the different parts of the corpus. The final results will help better determining whether, and how, the author contributed to the editing of his own collection; on the other hand, they will give an insight into his view on style and stylistic choices.

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Ad hoc categorization in Latin philosophical discourse

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Since the studies in cognitive psychology carried out the 1970s, the process of categorization has been described as the grouping of items based on prototypes, i.e., the 'best exemplars' featuring all the typical properties of the class. For example, prototypical exemplars of [FURNITURE] are *chair* and *table*, whereas *stove* is a more peripheral member (Rosch & Mervis 1975). Subsequent research has however shown that most categories are built 'on the spot' to perform a contextually relevant task: Barsalou (1983) introduced the notion of "*ad hoc* categories" to account for such 'nonce' categories that emerge spontaneously in actual contexts of use to achieve an interactionally-relevant goal (e.g. [TOURIST ACTIVITIES TO PERFORM IN UDINE AFTER A CONFERENCE]). To my knowledge, this phenomenon has been investigated only in modern languages (e.g. Mauri et al. 2021), whereas it has not yet received attention in relation to ancient languages.

My research question is therefore: is ad hoc categorization documented in Latin texts? If so, which ones, and how was it linguistically expressed? Could it be a phenomenon explained based on the stylistic choices of a given author, or typical of a given genre?

This study shows that *ad hoc* categories are also present in Latin, specifically in philosophical works. An example is (1): Seneca introduces an abstract category (in bold), that was probably not yet established in the minds of readers and whose referential content needed to be defined contextually through a list of prototypical exemplars, a set of negative events that elude our control:

(1) *quam stultitia et ignoratio condicionis est ... indigne ferre ea, quae tam bonis accidunt quam malis, — morbos dico, funera, debilitates et cetera ex transverso in vitam humanam incurrentia.* (Sen. dial. VII 15, 6)

‘It is great folly and ignorance of one’s lot to be indignant at **those ills that befall the good no less than the bad** – I mean sickness and death and infirmities and all the other unexpected ills that invade human life.’

Crucially, such a list with exemplificatory function is flagged up by *dico*. I will argue that in such constructions *dico* underwent discursive specialization as a *categorization clue*, typically occurring after a category label and triggering exemplification.

To identify potential instances of *ad hoc* categories, I have examined all instances of *dico* in the *Antiquitas* section of the *Library of Latin Texts*. The corpus-based analysis revealed that they mostly occur in philosophical works, where there is a strong need for precision in the construction of a concept, possibly constituting a *stylistic feature* typical of this genre, motivated by the need of strategically enjoining the co-construction of reference between author and reader, for example when calling into play the common ground necessary to anchor a referent to the local context, ensuring informational alignment and opening up access to an *ad hoc* category ‘in the making’.

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Style as characterisation in Roman Tragedy: a case study using Natural Language Processing Techniques

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1. Motivation. The proposed contribution aims at investigating linguistic characterisation in dramatic texts by leveraging Natural Language Processing (NLP) techniques.

More specifically, by linguistic characterisation we mean the linguistic features that authors employ for utterances of characters in dramatic texts. Our research hypothesis suggests that variations in sociolinguistic features and roles within the dramatic plot will be reflected in the language used to portray characters (from a pragmatic perspective, see, e.g. Culpeper, Fernandez-Quintanilla 2017; for a recent example on ancient Greek tragedy, see van Emde Boas 2017). We aim to investigate such hypothesis through NLP techniques. In doing so, we align with the functionally oriented definition of style proposed by Pinkster (1985), that defines style as linguistic choice led by motivations that refer to, among others, communication settings and impact on interlocutors.

2. Data. We take Roman tragedy as a case study, more specifically a subset consisting of three tragedies authored by Seneca (1st CE): *Agamemnon*, *Oedipus*, *Hercules Furens* (nearly 20,000 tokens). We rely on texts enhanced with tokenisation and annotation with respect to lemmatisation, Part-Of-Speech tagging, and morphological features by the Laboratoire d'Analyse Statistique des Langues Anciennes (L.A.S.L.A.) and syntactic annotation performed manually within the UD framework at the CIRCSE research centre. The *Agamemnon* and the *Hercules Furens* are published in UD release 2.14 (https://github.com/UniversalDependencies/UD_Latin-CIRCSE); the *Oedipus* at the time of writing is not public yet.

3. Methodology. Several features will be extracted by using *Profiling-UD* (see Brunato et al. 2020), a tool that extracts and quantifies more than 130 linguistic properties of a text across different levels of analyses, such as document, sentence and word length, lexical variety, morphosyntactic information and syntactic relations. The tool has already been successfully applied to various use cases related to author and text profiling (Mattei et al., 2020; Alzetta et al. 2024) but, as far as we know, its use on Latin is a novelty. In addition to the analyses already provided by *Profiling-UD*, our study will be enriched by two other features: i.e., the number of lemmas with positive or negative sentiment and the number of lemmas containing specific types of affixes and suffixes. The first feature will be based on the *LatinAffectus* polarity lexicon (Sprugnoli et al. 2023), while the second will exploit the information present in the *Word Formation Latin*, a derivational morphology resource (Litta, Passarotti 2019).

The snippets of text uttered by the various characters of the comedies listed in section 2 will be processed to extract the aforementioned features. The result will be presented highlighting which features proved to be most discriminating.

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Effets stylistiques de la rareté de *ille* dans la *narratio* livienne.

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L'étude des déictiques (*hic, ille, iste*) en latin classique fait apparaître que les *narrationes* des historiens comportent beaucoup moins de déictiques que les textes qui relèvent de l'oralité (théâtre, correspondance, dialogues philosophiques et discours). Ce point a été déjà souligné par Bolkestein (2000). Parmi les auteurs que nous avons examinés (dont César, Tacite et Suétone) Tite-Live est l'un des plus économes. On note surtout que le très faible nombre de *ille* est compensé par une augmentation des emplois de *ipse*.

Le but de cette communication est de comprendre le choix de Tite-Live et d'en mesurer les conséquences sur la manière dont est mené et construit le récit.

Il est nécessaire de partir de la signification et du rôle joué par le déictique. Conformément à Kroon (2009) et Joffre (2009 ; 2011 et 2020), on peut dire que dans la mesure où son fonctionnement est transphrastique, *ille* est la marque d'une rupture dans l'énoncé ; il signale le passage d'un épisode à un autre, d'un point de vue à un autre ; il peut aussi marquer un contraste voire une opposition (*hic / ille* ; voir Joffre 2010). Un premier exemple, *ille* marque le passage d'un locuteur à un autre. Il accompagne la prise de parole de Syphax, signalée par *tum*, en réponse à la question de Scipion :

Liu. 30,13,9-10 *Syphaci* animum dederunt in alloquendo uictore. Nam cum Scipio quid sibi uoluisset quaereret qui [...] ultro bellum intulisset. Tum **ille** pecasse quidem sese atque insanisse fatebatur.

On notera également l'utilisation de *ille* pour souligner le revirement de comportement de Scipion devant les propositions de paix proposées par Syphax, allié de Carthage :

Liu. 30,3,7 *Primo eas condiciones* imperator Romanus uix auribus admisit ; postea, ut causa probabilis suis commeandi foret in castra hostium, mollius **eadem illa** abnuere...

Il est remarquable que le déictique soit associé à la forme *eadem* qui explicite et renforce l'anaphore du syntagme nominal. Cette insistance fait ressortir davantage la rupture entre les deux attitudes.

Et la rareté de *ille* dans la *narratio* de Tite-Live permet un récit linéaire des événements, conforme à la chronologie et à l'enchaînement logique des causes et des conséquences. C'est un fait bien connu que la structure des phrases de la *narratio* privilégie l'enchaînement des participes, épithètes ou en ablatif absolu, qui se clôt par la mention finale, tel un point d'orgue, du seul verbe conjugué à un mode personnel. Le narrateur s'efface alors et se refuse à porter un jugement. On glisse sans heurt d'un thème à un autre. En contrepartie, ce type d'économie exige la plus grande attention de la part de l'auditeur/lecteur, comme on peut le voir dans le récit de la rencontre entre Masinissa et Sophonisbe :

Liu. 30,12,10-11 *Et Masinissa praesidio [...] dimisso, [...] ad regiam occupandam citato uadit equo. Intransi uestibulum in ipso limine Sophonisba* uxor Syphacis, filia Hasdru-balis, occurrit et, cum in medio agmine insignem cum armis tum cetero habitu conspexisset, regem esse, id quod erat, **rata** genibus **aduoluta** eius : « ..., inquit, ... »

On notera que, dans ce dernier exemple, le passage d'un thème à un autre, en l'occurrence de Masinissa à Sophonisbe se produit par l'intermédiaire du participe présent *intransi*, placé en tête de la seconde phrase et désignant l'allié des Romains. La position syntaxique de dépendance du participe correspond à un effacement de la notion qu'il qualifie devant l'émergence d'un nouveau thème occupant la fonction de sujet grammatical ; il sera ensuite qualifié par deux participes passés avant la mention du verbe conjugué *inquit*. L'absence d'outils marquant la rupture ou l'opposition concourt à donner l'impression d'un regard qui ne se détourne jamais de la scène mais la balaie pour glisser d'un protagoniste à l'autre.

Le temps imparfait ne permettra sans doute pas d'aborder la question de *ipse*. Cette forme qui ne jouit pas encore du statut de déictique « plein », qui signifie l'isolement d'une notion au milieu d'éléments comparables, permet elle aussi de marquer opposition et contraste, mais seulement à l'intérieur de la phrase (Joffre, à paraître). Car contrairement à *ille*, *ipse* n'est encore que très rarement transphrastique. Sa présence ne rompt donc pas la fluidité de la *narratio* :

Liu. 30,25,8 *Concitatam <nauem> enim remis quanto maximo impetu poterant, in terram cum inmisissent, nauis tanta iactura facta, incolumes ipsi euaserunt.*

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Stylizing Stories: *et* and *nec* as Tools of Macro-Structure in Historical Narrative

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This paper aims to demonstrate how the connective *et* (and its negative counterpart *nec*) may serve as an instrument for shaping distinct storylines in historical narrative. I will demonstrate that the use of *et* (or *nec*) can be strategic and rhetorical, marking a secondary narrative thread, presented separately and possibly even more pivotal than the primary narrative thread. This use of *et* is a deliberate linguistic choice by the author, thus holding stylistic significance.

According to Pinkster, *et* serves as a general coordinator, used for all forms of coordination, encompassing both clauses and constituents, irrespective of the semantic relationship between the connected elements; it merely functions to add another component (Pinkster 2021: 621). While *et* can also operate as a sentence connector, this use is rare (Pinkster 2021: 1168; TLL s.v. et 890.14ff.). Note that the distinction between coordination of clauses and connection of sentences is not always easy to make (Pinkster 2021: 583). A sentence beginning with *et* generally introduces a new piece of information; the exact type of relation depends on the broader context (Pinkster 2021: 1168).

Drawing on Kroon (1995), this paper looks at a quite specific stylistic and rhetorical use of *et*. According to Kroon, while on a representational level of discourse, *et* serves as a coordinator marking an act-internal relationship between two symmetrical elements, on a presentational level, *et* may function as a connector of two independent, asymmetrical discourse units (Kroon 1995: 69-70; 106). In the latter case, the initial clause sometimes serves as a precursor, while the following clause is introduced by *et* as a significant new stage in the narrative.

Scholars have previously addressed such examples. For instance, Bartera (2011) observes that Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.1.1) perceives two factors as decisive in the murder of Agrippina: Nero's reinforced boldness (*coalita audacia*) *et* his infatuation with Poppea Sabina (*flagrantior in dies amore*). Of the two factors, Bartera argues, Nero's love for Poppea undoubtedly carries the greatest significance for the subsequent narrative; *et* emphatically sets the second factor apart (Bartera 2011: 168 with note 35). My own research into the Piso-episode in *Annals* 2 and 3 reveals that the storyline involving Plancina is similarly set apart rhetorically through the use of *et* and *nec* (respectively, *Tac. Ann.* 2.43.4-5; 2.55.6).

This paper aligns with the goals of the workshop by demonstrating how a linguistic choice may contribute to the structural (and rhetorical) design of historical narrative, reflecting Pinkster's functional approach to style (Pinkster 1985: 69). By analyzing this remarkable use of *et* and *nec* in a corpus of texts taken from Tacitus' *Annals*, this paper seeks to attribute a broader function to *et*, extending its role beyond the merely additive function, arguing that its deployment can signal a secondary narrative thread with significant rhetorical weight. With this paper, I hope to contribute to deepening our understanding of textual strategies in historical narratives, highlighting how Tacitus intentionally shapes his text to create both layering and coherence across multiple storylines.

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Style or styles? Could a style be shared? Latin historians at the light of textometry

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In his book *L'expression narrative chez les historiens latins, Histoire d'un style* (1969), J.-P. Chausserie-Laprée studies a sample of historical texts and explains how the structure of narrative sentences evolved from Caesar to Tacitus. The very title of this book raises questions insofar as it confuses "style", "expression" and "genre". The style is generally considered as the personal way an author writes, and then is mainly specific to one writer:

therefore, how is a diachronic study of "style" possible, if not inside the corpus of only one author? The "expression" could be in a way compared to the discourse modes of C. Smith (2003), even with quite different categories; in no case "expression" and "style" are identical as it seems suggested by the title. This "expression" (in this case narrative) characterizes an enunciation mode and helps to define the genre, though it is not the only factor, as Rastier (2001) points out: the difference between text type and genre is precisely that text types are classes based on a single criterion, whereas genre is defined by 'the cohesion of a set of criteria'. The genre is grounded on a genuine textual semiosis combining criteria at the level of the signifier and the signified: (Rastier 2000; Rastier and Malrieux 2001).

The textual data analysis of the LASLA files with the Hyperbase Web allows however to detect sometime surprising facts: one author could write with important stylistic variations, even with the same genre and expression; two different authors could write with a quite identical language and style, especially in the case of imitators. This paper will explore two puzzling cases, one of the Classical period, the other of the Late Antiquity.

On the one hand, Hyperbase Web will point out similarities and differences in the writing of Caesar and of his continuators. Such a research (Longrée et alii, 2005, 2007, 2009)) shows that the various books of the Caesarian corpus are regrouped in unexpected ways: books 1 to 4 of the *Bellum Gallicum*, opposed to books 4 to 8 including the book due to Hirtius; books 1 and 2 of the *Bellum ciuile*, quite different from book 3, at the same distance of the books of the continuators. The paper will explore to which extent these variations allow to distinguish various "styles" common to various authors. It will also question the notion of "imitation". On the other hand, the paper will focus on the *Historia Augusta*. This work regroup various biographies of emperors, attributed to various authors, but most of the specialists consider in fact that it is a forgery dating from the late 4th century written by a single author. The research will investigate the linguistics and stylistics differences existing between the biographies in order to take a fresh look at this issue and see to what extent an author can deliberately choose to 'vary' his style. The final aim of the paper will be to precise to which extent style and authorship are or not closely related.

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Syntactic Style: Understanding stylistic differences through Universal Dependencies and Shapley Values

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1. Motivation. It is already accepted that syntactic and grammatical features form part of each author's unique style, just like lexical choice (e.g. Gorman 2022). This has been used in the past to perform authorship attribution, but in this paper it is used to interpret, at a close-reading level, the particular features in which given authors differ. For example, if we compare Catullus and Horace, many readers would notice that Horace uses fewer personal and demonstrative pronouns, but would they easily notice that Horace is more likely to use a coordinating conjunction immediately before a conjunct? Or that Catullus has a stronger tendency to use a case-marking preposition before an oblique nominal (*ex pectore*, in *cacumine*) whereas Horace is more likely to follow them with adverbial modifiers? With this in mind, the primary emphasis of this work is to foreground syntactic features that distinguish authors (or genres, or times...) for a human scholar to interpret, which will be illustrated with various examples.

2. Corpus and Application. The corpus used for analysis is classical Latin, primarily poetic, but with some prose examples for comparison. The choice of Latin verse is made partially from external forces - it is my primary research area - and partially because poetic constructions offer an extra challenge in that the syntax can be highly compressed, and the words must also be arranged such that they comply with metrical rules. It is interesting to know whether the authorial syntactic/grammatical preferences are still visible with these extra constraints (they are). Although the examples used are classical, generally speaking the approach here is generic, and indeed mostly language agnostic.

3. Methodology. To perform this analysis, Latin texts are first analysed with UDPipe (Straka, Hajic and Straková, 2016), syntactic dependency and grammatical features are extracted from the UDPipe output, and then a tree-based classifier (we use XGBoost [Chen and Guestrin, 2016], but any would work) is trained at the individual sentence level. This high granularity is perhaps surprising, but can still yield more than 75% 2-class accuracy, showing how distinctive authorial style can be. The core of the approach is that the model is then interpreted and explained using Shapley Additive Explanations (Shapley, 1951; Lundberg et al., 2020), which offer a consistent and fair assignment of feature importance with a number of strong properties. The goal here is not primarily to classify or cluster, but simply to achieve, with computational assistance, a deeper understanding of the syntactic differences

between authors, whether caused by individual preference, the time in which they wrote, or genre-based mannerism.

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Mind style in Cicero's *Brutus*

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The notion ‘mind style’ (introduced by Roger Fowler in 1977 to describe “any distinctive linguistic representation of an individual mental self”, p. 103), borrowed from the theory of cognitive stylistics, explores the way people speak. This reveals a lot about their way of thinking and their character (Apperly 2010, Lavelle 2022). Authors shape their characters through their use of language, showing how the characterisation of narrators is determined by their speaking style and ‘linguistic behaviour’. It is used to analyse the thoughts, ideas and values of characters based on what they say and how exactly they use language.

This paper analyses certain patterns in Cicero's *Brutus* (46 BCE), in particular the shifts of the interlocutors and the linguistic markers that indicate their moods and mutual behavioural observations. *Brutus* is famously written in the form of a dialogue between Marcus Junius Brutus, Titus Pomponius Atticus and Cicero. This paper will focus on the introduction (10-24), where all three characters are presented and engage in a lively discussion. Both Brutus and Atticus attempt to reassure Cicero of his mental and bodily ‘anxiety’ (*me angebat, molestia, perturbatione totius valetudinis*, etc.) with regard to public affairs, as is frequently mentioned. Furthermore, the interruptions of Brutus and Atticus will be examined in detail (e.g. 52, 74, 91, 99, 118, 122-123, 279, 284, 292, 299-300, 328) and the question will be posed as to where precisely Cicero's account of the history of rhetoric was interrupted by his interlocutors, and what purpose these interruptions serve.

I suggest that Cicero's interlocutors' psychology is more complex than previously thought. It seems that they are constantly engaged in a process of mindreading, which could have an impact on our ability to know other people's minds.

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Paradigmatics and syntagmatics in cooperation: reflections on style in some case studies

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"Since linguistics is the global science of verbal structure, poetics may be regarded as an integral part of linguistics" Roman Jakobson (1960: 350) wrote in the closing statements of the proceedings of a conference devoted to *Style in language*. *A fortiori*, since verbal expressions are linguistic behaviors, it is apparent that linguistics is concerned with aspects of style, meant as choice between options given by a linguistic system – obviously not as an inventory of random preferences (Marouzeau 1935, Hofmann & Szantyr 1965, Pinkster 1985: 69, Oniga 2002: 272-274).

On the background of the "fundamentals of style" given by "the collective art of the language itself" (Sapir 1921: 242, 240), the *differentia* that define individual styles of speakers – and, of course, writers – may be seen as deviations from an ideal norm (Spitzer 1948: 11; cf. Bally 1913: 26). But what makes a choice a deviation, or in other words: which type of markedness makes a stylistic choice relevant?

This paper suggests a tentative taxonomy of marked choices from the viewpoint of both paradigmatics and syntagmatics (cf. Longrée & Meillet 2018); the standpoint taken, though, is qualitative and not quantitative. Through the analysis of three different case-studies, the following possibilities and their textual effects will be analysed:

- paradigmatic markedness: an unexpected choice is made, in consideration of the relationship between *signifié* and *signifiant* (Caesar talking about himself in third person);
- syntagmatic markedness: a paradigmatic option is projected onto the syntagmatic axis (*ego ille* in Plautus' *Amph.* 626);
- circular markedness: two – or more – interpretive possibilities coexist due to the circularity of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships (*commissa piacula* in Virgil, *Aen.* 569) meaning at the same time 'the committed crimes' and 'the due atonements').

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How to distinguish between style, literary genre and discourse mode in an epistolary corpus? A comparison of two case studies

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The epistolary genre has its roots in Antiquity and is born from a strong need of communication. Despite its traditional definition of « conversation between absent people », the letter form is in reality quite difficult to study and define (Cugusi 1983). For example in regards to its content, it can develop almost any theme, be it in prose or poetry, going from consolation to simple conversation, to polemical attacks and many more: in this way, it almost fluctuates between different genres (Scourfield 2013). Even the tone and style may vary according to the addressee and the nature of the letter, whether it is private or public (Deswarte, Herbers, Sirantoine 2018).

Our researches are focused on two epistolary authors in particular who each have exploited the genre in a different way: on one hand, there is Jerome of Stridon (347-419 A.D.), who presents a vast corpus of 120 letters (Hagendahl 1958). From these, the 10 consolatories stand out as a model for the Christian consolatory genre (Favez 1937; Mantel 2021) and they are the subject of Arianna Rosa's research.

On the other hand, there is Peter Damian (1006/7-1072 A.D.), who left us a large corpus of 180 political and polemical letters, intended to influence his contemporaries in the context of the Gregorian Reform; from these, Valérie Thon is studying 20 letters in detail in her thesis (Leclercq 1960; D'Acunto 2016).

The goal of our presentation is to compare the methodology of our individual researches and, in doing so, we will offer concrete examples that will highlight the similarities and differences in each author's style, discourse mode and the use of the epistolary genre. It's interesting to note that both our methods use the HyperBase program, a software developed by the LASLA (Laboratory for the Statistical Analysis of Ancient Languages) of the University of Liège and the Laboratory « Bases, corpus, language » of the University of Nice (Longrée 2012; Vanni 2024). It allows us to explore statistically the vocabulary and morphosyntactic categories of our epistolary authors in order to study in a new way their language and personal style.

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Comparing the narrative styles of Sallust, Caesar, and Tacitus: a systematic discourse linguistic-narratological approach

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In this presentation, I illustrate a systematic close-reading approach that combines discourse linguistics and narratology to compare the styles of narrative texts and authors. My discourse linguistic-narratological framework comprises three parameters: discourse modes

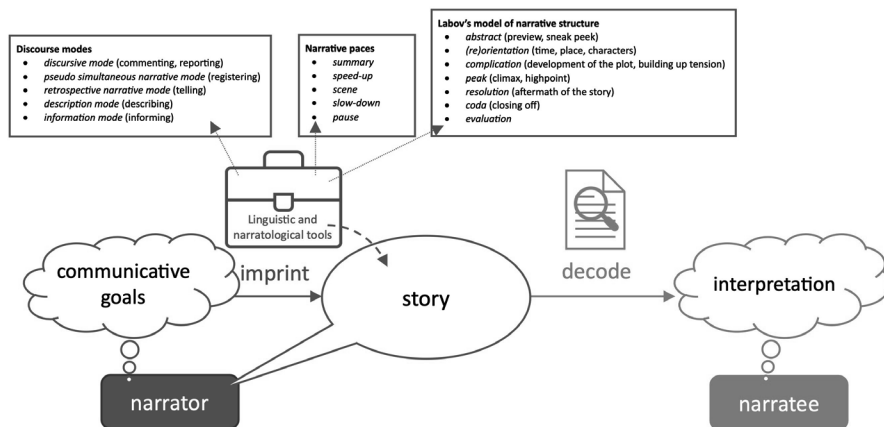
(Adema, 2019), narrative pace (Bal, 2009; De Jong, 2015), and Labov's model of narrative structure (Labov, 1978). These are three narrative tools a narrator can use to compose his story. They are visualised in Figure 1.

To demonstrate how my systematic discourse linguistic-narratological approach enriches the interpretation of texts and enhances stylistic (comparative) analysis, I apply it to a corpus of three Latin war narratives: Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* books 1 and 7, and Tacitus' *Historiae* book 4. The results of my close reading analysis show that, although these three historiographers have the same discourse linguistic and narratological tools at their disposal, they differ significantly in how they use and combine the narrative tools (Stienaers, 2024). These differences can be related to the communicative messages or the ideological positions they want to get across to the narratee.

My presentation aims to contribute to the question of how recent developments in Latin linguistics can enhance and enrich previous achievements in scholarship. In particular, my discourse linguistic-narratological framework offers a systematic way to identify and describe the style and stylistic devices of narrative texts, thereby enabling comparison between texts and authors.

Figure 1

Communication between narrator and narratee



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Deference and Potestas in the Letters of Pliny the Younger

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Pliny's epistles are an invaluable source to approach the study of different linguistic habits and styles, within both the administrative and the everyday languages of his time (between the end of the first century CE and the first decennium of the second century CE). The variety of recipients and the voices of other correspondents, stemming from different social positions, make this corpus a very relevant one for the exploration of interactional dynamics and coexisting politeness strategies in contexts of (sometimes acute) power imbalance.

Despite its interest, this correspondence is, however, still understudied (exceptions are Coleman 2012, Dickey 2015, and Gómez Santamaría 2003, being the latter strictly focused on the *Panegyricus*). Thus, in this paper I will explore the linguistic styles of the voices in this corpus from the point of view of Politeness theories (Unceta Gómez and Berger 2022), with a specific focus on authoritative and submissive styles of talk, that is, linguistic features that index, respectively, higher or lower hierarchical status, thus collaborating in the performance of different identities.

Building on the concepts of “deference” and “discernment politeness” (Ridealgh and Jucker 2019), on the one hand, and “potestas” (Ridealgh and Unceta Gómez 2020), on the other, I will try to individuate and analyse politeness strategies that define deferent and authoritative styles of communication in this synchronic but polyphonic and stratified linguistic data.

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***Et* as a stylistic marker: Conjunctive coordination in Silius Italicus' *Punica*.**

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This paper provides a new perspective on coordinators in Latin epic poetry, bridging stylistics and linguistics. *Et*, *-que* and *ac/atque* (and negative *nec/neque*) are the available conjunctive coordinators. They are used to link clauses or a sentence's constituents. In this paper, I demonstrate that the use of a coordinator can, on the one hand, signal the author's 'personal' style and, on the other hand, show diachronic shifts in usage.

Latin grammars agree on the basic functions of the two most prominent coordinators: *et* and *-que*. *Et*, the more neutral coordinator, does not require the constituents to be closely related in meaning (Pinkster 2021, 632–3; K-S 631). It is often used to connect clauses and occurs more often in prose than poetry. In poetry, repeated *-que* is popular in dactylic metres because of the coordinator's convenience for building a dactyl. In contrast to *et*, *-que* has a more specific connotation: it often links constituents with 'cognate meanings', suggesting a close relation between constituents (Pinkster 2021, 621). It is regularly used in poetry to coordinate a list of proper nouns.

My paper starts with the coordination of constituents in Latin poetry. Diachronic changes in the use of conjunctive coordination to connect constituents have been given little attention, especially in Latin poetry. This paper provides new insights into this type of coordination. I limit myself to multiple conjunctive (and correlative) coordination in Virgil's *Georgics*, *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphosis* and Silius Italicus' *Punica*.

Changes in the use of coordination can be observed from Virgil to Silius Italicus. Whereas lists are mostly coordinated with *-que* (or a combination of *-que* and *et*) in Virgil, signalling the relation between the constituents, *-que* is alternated more often with *et* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and *-que* loses its popularity in Silius Italicus even more with quintuple *et* in Sil. *Pun.* 10.304 as the most extreme case. In Silius Italicus, *et* becomes almost synonymous with and preferred over *-que*. Another divergent use of coordinators in Silius Italicus is correlative *atque* in Sil. *Pun.* 1.93–4, which is rare in Latin literature (Pinkster 2021, 640; K-S 642–3). I examine to what extent this is a diachronic trend or authorial preference.

In this paper, I show that the choice of a coordinator in epic poetry can partly be explained as a personal style (*et* as a stylistic marker of Silius Italicus' *Punica*). At the same time, I demonstrate a change in the usage of certain coordinators in this period. Furthermore, this analysis paves the way for further research on the interplay of stylistics and linguistics in coordinating clauses in epic poetry. I will end my paper illustrating this with several examples from Silius' *Punica*, looking at the usage of coordinators on the narrative level.

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The ablative absolute in Livy and Tacitus. A cognitive-linguistic approach to stylistic comparison

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Generic ideas about style differences between authors are usually uncontroversial, but at the same time notoriously difficult to capture in terms of concrete linguistic features. The stylistic differences between the two historiographers Livy and Tacitus, for instance, are often described in terms of the opposition 'smooth' versus 'pointed', or with similar sensory adjectives. However, there are no specific grammatical constructions unique to either one of them, while it is also clear that the perceived differences cannot be accounted for in terms of lexicon. In this paper we will explore, with the ablative absolute as a case study, whether a cognitive linguistic approach that focuses primarily on reader expectations and information distribution may shed light on the perceived stylistic differences between both authors, therewith continuing the seminal work of Chausserie-Laprée (1969) and Longrée (e.g. 1995; 1996).

Using Pinkster's Oxford Latin Syntax as our starting point, we provide the results of a syntactic, pragmatic and cognitive-linguistic analysis of the ablative absolutes in Tac. *Ann.* 15 and Liv.5.32-50 (ca. 10.000 words each, in total ca. 200 instances). We will consider its distinctive grammatical features from a cognitive perspective and turn our attention to the role of the ablative absolute as an independent discourse-planning and discourse-processing unit in the information flow (see e.g. Chafe 1994; Rummelink 2002, Hannay & Kroon 2005, Kroon 2005, Giomi & Keizer 2020).

It will be shown that Livy and Tacitus exploit the grammatical underspecificity of the construction in different ways. Whereas Livy has a more predictable use of the ablative absolute which can mainly be accounted for in terms of 'processing ease, Tacitus' use is more varied, and often unpredictable and complex in terms of discourse processing. With this cognitive approach to the ablative absolute we aim to provide additional linguistic input to stylistic comparisons between Livy and Tacitus.

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Workshop “Mille e una linguistica intorno al latino. Per Paolo Poccetti”

Organizzatrice: Anna ORLANDINI

Descrizione: Questo workshop trova la sua motivazione primaria nel desiderio di mostrare quanti temi e linee di ricerca possono intrecciarsi intorno al latino, prendendo spunto dall'attività scientifica del collega ed amico Paolo Poccetti, che qui ci fa piacere festeggiare nel momento in cui lascia l'insegnamento *in praesentia*, consegnando ai giovani studiosi un esemplare stile di ricerca. Formatosi alla prestigiosa scuola comparatista pisana di Enrico Campanile, Paolo Poccetti è stato sempre aperto ad ogni approccio linguistico che gli permettesse di aumentare la conoscenza del mondo antico, dalle lingue classiche alle lingue italiane, sempre attento ai progressi teorici della linguistica contemporanea, senza frontiere o pregiudizi, ma senza mai legarsi ad una scuola o ad una corrente di pensiero.

Per questo un gruppo di amici, che partecipa con lui da decenni ai Convegni Internazionali di Linguistica Latina, vuole qui confrontarsi sul vasto e inclusivo concetto di 'linguistica latina', tema fondante degli ICLL fin dal primo incontro ad Amsterdam nel 1981, all'insegna del pluralismo metodologico, della trasversalità dei saperi e della ricerca interdisciplinare. Una strada che il collega Paolo Poccetti ha indicato e fruttuosamente percorso con la propria vastissima produzione scientifica. Ognuno dei partecipanti ha apportato una sua peculiarità a questo workshop, che ha come obiettivo la valorizzazione di tutti i contributi teorici, storici e filologici all'analisi della lingua latina.

Una prova della molteplicità degli interessi suscitati dalla lezione del Maestro ci viene offerta dagli interventi dei suoi allievi. Edoardo Middei, attraverso uno studio comparativo ed etimologico, mostra l'importanza dell'apporto dell'onomastica alla conoscenza dei sistemi di nominazione personale dell'Italia antica e all'arricchimento del lessico delle lingue di frammentaria attestazione. Federica Fumante, sulle tracce dell'analisi sviluppata da Paolo Poccetti nel *Testamentum Porcelli*, analizza un altro testo tardo e maccheronico di soggetto culinario. Felicia Logozzo presenta un'analisi semantica e pragmatica del verbo *volo*, secondo uno stile d'indagine proposto dal nostro collega negli ultimi venti anni.

Su questa linea si collocano i contributi di Anna Orlandini e Pierluigi Cuzzolin, che hanno per oggetto l'indagine su due pronomi indefiniti latini, rispettivamente *alter* nella *iunctura alter ego* e *quisquis*. L'analisi stilistico-retorica delle esclamative in Catullo, sviluppata da Mariella Bonvicini e Mauro Lasagna, si giova anch'essa dell'approccio pragmatico.

La problematica della traduzione inter- e intra-linguistica è stata affrontata da Paolo Poccetti dal punto di vista sintattico-semantico in diverse occasioni. Alla traduzione latina della Bibbia, in particolare per quanto riguarda l'interpretazione dei participi aoristici, è consacrato il lavoro di Liana Tronci. Non manca uno sguardo ai problemi prosodici e fonologici: il contributo di Lucie Pultrová analizza questi fenomeni nel testo plautino, attraverso un'analisi pragmatica che prende in conto il ruolo dei singoli personaggi nella commedia e il tipo di situazione in cui agiscono.

Diversi contributi presentano un'analisi diacronica di fenomeni morfologici e di problemi di lessicografia: Vincent Martzloff indaga i lessemi *suffrāgium* e *suffrāgārī*, Antonio María Martín Rodríguez il lessema *adulter* in latino imperiale, Benjamin Garcia Hernandez l'antica famiglia semantica riconducibile a *dolāre* e *dolēre*, Paolo De Paolis i due lessemi *salsamentum* e *salmentum*, quest'ultimo considerato dai grammatici latini un esempio di *barbarismus per detractationem*. Anche il contributo di Gerd Haverling sviluppa un'analisi

diacronica che indaga sulla formazione delle parole e la loro continuità (o discontinuità) tra latino arcaico e latino tardo.

Tre lavori testimoniano l'interesse epigrafico che da sempre connota gli studi di Paolo Poccetti. Michèle Fruyt indaga, a partire dalle *Tavolette di Vindolanda*, sulla delimitazione delle unità lessicali e sintattiche pertinenti in latino, ma anche sulla struttura informativa della frase. Giovanbattista Galdi analizza le *sortes* di Bahareno della Montagna, la più ricca e importante collezione di responsi oracolari latini rinvenuti in Italia. Daniela Urbanová, a partire dalle *Tabulae Defixionum*, discute degli usi non letterari delle negazioni *ne* e *non* in contesti di rituali magici.

Il contributo di Hava Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot traccia nuove piste a proposito di un problema di linguistica generale di notevole interesse per i latinisti: i confini fluidi delle categorie grammaticali (in particolare tra avverbio e aggettivo), ed i fenomeni di polisemia e di ambiguità a cui sono soggette queste categorie. Su questa linea si colloca poi il contributo puntuale di Elisabetta Magni e Silvia Pieroni, che indaga sullo status categoriale del lessema *volup*, attestato in latino arcaico e tardo, dove riceve spesso una interpretazione ambigua tra nome, aggettivo e avverbio. Il dibattito sulla delimitazione di una categoria grammaticale è presente anche nel contributo di Bernard Bortolussi e Lyliane Sznajder, che verte a ridefinire la categoria sintattica di oggetto interno. Ugualmente, per quanto concerne le categorie lessicali, il lavoro di Chantal Kircher ha l'obiettivo di ridefinire la categoria di *hapax*.

Allargando la prospettiva alla trasmissione e alla fortuna dell'antico nelle età successive, Rosa Medina Granda mostra, a partire dal provenzale, in chiave comparatista e discorsiva, che la dittologia sinonimica della poesia latina arcaica e le costruzioni paratattiche, già note a Catone, sono una specie di universale linguistico, presente non solamente nei testi lirici, ma anche in quelli giuridici. Renato Oniga, commentando un epigramma di Franciscus Modius a Ludovicus Carrio, esplora l'importanza del gioco stilistico e dell'arte allusiva nella tradizione della grande filologia fiamminga del Cinquecento, ai confini tra linguistica, filologia e storia degli studi. Andrea Nuti, infine, focalizza i diversi indirizzi di pensiero sviluppatisi nel tempo sulla storia della lingua latina, sintetizzati dal saggio di Paolo Poccetti nel volume curato con Diego Poli e Carlo Santini, *Una storia della lingua latina*, Roma 1999.

Nel complesso, viene presentato un panorama sugli innumerevoli temi e percorsi di ricerca possibili nello studio della linguistica latina, dove ogni contributo è un apporto prezioso per i risultati ottenuti, ma anche per suggerire di continuare a percorrere le molteplici vie che sono state intraprese dal nostro grande e appassionato esploratore.

Polysémie, ambiguïté et frontières floues : Le cas de certains items lexicaux français

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Depuis les années 1980, les recherches en grammaire cognitive et les études sur la grammaticalisation ont mis en lumière la fluidité et le caractère graduel des catégories linguistiques, remettant en cause les dichotomies rigides de la grammaire traditionnelle. Cet effet de continuum s'observe à plusieurs niveaux : dans les structures syntaxiques, telles que la coordination et la subordination (cf. Bertin, Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot & Soutet, 2013), les interprétations sémantiques (par exemple, *Pierre est un vrai acteur*, pouvant être interprété soit littéralement soit ironiquement), de même que dans les contextes pragmatiques. Ainsi, dans une phrase comme *Maintenant, il est important de comprendre la situation*, l'intonation peut conférer à *maintenant* une nuance soit temporelle, soit causale (cf. Diewald, 2002 ; Traugott, 1986). Cette ambiguïté se manifeste également dans la fluidité morphologique des marqueurs fréquemment utilisés pour classer certains « morphèmes lexicaux », un concept fondamental mais problématique dans la tradition grammaticale occidentale, qui reste loin de faire consensus (cf. Brunot, 1953 ; Chevalier et al., 1964). Cette communication vise à examiner les cas d'ambiguïté dans les « classes grammaticales », en se concentrant sur les frontières floues entre adjectifs et adverbes dans des items lexicaux français tels que *tout* (« tout », « entièrement »), *même* (« même », « encore ») et *juste* (« précisément », « seulement », « à peine »). Ces items illustrent une polysémie remarquable et remplissent diverses fonctions syntaxiques — adverbes, pronoms ou adjectifs —, générant des inconsistencies dans l'accord grammatical (cf. Andersson, 1954 ; Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot, 1995). Alors que les grammaires traditionnelles associent souvent l'invariabilité aux adverbes en français moderne, ceux-ci étant généralement dépourvus de flexion, les adjectifs et pronoms, en revanche, varient en genre et en nombre. Cependant, même les descriptions linguistiques contemporaines (cf. Riegel et al., 2024) peinent à établir une distinction claire, en raison des chevauchements fréquents dans l'usage. Cette étude explore l'évolution historique des normes d'accord pour ces items lexicaux, en analysant les prescriptions établies par les autorités linguistiques et les débats qu'elles ont suscités, tant dans le passé qu'à l'époque contemporaine (cf. Blumenthal, 1990 ; Sabourin & Chandioux, 1977 ; Robert, 2003).

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Le esclamative in Catullo

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A partire dalla bibliografia esistente si sintetizzerà lo statuto teorico della proposizione esclamativa in latino. Verranno poi individuate tutte le esclamative presenti nel corpus catulliano, per poterle studiare e catalogare a seconda delle diverse tipologie: i vari costrutti con infinito, nominativo, accusativo, vocativo, le particelle utilizzate, il valore argomentativo ecc. In particolare, si cercherà di evidenziare la pragmatica dell'esclamazione nel suo contesto esecutivo e comunicativo, come le differenti sfumature nella scelta del caso esclamativo, ad esempio l'accusativo accanto al nominativo e al vocativo, e le rispettive sintassi e costruzioni. Da un punto di vista di atti linguistici, un altro elemento importante nella frase esclamativa latina è la presenza o assenza di un verbo e, se presente, la finitezza o indefinitezza grammaticale della forma; infatti, questo genera nel pubblico un effetto più o meno 'drammatico' dell'esclamazione stessa. Sulla base del materiale raccolto si rivolgerà poi particolare attenzione alla valenza espressiva che i diversi costrutti acquisiscono nella dizione poetica di Catullo, ad esempio veicolo della 'Affekt-sprache' per coinvolgere il cuore del lettore, formula tipica del parlato vivace, protesta violenta, manifestazione di ira e sconcerto, ecc. Della presenza di una proposizione esclamativa in Catullo si occupa solo Murgatroyd in un contributo incentrato però sull'interpretazione complessiva del carne, pertanto la ricerca potrà rivelarsi originale e fruttuosa. Sulla teoria degli atti linguistici, imprescindibili sono le lezioni di Austin tenute alla Università Harvard, in particolare quella che identifica e descrive gli atti performativi della lingua.

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Retour sur l'objet interne

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Les études récentes sur l'objet interne en latin (Rosén 1981) ont essentiellement porté sur le statut argumental de l'objet à l'accusatif. L'attention s'est particulièrement focalisée sur la distinction entre « objet affecté » et « objet effectué ». Il ressort des travaux de Bortolussi (1988), Serbat (1988), Rosén (1996), de la Villa & Polo (2014) que l'objet interne ne présente pas toutes les caractéristiques d'un véritable argument, ce qui conduit à le qualifier de « pseudo-argument » (Pinkster 2015). Nous souhaitons revenir sur ce débat à la lumière d'études récentes sur d'autres langues qui connaissent l'objet interne (Pereltsvaig 2002 ; Horrocks & Stavrou 2010 ; Gianollo & Lavidas 2013) : une catégorie particulière est constituée des « objets internes hyponymiques » (angl. *to dance a jig/a waltz*) ; elle se distingue des objets internes accompagnés d'une qualification (angl. *to smile a silly smile*).

Après avoir résumé en introduction l'historique du débat et des classifications proposées, nous examinerons le statut en latin des objets hyponymiques. Présentent-ils des caractéristiques spécifiques ? Nous confronterons de manière contrastive l'objet interne « classique » et l'objet hyponymique pour quelques verbes : *ludere ludum / aleam, lusum trigonem, bella, Troiam*. Le second point traité, également de manière contrastive, concernera les verbes admettant à la fois un objet interne « nu » et un objet interne accompagné d'un déterminant ou d'un qualificatif, lequel est généralement considéré comme un modifieur adverbial du verbe :

(1a) *Tu usque a puero seruitutem seruiisti in Alide*. (Plaut. *Capt.* 543)

(1b) *quia scelestam seruitutem seruiunt*. (Plaut. *Curc.* 40)

Comment dans ce cas analyser et interpréter le nom « nu » ?

Le dernier point traitera de la concurrence entre l'objet interne à l'accusatif et l'objet interne à l'ablatif :

(2a) *quia consimilem luserat / iam olim ille ludum* (Ter. Eun. 586-587)

(2b) *Scis solere illanc aetatem tali ludo ludere*. (Plaut. Most. 1158)

Cette concurrence sera éclairée par les choix opérés dans la Vulgate entre les deux dans les cas de traduction des objets internes de l'hébreu ou du grec.

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Il pronome *quisquis*: formazione mediante reduplicazione?

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In latino esistono pronomi e congiunzioni che sono stati e spesso sono ancora descritti come formazioni la cui origine consiste nella reduplicazione di un pronome o di una congiunzione: oltre a *quisquis* 'chiunque', si trovano, per esempio, congiunzioni come *utut* 'ad ogni modo, tuttavia' o *quamquam* 'comunque, sebbene'. Nel presente contributo si cercherà di mostrare che l'idea che queste formazioni siano il risultato di una regola di raddoppiamento nasce da una analisi superficiale della morfologia della parola e che in realtà si tratta di un fenomeno alla cui base c'è una possibile, se non probabile, univerbazione di due pronomi o congiunzioni che avevano valori e funzioni non identici.

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Fra *salmentum* e *salsamentum*. Un caso di barbarismo per *detractio*?

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Una *quaestio* piuttosto diffusa fra i grammatici latini, nell'ambito della definizione delle varie tipologie di barbarismo, è relativa al termine *salmentum* che, a partire da Donato, viene citato come esempio di *barbarismus per detractio*, a partire da *salsamentum*, Quest'ultimo termine è abbastanza diffuso, già a partire dalla commedia latina arcaica, nel significato di 'salamoia' di carni o di pesci, mentre di *salmentum* troviamo una sola attestazione, al di fuori del dibattito grammaticale, nella *Mulomedicina Chironis*, nel significato di un non bene identificato ingrediente di una mistura che favorisce la gravidanza delle cavalle. I testi grammaticali dibattono sul significato da attribuire al termine e sulla sua correttezza, rivendicata da un solo testo ortografico a fronte di una serie più numerosa di autori e opere che lo ritengono un barbarismo. Il termine è anche chiosato in vari glossari e la discussione sulla sua correttezza si prolunga in grammatici medievali, tutti comunque dipendenti da fonti tardoantiche. Sulla base di questa documentazione si intende valutare se *salmentum* possa essere considerato come una forma substandard del termine classico *salsamentum*.

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Délimitation et marquage des unités linguistiques en latin : étude graphique des *Tablettes de Vindolanda*

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Dans un colloque sur la ponctuation que nous avons organisé à Paris en 2006 (en collaboration avec Claire Blanche-Benveniste), Paolo Poccetti avait inauguré le colloque en traitant de la ponctuation dans les inscriptions latines archaïques. Comme nous n'avons pas publié notre contribution de l'époque, nous souhaitons l'actualiser en nous positionnant par rapport à l'article de Paolo.

Nous proposons de retrouver des indices du sentiment linguistique du locuteur et/ou du scripteur dans les *Tablettes de Vindolanda* en donnant une valeur significative à certains faits graphiques : ponctuation, espaces entre les mots, tracé et ornement des lettres, accents sur certains mots.

Les conséquences linguistiques sont importantes puisqu'elles montrent la délimitation des unités lexicales et syntaxiques pertinentes en latin, la fragmentation des énoncés, le marquage des éléments informatifs, et finalement la structure informative de la phrase.

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Lexical varieties featuring a genre: *the Iudicium coci et pistoris*

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Vespa's poem *Iudicium coci et pistoris*, included in *Anthologia latina*, looks like an experiment or an exercise, at the cross of various literary genres, in which the parody of the legal language is expressed through the culinary metaphor. This text is problematic from both linguistic and philological perspective, not differently from another composition of similar contents, but in prose, that is the *testamentum porcelli* imitating the testament style. My analysis of Vespa's verses will focus on the lexicon, especially the figurative one, comparing parodic strategies, that mix sectoral languages particularly law and culinary lexicon. For those reasons, language and style of this text deserve to be investigated as a mirror of different registers and varieties of Latin.

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Nuove osservazioni sulle *sortes* di Bahareno della Montagna

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Le cosiddette *sortes* di Bahareno della Montagna rappresentano la più ricca e importante collezione di responsi oracolari latini rinvenuti in Italia (cf. CIL I² 2173-2189, CLE 331, ILLRP 1072-1087, Degrassi 1951-52, Pocetti 1998, p. 99 e n. 111, p. 103 e n. 129, Buchholz 2013, p. 120-124 con ulteriori rimandi bibliografici). Si tratta di un gruppo di diciassette piastrelle rettangolari in bronzo, la maggior parte (forse la totalità) delle quali era provvista di un dischetto, talora forato, all'estremità sinistra. Tali *sortes*, rinvenute nella seconda metà del 1500 sono databili all'età di Cicerone o poco prima. Il testo in esse inciso consiste di poche parole distribuite su due righe e parrebbe obbedire a uno schema (per lo più) esametrico. A oggi si sono preservati quattro esemplari. I restanti quattordici sono noti solo da copie trasmesse su manoscritti o stampe di età rinascimentale o successiva e, in particolare, dalla nota miscellanea epigrafica di Aldo Manuzio il Giovane (cod. Vat. Lat. 5248, 34r-35r). Nel presente intervento ci soffermeremo su problemi di natura linguistica e contenutistica sinora ampiamente trascurati negli studi (tra le parziali eccezioni si vedano Ritschl 1878, l'introduzione di Mommsen a CIL I² 2173-2189 e Degrassi 1951-52). Dopo una breve introduzione su alcuni tratti arcaici e altre particolarità linguistiche forse riconducibili a un influsso del parlato, ci si soffermerà sulla discussione del significato dei responsi evidenziando come la loro spiegazione e interpretazione possa trarre notevole beneficio da un esame linguistico del testo. In particolare, partendo da un'analisi generale dell'ordine dei costituenti e dei diversi soggetti coinvolti nel corpus, si mostrerà come il testo di tre *sortes* (CIL I² 2182, 2184, 2187) sinora soggetto a numerosi e profondi cambiamenti da parte degli editori, può essere probabilmente mantenuto nella forma in cui ci è pervenuto.

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La antigua familia de *dolāre* ‘labrar la madera’ y de *dolēre* ‘sentir los golpes’ Benjamin GARCIA HERNANDEZ

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La rama de *dolare* comprende tres voces principales: el propio verbo, cuya acción abarca los conceptos de ‘labrar la madera desbastándola y tallándola’; el sustantivo *dolābra* ‘doladera’, que designa el instrumento con que se opera; y *dōlium* ‘tinaja, cuba, tonel’, que representa el objeto fabricado. Pese a la -ō- larga, este vocablo puede llevar la misma base léxica de los dos anteriores. Se trata de un gran recipiente para contener líquidos y áridos hecho en principio de madera, antes de ser esta reemplazada por la arcilla. Sobre las tres palabras surgen un sinfín de derivados y variantes, en general poco productivos, que se tendrán en cuenta.

En la rama de *dolere*, además del verbo, como término complementario de *dolare*, se reúnen sus modificados preverbiales (*circumdolere*, *condolere*, *dedolere*, *perdolere*) y los derivados directos (*dolescere*, *dolitare*) e indirectos (*condolescere*, *indolescere*, *perdolescere*). Dada la remota traslación metafórica de *dolere* al ámbito humano, esta será la referencia principal de su grupo familiar, tanto de la serie verbal como de la sustantiva (*dolor*, *cordolium*, *dolentia*, *indolentia*, *dolus*), adjetiva (*dolorifer*, *dolorosus*, *dolidus*, *indolorius*) y adverbial (*dolenter* y su raro sinónimo *dolose* ‘dolorosamente’). Probablemente, *dolus*, -i, ‘duelo’, variante de *dolor* que aparece en latín tardío es el primer sustantivo de *dolere*. Si esto fuera así, la causa de su secular silencio ha de estar en la temprana colisión con el homónimo *dolus*, -i, ‘engaño’, préstamo del gr. δόλος, -ov.

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On changes in actionality and word formation from Early to later Latin

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The Early Latin verbal system differs from the one found in Classical Latin in several ways: there are, for instance, traces of the blurring of the Proto-Indo-European aorist and perfect and of the Proto-Indo-European optative and subjunctive (cf. de Melo 2007). There are also constructions with the perfect participle (e.g. with *uolo*, *do* and *curo*) which tend to become rare in later Latin (cf. Haverling 2016).

A few verbal suffixes deserve our attention from this point of view:

One point where we find a difference between earlier and later Latin is the progressive and atelic use of verbs with *-sc-* formed from already dynamic and intransitive verbs, such as *permanescere* ‘seep through gradually, penetrate’ (Plaut. *Trin.* 155) from *permanāre* ‘flow through, seep, percolate’. In later Latin such verbs tend to disappear or to be found mainly in references to Early Latin passages (cf. Haverling 2000).

Another point worth interest regards the use of the so-called iterative suffix, which in some cases seems to have a progressive or backgrounding function in certain Early Latin forms which do not continue in later Latin. One example is *occeptare* ‘begin / be beginning to’ occurring twice in Plautus (*Men.* 915 and 934) and not in later Latin (cf. Viti 2015).

A third point is the use of stative verbs like *callere* ‘be hard, callous’ or *anere* ‘be (an) old (woman)’ (Plaut. *Merc.* 755 *uerum hercle anet* ‘but she is by Hercules rather old’). This is a category that remains alive in Classical and in later Latin as well, but in Early Latin we find quite a few such verbs which do not seem to occur in the later periods (except in references to earlier texts). This seems to be connected to the change from *senet* to *senex est* ‘he is old’ in Late Latin (cf. e.g. Haverling 2010, 2018 and 2023).

The actional use of the prefixes is still very much alive in Early and Classical Latin, but in the early empire there are some changes in that system too (and *conticui* occurs in the sense of *tacui* ‘was / have been silent’ around 200 AD; cf. e.g. Haverling 2000 and 2010).

In this paper I will focus on a few such kinds of verb formations which tend not to continue or to change in later Latin and the implications for our interpretation of the Early Latin system on the one hand and the later development on the other.

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Les hapax dans les *Métamorphoses* d'Apulée

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Nous nous proposons d'examiner les « hapax » des *Métamorphoses* en isolant d'abord les termes connus ailleurs, avant ou après Apulée. Nous distinguerons alors dans le corpus retenu les lexèmes illustrant un type de formation connu et ceux dont la formation est plus ou moins obscure. Nous pourrions ainsi définir deux catégories d'hapax, la première confirmant nos connaissances en matière de création lexicale en latin et la seconde manifestant les goûts personnels de l'auteur, son style.

Les lexicologues ont tendance à mépriser les hapax en considérant que leur fréquence 1 est négligeable. Toutefois il y a une énorme différence entre zéro et 1 puisque les lexèmes de fréquence 1 font partie du réel lexical et existent. Ils occupent ainsi une place plus importante que les mots réels non-existant pour emprunter une opposition proposée par Danièle Corbin.

Pour définir l'intérêt qu'ils présentent pour le lexicologue nous pouvons les comparer aux lexèmes de flexion irrégulière. Ainsi, les verbes irréguliers peuvent l'être parce qu'ils sont particulièrement fréquents. Inversement les lexèmes peu fréquents n'ont une chance d'être compris par les lecteurs ou auditeurs et éventuellement de survivre à leur première attestation que s'ils sont conformes aux règles de la formation des mots dans la langue considérée inscrites dans la compétence du sujet parlant cette langue. C'est pourquoi les hapax peuvent être utilisés pour confirmer ces règles.

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Configurazioni sintattiche e funzioni pragmatiche di *volo*

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Il presente lavoro ha come obiettivo quello di incrociare gli aspetti pragmatici legati all'uso del semimodale *volo* con le differenti strutture sintattiche delle subordinate che esso regge, attraverso diversi periodi e generi della letteratura latina.

Dal punto di vista pragmatico, infatti, l'espressione di una volontà configura variamente contesti di obbligo, preghiera o richiesta, in virtù del rapporto di potere che intercorre tra chi 'vuole' e il destinatario dell'atto linguistico.

Relativamente agli aspetti sintattici, sono diversi, come ben noto, i modelli di complementazione di *volo*: infinito semplice (Sen. *Brev.*, 3: *nemo invenitur qui pecuniam suam dividere velit*), accusativo con l'infinito (Cic. *Att.* 1.14.5: *volui te scire haec*), *ut* + congiuntivo (Liv. 26.33.8: *volo ut quae tradidisti integra ... tradantur*), congiuntivo semplice (Cic. *Or.* 52.174: *Visne igitur, Brute, totum hunc locum accuratius etiam explicemus?*).

La scelta tra l'uno e l'altro è, in alcuni casi, dettata da restrizioni sintattiche (l'infinito semplice, ad esempio, richiede ovviamente che vi sia identità tra il soggetto della principale e quello della subordinata); in altri casi è attribuita essenzialmente a scelte di stile.

La nostra analisi si propone di mostrare che le variazioni sintattiche non dipendono solo da mere variazioni stilistiche ma possono riflettere sottili distinzioni semantiche e pragmatiche nell'espressione della volizione, dell'obbligo e dell'intenzione in latino, oltre che dall'evoluzione dei modelli di complementazione in latino e dal loro sviluppo evolutivo attraverso diversi periodi e registri.

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Bene factum et volup est: on the morphosyntactic ambiguity of Lat. volup(e)

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In Early Latin poetry, a handful of passages attest to the controversial form *volup*, associated with the noun *voluptas* and used in fixed expressions such as *volup est* 'it is a pleasure'. The expression falls into disuse in Classical Latin, but reappears in Fronto's prose during the Imperial period, only to regain limited vitality in Late Antiquity. In this period, *volup* and its variant *volupe* are found in sparse comments or glosses by scholars and

grammarians such as Martianus Capella, Donatus and Diomedes, and are used by Christian writers such as Arnobius, Prudentius and Augustine (Torzi 1991).

From a linguistic point of view, *volup* raises a number of questions. In particular

- the etymological connection with the verb *volō* implies the labial extension of the root **wel-* and the problematic relationship with Gr. ἔλπομαι, ἐλπίζ (cf. e.g., Benveniste 1935: 155; Hamp 1980; Nikolaev 2024);
- the traditional interpretation as an apocopated form does not remove the doubts about the categorial status of the lexeme as a noun, adjective or adverb (cf. e.g., Meillet & Vendryes 1966: 143; Weiss 2020: 159 fn. 84);
- the frequent use in combination with *facio* and in ‘impersonal’ locutions such as *mihi volup est*, followed by different clause types, invites a closer look at the syntax and predicative value of this form (cf. e.g., Rosén 1981; Pinkster 2015: 96, 201; Pinkster 2021: *passim*).

In this talk, we will focus on the morphosyntactic ambiguity of *volup* by examining all occurrences found in the LLT database (sections *Antiquitas* and *Aetas Patrum I*), analyzing its meanings and functions in the different contexts, and discussing its categorial status.

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Adulter y otros términos que designan a quienes incurren en adulterio en latín imperial

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Los primeros testimonios de *adulter* en latín apuntan a una diferencia de uso con respecto a sus herederos modernos. Si el término se aplica específicamente hoy a quienes, estando casados, se enredan en relaciones extramatrimoniales, en latín originariamente se empleaba para quien, estando o no casado, mantenía relaciones sexuales consentidas con la esposa de

otro y se era *adulter* con respecto a esta, y no, como en los derivados modernos, más bien en relación con la propia esposa. La evolución diacrónica del término, sin embargo, estudiada con detalle hasta la época de Augusto por Martín Rodríguez en su contribución al *International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics* de 2019 en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Martín Rodríguez 2021), da cuenta de una progresiva ampliación de sus posibilidades designativas que lo va acercando, por una parte, también a lo que los juristas consideraban más bien *stuprum* y, por otra, a sus usos modernos. Se acerca entonces a la designación de cualquier tipo de relación extramarital pero consentida, incluyendo las relaciones con mujeres solteras. *Adultera*, por su parte, de aparición más reciente, se documenta, primero, como una transgenerización del concepto de *adulter*, aplicado a una mujer que, estando o no casada, se acuesta con el marido de otra, aunque pronto se extenderá también a la mujer casada que se acuesta con su *adulter*. Pretendemos con este trabajo ampliar el detallado estudio textual de Martín Rodríguez (2021), que se detiene en Tito Livio y Ovidio, hasta el final del siglo I de nuestra era, analizando la reconfiguración semántica de estos dos términos, sus relaciones con otros de sentido próximo y los atisbos de su futura evolución diacrónica que se vislumbran ya en el corpus considerado.

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Suffrāgium et *suffrāgārī* : analyse morphologique et diachronique

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L’étude portera sur l’analyse du substantif *suffrāgium* “vote, suffrage” et du verbe *suffrāgor*, *suffrāgārī* “soutenir une candidature, donner sa voix” dans une perspective à la fois synchronique (sémantique, rapports dérivationnels entre les différents membres de la famille) et diachronique (morphologie). Contrairement à une opinion parfois exprimée, *suffrāgium* n’est pas apparenté au verbe *frangere* “casser, briser”. En particulier, l’idée que *suffrāgium* ferait, comme le substantif *fragor*, référence à un bruit, celui des acclamations, n’a pas

d'appui philologique. De plus, la valeur acoustique de *fragor* est due à un développement secondaire et ne peut donc pas être postulée pour la préhistoire du mot *suffrāgium*. Nous suggérons que *suffrāgium* est un dérivé postverbal de *suffrāgārī*. Des considérations structurelles amènent à confronter le substantif *ānfractus* “courbure, sinuosité” (dont J.-P. Brachet a démontré qu'il n'est pas apparenté à *frangere*) et à opérer les segmentations *suffr-ĀG-ā-rī* et *ānfr-ĀC-tus*, dont le second élément est à rapprocher des verbes latins *agere* et *indāgāre*. Les premiers membres *suffr-* et *ānfr-* sont eux-mêmes les reflets de composés susceptibles d'être analysés comme **sub-for-o-* ou **sub-for-ā-* (degré /o/, syncope) ou **sub-fr-o-* (degré zéro) “soutien” d'une part et **amb-for-o-* ou **amb-for-ā-* ou **amb-fr-o-* “rotation, virage” d'autre part, avec la racine de *ferre* (cf. les types gr. συμ-φορ-ά et lat. *pro-br-um*). Le sens originel de *suffrāgārī* était soit “apporter son soutien” (lecture transitive de *-āg-*), soit “se mouvoir comme soutien” (lecture intransitive).

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La ditología sinonímica en la lírica provenzal: una breve revisitación en clave comparativa y discorsiva

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La ditología sinonímica o combinación paratáctica de voces en relación (para)sinonímica, muy frecuente en la lírica provenzal hasta el punto de que se llegó a considerar erróneamente (Elwert 1954), en el pasado, que esta habría sido el origen de este fenómeno debido a la influencia de la lírica provenzal en las literaturas europeas, requiere hoy en día una revisitación desde el punto de vista comparativo y discursivo.

El reciente volumen de Del Rey Quesada (2021) sobre los *Grupos léxicos paratácticos en la Edad Media romance* ha puesto de manifiesto que “la combinación paratáctica de voces en relación (para)sinonímica, antonímica, hiper- / hiponímica o de similitud semántica es uno de los rasgos más notables de la prosa y de la poesía elaboradas en todas las épocas del latín y de las lenguas romances” (Del Rey 2021: 471). Por este motivo, y ante la ausencia hasta 2021 de un estudio integral de estas combinaciones, el trabajo de Del Rey Quesada contribuye, entre otras cosas, a dejar claro que el estudio de los grupos paratácticos de cualquier tipo y lengua no debe ser realizado sin un enfoque comparativo, que tenga en cuenta también la lengua literaria latina.

Por otra parte, el volumen de Del Rey Quesada ha demostrado asimismo la importancia que han tenido estas combinaciones desde el punto de vista discursivo, pues habida cuenta de su carácter supraidiomático, dichas combinaciones habrían sido un importante instrumento a la hora de estudiar las tradiciones discursivas.

Así las cosas, nuestra intención será revisitar, en clave comparativa y discursiva, un trabajo nuestro anterior (Medina-Granda 2011) sobre la repetición sinonímica en la *cansó* trovadoresca occitana, con la intención de extraer de él algunas nuevas conclusiones.

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Prospettive per un confronto onomastico nella cornice dell' Italia antica

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L'espressione più evidente del processo di livellamento culturale avvenuto sul suolo italico tra varietà linguistiche tra loro molto diverse, è la diffusione e la conseguente standardizzazione della formula onomastica bimembre: prenome-gentilizio.

Le lingue dell'Italia antica mostrano questa innovazione già in età arcaica, con i primi esempi di formula bimembre in etrusco a partire dal VII secolo a.C. (*Avile Vipiennas ET Ve 11*) o nell'osco di Campania nel V a.C. (*Luvcies Knaivies ImIt Nola 6*). Il nuovo sistema si irradia trasversalmente fino alle aree più lontane della penisola come quella messapica e venetica. L'origine è poligenetica nell'ottica di un'osmosi continua fin da epoca predocumentaria tra le diverse lingue dell'Italia antica.

Si tratta di un'innovazione rispetto alla consueta espressione della nominazione personale diffusa nelle altre varietà indoeuropee, che vede un nome unico, spesso composto, seguito dal nome del padre al genitivo (patronimico). Nei sistemi di nominazione personale diffusi in altri domini indoeuropei, i nomi si fondano su basi lessicali trasparenti (es. gr. ἱππος) che sembrano invece avere un ruolo del tutto residuale in latino e nelle altre lingue dell'Italia antica.

In questo contributo si evidenzierà come, attraverso uno studio onomastico comparativo ed etimologico, dietro un buon numero di basi nominali si possano identificare alcune basi lessicali condivise dal latino, dalle lingue sabelliche e dall'etrusco. Questo approccio ci sembra utile non solo per l'approfondimento della conoscenza dei sistemi di nominazione personale nelle lingue dell'Italia antica, ma anche per l'arricchimento del lessico delle lingue frammentarie che può, così, essere riflesso dall'onomastica personale.

Trattando di lingue di attestazione frammentaria bisogna considerare i problemi relativi alla lettura e alla corretta interpretazione dei testi spesso lacunosi. A titolo di esempio, segnaliamo alcune categorie che ci sembrano utili per l'analisi lessicale:

A) Antroponimi che condividono le basi lessicali con la toponomastica: sudpic. *Alsies* (*ImIt Interamnia Praeruttorum* 6), lat. *Alsius* (*CIL* V 1813), etr. *Alsies* (*ET Cl* 2.48), con affinità formale col toponimo *Alsium* (Dion. Al. *Ant.* 1,20) e con l'idronimo *Alsa* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 3,126). Possono essere ricondotti all'aggettivo latino *alsius* "freddo". Resta aperta la questione se l'antroponimo derivi dal toponimo o direttamente dalla base lessicale.

B) Antroponimi per cui si possono istaurare sicuri legami con lessico: umbro *Kastucie* (*TI Va* 3) osco *Kastrikieiis* (*ImIt Pompei* 6), lat. *Castricius* (*CIL* P 2247), etr. *Castreces* (*ET Vs* 1197) per i quali può essere istituito un sicuro legame con la base lessicale **kastr-* presente in latino *castrum* "fortezza" e in osco *castrid* (abl.sing.), umbro *castruo* (acc. plur.) nel senso di "proprietà"; forme riconducibili a una protoforma **kastro-* "parte", a partire dalla radice indoeuropea **kes-* "tagliare".

C) Antroponimi con probabili legami col lessico: umbro *a/hatrunies* (*ImIt Ameria*1), lat. *Atroni* (*Cil* III 7437), osco *Adiriis* (*ImIt Pompei* 2), etr. *Atruniás* (*ET Cl* 1.1347) che può essere confrontato con il lat. *āter* "nero" e con l'elemento italico **ad/tro-* attestato in umbro *atru* (nom. plur.) "neri".

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Continuities and Discontinuities in some histories of the Latin language

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In this contribution, I intend to illustrate some lines of continuity and discontinuity that can be observed in various studies dedicated to the history of Latin, starting from works such as Stolz 1910 / Stolz-Debrunner-Schmidt 1966, Meillet 1928, Devoto 1939, Pisani 1962, up to more recent contributions, e.g. Clackson-Horrocks 2007 and, especially, Adams-Vincent 2016. Particular attention will be paid to studies such as Rosén 1999 and, above all, Poccetti 1999. The aim is to advance considerations on how our vision of the history of Latin has changed.

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Amicizia umanistica: un epigramma di Franciscus Modius a Ludovicus Carrio per l'edizione dei frammenti delle *Historiae* di Sallustio (1573)

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La prima edizione dei frammenti delle *Historiae* di Sallustio ad opera del fiammingo Lodewijk (Louis) de Carrion, latinizzato Ludovicus Carrio, pubblicata nel 1573 ad Anversa dallo stampatore Jean Bellère, contiene in appendice un fascicolo di due fogli, pubblicato dal tipografo Gérard Smits nella stessa città e nel medesimo anno. Esso include un epigramma latino dedicato all'impresa editoriale da Frans (François) de Maulde, latinizzato Franciscus Modius, illustre giurista e filologo dello stesso ambiente fiammingo, conosciuto anche come importante poeta neolatino.

Questo epigramma non compare nella raccolta di *Poemata*, pubblicata dal Modius nel 1583 a Würzburg, che contiene la maggior parte dei componimenti celebrativi dedicati dall'autore a vari personaggi contemporanei, tra i quali poeti come Anna Pallantia e Paulus Melissus, ma anche filologi come Giusto Lipsio e i fratelli Gioachino e Filippo Camerario. Può essere utile pertanto analizzare brevemente i caratteri stilistici e gli ideali letterari espressi in questo tributo di stima e amicizia, apprezzabile soprattutto come testimonianza del clima culturale della grande filologia fiamminga del Cinquecento.

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Alter ego e amicus. Un approccio linguistico

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In questo breve lavoro cercheremo di mettere in luce una differenza tra il latino e le lingue romanze quanto all'interpretazione della *iunctura alter ego* ed in particolare, all'interno dello stesso latino, con riferimento all'*amicus*. In questo caso, cioè per descrivere l'*amicus*, nei termini di Orazio ed Agostino, *alter ego* non significa banalmente “**un altro** me stesso” (*ex pluribus*, dove ve ne può essere più di uno), ma “**l'altro** me stesso”, ‘la metà della mia anima’ (*animae dimidium meae*) (*ex duobus*, dove ovviamente uno solo può occupare l'altra metà). In questi autori *alter ego* rinvia, come fa *alter* in latino classico, ad un insieme binario, per cui vale la regola del *tertium non datur*, suggerendo una condizione di esclusività. Inoltre, sempre in latino, con riferimento all'*amicus*, in Orazio ed Agostino, la condizione di ‘reciprocità stretta’, che nasce da questa interpretazione, veicola l'idea di una relazione bilaterale mutua e reversibile.

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Prosodic phenomena in Plautus' texts: interim report on a new mini-corpus

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Plautus' texts are an essential source for our knowledge of Archaic Latin, but at the same time, as is well known, for many reasons they are highly problematic. Their specific nature, along with the extreme scarcity of texts surviving from the Archaic period, rendering any relevant comparison virtually impossible, makes it very difficult to distinguish diachronic, diastatic and diatopic phenomena. It is equally difficult to separate more general phenomena from idiolectal features of not only Plautus himself but also his characters. As for phonology and prosody, the handbooks typically merely note a high degree of variation; they list phenomena whose occurrence in Plautus's texts must be reckoned with (comparing to Classical standards), for example that the final *-s* and *-m* may or may not make for length by position, elisions are less regular than in Classical poetry, vowel lengths are inconsistent, etc.

A mini-corpus of Plautus' dialogical passages is being created at Charles University in Prague as part of the Lindat project (<https://lindat.cz>), the aim of which is to enable a systematic analysis of this type of phenomena, as well as, for example, to address such vexed questions as the relationship between ictus and accent in Plautus' texts. The key is to first consistently separate those feet whose metrical value is quite unambiguous from those where

various interpretations are possible. Quantitative analysis is only performed on those feet that do not allow more than one interpretation. At the same time, prosodic and phonological phenomena are analysed in relation to which character in the play is uttering the text, in which type of situation, etc.

Work on the mini-corpus is still in its early stages but is already starting to yield its first results, which will be presented in this paper.

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Le costruzioni partitive del latino come problema di linguistica storica e di linguistica generale

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Le costruzioni partitive del latino presentano una casistica piuttosto eterogenea e sfrangiata per quanto riguarda la loro analizzabilità strutturale, rispetto a cui è utile riconsiderare i risultati degli studi di tipologia e di indoeuropeistica sulla natura e la storia di un Caso / Relazione grammaticale dalla controversa definizione.

Le strutture partitive pongono numerosi problemi di analisi sintattica e semantica e di comprensione delle trafilie diacroniche (storiche) della loro formazione. Si possono individuare tre gruppi fondamentali di problemi: a. Problemi di definizione del termine "partitivo"; b. Problemi relativi alla origine e allo sviluppo delle strutture partitive; c. Problemi di rappresentazione delle Relazioni Grammaticali che esse determinano.

Secondo *Koptjevskaja-Tamm* (2001), "The term "partitive" is one of those many traditional grammatical terms, which have developed several, not necessarily related, meanings". La studiosa finlandese ricapitola l'uso del termine "partitivo" nella tradizione di indoeuropeistica osservando che questo termine è associato con la semantica del caso, in primo luogo con il genitivo. L'esame dei significati del genitivo include gli "usi partitivi del genitivo". Tuttavia, questa terminologia è usata in maniera incoerente nella bibliografia e solleva problemi che erano stati già discussi da Delbrück (1893) e da Meillet-Vendryes (1926) in rapporto al genitivo partitivo e più in generale al *Grundbedeutung* del genitivo nelle lingue indo-europee.

In merito al *Grundbedeutung* del genitivo, Delbrück (1893: 307) aveva osservato che «[m]anche Gelehrte halten diesen Kasus der Form nach für einen Lokalis, so dass in dem lateinischen Genitiv der alte Gen. und der alte Lokalis zusammengefloßen wären» (Delbrück

1893: 307). Egli fa riferimento a tentativi di trovare un fondamento sintattico per questa tesi (il genitivo esprimerebbe la persona nel cui dominio si trova qualcosa: *Pater Marci* = *Pater in orbe Marci*). Lo studioso tedesco considera questa idea sbagliata, «weil der Grundbegriff des Gen... nicht aus der Gesamtüberlieferung der idg. Sprachen gewonnen, sondern willkürlich konstruiert ist. Aber auch sonst scheint mir kein Grund vorzuliegen, im Lateinischen oder Griechischen eine Vermischung des Gen. und Lok. anzunehmen. Die Schwierigkeit, welche uns diese formen bereiten, wird auf einem anderen als dem syntaktischen Wege zu bekämpfen sein» (Delbrück 1893: 307).

Nella bibliografia contemporanea di linguistica generale si possono segnalare le osservazioni, tipologicamente fondate, di Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) e di Kiparsky (1998). A proposito dell'origine delle marche di caso partitivo nelle lingue d'Europa Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001: 557) perviene alla seguente generalizzazione: «overt markers in PC... very often originate as markers of 'direction FROM'/'separation' (ablative and the like). Analogamente, per le lingue Balto-finiche Kiparsky (1998: 32) sostiene che «[t]he partitive case was originally a spatial case with separative ("from") meaning». Sia Koptjevskaja-Tamm che Kiparsky, tuttavia, in vario modo ammettono/implicano che ci possano essere traiettorie diverse di formazione del partitivo.

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Les défis du participe aoriste pour les traducteurs latins. La Vulgate comme cas d'étude

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Les participes aoristes du grec ont été certainement un des principaux défis pour les traducteurs latins. D'une part, comme le remarquent Ernout et Thomas (2002 [1953] : 273), le latin n'a aucun correspondant formel du participe aoriste actif, les participes passés du latin étant actifs, à la seule exception des verbes déponents (cf. aussi Plater et White 1926 : 111 ; Pinkster 2015 : 543). D'autre part, les participes aoristes jouaient plusieurs fonctions en grec, au niveau du syntagme nominal (participe substantivé, épithète), du syntagme verbal (participe attribut) et de la phrase (participe adverbial, soit conjoint soit absolu), alors que les participes passés du latin ainsi que les participes présents montrent plus de restrictions (Tarrío Ruiz 2021 : 546-568 ; pour la Vulgate cf. Bortolussi *et al.* 2023).

Les participes aoristes du grec présentaient plusieurs problèmes pour les traducteurs latins de la Bible non seulement à cause des différences intrinsèques de la langue source par rapport à la langue cible, mais aussi pour les différences entre les deux textes de départ, à savoir l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament. Si l'on considère les Vieilles Latines, il faut prendre en compte les différences chronologiques entre les deux textes grecs de départ, à savoir les Septante (du 3ème s. av. J.-C.) et le Nouveau Testament (du 1er s. ap. J.-C.). Par ailleurs, si l'objet de l'analyse est la Vulgate, il faut considérer comme variable supplémentaire le fait que Jérôme révisé les Vieilles Latines pour le Nouveau Testament et retraduit l'Ancien Testament à partir de l'hébreu. En hébreu biblique les participes existaient mais leurs fonctions étaient très différentes par rapport aux participes du grec et du latin (cf., entre autres, Joosten 2020).

Dans cette étude, nous proposons d'analyser les traductions latines des participes aoristes grecs attestés dans les quatre évangiles pour le Nouveau Testament et le Pentateuque pour l'Ancien Testament. Le corpus est constitué de l'ensemble des participes aoristes grecs extraits de la base de données du *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* et leurs traductions latines.

Nous déterminerons ainsi des constantes de traduction et analyserons des cas problématiques en ayant recours, d'une part, au témoignage des Vieilles Latines et, d'autre part, aux sources hébraïques en ce qui concerne l'Ancien Testament. Les critères de l'analyse seront à la fois syntaxiques (type de construction participiale) et sémantiques (type de verbe). Pour les participes adverbiaux, en particulier, nous examinerons également des contraintes pragmatiques et textuelles, dues à la position du participe dans la phrase par rapport à la phrase matrice (cf. Benedetti *et al.* 2021 à propos des ablatifs absolus).

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Some remarks on the use of negation expressed by conjunctions in curse texts

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Despite the fact that the language of curse tablets is documented in a substantial yet limited corpus of texts that exhibit various linguistic peculiarities, are frequently formulaic, and apply various special textual rules that reflect the accompanying magical ritual, it also represents an authentic non-literary testimony to the practical use of the language by diverse groups of Latin speakers throughout the Roman Empire for nearly six hundred years. It is evident that the issue of the conjunction "*ne*" introducing the subordinate clause is closely related to the more general issue of subordination in curse texts. The repertoire of the subordinating conjunctions in these texts is generally rather limited. This limited repertoire can be ascribed to the nature of these inscriptions, which are typically designed to inflict harm to someone by invoking a deity, thereby leaving minimal space for the inclusion of behabitive content, such as narratives or comments, which frequently employ subordinating conjunctions. Consequently, complement clauses with final value (*ut/ne* subjunctive) or indefinite relatives predominate over other types of clauses. This contribution analyses aspects of negation as they are documented in curse texts, expressed by the conjunctions *ne* and *non* in negative volitional subordinate clauses, especially final clauses, and traces the replacement of *ne* by *ut non*.

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Papers

History of the Latin sound system of Etruria (Tuscany) from Augustus to Charlemagne

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The aim of this paper is to show how the inclusion of a group of sources hitherto neglected in research modifies and expands our knowledge of the late history of the subsystems of Latin, in this case the sound system. This source is a group of private law texts written on parchment, mostly from the 7th and 8th centuries, which survived in their original form (i.e. not in copy) and which were made available to researchers in the second half of the 20th century in the volumes of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (ChLA). This group of sources is currently undergoing linguistic-historical-dialectological processing in the framework of an ERC project coordinated by the Ca'Foscari University of Venice (<https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101098102>), related to the development of the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (LLDB, <https://lldb.elte.hu/>).

The charter material that survived in Etruria (Tuscany) is particularly rich in data and contains an extraordinary wealth of variations from Classical Latin, especially vulgar Latin phenomena. Moreover, the volume of data added to the LLDB database from this material so far (after the full processing of ChLA volumes 23, 34 and 38, and the partial processing of volumes 24, 30, 35, and 39) already allows for linguistic-historical-dialectological research. Thus, the history of two important changes of the Etrurian Latin sound system, primarily the *e-i* and *o-u* mergers, and contrastively the *b-w* mergers (so far known only from the inscription material up until the end of the 6th century), is used as an example to illustrate the outstanding linguistic historical value of this group of parchment sources for the so-called transitional phase of Latin (the 7th-8th century, immediately preceding the emergence of the Romance languages).

The paper will present the history of vowel mergers from the 1st century B.C. to the 8th century A.D. over five periods (spanning two hundred years each), analysing database data of purely phonological nature from various perspectives, such as the proportion of mergers compared to all vowel errors, the proportion of mergers involving front vowels compared to the proportion of mergers involving back vowels, and the proportion of mergers in stressed and unstressed syllables. The history of *b-w* mergers will be presented similarly, for contrastive purposes: first according to their proportion compared to all consonant errors, and then according to their subtypes, i.e. in the intervocalic, word-initial and *postconsonantal* positions.

The preliminary results of this study will confirm that the Latin linguistic features of the 8th century parchment charters of the ChLA organically continue and complete the earlier processes in Latin mainly observed in inscriptions, leading to the development of the local Italo-Romance language in the 9th-10th centuries.

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An intersubjectivity approach to the narrative infinitive, comparing Latin and Dutch

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Van Gils and Kroon (2020) show the advantages of approaching the Latin present tense from the perspective of intersubjectivity. They propose that this tense invites an addressee to align with one of several cognitive systems (CS) in narrative texts, that of an author (CS1), a narrator (CS2) or a character (CS3). My contribution explores the value of an intersubjective approach to understand the use of the Latin infinitive as a main verb.

The (inter)subjectivity of similar uses of infinitives has been investigated in Finnish and Dutch corpora (Visapää 2022, Anthonissen et al. 2019). I first compare and contrast described uses of the infinitive in these languages with uses and features of the Latin infinitive presented in previous publications (e.g., Pinkster 2015 with further references).

The main part of my paper presents results of a corpus study focused on the intersubjectivity of the infinitive in Latin narratives (epic and historiography) and two narrative constructions with the Dutch infinitive. The first is formed by ‘en maar’ (*and just*) with a subject and infinitive (e.g., ‘*en hij maar zeuren*’, ‘*and he just nagging*’), the second by ‘dus’ (*so*) with a subject and infinitive (e.g., ‘*dus hij rennen*’, ‘*so he running*’). Latin data are taken from Schlicher (1914), Dutch data are retrieved from the *Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands* (contemporary, written material).

My hypothesis is that the infinitives in my corpus invite the addressee to align with the cognitive systems of either narrators (CS 2) or characters (CS 3) in specific experiential ways. In case of CS 2, the alignment is with the narrator’s emotional evaluation and/ or visual experience of the state of affairs. In case of CS 3, we are invited to align with a character’s physical and/ or emotional experience of the state of affairs itself.

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Non-final verb placement in Classical Latin: the case study of Cicero’s ‘Letters to Atticus’

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This work aims at investigating the variety and the distribution of the different verb positions that Classical Latin famously exhibits, combining the established scholarly research on word order with recent syntactic theories, which have seldom been applied to the study of this language. In particular, two purposes have been set: on the one hand, the creation of an accurate synchronic description; on the other, the suggestion of the following evolutionary path that led from OV and V-final Latin to VO and V2 Medieval Romance varieties. To this end, we manually built a corpus by extracting 4803 clauses from Cicero’s ‘Letters to Atticus’, one of the most representative texts of a colloquial Latin register from the 1st century BC. First of all, as a consequence of the syntactic analysis of this sample, we were able to verify which verb orders can be found and at what frequency they occur: in addition to the unsurprisingly

prevailing V-final configuration, V1 and V-medial patterns each make up ~20% of the cases, proving to be statistically relevant options. Then, concentrating on these non-V-final orders, we identified some specific contexts to account for their emergence.

Among these, it can be noticed that V1 reveals a slight fluctuation in the opposition between main and embedded clauses, being more favored by the former (24,7% vs. 15,6%), but even within the latter it is possible to detect a further partition, one that is based on Haegeman's (2010) proposal: as a matter of fact, we can see that 'central' embedded clauses specially discourage verb-first templates (conditionals: 8,8%), whereas 'peripheral' ones display rather high percentages of the same configuration (e.g. causal: 20,7%; concessive: 25,5%). Since the two categories differ depending on the presence (as for central clauses) or absence (as for peripheral) of a specialized semantic operator inside the left periphery, V1 seems to be more freely allowed when the CP does not contain such an item. Similarly, V1 increases its frequency in the event of null arguments, subjects above all (null subject: 27,2% - expressed subject: 9,1%; in the second option, it is mostly the focal subject of an unaccusative or passive predicate), possibly indicating that a phonologically empty topical element is required for most V1 instances to appear. Finally, the verb often moves to first position in imperative sentences – which is a crosslinguistically common feature – and with the first two singular persons, to the point of becoming the most recurrent order in II-p.s. main clauses (44,2%). With respect to V-medial and, specifically, its V2 subtype, their surfacing can be characteristically related to the employment of the verb *esse* and, to a lesser extent, of modals, too (V-medial: 33,7% and 24,9%, respectively), a quality that is interpretable as a syntactic extension of the originally phonological Wackernagel's law regulating the placement of clitics in ancient Indo-European languages (Hale 1985).

In conclusion, what resulted is that Cicero's Latin permits a significant number of non-V-final examples and that this flexibility is not totally free; rather, it may be connected to some definite constraints, such as the need to license covert topics inside the left periphery. On a diachronic level, it can be assumed, in accordance with Wolfe (2013), that in the following centuries null operator-driven V1 generalizes as the unmarked order and, along with the growing fronting of focal and topical constituents, it later originates the typical V2 system of Old Romance languages – a process in which the tendency of *esse* and modals to appear in second position could have also played an interesting role (Salvi 2004).

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Modalità e forme dell'inserimento di aspetti linguistici nella didattica del latino

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All'interno del vasto mondo della ricerca sull'insegnamento della lingua latina la linguistica ha fino a ora occupato uno spazio fin troppo piccolo, limitato in gran parte dalla ripetizione di formule consolidate da una tradizione più incline al rispetto di un'*auctoritas* male intesa che alla mediazione didattica delle acquisizioni più recenti della scienza. Allo stesso tempo, solidi lavori di natura linguistica con taglio didattico come quelli di R. Oniga non hanno ancora avuto riscontro efficace nel mondo dell'insegnamento, anche per la mancanza di ampie batterie di esercizi sia cartacei sia multimediali che traducano in forma applicabile dagli studenti le prospettive innovative offerte. Questo contributo si propone di fornire qualche idea concreta su tre fronti:

- a. quali sono alcuni argomenti della didattica della lingua latina che possono trarre vantaggio dalle scoperte linguistiche contemporanee;
- b. quale tipologia di esercizi risulta necessaria per consentire a tali acquisizioni di entrare nella prassi didattica;
- c. quale tipo di formazione è necessaria per permettere ai docenti di avvalersi in maniera competente di tali nozioni.

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From comitative to clausal conjunction in a typological perspective: Evidence from *simul* in early Latin

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This analysis investigates the role of comitative constructions as a coordination strategy in early Latin. From a typological perspective, it is well-known that a comitative marker can be used to express a conjunctive relationship (Mithun 1988: 338; Haspelmath 2004: 15). The Latin comitative construction with *simul* ‘together; simultaneously’ (de Vaan 2008: 564; cf. Corder 1905: 5) shows a gradual grammaticalization process toward a ‘coordination-like’ construction. It gives rise to new conjunctive functions that involve not only the phrasal level but also extend to the broader sentence level (cf. Gast & Diessel 2012, Haspelmath 2004). The syntactic and semantic analysis of the occurrences of *simul/semul* in Latin literary texts from the late 3rd to early 1st century BC allows us to identify at least four main functions of this term, which proves to be multifunctional at a synchronic level (cf. Haumann 1997: 47; Kortmann 1998: 58). Depending on the different contexts of use, it indeed behaves as i) a spatial or temporal adverb, ii) a preposition, iii) a noun or adjective phrase conjunction, and iv) a sentence conjunction. From a diachronic perspective, the distribution of those occurrences suggests that starting as an adverb, *simul* develops a coordinating function, initially at the NP level and later extending to the independent sentence level. This development conforms to the general grammaticalization path COMITATIVE > NP-AND > SENTENCE-AND (Heine & Kuteva 2004: 83). From a typological perspective, although modern Indo-European languages have been undoubtedly classified as AND-languages, these data would support the existence of previous WITH-coordination strategies in Latin, as has been also assumed for other ancient Indo-European languages (Stassen 2000: 37; Bartolotta 2025). Moreover, given that pairing of the comitative function with temporal functions of simultaneity or concomitance is common cross-linguistically, it is not surprising that *simul*, while still retaining its function as a lexical adverb (cf. Hopper 1991), tends to further evolve from a comitative marker added to NP arguments into a temporal clause marker used to introduce subordinate clauses. This development conforms to the grammaticalization path COMITATIVE > TEMPORAL (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2004: 89-90).

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Le vocabulaire latin de la stupidité. Questions d'héritage

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Pour le linguiste qui passe en revue le vocabulaire latin de la sottise, celui-ci s'avère un inventaire d'expressions métaphoriques qui ne se retrouvent pas dans les langues romanes qu'en tant que néologismes. Basée sur notre ancienne étude présente dans la bibliographie ci-jointe, complété par les données fournies par Ana-Cristina Halichias dans son livre dédié aux qualités intellectuelles en latin, nous avons dressé, autant que possible, l'inventaire des termes latins de la sottise et nous avons démontré que tout cet inventaire est un champ lexical strictement structuré en sous-champs précis. Car ses éléments constitutifs peuvent être groupés dans un nombre limité de catégories, en fonction de certaines caractéristiques bien évidentes (par exemple *lourdeur*, *taille exagérée*, ou, en revanche, *légèreté*, *taille réduite*, *caractère obtus*, *entêtement* etc.). C'est la radiographie de ce champ lexical qui nous intéresse. Et, dans le sillage de celle-ci, son héritage roman, inventaire et/ou schémas de pensé.

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New insights on the Syntax of the *De Bello Gallico*: the contribution of LASLA-SyntIA

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The syntax of the *De Bello Gallico* has been studied from a wide variety of perspectives and it seems difficult to write something new on the subject. However new tools, as the syntactic treebanks, are an opportunity to look for new perspectives and insights on this subject. The LASLA is precisely building a new Treebank of this work we hope to be more accurate than those already existing.

Since 2016, under the auspices of Classics department of the University of Amsterdam, W. Berkelmans has developed a new tagger and syntactic parser for the Latin, the SynthIA tagger and parser. This tagger analysed the words by using a Bi-LSTM neural network. The parser consisted of a rule based component and a Bi-LSTM neural network. The rule based component predicted, for each sentence in the corpus, based on grammatical rules, syntactic relationships (dependencies) between the words. The neural network did the same, being trained with manually annotated treebanks (PROIEL and Index Thomisticus Treebank), according to the guidelines of Universal Dependencies (UD).

For two years, SyntIA and LASLA had joined forces in order to use the LASLA files as the morphosyntactic foundations of the Treebank produced by SynthIA: the advantage of this methods is to offer the parser morphological information systematically verified by a trained philologist. A first Treebank produced by the new LASLA-SynthIA was a UD Treebank of the *Pro Roscio Amerino*. The second one is this of the *De bello Gallico*. The data have been systematically verified by a philologist (A. Noweta) and allow to evaluate for this text various parameters. This paper will focus on the word order with the aim to verified previous studies (see references), especially to evaluate the results the LASLA got with the program LatSynt a few years ago (Longrée, D., Philippart de Foy C. & G. Purnelle, 2010; 2012). The annotations of the treebanks specify, inside a clause, the exact locations of its predicate, of the subject and of all verb complements. In this way, we will be able to precise which variations can be detected in the order of these syntactic components according to the clause type (main clauses, various subordinate clauses). We will also compare the results with the word order in non predicative infinitive construction (for instance Gerundium constructions or non Acl Infinitive).

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Morphological constraints and diachrony: the Latin *-men* suffix

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The suffix *-men* (< *IE *-m(e)n*), probably related to *-mentum*, *-mnus* not discussed here, cf. Leumann 1977: 369ff) is interesting since its productivity increases within the history of Latin (Perrot 1961, Stotz 2000), together with semantic and morphological changes:

1. Archaic lexicon attests mostly deverbal forms build directly on roots, which can have intransitive meaning, e.g. *agmen* < *āgĕre* 'the crowd (that moves/that is driven)'.
2. Instead, classical formations are constrained to thematic structures (*-ā* and *-ī*) and indicate actions or results mostly, e.g. *dīscrīmen* < *cernĕre* 'distinction', *forāmen* < *forāre* 'hole', cf. also U(mbrian) *tikanne* 'indiction'.
3. In late Latin *-men* also allows N > N derivations (*sanguis* > *sanguināmen*, but already in U. if *pelmner* 'Fleischspeise' is related to *pulpā*, cf. *WOU*) with collective meanings, and de-adjectival ones (*crassāmen* 'sediment' < *crassus*). The trend is continued in most Romance varieties (Rainer 2018: 405).

The goal of our study is to explain which structural factors triggered these changes. In order to do this, we concentrate mainly on the role of T(hematic) V(owel) in the constraints against root-formation of classical Latin. Referring to the Distributed Morphology framework (for details, cf. Calabrese 2020 a.o.), *-men* could realize the nominal feature in (4) only if a more articulated functional layer was activated, crucially an agentive one, differently than in archaic Latin, where it could also apply to roots with neutral voice features (5):

- (4) N[+n VoiceP[+voice_v [+v [Root] *spirāmen*
 (5) N[+n VoiceP[-voice_v [+v [Root] *flūmen*

We claim that most Latin roots were no longer able to cover the morpho-syntactic functions related to verbalizers, voice and action (expressed by TVs, cf. Bertocchi 2025); therefore, *-men* started to require a full thematised structure. This however does not explain the post-classical changes in (3), explicable as structural reanalysis, according to which *-men* started to select not only for full verb phrases (whether root formations, or thematic ones) but also for nominal items. We hypothesize that, TVs being compulsory, *-men* became no longer local (Embick 2010) to the verbal level, and started to admit broader distribution and semantics. Crucially the same did not hold for nominalizations like *lectiō* etc., where the perfective *-t* morphology (Calabrese 2020) kept licensing proper verbal features.

The extension of *-men* to broader morphological contexts, then, is coherent with deep structural changes of the Latin morphology, in particular with the rise of the thematic pattern, and the preference of stems related to the perfect participles for nominalizations.

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Quid est et quomodo definitur?

Primi sondaggi sulle *definitiones grammaticales* nell’*Ars Bernensis*

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Tra gli esiti più originali della riflessione linguistica precarolingia figura l’*Ars Bernensis* (metà VIII sec.), compilazione grammaticale redatta probabilmente a Bobbio di cui si sono conservate le sezioni di *partibus orationis*, *de nomine* e *de pronomine*. Analogamente alle *artes grammaticae* coeve, l’anonimo autore ricorre alle strategie della *quaestio* e della *definitio*, manifestando però maggiore padronanza nell’utilizzare l’impianto concettuale della *definitio* per l’analisi delle strutture formali del latino. A partire da una serie di casi esemplificativi, la relazione si propone in primo luogo di analizzare sistematicamente le

definitiones grammaticales presenti nell'*Ars Bernensis*, con l'obiettivo di ricostruirne le fonti (come il *de Dialectica* di Agostino, il *de Definitionibus* di Mario Vittorino, le *Etymologiae* di Isidoro) e valutarne le principali innovazioni. Il compilatore applica infatti in modo innovativo la tassonomia della *definitio soni* e della *definitio substantiae* anche agli *accidentia* del nome, fornendo almeno due definizioni per ciascuno di essi: tali definizioni non sono attestate in precedenza e testimoniano dunque il significativo impegno metalinguistico del *magister*. Si metterà poi in luce come questa modalità argomentativa abbia finalità didattiche e rientri tra le strategie d'insegnamento adottate nell'*Ars Bernensis*. L'accento sarà infine posto sulla fortuna di tali *definitiones* nei trattati grammaticali successivi, con lo scopo di tracciare la diffusione dell'*Ars Bernensis* e di valorizzare il suo ruolo, per citare Louis Holtz, di *oeuvre charnière* tra l'esegesi grammaticale ibernolatina e quella carolingia.

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Light verb constructions in Cato's *De agri cultura*

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In 2018, Roland Hoffmann repeated his statement, first made in 1996, that it was a 'wichtige Aufgabe' (2018: 69; 1996: 211) of Latin linguistics to take stock of light verb constructions (LVCs) in the works of important authors.

I understand light verb constructions to be phraseological, i.e. unpredictable formations that consist of at least a) an action or abstract noun and b) a light verb, that is a verb of movement or change of possession, and c) sometimes also a spatial preposition. Verbs of disposition and *verba faciendi* are also often considered light verbs.

It is known from the Germanic languages in which the LVCs are attested early that the nouns contribute the main predication, while the verbs are semantically reduced (Boldt: in press; Boldt 2023: 114 ff.). This means that they mainly differentiate the lexical aspect or

have causative semantics. An instructive example would be English *to come into bloom*, where the verb signals the inchoation of the event in contrast to the single verb *to bloom*, which is unspecified in this regard. For this reason, these verbs are called as *light verbs*.

According to Pinkster (2015: 75), the most common light verbs in Classical Latin are *affero* 'to bring about', *ago* 'to do, make', *capio* 'to take', *do* 'to give', *facio* 'to make', *fero* 'to carry', *gero* 'to bear', and *habeo* 'to have'.

In my talk, I will examine the extent to which these verbs can already be understood as light verbs in the oldest surviving Latin prose work, Cato's *De agri cultura* from around 150 BC, and are thus constitutive for the existence of the light verb constructions in Old Latin, the earliest layer of Latin literature (Penney 2011: 220).

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Il latino in Brasile nel XVI secolo: una prospettiva storiografica sull'insegnamento dei gesuiti nel progetto missionario durante la colonizzazione portoghese

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L'attività pedagogica dei Gesuiti si sviluppò soprattutto a partire dal terzo Governatore Generale, Mem de Sá. Basato sul poema epico *De Gestis Mendi de Saa* di José de Anchieta, e su altri testi di Anchieta e di altri autori dell'epoca, in un'analisi attraverso la lente della storiografia, questo lavoro si propone di riflettere su come i missionari gesuiti praticavano l'insegnamento della lingua latina, basata sul metodo educativo della *Ratio Studiorum* del 1599, per plasmare l'identità coloniale brasiliana.

In effetti, il latino del Cinquecento in Brasile venne utilizzato per scopi diversi, ma principalmente come strumento di integrazione della cultura ecclesiastica e accademica europea nella colonizzazione portoghese in Brasile. Nei Collegi dei Gesuiti del Brasile si studiavano le *Divinae Litterae* (Teologia) e le *Humanæ Litterae* (Lettere Classiche), con l'insegnamento del greco sostituito al tupi.

Al termine delle riflessioni sull'uso del latino nell'Umanesimo rinascimentale del Brasile nel XVI secolo, speriamo di dimostrare che, sebbene il latino sia stato utilizzato in diversi generi discorsivi, il discorso didattico nell'insegnamento delle diverse discipline scientifiche è ciò che caratterizza la pratica della lingua latina nel Brasile del XVI secolo. Pertanto, questo studio contestualizza il lavoro di Anchieta nell'educazione gesuita ed evidenzia le complesse dinamiche linguistiche e culturali del Brasile coloniale, poiché fa luce sull'eredità duratura dell'educazione gesuita in Brasile, rivelando l'intricata interazione tra lingua e cultura nella formazione della società luso-brasiliana.

***Iam* and pluperfect in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: a discourse-linguistic approach to narrated and narrating time**

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The use of *iam* and the pluperfect appears to be a distinctive stylistic feature of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, occurring far more frequently than in, e.g., Vergil's *Aeneid*. Drawing on Chausserie-Laprée (1969), Roesch (2005), and especially Kroon and Risselada's discussions of the discourse marker *iam* (1998, 2002, 2004), the paper examines the stylistics of time management in the *Metamorphoses*. We expect to show that, at times, a prospective *iam* paired with the pluperfect anticipates (and prepares the reader for) an imminent and pivotal event, heightening suspense. Alternatively, this stylistic feature is used to handle narrative focus: it signals a retrospective overlap between two events or situations in the narrated storyworld, enabling Ovid to represent simultaneity within the linear progression of narrating time. Finally, the retrospective use of *iam* and the pluperfect can often serve as a tool for narrative compression; it flags that a certain event is narrated earlier than expected, as the narrator intentionally skimmed over less relevant details in the storyworld. Ultimately, the recurring combination of *iam* and the pluperfect in the *Metamorphoses* reflects Ovid's sophisticated approach to navigating the complex temporal relationships between a multifaceted and fast-paced storyworld — characterized by simultaneous events and rapid developments — and the inherently sequential nature of narrative time.

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***Ergō et fine*, deux exemples de grammaticalisation**

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Le latin dispose d'un ensemble de prépositions dont certaines sont héritées de particules indoeuropéennes et d'autres, créations plus récentes et plus nombreuses que les précédentes, sont le résultat de la grammaticalisation d'anciens adverbes et de formes nominales fléchies, comme *ergō* ou *fine*, se construisant avec le génitif et parfois considérés comme des « fausses prépositions ». Leur statut d'origine n'est pas toujours clair, ni leur parcours. Nous nous intéresserons dans un premier temps à l'étymologie de ces deux termes pour en dégager la valeur spatiale. Puis nous rappellerons que la valeur sémantique « concrète » de l'ablatif, cas représenté dans ces deux formes, est la notion de point de départ. Cette valeur s'emploie surtout sur le plan spatial. Le latin comme la plupart des langues anciennes a eu tendance à développer des syntagmes comportant un substantif de sens plein à l'ablatif accompagné d'un déterminant au génitif. L'apparition de ces prépositions lexicales indiquant le lieu, point de départ ou point d'arrivée, traduit au niveau du lexique un développement d'outils grammaticaux : il semble que même face à des mots comme les prépositions qui semblent ne laisser aucune liberté au locuteur, celui-ci a voulu exprimer son libre choix en renouvelant le fonds de ces outils grammaticaux et en les rendant plus nuancés qu'ils n'étaient. Nous montrerons enfin que ces syntagmes se substituent aux prépositions héritées et que ce développement se poursuit dans les langues romanes car le syncrétisme des cas qui a fait intervenir des phénomènes phonétiques et sémantiques, a été favorisé par l'apparition et le développement progressif d'un système prépositionnel.

Presenza e significato dei verbi incoativi in Tacito

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Attraverso un campione significativo di esempi, l'intervento si propone di indagare, da una prospettiva al contempo linguistica e storiografica, la presenza e la funzione dei verbi incoativi nelle opere di Tacito. A partire dalle principali e più diffuse teorie sull'evoluzione di questa particolare tipologia di verbi nella storia della lingua latina, saranno prese in esame, in termini di continuità o innovazione, le peculiarità dell'uso tacitano, con specifica attenzione al significato, nonché alla caratterizzazione della lingua dello storico tanto rispetto alla tradizione precedente quanto al contesto letterario di riferimento.

Etimologia del sic. *mèusa*

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Il sic. *mèusa*, ‘milza’, viene di solito ricondotto a una base germ. *milzi* (dalla quale deriva, tra l’altro, l’it. *milza*), ma con un vocalismo che viene spiegato in vari modi, ad es. come influsso del catal. o del prov. *melsa*.

In realtà la diffusione di forme con *-e-* risulta più estesa di quanto finora affermato. Esse, infatti, si ritrovano non solo in dialetti italiani meridionali, ma anche settentrionali. Il contributo si propone di prendere nuovamente in esame l’argomento, proponendo per i casi in questione un influsso del latino.

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Le iscrizioni latino-puniche: interferenze linguistiche tra culture lontane

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In questo contributo analizzerò il corpus delle iscrizioni scritte in lingua fenicia, ma in alfabeto latino. Sarà messo in evidenza come l’attrito culturale tra i “Neopunici” ed i Romani abbia dato vita a peculiari espressioni linguistiche, con l’adozione da parte di entrambi i versanti di specifiche forme lessicali e grammaticali.

Scriptura non facit glossan. Identifying Greek words in Latin texts

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This work is part of the ERASMOS project, which aims to investigate and quantify code-switching, more specifically the interaction between Latin and (Ancient) Greek, in Western European Renaissance texts of the “long 15th century” (1397-1536), starting from the *œuvre*

by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536). In particular, it deals with the fundamental step of language identification, one of the tasks of the “tongueprint” (Van Rooy & Mercelis, 2022), a planned output of the project.

The identification of Greek passages in a predominantly Latin document might appear trivial at first, given that two different writing systems (here, alphabets) are used to represent these two languages. Focusing only on this superficial difference is easy and common practice in literature on Graeco-Latin code-switching (cf. e.g. Volk et al., 2022), but at the same time it means disregarding a relevant presence of terms which are in all respects Greek words, except for the fact of being written in the Latin alphabet (and possibly abiding by Latin morphology). Table 1 shows the continuum of forms that we have to deal with, as observed in real data. We posit that, in the context of researching the interplay between two or more languages, any form of language mixing (such as insertion or alternation: cf. Muysken, 2000) is relevant. This then presents us with two necessities: from a more theoretical point of view, we have to take a step back and give some definition of what it means to be “foreign” (specifically: Greek) amidst Latin, and to what degree; from a more practical point of view, we need tools to perform language identification at the word level, and this irrespectively of the formal spelling of these words.

Form	Gloss	Lexeme	Morphology	Alphabet	Reference
<i>figuras</i>	‘figures’ (of speech)	Latin	Latin	Latin	I.XXX.33
<i>synonymiam</i>	‘synonymy’	Greek	Latin	Latin	I.XXII.93
<i>synecdochen</i>	‘synecdoche’	Greek	Greek	Latin	I.XXIII.928
<i>ταυτολογία</i>	‘tautology’	Greek	Greek	Greek	I.VIII.129

Table 1: *Morpholexical continuum of Graeco-Latin forms in the De copia verborum by Erasmus. The reference is (Knott, 1988).*

Our main contribution will be to present an openly accessible digital tool armed with different strategies for word-level identification of Greek words in a Latin text, and with it an evaluation of its first results when applied to a work by Erasmus (*De copia verborum*). Combining this output with the implementation of morphosyntactic linguistic annotation (both manual and automated) following the framework of the Universal Dependencies project, we will thus be able to first gauge the typological profile (cf. Muysken, 2000) of Graeco-Latin bilingualism in these kinds of texts, and this in turn will possibly form the basis for wider inquiries about the motivations behind such a language mixing. The tool will be geared toward combinations of Greek and Latin, but will lend itself to generalisations for other languages. In this regard, the treebanks of the Universal Dependencies project will play a fundamental role in making up, with their harmonised and fine-grained linguistic annotation for the lack of (accessible) data specifically compiled for the task of language detection (we note that, as of version 2.15, only few treebanks already tackle language mixing, in particular between Frisian & Dutch, Maghrebi Arabic & French, Telugu & English, Turkish & German); we will further put to use other existing Graeco-Latin data sets, such as the *Index Graecorum Vocabulorum* (Franzini et al., 2021). Supported by these resources, we will also be able to preliminarily discuss the role of language similarity in our observations.

All in all, our work intends to be a flexible instrument designed for the advancement of our knowledge about language mixing and code-switching, especially in the crucial context of the rediscovery and revitalisation of Classics in the Early Modern period, also allowing for drawing analogies with the bilingual environments experienced by authors from the *Aurea Latinitas* onwards (cf. Mullen & James, 2012).

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Impersonal constructions and argument marking in Latin

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In this paper we discuss the marking of arguments in impersonal constructions in Latin, in relation to the presence of the accusative with some predicates (e.g., *me pudet*), the alternation accusative/dative with other types of predicates (e.g., *me/mihi licet*), and the oblique realization of the S/A/O argument, according to the verb/predicate and the type of construction (e.g., *me eius miseritum est/parcetur labori*).

We will argue that impersonal actives with an accusative argument (e.g. the *me fallit* type) seems to represent a different clause type, rather than a subtype of impersonal construction, and could be better defined as lack of control patterns (Cennamo 2019), similar, in their semantics and formal marking, to analogous constructions in languages with semantic alignment (e.g., Murrinh-Patha, Waray – Australian languages), Kambera-Austronesian) (Walsh 1989: 429, Donohue & Wichman 2008, Klamer 2008).

The parameter of control, in fact, seems to be involved in the personal vs impersonal encoding of some transitive situations/predicates, as in the alternation between *me fallit* ‘I happen to be wrong’, *me fallo* ‘I am wrong’. Such forms as *me fallit*, *me pudet*, *me delectat*,

might be regarded, therefore, as the crystallization of a usage that must have been very common in the early stages of the language to denote the lack of control of the A/S argument over the verbal process (Cennamo 2019), and which was not confined to mental/process/emotion verbs, as usually stated in the literature (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 165, int.al.).

We will carry out a quantitative analysis of the classes of transitive verbs allowing the use the 3rd singular active (and an optional non-nominative argument) as a marker of inactive syntax in Latin, exploring the synchrony and diachrony of this strategy, in light of the debate on the existence of dependent - marked subsystems of active-inactive alignment in early Latin, sensitive to the notions of control and animacy (Rovai 2007; Cennamo 2009).

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Left-edge fronting across coordinating conjunctions *-que*, *-ue* and *-ne*: prosody above syntax?

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Research on Latin left-edge fronting (LEF)—where one or more constituents are moved to the left of a conjunction—has predominantly focused on fronting across relative pronouns and subordinators (Deecke 1907; Schmitz 1921; Pennell Ross 1986; Ambrosini 1992; Danckaert 2012; Longrée, Philipart de Foy & Purnelle 2013). Since these elements typically occupy the first structural position in the clauses they introduce, they serve as clear markers for identifying the left edge across which fronted constituents are placed (cf. Devine & Stephens 2006, 2024; Danckaert 2012; Ledgeway 2012). Although most coordinating conjunctions similarly assume the first structural position (Torrego 2009; Spevak 2010: 13; Pinkster 2021: chap. 19) and *coordinator LEF* is not infrequent in Classical Latin poetry (Marouzeau 1949:

70–91; Platnauer 1951: 91–96), a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon has yet to be conducted.

This paper takes an initial step in addressing this gap by focusing on LEF across the coordinating clitics *que*, *-ue* and *-ne*, which usually tack onto the first word of the second conjunct. However, in left-edge fronting, the clitic superficially appears to be ‘postponed’ as shown in (1) below (Marouzeau 1949: 70–73; Platnauer 1951: 91–92).

- (1) *Inque tuos ea pestis eat, quam dextra Coroebi
vicit, opem miseris* | *Argolisinque tulit.* (Ov. *Ib.* 575–576)

‘And on your children may that pest fall, which the right hand of Coroebus overcame and brought help to the wretched Argive women.’

Since this type of LEF is absent in Latin prose, I examine its behaviour in Classical Latin poetry, focusing on the pentameter and hexameter across several poets. Particular attention is paid to the position of the clitic head, which appears to be sensitive to prosodic rather than syntactic factors. Notably, the clitic head stands almost exclusively right after the obligatory middle caesura in the pentameters of Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid, in contrast to the pentameter in other authors and to the hexameter, where it exhibits greater positional flexibility. I will propose that this reflects the role of the middle caesura (|) as a prosodic boundary, dividing the verse into two prosodic units (cola) (cf. Sturtevant 1921; Fortson 2008: 55; Suárez-Martínez 2014; McGillivray & Vatri 2015). Although the clitic appears to be syntactically ‘postponed’, it nonetheless attaches to the first word of the second conjunct on the prosodic level, which is the head of the second prosodic unit, *Argolisin* in (1) above. A brief comparison with non-bound coordinating conjunctions further will highlight the clitic’s unique behaviour in the elegiac pentameter.

The results of this work provide new insights into the syntax-prosody interface in Latin, highlighting an understudied linguistic function of the caesura, which remains only partially understood (cf. Sturtevant 1924; Irigoin 2004; McGillivray & Vatri 2015).

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Vowel length before sonorant codas in Latin and in a cross-linguistic perspective

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Osthoff's Law, a well-known sound change (see Collinge 1985: 127–131, Weiss 2020: 136) shortened long vowels before sonorant codas; its effect is visible in Latin and has contributed to the limited contrastiveness of vowel length in the phonological system (Loporcaro 2015). Secondary length appeared after the operation of the sound change, leading in some cases to length in closed syllables (as in *forma* or the *sanctus*-type words, see Allen 1978). In Late Latin long vowels were generally shortened in closed syllables, thus foreclosing the possibility of superheavy syllables. On the one hand, superheavy syllables

present interesting typological features (Gordon 2006) and in some languages are phonotactically impossible (e.g. Late Latin or Classical Arabic). On the other hand, several European languages (among them Old English) show pre-sonorant or pre-lenis lengthening in closed syllables, thus creating superheavy syllables in large numbers. Some varieties of Late Latin (or possibly medieval Latin) appear to have belonged to this type, as is evidenced by the earliest Latin loanwords in Old Hungarian; these word frequently show long vowels in syllables closed by sonorants (*cantor* > *kántor*, *tincta* > *ténta*, *pardus* > *párduc*). This has traditionally been ascribed to an indigenous Old Hungarian sound change (Fludorovits 1930). However, a careful examination of dialectological data from the North-East of Italy (Iosad 2016, Iosad–Wetzels 2022, Loporcaro 2009) shows that closed-syllable lengthening before sonorants is a pervasive feature of Venetian (as well as Friulian, a variety historically in intensive contact with Venetian). Given that knowledge of Latin was brought to this Central-European region by early missionaries coming from Venice and its environs, it seems plausible that the pre-sonorant long vowels were indigenous to the variety of Latin that they used. It thus seems that the superheavy syllables constitutes a cyclically appearing typological feature in the history of Latin.

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Typologie des récits conversationnels dans la narration romanesque latine

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Il est fort probable que le roman latin ait emprunté à la tradition du conte milésien sa structure de récit à la première personne enchâssant des récits secondaires. De fait, les œuvres romanesques de Pétrone et d'Apulée enserrent dans la trame principale nombre de récits imbriqués, dont l'insertion relève de différentes modalités : certains récits naissent de la seule volonté du narrateur principal, explicite, de raconter une histoire au lecteur, lorsque bien d'autres sont lancés dans un cadre conversationnel, au cours d'échanges verbaux nourris entre les personnages du roman : le récit imbriqué naît alors à l'initiative d'un personnage qui se

fait conteur, à l'invitation d'un auditoire, voire malgré les réticences de celui-ci ou des rivalités de parole.

A la lumière des travaux menés par Mandelbaum et par Norrick sur le *Storytelling* dans le cadre de d'échanges langagiers réels, et à la suite de leur adaptation aux représentations des récits conversationnels dans la littérature latine (Risselada – Berger - Dalbera et Fleck) cette étude vise à dresser une typologie des récits conversationnels dans les œuvres romanesques latines. On cherchera à identifier et à décrire les modalités d'introduction et de réalisation de récits pris en charge par des personnages dans le cadre d'assemblée, en examinant notamment les interactions entre le conteur et son auditoire, telles que le récit les représente (prise en compte de l'auditoire par le conteur, encouragements ou protestation de l'auditoire face ces récits, co-construction du récit par les auditeurs, réaction de l'auditoire pendant et à la fin du récit imbriqué, nature de ces réactions, verbalisées ou gestuelles...). On cherchera à faire apparaître le degré de réalisme de ces récits conversationnels littéraires, ainsi que d'éventuelles spécificités liées au genre littéraire qui les représente.

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Adverbs in culinary language: some relevant cases in Apicius' *De re coquinaria* and Anthimus' *Epistula de obseruatione ciborum*

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Adverbs in technical texts are necessary to clearly illustrate concepts. Generally, they fulfil their function as an "intrinsic complement to the verb" (Cupaiuolo, 1967: 7), but they can also be found attached to adjectives or other adverbs. Even culinary treatises, as technical texts, need adverbs especially in the instructions, to illustrate how to perform actions to make a dish. This phenomenon is well represented in the most important Latin culinary treatise, i. e.

De re coquinaria by Apicius. Adverbs are also present in substantial numbers in the *Epistula de observatione ciborum* by Anthimus (VI c. AD). These two works contain a great quantity of adverbs, mainly of manner and time, but adverbs of place are also attested. Manner adverbs in Apicius relate to cooking methods and the techniques and tricks to prepare a dish, as in 4, 2, 15 *Laganum pones similiter* (Lay down a *laganum* in the same way). In Anthimus, manner adverbs are also used to describe the beneficial or adverse effects of a food on human health: 37 *Illud albumen grauius nocet* 37 (The white is extremely harmful).

The present contribution aims on the one hand to provide a general overview of the most significant adverbs found in Apicius and Anthimus, without leaving aside some adverbs of limited use (*delicose*, *decussatim*) and two creations of Apicius (*tenuatim*, *tessellatim*), on the other hand to analyse three case studies in more detail.

The first case study concerns the adverb *modice*, used multiple times by Apicius and mostly accompanied by ingredient names to indicate the quantity (e. g. *oleum modice* APIC. passim). In Anthimus *modice* occurs only once, while the adjective *modicus* is more frequent.

The second case study concerns the adverb *diligenter*, used by Apicius to describe how to perform certain steps in the preparation of recipes which all require attention, as in 2, 1, 5 *Teres diligenter ne astulas habeat: adicies oua quinque et dissolues diligenter unum corpus efficias* (pound carefully so it has no lumps; add five eggs, mix in carefully to make a smooth emulsion). In Apicius other adverbs describing a careful way of performing an action are present, like *sane*, *leuiter*, *subtiliter*, *recte*, but their frequency is limited to one or two uses. Several times the adverb *bene* is used, but it has a more generic meaning than *diligenter*, which takes on an extremely precise value.

Finally, the third case study analyses the use of the adverb *minutatim*, which occurs several times in Apicius with the verb *concido*: 3, 15, 2 *apium...concides minutatim* (chop celery finely). Specifically, attention is drawn to the comparison between the use of *minutatim* and that of the adjective *minutus*, which is very present in Apicius.

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CorefLat: Annotating and Modeling Coreference Resolution in a Latin Corpus

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This contribution is developed within the context of the 2022 PRIN project, “Textual Data and Tools for Coreference Resolution in Latin” (cf. Leotta & Delfino 2024), which aims to: *i*. Explore the phenomenon of coreferences, a level of metalinguistic annotation that remains

underrepresented in research on digital languages resources for Latin; *ii*. Develop and evaluate a trained model for the automatic resolution of coreferences in Latin; *iii*. Publish the annotated texts as Linguistic Linked Open Data (LLOD, cf. McCrae 2018), to make them interoperable with other linguistic resources for Latin in the semantic web by exploiting the facilities provided by the LiLa Knowledge Base (cf. Passarotti *et al.* 2020).

In this contribution, we will outline the current status of the project in terms of both annotated data and modeling for LLOD publication corpus. Concerning the annotation process, we will detail the annotated corpus, the annotation guidelines and the types of coreference selected among those identified by the GUM project. So far the coreference-annotated corpus consists of 20,259 tokens, allocated across the following works: 6,133 tokens in book I of Augustine's *Confessions*, 5,853 tokens in Plautus's *Curculio*, and 8,273 tokens in book I of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*. The texts cited above were all sourced from the *Lasla database* and are already accessible in LiLa (cf. Fantoli *et al.* 2022).

Then we will provide a quantitative analysis of the coreference relations identified in each text, highlighting how this phenomenon varies across different text types (cf. Delfino *et al.* forthcoming).

Finally, we will detail the data categories and ontologies used to represent the (meta)data of the corpus to support their publication as LLOD.

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Detecting grammaticalization through computational tools: the auxiliation of *habeo*

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This paper investigates the grammaticalization path of the Romance temporal construction ‘to have plus participle’ using a multifaceted approach combining theoretical linguistics, corpus-driven analysis, and computational linguistics methods. The aim is to assess the effectiveness of NLP tools, such as linguistic annotation pipelines and Neural Language Models, in capturing diachronic shifts and supporting research in diachronic studies. To this end, we addressed the following research questions:

- To what extent can automatic linguistic annotation pipelines capture the early auxiliary usage of *habeo*?
- Are there any syntactic conditions characterizing later stages of the grammaticalization process that facilitate auxiliary’s annotation by linguistic pipelines?
- Can pre-trained embedding models reliably distinguish between the role of an auxiliary verb and its original lexical verb form?

Our research began with the creation of a corpus of sentences containing both grammatical and lexical use of *habeo* from the 3d-5th and 8th-10th centuries. Later, sentences were processed using UDPipe, a linguistic pipeline compatible with the Universal Dependencies framework. We focused on the morphosyntactic annotation of the participle, key to the reanalysis process, and analyzed PoS tagging distributions to understand the pipeline’s handling of data scarcity. We examined parsing outputs for sentences with features identified within the corpus analysis. Simultaneously, we employed Latin BERT, a Neural Language Model trained on Latin texts, to evaluate its ability to distinguish between lexical and grammatical uses of *habeo*. Specifically, we designed a masking task by concealing the token for *habeo* and exploited its predictions as inference metrics.

Preliminary corpus analysis revealed an increasing verbal behaviour of the perfect participle, aligning with the grammatical use of *habeo*. Then, we considered syntactic parameters, such as TP head-directionality within VP and contiguity between *habeo* and the participle, to determine the grammaticalization stage. The parser struggled with representing the auxiliary category, resulting in under-specification, though it performed best with V-Aux linearization and contiguity combination. Testing Latin BERT’s ability to infer the verb *habeo* based on the sentence context, we interestingly found it was more confident predicting earlier instances of auxiliary *habeo*, contrary to expected grammaticalization path. Comparing these predictions with those of the complementary auxiliary *sum* within the same sentences, we witnessed a “competition effect” raising in later periods. Thus, results suggested that the syntactic environment of the time was more suitable for auxiliaries than the earlier one.

Ultimately, our findings reinforce existing literature and demonstrate the effectiveness of computational linguistic tools in analyzing large datasets.

‘Mirative strategies’ in the Plinian encyclopaedia: How to express surprise and the unexpected in a Roman encyclopaedia

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Pliny’s *Natural History* is well known as an encyclopaedia in which paradoxography plays an important, even major role (Naas 2002: 243 *ff.*). Indeed, the inclusion of admirable and curious things is a crucial point for Pliny the Elder in showing how remarkable Nature is. For instance, with over 120 occurrences of *miraculum*, Pliny the Elder is by far the author who uses this word the most in Classical and Imperial Latinity. The *Natural History* therefore seems an interesting work to study the ‘mirative strategies’ used by its author to describe Nature while associating the expression of admiration or of the unexpected.

As Zheltova has studied in a paper dealing with mirativity in Latin (2018), as well as in an article devoted to mirativity in the Latin comedy (2019), there are grammatical characteristics that can be studied in Latin. She distinguished five mirative strategies: exclamative accusatives, potential subjunctive and indicative future tense with polemical value, some occurrences of the particle *ecce*, some uses of the *cum inversum* and the ‘imperfect of a truth just recognized’ (French “imparfait de découverte”).

On the basis of these considerations, this study will discuss Pliny’s originality in the ‘mirative strategies’ he develops in his *Natural History*. For instance, if we consider *ecce*, it is fairly rarely attested in the Plinian encyclopaedia, but it is present ten times, whereas it is completely absent from Celsus. At the same time, to raise the question of another special feature, we would consider parenthetical clauses in ‘mirative strategies’: we can find for instance (*quod magis mirum est*) (Plin. 13.92). Finally, in modern studies, mirativity, like evidentiality, has been defined as a specification added to the factual claim and would not be part of the main predication; nevertheless, we should also pay attention to the difference between predicative and ‘mirative’ uses of the lexicon dealing with admiration and surprise, in particular the adverbs *mire* and *mirifice* (86 vs. 7 occurrences) vs. in the main predication *mirum traditur/dicitur/accepimus* or *hoc mirum, quod*.

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Adverbs in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*

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Grammatical tradition regards adverbs as a heterogeneous category, both in terms of form and function. This paper investigates the use of adverb in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, following its 'traditional' definition as a non-nominal modifier affecting at least three different entities: verbs, sentences, adjectives (as well as other adverbs) [Ricca 2010, 109]. In line with this interpretation, I propose a formal and structural analysis of the adverb in the *Bellum Civile*, along with an inquiry into its functions. The study will focus on the following aspects: [1] the morphology of adverbs; [2] their frequency of usage; [3] the preference for or avoidance of specific adverbs (or adverbial suffixes); [4] alternative forms to the adverb (e.g., predicative adjectives, noun + adj. periphrasis); [5] instances of adverbialization (of nouns, prepositions, or phrases); and [6] the adverb's role as a modifier not only of verbs, adjectives, and sentences, but even of nouns.

It will be demonstrated that Lucan pushes to extremes the tendency of Latin poets to avoid adverbs. In the *Bellum Civile* their frequency is 18.0 per 1000 lines (in contrast to Vergil's *Aeneid* at 33.5 and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at 36.4), dropping to 14.6 when restricted to adverbs in the positive degree (cf. *Aen.* 30.9; *Met.* 31.0). Indeed, Lucan favors predicative adjectives over adverbs, particularly for expressions of time, place, order, and manner. Despite this low frequency of use, Lucan employs a wide range of adverbs (more than 50), with a particular preference for adverbial forms that – based on our knowledge of ancient literary production – are [1] rare in epic poetry, [2] introduced in the epic diction for the first time by Lucan, [3] completely unattested in the epic language except in the *Bellum Civile*. Lucan also uses adverbs that are otherwise [4] absent in Latin poetry. All these rare forms confirm the learned (and prosaic) character of Lucan's style.

Conversely, the *Bellum Civile* records adverbs that shift in category. For instance, we find adverbs with a prepositional use that carries an argument structure (*desuper* + acc.; *penitus* + gen.), as well as the adnominal use of adverbs (e.g., 7, 54 *undique gentis*; 8, 330 *modo consule*). On the other hand, there are instances of prepositions taking on an adverbial value (*super*, 6x), but also nouns and phrases that function adverbially (e.g., *sponte* [+ gen.]; *ex facili*; *in praeceps*; etc.).

From a functional perspective, adverbs in the *Bellum Civile* not only serve as simple modifiers, but also assume an 'evaluative' role, expressing the narrator's point of view. In this regard, forms such as *interea*, *nequiquam*, and *saltem* reflect the intrusion of the author/narrator into the epic narrative. To the same end, Lucan also exploits the grammatical ambivalence of the adverb ('partnership' or συνέμπτωσις), creating puns particularly with the form *tantum*.

Therefore, within the generally limited use of adverbs in Latin poetry, Lucan stands out both for the breadth of his sophisticated adverbial forms and for the originality of their functions.

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Posture verbs in Italic: Synchrony, Diachrony and Typology

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The maintaining of and entrance into a bodily posture (*sitting, standing, lying*) are arguably universal features of human behaviour (cf. Hewes 1955) and lexical items denoting such situations likely belong to the most basic vocabulary of human language (Newman 2002; 2022). Languages differ, however, in the linguistic encoding of these notions. In some, the difference in actionality between state and entrance into a state is encoded lexically (as in English, *to sit* viz. *to sit down*), while in other languages this distinction is encoded by aspectual constructions (as in Usan, cf. Reesink 1987: 132).

The first aim of this study is to investigate how such differences in the actionality (cf. Filip 2011, Tatevosov 2002, Sasse 2001) of posture verbs are encoded in the Italic languages. Taking actionality as a semantic dimension akin to a comparative concept or conceptual category (Crane et al. 2021, Haspelmath 2010, Bybee et. al. 1994, Dahl 1985), the investigation will be based primarily on a corpus study of language internal diagnostics (specifically co-occurrence restrictions of temporal adverbials) and not on translational equivalents (cf. Bar-el 2015, for philological adaptations of a similar method see Haverling 2000 and Napoli 2006).

The second aim is to offer a tentative diachronic reconstruction of the system of posture verbs in Proto-Italic. While the Italic languages commonly encoded postural notions with derivations of a number of inherited roots (e.g. **sed-*, ‘to take a seat’, **steh₂-*, ‘to take a stand, stop’), the synchronic systems of the Italic languages not only display striking differences in contrast with the systems of Vedic and Ancient Greek, but marked divergences even within the Italic subfamily in terms of lexicon and morphology.

The third and final aim is to illustrate how investigating the encoding of actional features from both a synchronic and diachronic point of view may not only aid us in our understanding of the evolution of the Italic languages, but may serve as a contribution to the typology of the diachronic evolution of actional systems at large.

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The «Impersonality Spectrum» in Latin

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This presentation delves into the syntactic patterns that Latin impersonal constructions exemplify, building on the notion that, since these constructions are not confined to monovalent verbs, a nuanced understanding of them is essential for studying alignment typology, especially in relation to alignment splits and argument realization.

I will argue that - unlike anticausatives, canonical passives, and reflexives - all Latin impersonals are inherently subjectless constructions. However, I contend that a more detailed analysis of impersonals in Latin is necessary within the framework I propose as the «impersonality spectrum» (Fabrizio 2025). More specifically, we need to re-evaluate:

- i) the issue of transitivity in impersonal structures;
- ii) the class of so-called «modal impersonals»;
- iii) the existence of «covert impersonals»; and finally,
- iv) the fundamental nature of the alleged neuter participle in impersonal perfective tenses.

Regarding points (i) and (ii), I aim to demonstrate that, while Latin impersonals are monoargumental in nature, impersonal gerunds, which often convey a deontic meaning, frequently feature a second argument. This phenomenon aligns with the typology of «modal impersonals» (Creissels 2008). Unlike «epistemic» impersonals (i.e., impersonals that denote a state of affairs rather than deontic modality), Latin appears to employ a distinctive argument coding pattern, allowing the accusative case for the non-suppressed argument of these impersonals.

On point (iii), I will explore constructions marked by action nouns in *-tio* governing the accusative case (Rosén 1981, Spevak 2014, Rovai 2019), suggesting that these constitute a residual impersonal strategy that retains certain properties in line with impersonals.

Lastly, concerning point (iv), I propose that, based on language-internal and typological evidence, the neuter designation of the past participle in Latin impersonal constructions may be more accurately interpreted as an accusative marker. This would parallel other subjectless constructions where accusative marking is similarly employed.

In sum, this presentation aims to contribute to a deeper and more rigorous understanding of the grammatical phenomenon of impersonality in Latin.

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Introducing *PrevNet*, the first online database on Latin and Ancient Greek preverbs

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Preverbs play a central role in modifying verb meaning, contributing to the semantic complexity of ancient Indo-European languages (Booij and Van Kemenade 2003). While preverbs have garnered increasing scholarly attention, most studies focus either on qualitative aspects (e.g., Romagno 2004; Zanchi 2019) or on specific preverbs (e.g., Revuelta Puigdollers 2014; 2016), restricting broader comparisons across different historical stages of these languages. The growing availability of large digital corpora, particularly for Latin (McGillivray 2014; Jensen and McGillivray 2017), now enables large-scale studies, allowing researchers to uncover linguistic patterns previously unattainable with smaller datasets. Latin is in a favorable position due to its long-standing digital tradition, from Busa (1974-1980). Lexica such as IT-VaLex (McGillivray and Passarotti 2009; McGillivray et al. 2009) and Vallex (Passarotti et al. 2016), as well as LiLa (Passarotti and Mambrini 2021), offer extensive linguistic data, including annotations of preverbed verbs, though not specifically focused on preverbs.

This talk presents *PrevNet*, the first online database arising from a systematic collection, annotation, and comparison of preverbs in Latin and Greek. *PrevNet* offers a novel tool for large-scale linguistic analysis, enabling users to explore how preverbs function across a variety of texts, authors, and periods. *PrevNet*'s corpus is built from 35 Latin and Greek texts, spanning various authors, genres, and historical periods (8th century BCE – 2nd century CE), amounting to over 500,000 words. *PrevNet* includes the annotation of 32 preverbs in relation to 16 motion verbs, for a total of 2,829 occurrences manually annotated following Farina (2024). These annotations capture both literal and figurative uses, as well as the syntactic and semantic relationships between preverbs and their verbal bases.

This talk specifically focuses on *PrevNet*'s functionality and its potential applications in Latin linguistics. By using examples from different genres and historical periods, I show how the database facilitates a deeper understanding of the role of preverbs in shaping verbal meaning. The presentation showcases some preliminary findings on how preverbs contribute to the expression of movement and space in Latin, while remaining open to future expansions and case studies as more data and annotations become available.

PrevNet reveals cross-linguistic and diachronic trends, highlighting significant cultural differences between Latin and Greek preverbs. For instance, the greater variety of preverbed forms for navigation-related verbs in Greek reflects the distinct maritime versus pastoral

traditions of these civilizations (Farina 2021). By offering insights into socio-cultural dynamics, *PrevNet* serves as a flexible, user-friendly platform for exploring preverb usage. Its searchable interface allows for efficient targeting of specific patterns and is designed to be expandable for future research on (non-)Indo-European languages.

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La création lexicale par soudure de mots en latin: un procédé oublié

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L'agglutination (terme employé par F. de Saussure) est la soudure de plusieurs mots pour former un seul nouveau lexème. Le processus relève de l'évolution linguistique et de la grammaticalisation dans la mesure où il implique une transcategorisation et une perte d'autonomie pour les anciens lexèmes. La meilleure morphologie (Leumann-Hofmann 1977, p. 383-384, §333, I, B ; p.402, §339,4) l'évoque en quelques lignes et seulement à l'intérieur de la composition sous l'appellation all. *Zusammenrückung* sans se rendre compte qu'il s'agit d'un phénomène de grande ampleur et différent de la composition. Le phénomène n'a pas de dénomination en anglais, ce qui signifie qu'il n'est pas reconnu en tant que procédé spécifique.

Nous voudrions montrer les traits caractéristiques de ce type lexical, qui s'oppose nettement à la composition : a) par son origine, puisqu'il ne relève pas d'un type hérité, mais trouve son origine à l'intérieur du latin ; b) par son statut synchronique : sa perception par les sujets parlants, son degré de motivation, la séparabilité de ses éléments constituants ; c) par ses traitements aux frontières de morphèmes ; d) par ses possibilités évolutives, notamment dans des évolutions cycliques ; e) par les catégories grammaticales des lexèmes où il apparaît de manière privilégiée.

Dans une zone frontière, on rencontre des lexèmes traditionnellement considérés comme des composés, mais qui peuvent être interprétés comme des agglutinés.

An analysis of *murmuro*, *musso* and *mussito* as manner-of-speaking verbs

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Manner of speaking verbs, as defined by Zwicky (1971, 223), are “verbs referring to intended acts of communication by speech and describing the physical characteristics of the speech act” (on the topic, see also Levin 1993, 205f, Rojo-Valenzuela 2001, Urban-Ruppenhofer 2001, Mastrofini 2014 and Stoica 2021, among others). Because of their specific nature, such verbs are situated in a “transition zone between speech and sound”, whereby “in the majority of cases ... what is said is more salient than how it is said” (Faber - Mairal Usón 1999, 255). This paper discusses a group of Latin verbs sharing the general meaning of ‘whisper, murmur’ and often used in reference to people talking, with a communicative function (*murmuro* and compounds, *musso*, *mussito*). Following on from Galdi (forthcoming), the analysis will be structured in four main sections. The first two are devoted on the one hand to the diachronic and diaphasic distribution of these verbs, on the other hand to the description of their physical-auditory components insofar as they can be reconstructed from sources. Section three discusses their semantic and pragmatic properties, with a special focus on the negative, often derogatory connotation the verbs may display, especially in Christian authors. The last part analyses the syntactic configuration of the verbs, drawing a comparison with ‘standard’ *verba dicendi* (*loqui*, *dicere* etc.), notably with regard to their argumental structure and clause complementation.

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Lat. *scintilla*, ‘mot expressif’ dans un nouveau paradigme étymologique

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Selon Ernout/Meillet, lat. *scintilla* est un “mot expressif”, mis en relation indirecte avec le nom grec de ‘l’étincelle’, σπινθήρ, et avec le verbe gr. στίλβω, en vertu d’une supposée valeur phonosymbolique de la voyelle /i/. Nous nous proposons de réanalyser cette hypothèse, premièrement dans un cadre plus large, typologique et cognitif, qui nous permettra d’observer des trajectoires sémantiques récurrentes. Ces observations nous permettront d’identifier la famille étymologique de ce mot, qui prouvera ne pas être simplement un mot expressif.

Un grand nombre de mots désignant des phénomènes lumineux – tels étincelle, éclat, éclair, etc. – ne se laissent pas facilement attacher à un radical ou à une famille étymologique et sont souvent traités comme des mots expressifs (cf. les exemples que donne Rohlfs, 1970: 57-58, sp. *chispa*, gasc. *pito*, basc. *txinka*, serb. *iskra*, alb. *xixa* etc). Il est vrai que, dans une perspective typologique, de nombreux lexèmes verbalisant des types de brillance ont une origine onomatopéique toujours transparente (cf. Focșeneanu, 2006), mais l’explication ne réside pas dans le besoin d’expressivité ou dans le phonosymbolisme mais tient surtout de la structure de notre cerveau.

De récentes études en neurosciences ont démontré l’existence d’une connexion directe entre les modalités visuelle et auditive. Vu l’association, fondée sur l’expérience humaine, entre le mouvement et le son, lorsque nous voyons un mouvement, même non accompagné d’un effet sonore concret, notre cerveau le transforme automatiquement en son virtuel (cf. Finney *et al.*, 2002). Eh bien, la lumière intermittente est perçue comme un mouvement (Naue *et al.*, 2011), et par conséquent la perception d’un phénomène lumineux brusque ou oscillatoire – tel le scintillement ou le clignotement – sera interprétée en des termes auditifs, comme n’importe quel mouvement. La tendance naturelle de verbaliser le mouvement par le son qu’il produit (réellement ou virtuellement) se matérialisera donc y compris dans les

modalités d'expression linguistique de ces phénomènes visuels, quel que soit le temps ou l'espace (cf. Georgescu [à paraître]).

Les langues indo-européennes offrent de nombreuses preuves à cet égard : souvent, des mots initialement attestés avec un sens lié au 'mouvement' finissent par se spécialiser dans la désignation d'un phénomène lumineux (e.g. eng. *sparkle*, originally 'voler ou sauter' > 'produire des étincelles'), ou bien réunissent aussi bien la perception visuelle que celle auditive (e.g. lat. *clarus*). Dans le même temps, des radicaux proto-indo-européens pour lesquels on reconstruit un sens identifié comme 'type de mouvement' ont des descendants dont les sens visent différents phénomènes lumineux (e.g. **sp(h)e(n)d-* 'frôler, tembler' > lit. *spįstu* 'briller, scintiller', lett. *atpīst* 'briller par intermittence').

Nous allons donc montrer que le schéma conceptuel suivi par lat. *scintilla* est 'mouvement' > 'lumière intermittente'. Nous estimons que l'origine du mot peut être identifiée dans le radical PIE **skēt-*: *skāt-* 'to spring' (> lat. *scateo*, -ere, arh. *scato*, -ere 'spring up, bubble', etc., cf. IEW).

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Representación lingüística del estatus en el teatro plautino

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Si damos por bueno el aserto de Lisa Maurice (2007) cuando califica el plautino *Miles Gloriosus* como "pieza de teatro particularmente metateatral", es de suponer que esa 'metateatralidad' se refleje también por medio de signos lingüísticos en el sentido más amplio de la palabra. Mientras en la mayoría de los estudios el acercamiento a un texto teatral toma una senda literaria, por así decir, mi enfoque consiste en buscar pasajes textuales en los que se produce una discrepancia entre referencia y significación literal. La doble estructura de la que habla Lisa Maurice (2007) se pone de manifiesto por incompatibilidades semánticas entre el rol 'real' y el rol 'ficticio', aunque, por supuesto, las dos percepciones contribuyen a la representación teatral. La constatación de Keith Johnstone (2016) de que la definición del estatus es esencial para cualquier puesta en escena de obras teatrales, significa que no hay acciones que sean casuales o sin una razón subyacente. Este mecanismo se puede observar de manera meridiana en el *Miles Gloriosus* y en la *Mostellaria*. Lo que no se ha hecho aún es

describir los distintos medios lingüísticos que favorecen cada uno de los dos roles mencionados y que prueban el doble fondo del que habla Lisa Maurice (2007). La idea dominante en mi análisis adapta una idea que apareció primero a finales de los años cincuenta del siglo pasado en la lingüística del texto, a saber, la idea de que referencia y significación textual se comprenden por medio de ‘historias’. Estas ‘historias’ se definen por contexto que cualquier espectador necesita para entender lo que se le presenta en escena. Dicho contexto no se limita a cosas, cualidades o circunstancias, sino que se manifiesta también por medio de actos verbales y no verbales en un determinado sentido que conforman así el estatus de los personajes. La teoría aquí empleada parte de la idea de que las ‘historias’ dan pie a analizar elementos siguiendo intereses selectivos y perspectivas pragmáticas. Las ‘historias’, por tanto, sirven para crear un marco en que las cosas, las cualidades y las circunstancias, por un lado, se reconozcan y, por otro, adquieran significación. En mi exposición aclararé este procedimiento y describiré a grandes rasgos los mecanismos que se activan en el momento de representar la pieza en el escenario.

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The influence of social background on language use in the late Republic: a case study of Latin words for ‘and’

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Latin has three main copulative conjunctions: *et*, *atque* (*ac*) and the enclitic *-que*. Further, asyndeton can also be used as a copulative device (as treated authoritatively by Adams 2021). These different linking devices are in competition throughout the history of Latin. Scholars identify some grammatical nuance in the usage of different devices (e.g., how closely related, similar or on par the two linked phrases or clauses are), but as they often occur in the same contexts, they can undeniably also function synonymously and interchangeably (see Penney

2005:50 on this in Early Latin). I thus argue that we can profitably examine these linking devices from a sociolinguistic perspective in late Republican Latin.

The various ways of linking in Latin have different origins and registers. Both asyndeton and *-que* are old patterns of coordination (Adams 2021:55–65). The inherited enclitic *-que* seems to serve as the default linking device in our earliest evidence of Latin while the two other particles, *atque* (*ac*) and *et*, are competing replacements with different nuances (Penney 2005:50). Already in Cato, *atque* has become characteristic of high or formal register (Adams 2016:11). In some later Latin such as in the language of the freedmen in Petronius it is almost entirely absent (Galdi 2014:74). The same applies to *-que* which became a literary archaism (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965:474). Eventually, the ‘mundane’ *et* (Adams 2016:11) won out and became the default way of linking (Campanile 2008:354). Note, also that asyndetic patterns remained frequent in legal and official language until the late Republic (Adams 2021:64).

I use the corpus of Ciceronian correspondence to examine the distribution of these varied linking devices in the language of Roman individuals of different backgrounds. The individuals I examine are the 30 men whose letters to Cicero are preserved within the epistolary corpus, and about most of whom we have a wealth of background information. As linking devices are among the most frequently occurring features in Latin, with *et* sitting at the top of word-frequency lists in Latin and *-que* in fourth place (cf. Dickinson College’s *Latin Core Vocabulary*), they provide a wealth of data for analysis: there are c. 1500 instances of linking in the letters of Cicero’s correspondents. In this study, I track linking constructions over different syntactic and semantic domains in order to determine whether any extralinguistic factors influence their distribution. In particular, I focus on how social factors (such as status, occupation, origin and social networks of both writer and addressee) correlate with choice of copulative conjunctions. While autonomous, this case study forms an important part of a larger project in which I aim to determine the influence of social background on language use in Latin letters from the late Republic.

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Attribute/Modifier: Problems in the description of a central syntactic concept in three different syntactic approaches

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Raphael Kühner's syntax, published posthumously in 1878 and later, in 1914, edited by Carl Stegmann in a famous second edition with several reprints, is partly committed to the concept of a Grammar of the Satzglieder by Karl Ferdinand Becker (1841). Renato Oniga's introduction uses a generative approach and the "Oxford Latin Syntax" (OLS) on the other hand was apostrophized by the author Harm Pinkster himself in the preface as „an up-to-date successor of that monumental work“ (xxxi), namely Kühner and Stegmann's Satzlehre. Nevertheless the OLS is based on many ideas of modern linguistics as the valency concept and principally a functional concept of language. It is not uninteresting for all three concepts to see how single syntactic topics are described. This is especially the case with the topic of the attribute and modifier which are "das einzige sekundäre Satzglied" (Welke 2018: 23) contrary to the "primäre Satzglieder" as subject and object. In modern times, Oniga tried to explain the Latin noun phrase from a formal generative approach. On the other hand, the OLS takes a functional approach, is purely descriptive and uses the modern concept of head and modifier.

In the first main part, we will see in how far in treating the topic of attribute / modifier Kühner followed the concept of K.F. Becker in assuming an "Attributives Satzverhältniss" (Kühner 1878: 156) parallel to a "Prädikatives Satzverhältniss" (ibid.:2) and an "Objektives Satzverhältniss" (Kühner 1878:188). In the second part, it will first be shown what are specific points of Oniga's generative way; secondly, it will be shown in which way this syntactic topic is described in the *Oxford Latin Syntax*. In the third part, we will see where problems of the description of these topics are in all three syntactic concepts. Needless to say that in such ways not only all three works of Latin syntax, the one traditional and the two modern ones, but also a central syntactic topic can be better understood.

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More than yes: answers in excess to polar questions

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There are various ways to give a positive answer to a polar question in Latin. In ancient comedy we commonly find an echo of some word or words in the question or a reference to the questioner's words with *ita*. Sometimes, however, instead of giving an answer equivalent to a simple agreement, the second speaker in such an exchange gives an answer that goes beyond what the questioner had asked, formed as an addition to the questioner's words. In some cases this addition is joined to a word in the previous utterance by a coordinator such as *atque*:

PLAVT. Bacch. 538 Pis: numquae advenienti aegritudo obiecta est? Mne: atque acerruma.

In others it is an adverb or adverbial phrase:

TER. Andr. 381-2 Dav.: ditum factum invenerit / aliquam causam quam ob rem eiciat oppido.
Pam.: eiciat? Dav.: cito.

This paper intends to see in what circumstances such answers are used. For instance, are the questions they respond to typically requests for information the questioner does not have, or requests for confirmation, or do they serve some other purpose (e. g. requesting or demanding an action)? The basis of the research will be every instance that can be found in the comedies of Plautus and Terence, with a comparison of a sample from the same writers of other sequences of polar questions and answers.

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Observations on the Syntactical Features of Carolingian and High Medieval Historical Prose Based on a Series of Case Studies

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Whereas classical Latin has been for centuries the focus of intensive philological research, which has produced an impressive amount of information on almost every philological problem one can think of, medieval Latin, covering the period between 600 and 1350 AD, in its many varieties still remains largely under-researched. This is especially true of prose writing: as Adams et al. (2005: 27) have emphatically pointed out, "[i]n the case of medieval Latin prose, not even the bare outlines of its development are properly known".

In this paper I concentrate on the syntax of medieval Latin historical prose and endeavour to form a (preliminary) picture of the main characteristics of syntax by taking a close look at a limited but carefully selected sample of historical narrative episodes written in the area of modern-day France and Belgium between the two medieval "Renaissances", that is the Carolingian Renaissance and the 12th century Renaissance. The authors in question are Freculf of Lisieux, Richer of Reims, Ademar of Chabannes, Sigebert of Gembloux and Helinand of Froidmont.

The main research question is the following: what are the principal syntactical building blocks of medieval Latin historical narrative? Various participial constructions are of special interest here since they have always been a central element of historical prose (see Pinkster 2021: 793), but other areas of interest include – but are not limited to – the range of subordinate clauses, the use of discourse particles as well as pronouns and the complexity of sentences. Detailed syntactical studies on earlier historians (see e.g. Chausserie-Laprée 1969 on classical authors and Galdi 2013 on Jordanes) provide valuable points of comparison.

By focusing on studying the usage of specific authors (an approach recommended by Rigg 1995: 90–91) from different centuries in detailed case studies I seek to trace the development of the main syntactical elements of medieval historical prose following the Carolingian language reform. The hypothesis is that the linguistic competence of these authors strengthens during the period in parallel with the improvements in Latin teaching and scholarship. At the moment, the preliminary findings seem to corroborate this assumption.

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Competition between present participles of the Latin stative verbs with the suffix *-e-* and the corresponding adjectives with the suffix *-idus*

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The stative verbs with the suffix *-ē-* (of the type *calēre*) represent a special group of Latin verbs. Their special position in the language feeling of the speakers is manifested through their unique derivational pattern consisting of the infinitive (e.g. *calēre*), abstract noun (*calor*), adjective (*calidus*) and inchoative verb (*calēscere*).

Semantically speaking, these are intransitive verbs denoting natural physical states of things as *frīgēre* (to be cold), *tepēre* (to be warm), *madēre* (to be wet), *ārēre* (to be dry), *rigēre* (to be stiff), *tumēre* (to be swollen) or visual appearance of things as *splendēre* and *nitēre* (to shine, to be bright), *rubēre* (to be red) etc. When applied to humans, they primarily describe appearance forms as e.g. *pallēre* (to be pale), but as they are understood as accompanying phenomena of mental states, they also refer to the mental states themselves as a result of the metonymical semantic extension (cf. Dowty 2000, p. 125), as e.g. *stupēre* (to be stiff > to be surprised), *horrēre* (to bristle > to fear), *livēre* (to be greyish blue > to envy) etc. (cf. Leumann 1977, p. 552).

The stative verbs of the above-mentioned type readily form present participles (e.g. *calēns*, *-entis*). In some cases, present participles are even used more frequently than all the other forms of the particular verb, an extreme case being that of (*h*)*umēre* with 64 attestations altogether in the classical period until 200 AD out of which there are 59 present participles, some other examples being *ārēre* with 105 attestations out of which there are 75 present participles, *candēre* (155 attestations / 141 present participles) etc. With some other verbs, especially those used in figurative senses, the share of present participles is not so pronounced (e.g. *stupēre* – 241 attestations / 55 present participles).

Present participles are most frequently used as secondary predicates or attributes in a noun phrase (cf. Pinkster 2015, p. 542). If used as an attribute (as e.g. *aqua fervens*), present participles tend to become adjectives (see Hofmann – Szantyr 1965, p. 387), which is documented by the fact that the present participles of some stative verbs have a separate entry as an adjective in dictionaries (e.g. *candēns*, *pallēns* etc. in OLD). Thus, in many cases, there are two adjectives derived from the same verb, having a similar meaning (e.g. *livēns* and *lividus*) (to say nothing of the fact that the stative verbs themselves have an adjectival meaning). This paper aims to present the results of a corpus-based (Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina) study identifying any possible semantic or distributional differences between the present participle and the *-idus* adjective of some selected stative verbs using the frame semantic approach (on the frame semantic approach, see Ruppenhofer et al 2016).

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Form, meaning, function, and frequency: the division of labour among the inflectional classes of Latin nouns

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The proposed paper presents a big-data style inventory of Latin nouns across several electronically accessible corpora, covering data from the 2nd century BC to the 14th century AD (3.5M tokens). This inventory enables a usage-based analysis of the interplay between declension, gender, animacy, and number as coding properties of Latin nouns within the clause.

Our primary aim is to detect the differing tendencies of Latin nouns that belong to different morphological classes to i) represent animate entities and, consequently, ii) adopt one of the two semantic macroroles – Actor or Undergoer (Van Valin 2005). With treebanks, in which syntactic annotation is available, we also relate these tendencies to syntactic functions (Subject, Direct Object, Oblique). Given that a comprehensive semantic analysis of each word form's role in the sentence is not feasible, we carry out a semi-automated binary animacy annotation of each lemma based on its prototypical referent. The granularity of the analysis depends on the depth of linguistic annotation in each corpus, allowing for a division into three approaches:

1. in six UD treebanks (<https://universaldependencies.org>; c. 1M tokens), we count the tokens by declension, gender, animacy, number, case, and syntactic function;
2. in the LASLA corpus (<https://github.com/CIRCSE/LASLA>; 1.75M tokens), we count the tokens by declension, gender, animacy, number, and case;

3. in the LiLa Knowledge Base (<https://lila-erc.eu/data-page/>), we count the tokens by declension, gender, and animacy (and by number, where disambiguable by the ending) (c. 800K tokens).

A clearer empirical understanding of the potential of the Latin lexicon to fulfill semantic macroroles and/or syntactic functions makes it possible to assess the degree to which specific diachronic morphosyntactic changes were rooted in the semantic and morphological distributions within the Latin lexicon. To illustrate this, we will discuss some case studies, such as the nominative plural in *-ae*, rivalled by the accusative plural in *-as* since the late imperial period (Rovai 2005), a phenomenon probably in part fostered by the scanty presence of Actor-like (plural) animate entities in actual language use (Korkiakangas & Alho 2022).

We will also discuss extra-linguistic factors, such as text type/genre (including prose/verse distinction) and diachronic semantic change in lexemes, as well as their impact on corpus-linguistic analysis, issues that our preliminary results suggest require due attention.

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In Search of Unmotivated Semantic Redundancy in Latin Inscriptions

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Redundancy, often regarded as a safeguard for effective communication, is a pervasive feature across all communication systems (Shannon-Weaver, 1949). Despite variations—such as differences in information sources, signals, transmitters, or intended receivers—redundancy retains consistent characteristics. It is quantifiable and can be measured in specific, predictable ways. As one of the most essential systems of human communication, language incorporates redundancy as a fundamental and universal component, present in all languages and at every level of linguistic structure (Chiari, 2002).

In the context of Latin, while redundancy has been explored on various occasions (Dressler, 1969; Pulgram, 1983, 1987), its quantifiable nature has been primarily addressed in a single study, which calculated phonological redundancy using statistical data from the classical and late periods (Herman, 1969). This approach aligns with the prevailing view that historical phonology remains a key domain where quantitative analysis can yield novel insights—a view that extends to inscriptional research as well.

Although studies utilizing inscriptions to trace semantic change do exist, they remain comparatively scarce (e.g., Dell’Oro, 2023). Furthermore, the investigation of semantic redundancy (often referred to as *pleonasm*) and its role in the development of the Latin

language, based on epigraphic evidence, is even rarer. This scarcity arises not only from the perception that inscriptions are less suitable for semantic exploration but also because pleonastic expressions, which represent lexicalized phrases (i.e., those that have ceased to be viewed as pleonastic or redundant in everyday speech), are often difficult to distinguish from those serving as rhetorical devices in Latin (Hofmann-Szantyr, 1965). As one study focusing exclusively on occurrences of this phenomenon in inscriptional sources concluded, such exploration requires a larger dataset (Kunčer, 2022). The relatively recent computational methods for scraping Latin inscriptions from epigraphic databases and providing textual corpora with “clean” or “interpretive” versions of inscription texts offer new possibilities for this line of research (Heřmáňková, 2022).

While the overarching aim of the research presented in this paper is to explore semantic redundancy in inscriptions through quantitative methods, the focus will be exclusively on assessing the feasibility of this approach and outlining the methodology for its initial steps. Specifically, unlike studies that engage in the semantic analysis of historical corpora, particularly Latin, which rely on closed datasets of lemmas subjected to various layers of annotation (McGillivray et al., 2022), this research begins with an open dataset that must first be identified. It will demonstrate how computational tools commonly used in corpus linguistics—such as keyword-in-context searches and collocation tools—can be employed to identify pleonastic expressions, drawing on the novel and promising potential of treating entire databases of inscriptions as a unified textual corpus.

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***Dux femina facti* (Verg. *Aen.* I, 364) : lat. *dux* est-il vraiment aussi un substantif féminin?**

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Dans les langues à « sex-based gender system » (Corbett), il existe une répartition apparemment nette entre noms d'agent masculins et noms d'agent féminins, cette différence étant marquée morphologiquement (fr. *danseur* / *danseuse* ; it. *maestro* / *maestra* ; all. *Singer* / *Singerin*, etc.) ou, *a minima*, dans le cas des formes épécènes, syntaxiquement, par l'emploi de déterminants masculins ou féminins (fr. *un* ou *une pianiste* ; it. *un* ou *una cantate*). Cependant, cette répartition est brouillée, par exemple, par l'existence de formes employées uniquement à un genre ou à un autre, comme fr. *médecin*, toujours masculin, ou all. *Lehrkraft*, toujours féminin, quel que soit le genre de la personne ainsi dénotée. Au poids des données morphologiques (les composés en *-kraft* sont des noms abstraits féminins en allemand) s'ajoute celui des données sociales : il n'était pas gênant que *médecin* soit grammaticalement masculin tant que les médecins étaient (presque) uniquement des hommes, mais cela le devient pour les locuteur-trices du français lorsqu'ils et elles veulent désigner ainsi une femme. Pour autant, en français contemporain, si l'on peut entendre occasionnellement « la médecin », il semble que *médecin* soit toujours considéré comme un nom masculin par la communauté linguistique – contrairement à d'autres noms d'agent pour lesquels l'emploi au féminin, voire la création de formes marquées morphologiquement comme féminines, tendent peu à peu à être acceptés (par exemple *la ministre*, *l'auteure*, *l'autrice*, *la cheffe*).

En latin, une telle répartition entre noms d'agent masculins et féminins existe parmi les noms des deux premières déclinaisons (lat. *domina* / *dominus*, lat. *magistra* / *magister*) et entre noms suffixés en *-tor* et en *-trix*, même s'il faut d'emblée, dans ce dernier cas du moins, signaler un important déséquilibre à la fois quantitatif et qualitatif entre les deux (Serbat, Kienpointner). Mais, pour ce qui est du genre, le latin garde la trace d'une autre catégorisation, celle des langues à « non-sex-based gender system, opposant animé-es et inanimé-es sans distinguer morphologiquement le masculin et le féminin au sein de la première catégorie et produisant un certain nombre de noms morphologiquement épécènes, par exemple *senex*, *iuuenis*, *coniux*, *comes*, *uates* ou encore *dux*. Non marqués dans leur forme comme masculins ou féminins, sans détermination dans bon nombre de leurs occurrences, peuvent-ils pour autant être tous considérés comme épécènes, donc à la fois masculins et féminins, du point de vue du genre grammatical ?

Nous proposons de réfléchir à cette question à travers le cas de lat. *dux*, présenté comme un nom masculin et féminin par certains dictionnaires (Gaffiot, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*), là où d'autres sont plus prudents quant à sa qualité de nom féminin (*Oxford Latin Dictionary* : « regularly masc. but when used in close conjunction, e.g. apposition, w. fem. nouns it is often treated as fem. »). Compte tenu de ses emplois dans la latinité archaïque, classique et post-classique, *dux* doit-il être considéré comme un nom épécène ou comme un nom masculin

pouvant occasionnellement s'appliquer à un référent féminin, comme fr. *médecin*, sans que cela remette en question son genre grammatical masculin ? Nous observerons ainsi que :

- l'écrasante majorité de ses occurrences sont à rapporter à un référent de sexe masculin ou sont accordées avec un nom masculin ;
- lorsqu'il est accordé avec un nom féminin, il est alors en emploi adjectival et perd donc sa qualité de substantif ;
- le nom qu'il « qualifie » dénote souvent une entité abstraite (*natura*, *ratio*, etc.) ;
- les occurrences de *dux* véritablement substantif et se référant de manière autonome à une entité de sexe féminin sont rares ;
- même dans ces occurrences, on ne peut être certain du caractère féminin du nom qu'à partir du moment où il régit un accord au féminin ;
- il existe quelques occurrences de *dux* régissant un accord au féminin, ce qui constitue peut-être une tentative d'innovation de la part de certains auteurs, en particulier Stace.

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Reanalysis and grammaticalization of recognitional *ille* and anaphoric *is* as heads of relative clauses: a comparative study

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According to linguistic typology in works such as that of Lehmann (1984) relative pronouns are claimed to arise from two types of demonstratives: (i) pronominal demonstratives (which are either used as anaphors or as the pivot of a bi-clausal construction) and (ii) adnominal demonstratives, that link a nominal attribute to the head noun (Diessel 1999: 123). Furthermore, authors like Himmelmann (1997: 78), Diessel (1999: 108) and Dixon (2003: 84-86) have argued that the head of a relative clause is often marked by a grammatical item that developed from a recognitional demonstrative.

Regarding the field of Latin linguistics, traditional studies like that of Emout & Thomas (1953: 333) indicated the close link between anaphoric elements and relative pronouns and other more contemporary ones, like that of Pompei (2011: 451), have reflected on the concept of "lexical head" as the realization of the pivot as a referential expression and have established two subtypes: (i) external and (ii) internal head, depending on whether it's found outside or within the relative clause. On the other hand, latest contributions such as that of Pinkster (2021: 492-510) have considered the combination of demonstrative and anaphoric pronouns as modifiers of the head of the clause as well as their syntactic function with an adnominal relative clause. However, little attention has been paid to the grammaticalization processes of the determinatives in Latin language into heads of the clause, as well as the reanalysis processes that these linguistic items suffer.

Thus, the aim of this investigation is to analyse the recognitional *ille* and anaphoric *is* as sources of the heads of relative clauses by means of reanalysis and grammaticalization in selected plays of Plautus and Terence, as well as Cato the Elder. To achieve this, the theoretical framework of linguistic functionalism will be employed given its depth of analysis in which lexical, semantic, syntactic and morphological levels are combined and, simultaneously, that of typological studies as they provide a source of reference from a crosslinguistic and diachronic perspective. In addition, a cognitive approach will be applied to study the conceptual mechanisms behind the grammaticalization and reanalysis processes. Consequently, these theoretical frameworks will provide the necessary methodological tools and categories of analysis to carry out this investigation.

Hence, this proposal will not only reappraise the status of demonstratives in Latin language but could provide useful data for future investigations regarding the evolution of elements in the relative clauses and for further studies dealing with historical linguistics.

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¿Habere como verbo de actividad? Un análisis desde las colocaciones verbo-nominales

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Cuando el verbo *habere* funciona como verbo soporte adquiere, por lo general, el significado en castellano de “tener, experimentar, sentir (un estado)”. Desde esta perspectiva, ya en época tardía, resulta el verbo soporte preferente para la expresión de la posesión abstracta, suplantando a la construcción imperante en época arcaica y clásica de *esse* + dativo (Baldi & Nuti 2011). Sin embargo, en determinados ejemplos, *habere* tiene la capacidad de combinarse con sustantivos que forman colocaciones prototípicamente con *facere*: es el caso, entre otros, de *iter facere* – *iter habere*. Para esta combinación, se ha interpretado que *habere* presenta un carácter prospectivo frente al factivo de *facere* (Rosén 2020); no obstante, en otras ocasiones no resulta del todo clara esta interpretación y habría que reconocer, más bien, un carácter factivo sin aparentes cambios de significado respecto a *facio*: así sucede con algunos sustantivos del campo semántico de la guerra (*pugna, proelium, conflictum*, López Martín 2022: 154-160) y con algunos sustantivos en *-tio* (*quaestio, aedificatio, inflatio*, Garzón & Jiménez Martínez 2019 y 2023).

En esta comunicación proponemos realizar un recorrido por los empleos de *habere* como verbo soporte desde una perspectiva diacrónica con el objetivo de comprobar la evolución (y renovación) de su órbita colocacional (esto es, el conjunto de sustantivos con los que se combina un verbo para formar colocaciones). El análisis diacrónico nos permitirá observar, a su vez, la profusión de estos ejemplos conforme avanza la lengua latina. Tras una introducción general a los sustantivos que más se combinan con *habere*, nos detendremos en el análisis de aquellos ejemplos donde no cabe una interpretación prospectiva o de expresión de la posesión abstracta, sino factiva y equivalente a otros verbos soporte latinos como *facio* o *ago*.

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Cantemir and Korydalleus: two linguistic and philosophical approaches to Time

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Korydalleus’ Εἰσὸδος φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως κατ’ Ἀριστοτέλην (*Introductory courses to Aristotle’s Physics*) was printed in Venice in 1779 but has not yet been edited. It ends with a section on time which extends between pages 379 and 393. While closely following Aristotle, Korydalleus bears the mark of contemporary scientific debates and Scholastic theories regarding the measure of time after the rotation of the Sun and the Moon, the distinction between time, everlastingness and eternity and possibly the definition of time. In his turn, he might have influenced Dimitrie Cantemir, despite the latter’s criticism of Korydalleus’ line of thought.

The philosophical point of my research is based on linguistic distinctions. When he recounts the last theory on “the essence and being of time” exposed by the Philosopher, Korydalleus says: “There is exposed a third teaching, according to which time is nothing else than entirely thought motion”. I have translated ἀπλῶς ἐννοούμενη by “entirely thought”, a phrase that Aristotle does not use as such. He says: κίνησις τις ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, “a motion in the

soul". He does employ the verb νοεῖν, "to think", a little later, saying: ὅταν γὰρ ἕτερα τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ μέσου νοήσωμεν... "when we think that the ends are something else than the middle...", but in a different context.

Where Korydalleus declaredly parts from Aristotle is at the end of his chapter on time, when he remarks that the Philosopher does not fully oppose *eternity* and *everlastingness* to time: Eternity refers to time that has neither beginning, nor end, says Korydalleus, while everlastingness to those that come into being, and in order to understand it, we also use the term ἡλικία (time, age). Then he clarifies the distinction, which he attributes to "many Scholastics of nowadays": eternity is the measure of an entirely immutable thing and therefore belongs only to God; everlastingness belongs to those which change with respect to actions, but not to substances, therefore it refers to the other immaterial beings; time is the measure of the things which change in both their actions and substances, that is, which are born and die.

The distinction was not made first by the "Scholastics of nowadays", though. It goes back to Boethius (480-526 a.C.), who stated that *aeternitas* is different not only from *tempus*, but also from *sempiternitas* or *perpetuitas* (everlastingness). Cantemir argues that time is a being in itself, having its own existence, independent of motion, that it is in no way its measure. On the contrary, motion can be considered the measure of time. The everlastingness of the created beings (the angels, the souls, the world itself) has nothing to do with God's eternity, as God is wholly transcendent to the created world and cannot be compared to it. Eternity cannot be divided, it does not "comprise" *aevum* because it is not made of parts, a mistake made by some early-modern philosophers, whom he calls *Neologi* (see *Sacrosanctae Scientiae Indepingibilis Imago*, IV 14-15) and argues against. Korydalleus might have left his mark on Cantemir, and my work sets out to take notice of these possible influences.

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Verbes actifs et verbes déponents à l'époque archaïque du latin

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Les verbes déponents du latin constituent une catégorie morpho-lexicale imposante: 884 verbes des origines de la latinité à Charlemagne (Flobert 1975). Ce chiffre n'a pas pourtant découragé ceux qui dans leurs études ont tenté de trouver une justification fonctionnelle complète et/ou unique du phénomène, en privilégiant une approche lexico-sémantique (par ex. Gianollo 2008-2009, Zheng et alii 2007, Müller 2013). En outre, Pierre Flobert (1975) juge les formes déponentes des verbes ayant des formes actives aussi de simples « variantes déponentes » sans rôle linguistique remarquable.

Dans notre contribution nous amorcerons l'étude de petits sous-ensembles des verbes déponents caractérisés par la relation systématique actif vs. déponent. Notre perspective sera morpho-syntaxique et, en principe, celle de la Grammaire Relationnelle, où on mets constamment en corrélation les formes et les fonctions, afin d'en relever la valeur différencielle. Ainsi, nous espérons replacer le déponent latin dans son rôle linguistique significatif (La Fauci 1988, Marini 2014).

La période concernée par notre recherche est l'époque latine archaïque et le corpus est représenté par des paires de verbes où l'opposition actif vs. déponent se réalise soit dans des formes différentes du même prédicat (par ex. *adsentio-adsentior*) soit dans des prédicats différents, mais appartenant au même domaine sémantico-syntaxique (par ex. *moneo-hortor*). Nous montrerons que les cas les plus pertinents, au point de vue syntaxique, de l'opposition fonctionnelle actif vs. déponent sont les cas d'intransitivisation, codifiée par le déponent, des constructions actives, affectant l'objet direct « dégradé » à un oblique (par ex. *modero-moderor*). D'autres cas seront considérés tels que les verbes déponents régissant un accusatif dont l'objet est « physiquement non-affecté » (par ex. *ludifico-ludificor*; Marini 2005, Zheng et al. 2007, Grestenberger 2018).

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Latin bee-keeping terminology

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This paper will look at several etymologies of words from the field of Roman bee-keeping terminology and their semantic parallels. The high level of Roman competence in apiculture and knowledge about bees is manifest in such writings as Virgil's *Georgica IV*, as well as the works of Columella, Pliny the Elder, Varro, etc.

Firstly, Latin *favus* 'honeycomb' is attested since Varro. It does not have any derivatives and its etymology is unknown. A derivation from the root **b^hweh₂-* 'to be' in the sense 'to dwell' is too speculative. We propose to derive Lat. *favus* from PIE **g^howó-* 'a pourer (of honey), that from which honey is poured'. The PIE root **g^hew-* 'pour' is reflected in Lat. *fundō* 'to pour' (< **g^hu-n-d-*, with the nasal infix in the present stem and the suffix **-d-*, and the participle *fūsus* < **g^howd-tos* without the infix), Skt. *juhóti* 'pours', Gr. *khéō* 'pour', Go. *giutan* 'id.', etc. The semantic development observed in Lat. *favus* 'honeycomb' has a parallel in Slavic: Proto-Slavic **sъtb* 'honeycomb', derived from **sъptb*, from the root of **suti*, *sъpō* 'pour'; and MW *dil* m. 'honeycomb', from PCelt. **dī-liyo-*, from the root **liyo-* 'flow'.

Secondly, the Latin word for 'beehive', *alveus*, also has a parallel in Slavic, which is also etymologically cognate. Both Lat. *alveus* 'beehive, cavity' and RCSI. *ulii* 'beehive', Russ. *úlej*, Sln. *úlĵ* 'hollow tree, beehive' can be derived from PIE **h₂ewl-yo-*, **h₂ewl-eyo-* from the same root as Lat. *alvus* 'belly, beehive, hull of a ship', Gr. *aulós* 'hollow tube, pipe, flute' < PIE **h₂elwo-*. A similar semantic connection between 'belly' and 'beehive' exists in Catalan, where *buc* (from Franconian **būk* 'belly', cf. Germ. *Bauch*) means both 'belly' (the older meaning) and 'beehive'.

Thirdly, it is phonetically impossible to connect Latin *apis* with PIE **b^hey-*, which gave instead *fūcus* 'drone', or with PIE **e/a(m)p-i-* 'stinging insect; bee', related to German *Imme* 'bee; swarm of bees', Old English *imbe* and Ancient Greek *ἐμπίς* 'a stinging or biting insect'. However, *apis* has characteristics of a European substrate word, the ultimate source of which may be a Semitic word cognate with Egyptian *ʿfj* 'bee'.

Finally, the origin of Lat. *cēra* 'wax' will be discussed. It seems to be somehow related to Lith. *koryšs* 'honeycomb' and Gr. *kērós*, Dor. *kārós* 'wax', although the vocalism of these words does not match, so they might equally be of substratum origin.

This paper will pay particular attention to the semantic development of Latin bee-keeping terms in their historical development.

The origin of Latin monosyllabic nouns in *-ōns*

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Latin monosyllabic nouns in *-ōns* (*fōns* 'spring, well', *frōns* 'forehead, front, brow', *mōns* 'mountain', *pōns* 'bridge' and **spōns* (Abl. sg. *sponie*) 'will') are built with unexpected o-grades in their roots and, unlike the original *ti*-stems, they are masculine and mostly have concrete, rather than abstract meaning. In this paper we propose that *fōns*, *frōns*, *mōns*, and **spōns* were originally n-stems; since their phonological shape (by regular development of

word-final **-ōn* in Latin) would have been highly unusual **fō*, **frō*, **mō* and **spō*, respectively, they were analogically influenced by *pōns*, which was in turn transformed as a *ti*-stem because its original inflection was highly irregular. PIE **ponteh₁-*/**pnth₁-* ‘bridge, path’ (Skt. *panthā-*, Gr. *pátos* ‘path’, *póntos* ‘sea’, OCS *pōtь* ‘path’, Arm. *hun* ‘ford’, etc.) would have given Lat. **pontē-*, and the PIE oblique case stem would have given Lat. **pent-*, so *pōns* cannot be derived from either of those. We assume, rather, that the stem *pont-* is the result of the contamination of the original stems of the nominative (Pre-Latin **pontēs*) and the oblique cases (e. g. Pre-Latin Gen. sg. **pent-es*), and that the Lat. Nom. sg. *pōns* < **pontis* (by syncope) is built by analogy to the *i*-stems (Schrijver 1991: 372).

We also present new etymologies of *fōns*, *frōns* and *spōns*: we derive *fōns* from the PIE root **g^hew-* ‘pour’ (as in Lat. *fundō* ‘pour’) with the Hoffmann’s possessive suffix **-h₃on-* ‘having the abundance of’ (Olsen 2004: 233). PIE **g^how-h₃on-* would have first developed to **fowon-* and thence to *fōn-* by the regular loss of **-w-* before **o*, as in *deōs* ‘gods’ < **deywōs*. Lat. *frōns* can be regularly derived from PIE **g^{wh}rōn-* and related to Russ. *gran* ‘boundary, limit’, Cz. *hrana* ‘limit, edge’ and OHG *grana* ‘beard’, OE *granu* ‘beard’. The original meaning of the root **g^{wh}ren-* was probably ‘top, edge’, from which we can easily derive the attested meanings ‘edge’ > ‘boundary’ in Slavic, ‘top’ > ‘front, forehead’ in Latin, ‘top’ > ‘stick, pin’ > ‘beard’ in Germanic). Finally, *sponte-* can be regularly derived from **sph₁-h₃on-*, from the root of *spēs* ‘hope’ (cf. Hitt. *išpai-* ‘to get full, be satiated, Skt. *sphirā-* ‘fat’, OCS *spěti* ‘to succeed’), also with Hoffmann’s possessive suffix. Semantically, the development was from ‘having hope’ to ‘striving, attempting’ and ‘having determination, will’, which is very close to the attested meanings of **spōns*.

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The structural parallelism between *summus mons* and *Sicilia amissa* revisited

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My goal is to show that Latin constructions such as (1) and (2) can be provided with a *unified* syntactic analysis. Previous formal approaches only provide *partial* accounts of the phenomenon involved in (1) and (2) *without* linking each other: e.g. see Romero (1996) on (1) and Bolkestein (1980: 93-94), Nikitina & Haug (2016), and Rouveret (2018, 2023), i.a., on (2). Many descriptive approaches do not connect them either (e.g. Pinkster 2015/2021).

(1) cum *summus mons* a Labieno teneretur (Caes. *Gall.* 1.22.1)

(2) ante *conditam condendamve urbem* (Liv. Praef. 6)

Following Tesnière (1959: 300-302), who, unlike the abovementioned authors, did put forward an explicit *structural* parallelism between (1) and (2), I advocate a *unified* syntactic analysis of these two apparently different constructions. In particular, I advocate an extension of Romero's (1996) syntactic analysis of *summus mons* to dominant participles and gerundives. By doing so, the structural difference between partitive/predicative vs. attributive readings of spatial adjectives (e.g. cf. 'the summit of the mountain' & 'the highest mountain') will be shown to parallel the one between dominant/predicative vs. attributive readings of participles and gerundives (e.g. cf. 'before the foundation of the city' & 'before the founded city'). As argued by Romero (1996), the attributive reading of spatial and temporal adjectives involves inner NP modification, whereas their partitive reading involves outer DP modification. The latter reading is then expected to be possible with pronouns (e.g. (3a)) or proper nouns (e.g. (3b)). Likewise, dominant participles are also compatible with pronouns (e.g. (4a)) or proper nouns (e.g. (4b)). Additional parallelisms will be shown to point to the conclusion that both constructions share an analogous syntax. Finally, I will also review the alternative clausal analysis of dominant participles (e.g. Storme 2010, i.a.), which has to face two problems: (i) as shown by Nikitina & Haug (2016:37-40), dominant participles are found in syntactic positions that are restricted to nominals and can be coordinated with NPs; (ii) the parallelism between (1) & (2) is lost.

- (3) a. quae (= epistula) declarabat ... In *qua extrema* scriptum erat ut... (Cic. Att. 13,45,1)
 b. in *summo Tauro* (Catul. 64,105)
 (4) a. ante *te cognitum* (Sall. Jug. 110)
 b. queri de *Milone expulso* (Cic. Att. 9,14,2)

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Are Large Language Models able to grasp Latin semantics?

A study on motion verbs

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Motion verbs allow us to explore how languages convey concrete (Talmy 1983) and abstract (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) meanings, offering insights into diachronic developments. They also reflect cognitive and cultural aspects of language, capturing how speakers conceptualise movement and change (Feiz Zarrin Ghalam 2007; Virotchenko 2017). In Latin,

motion verbs are often preceded by preverbs, whose meanings range from transparent (e.g., *trans eo* ‘cross’ < ‘go across’) to opaque (e.g., *pervenio* ‘arrive’) due to lexicalisation processes (Imbert 2008; McGillivray 2014). However, how lexicalisation developed over time and by text type is still unclear. For example, *abeo* typically means ‘go away’ in Early Latin and is frequent in Plautus (Farina et al. 2023), with this literal sense remaining dominant in Classical and Post-Classical Latin. This persistence contrasts with a notable increase in metaphorical senses of this verb in later Latin.

Recently, Large Language Models (LLMs), state-of-the-art artificial intelligence systems capable of generating natural language responses to given inputs (prompts), have shown remarkable success in linguistic research. While computational methods for Latin are well-established (McGillivray 2014; Nyhan & Passarotti 2019), the application of LLMs to Latin remains underexplored while offering a promising avenue to analyse diachronic phenomena at scale. Early studies on Latin (Burns 2023; Ross 2023) show strong performance in comprehension and translation tasks, but their capacity to analyse semantic phenomena like preverb lexicalisation is yet to be evaluated.

In this study, we analyse how the lexicalisation of preverbs in Latin motion verbs varies by text type and period. We consider different types of preverbs (Source, Goal, Comitative) and motion verbal bases such as *venio* and *eo*. We use a corpus spanning from Early to Late Latin, including different text types. We prompt a state-of-the-art LLM to annotate the meaning of the preverbs in a large set of corpus passages based on a training set of more than 1,400 manually annotated Latin preverbed motion verbs. We measure how accurately the LLM identifies preverb meanings and qualitatively assess its interpretative reasoning, focusing on whether it aligns with established analyses of Latin preverb semantics. This allows us to conduct a diachronic analysis of lexicalisation patterns by text type and language period at a much larger scale that would be manageable with qualitative methods alone. Since LLMs are trained on large amounts of web data, they may capture general trends while overlooking more nuanced aspects of Latin semantic studies. Our study aims to assess how effectively a LLM can enhance our understanding of lexicalisation in Latin motion verbs and the evolving semantics preverbs across different text types and historical periods.

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La costituzione di un vocabolario specialistico latino per l'analisi sintattica nel *De constructione* di Prisciano di Cesarea

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Prisciano è stato il primo e l'unico grammatico latino ad aver dedicato una trattazione teorica esaustiva alla sintassi e ai rapporti che le parole intrattengono all'interno dell'enunciato. Egli si trovò di conseguenza a dover formulare nuovi termini specialistici per esprimere in latino concetti specificamente sintattici quali quello di 'concordanza', 'transitività', 'dipendenza' e 'reciprocità', appresi in greco dalla sua fonte, il grammatico alessandrino Apollonio Discolo, autore a sua volta di un trattato sulla sintassi suddiviso in quattro libri.

Il presente contributo indaga le modalità di formazione del vocabolario sintattico di Prisciano e le sue caratteristiche, tenendo costantemente in considerazione l'ipotesi greco e il *milieu* bilingue in cui operava il grammatico nella Costantinopoli del VI secolo d. C.

La prima parte della relazione sarà dedicata all'individuazione dei criteri per stabilire quali vocaboli devono essere considerati tecnici e saranno poi esposti i risultati dello spoglio di tutta la terminologia sintattica individuata nei libri XVII e XVIII dell'*Ars* di Prisciano che sono interamente dedicati alla *constructio*. Seguirà un'indagine sui mezzi linguistici usati dal grammatico per la formazione del lessico sintattico e un'analisi puntuale dei lemmi più significativi per ciascun tipo di neoformazione.

Tra le strategie di creatività lessicale più ricorrenti in Prisciano si segnalano in particolare la specializzazione di termini di uso corrente (e. g. *conceptio*), il calco semantico e morfologico (e. g. *additivus* in corrispondenza del greco *ἐπιταγματικόν* o *inclinativus* per *ἐγκλιτικόν*), la formazione per suffissazione, i composti e i neologismi (e. g. *retransitio*). Saranno notati anche casi di polisemia o, viceversa, di omonimia che costituiscono delle violazioni al criterio dell'univocità semantica proprio dei lessici specialistici. Da un punto di vista metodologico i precedenti studi sulla formazione di vocabolari tecnici (e. g. André 1956 per la botanica; Coleman 1989 per la filosofia, la retorica e la grammatica; Langslow 2000 per la medicina), insieme a ricerche più ampie sulla creazione di nuova terminologia latina per l'ingresso della lingua greca (Biville 1989), costituiranno un costante punto di confronto e di riferimento.

Tra i vocaboli individuati si osserverà infine quali hanno avuto effettivamente fortuna costituendo la base per la terminologia sintattica moderna e quali sono rimasti degli *hapax* immediatamente dimenticati.

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Cicero's comments on his word choice

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Cicero used to guide addressees through his works by using various types of expressions and commentaries. They ranged from the expressions of stance (e.g. *ut puto* “as I think”, *credo* “I think, I believe”) through commentaries on the discourse structure (e.g. *ante quam dico* ... “before I tell ...”) up to commentaries on word choice and word meaning (e.g. *ut ita dicam* “so to speak”, *ut dicitur* “as it is said”). The paper will focus on the last category of expressions that signal the chosen word is used metaphorically, as a simile, as an equivalent of a foreign word, as a saying, and so forth. In addition, some of these expressions also can modify the illocutionary force of an utterance.

Cicero's works that seem appropriate for this research include treatises in which he introduced concepts invented by Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, and some speeches. For this reason, samples of different types of works will be selected.

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Animals and Plants: Lexical Aspects of the Latin translation of Basil's

Hexaameron by Eustathius

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As shown by the index of hapax legomena and rare words (Amand de Mendieta-Rudberg 1958, 132), the late ancient Latin translation of Basil of Caesarea's *Hexaameron* (Giet 1968) attributed to Eustathius (beginning of the 5th AD: see Altaner 1940) is quite remarkable as regards lexicon. Addressed to *Syncretica germana diaconissa*, the translation – as declared in the preface – is an attempt to translate into Latin (*monumentis inserere linguae Latialis*) Basil's *Exameron*, making it accessible to those who do not know Greek: a ‘service

translation', we might say, whose author is aware of his own *infantia* ('want of eloquence': praef. 2). In my paper, based also on the few works devoted to this topic by earlier scholars (Marti 1990; Henke 2008), I will dwell on some lexical items, chosen among those that are used for designating plants and animals, and for describing their appearance and their alleged habits; when necessary, also the critical text of Eustathius will be reconsidered (its most ancient and important manuscript is now available online: Paris, BNF, lat. 12134, 8th cent., from Corbie). In such investigation, I will also take into consideration Ambrose of Milan's Latin *interpretatio* of Basil's *Hexaëmeron* (Schenkl 1897; see also Henke 2000), a 'literary translation', whose linguistic *facies* stands out for its liveliness and refinement.

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Memory at the intersection of semantic and pragmatic values

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Memory has rarely been considered as a linguistic category. In the few cases where it is cited as a category on its own (e.g. Nissim and Pietrandrea 2017; Nuyts 2022), it is predominantly treated as an evidential category, as expressions like 'I remember (that)...' *et sim.* provide evidence about the source of information conveyed by a sentence (cf. Aikhenvald 2004). However, there is a lack of in-depth studies on the topic, especially in relation to ancient languages.

This contribution presents the results of a first investigation into memory as an evidential category in Latin. Through a comprehensive analysis of a selection of texts of different periods, we identified and classified, based on different parameters, all passages in which memory has a clear evidential function, as in (1):

- (1) MEL. *Iam horret corpus, cor salit. / nam mihi ab hippodromo memini adferri parvolam / puellam eamque me mihi supponere.* (Plaut. *Cist.* 551–553)
'My body's shaking now, my heart's jumping up and down: I remember that I was brought a little girl from the racecourse and that I pretended that she was my own child'.

The analysis of the collected data not only provides a better understanding of the evidential meanings codified by memory expressions in Latin, but also highlights a range of semantic and pragmatic functions such as epistemicity (2), irony and (im)politeness (3), (dis)agreement, intentional vagueness, or mitigation:

(2) *Sub eodem titulo et lucerna bilychnis de camera pendebat, et duae tabulae in utroque poste defixae, quarum altera, si bene memini, hoc habebat inscriptum: "III. et pridie kalendas Ianuarias C. noster foras cenat".* (Petron. Sat. XXX)

‘Under this inscription a double lamp hung from the ceiling, and two calendars were fixed on either doorpost, one having this entry, if I remember right: “Our master C. goes out to supper on December 30th and 31st”’.

(3) ART. *Nunc uxorem me esse, meministi tuam? / modo, cum dicta in me ingerebas, odium, non uxor.* (Plaut. Asin. 927–928)

‘Now you remember that I’m your dear wife? Just before, when you were throwing bad words against me, I was your abomination, not your wife’.

The results are finally compared to the outcomes of a similar research conducted on Italian texts, highlighting elements of continuity and discontinuity in the pragmatic meanings associated with the evidential category of memory.

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On the etymology of Latin *līmen*, *līmes*, and other similar forms

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There are several words in Latin that begin with *lī-m-* such as *līmen* ‘threshold, doorstep’ and *līmes* ‘boundary, strip of ground or balk to mark the division of land’. While neither Ernout and Meillet (1985: 359) nor de Vaan (2008: 342) provide no clear etymology for these forms, Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: 805) seem to tentatively accept an old etymology based on the root **leǵ-* ‘bend’ to account for their initial *lī-*. *IEW* (309) more explicitly advocates this hypothesis, citing *līmus* ‘oblique, transverse’ alongside *līmen/līmes*. However, the formal similarity between these forms is not as cogent as one might assume because the notion of bending is not essential to *līmen* and *līmes*; the threshold is generally straight, and the balk lying between agricultural fields is not necessarily curvy but rather linear in many cases. Therefore, an entirely different approach dissociated from **leǵ-* is wanting.

I will thus focus on a form that has never drawn our attention in this regard, i.e., *līra* ‘ridge between two furrows’, which also starts with *lī-* but should be analyzed into *līr-a*. The element *līr-* is generally taken as a reflex of Proto-Indo-European **lejs-* (LIV² 409–410) with rhotacism, whose original meaning was most likely ‘track down, trace’ and shifted to ‘know’ (< ‘have traced’) as with English *learn* (see LIV² 409 n. 1 and Kroonen 2013: 339). What *līra* refers to is not terribly far from *līmen* and *līmes* in terms of shape, i.e., an elongated and often straight line, although these three vary in size or length. In this light it is highly likely that the root **lejs-* also underlies *līmen* and *līmes* as traceable objects (**līzm-* < **lejs-m-*).

The etymology I will propose helps clear up the hodgepodge of lexical items starting with *lī(-m)-* crammed under a few entries of IEW (309). For example, while some of the words are to be associated with not **lej-* ‘bend’ but **lejs-*, others should remain with **lej-* due to their semantics, e.g., *līmus* ‘oblique’ and *lituus* ‘curved staff’. This paper will thus reconsider the etymological identity of these forms based on their underlying semantics and provide them with possible morphological interpretations as well.

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Enactivist reading of conceptual metaphor in Augustine

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This paper, based on the corpus-oriented approach, will explore Augustine’s concept of metaphor and his use of the terminology, but, more importantly, to discuss Augustine’s place in the history of debates about the linguistic and conceptual function of metaphor in ancient thinking (*Ep.* 7, 1; 7, 6; *Mus.* 6, 32). Augustine was engaged in both the philosophy of language and the theory of imagination, and saw himself as an interlocutor with Stoic theorists, but also with all the earlier intellectual currents expressed by Cicero, Quintilian and Fronto. He both reflected enduring classical ideas about metaphor and developed his own views on memory, imagination, and conceptual blending.

The iconicity of the metaphor and the metaphorical mapping used in Ancient semiotic use of the cognitive images (*phantasmata* or *imagines*), is a particularly important contribution to the theoretical debates on memory. The conceptual nature of the image component can be roughly described as a bridge between what is said (*lexis*) and what is meant (*dianoia*). The term *imago*, a complex and ambiguous concept, should mean “cognitive image” in certain contexts. The image component should be considered as a semantic and a pragmatic

phenomenon, it can be explained both in terms of metaphorical mapping and based on other semiotic phenomena. Building on the recent article by Luuk Huitink (2020) which explored Greek material, this paper will discuss bodily and experiential grasp brought by metaphor and the way and terms Augustine discussed the grasp.

It is difficult to say which Greek term for 'image' exactly was translated into Latin. Various terms such as *eidolon*, *eikon*, *phantasma* and *phantasia* could mean "cognitive image", as it will be argued in the paper. Thus the anonymous author of Seneca's contemporary treatise "On the sublime" (the so-called Pseudo-Longinus) discusses the "production of images" (*eidolopoia*) as a necessary component of text-making (*Subl.* 15, 1). The related manifestation of metaphor was first emphasized by Aristotle as "to put the thing in sight" (*τὸ πρᾶγμα πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν* or its constant Latin variant *rem ante oculos ponere*), with its concern for the horizon of the expectations of the recipient (Arist. *Rhet.* 3, 2-11 1405b12-1411b25; [Dem.] *Eloc.* 81; *Rhet. Her.* 4, 45; Cic. *De orat.* 3, 160; Quint. *Inst.* 8, 6, 19). Greek and Latin theoretical passages on mental visuality and (conceptual) metaphor reveal the attention of Roman intellectuals to the communicative processes and interaction of language (speaking) and cognition (meaning). 'Longinus' and Plutarch provide an important background for understanding and interpreting the usage and meaning of certain terms and ideas. Being at the same place at the same time and sharing the same intellectual discourses, belonging to the same 'common ground' in other words, Greek grammarians in Rome were fundamental to the crystallisation of both Greek and Latin linguistic concepts.

This paper argues that the enactivist idea of experientiality is essential to Augustine's engagement with the transfer of mental images. Cultural environment, mental images and human physiology are integrated, and the person who encounters an imago can juxtapose his or her own experiences with it. Augustine's aim is to get as close to reality as possible. The imago, which the mind forms of an object, must be related to material things because the human mind must be able to visualise them. *images* are based on the substrate of common experience and are intended to aid the understanding of abstract phenomena by training the reader's imagination.

There are numerous passages in Augustine where conceptual mapping, blending and thus the metaphorical act are discussed. The placement of Augustine's thought in the tradition of the discussion of metaphor can be helpful for the elucidation of Augustine's own methods and original experiments, as well as for the more general trends in the Roman linguistic and philosophical understanding of metaphor.

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The shift from aspect to deixis within the diachrony of Latin motion verbs. Looking for causal relations

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In Latin, major motion verbs such as *eo* and *venio* appear to be originally centered around an aspectual principle: *eo*, meaning ‘move’ rather than ‘go’, is aspectually unmarked; *venio*, meaning ‘arrive, reach’ rather than ‘come’, displays a telic character (“perfectiv”; cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 302–303). In time, *eo* and *venio* progressively develop a deictic scope, thus expressing, respectively, motion away from the speaker and motion towards the speaker, a process that is fully accomplished in the Romance languages. Typological studies show that, in motion verbs, the prevalence of aspectual or, alternatively, deictic values is a relevant phenomenon (see Ricca 1993; Wilkins & Hill 1995; Nakazawa 2009). In previous studies, I offered a diachronic analysis of this shift towards a deictic orientation (e.g., Nuti 2016). In this contribution, I focus on the ultimate causes that could have led to this rearrangement. I will first argue in favour of conceiving aspect and deixis as ever-present, interacting functional principles, rather than the opposite poles of two mutually exclusive configurations (see Nuti 2024). Subsequently, I will evaluate to what extent motion verbs can be marked by a different sensitivity to aspect and deixis, and whether this might depend on a more basic character of the latter (see, e.g., Fillmore 1975; Levinson 1983; Kryk 1990). I will finally try to relate the possible causes of this “aspect-to-deixis” adjustment to general diachronic tendencies of the Latin verbal system with respect to aspectual features.

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Evidence in favour of internally layered feet in Latin

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As is well known, classical metrical theory establishes the bimoraic trochee as the optimal foot in Latin (a.o. Mester 1994). In order to achieve a correct parsing, Latin vocalism resorts to vowel shortening, either iambic (*āmō>āmō* 'I love') or cretic (*dēsīnō>dēsīnō* 'I give up'). The syllable sequences in Latin (from the stressed to final syllable) are the following:

Disyllabic

a- ('LL)

b- ('HH)

c- *('LH)

d- ('H)L

Trisyllabic

a'- ('LL)(H)

b'- ('H)(LL)

c'- *('H)L(H)

d'- ('LL)L

Configurations a) and b) do not present problems, c) are banned and repaired by the aforementioned shortening processes, and d) display unparsed light syllables. While medial unparsed syllables are banned (in c'), final unparsed syllables are allowed in d). In fact, ('H)L constitutes an uneven trochee ('HL) and the trisyllabic counterpart, ('LL)L, an internally layered foot (ILF), which consists of a binary foot with an adjoined syllable, to the right edge in the case of Latin: ((('σσ)_{FL}σ)_{FL}. Evidences of uneven trochees are provided by syncope or vowel deletion processes (*lāmīnā>lamna*: 'HLL> ('HL) (Jacobs 2003), and recent studies based on different languages show proofs for ILF (a.o. Martínez-Paricio & Kager 2021, Torres-Tamarit 2021).

The goal of this talk is to show that bimoraic trochee also becomes insufficient to account for ('LL)L configuration, and it can be analysed as an ILF: (('LL)L).

One evidence favouring the inclusion of ILF in Latin feet inventory is provided by *-(t)ia /-(t)ies* suffixes alternation. These suffixes, which form abstract nouns (*laetitia* 'joy' < *laetus*; *species* 'look' < *specio*), share meaning, and they can be found in doublets: *materia / materies* 'material'. Their distribution depends on phonological grounds, since variant *-ia* follows stems with heavy final syllables (*audāciā*/**audāciēs* 'audacity') to permit full parsing (Ito & Mester 2006). Whereas *HLH (**audāciēs*) sequence is banned, there is no internal mechanism to repair 'LLL (*laetitia*) sequence, which is not only permitted but is also thoroughly spread in Latin, although the language offers the possibility to avoid it by selecting the *-ies* suffix. These considerations lead us to add the ILF to Latin feet inventory, which also prevents the proliferation of extrametrical syllables.

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Problemi critico-testuali ed esegetici nel *De re coquinaria* di Apicio

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Saranno esaminati alcuni passi del *De coquinaria* attribuito ad Apicio (fine IV sec.?) che presentano dei problemi critico-testuali o esegetici. Per una corretta costituzione del testo e per la sua interpretazione saranno anche indagate, se necessario, le continuazioni mediolatine e romanze della terminologia impiegata nel trattato. Come ulteriore ausilio interpretativo sarà pure presa in considerazione, per quanto possibile, la concreta esecuzione delle ricette.

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Constructional patterns of the verb *ago* in Early Latin

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The verb *ago* has a central role in the history of the Latin language, featured by a remarkable semantic variability, starting from its original meaning of ‘to lead’ (LIV *h₂aǵ-* ‘treiben, führen’). *Ago* appears in both transitive and intransitive constructs, and its domains of use range from the agrarian-pastoral (*capellas agere*), to the warlike (*turres agere*), to the institutional, both political (*cum senatu agere*) and religious (*fetos dies agere*), even to the rhetorical (*cum venustate agere*) and dramaturgical (*fabulas agere*). In the Romance languages, however, its semantic extension as well as its syntactic properties are considerably restricted, being mainly limited to the intransitive meaning of ‘to act’ or ‘to behave’. It has already been seen that, in Late Latin, *ago* shows a low frequency to select referentially full direct objects; it selects mainly direct objects that can partially perform a predicative function; moreover, there is a routinised use of the verb with the neuter pronouns in the function of textual anaphora.

With this in consideration, this study aims to investigate the patterns of *ago* in early comedies, in order to observe the uses of the verb in this stage of Latin. The analysis will focus on the following aspects: 1) what constructional patterns of *ago* are in Early Latin; 2) what types of constructions are most frequent; 3) how the direct objects of *ago* are distributed from a semantic point of view, in relation to different parameters (concrete vs. abstract; process vs. result, etc.).

The analysis is based on the following corpus: Plautus (3rd century BC); Terentius (2nd century BC), by searching on the *Library of Latin Texts* (Brepols, 2024).

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Il lessico tecnico-scientifico della geografia

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Questo intervento tratterà di lessico geografico, partendo dal ruolo che esso ha avuto nei manuali di storia della lingua e nei lessici tecnico-scientifici del latino. Il classico Devoto (1944) aveva allegato solo un indice storico-geografico con indicazione di alcuni toponimi non italici, dimostrando una certa sensibilità per questo aspetto. Così anche il manuale di Poccetti-Poli-Santini (1999) dedicava un paragrafo alla lingua della scienza e della tecnica, e al suo interno trattava della geografia in circa una pagina. Più di recente, Mazzini (2010) ha dedicato un volume a parte alle *Lingue socialmente marcate*, ma nessuno spazio ai lemmi geografici. Perfino lo specialistico e utilissimo manuale *Le lingue tecniche del latino* di De Meo (2005³) si avvicina al tema solo quando si occupa dell’astronomia e astrologia, del mare e della navigazione, eludendo però i lemmi specifici e relativi all’orbe terraqueo.

Pertanto questa riflessione intende proporre agli occhi degli specialisti l’improcrastinabilità di una messa a fuoco più nitida da parte degli studiosi della lingua latina dei lemmi che, nella cultura occidentale, si sono distinti per primi entro le testimonianze letterarie per designare storicamente aspetti e cognizioni relative alla terra e alla sua conformazione, finanche ai confini delle sue regioni e ai suoi toponimi. Il risultato di questa indagine, di cui si potrebbero fornire alcuni possibili affondi, potrà essere utile anche agli studi di geografia storica *tout court*, che a volte procede autonomamente solo attraverso gli scrittori tecnici. Lo sguardo, invece, dovrà essere rivolto alle istanze provenienti, oltre che da autori tecnici, da quelli non tecnici dell’antichità (come Varrone, Lucrezio, Cicerone, senza escludere Plinio il Vecchio o Avieno ad esempio), al fine di redigere una lista minima, o quanto meno uno specifico spazio dedicato ai loro contributi entro le pagine dei linguaggi tecnici del latino, per quel che attiene a parole come ad esempio *habitabilis*, *zona*, *australis*, *circulus*, *axis*, *antipodes*, *orbis*, *clima*. E’ solo un modo per rimarcare l’importanza della lingua latina nella coniazione del linguaggio geografico che, se trova nella storia *tout court* e in quella della cultura le sue ragioni di essere, andrebbe scandagliata meglio sia nella sua prima comparsa in quello scorcio cronologico che sta tra l’ellenismo e il mondo romano, che nella sua sopravvivenza a volte discontinua. Il fine dell’indagine sarà far luce su alcuni punti cardine di una riflessione linguistica che deve aver scandito il principio della cultura geografica occidentale connettendosi con la storia della letteratura sia greca che latina. I collegamenti con le fonti greche antiche, infatti, daranno atto dei modi, i luoghi, le personalità che hanno determinato l’atto di nascita di una nuova branca del sapere e del suo linguaggio.

L'effetto collaterale sarà anche quello di valorizzare, in linea con le tendenze più recenti della scuola, una disciplina che, nella sua storia, ha trovato spesso ostacoli al riconoscimento del suo statuto di materia fondamentale.

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Il costruito *hic est...hic est* di *schol. in Stat. Theb. 4, 570*: una memoria tardoantica del greco ὁ μὲν...ὁ δὲ?

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Negli *scholia* alla *Tebaide* di Stazio, nello specifico a 4, 570, opera di un misterioso estensore noto soltanto dall'epigrafe posta ad *incipit* dell'opera come *Lactantius Placidus* e collocabile cronologicamente nel VI secolo d. C., leggiamo una interessante pericope, unanimemente tradata dalla tradizione manoscritta come segue:

570 TRISTEM NOSCO LYCUM [*hic est Lycus, qui Megaram filiam suam Herculi dedit uxorem et ob hoc a Iunone in furorem versus est et filios Herculis ex Megara susceptos Oxea et Creontiadem occidit. Tristem ergo propter mortem nepotum.*] *Hic est* [ergo] *Lycus maritus Antiopae, Nyctei regis filiae, et tristem ob stuprum coniugis, quam per vim stupraverat Epaphus. Ille eam proiecit. Epaphus autem fuit ex Io[ne] et Iove natus.*

Sweeney, l'ultimo editore del testo, espunge il periodo che va dal primo *hic est* fino a *nepotum* ritenendo che questa sezione contrasti nettamente con la successiva, che a sua volta si apre con *hic est*, e ipotizza che questa porzione di testo non sia altro che uno *scholium a quodam satis indocto confectum*. Anche se, stando alla narrazione di Stazio, il *tristem Lycum* di *Theb. 4, 570* è certamente il *maritus Antiopae* della seconda sezione, è pur vero che nel passo in questione non è altrimenti connotato e che questo nome nel mito designa diversi personaggi. Ora, quella che viene considerata un'aporia nello scolio, poiché secondo l'editore è impossibile che il commentatore abbia voluto spiegare l'identità del Lico di Stazio scrivendo per due volte *hic est* 'costui è...', cadendo in contraddizione e causando non poca confusione nel lettore, è, invece, a mio avviso un desiderio di precisione e forse anche uno sfoggio di erudizione che non manca anche altrove nel *Commentum*. Per raggiungere il suo obiettivo, lo scoliaste avrebbe riutilizzato un costruito latino, ricalcato sul greco ὁ μὲν...ὁ δὲ, attestato, come testimonia il *ThLL*, per tutta l'età imperiale, ovvero *hic est...hic est...* nel senso di 'l'uno...l'altro...', con l'intento di spiegare al fruitore dell'opera che la tradizione mitica conosceva almeno due personaggi omonimi, per cui l'uno è il Lico che diede in moglie sua figlia Megara a Eracle, l'altro è invece il Lico marito di Antiope. Peraltro, attribuendo questo

significato a *hic est...hic est*, salveremmo anche *ergo*, espunto a sua volta dall'editore in quanto insensato dopo il primo intervento sul testo. Intendendo, dunque, la pericope come un'opposizione polare volta a chiarire che non esiste un solo eroe di nome Lico, non soltanto il passo non avrebbe bisogno di alcun intervento e si conserverebbe il testo unanimemente trádito, ma sarebbe un'importante attestazione del fatto che il costrutto era ancora noto e in uso a questa altezza cronologica (VI sec.) – l'ultima occorrenza, in senso cronologico, ed unica attestazione tarda di questa struttura in forma bimembre citata nel *Thesaurus* si trova nel *Panegyricus* di Drepanio pronunciato per Teodosio I nel 389 d.C. Saremmo, dunque, di fronte a una reminiscenza tardoantica di una struttura assai antica della lingua greca, quale ó μὲν...ὁ δὲ, arrivata intatta fino agli *scholia* di VI sec. di Lattanzio Placido.

“Vulgar” Latin phenomena in the phonology of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (vol. XX)

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Started in 2023, the ERC project DiLADi aims to shed new light on the changes that characterised the (so-called) transition from Latin to Romance through a comprehensive analysis of the Late Latin documents published in the first series of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (ChLA, vols. I-IL), using the LLDB database (cf. Adamik 2009). The palaeographic/diplomatic features of the ChLA have been thoroughly examined over the last century, but their linguistic analysis has so far been limited to the investigation of specific areas/periods/phenomena (Sornicola 2017).

The 12 Italian legal texts published in volume XX of the collection (2 parchments and 10 papyri; nos. 701-702 and 703-712 respectively) are no exception in this regard. These documents (including the well-known Odoacer donation = no. 703) have been carefully edited and analysed from a palaeographic point of view (see in particular Tjäder 1955-82), but, with a few (mostly outdated) exceptions (e.g. De Bartholomaeis 1901), a detailed account of the “Vulgar” Latin (especially phonetic/phonological) features of these texts is still lacking. The purpose of this paper is to take a first step towards filling this research gap. To this end, it will offer a study of the deviations from “Classical Latin” that occur in the texts published in ChLA, vol. XX, with special reference to those concerning the phonetic and phonological domains.

The results confirm what has already been noted in previous studies (e.g. Barbato 2017; Korkiakangas 2017), namely that, despite (or perhaps because of) their legal character (Sornicola 2017), the numerous deviations attested in these documents qualify them as fertile ground for the study of the transition from Latin to Romance, also by means of quantitative and statistical (in addition to qualitative) approaches.

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De-syntagma and its irregular occurrence: the partitive and motion complement in *Lex Salica*

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This presentation examines the peculiar use of prepositions, with a particular focus on partitive and motion complements, in the *Lex Salica*.

This study's primary focus is the functional diachrony of the preposition *de* in the *Lex Salica* (Guillemin, 1921; Adams, 2013: 199-380; Löfstedt, 1959): while the preposition *de* traditionally signified the downward motion, in the De Chrenechruda passages, it extended its usage to the upward motion (Lex Em.: *de quattuor angulis* - from the four corners) and partitive notions (Cod. 1: *Si vero de illis quicumque proximior fuerit...*), marking a significant syntactic shift. The analysis examines the manner in which the preposition *de* replaces specific prepositions such as *ex* in the partitive function and *ab* in the motion function (Kettemann, Petersmann 1998: 19-30).

The research contrasts various manuscript versions, and demonstrates significant discrepancies in the use of *de* and other prepositions. In particular, the study examines the emergence of analytic structures (Löfstedt, 1959: 126; Sas, 1937: 468-493), whereby prepositional phrases replace genitive constructions (as mentioned above, Cod. 1), which is a defining feature of the evolution of Late Latin towards greater category expansion of *de*.

In addition, the research situates the linguistic development within the context of the Merovingian period, during which the *Lex Salica* was redacted, thereby clarifying grammatical simplification and case reduction (Väänänen, 1982: 195-202). The growing use of *de* in partitive complements, which replaced the genitive case, is situated within the broader context of morphosyntactic changes that occurred during this period (Sas, 1937; Löfstedt, 1959). As observed also in more recent works (Ledgeway, 2012: 21-23) this transition towards analytic structures reflects the dissolution of the classical case system, particularly in legal texts which are more likely to exhibit features from the spoken language.

The study underscores the diachronic, diastratic, and diaphasic dimensions of these linguistic changes by demonstrating the extended use of the preposition *de* in the context of the *Lex Salica*.

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Harmonizing Linguistic Resources for Latin through Linked Open Data Publication. The Case of Participles

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In the proposed talk, we aim to show how empirical research in Latin linguistics can benefit from the interoperability of linguistic resources.

In the world of Linguistic Linked Open Data (LLOD), interoperability is intended as a good practice that accommodates the diversity of available linguistic data and metadata to allow meaningful comparison between them and exploitation of computational resources and tools to advance linguistic research. This is achieved through the standardization of data models and protocols for obtaining, querying and accessing data (structural interoperability) and the usage of common vocabularies in terms of data categories and ontologies to describe metadata (conceptual interoperability) (see, e.g., Cimiano et al. 2020: 30).

For Latin, the LiLa Knowledge Base (<https://lila-erc.eu>) provides several lexical and textual resources as Linked Open Data, and a number of services to ease the task of expanding the availability of LOD for Latin (see, most recently, Passarotti, Mambrini, Moretti 2024). LiLa achieves interoperability between linguistic resources for Latin by adopting a set of standard practices to model and publish linguistic data and metadata.

It is precisely the interoperability between linguistic resources, more specifically between lexical resources and textual resources, that can be fruitfully exploited to advance research on

Latin linguistics. In order to demonstrate the potential that LLOD resources for Latin provide, we begin with a methodological concern: to what extent are the available linguistic resources for Latin comparable? Our focus is on different lemmatization and part-of-speech (PoS) tagging strategies, using participles as a case study. We illustrate how data sparsity—resulting from participles being lemmatized as nouns, adjectives, or verbs—can be addressed through harmonization, and how this process enhances the reliability of data for downstream research.

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La sincope nell'epoca imperiale

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La sincope, un fenomeno diffuso nelle storie delle lingue di tutto il mondo, giocava un ruolo importante anche nei cambiamenti fonologici del latino. La sua produttività intorno al IV secolo a. C. è ben nota (cf. **iovestod* > *iusto*), così come l'altro tipo, che si manifestava tipicamente nelle parole trisillabe con accento sull'antepenultima sillaba, dove colpiva la vocale posttonica. Nei testi poetici, incontriamo frequentemente forme sincopate di certe parole (per es. *vinclum*, *saeclum*) a partire da Ennio, mentre tali forme si occorrono anche nelle iscrizioni dell'epoca imperiale (per es. *DEPOSTUM*, *TITLUM*, *FELICLA*). Nelle lingue romanze – nonostante le significative differenze – troviamo numerose parole che derivano universalmente da forme latine sincopate (per es. lat. *viridem* > **virdem* > it., sp., port., rum. *verde*, fr. *vert*; lat. *domina* > **domna* > it. *donna*, sp. *doña*, port. *dona*, fr. *dame*). Da queste evidenze possiamo ipotizzare che la sincope sia stata un fenomeno produttivo prima dell'intensa diversificazione linguistica nel territorio latinofono.

Sembra essere plausibile collocare la massima produttività della sincope all'epoca tarda imperiale, (sec. IV–VI), quando anche altri cambiamenti fonologici, le cui radici risalgono a periodi precedenti, si intensificarono. Questi fenomeni furono spesso condannati dai grammatici contemporanei, come testimonia anche l'autore della celebre lista di errori inclusa nell'*Appendix Probi*, datata (secondo la datazione più accreditata) al IV secolo. Tale lista contiene un numero sorprendentemente elevato di forme sincopate rispetto ad altri tipi di errori fonologici.

Comunque l'occorrenza della sincope non appare particolarmente frequente nelle iscrizioni, come ci si aspetterebbe da un fenomeno veramente produttivo e uniforme in tutte le regioni dell'Impero Romano. Nel 1984, József Herman osservò nel corpus epigrafico significative differenze dialettali riguardo la frequenza delle evidenze di sincope. Successivamente, nel 2015, Béla Adamik condusse una ricerca quantitativa più approfondita

utilizzando il 'Late Latin Database (LLDB)'. I suoi risultati indicarono che, nelle province analizzate (quelle galliche, Venetia e Dalmazia), la produttività della sincope diminuì nell'epoca cristiana (sec. IV–VI) rispetto ai secoli precristiani (I–III).

La mia presentazione prosegue questa linea di ricerca. Grazie allo sviluppo dell LLDB negli ultimi dieci anni, che ora include oltre 1500 dati relativi alla sincope, sono in grado di effettuare un'analisi delle evidenze epigrafiche dettagliata sia cronologicamente che dialettologicamente. Tale ricerca ci permette di approfondire la nostra conoscenza riguardo i cambiamenti e le peculiarità regionali del fenomeno durante l'epoca imperiale.

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Overabundance in Latin verb inflection

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Overabundance – i.e., the availability of more than one wordform for the same morphosyntactic property set – has been the object of increasing interest in the literature on theoretical morphology in the last decade. In the framework of Canonical Typology (Corbett 2005), Thornton (2011) identified overabundance as a non-canonical way of realizing cells in inflectional paradigms; after that, both empirically (e.g., Cappellaro 2013) and theoretically (e.g., Stump 2016: Chapter 9) oriented studies have been carried out on the topic; Thornton (2019) sketched a canonical typology of overabundance itself.

Latin verb inflection offers many examples of overabundance. These may be caused by the availability of more than one ending (e.g., *-ēre/-ērunt/-ērunt* for PRF.ACT.IND.3PL) or stem variant (e.g. *nīs-/nīx-* as the perfect participle stem of NITOR), or due to the possibility of inflecting a lexeme according to different conjugations (e.g., either the 1st or the 3rd for LAVO). From a quantitative viewpoint, Pellegrini (2023) highlighted a remarkable proportion of overabundant lexemes in the Latin verbal lexicon. However, his data ultimately come from dictionaries, whose aim is to account for all variants that can be found in texts, regardless of their frequency; hence, this is not informative on how much this potential variability is reflected in actual use.

In this work, we focus on this latter issue. We start from Pellegrini's (2023) lexicon of principal parts (PrinParLat), we generate inflected wordforms for all verbs and we look for their attestations in the LASLA corpus (Fantoli et al. 2024), that documents archaic and classical Latin from the 3rd century BCE to the 2nd century CE, is carefully annotated with morphosyntactic properties, and large enough to provide sufficient data. Both PrinParLat and the LASLA corpus are available in the LiLa Knowledge Base of interoperable resources for Latin (Passarotti et al. 2020), allowing us to match the generated forms to their attestations.

With these data, we first perform a quantitative assessment of the presence of overabundance in Latin verbs, comparing it to previous studies on other languages (e.g., Guzmán Naranjo & Bonami 2021 on Czech nouns). We then analyse overabundance phenomena according to the criteria identified by Thornton (2019) in her typology – namely, the number of cells and lexemes involved, the strength of overabundance as measured by means of the relative frequency of competing variants, and the presence of grammatical and/or geo-sociolinguistic conditions influencing the choice of forms. Lastly, we focus on specific cases in more detail, providing empirical evidence to shed light on under-investigated phenomena and verifying whether observations made in previous studies on the distribution of variants (cf., e.g., Ernout 1914: §182 on the competition between *-ris* and *-re* in PASS.2SG cells) are confirmed through a more systematic quantitative investigation.

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Il *gapping* verbale negli scritti senecani: confronto tra la prosa epistolare e la prosa filosofica del *De Providentia*

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Il *gapping* verbale prevede l'eliminazione del verbo che è in comune a due proposizioni coordinate, la cui struttura sintattica è simmetrica e i cui elementi costituenti sono diversi e, anzi, generalmente in opposizione (Lausberg, 1969, §317; Ross, 1970; Selingson, Knudsvig, 1974; Hudson, 1976, pp. 536-537).

$[SN_1 + V_1 + SN_2]$ congiunzione $[SN_3 + V_1 + SN_4]$



$[SN_1 + V_1 + SN_2]$ congiunzione $[SN_3 + \emptyset + SN_4]$

L'analisi è stata preliminarmente condotta partendo dal genere letterario epistolare. Con la prosa delle *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, infatti, sembra aprirsi uno squarcio nell'intimità del filosofo, che può essere indagata dal lettore proprio tramite la sua realizzazione concreta: la scrittura, come espressione e, allo stesso tempo, mezzo di disciplina interiore (Lotito, 2001, p. 34). Dallo studio del *corpus* epistolare (Perna, 2023), dunque, le evidenze del *gapping* verbale mostrano una maggior presenza del fenomeno in quei passi in cui la narrazione si fa meno impegnata, lì dove le sezioni argomentative sono meno protagoniste e dove il *sermo cotidianus* (si veda l'analisi di Mazzoli, 1991) si fa più presente. La sua frequenza sembra, inoltre, diminuire all'aumentare della lunghezza delle lettere, tendenza confermata dal fatto che il *gapping* verbale si fa meno presente a man mano che si progredisce nell'epistolario, quando cioè le lettere si caratterizzano da un'estensione maggiore rispetto alle prime (per la struttura del *corpus* epistolare senecano si seguono gli studi di Lana, 1991). Il *gap* del verbo, che può avvenire tanto nel primo congiunto, quanto nel secondo – e per questo si parla, rispettivamente, di *left-gapping* e *right-gapping* –, appare inoltre strettamente correlato alla capacità di elaborazione del linguaggio dell'essere umano: come avviene spesso nella prosa classica greca (Gaeta, Luraghi, 2001, p. 104), non solo l'autore sembra preferire le omissioni di elementi anaforici, soprattutto quando già stati menzionati nel primo congiunto (da qui la maggior presenza del *right-gapping*), ma si nota anche che i casi di *gapping* verbale a sinistra riguardano per lo più i verbi copula. Al contrario, nel *right-gapping* è coinvolta una maggiore varietà verbale (si veda anche Hawkins, 1988).

Dopo lo studio preliminare condotto sulle lettere di Seneca, si rivolgerà ora l'attenzione a un'altra opera dello stesso autore, non più appartenente al genere epistolare, ma sempre rivolta a Lucilio: il *De providentia*. Se dall'epistolario senecano il *gapping* verbale risulta maggiormente frequente quando la riflessione filosofica tende a scendere di registro e quando, come spesso è evidenziato dalle sfumature rese dal *sermo cotidianus*, l'autore si mostra impegnato in un intimo e per questo meno controllato dialogo con il suo più caro amico, nel trattatello filosofico che ora sarà oggetto di studio ci si aspetta, per lo stesso genere letterario al quale appartiene, una minore presenza del fenomeno.

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Il lessico dell'agricoltura nel glossario latino-greco degli

Hermeneumata Celtis

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Si presenta uno studio di carattere linguistico e critico-testuale su alcuni termini poco o per nulla altrove attestati, che si rinvenivano nella sezione nr. 41 sull'agricoltura del glossario latino-greco dei cosiddetti *Hermeneumata Celtis*. Di tali particolarità lessicali si chiarisce inoltre il significato e si delineano anche gli sviluppi nel latino medievale oltre che i possibili esiti romanzati.

Com'è noto, quello degli *Hermeneumata Celtis* è il più esteso glossario bilingue (organizzato in sezioni tematiche) a noi pervenuto dalla tarda antichità, tradito da un manoscritto autografo dell'umanista Conrad Celtis (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek suppl. Gr. 43, a. 1495), copiato a sua volta da un codice all'epoca conservato a Sponheim (Germania) e successivamente andato perduto. La presente ricerca si inserisce nel più ampio progetto di edizione online '*Onomastikón. Studi di lessicografia greca e latina*' (<https://onomastikon.altervista.org>) coordinato, oltre che dalla sottoscritta, da Vincenzo Ortoleva e da Salvatore Cammisuli, e finalizzato alla pubblicazione in *open access* delle sezioni ancora inedite del glossario.

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Servio etimologista: il caso di Fauno

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Divinità ancestrale profetica e padre di Latino, Fauno riveste un ruolo di fondamentale importanza nello sviluppo dell'intreccio della seconda esade dell'*Eneide*, specialmente in relazione al suo vaticinio concernente il futuro sposo di Lavinia (*Aen.* 7, 96-101), come non manca di sottolineare Servio nel proprio commento virgiliano, richiamando a più riprese la connotazione profetica del dio e illustrando due etimologie del suo nome ad essa connesse.

Il contributo mira, a partire da un'analisi dettagliata della figura di Fauno nell'esegesi serviana, realizzata tramite il confronto sia con il dato letterario sia con quello mitologico-culturale, a esaminare le due etimologie del teonimo *Faunus*, una latina e una greca, illustrate dal commentatore, rispettivamente, in *Aen.* 7, 47 (*HVNC FAVNO ET NYMPHA GENITVM LAVRENTE MARICA* [...] *dicti autem sunt Faunus et Fauna a uaticinando, id est fando, unde et fatuos dicimus inconsiderate loquentes*, di tradizione varroniana [*ling.* 7, 36]) e in *Aen.* 7, 81 (*FAVNI Faunus ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς dictus, quod uoce, non signis ostendit futura*, non documentata altrove). A tal fine, esse verranno raffrontate, da un lato, con altre etimologie presenti all'interno del commento virgiliano e, dall'altro, con il resto della tradizione etimologica latina superstita.

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On the obligatoriness of the phoric element in Latin Headless Relative Clauses

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Headless relative clauses (henceforth HRCs) are relative clauses that do not have a lexical head. In Latin they can co-occur with a phoric element, i.e. a cataphor (1, 4) or an anaphor (2), or not (3, 5):

- (1) *scelerum enim promissio et eis qui expectant pernicioosa est et eis qui promittunt*
“for the promise of what is criminal is pernicious both to those that expect and to those that promise” (Cic. *Phil.* VIII 10)
- (2) *quos laborantes conspexerat, his subsidia submittebat*
“he sent (them) up to the assistance of those whom he had observed in distress” (Caes. *Gall.* IV 26.4)
- (3) *vineas agere quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant comparare coepit*
“he began to bring up the vineae, and to provide whatever things were necessary for the storm” (Caes. *Gall.* II 12.3)
- (4) *constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent comparare*
“they determined to provide such things as were necessary for their expedition” (Caes. *Gall.* I 3.1)
- (5) *sunt quibus in satyra uidear nimis acer*
“There are some persons to whom I seem too severe in (the writing of) satire” (Hor. *sat.* II 1.1)

HRCs in (1)-(2) and (4) can be classified as semi-free. On the other hand, (3) and (5) could be also classified as actual free relative clauses.

From a syntactic point of view, phorics unquestionably mark the structural function of the coindexed constituent within the matrix clause; therefore, they are a sort of syntactic place marker. If this information can somehow be inferred, phorics may be missing. This means that they may not occur if they would be inflected in the same case as the relative pronoun ((3): (*ea*) *quae*). In the absence of case coincidence, phoric elements are generally not realized even when the case of the relative pronoun is morphologically identical to what it would be if there were case coincidence (case syncretism, in van Riemsdijk’s 2006 terms). Eventually, in the absence of both case coincidence and case syncretism, phoric elements may be missing also when they are easily recoverable verb arguments, e.g., in the subject position (5). Conversely, phoric elements usually occur in oblique cases – as happens in (1)-(2) – or when governed by a preposition, unless they are somehow recoverable from the context.

From a semantic perspective, some scholars claim that the presence of a phoric element may give HRCs a specific or determinate reference (cf. e.g. Addabbo, 2001: 163, and Lavency, 1998: 59). On the contrary, Vester (1989: 342) claims that *is qui* and *qui* are semantically equivalent.

Finally, from a pragmatic point of view, the occurrence of a phoric element that is easily recoverable at the syntactic level may be due to reasons of information structure – for instance, a contrastive function – and to metrical and/or stylistic reasons.

HRCs that do not co-occur with a phoric element have been considered as argument clauses by Pinkster (1990: 90), whereas Lavery (1998: 65) notes that they cannot commute with the pro-form *id*, and Oniga (2007: 266-272) argues that a phonetically not realized phoric element 'pro' must be always understood.

My proposal is aimed at identifying three different types of HRCs, in which the co-occurrence of phoric elements varies according to its obligatoriness and its function:

a) in the first type, phoric elements co-occur with no constraints and only satisfy recoverability and/or pragmatic needs (1-3);

b) in the second type, the presence of phoric elements is compulsory for semantic reasons, since they promote a referential interpretation, i.e., phoric elements avoid the non-specific interpretation which would be implied by the modal value of the subjunctive (4) (vs. (3));

c) in the third type, the presence of phoric elements is avoided (5) and restricted to syntactic contexts where their recoverability would be difficult.

From the semantic point of view, while the first two types of HRCs are characterized by maximalizing semantics and are referential (*realis*), the third one is distinguished by classifying semantics and is non-referential (*irrealis*).

The texts considered for the study will be literary and will range from Early to Imperial Latin.

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Vocative and Incise Clause Positioning within the Median Sequence of Latin Hyperbaton: Functional and Pragmatic Perspectives

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Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud

This paper investigates the syntactic placement of vocatives and incise clauses within the median sequence of Latin hyperbaton. The study aims to provide a structured word-order framework for the mixed median sequence, viewed as the intervening material between the two enclosing terms of a discontinuous phrase. To this end, heterogeneous median sequences containing "intervening" constituents (Powell, 2010) are selected, since these function as inserted elements that do not syntactically belong to the enclosing hyperbaton terms. In

exploring the functional and word-order implications of this type of syntactically mixed median sequence, we pursue three main objectives:

- a) To examine the role of the incise clause as an expansive elaborative segment within the median sequence in hortatory, exclamatory and imperative clauses;
- b) To analyze the placement of one-word vocative insertions in relation to incise clauses and other inserted elements in the median sequence;
- c) To evaluate the position of zero-valency *verba imperandi* relative to incise clauses and vocative insertions.

For objective (a), we examine examples such as Cicero's *Magna nobis pueris, Quinte frater; si memoria tenes, opinio* [...] (Cic. *De Oratore* 2.1.1), in which the inserted clause *si memoria tenes* extends the median sequence of the hyperbaton *magna...opinio*, thus increasing its syntactic suspension. Similar examples indicate a tendency for such conditional clauses to occupy an end position within their median sequence. Objective (b) identifies a greater placement mobility for vocatives in the median sequence, allowing them to co-occur with imperative verbs. Objective (c) briefly explores positional interactions between one-word vocative insertions and incise clauses within the median sequence of latin hexameters. The analyzed corpus includes prose texts by Cicero, Valerius Maximus and Quintilian, focusing on exclamatory sentences and imperative sentences with interjections. In the context of the Latin verse composition the function of vocative insertion within the hexameter of late Latin sepulchral inscriptions is briefly examined, particularly its contributions to the syntactic suspension effect in verse hyperbaton.

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How to Be Evasive in Latin: Hedges in Latin Comedy and Correspondence Tomaž POTOČNIK

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The aim of this paper is to study linguistic hedging. Hedges are linguistic devices which speakers can use to signal the subjective nature of the proposition they are uttering. Since hedges are a part of speakers' pragmatic competence (see Kaltenböck *et al.* 2010 for a recent collection of studies), it is safe to assume that they were a regular feature of communication in Latin as well. However, even though substantial results have been achieved in investigating

other pragmatic phenomena in Latin, hedging has received only sporadic interest (e.g., Caffi 1999, Barrios-Lech 2016, Mencacci 2022).

In this paper, I explore selected hedging devices in Roman Comedy and in Cicero's correspondence, focussing in particular on their discourse-organizing functions. In the following example, Syrus approaches Sannio to engage him in conversation:

Syrus: *quid istuc Sannio est quod te audio **nescioquid** concertasse cum ero?*

Sannio: *numquam vidi iniquius certationem comparatam quam haec hodie inter nos fuit. ego vapulando, ill' verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus.*

'What's this I hear, Sannio? You've had **some sort of** confrontation with my master? ::

Confrontation? I've never seen a more one-sided one than what we had today. We're both totally exhausted, him with beating and me with being beaten.'

(Terence, *Adelphoe* 210–3; translation Barsby)

By using the hedge *nescioquid* 'some sort of', Syrus issues a vague description of the event, seemingly to signal his lack of knowledge of what precisely happened. He is, however, well aware what sort of a confrontation Sannio was in – he was in fact severely beaten up by a citizen of a higher social rank; this suggests that Syrus' motive in using *nescioquid* is not epistemic. In this case, it is likely that he wants to hear Sannio's own version of what had happened to plan his subsequent conversational moves accordingly. This 'procedural' (Mencacci 2022) function was recognised by the 4th century grammarian Donatus in his commentary on the play as well:

argute positum 'nescio quid': uult enim ex illo audire, ut nanciscatur initium quo persuadendum cepit.

“‘Some sort of’ is cleverly put: for [Syrus] wants to hear in [Sannio's] own words [about what happened] in order to find a suitable opportunity to start persuading him.’

(Donatus, *Commentum Terentii: Adelphoe* 2.209; my translation)

It has been observed that hedges are in fact regularly used in discourse- and conversation-organising functions (e.g., Kaltenböck 2010). This paper studies to what extent hedges are present in Roman Comedy and in Cicero's correspondence. Since conversation is said to underlie all other modes of communication (Schegloff 1996), understanding hedges in Latin can make an important contribution to the growing body of cross-linguistic research on conversational interaction.

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Latin influence on the Visigothic onomastics of the Iberian Peninsula between the 6th and 8th centuries

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The aim of this paper is the linguistic analysis of the Germanic names found in the so-called Visigothic slates (c.f. Velázquez Soriano 1989) in the central area of the Iberian Peninsula between the 6th and 8th centuries. This lecture analyses the process of the Visigothic immersion in the Latin linguistic sphere of Hispano-Roman society of the time through the study of the influence of the Latin language on this Visigothic anthroponymy.

This influence can be observed at different linguistic levels. At the semantic level, we find dithe-matic anthroponyms with a possible combination of Latin and Germanic elements, e.g. *Mvriildi*. Another area of Latin influence is that of morphology, thus, Germanic names with Latin endings, e.g. *Argefredvs*. On the graphophonetic level there are adaptations of Germanic names to Latin pronunciation and spelling, e.g. *VVidericus*.

The aim of this paper is to describe this influence on these Germanic anthroponyms as well as to relate them to other variants of the same or similar names found in other Visigothic (cf. Piel, Kremer 1976) or Ostrogothic documents (cf. Francovich Onesti 2007, 2013; Zironi 2020).

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***Genus compositivum*. A new database of Latin nominal compounds**

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During the last decades we collected a large amount of Latin nominal compounds from a group of authors dating from the beginning of the Latin literature to the late antiquity: we aimed to include them into a graph database, according to the classification conceived by Renato Oniga in the Eighties and later by Alessandro Re, in order that our work could be useful for new researches.

We also developed a series of queries: on their basis, researchers can get significant results on the distribution of compositional typologies according to works, authors, literary genres and chronology. The ICLL 2025 aims to be a crucial opportunity to publicly present to scholars this new research tool that, over the years, will be increasingly enriched until it covers the entire span of Latin literature.

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Les constructions (pseudo-)réfléchies et leur concurrence avec le médio-passif : résultats d'une analyse de corpus du latin mérovingien

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La transition du latin aux langues romanes est caractérisée par une profonde réorganisation de la morphosyntaxe de la voix moyenne : les marqueurs médio-passifs ne figurent plus dans les langues romanes, tandis que les (pseudo-)réfléchies assument progressivement une partie des fonctions du médio-passif latin (Cennamo 1998/2015, Stempel 2002).

Cette communication présente les résultats d'une analyse de corpus (PaLaFraLat-V2-0) portant sur la situation des constructions (pseudo-)réfléchies dans la latinité mérovingienne. Les constructions (pseudo-)réfléchies ont fait l'objet de plusieurs recherches, soit focalisées sur des constructions (pseudo-)réfléchies spécifiques (Cennamo 1989/2015, Adams 2013), soit dans une vue d'ensemble des différentes constructions (pseudo-)réfléchies (Reichenkron 1933, Joffe 1995) dans le latin archaïque, le latin classique et le latin tardif. Cependant, une

analyse exhaustive de corpus sur la situation des constructions (pseudo-)réfléchies dans la latinité mérovingienne reste encore un *desideratum* dans la recherche actuelle.

Dans un premier temps, nous identifierons et quantifierons les différents types fonctionnels des constructions (pseudo-)réfléchies dans les textes mérovingiens. Dans un second temps, nous examinerons les valeurs sémantiques, pragmatiques et sociolinguistiques qui déterminent le choix entre le marqueur (pseudo-)réfléchi et l'équivalent médio-passif dans les textes. Nous démontrerons que cette distribution dépend de l'agentivité, des classes de verbes et des facteurs pragmatiques.

L'originalité de notre présentation consiste en une analyse synchronique et sémantico-syntaxique de *se/sibi* (et leurs équivalents à la première et seconde personne) dans un corpus, ainsi que dans l'étude de leur concurrence avec le médio-passif.

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***Per-, trans-, δια-* and the expression of aspect: ‘spending time doing something’**

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The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyse the use of preverbs in Latin and Greek for the expression of aspect. The paper builds on previous findings on preverbs in general (Zanchi) and particularly on *per-* (Bruciale & Mocciano, Cabrillana, García Hernández, van Laer), *trans-* (Bortolussi, Revuelta) and *δια-* (Revuelta).

The prefixes *per-*, *trans-* and *δια-* in combination with movement verbs generally convey the idea that a Trajector traverses a certain amount of spatial extension (usually codified as a noun in the accusative or a PP) as its moves. However, when that extension refers to time, they rather describe the consumption of time by some entity in a certain activity or position. In this case the compound verbs convey aspect and their meaning could be paraphrased as follows: ‘A (Agent) spends B (Time) doing C (Activity)/in C (Place)’.

In these constructions the agent (A) is usually a living being and occupies the subject position, whereas the time (B) and the activity/place (C) can display different forms and occupy different argument slots. The purpose of this paper is to provide a typology of those possibilities. The following are just some of them:

a) The activity (or mood of action) can be conveyed by the simple verb (*per-pōto* ‘to spend time drinking’), by a PP (*tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt* ‘others spend time in advertisement and in courting attention’), by a gerundive (*utinam relicum tempus nec patiendi infanda nec faciendo traduci posset!* ‘would that the remaining time could be passed without either suffering or committing atrocities!’) or by a participle (τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διῆγον ‘they spent most of the day there in fighting at long range’), among other means.

b) The time spent (aspectual time) can appear as a NP in the accusative (see previous examples) or a PP, or can be expressed lexically by the ‘simple’ verb (*per-noct-o*, *δια-νυκτερεύω* ‘to spend the night’).

The combination of the different alternatives of the two previous factors provides a grid of possible constructions. This algebra will be used in order to distinguish the behaviour of Latin and Greek in this area.

The use of preverbs for this purpose is usual outside the Classical languages and can be found in other satellite-framed languages (Mateu & Acedo-Matellán) like English or German (Dewell): «Ich hab die ganze Nacht durch-getanzt bis zum bitteren Ende!» (‘I have spent the whole night dancing till the end’)

From a theoretical point of view the paper has a Functional-constructionist approach (Dik, Goldberg) and includes a description of the predicate frames (quantitative and qualitative valency, selection restrictions). But it presents also a Cognitive approach (Talmy, Luraghi). It includes comparative-typological data, since the Latin data are compared mainly with those of Ancient Greek, but also with other from modern languages (mainly English and German).

The study is based on two main sources: (a) databases containing Latin and Greek texts (corpora) specifically designed by the author for this purpose; (b) databases containing Latin (Lewis & Short) and Greek (Liddell-Scott-Jones) dictionaries. Managing a large number of data with databases allows to find all kinds of regularities and collocations.

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The use of *rursus* / *rursum*: back or again?

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After finishing the *re*-compounds in the Thesaurus linguae Latinae we still have one important lemma left related to these verbs: the particle *rursus* or *rursum*. This particle is composed of the prefix *re*- and the participle *versus*, 'turned backwards'. We see the same meanings here as in the *re*-compounds: 'backwards', reversal, or back to a previous state, and most of all repetition. But we can also observe the development of this particle into a discourse marker, as it can be used to give a further argument ('furthermore'), or an opposite thought ('on the other hand'). In this paper I will address the question how these meanings are related and have developed from each other. I will also compare *rursus* with *iterum*, with which *rursus* shares a number of meanings. Therefore I have looked up all instances of *rursus*/*rursum* down to the time of Apuleius, and a selection of instances as recorded in the TLL archive down to 600 CE.

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Zur Textstilistik lateinischer Fluchtafeln

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Das Konzept des Stils ist in der altsprachlichen Forschungslandschaft primär durch seine Assoziation mit literarisch-dichterischer Praxis einerseits und seiner theoretischen Nähe zur Rhetorik andererseits bestimmt.

Im geplanten Vortrag soll hingegen eine Textsorte im Fokus der Betrachtung stehen, die nicht nur jenseits der Grenzen von klassischer Dichtung und literarischer Prosa beheimatet ist, sondern sich auch durch eine ebenso deutliche Distanz zur Sphäre der traditionellen Rhetorik auszeichnet: die Fluchtafel oder *defixio*. Bei Vertretern dieser Textsorte handelt es sich evidentermaßen um für die Anwendung bestimmte epigraphische Kleintexte, mithin um Sachtexte, deren Fehlen im Horizont der Forschung verschiedentlich bemängelt worden ist (Pinkster 1985, S. 75f.). Die Fluchtafeln erlauben also die stilistische Analyse eines literaturfernen Textkorpus von einheitlicher pragmatischer Ausrichtung, wobei letztere bereits eingehend untersucht worden ist (vgl. Kropp 2008). Gegen eine Tauglichkeit für stilistische Studien scheint zunächst der repetitive und formularische Charakter dieser Inschriften zu sprechen, insofern Stil gängigerweise als Selektionsmöglichkeit zwischen mehreren Ausdrucksformen verstanden wird: „Nur wo gewählt werden kann, lässt sich von Stil sprechen.“ (Eroms 2014, S. 40; vgl. u.a. auch Marouzeau 1947, S. 337f.). Allerdings ist es gerade der oft schematische Charakter der Texte, der gattungstypische Eigenheiten prägnanter hervortreten lässt, von denen sich die ebenfalls zu beobachtende Variation umso signifikanter abhebt. Die soeben angesprochene Grenze zur Literatur ist jedoch nicht hermetisch zu denken, sondern in Richtung der Fluchtafel teilweise durchlässig. Dadurch kann die Fluchtafel im Einzelfall — wie etwa dem der großen *defixio* von der Via Ostiensis (Bevilacqua 2006) — auch als Exempel für das Ineinandergreifen literarischer und textsortenbedingter Stilstrategien dienen.

Der geplante Vortrag soll neben einer Überblicksdarstellung des sprachlichen Stils der Verfluchung auf diese Kontakte eingehen und insbesondere auch die damit notwendigerweise verbundene Rolle onomastischen Materials thematisieren.

Die Perspektive der Untersuchung wird auf struktureller Ebene durch die Gattung bzw. Textsorte vorgegeben und auf der Ebene des Einzeltextes durch diesen selbst, wodurch die Textlinguistik als der übergeordnete deskriptive und analytische Rahmen fungiert.

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Discontinuity or hyperbaton? A comparison of discontinuous noun phrases in Latin prose and poetry

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The aim of this paper is to examine noun phrase discontinuity, i.e. separation of modifiers from their governing nouns by elements (other than enclitics) that do not belong to the noun phrase. Discontinuity is usually studied from the point of view of intervening material and ‘discontinuity’ and ‘hyperbaton’ are used as synonyms. To compare discontinuous noun phrases in Latin prose and poetry, I will first propose the general properties of discontinuous noun phrases on the basis of a corpus including Cicero and Caesar. These properties comprise: optionality, pragmatic motivation, the rule of one discontinuous noun phrase per clause, and the interruptibility of a noun phrase by elements belonging to the same clause. For example:

(Quae res) ... *magnumque* nostris attulerat *incommodum*.
 ‘(This fact) ... and it caused great harm to our men.’ (Caes. *Civ.* 3.63.5)

In Cicero and Caesar, the discontinuity concerns 14.06% of all noun phrases. On the basis of this corpus, I will argue that the discontinuity is a feature of the Latin language. However, it can be used to achieve stylistic ornamentation, in particular in combination with other stylistic figures, such as parallelism or clausulas in Cicero’s elaborate speeches.

The situation is completely different in poetry. In Vergil, Horace, and Ovid, noun phrase discontinuity reaches 51.61%. In these authors, the discontinuity is not always pragmatically motivated. The rule of one discontinuous noun phrase per clause is relatively often violated: 20.89% of discontinuous noun phrases occur in clauses already containing another discontinuous phrase. Additionally, a modifier can be separated from its governing noun phrase by elements that do not belong to the same clause. For example:

Provolat in medium, et *magna* “Succurrite!” *voce*,
 “Non est auxilium flere” Metellus ait.
 ‘Metellus rushed into their midst and in a loud voice cried, “Hurry to the rescue! There is no help in weeping.” (Ov. *Fast.* 6.443–444)

In many cases, the noun phrase discontinuity in poetry is due to other than pragmatic reasons: to stylistic or prosodic reasons. Therefore, as an artistic elaboration, it deserves the term of ‘hyperbaton’. In sum, I propose to call ‘discontinuity’ the separation of modifiers

from their governing nouns as a feature of the Latin language and ‘hyperbaton’ the stylistic ornamentation used especially in poetry but sometimes also in prose.

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Alternation of Adjectival Diathesis and how to explain it

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The alternation of adjectival diathesis, sometimes referred to as “diathèse flottante” in French, has been a subject of observation and analysis in the context of Latin deverbal adjectives ending in *-to-* or *-bilis*. This linguistic feature involves the shifting of diathesis, in adjectives derived from a verb. Such alternations have intrigued Latinists, who made attempts to examine and explain them. These efforts aim to uncover the underlying principles governing the shifts and to provide a comprehensive explanation for the observed patterns.

However, this phenomenon of alternation of adjectival diathesis is not confined to Latin deverbal adjectives alone. Similar patterns can also be found in other types of Latin adjectives that do not originate from verbs. This suggests that the scope of this linguistic feature extends beyond a single category of adjectives, indicating a more widespread and possibly universal characteristic within the language.

Interestingly, this alternation bears a resemblance to a feature observed in evaluative adjectives in English. Evaluative adjectives, which express judgments or assessments, also exhibit patterns of alternation of diathesis, highlighting a potential cross-linguistic parallel. This similarity raises the possibility that insights gained from studying evaluative adjectives in English could be instrumental in understanding the Latin phenomenon.

By exploring the alternation of adjectival diathesis in both Latin and other languages, researchers can gain valuable insights into the mechanisms of linguistic change and the factors that drive such shifts.

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Development of compounds from Latin to Romance languages

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The development of compound words from Latin to the Romance languages could be described as a fascinating story of continuity and creativity. This paper deals with how Latin compounds were transferred, transformed and uniquely adapted in languages like French, Spanish, Italian, Catalan, Portuguese and Romanian. By looking at the structural, semantic and phonological changes, this research aims to show how each language evolved from its Latin roots while still preserving its own identity.

In Classical Latin, compounds like noun-noun, verb-noun and adjective-noun pairings were common, especially in more formal language. They allowed people to express complex ideas concisely. As Latin gradually shifted from Classical to Vulgar forms, everyday spoken language prioritized simplification, which gradually led to the changes seen in the Romance languages. This paper traces how each Romance language inherited Latin compounds and altered them through linguistic and social influences.

Main reasons for these transformations were phonological and morphological adjustments. Latin words were often simplified, reinterpreted, or replaced to match the singular phonetic systems of the emerging Romance languages. For instance, Latin *magnanimus* (“great-souled”) transformed into *magnánimo* in Spanish, *magnanimo* in Italian, *magnanime* in French, *magnânimo* in Portuguese, and *magnànim* in Catalan —each version retaining the structure while adapting to fit new phonological norms. The word has passed into Romanian in the form of a calque, composed of the words *mare* (“big”) and *inimă* (“heart”): *mărinimos*.

Language contact also played an important role. Interactions with Germanic and Arabic culture enriched the lexicons of Romance languages and introduced new compounding patterns.

Sociocultural factors further influenced the evolution of compounds across the Romance-speaking lands. For example, in Italy there was a strong tradition of Latin scholarship which allowed Latin compounds to persist, particularly in scholarly and technical fields. In contrast, regions with fewer Latin-educated scholars, like certain areas of France and Spain, were successful native and borrowed methods of word compounding.

The paper considers how the meanings of Latin compounds evolved as well. Many Latin compounds with specialized meanings became broader or more specific as they entered the Romance lexicons.

By comparing the development of compounds across Romance languages, this research points out shared roots but also distinct evolutionary paths. Latin was the cornerstone, but each Romance language adapted compounding in line with its own phonological, morphological, and syntactic needs.

In conclusion, the development of Latin compounds into the Romance languages reveals a balance between continuity and adaptation in language evolution. This paper focuses on the linguistic and social influences shaping Romance compounds, illustrating Latin's enduring legacy alongside with the adaptability of Romance languages.

Vocabulary related to plants in the *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*

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The purpose of this study is to investigate the sections related to plants in the *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* (Latin – Portuguese – Japanese dictionary, *DLLI*), which was composed by the Western and Japanese Jesuits in Japan in 1595, based mainly on Calepinus' Latin dictionary (1580, *Calepinus*). *DLLI* is Japan's first dictionary of western language. The dictionary influenced western dictionaries that were published afterward, even in Europe (for example, Bento Pereyra, *Thesouro da lingoa portuguesa*, 1647, Lisbon).

DLLI lists more than 800 Latin plant names as headwords, along with corresponding Portuguese and Japanese names. This was the first time Latin names for many plants had been introduced to Japan. The Latin nouns introduced in this dictionary were the original forms of Linnean scientific names decided in the 18th century, and thus were authentic Latin plant terms. The editors carried out basic botanical work in which they compared western and Japanese plants and looked for the corresponding Japanese plant names.

However, although this dictionary is a great achievement in the history of Japanese botany, it has been ignored in the study of Japanese botanical history. One possible reason for this is that there is still no comprehensive research on vocabulary related to plants in the dictionary.

Therefore, I have begun research on the section on botanical names in *DLLI*. In the presentation at Udine, I will introduce the complete list of Latin plant words and explain how the editors chose the words. They did not copy all headwords of *Calepinus*, but made a selection referring to several dictionaries and the bible. This research reveals the botanical knowledge of the Jesuits in the 16th century.

Saepe / sepe in luogo di saepe nei Carmina Latina Epigraphica

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Sebbene lo studio dei *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* abbia a lungo sofferto del disinteresse degli studiosi, negli ultimi decenni si è registrato un rinnovato interesse accademico nei confronti dei poemi su pietra in lingua latina, culminato con l'uscita della nuova edizione Cugusi 2023, che aggiorna in maniera sostanziale le sillogi Bücheler 1895-1897 e Lommatszsch 1926, ossia le pietre miliari degli studi sull'epigrafia versificata. In linea con le più recenti ricerche epigrafiche, una maggiore attenzione relativamente ai fenomeni linguistici e all'evoluzione della lingua latina nelle iscrizioni metriche rispetto ai lavori di Bücheler e Lommatszsch si ritrova fattualmente nella più recente edizione cugusiana. Nondimeno, quasi

sotto traccia viene fatto passare il *saepae* che si legge in *CLE* 2832, databile al IV secolo d. C. (*[sa]epae sacrum sanctis Mauris facias libens*): a parere dello studioso italiano, infatti, esso si tratterebbe di un mero ipercorrettismo per *saepē*; tuttavia, Cugusi non rimarca il fatto che, essendo l'iscrizione madaurense in questione un senario giambico, soltanto una forma spondaica *saepae* sarebbe qui metricamente accettabile. Una variante grafica di tipo spondaico dell'avverbio *saepe*, questa volta *sepae*, si ritrova pure in un'epigrafe, oramai perduta, di inizio VI secolo d. C., la lugdunense *CLE* 1365, epitaffio in distici elegiaci per la regina Caretena (v. 21: *laxatura reos regi quas sepae ferebat*). Invero, giacché soltanto la forma corretta *saepē* sarebbe ammissibile nell'esametro, Bücheler 1897, p. 641 riporta nella propria edizione *saepe ferebat*; facendo ciò, però, il filologo tedesco non tiene conto del fatto che nell'unico manoscritto che trasmette l'epigrafe in questione, il Codex Paris Lat. 2832 (P), 112v-113r, si legga chiaramente *sepae*. Benché sia facile credere alla presenza di una forma ipercorretta in luogo dell'usuale *saepe*, occorre notare che il succitato v. 21 sarebbe l'unico verso prosodicamente scorretto all'interno del carme, composto, nonostante l'età avanzata, in distici di ottima fattura. Il presente contributo desidera dunque esaminare approfonditamente la presenza nel repertorio epigrafico versificato della variante grafica spondaica (*saepae/sepae*) in luogo dell'usuale *saepē*, discutendo altresì la possibilità, alla luce dell'evidenza epigrafica in possesso, di un'effettiva evoluzione della pronuncia dell'avverbio in questione nel latino tardo.

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Mirative Strategies in Archaic Latin

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This research examines the grammatical phenomenon in Latin for expressing the semantics of surprise, often referred to in the literature as “mirativity”. Although Latin lacks dedicated mirative markers (Zheldtova 2018), it conveys meanings of surprise, the unexpected, and an unprepared mind through lexical and grammatical elements that function as “mirative strategies”, namely: a) special syntactic structures, such as the exclamative accusative (1), b) verb tenses and moods, like the imperfect in certain contexts (2), and c) special particles and conjunctions, such as the particle *ecce* (3).

- (1) *Edepol mortales malos!* (“By Pollux, miserable wretches!”. Plaut. *Bacch.* 293).
- (2) *Domi erat quod quaeritabam* (“What I was looking for was at home!”. Plaut. *Merc.* 841-846).
- (3) *Discubitu noctu ut imus, ecce ad me aduenit mulier* (“As we go off to bed that night, behold, a woman comes to me”. Plaut. *Merc.* 99-100).

Our study aims to identify and describe the primary grammatical mechanisms through which Archaic Latin conveys mirative values. Using a corpus from Early Latin (3rd–2nd centuries BC), we analyze previously identified mirative strategies and explore additional mechanisms to capture mirative values. This analysis focuses on the morphosyntactic and pragmatic-discursive conditions associated with these mirative uses in a corpus composed of the complete works of Plautus, Terence, Ennius, and Naevius, representing the earliest period of Latin literature.

Our objective is twofold: to support certain established mirative strategies for Latin in specific contexts and to uncover new grammatical structures that carry mirative meanings, possibly paralleling phenomena found in related languages. Additionally, we aim to contribute data that will aid in refining the understanding of mirativity as a distinct grammatical category. This includes differentiating it from related categories, such as evidentiality and exclamativity, in response to ongoing theoretical discussions.

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Morphosyntactic changes in eight-century Latin documents from Lucca

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This study will present a linguistic analysis of a group of 50 private legal Latin documents written in Lucca and his surroundings in the second half of the eighth century (765–772). These charters, published in volumes 34 and 35 of *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, are included in the historical-linguistic and dialectological analysis of the ERC Digital Latin Dialectology project and have been processed using the *Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age* (LLDB, lldb.elte.hu). The present work will focus on morphosyntactic features and in particular on the changes occurring in the Latin case system (Adamik 2014), which represent the majority of the data (i.e. deviations from the Classical Latin norm) recorded in LLDB for these charters. The analysis will show processes of reduction of the Latin case system, discussing phenomena such as the opposition of a two-form paradigm for third declension nouns (*patre/patri*, cfr. Larson 2012) as well as the remodeling of the nominative form of imparisyllabic nouns (*sit ipsa portione mea (...) in potestate Sancti Petri*, ChLA 991, 25–26, cfr. Adams 2016: 243–244) and the emergence of a unique case form for second-declension nouns: *ubi Bonulo massario meo resedire visu est*, ChLA 1022, 5; *presbitero uno ordinare*, ChLA 989, 22–23. The presentation will deal also with mistakes in agreement, showing nominal phrases with only one correctly inflected element: *offerro (...) tibi ecclesie beati Sancti Petri apostoli, sita in loco Castellione* (Adams 2013: 210; Tantimonaco 2018: 214). The quantitative analysis performed with the help of LLDB will be paired with a qualitative analysis of the documents, taking into account the diplomatic structure of the charters, the distinction between free and formulaic parts and the expertise of the scribes (Sabatini 1965, Sornicola 2017).

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Note di lessicografia latina e medievale: il termine *notitio* / *notio*

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Il presente contributo intende indagare la diffusione della forma *notitio* alternativa a *notio*, che si incontra in alcuni testimoni della tradizione carolingia dell'*Ars Grammatica* di Prisciano (come è emerso dalle recenti collazioni compiute all'interno del progetto ERC PAGES – Sapienza – Università di Roma) e in alcuni testi della tradizione grammaticale medievale (in particolare è stato accolto a testo da B. Löfstedt in *Sedulius Scottus. In Donati Artem minorem e Sedulius Scottus. In Priscianum*). *Notitio* non è registrato in nessun lessico latino e mediolatino (non sono infatti ancora disponibili le voci del ThIL né del MLW) ma è riscontrabile solamente nel *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* di du Cange, dove *notitio* è riportata come variante di *notitia*.

Allo scopo di verificare la reale diffusione della forma *notitio* alternativa a *notio* nelle tradizioni manoscritte di testi latini e mediolatini, e nell'ipotesi che questa variante possa essere accolta a testo in altre opere della tradizione grammaticale, si procederà allo spoglio delle attestazioni a partire dagli archivi del Thesaurus Linguae Latinae e del Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch presso la Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften di Monaco di Baviera. La ricerca sarà verificata all'interno degli apparati critici delle singole opere. Si procederà poi a ricercare l'origine del termine, vagliando l'ipotesi di una possibile corruzione testuale nella

tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ars Grammatica* di Prisciano, seguendo un metodo di indagine già proposto per il termine *bannita* (sillaba) nel recente studio di Elena Spangenberg Yanes (2019). Si condurrà infine un'eventuale analisi degli usi semantici del termine al fine di poterlo considerare un neologismo medievale.

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Telic Verbs Beyond the Indicative

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In my previous research, I demonstrated that most verbs with the prefix *ex-* in Latin exhibit inherent telicity, with this prefix being the primary factor determining telicity. By telicity, I mean the fact of whether the situation expressed by the predicate has a clear *telos*, that is, a boundary or an endpoint toward which it progresses. I studied *ex-* verbs in the imperfect indicative in classical texts and found that their use with the imperfect aspect conveys specific meanings, mostly iterativity or "an unfulfilled plan". Further analysis of present indicative forms confirmed that present forms of these telic verbs most frequently appear as "historical present", and many instances convey iterative meanings, aligning with findings on the imperfect indicative. The analysis of future indicative forms of these verbs further supports these results: they exhibit a clearly telic interpretation, describing events that will be completed and will reach the *telos*.

My broader goal is to explore the results of various combinations of all the possible factors that play a role in the aspectual system. In this study, I extend the previous research on the indicative imperfective forms of inherently telic verbs to other forms, with a particular focus

on the present and imperfect subjunctive comparing the behavior of telic verbs with their atelic counterparts.

As for the perfect and pluperfect subjunctives, the behavior of the telic and atelic verbs aligns with expectations, showing no significant surprises. The higher frequency of atelic predicates in the present subjunctive aligns with expectations, as the present subjunctive in *consecutio temporum* indicates simultaneity. However, a quantitative analysis does not reveal the expected difference in the distribution of the imperfect subjunctive between telic and atelic verbs. This raises the question of what meanings arise from the interaction of telicity and aspect in the imperfect subjunctive.

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Les comparatives similatives comportant une proposition ‘tronquée’

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Il a souvent été remarqué que les comparatives dites ‘similatives’ peuvent ne comporter qu’un constituant nominal (Tarrío 2011 : 402 ; Pinkster 2021 : 274 ; Ittész 2021 : 482) :

matronae annum (ut parentem) eum luxerunt. (Liv. 2,7,4)

« pendant un an, comme pour un père, les femmes portèrent le deuil. »

Mais il est une autre forme morpho-syntaxique qui semble mériter une étude. Il s’agit du cas où les comparatives similatives sont constituées d’un verbe dépourvu de son complément essentiel, constituant ce qu’on pourrait appeler une ‘proposition tronquée’.

Galli ... non omnes qui arma ferre possent, (ut censuit Vercingetorix), conuocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique ciuitati imperandum. (Caes. Gall. 7,75,1)

« Les Gaulois ... décident qu'il convient non pas d'appeler, comme le voulait Vercingétorix, tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, mais de demander à chaque cité un contingent déterminé. »

C'est aux comparatives similitives faisant intervenir une 'proposition tronquée' que sera consacrée cette communication. Si certaines configurations, comme par exemple le type *ut dicit*, ont donné lieu à des études précises, d'autres ne semblent pas encore avoir été envisagées dans les travaux sur la comparaison.

L'objet de la communication sera d'étudier les différents emplois de ces comparatives similitives, en s'attachant à leur fonctionnement sémantico-logique et à leur insertion syntaxique. L'étude prendra aussi en compte leur niveau d'intégration dans la phrase. L'enjeu est d'expliquer pourquoi ces propositions sont 'tronquées' et le sont nécessairement.

Plus largement, l'objectif est, à travers cette étude, de parvenir à mieux définir ce qui fait la singularité de la comparaison similitive, dont le statut est paradoxal : très fréquente et très bien représentée dans toutes les langues (Keydana, Hock et Widmer 2021 : 15), elle est à la fois simple à comprendre d'un point de vue cognitif et complexe à expliquer en ce qui concerne son insertion syntaxique.

L'étude se fera sur un corpus d'historiens et de philosophes (Caes. *Gall.* ; Liv. I-II ; Nep. ; Sall. *Catil.* et *Iug.* ; Suet. de *Aug.* à *Nero* ; Tac. *Agr.* et *Germ.* ; Cic. *Cato* et *fin.* ; Sen. *dial.* 6, 11 et 12, *epist.* I-VII).

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Some remarks on the so-called “reflexive passive” in Late Latin

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It is generally agreed that in Late Latin the middle expressed by passive morphology (*vulnus clauditur* “the wound closes”) was gradually substituted by the reflexive form (*vulnus se claudit*) and that in certain contexts this form could approach a passive meaning, for example if a doctor is imagined as employing surgery or using an ointment (see Adams 2013). But although expressions like *littera se scribit* and *se dicit* are cited without an asterisk by Grandgent (1934) and Elcock (1975), we don't find convincing instances of a reflexive passive in Late Latin (see Pinkster 2015), apart from some ambiguous examples where a non-specific human agent might be imagined, as in:

Mela rotunda quae orbiculata dicuntur sine cura toto anno *servare se possunt* (Palladius)
 “Round apples, which are called *orbiculata*, can keep all year without any trouble” (transl. by Pinkster) or “can be kept”

I would like to present now a true forerunner of the reflexive passive attested in a Merovingian prose text written by an anonymous author about 700. Given the success of the reflexive passive in the Romance languages, we have to fill the gap between Late Latin and the Medieval Romance languages by reconstructing its development. I shall propose some hypotheses, taking up some ideas already presented in Wehr (1995) and (2000).

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On the syntax of non-standard inscriptions from the provinces of Belgica and the Germanias

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Regional differentiation is an intensely explored field in the study of sub-standard Latin. The topic of my talk is an area that is also of central historical importance. The North Western wedge of the Roman Empire that comprised the Belgian and Germanic provinces was a unique crucible where all major factors combined that would shape the history of Europe. This area witnessed not only the Romanization of Celtic population and the Christianization of Romans, but worked as the longest lasting contact zone of Romans and Germanic people in Antiquity where Roman culture, Germanic society, and Christian religion ultimately merged to a fusion that would determine the face of Europe for the next millennium and beyond.

The language of the sub-standard inscriptions of this meaningful region has found increasing interest in recent research, with a focus on phonetics and morphology. My talk focuses on syntax which tends to be underexplored due to the relative shortness and reduction of content and syntactic complexity of non-literary texts. I file under syntax also all erroneous use of existing morphological forms (e.g. acc. pl. instead of the dat./abl. or nom.). The starting point of my analysis is the data sheets of the Budapest-based *Database Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age* (<http://lldb.elte.hu/>) for these provinces which I explored in previous talks on the basis of city corpora (Trier, Mainz, Cologne, Metz, Rheims). This talk allows me to explore the full-range of this regional corpus by an overall topic, enlarging, deepening and systematizing my previous findings that include verbal and nominal congruence in case and number, vicious case syntax of nouns and pronouns, and the total breakdown of case syntax. The larger regional corpus might feature thus far undocumented phenomena, such as confusion of accusative and nominative with infinitive or circumstantial participle and ablative absolute that are well-recorded elsewhere in inscriptions. Some of the extant phenomena are so well-documented that I could not include all evidence in previous talks (e.g. the feminine relative singular *qui* instead of *quae*). The rich material and wide chronological range of this talk will allow investigating deeper lines of diachronic developments. I will scrutinize factors that favoured the emergence of non-standard syntactic features some of which buoyed already in previous talks, such as phonetic evolution (in particular blurring the difference between cases by the loss of final consonants and the nearby merger), distance from the reference word, complex nominal syntax and non-Latin background of both authors and proper names, including deities. Moreover, I will ask about role which these syntactic phenomena played in the regional differentiation of Latin and Romance and the transformation of morphology (e.g. French unisex nominative relative pronoun *qui*).

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Le preposizioni deverbali nei grammatici latini

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La lingua degli autori delle *artes grammaticae*, soprattutto di epoca tardoantica, è un corpus ricchissimo e tuttora ampiamente inesplorato. Esso presenta un duplice motivo di interesse per gli studiosi di linguistica latina: da una parte infatti consente di tracciare l'evoluzione del latino in un ambito tecnico-manualistico estremamente esteso sugli assi diacronico e diatopico; dall'altra di verificare il reale livello della produzione linguistica (spesso al confine fra scritto e parlato) dei *grammatici*, il cui mestiere è quello di insegnare un latino corretto, preservare la *Latinitas*, sviluppare le competenze dei discenti.

La comunicazione proposta intende prendere in esame uno specifico fenomeno della lingua latina, ovvero la preposizione deverbale intesa come risultato della rianalisi della relazione sintattica fra il verbo e la parte nominale in costruzioni quali l'ablativo assoluto (un caso esemplare in Giuliano di Toledo, *ars* p. 44, 229-230: *excepto tria pronomina finita et tota possessiua, cetera non recipiunt personas*). Dopo una breve introduzione teorica sul tema, si mostreranno casi specifici in testi grammaticali dal IV-V secolo fino all'Alto Medioevo, cercando di tracciare una linea di evoluzione del fenomeno e di individuarne specifiche applicazioni nel genere delle *artes grammaticae* e in testi affini.

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Semantics of personality in Latin: from overt to covert morphology

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Typologically, a personal pronoun system is a paradigm of cumulative signs in which one element may convey several grammatical categories. The categories of person and number seem to be immanent for personal pronouns; however, some other categories, such as gender (noun class) and case, may be also involved if they are relevant for a given language. As language signs, personal pronouns demonstrate their cumulative and syncretic nature. Thus, all personal pronouns turn out to be cumulative signs as they are part of at least two paradigms – person and number. At the same time, some pronouns like English *you*, German *sie* (*Sie*), French *vous*, Russian *вы*, etc. are also syncretic signs as they have more than one value (e.g., German *sie* (*Sie*) may convey three values, i.e. “they”, “she” and “you honorific”). All these phenomena belong to the overt morphology being overtly manifested in languages. There are, however, many more semantic features related to the notion of personality that can be expressed by means of covert morphology and will be, then, the focus of our talk.

Approach. In order to highlight the covert morphological tools that could give additional semantic features to the pronominal forms, we will apply a typological approach to the Latin language by using a comparative material. This will allow us to look at the Latin pronominal system from the angle of the languages with different grammatical structures which convey various semantic features by means of overt morphology.

Method. The analysis will involve both paradigmatic and syntagmatic modes of expressing the semantics of personality as well as morphemic and submorphemic neutralizations that may create additional semantic features. A special focus will be on the notion of submorphemic neutralization which is based on the ideas of R. Jakobson, K. Pozdniakov and W. Dressler. Importantly, neutralization is considered here as a creative process which by reducing the opposition in a given semantic feature can create, in turn, another semantic feature that may be very important for the language. Thus, the submorphemic neutralization creates the semantic feature “locutor” (speech act participant). For example, in French pronouns *nous* [nu] / *vous* [vu], *notre* [notr] / *votre* [votr], the common elements which are segmentally shorter than morphemes (here marked by semi-bold) undergo a submorphemic neutralization between 1-st and 2-nd persons, thus “gluing” them into the category of locutors that otherwise has no formal manifestation in the language, while the initial consonant marks the distinction between 1-st and 2-nd persons.

Data. Our theoretical assumptions will be illustrated by both Latin examples and the comparative material from Indo-European and African languages.

Expected results. The methodology applied in this study will allow us to present every personal pronoun as a set of semantic features that can be used instead of traditional indexes (1-st, 2-nd, 3-rd person, etc.). As a result, in addition to the six semantic features of personality (1, 2, 3 sg/pl), this technique will give 20 more semantic features. It will be, therefore, shown that the semantics of personality in Latin is more various than it has been recognized on the grounds of the “overt” morphology.

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