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Plenary papers

Lepidus vivis: semantic content and functional gradation in secondary predicates

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In a discussion of "Adjectives functioning as secondary predicates", Pinkster (2021: 781) provides the same example of Plaut. *Trin*. 390 that appears in the title of this paper, noting that examples of secondary predicates with the verb *vivo* are found frequently in comedy and (Augustan) poetry. The enumeration in which this specific example appears illustrates the use of secondary predicates which, in Pinkster's words (2021: 780), "describe(s) a non-permanent or transient mental or physical condition of the entity to which they are related", something that may not be obvious in this case or in other, similar ones. In previous studies (Cabrillana 2019, 2022), an initial approach was taken to the question of the various conditions that make it easier for certain secondary predicates to express (non-)permanent qualities, more specifically with verbs of eminently stative semantics. Arising from this prior research was a call for a comparative exploration of the situation with verbs from other semantic fields, and this will constitute the focus of the present study.

More specifically, we will try to assess whether an analysis which refines the classes of adjectives according to their semantic field, and at the same time takes into account the predicational density of the verbal predicate – according to Lyons (1977: 207) – lead us to be able to establish concrete correlations between these two variables, and to explain the contexts in which permanent qualities can be expressed by the predicative. For this purpose, and among other means of comparative analysis, the possible macro-meanings of *vivo* will be identified, as well as its potential predicate frames, and a corpus study will be carried out embracing Latin comedy and Augustan poetry. One of the fundamental aims here will be to establish the conditions that allow for the appearance of secondary predicates with *uiuo*, as well as the characteristics associated with these Praedicativa. Moreover, by doing so, we will be able to address the hypothesis that the semantic density of the predicate is greater when it appears with a predicative and less so when it has become a construction with an eventual Subject Complement, thus confirming the extent to which such a hypothesis actually holds.

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Metaphoric motion and phasal aspect: inchoative support verb constructions with *ineo*

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Support verb constructions (SVCs) have awakened great interest in Latin linguistics in the last decade (*cf.* Pinkster, 2015: 74-77; Bodelot & Spevak, 2018; Mendózar, 2020; Baños *et al.*, 2023). Formed by a predicative noun and a verb with a rather abstract (often figurative) meaning, these constructions function as complex predicates with cohesive meaning, similar, but not identical, to that of certain simplex verbs (*bellum gerere / bello*). Contrary to what was previously thought, SVCs are not a feature of colloquial Latin but rather an idiosyncratic trait of its structure, since they fulfil, above all, a functional (lexical, semantic, morphosyntactic) purpose (Baños, 2023). In particular, their ability to codify specific semantic distinctions of a diathetical (causative, passive, unaccusative, etc.) or aspectual (inchoative, continuative, terminative, etc.) nature has drawn the attention of researchers (see Brunet, 2008; Baños, 2014; Mendózar, 2019; Tur, 2021; Jiménez Martínez, 2020).

Aspectually, SVCs can focalise an event's internal phases. Latin *ineo* 'to enter' is found in a wide array of SVCs, most of which have an aspectual inchoative value, i.e., they focalise the initial phase of a situation, such as *bellum inire* 'to enter upon a war' or *magistratum inire* 'to enter upon a magistracy', as opposed to *bellum gerere* and *magistratum gerere*, respectively (Tarriño, 2021; Salas, in prep.). After offering data on the most frequent SVCs with *ineo* based on a corpus from Plautus to Tacitus (*Packard Humanities Institute*) and describing their syntactic structure, this paper will focus on *ineo*'s metaphorization, addressing the conceptual metaphor that links its original motion meaning to its frequent inchoative value and the role of space-time metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 141-149) underlying a specific set of these constructions. Special attention will be paid to certain contexts where *ineo* seems to combine both motion and inchoative aspect, which can be regarded as an intermediate stage or bridge context between its use as a motion verb and its use in inchoative support verb constructions.

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Conceptualizing morpho-syntactic reorganization: the Construction Grammar approach

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The relevance of Construction Grammar (originally developed by Fillmore, e.g. 1985, 2013) for capturing linguistic change rests on two fundamental assumptions: (i) the change originates in the intricate interaction between a particular item and specific semantic and syntagmatic contexts in which it is used and, thus, (ii) mental representations of linguistic structure, including their reorganization over time, are crucially based on complex, multidimensional cognitive objects called 'grammatical constructions'. It has been shown that these objects provide a useful conceptual and analytic tool for capturing the complex dynamic nature of grammatical change, including subtle categorial shifts (e.g. Traugott 2003; Fried 2009, 2015; Hilpert 2021).

In order to illustrate this approach, I will consider the behavior of a special participial form as attested in Old Czech and as compared to its counterparts in the present-day language. In particular, I will explore the alignment tendencies attested for both regularly and irregularly formed present-participial stems (the type *bydl-iecí* vs. *bydl-ujúcí*, respectively, both derived from the root *bydl-* 'reside' and ostensibly meaning 'residing') in the same set of three syntactic patterns. The analysis is based on identifying specific recurring semantic and pragmatic features that motivate the gradual reorganization of the grammatical patterning (both morphological and syntactic) and, hence, the categorial status of the participial form itself. The process exemplifies a crystallization of conventionally encoded functional distinctions (predication vs. attribution vs. reference), which gradually emerged from previously more fluid and context-dependent differentiations. Interestingly, both formation types (regular and irregular) turn out to be sensitive to roughly the same set of semantic and syntactic criteria in developing a different functional status (secondary predicate vs. adnominal modifier), but each 'compensates' for the mismatch between its morphology and each syntactic function in a characteristically different way.

At the theoretical level, the material provides a good basis for arguing that an observable change at the holistic level (i.e. the pattern as a whole) is likely to evolve out of micro-changes at the level of various clusters of internal features. Such changes usually start out as imperceptible 'windows of opportunity' for inviting subtle shifts in interpretation, which then may or may not lead to a fully conventionalized realignment between form and meaning.

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Workshops

Workshop "Experientiality and Latin Linguistics"
Organizers: Suzanne Adema, Chiara Fedriani, Anna Novokhatko

You can fly! The interplay between reader and text

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Reading is, for most of us, an uplifting activity. In highly engaging, immersive flying scenes this is almost literally the case: these seem to give us, firmly settled on our couch or chair, a feeling of flying ourselves. How does this work? What do you need in a reader and a text in order to create a flying sensation?

In the process of narrative comprehension readers anchor new information in the story to what they already know (e.g. Sanford and Emmot 2012, Caracciolo 2014, Comer and Taggart 2021). The mechanism under investigation in this talk is the retrieval and use of relevant background by a reader, helped by features in the text – in the specific context of flying scenes from Vergil's *Aeneid* (cf. Reitz and Finkmann 2019).

I present passages from the *Aeneid* to illustrate the types of background that readers have (cf. Carracciolo 2014), and briefly discuss how texts can tap into these types of background. The focus of this talk will be on the retrieval and use of a reader's background and earlier experiences in flying scenes. Human beings obviously have no memory of flying themselves, so how can elements in a text help them retrieve relevant background to imagine what it is like to fly?

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Inside the Roman Mind: An Inquiry into the Cognitive Representations of Memory in Latin Language

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This paper discusses how Roman culture represents individual memory as an internal process. The following arguments are the results of an inquiry into the Latin lexicon of memory. More specifically the use of the terms *memoria*, *memini*, *recordor* and *reminiscor* has been analyzed in the literary sources of the period between the origin of the Latin language and the I century a. D. Most of the occurrences considered are found in the anonymous author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, in Cicero and Quintilian. The vocabulary of memory has been looked through the theory of cognitive metaphor and the theories of embodiment. When we speak about mental faculties, and more broadly of phenomena that cannot be observed directly, we tend to transfer terms and concepts from our knowledge of the material world to abstract domains. Such process of transferring generates cognitive metaphors, which we can consider, when taken as a whole, the conceptual models used by a given culture to make sense of reality. These models are generally expressed in terms of bodily experience.

In many languages, memory is organized in a storage function and in a recovering activity. Latin and Greek express the former feature by representing memory as a vase, that has a limited capacity and can be enlarged with training (Quint. *inst*. 1, 2, 28: *Nam ut vascula oris angusti* [...]). This linguistic expression corresponds with a metaphorical cross-cultural structure, i.e., THE MIND IS A CONTAINER, which is a specific form of the broader THE MIND IS A BODY. Similarly, the formation of memory is conceptualized through a material equivalent, the process of writing on wax tablets. An object or an event is fixed in memory like the letters are impressed on a surface (Cic. *De orat*. 2, 354.).

The dynamic development of memory, which includes recovery, is verbalized as movement through space. This expression reflects the cognitive metaphor THINKING IS MOVING. *Attaining a position* corresponds to acquiring a content with mind, *staying* represents having the content in mind and *going away* means to leave the content behind to move forward. Memory is made of the same steps but in reverse order. This scheme is then placed within the Roman conception of time in terms of horizontal and vertical linear relations.

When memory is combined with learning, the operation of recording new information and keeping them in mind is represented with verbs and nouns that refer to the process of digestion. Quintilian (*inst*. 10, 1, 19) says that it is necessary to masticate a new lesson over and over, rather than delivering to memory an uncooked food. It means that memory is possible only when a content has been previously processed. This metaphorical structure, that calls back the general pattern in which ACQUIRING IDEAS IS EATING and THINKING IS MANIPULATING OBJECTS is verified by the fact that memories are often described as sweet or bitter.

Memory can also be defined through properties generally ascribed to liquids. In Latin, a "wet memory" means an unreliable one. Moreover, a good memory is described as *liquida*, limpid, clear, like a pond. On the other hand, a confused or unclear memory is characterized with the adjectives *confusus*, *variatus*, *vitiatus*, all referring to contamination. The verbs *effluo*, *emano* and *labi* are often used to represent the process of memory in terms of fluid dynamics.

The aim of this research is to put together these different expressive patterns to reconstruct the Roman "folk" model of memory, that underlies linguistic expression.

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Intercorporeal Resonance: Linguistic Experientiality and Affectivity in Roman Texts

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How do we attempt to appreciate cognitively situated perspectives on affective experience in ancient texts and contexts? Drawing on 4E cognitive theories (see esp. Devereaux, 2019) and cross-cultural studies of affectivity (e.g., Mesquita, 2022), this paper argues that knowledge which is situated in the body provides the answer.

In the Roman context, the poetic and medicalized body were not entirely distinct (for summary of this dichotomy see Rosenwein & Cristiani, 2019), and so to appreciate affective linguistic expression in ancient texts, one has to internalize an experience of the body that differs from that of many modern cultures. In this respect, authors like Pliny and Galen offer a tremendous amount of insight, particularly in terms of the Roman propensity to embed affectivity in the narrative by means of bodily experiences that are not necessarily marked as such (see esp. Devereaux 2018 & 2023). In light of the beliefs about the body laid out by scientific writings from the Roman period, I will accordingly suggest that seemingly unremarkable linguistic patterns are actually the gauzy, seductive contours of affective experience that inconspicuously shape the texts and, potentially, our interpretations of them.

The significance of such patterns – which are essentially hidden in plain sight – is their invitation to readers to resonate with the affective experience supplied by the text. Such resonance is fundamentally intercorporeal (on intercorporeality see e.g., Fuchs, 2017), which is particularly consequential when the text also solicits moral appraisal (for seminal work on moral emotions see Haidt, 2003). Exactly such language – taken from a range of texts that include Ovidian exile poetry, Senecan tragedy, and the Apuleian novel – will be the focus of the paper, which ultimately seeks to understand the role of linguistic experientiality in the production and transmission of ancient texts.

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Nemo in amore videt: the experientiality of 'blind emotions' in Latin

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Sight is the primary perceptual modality through which we experience the world: it does not really require a special effort to be activated and guarantees direct, inter-subjectively and easily verifiable knowledge (cf. Sweetser 1993: 38). For this reason, sight is considered a 'superior force' (Van Olmen 2010: 87) compared to the other senses, which are 'less consciously and readily focused' (Sweetser 1993: 38). It is therefore not surprising that linguistic expressions related to the semantic field of vision and sight are often used metaphorically to refer to abstract concepts in many languages (e.g., KNOWING IS SEEING: see, e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 48). On the other hand, the inability to see – blindness – is often used metaphorically to refer to the incapacity to understand reality or to act in a logical and rational way. While metaphors of vision and sight have been widely studied in the literature, this is not the case for metaphors of blindness, which have been less specifically and systematically explored in cognitive semantics, especially in a historical perspective.

Building on these premises, the aim of this study is to investigate how the concept of blindness was conceptually and linguistically elaborated by the ancient Romans, with particular attention to its metaphorical uses in reference to the experience of emotions. Our research takes a corpus-based and source-oriented approach (see Buccheri et al. 2021), analyzing all occurrences of *caecus* in Latin texts dating between the 3rd century BCE and the 2nd century CE, and distinguishing between literal, metonymical and metaphorical senses. We then focus on the metaphorical uses of *caecus* to qualify emotional states, and in particular love (*caecus amor*), the semantic domain where this metaphor occurs most frequently, often in association with terms pertaining to the semantic field of irrationality:

(1) *Ante pedes* **caecis** *lucebat semita nobis: / scilicet* <u>insano</u> **nemo in amore videt** (Prop. 2, 14, 17-18)
'The path shone bright before my feet, but I was blind; of course no one uses his eyes when he is madly in love'

(2) *Iuvenis ...* **caeco** *raptus* **amore** <u>furit</u> (Ovid. *fast.* 2, 761-2)
'The young man raves, transported by blind love'

(3) *Sive quod* <u>impia mens</u> **caeco** *flagrabat* **amore** (Catull. 67, 25)
'Perhaps because his insane mind burned with blind passion'

Through the analysis of the metaphorical uses of *caecus*, we corroborate the claim that both vision and its absence are central concepts in the Roman symbolic system and experientiality.

In the last part of the talk, we suggest a hypothesis according to which the spread of this metaphor in Latin literature could have contributed to the emergence, from the Late Middle Ages, of the image of a blind or blindfolded god of love (*Cupid* or *Amor*) who, significantly, was never represented as blind in Classical literature and art (Panofsky 1972).

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Fire and beasts: embodied metaphors and the experience of jealousy in Seneca's *Medea*

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This contribution aims to deepen the discussion on the emotional experience of jealousy in relation to embodied metaphors in the Roman world with a focus on Seneca's *Medea*, that is one of the most relevant texts to explore the phenomenology of this emotion in Latin literature (Sissa 2018). Specifically, this study takes its cue from a preliminary and surprising observation, namely the absence of any lexeme semantically related to the notion of jealousy in the whole tragedy. Crucially, it is precisely the use of metaphorical images that substantiate this emotional experience in the text.

Building on innovative insights drawn from the approach of *Classical Cognitive Linguistics* (Short & Mocciaro 2019) and on previous works about jealousy in Classical languages and literatures (Kaster 2003; 2005, Konstan 2003; 2006, Caston 2012, Sanders 2014, and Cairns 2021), this talk provides new data on the central role of conceptual and embodied metaphor in the representation and expression of the emotion.

I preliminarily present a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Latin lexemes used in the tragedy in reference to the emotions that co-occur in a scenario of jealousy: I examine the semantic fields of *dolor*, *furor* and *ira*, *odium* and *infelix amor* and show how they participate in an integrated way in the experience and narration of jealousy. I then discuss the metaphors through which this phenomenon is described. The emotions mentioned above, which are all forms of Medea's jealousy, are often metaphorically conceptualised through more concrete and embodied images (in the sense of Lakoff & Johnson 1980, and specifically, with regard to emotion cf. Lakoff & Kövecses 1987, Kövecses 2000). Particularly relevant are the images of fire (e.g., 951-953 *rurus increscit dolor / et fervet odium*) and the wild animal (e.g., 850-851 *amore saevo rapitur*). I will show how these metaphorical schemas corroborate some central narrative nuclei of the tragedy (for example, fire is central in the story, since Medea is the Sun's daughter, and fire is her instrument of revenge), or serve to express philosophical beliefs: for example, according to Stoic philosophy bestiality is typical of a person overwhelmed by emotions.

Finally, I will compare the metaphors attested in this tragedy within the broader figurative conceptualisation I investigated through a corpus-based analysis (Brepols LLT-A) on lexemes semantically related to the concepts of jealousy and envy (*invidia*, *livor*, *obtrectatio*, *malevolentia*). Supported by a comparison with recent data from larger studies on Latin metaphors of emotions (such as Fedriani 2020, 2023; Buccheri et. Al. 2021; Fedriani & De Felice 2021), this comparative analysis highlights how the images Seneca employs in *Medea* are crucial to represent this emotion

and are part of a coherent conceptual system on which Romans relied to categorise and express jealousy.

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Falsehood in the connection between evidentiality and experientiality: the case of Plautus' plays

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We would like to focus on the category of "falsehood" within the question of the relationship between linguistic evidentiality and narrative experientiality. The Roman theatre allows us to bring some interesting lines of thought, by relating the false to the true and to the imaginary in the experience of the characters on stage and of the spectators on the theatre stands. Do the evidentiality markers guarantee the veracity of the experience that is narrated? The plays of Plautus are a good field of

exploration from this point of view. The superiority and truth of the αὐτοψία is constantly questioned. This in turn raises epistemological questions. The study of the deictics shows that they fulfill several functions: they support the gestures, contributing to cognition, and they are also used to designate a real space-time on which an imaginary space-time is superimposed. There is an overlap between a "spectacular" vision, corresponding to the reality of what the external Roman spectator sees, and an "imaginative" vision. This transmutation of the gaze of external spectators is done in those special moments that are liminal, the prologues. *Haec urbs Epidamnus est, dum haec agitur fabula / Quando alia agetur, aliud fiet oppidum*, says Menaechmus (*Men.* 72-73). The messenger's narratives in Plautus' comedies raise similar questions to the prologues but push the questioning further, distinguishing between the αὐτοψία of the participant, the αὐτοψία of the observer, and the things reported by hearsay. In *Amphitruo*, Bromia's narration of the Jupiter's auditory epiphany shows the ἔκπληξις by insisting on the effects on her body. Sosia evokes memory, and the hunger that his body has felt guarantees the veracity of his "imaginary" narrative of a battle, in which he actually didn't take part. The appearance of truth of the messenger speech is indeed constructed by intertextuality: it calls on the codes of epic, tragedy, *laudatio*. Then, it appears that it is not the verbs of the vision which dominate but the present of narration, because a sequence of actions is narrated in an ἔκφρασις which makes the spectators experience the events. In some extreme cases, such as the *persona* of the braggart soldier (in the *Truculentus* for example), there are even logical contradictions between the narrative and what has been experienced. This question of the reliability of the discourse thus questions the epistemic stance.

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Quintilian on affects and memory: some enactivist remarks

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Metaphor as a fundamental form of cognition plays a salient role in the construction of meaning. According to the psychoanalytic theories of affects, emotions are an unconscious physiological process, and it is metaphor that organises and categorises emotional memory. Emotional memory in turn is interpreted through patterns of metaphoric similarities. This paper will explore some aspects

of visual perception and perceptual appearance in discussions of memory, emotion and metaphor in Quintilian and related texts.

Quintilian highlighted the experiential quality of both narrative and performance claiming that in order to arouse a non-existing emotion we have to force our own nature to live it through. The key to raising emotion is that one should oneself be moved (Quint. *Inst*. 6, 2, 26–27). There is a quality of language that appeals to the recipient's imagination, which implies bodily participation, cognition being shaped by aspects of the motor and perceptual system, as well as interactions with the environment. Quintilian's account on performance and actors arousing imagined emotions in their recipients comes close to Stanislavski's practical approach to 'affective memory' (Quint. *Inst*. 6, 2, 34–36).

Quintilian's arguments come close to the modern distinction between immersion and distance studies: if the recipient's physical and sensory power is exploited longer than needed, the recipient becomes tired and then feels distanced (Quint. *Inst*. 6, 1, 27–28). The author should keep narrative techniques under control by evoking imaginative scenes created by emotional memory in the mind of the recipient. Quintilian analysed the active imaginative power of visualisation in narrative which makes the orator not merely narrate but exhibit the actual scene triggering the recipient's emotions (Quint. *Inst*. 6, 2, 27 and 32). Language full of vividness and imagery closely interacts with sensory perceptions and mental sight (Quint. *Inst*. 8, 3, 62).

The active cognitive power of metaphor to visualise, move and create imaginative scenes is, according to Quintilian, an enactive process embodied and embedded in the relationship of form and meaning in language (Quint. *Inst*. 8, 6, 19).

Exploring the juxtaposition of the concepts of metaphor, memory and emotions in Quintilian's analysis of the cognitive and communicative force of language, this paper claims that the discussion of metaphor in Quintilian and in particular the active visualising power of the metaphor and the metaphorical mapping (projection) used in his analysis of the cognitive imaginative scenes constitutes a particularly important contribution to ancient theoretical narrative on both memory and emotions.

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Experiential language in Quadrigarius on 'Torquatus and the Gaul'

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In book 9 of his *Noctes Atticae*, Aulus Gellius cites an extended passage of the lost Histories of Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, depicting the famous duel between the menacing chieftain of the Gauls and Titus Manlius, which earned the latter his moniker Torquatus 'collared'. The passage lends itself to linguistic analysis for several reasons, not least because Gellius touts its 'utmost purity and clearness' and as an example of 'the simple and unaffected charm of the old-time style'. More interesting from the perspective of a cognitive linguistics, however, is Gellius's comment that the philosopher Favorinus, upon reading the passage, claimed to be 'stirred and affected by no less emotion and excitement than if he were himself an eye-witness of their contest'.

In this paper, I explore the features of Quadrigarius's text in the light of cognitive semantics, to suggest certain textual and stylistic features that go toward evoking the sorts of perceptual qualities of lived experience that may have motivated Favorinus's sense of being an 'eye witness'. This effect goes beyond the mere descriptive richness of the passage (especially in relation to the Gallic chieftain) to include phonic, rhythmic, syntactic and even lexical mechanisms that contribute to the text's experiential 'realness'.

Fluctus, fretum, unda: three kinds of movement? The lexicon for "wave" in Seneca's tragedies

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In Seneca's tragedies there is a peculiar use of the lexicon of the sea through the fourteen synonyms of literary use (*aqua, aequor, altum, fluctus, fretum, mare, Oceanus, pelagus, pontus, profundum, salum, stagnum, unda, vadum*) to express different meanings: the sea as a sign of luxury, a place of death, a symbol of the changes of fortune, the site of a real journey or of a hypothetical route through which to escape, separate, chase. The sea may be calm but usually is a counterpoint to an image of violence (the storm in *Agamemnon* and in the *Troades* after the appearance of Achilles' shadow). Among those synonyms of the lexicon of the sea I want to investigate the words for "wave": *fluctus,*

an onomatopoeic name that phonetically and etymologically evokes the wave-like motion of sea water; *fretum*, that Latin grammarians related to *fervēre*, hence the meaning "agitation, effervescence"; *unda*, referring to moving, flowing water, thus etymologically recalling the wave-like motion of sea water and the storm.

In the first step of my research, my working tools will be primarily etymological dictionaries such as A. Ernout, A. Meillet (1935) and De Vaan (2008), which I will use for reconstructing the lexicon of the sea in Latin down to the Indo-European root. With the help of the etymological dictionary Pokorny (1994³), I will be able to compare Latin and Greek entries, verified in etymological dictionaries of ancient Greek such as Frisk (1960), Chantraine (1978), Beekes (2009), and others. Further research on the relationship between etymon and usage in Latin literature can be carried out using the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. The second step will be a morphological and semantic analysis. Here it will be crucial to consider the possible co-occurrences of words, recalling Wittgenstein's conception according to which "the meaning of a word lies in its use". This type of investigation will open a novel digital perspective: thanks to the search engine offered by the corpora www.musisquedeoque.it, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/, and the "Linking Latin" project (LiLa) https://lila-erc.eu/query/, I will proceed to list the attestations of "wave" within the Senecan tragic corpus and put them in relation to other of Seneca's works. These attestations will then be analyzed in their own context through the commentaries of tragedies and any specific bibliography. My final goal is to analyze the idea of movement conveyed by such words as *fluctus*, *fretum,* and *unda*, in themselves and in relation to the other words for "sea". I will thus aim to determine if the etymological meaning of these words is followed in Senecan tragedies.

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Hypothetical focalizers of historical scenes: a linguistic approach to explicit narratees in Latin historiography

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In van Gils and Kroon (2019) we used a three layered system of narrative roles (speaker-addressee, narrator-narratee, characters in the story world) to explain different uses of the present tense. A central concept in our explanation is *common ground*, a basic element in communication (Clark and Brennan 1991; Allan 2013; van Gils and Kroon 2022) which is different for each layer. The communicative layer of narrator-narratee is a construct based on the suspense of disbelief (Chandler and Munday 2011) and common ground is created during the process of narrating. Explicit references to the common ground of narrator and narratee may be obstacles to reader involvement if they focus on the acts of narrating and hearing a story ("I told you"), but how about references which mark the

artificial acts of perceiving specific sounds, or visual or olfactory elements in the story world? In this article we focus on cases like *sentires, cerneres* and similar narratee-involving expressions (*si ire porro pergas*) in Livy and Tacitus and discuss the linguistic forms and contexts of such references to the narratee, as well as their effects. Our results build, among others, on the rhetorical work done by Steele (1904) and Gilmartin (1975), and grammatical analyses as can be found in Kühner and Stegmann (1997); Pinkster (2021).

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Workshop "The Forthcoming *Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus*: Linguistic Discoveries and Reflections"
Organizers: Maria Chiara Scappaticcio, Adam Gitner

The forthcoming *Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus* (Cambridge University Press, planned 2023) makes accessible a trove of new and re-edited Latin texts, ranging from the first century BC to the seventh century AD and including both literary and non-literary texts. The diachronic and diastratic range of this material is of obvious relevance to linguistic research. This panel aims to provide an overview of the corpus from a linguistic perspective and to discuss some case studies illustrating the challenges and possibilities of working with Latin texts on papyrus.

The Forthcoming *Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus*: A Contribution to Linguistics with a Focus on Literature

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The paper will primarily illustrate the structure of the forthcoming *Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus* (*CLTP*) and the editorial efforts made in order to offer the scientific community a reference tool for multiple interests.

Although specifically gathering Latin (including bilingual Greek–Latin) texts on papyrus – both of a literary and of a documentary nature – the corpus is far from being an exclusively papyrological tool. Rather, its innovative structure and editorial choices have been dictated by the need to address to a wider audience. Latin texts on papyrus have sporadically attracted the interest of linguists, but their linguistic value has increased significantly over the last few years especially because of new methodologies. This paper will focus on how *CLTP* can be explored and utilized especially by linguists.

A special focus are the literary texts collected in *CLTP*, some of which are known from the direct and indirect traditions (e.g. Terence, Cicero, Virgil), some of which are completely new and thus unique (e.g. a collection of Latin maxims, a fragmentary *togata*, the *Carmen de Alcestide*). Their linguistic significance will be discussed.

Making a Linguistic Index to the *CLTP*

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My talk will address some of the challenges and insights gained from producing a linguistic index to the *Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus*. The index will be published as a separate volume (with contributions from Alessia Pezzella), containing the following main sections of linguistic relevance: Spelling and Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Lexicon (additional sections are devoted to paleographic, historical, and literary matters). By drawing attention to linguistic peculiarities found on papyrus, the index amounts almost to a grammar or repertory of non-standard Latin across the seven centuries represented by the *CLTP*. However, individual texts and phenomena present many distinct challenges, making it difficult to decide on the right groupings or category under which a phenomenon should be sorted. For instance, the disappearance of final -*m* is a phonological feature, which has wide-ranging consequences for morphology and syntax as well. I will introduce the

glossary and the principles behind it, and discuss several illustrative examples, particularly in the domain of spelling and phonology, which are of linguistic relevance.

Greek Notary Signatures in Latin Characters: Transliteration Criteria and Greek–Latin Contact Phenomena

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Some Greek papyri from the Oxyrhynchite, Arsinoite, and Herakleopolite nomes (4th–7th centuries) bear Greek notary signatures written in either Greek or Latin script, in both scripts, or in forms that mix both. Those signatures, technically called *completiones*, adhere to the general pattern 'διʼ ἐμοῦ N.N. + verb + additional information (e.g. the notary's title)' (see Amelotti and Costamagna 1975: 34–5, 57; Kovarik 2010). Despite being formulaic, they are exposed to various Greek–Latin language contact phenomena, and the way the Greek language is transliterated into Latin characters provides information on the learning of Latin and on its usage in late antique and Byzantine Egypt.

These issues have not yet been comprehensively addressed from a sociolinguistic perspective: modern scholarship has either discussed the correspondences between the two alphabets (see Feissel 2008; Fournet 2019) or focused on limited sociolinguistic aspects (Apostolakou 2020). Most of these studies are based on an incomplete survey of the extant evidence and do not fully address the editorial problems raised by these signatures.

The present paper draws on an updated collection of Greek notary signatures in Latin characters produced for *The Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus* on the basis of the seminal collection of Diethart and Worp (1986), more recent editions, and the online databases *Trismegistos* and *Papyrological Navigator*. It addresses the following questions: What are the criteria for transliterating Greek into Latin characters? Are they subject to change? If so, on what basis? What are the Greek–Latin language contact phenomena in these signatures? What do the results tell us about the use and learning of Latin in late antique and Byzantine Egypt?

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Language Variation Can Be Evidence of Language Change: The Case of The Ravenna Papyri

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With its rich textual documentation that stretches over more than two millennia Latin is an ideal candidate to the study of diachronic changes and in particular to the study of the relationship between language variation and change, which is a core problem of socio-historical linguistics. As is well known, not all variations bring about diachronic changes and one of the task of linguistic analysis is to understand the dynamics that links the two kinds of linguistic processes.

As for other languages of the past – whose uses are not directly observable to the linguist – the study of the relationship between variation and change in Latin involves an accurate and often difficult identification of the cultural and social values that are associated to differences of linguistic structures, or to put it in another way to structures that compete as alternants in the same functional domains. While the bulk of literary texts of various times and registers can provide information on the values of linguistic structures that range from the middle to the upper points of the sociolinguistic spectrum, many documentary sources (inscriptions, papyri) preserve data of the utmost interest to the study of linguistic structures whose values occupy the lower-middle and lower end of the spectrum.

The Ravenna Papyri are a source of great importance in this respect for various reasons:

(a) their texts have a wide range of Latin stylistic levels that goes from the grammatically correct – even elegant – Latin of the culturally and socially higher contexts of some documents to the more colloquial – even humble – language of the more modest contexts with respect to the rank of peoples involved, their cultural level and the type and function of the document;

(b) they bear witness to a considerable number of "submerged" structures that are attested in Early Latin, disappear in texts of Classical Latin and resurface in post-classical and Late Latin;

(c) they show many structures that either as continuators of the "submerged" forms or as first testimonies are forerunners of those of the Romance vernaculars.

In this presentation a sociolinguistic method of investigation of the Ravenna Papyri will be presented that tries to combine the consideration of the internal and external factors of variation and change. Some results will also be presented that deal with the diachronic dynamics of Latin morphological and syntactic structures.

What the Language of the Papyri Can Tell the Linguist

Pierluigi CUZZOLIN
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In recent years papyri as a particular form of linguistic document have attracted the attention of linguists. As is well known, papyri offer a lot of difficulties to readers not only because of the material on which their texts are written, but also, and I would add in particular, for the variety of Latin they exhibit.

In the papyrological documentation the number of morphological and syntactic special innovations or simple variations are so numerous that it is sometimes impossible to correctly evaluate whether a form or a construction can be defined as a mistake, an *ad hoc* construction, an unsuccessful innovation, or a true linguistic change.

Needless to say that a correct evaluation of the language of the papyri necessarily depends on diachronic and diatopic data, because they offer the framework and the context in which the linguistic

variety is analyzed. Therefore, papyri produced in a bilingual context, or in contexts where bilingualism was relevant, turn out to be particularly interesting.

In my talk I intend to deal with some examples taken from some bilingual papyri from Egypt and from the Ravenna papyri edited by Tjäder. Analysing their texts I will draw some conclusions that a practitioner of general linguistics is entitled to draw.

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Speech segmentation and the quotative *inquit* in Apuleius

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The direct speech in *Metamorphoses* by Apuleius is very frequently introduced by the verb *inquit / inquam,* inserted into the character's utterance (Fleck 2019: 55–56). These routinized devices for quoting, used extensively in Latin literature (see Mikulová 2022), tend to isolate one or several words, as illustrated in (1)–(4).

(1) 'Quin' **inquit** 'etiam ipse parentem tuam accedis et salutas?' (Apul. *Met.* 2.2)
(2) 'Heus tu,' **inquit** 'spongia, cave in mari nata per fluvium transeas.' (Apul. *Met.* 2.18)
(3) 'Bono animo esto,' **inquit** 'nam ego tibi mutua voluntate mancipata sum...' (Apul. *Met.* 2.10)
(4) 'Sufficit mihi, o Luci,' **inquit** 'seniculi tanta haec contumelia.' (Apul. *Met.* 1.25)

      In each case, the quotative seems to create a separate intonational segment, which, nevertheless, is not always syntactically or pragmatically independent from the talk that follows. In my paper, I will use the methods of Conversation Analysis to examine the internal design of these utterances (interpreted as turns-at-talk), focusing on the tokens that occupy their initial position. Interestingly, before the quotative, one can find a heterogeneous group of linguistic items such as particles (1), interjections (2), vocatives (4) or discourse and pragmatic markers, which have already received much interest in Latin Linguistics (e.g. Unceta 2012, Ghezzi & Molinelli 2014). On the other hand, the first segment of the direct speech can also take the form of complete syntactical clauses (3), which can count as independent turn-constructional units. Mikulová (2022: 47), drawing on Rochette (2007), mentions a number of 'phatic functions' of the *inquit*-segmentation, which helps to manage (the external) addressee's interest and expectations, as well as to make the 'represented interactions or dialogues livelier.' The main objective of the talk will be to pin down how exactly the pause introduced by the quotative contributes to the liveliness and naturalness of the reported conversations. The importance of turn beginnings for the interaction has been highlighted by conversation analysts, who acknowledge their function in managing connectedness to the prior talk or to project properties of the turn-in-progress (Heritage 2013). By adopting this approach, I will elaborate on the 'phatic' functions behind the use of quotative in relation both to the previous speech and to the upcoming utterance.

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Dialogic characterization in Cicero's reported conversations

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Building on earlier work by Bolkestein (1996), Garcea (2003), Hall (2009), Rosén (2013), and Mikulová (2018), among others, this study examines Ciceronian reported dialogues interspersed in the letters to Atticus from the perspective of Conversation Analysis (CA). It follows up on research by Fedriani & Van Gils (submitted), who identified a number of strategic functions conveyed by reported talk in Cicero's correspondence, including reducing the personal responsibility of the speaker, enhancing the addressee involvement, evaluating, and marking common ground (on some of these functions, see also Calaresu 2000, Holt & Clift 2007).

In this talk, I focus on yet another function conveyed by reported conversation in Cicero's letters to Atticus, namely characterization. Following Culpeper (2001: 1), I define characterization as the process through which "the words of a text create a particular impression of a character in the reader's head", thus contributing substantially to his or her linguistic portrayal in terms of personality and interactional role. Different textual cues can convey different types of information about characters: among them, conversational features are very relevant and telling, and suitable to be explored by means of a CA-oriented approach. I will thus discuss the role of sequence organization, (dis)preference, conversational dominance, projects and footing – but also of other pragmatic aspects, including quotative markers, "asides" and jokes – as strategic means skillfully employed by Cicero to build different characterizations of the interactants (including himself).

By examining a conversation where Caesar and Cicero try to iron out tensions after the start of the civil war (*Att.* 9.18.1) and a violent *altercatio* between Cicero and his enemy Clodius (*Att.* 1.16.10), it will be argued that characterization enhances experientiality and internal evaluation, "so that the audience can hear for itself what happened, and can interpret for itself the significance of those events for the experience" (Shiffrin 1981: 58), ultimately fulfilling an important narrative function (on which, see Adema 2017).

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(Story)telling in Latin novel and Latin epigram

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Conversation Analysis usually describes genuine oral conversations in modern languages, but it has also proved a useful tool for the description of written conversations in ancient languages. In Latin, linguists have focused mainly on drama, especially on comedy, which offers extended dialogues mimicking conversations in everyday language. Although they don't resemble as closely real-life conversations, CA can be applied to stretches of dialogue included in other literary genres, not in order to have a better understanding of what genuine Latin conversations looked like, but to describe the way Latin authors stylized them according to the literary genre they had chosen.

In this study, we will focus on (story)telling in two distinct literary genres, namely Latin novel and Latin epigram. Our first task will be to put forth a corpus of (story)tellings in those genres and to give a typology of them, describing the kind of telling the way it is introduced and the interactions between teller and recipients. Recipient reactions are much less developed in these genres than in Latin comedy: they undergo a drastic stylization which reflects the genre's constraints. We will mostly focus on them and study the places of the telling where they appear (at the launching of the telling, during it, at its closure), the way they are reported and whether they display affiliation and alignment or not. We will not only try to describe the way (story)telling is inserted in each of those two literary genres. Our aim is to produce a contrastive study and to underline the differences between telling in the novel and telling in the epigram.

1. The novel

Latin novel, with 307 direct speeches in the *Satyricon* and 354 in the *Metamorphosis*, is a genre which gives major importance to speech. Talking and orality are found everywhere and in every guise; moreover, the embedding of stories lies at the basis of the novel's structure, the narration featuring a character who becomes himself a narrator. Novel thus seems to be the perfect host for storytelling. We will study how conversations including (story)telling are inserted into the narrative frame and according to what codes. Special attention will be paid to the way gestures, gaze and voice inflections are described in the narration, and to the nature and frequency of recipient reactions. Those reactions seldom appear in direct speech; they are mostly reported in indirect or narrated speech or just described in the narration.

2. The epigram: telling in a nutshell

In Martial's *Epigrams*, we find a number of poems which present themselves as the telling of some event or a report on someone's doings made by the *persona* and addressed to a character whose name appears in the vocative. Such epigrams can qualify as short (story)tellings although they aren't embedded in a larger stretch of conversation. Most of the time, the epigrams don't feature any recipient reaction; we will focus on those which include one. There are basically two places where we

can find the mention of a reaction in the epigrams. The first place is at the end of the telling, as in 1.96, where the rather long stretch of direct speech (lines 4–8) is a telling made by the *persona* (*via* his scazon) to a friend, Maternus, in which he blames an anonymous character. Maternus, instead of showing affiliation by blaming that man or poking fun at him, questions the reliability of the teller:

Si non molestum est teque non piget, scazon,
nostro rogamus pauca verba Materno
dicas in aurem sic ut audiat solus:
"Amator ille tristium lacernarum
et baeticatus atque leucophaeatus,   5
qui coccinatos non putat viros esse
amethystinasque mulierum vocat vestes,
nativa laudet, habeat et licet semper
fuscos colores, galbinos habet mores."
Rogabit unde suspicer virum mollem.
Una lavamur: aspicit nihil sursum,   10
sed spectat oculis devorantibus draucos
nec otiosis mentulas videt labris.
Quaeris quis hic sit? Excidit mihi nomen. (1.96)

In other epigrams, the recipient reaction appears before the conclusion of the telling, as in 1.10. In this poem, the recipient shows a lack of affiliation which is due to a lack of understanding. His question thus underlines the paradoxical nature of the reported facts, putting the unexpected conclusion of the telling into relief.

— Petit Gemellus nuptias Maronillae
et cupit et instat et precatur et donat.
— Adeone pulchra est? *— Immo foedius nil est.*
— Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet? *— Tussit.* (1.10)

We will try and understand why reactions are included in some epigrams and to what end.

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Continuations by a different speaker

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In this paper I intend to examine cases where, after one speaker in a dialogue has apparently finished their turn, another continues the first speaker's words. Quintilian gives us an example (*inst*. 6, 3, 81)

Afer, cum ... quidam ... exclamasset 'praeterea tu semper in libertos Caesaris dicis', 'nec mehercule' inquit, 'quicquam proficio.' (When someone had called out "What's more, you're always attacking Caesar's freedmen," Afer replied, "And, by god, I get nowhere with it.")

Potential continuations are new sentences joined by a conjunction, subordinate clauses, parts of phrases joined by a lower-level conjunction, and adverbial and adjectival phrases. Some of these have been found in English language conversation and are described by Schegloff (2016: 258–261) as 'other-initiated increments', a similar phenomenon to 'increments', which are additions by a speaker to their own apparently completed turn.

Not every sentence level conjunction should be seen as a continuation. For instance, adversative conjunctions at sentence level directly announce the speaker's objection to their dialogue partner's words. Irony is common in continuations, but it is not a necessary element. Here for instance a slave is chiming in with support for what his master tells him. (Ter. *Andr.* 60)

Simo: gaudebam. *Sosia*: non iniuriā. (Barsby: *Simo*: I was delighted. *Sosia*: And rightly so.)

To investigate the character of such continuations, with particular interest in those used as an ironic comment on the words they attach to, I shall look at every change of speaker in Plautus and Terence. I hope with this material to answer the following questions: Which syntactic elements are found in ironic continuations? Does the relationship of the characters in the exchange (for instance between equals or between master and slave) have an influence on the use of ironic continuations? Are there linguistic elements that tend to occur with the ironic use (perhaps like *mehercule* in Quintilian above)? What kind of statement does this kind of hijacking of the other's words make?

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Juno's communicative intentions in the prologue to Seneca's *Hercules Furens*

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At the beginning of Seneca's *Hercules Furens* (HF), Juno appears on stage to deliver a monologue (1–124). Similar to other Senecan prologues, Juno's speech is widely considered a self-addressed monologue (or *soliloquy*). For instance, in his commentary on HF, Fitch (1987: 115) claims that Juno's prologue is "a true soliloquy rather than a monologue addressed to the audience". The function of this soliloquy, according to Fitch (1987: 116), is "to create a portrait of violent, uncontrolled emotion [...]". Billerbeck (1999: 183–184) similarly argues that Juno's monologue reveals her internal reasoning to the spectators: "the audience observes the process of thought by which she arrives at [her conclusion]".

Our paper offers a different interpretation. First, inspired by De Jong's (2007) work on Greek tragic prologues, we will discuss various linguistic elements that contradict an analysis of Juno's speech as a self-addressed monologue. More specifically, we will consider common ground markers (e.g., Kroon 2021), which evoke the shared knowledge of the speaker and the intended addressee, and diaphonic elements, which reflect the nature of a text as a communicative exchange (e.g., Kroon 1995: 111–114). This part of our analysis shows that parts of Juno's prologue are not addressed to herself. Instead, we tentatively propose that some parts are addressed to the audience.

The second, more extensive, part of our talk will be concerned with Juno's communicative purpose. Taking a Functional Discourse Grammar approach (e.g., Hannay and Kroon 2005; for Latin, esp. Kroon 1995: 64–96), we will analyze Juno's speech in terms of *acts* and *moves*. Our analysis shows that the speech consists of a central move and two subsidiary moves. In the first subsidiary move, Juno laments her situation as the abandoned wife of Jupiter. In the second, she describes Hercules as a threat to herself and the universe. Together, these subsidiary moves justify Juno's decision to declare war on Hercules, which she reveals in her central move. Thus, we suggest that Juno in her prologue aims to convince the spectators that her revenge on Hercules is justified.

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Particles and asyndeton in conversational structure in Latin comedy dialogue

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Conversation and other dialogical types of discourse (speeches, letters) seem to be the most natural environment for Latin particles – in particular for the type that Caroline Kroon labelled 'interactional particles' (cf. Kroon 1995). Some of them, such as *vero, enim, ergo,* and *nempe* and *profecto* (for the latter, cf. Schrickx 2012), underline or check the involvement of speaker or addressee with respect to the (content of the) speech act to which they belong, while others primarily indicate how the turn of speaking in which they occur fits in the ongoing interaction. Thus, *sane* (cf. Risselada 1998) is often used in the second parts of various types of adjacency pairs to mark the speaker's agreement with e.g. statements, questions and directives, while *at,* characterized by Kroon (1994; 1995) as a 'protest marker', and *immo*, primarily a 'correction marker', usually introduce dispreferred reactions.

In my paper, I will primarily focus on this latter type. A (structurally complicated) example of the use of *at* and *immo* is found in the following quarrel between Mercurius-Sosia and the real Sosia (Plautus, *Am.* 365–372), which shows that especially *at* is used not only in protesting, and hence dispreferred second pair parts, as in turn 9, but can also start a protesting insert or post-expansion, as in turn 5 (I'll leave aside the jokes on *profecto* in lines 6–8, but they do testify to Plautus' awareness of the role of particles in interaction!).

1. ME. Quid ais? quid nomen tibist?
2. SO. Sosiam vocant Thebani, Davo prognatum patre.
3. ME. Ne tu istic hodie malo tuo compositis mendaciis advenisti, audaciai columen, consutis dolis.
4.   SO. *Immo* equidem tunicis consutis huc advenio, non dolis.
5.   ME. *At* mentiris etiam: certo pedibus, non tunicis venis.
6.   SO. Ita *profecto*.
7. ME. Nunc *profecto* vapula ob mendacium.
8. SO. Non edepol volo *profecto*.
9. ME. *At* pol profecto ingrati<i>s: Hoc quidem *'profecto'* certumst, non est arbitrarium.

In the first part of my paper, I will discuss how these particles, and others such as the more general discontinuity marker *sed* and idiomatic markers like *quid ais* (in turn 1 above, cf. Risselada 2005) mark aspects of conversational structure, such as adjacency, sequencing and preference, as outlined elaborately in Conversational Analysis by e.g. Schegloff (cf. Schegloff 2007; Risselada 2021).

However, even if natural conversation and dialogue are the preferred environment of these markers, it is surprising how often the structural aspects mentioned above are <u>not</u> marked by particles in Latin comedy. 'Conversational asyndeton' – by which I mean the absence of connective markers across turntaking, seems to be the default type of interactional connection, not only in case of clear sequential coherence and preference, but even in cases of dispreferred second pair parts and protest. Thus, even in the angry quarrel between Mercurius-Sosia and Amphitruo (Pl. *Amph.* 1021–1029) quoted below, we find only one *at* (in turn 10), but could have expected it for instance also in 6, or perhaps a *sed* in turn 8, where Amphitruo tries to start off a new sequence. One of the differences with the first sequence quoted above seems to be that here the adjacency pairs are relatively neatly structured, even if the second pair parts are dispreferred.

1. ME. Quis ad fores est?
2. AM. Ego sum.
3. ME. Quid 'ego sum'?
4. AM. Ita loquor.
5. ME. Tibi Iuppiter di que omnes irati certo sunt, qui sic frangas fores.
6. AM. Quo modo?
7. ME. Eo modo, ut profecto vivas aetatem miser.
8. AM. Sosia.
9. ME. Ita: sum Sosia, nisi me esse oblitum existumas. Quid nunc vis?
10. AM. Sceleste, <u>at</u> etiam quid velim, id tu me rogas?
11. ME. Ita, rogo: paene effregisti, fatue, foribus cardines.
    An foris censebas nobis publicitus praeberier?
    Quid me aspectas, stolide?

Therefore, in the second part of my paper, I will try to find some answers, in a corpus of comedies of Plautus and Terence, to the question why some types of discourse are permeated with interactional particles and others are not. Can the difference be related to aspects of the conversational structure, and/or also to the relation between the interlocutors and the nature and tone of their interaction? And although it is difficult to find sufficient comparable passages, it is also interesting to see if there are any differences between Plautus and Terence (for Terence, cf. Müller 1997)

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Pro di immortales! **and other composite interjections in Latin. From syntagms to pragmatic markers**

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The religious sphere is a common lexical source for interjections in many languages, and Latin offers a wide variety of examples of invocations converted into interjections. Grounding on previous research (Unceta Gómez 2012, 2016, 2017), with this paper I intend to offer an analysis of certain invocations to the gods or oaths – such as *di boni! di immortales!, pro di immortales!, pro Iuppiter!*, among others – that came to develop interjective functions in Latin, that is, that underwent a process of subjectification and became "interjectional phrases" (Ameka 1992) or "interjectional expressions" (Hill 1992).

Differently from other similar expressions, such as *hercle*, *edepol*, *ecastor...* (which cannot be considered properly speaking interjections), the interjectional use of these syntagms clearly contributes to the expression of emotivity, as the following examples illustrate:

(1)   ... MN. **Di inmortales**, *meum sodalem hic nominat*. (Plaut. *Bacch.* 414)
(2)   *Quantus in illo,* **di boni**, *vigor est, quantum animi!* (Sen. *epist.* 64.3)
(3)   DE. **Pro divom fidem!** / *meretrix et materfamilias una in domo?* (Ter. *Ad.* 746–747)

Surveying a large corpus (from Plautus to Aulus Gellius), in this analysis I will focus on the pragmatic functions of these expressions, and on the cyclical renewal process that they undergo.

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Faxo **revisited: causativity vs. speaker's stance**

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Introduction
The "extraparadigmatic" (Bertocci 2017, 22) sigmatic future *faxo* has been long drawing the attention of linguists (Lindsay 1936; De Melo 2002; 2008; Bertocci 2017). It is found in the works of archaic and some later authors, being most frequently used in the language of the early Roman

comedy (79 occurrences in Plautus' and 10 in Terence's plays), and, unlike other forms of sigmatic future (*faxim, amassim* etc.)*,* exclusively in the independent clauses. The vast majority of the occurrences demonstrate causative semantics but there are a few cases where such meaning can hardly be seen. De Melo (2002, 83) singled out two occurrences in which *faxo*, in his opinion, can be treated as either an adverb or a parenthetical expression (in terms of the syntactic or semantic reanalysis, respectively). In my talk, I will show some more examples of the non-causative use of *faxo* and will, then, try to discover the contextually determined semantic nuances of this verb.

Method

On the grounds of the grammaticalization principles suggested by Hopper (1991) and Heine (2002), I will trace all the stages of grammaticalization of *faxo* paying particular attention to the broader context. Presumably, this will allow us to understand whether *faxo* was grammaticalized in an adverb like *forsitan* or in the parenthetical expression with the meaning "I assume". In the first case, it can be treated as an epistemic marker, while in the second – as an inferential evidential marker, and in both cases – as a strategy of constructing social interaction. Since the amount of data in Latin is very small, I also will draw upon the comparative material of other languages in order to corroborate my hypothesis.

Expected results

As a result of this study, it will be shown that in the examples under examination *faxo* eventually lost its causative meaning and became a semi-grammaticalized marker of the speaker's stance (Squartini 2018, 275–276) which admits both evidential (inferential) and epistemic interpretation. Unfortunately, the lifetime of this evidential/epistemic marker proved to be very short. It has neither got to the final stage of "conventionalization" (in terms of Heine 2002, 85–87) nor gone beyond the genre of Roman comedy, which is why even those few instances of *faxo* in the works of the later archaizing authors show exclusively causative meaning. And since it is found only in the dialogue parts of the comedy reproducing talk-in-interaction, it can be considered a special marker of orality in written text.

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Workshop "Expressions of modalities in Latin in both synchronic and diachronic perspective"
Organizers: Paolo Poccetti, Anna Orlandini

Expression of Modality in the Visions

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When referring to situations or states of affairs, speakers also communicate their attitudes, doubts, judgements and eventually also the source of knowledge of the situations described, regardless of the fact whether these belong to the real world or not. In this regard, narrating visions and dreams means making statements about events and situations which are perceived in a particular way. For the purposes of this study, the analysis of the dreams and visions as presented in the Old Testament are of particular importance. At the same time, I will take into consideration also other texts from the classical Latin literature like *Somnium Scipionis* or some Early-Christian Latin texts such as *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. In the Hebrew OT passages (like *Gen* 28:12, 37:6–7 or 41:17–19, *Dan* 8:3–4, etc.) the person recounting the dream is making a claim that his story is not based on his own phantasy or invention, but it rather comes from what he has seen in his dream. In order to communicate that there is some evidence or warrant for what he states, the person makes use of a particular device available in the Hebrew language, i.e. the particle *wəhinnēʰ*. This particle is rendered, though not systematically, into Greek (LXX) as ἰδού and into Latin (Vulg.) as *ecce*. These particles should give credibility to the speaker's statement and are usually preceded by a verb expressing seeing. However, the verbal expressions used in such situations are not always identical and depend probably on the degree of authority given by the biblical writer to the person telling the dream. In this article I will thus examine the correlations of these verbs introducing the dreams together with the particles corresponding to the Hebrew *wəhinnēʰ*.

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La codifica della modalità epistemica in Plauto e Terenzio: sviluppi semantici e sintattico-pragmatici di *certe* e *sane* a confronto

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Il presente studio descrive i processi di grammaticalizzazione e pragmaticalizzazione degli elementi modali *certe* e *sane* nella commedia latina di Plauto e Terenzio. L'analisi dei contesti d'uso di *certe* e *sane* si inquadra nell'ambito teorico della Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). Sul piano sincronico, diversi valori semantico-funzionali di *certe* e *sane* coesistono e si

influenzano reciprocamente secondo un principio di stratificazione funzionale (*layering*, cfr. Bartolotta 2022; Hopper 1991). Nella commedia latina arcaica *certe* assume le funzioni di avverbio di modo ('in modo chiaro, sicuro'), focalizzatore ('di sicuro'), intensificatore ('proprio, davvero'), avverbio modale epistemico ('certamente'), marcatore della forza illocutiva esortativa ('almeno'), marcatore discorsivo ('sì, certo'); *sane* assume le funzioni di avverbio di modo ('in modo sano, salutare'), intensificatore ('proprio, davvero'), avverbio modale epistemico ('sicuramente'), modificatore della forza illocutiva esortativa ('orsù') e concessiva ('pure'), marcatore discorsivo ('sì, certo'). Sebbene l'assenza di dati intonazionali renda difficile una definitiva separazione tra le diverse funzioni di *certe* e *sane*, è tuttavia possibile identificare i passaggi definitori di un graduale processo di grammaticalizzazione (cfr. Denizot & Spevak 2017; Risselada 1991, 1998): (i) opacizzazione dell'originario significato degli avverbi di modo (incremento di soggettività semantica); (ii) transcategorizzazione grammaticale (da avverbi di modo ad enfatizzatori, e da enfatizzatori a modalizzatori); (iii) estensione dello scope funzionale (l'elemento *modificatore* diventa *operatore* del *contenuto comunicato* quando codifica la valutazione soggettiva del parlante e gestisce l'organizzazione pragmatica dell'interazione); (iv) shift sintattico (in qualità di avverbi di modo *certe* e *sane* ricorrono sempre giustapposti agli elementi lessicali modificati o enfatizzati; in qualità di avverbi modali epistemici ricorrono invece nella periferia sinistra della frase; in qualità di marcatori discorsivi ricorrono in funzione di replica olofrastica del parlante in risposta a domande sì/no e affermazioni imperative enunciate dall'interlocutore). L'analisi dei dati ottenuti lascia ipotizzare l'esistenza di un continuum evolutivo individuabile in prospettiva diacronica. Sebbene sia possibile individuare passaggi evolutivi comuni nello sviluppo semantico-funzionale di *certe* e *sane*, sembrano tuttavia emergere specifiche differenze: *certe* occorre sia in Plauto sia in Terenzio in funzione di avverbio di modo e, a partire da questo valore originario, sviluppa le funzioni di focalizzatore di sintagmi (pro)nominali e di intensificatore di sintagmi avverbiali e interiezioni; *sane* invece occorre in funzione di avverbio di modo solo in Plauto, ma questo uso scompare definitivamente in Terenzio, e a partire da questo valore originario, sviluppa solo la funzione di intensificatore di sintagmi avverbiali e aggettivali, ma non la funzione di focalizzatore. Questo processo di grammaticalizzazione conduce poi gli enfatizzatori *certe* e *sane* – con significati 'meno soggettivi' e con scope sul singolo sintagma - allo sviluppo della funzione epistemica: *certe* e *sane* diventano avverbi modali con significati 'più soggettivi' e con scope sulla proposizione. Gli avverbi modali epistemici subiscono poi un successivo processo di pragmaticalizzazione o intersoggettificazione (cfr. Traugott 2003, 2014), ma *certe* sembra raggiungere prima di *sane* il livello più elevato dell'evoluzione pragmatica: *certe* assume la funzione di marcatore discorsivo sia in Plauto sia in Terenzio, dove si rintraccia anche un valore intermedio di modificatore della forza illocutiva esortativa; l'evoluzione pragmatica di *sane* in Plauto si arresta invece allo sviluppo della funzione di modificatore della forza illocutiva esortativa e concessiva, mentre le prime occorrenze di *sane* in funzione di marcatore discorsivo olofrastico si rintracciano solo a partire da Terenzio (cfr. tabella 1).

Tabella 1	*certe*		*sane*	
Funzioni semantico-pragmatiche	**Plauto**	**Terenzio**	**Plauto**	**Terenzio**
Avverbio di modo giustapposto al SV	7,1%	7,4%	3,2%	0%
Focalizzatore di sintagmi (pro)nominali	9,5%	11,1%	0%	0%
Intensificatore di sintagmi avverbiali/aggettivali e interiezioni	33,3%	22,2%	16,3%	47,2%
Avverbio modale epistemico a livello proposizionale	42,8%	33,3%	37,7%	33,3%
Modificatore di forza illocutiva esortativa	0%	3,7%	11,4%	2,7%
Modificatore di forza illocutiva concessiva	0%	0%	31,1%	11,1%
Marcatore discorsivo olofrastico	7,1%	22,2%	0%	5,5%

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Innovation or inheritance? Remarks on the origin and development of the Latin subjunctive

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It is uncontroversial that some of the tense/aspect/mood categories in Latin are inherited from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) while others have arisen in the Common Italic period or in prehistoric Latin (cf. Meiser 1998, Weiss 2009). For example, there is general agreement that the Latin (and Italic) perfect system reflects a merger of the PIE aorist and perfect (cf. Meiser 2003), probably resulting from semantic bleaching. A similar origin is sometimes assumed for the so-called subjunctive, which by some scholars is regarded as the result of a merger of the PIE subjunctive and optative (cf. Delbrück 1897, Magni 2010, Pinkster 2015). According to others, the Latin subjunctive formally continues the PIE optative (e.g., Weiss 2009). These two hypotheses have rather different implications for the functional range of the Latin subjunctive, which according to the former is composite, (possibly) including functions inherited from both the optative and the subjunctive. According to the second hypothesis, however, the Latin subjunctive would continue the optative in semantic terms as well. The present paper takes a fresh look upon the functional properties of the Latin subjunctive in its comparative-historical context. Reassessing data from Vedic Sanskrit and Ancient Greek, we propose a new delimitation of the functional ranges of the PIE subjunctive and optative, suggesting that the subjunctive was not a modal category *sensu stricto* but rather a present secondarily developing a futurate function (cf. Dahl 2013). The optative, on the other hand, was the primary expression of irrealis modality, with a broad range of context-dependent modal uses. In Vedic Sanskrit, these two categories have clearly distinct functional uses, as, amongst other things, shown by the fact that the subjunctive is replaced by a morphologically more transparent future in -*sya*-. Furthermore, we assume that the inherited subjunctive developed into a modal category in Ancient Greek, a development possibly originating from its rather prominent hortative use in the first

person (cf. Goodwin 1889, van Emde Boas et al. 2019). From this perspective, both the continuation of the PIE optative as subjunctive in Latin as well as the inclusion of inherited PIE subjunctive forms as *futurum simplex* in Latin represent more archaic features than usually thought.

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The life cycles of counterfactual modal verbs in Archaic and Classical Latin

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In Latin, the counterfactual functions of the optative inherited from PIE (Brugmann 1930: 586) were syncretized in the Latin subjunctive. Over time, however, the indicative, as in other early Indo-European languages such as Ancient Greek (la Roi 2022), started replacing the counterfactual subjunctive (la Roi under review). As early as Classical Latin we find signs that, for example, the imperfect indicative occurs in counterfactual conditionals. As in Ancient Greek, such initial innovative combinations mix inherited counterfactual mood (i.e. the subjunctive) with the replacement (i.e. the indicative): the brother's servant *did* start suddenly and (therefore) the letter was *not* sent.

Ipsam tibi epistolam *misissem*, nisi tam subito fratris puer *proficiscebatur* (Cic. *Att.* 8.1.2)
I should have sent you the letter itself, if my brother's servant was not starting so suddenly.

Literature on Latin tends to comment especially on the inherited counterfactual subjunctive (e.g. Blase 1888, Handford 1947, Magni 2010, Pinkster 2015: 494–496). Yet, indicative modal verbs already developed counterfactual functions in Archaic Latin (Kühner & Stegmann 1912: 173), which could indicate that the replacement of the counterfactual subjunctive started earlier.

Therefore, I study the diachrony of four modal verbs which developed counterfactual functions in the indicative in Archaic and Classical Latin. I chose four modal verbs of different modality types: *posse, velle, debere, oportet*. I also pay attention to their development of politeness functions (Pinkster 2015: 414–415) and how these relate to their counterfactual functions.

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Verbs of volition, wish and command in the Vulgate: an overview

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This paper aims at investigating the most frequent verbs of volition, request, wish and command (*volo, rogo, peto,* ecc.) in the Vulgate of Saint Jerome.

As well known, the Vulgate is a special kind of Late Latin text, which partially depends on Greek and Hebrew versions, as well as on previous Latin ones known as *Vetus Latina*. Within the Vulgate, only New Testament occurrences will be taken into consideration.

1) *et extendens manum tetigit eum Iesus dicens:* **volo mundare** (= gr. θέλω, καθαρίσθητι 'I am willing; be cleansed') *et confestim mundata est lepra eius* (Mt. 8, 3)
'Jesus reached out His hand and touched him, saying, "I want to clean." Immediately his eprosy was cleansed.'

2) *hunc cum vidisset Iesus iacentem et cognovisset quia multum iam tempus habet dicit ei: "***vis sanus fieri?*** (= gr. θέλεις ὑγιὴς γενέσθαι)"* (Jh. 5, 6)
'When Jesus saw him lying there and learned that he had been in this condition for a long time, he asked him, "Do you want to get well?"'

Even if is well known that volition, request, wish and command may be expressed in Latin by various morphosyntactic (e.g. inflection of tense/mood) as well as lexical devices (e.g. uses of modal particles or modal verbs), we prefer to approach the study of volition (and related modalities) in the Vulgate beginning with a lexical examination. Note that Latin Vulgate shows a simplified quasi-oral syntax and recurrent patterns, which quite regularly reproduce Greek and Hebrew matching versions. Although Saint Jerome stated, as known, to prefer a translation *sensum de sensu*, instead of a *verbum de verbo* one, the propensity to identify a unique Latin word for all the occurrences of a Greek one is noticeable. A lexical investigation allows us to evaluate if Jerome choices are the best possible ones for Late Latin or if they are foreign-derived.

Specifically, after a statistical recognition of use and function of the modal verbs at issue, this paper tries to answer to the following questions:

1) Are frequency and syntactic uses of such verbs as expected, for a Late Latin text?
2) Does the original New Testament Greek seem to have played a role in the choices of Jerome?
3) Does some relevant difference emerge from the comparative examination of Vulgate and Vetus Latina occurrences of such verbs? If so, what hypotheses about can be advanced?

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Quand le modal peut être optionnel : analyse contrastive du latin et des langues romanes

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Il est particulièrement difficile d'enquêter sur ce qui est optionnel, relevant d'un choix du locuteur. Notre analyse focalise sur les contraintes (temps, modes, personnes, contextes *de dicto*, présence de la négation) qui licencient, en latin et dans les langues romanes, les occurrences des verbes modaux ainsi que celles qui les interdisent. En latin, les verbes modaux *possum, debeo* sont normalement exclus si le contexte est *de re*, à l'indicatif, alors qu'il sont admis dans les langues romanes :

(1a) *Ex quibus (nummis) **pecuniam maximam fecit*** (Cic. *Verr*. II 2,136) "Avec cet argent **il a pu réunir** une grande somme »

(1b) *Constitueramus obviam Ciceronem Caesari mittere, **sed mutavimus consilium**, quia de illius adventu nihil audiebamus (*Cic. *fam*. 14,15) « Nous avions décidé d'envoyer Cicéron à l'encontre de César, mais **nous *avons dû* changer d'avis,** parce que nous n'avions aucune nouvelle de son arrivée »

La négation est souvent un déclencheur pour les verbes modaux dans les traductions romanes :

(2) ***Non continui*** bilem (Sen. *contr*. 3, pr.16) « **Je n'ai pas pu retenir** ma colère ».

Une **idée négative,** même **implicite**, facilite le sémantisme véhiculé par un verbe modal dans

les traductions romanes :

(3) *Huius pertinaciae* **cessit** *Catulus* (Nep. *Ham*.1,5) « **Enfin** Catulus **a dû céder** à son obstination », it. « Catulo *dovette alla fine* cedere alla sua ostinazione ».

En synchronie, en latin classique, le subjonctif est à lui seul porteur de valeurs modales ; en diachronie, la négation semblerait faciliter le développement des verbes modaux dans les langues romanes. En présence d'un subjonctif indépendant (irréel, potentiel, dubitatif, désidératif), exprimant la modalité *non-assertive*, la paraphrase par le modal en résulte facilitée :

(4a) **Restitisses, repugnasses,** *mortem pugnans* **oppetisses** (Cic. *Sest*. 45) « tu **aurais dû resister** , tu **aurais dû** **affronter** la mort en combat».

Parfois l'idée négative est liée au doute, comme dans le dubitatif :

(4b) *Quid* **agam** *iudices* ? (Cic. *Verr*. 2, 5,2) «Que **devrais-je (que pourrais-je)** faire, juges ? ».

 Les deux modaux semblent neutraliser les différences réciproques : *qu'aurais-je dû / pu faire* ? ou à l'imparfait indicatif : « que pouvais-je / devais-je faire ? » :

(5a) *haec cum viderem,* **quid agerem**... *?* (Cic. *Sest*.19) «en envoyant ces choses, **qu'aurais-je dû / pu faire ?** ».
(5b) **quid facerem ?** (Ter. *Eun*. 831) « **Qu'aurais-je dû / pu faire ? ».**

Quand l'obligation est forte, il ne s'agit pas d'un dubitatif et le modal *debeo* est réalisé en latin. Quant au modal *possum,* il est optionnel dans le potentiel.

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Papers

Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (LLDB) in the service of Latin linguistics

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Since the history, the theoretical and practical foundations, the elements, and the operation of the LLDB Database (http://lldb.elte.hu/) have already been presented in three published studies (Adamik 2009, 2012 and 2016), in this paper I would like to highlight the various possibilities the use of the LLDB Database presents. The LLDB Database holds the records of linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena that show deviations from classical Latin in Latin inscriptions from the imperial and early medieval period from the entire territory of the Roman Empire, and currently it has two main areas of use: 1. it helps us better understand Latin inscriptions, especially through close linguistic interpretation; 2. it supports historical linguistic and dialectological research based on the data of those Latin inscriptions.

1. The LLDB Database at present includes more than 130,000 pieces of data recorded from more than 60,000 inscriptions. It is a useful tool for researchers who study Latin inscriptions in any context because it sheds light on (mostly linguistic) phenomena and anomalies that epigraphic databases often do not explain; most databases leave such anomalies uninterpreted, at best they add an exclamation mark referring to the anomaly in the text. In the first half of the paper, I will present this first main area of use with the help of some illustrative examples.

2. Regarding the second main area of use, I would like to give an overview on how the LLDB Database can be used for Latin dialectological and historical linguistic research. First of all, it must be emphasized that the Database can be used without registration, and most Database functions essential for linguistic research are freely accessible even to guests. Such functions include the Search modules, the Diagram and Mapping modules on the Extended search page, and certain options for exporting search results. Registered users, however, gain access to further functions that enhance convenience, such as the option for saving search queries and chart background elements, the full range of exporting options that can even be customised, etc. In the second half of the paper, I will demonstrate the use of these advanced tools on a single example, solving one specific problem in Latin linguistics.

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Semantic implications of the *perfectum* merger in Early and Classical Latin

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Most studies on the merger of the PIE AORIST and PERFECT stems into the Latin *perfectum* stem have focused on its morphological aspects (Meiser 2003; Clackson 2007; de Melo 2007b). Evidence from Penney (2011) and Prodoscimi & Marinetti (1993) suggests situating the merger before the 7th–6th c. BCE but after the Proto-Italic phase. The main morphemes for *perfectum* stems are reminiscent of both AORIST (-*s*-, root vowel lengthening) and PERFECT stems (root reduplication), but a Latin innovation is the -*u/-v* stem. Rix' (1992) morphophonological analysis of its origins in a periphrasis with an active PERFECT participle may not follow established laws of phonological change, but clear evidence is offered by semantics (de Melo 2007a).

As explained by Meiser (2003) and Clackson (2007), the merger resulted from the common reanalysis of the perfect as a past tense. Since the (new) core function of the perfect now overlapped with that of the aorist, i.e. past perfective, their respective stems converged into the Latin *perfectum* stem. Meanwhile, amidst the debris of this semantic collision, peripheral functions of the PERFECT stem (resultativity, e.g. *constiterant* 'they had taken position' > 'they stood') and AORIST stem (ingressivity, e.g. *tenuit* 'he began to hold > 'he took') remained associated with the *perfectum* stem, as a marked use.

(1)   Ante alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat : Galli super umbilicum erant nudi ; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus **constiterant**. (...) Duces cornibus praeerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal ; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone **tenuit**. (LIV. 22.46.5–7)

Semantic research on these functions in Latin has mainly focused on their development amidst innovations. For resultativity, the grammaticalization of *cantatum habe(ba)t* in the active (Haverling 2016) and the specialization of *cantatus est* in the passive (Danckaert 2016; Aerts in prep.-b) usually constitute the research context; for ingressivity and the observation of its later reemergence, research and data selection is often linked to the influence of Greek through Christian texts (Haverling 2018, Aerts in prep.-a) and to changes in the system of lexical ingressivity (e.g. *tacuit–conticuit*; Haverling 2018). However, in order to ascertain the value of their analysis as residual meanings of the Latin *perfectum* stem since the described merger, an extensive close-reading analysis of Early and Classical texts is required. To that end, the *Opera Latina* corpus at LASLA is searched for finite *perfectum* forms of (a) the most common telic, intransitive verbs and (b) the most common stative verbs, after which a representative sample (across dimensions of time, register and text type) of both sets of attestations is subjected to a close reading process to ascertain the precise function of the *perfectum* forms in their context. The semantic annotation process is operationalized on the basis of verified methodological practices described in Aerts (in prep.-c). The research objective is to provide both quantitative and qualitative data regarding the relative relevance, at this early stage of Latin, of (a-bis) resultative meanings with telic, intransitive verbs as these are most prone to feature this marked functionality (Bybee et al. 1994) and (b-bis) ingressive meanings with stative verbs, where the entering into that state is profiled by the verb tense (Aerts in prep.-a).

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The locative alternation in Latin: the case of *circumdo*

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The term 'verbal alternation' applies to those cases in which a verb allows more than one way of expressing their arguments. The locative alternation involves the possible different expressions of the *locatum* argument – the substance or entity whose location is changed – and the *location* argument (Levin 1993: 50). Among the numerous works that have been published on the locative alternation in general we can mention those of Iwata (2005, 2008).

In the case of Latin, different types of locative alternation have been described (Mateu and Acedo-Matellán 2015). Cases in which the verb shows no special marks, cases in which only one of the constructions of the verb has a prefix, and cases where both alternating constructions occur with the same prefixed verb, as in (1):

(1) a. Ulceri medicamentum [...] inducatur 'That the medicament is smeared into the ulcer', (Cels. 7,7)
b. Albenti umerosque induxit amictu 'And he covered his shoulders with a white cloak', (Stat. *Silv*. 5,2,66)

The same occurs in the verb *circumdo*, where both *locatum* and *locatio* can appear as verbal objects, as can be seen in the alternations in (2):

(2)   a. turresque toto opere circumdedit 'He arranged towers around the entire site' (Caes. *Gall.* 7,72,4–5)

b. quinis castris oppidum circumdedit 'He surrounded the citadel with five encampments' (Caes. *civ.* 3,9,4,2)

In this paper, within the framework not only of the aforementioned studies on alternations, but also of studies on the Latin prefix *circum*-, such as those by Mare (2017) or Revuelta Puigdollers (2015), we will analyze the different *circumdo* constructions and their possible semantic differences.

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A substrate effect on some collective nouns in Latin?

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According to Adams (2016: 437), "a neuter plural ending *-ora* emerged in Latin by a reanalysis of such plurals as corpor-a as corp-ora". We'll consider the Latin -ORA plural formation from both a syntax and a prosodic point of view together with the hypothesis of an -UR/ŪR formative in such words as DECURIA and CENTURIA, PAENŪRIA "lack, need, shortage", DŪRUS "hard", OBSCŪRUS "dark", MATŪRUS "ripe".

Our hypothesis is that -ORA is a non-stressed development of -UR/ŪR, the latter probably a collective suffix belonging to a "Mediterranean" pre-ie. substrate in common with Sardinian and Berber.

The neuter plural ending -ORA probably emerged in African spoken Latin then spread in Sardinia and some other Romance regions. The traces of the development -UR/ŪR > - ORA are to be found in the morphosyntax of the *ur/wer; ara* particles in Berber.

The Latin adjective DŪRUS "hard" has no etymology (DELL: 56). The DELL specifies the physical meaning of "hard to the touch" and cites the form, belonging to the technical lexicon of botany (fruit trees) DŪRACĬNUS "adhering to stone fruit, hard", analyzed by popular etymology as a compound name DŪRUS + ACINUS "grape".

We do consider the technical meaning as the more ancient one (cf. Argiolas 2017).

Lat. DŪRUS can be compared to some Berber words. Kabyle attests to *ḍer, ṭer* "to have fallen, to fall (said of fruits before maturity)" (DRB III, 480), which is to be compared to Zenaga *aḍur* "to fall" (DRB III, 480). The predicative function of the Kabyle verb, its semantics and the Zenaga term – where the prefix -a is recognizable as an old mark of noun definiteness – suggest a "nom à la base du verbe d'état" (Cohen 1984; Galand 1987; Allati 2015). We can, thus, reconstruct the technical semantic value of a coll. noun *"fruits fallen before maturity". On the basis of the internal reconstruction an Ancient Berber word *ḍur* may be identified as a compound noun made of (pan-Berber but Tuareg) *bedd/bidd* "to stand" + UR, a Berber negative marker, and considered as part of an ancient Berber -u(r) word formation.

We can make an assumption about an ancient -*ur* > -*ar* in Berber also on the basis of some Ancient glosses: *herba proserpinaca*'s "Punic" name *zunzur* (Punici: zunzur, *Ps.-Ap.* 12, 27), *Polygonum aviculare* L. (Dyn. 2, 35: (…) *hoc est centondia, sive sensur* (…); Gyn 69, 5: (…) *aut senzur aut intubi*), with no semitic etymology, is to be compared to Sardinian *sintsurru, sintsiri* "id." (Paulis 1992) and to Kabyle *zzenṭar* "id." (Argiolas 2017).

In Berber an -*ar* suffix seems to be present in some collective nouns within the archaic and conservative lexicons of toponymy, botany and anatomy: *adrar* "mountains", *kwessar* "slope", *tcamar* "beard", *taxyaṛt* "cucumber", *buneqqar* "cardon", *ɣesmar* "jaw" etc.

According to Galand (1995), "on peut se demander si le berbère ur n'inclut pas l'ancien nom ara « chose », qui se serait agglutiné à la particule négative. L'histoire se répétant, le kabyle emploie aujourd'hui ara comme second élément de négation".

As far as Sardinian is concerned, Wagner (1950) had noted Sardinian -*árru, -órru, -úrru* suffixes as stressed noun suffixes that seem to be pre-Roman, besides in an important toponymic series, in many plant names such as *kankárru, lipòrra, tutúrru, muttsúrru, kuyúrra, latúrra, karkúri, biddúri* etc. A pre-Roman origin and collective value of the non-stressed suffixes -*ora,* -*ara* in Sardinian had been noticed by Terracini (1927 and 1936), Bertoldi (1950), Wagner (1950), Hubschmid (1963) and Paulis (1992). In his treatise on plant names in Sardinian, Paulis (1992) highlighted this -*ara* suffix in words of Latin origin such as *mármara* < lat. MALVA, as well as in plant names considered as pre-Roman such as *túvara* (*Erica Arborea* L.), *ǧàllara* (*Reseda Lutea* L.) etc.

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Schemata lexeos revisited. Syllepsis and zeugma in Sallust and Tacitus

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1. TOPIC. The present paper aims to investigate some ambiguous elliptical structures in a selected corpus of Latin prose combining a philological-textual approach with the latest trends in argument structure analysis and cognitive semantics.

2. DEFINITION ISSUES. The use of the terms zeugma and syllepsis varies widely among both ancient and modern authors. An extensive evaluation of these phenomena in the literature supports this argument and implies basically two subtypes: 1) uncomplicated zeugma, in which two or more phrases depend on a single head in a relation of semantic and syntactic symmetry; 2) complicated zeugma, which we also refer to as syllepsis, in which two or more phrases depend on a single head and have a different relationship with it, either of semantic or syntactic order (cf. Lausberg 1969: § 322; Viparelli 1990; Pinkster 2021: 711–713). The present work focuses on the latter case. Beyond terminological problems, these are, on the whole, superficially elliptical coordinate structures that require a cognitive process of decoding and inference.

3. METHOD. A fine-grained analysis has been conducted on Sallust's and Tacitus' works, the authors who are most emblematically abundant with brachylogical structures. The focus is primarily a classificatory one (i.e., systematization of the various types of zeugmatic structures). These structures were classified according to both morphosyntactic and semantic criteria, such as: 1. type of phrase of governing and governed elements; 2. syntactic or semantic mismatches; 3. type of verb (in the case of VP). The structures identified have been placed along a gradient ranging from structures with a higher degree of transparency to gradually more opaque structures that are more difficult to process. Also, both stylistic-rhetorical and narrative aspects have been considered (i.e., co-occurrence with other tropes; in which section of the text the identified structure is placed).

4. RESULTS. The examination conducted so far presents a varied picture of zeugmatic structures, which is represented in 70% of cases by structures with NPs dependent on a VP with different semantic relations (e.g., ***gratiam* aut *inimicitias exercere***, Cat. 51). At the level of narrative structure, the most complex zeugmatic structures concern the sections of monologues or those in which the narrator intervenes with moralizing *sententiae*: here, metaphorical condensation, often in co-occurrence with antitheses and paronomasias, is functional to the rhetorical effect (e.g., *incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant*, Cat. 17). Finally, it results that the most frequent verb is *gero*, commonly associated with at least one of the dependent elements in an idiomatic construction (e.g., *in Iugurtha tantus dolus … erat, ut …* ***pacem* an *bellum gerens*** *perniciosior esset in incerto haberetur*, Iug. 46; *cognitis Metelli rebus, ut* ***seque* et *exercitum* …** ***gereret*** Iug. 55).

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A new magical text from Aquincum

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Over the past decade five curse tablets were found in Aquincum, the former centre of Pannonia, of which all in surprisingly good condition – they are almost entirely legible. The tablets were written in Latin, but the names mentioned on them refer to the diverse social groups of possibly various origin.

The present paper takes a closer look at the hitherto unpublished fifth curse tablet, which was discovered in early 2020 in a well-documented archaeological context. The findings suggest it was made as a judicial binding curse in order to inhibit a group of persons from speaking before the court. It shares many common features with the four previous ones, but also presents just as many differences, which is a characteristic of the Aquincum set. They were made according to the instructions of magical formulary books, but they always include some individual solutions by which the magician effectively adapted the client's requirements. Moreover, none of the pieces appear to have been subjected to any kind of checking, which, due to the confidentiality of the genre, gives a concentrated representation of the local language usage, mainly in the fields of phonetics and morphology.

The so-called accusative of enumeration has been for a long time one of the most investigated topics in the linguistics of curse texts. The present study examines this phenomenon in the context of this new tablet, while at the same time aims to provide its most complete reading and most comprehensive interpretation.

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From degree adverbs to discourse markers: the case of *maxime* in Early Latin

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Degree modifiers may develop a semantic extension from content to function (Paradis 1997; Méndez Naya 2003; Athanasiadou 2007; Bartolotta 2022), gradually increasing their intensifying function toward more abstract '(inter)subjective' meanings that are related to new grammatical and eventually procedural functions (cf. Traugott 1995; 2003; 2008). The distribution of all the occurrences of *maxime* in the corpus analyzed in this study, which includes Latin literary texts from roughly 240 BCE to the beginning of the first century BCE (cf. Penney 2011; Vincent 2016), shows that the relationship among different functions of this degree modifier in Early Latin is not simply a matter of synchronic polysemy inherent to the lexical root, but the result of a gradual diachronic change, triggered by the co-occurrence with specific syntactic-semantic and pragmatic contexts. In particular, although dead languages such as Latin cannot provide us with information about intonation and

prosodic contours, data show a syntactic shift of *maxime* from the juxtaposed position, adjacent to the syntactic phrase it modifies, mostly when the adverb acts as an intensifier or a focalizer, to the left periphery of the sentence, mostly when the adverb acts as a discourse marker (DM). This scope increase goes along with semantic-pragmatic shifts from a lower (Representational) to a higher (Interpersonal) functional layer (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), showing an increasing level of subjectification. More precisely, a first increase of subjectification can be observed from the intensifier/focalizer meaning, which is proper to the degree modifier, to the epistemic meaning, which *maxime* develops as a modal adverb by adding the speaker's commitment to the truth-value of her/his proposition and taking its scope over the whole sentence. A further increase in terms of intersubjectification can be observed when *maxime* develops new illocutive and pragmatic functions proper to DMs (confirmative, adversative, and concessive), also marking the textual relationship between two discourse acts or the transition to a new discourse unit (*move*) at the interactional level. Since *maxime* shows an intermediate stage of grammaticalization at the proposition level before assuming a pragmatic function, pragmaticalization is here considered as not rigidly separated from grammaticalization, because the same lexical element may evolve toward new grammatical and pragmatic functions that coexist and influence each other within the 'sentence-discourse *continuum*' (cf. Diewald 2011; Degand & Simon-Vandenbergen 2011; Kroon 2011; Ghezzi 2014).

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Nunc age in Virgil: between colloquiality and poetic stylisation

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Virgilian poetry, even the epic one, presents interesting cases of artistic reuse of phenomena typical of living conversation. Among the colloquial traces best attested in Virgil's hexameter is the interjection *age/agite*, which is sometimes used as a discourse marker. The study would like to continue a research work projected in Beghini 2020 on colloquial Latin in the *Aeneid* and better defined in my speech at the *XXI International Colloquium of Latin Linguistics*, dedicated to the study of some collocations created by the interjection *age/agite* with conjunctions and adverbs. For these research projects I used a partly new method for studies on colloquial Latin, capable of combining a linguistic and stylistic approach with a pragmatic and sociolinguistic one. The analysis synergistically combines data belonging to the textual axis (lexicon, syntax, rhetoric, registers, and metrics) with those belonging to the extra-textual axis (setting, situation, "Stimmung", relationship between characters, proxemics, gestures, pragmatics, and politeness strategies). Using this method, I identified the forms of the artistic re-elaboration Virgil made on some collocations attested in colloquial Latin or in its artistic mimesis, i.e., in genres such as comedy, satire and lively Ciceronian prose.

Particularly interesting would now be an in-depth analysis of one collocation that has not yet been studied: *nunc age*. It appears 3 times in Virgilian poetry in contexts that have fixed characteristics. Therefore, the comparison with the uses of this collocation in the not only literary but also non-literary and unofficial *testimonia Latina* preceding and coeval with Virgil is expected to be fruitful. This will allow us to understand firstly whether *nunc age* was perceived as collocation already before Virgil or not, and secondly if it was drawn from the living spoken use or from the elevated literary language or, again, if it is the result of the poetic creation of the *vates*. Furthermore, the meanings assumed, and the functions performed by *nunc age* in the various contexts will be considered, with attention also to the relationship between these aspects and the linguistic register. These considerations will help to better understand Virgil's poetic art and will allow us to touch his profound linguistic sensitivity.

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L'expression de la sottise, du Latin au langues romanes. Question 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 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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LASLA-SynthIA, a new tool to study Latin Word Order: the case-study of the verb complements in the *Pro Roscio Amerino*

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In his Ph.D. (1977: 404) and in a paper presented at the 3rd International Colloquium of Latin Linguistics (1985: 518), F. Charpin claimed that Latin subordinate clauses (with the exception of the infinitive clause) are "frozen structures": "la phrase dépendante apparaît comme une structure figée où, à quelques variantes près, les éléments sont rangés selon un ordre identique et facilement repérable". More than ten years ago, the LASLA had already tried to challenge this affirmation by developing automatic ways to study word order. The project LatSynt was a first attempt to assess the claims of F. Charpin and specify the frequency and nature of "the few alternatives" ("les quelques alternatives") he reported: the research focused especially on the phenomena of prolepsis and appendage. This research has been based on the annotations of the lemmatized Latin texts of the LASLA database, in particular, the syntactical tags allowing locating easily all the subordinating words and the verbs they introduce. A limitation of this research was the fact that the standard LASLA files do not include labels for word syntactic functions or syntagmatic relations between words. Many years before, É. Évrard (1989), one of the founder of the LASLA, had pointed out the need of such labels and he had even designed an annotation system to this aim. Unfortunately, the LASLA never found the resources to implement this system and the Treebank available at the time of the project LatSynt were not compatible with the LASLA files (Longrée, D., Philippart de Foy C. & G. Purnelle, 2010a; 2010b; 2012).

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 is a UD Treebank of the *Pro Roscio Amerino*. The data has been systematically verified and allow to evaluate for this text the relevance of the assertions of Fr. Charpin and others (Panhuis D., 1982; Devine A. M. & Stephens . D., 2006; Spevak O., 2010). The annotations specify, inside a clause, the exact locations of its predicate, of the subject and of all verb complements. In this paper, we will precise which variations can be detected in the order of these syntactic components according to the clause type (main clauses, various subordinate

clauses). For instance, we will investigate which parameters can condition the postposition of the subject in a structure such as *Quoniam ad dicendum impedimento est aetas et pudor qui ornat aetatem...* (*Pro Roscio Amerino*, 149,4). We will also compare the results with the word order in non-predicative infinitive construction (for instance Gerundium constructions or non AcI Infinitive).

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Nasal presents in Latin between root, aspect and Aktionsart: a morpho-syntactic perspective

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Introduction and state of the art

A rich amount of literature has been devoted to analysing Latin verbal morphology within the framework of D(istributed) M(orphology), and more recently in a Nanosyntactic one (Embick 2000, Embick & Halle 2005; Calabrese 2016, 2020, Bjorkman 2011, Bertocci & Pinzin 2020 a.o.). Less research, however, have involved the formation of the present stems. In this paper, I want to address the nasal present formations, which, even if they have been largely studied in comparative and diachronic perspective, lack a discussion in formal terms.

Problem

Most of the literature have considered nasal morphology (labelled here as 'N') as an aspectual category since in the synchrony of Latin it forms the stem of the *infectum* (present stem). In DM literature, all the formative of the present stems are considered as V(ocabulary) I(tems) which spell out the aspectual feature [-perfective]. Words like (1):

(1) cant]$_{ROOT}$ Ø]$_{IMPF}$ -a]$_{TV}$-nt]$_{3PL}$
  věn]$_{ROOT}$ -ĭ]$_{IMPF}$ -u]$_{TV}$ -nt]$_{3PL}$
  iŭ-n]$_{IMPF}$ -g]$_{ROOT}$ -u]$_{TV}$ -nt]$_{3PL}$

then, would differ only in the V.I. they select for the imperfective feature, the former choosing no VI, the latter either the aspectual morphs /i/ or the infix /n/. This hypothesis, however, does not make predictions with respect to their status of infixes, and the degree of fusion with the root (2).
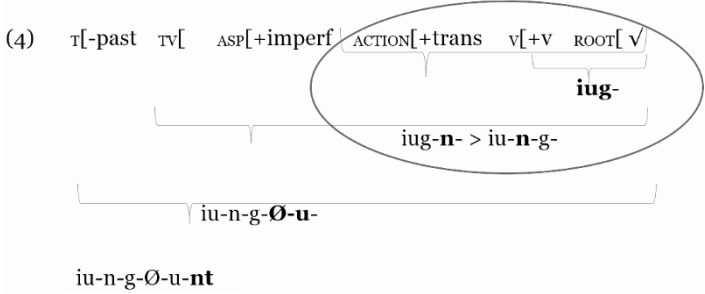
(2) fĭ-n-g-o [-*n*, infix] vs. cěr-n-o [-*n* suffix, although from PIE infix < *-*n(e)h₂*]
  iŭ-n-g-o à iŭnk-s-ī vs. (*tl̥-n-h₂-o >) tŏll-o à te-tŭl-ī

Conversely, in a comparative perspective focused on the Indo-European reconstruction (Lazzeroni 2004; Meiser 1993; Bertocci 2016 a.o.), nasal morphology is also associated to actional functions, related to transitivization and active Voice, mostly in reduction or contact verbs as in (3).

(3) Vedic *pūˊryate*/*pr̥ṇāˊti* ('is fulfilled'/'fulfils'), *bhinátti* 'breaks, bites', cf. Lat. *findō* 'I split', Old Irish *dinged* 'crushes, kneades', Greek *θιγγάνω* 'I touch, hold', cf. Lat. *fingō*

Proposal

I want to show that the interpretation of N as exponent for imperfective aspect is not satisfactory. My claim is that, exactly as in PIE, N in Latin spells out an actional layer of the morpho-syntactic structure related to transitivity, as in (4) for *iungunt* (with the Imperfective aspect crucially unmarked, the thematic vowel -*i/u*- conceived as an ornamental node related to it, and the present tense realized by the ending -*nt* together with the agreement properties, see Bertocci & Pinzin 2020).

(4) T[-past TV[ASP[+imperf ACTION[+trans v[+v ROOT[√

  iug-

  iug-**n**- > iu-**n**-g-

  iu-n-g-**Ø-u-**

  iu-n-g-Ø-u-**nt**

This hypothesis fits with the most relevant morphological properties of N:

1. It is coherent with the distribution with the thematic vowels -*ā* and -*ī*, if one treats them as related to agentive Voice. In particular, it explains:

(a) why N is never preceded by thematic elements (**iugano*): the actional projection related to N is higher than that associated to TVs, then containment (Bobaljik 2012, Caha 2009) holds;

(b) why N is never followed by the TVs -*ā* or -*ī*, unless a prefix is involved (*clinĕre* but *in-clināre*), leading to the derivation of a different lexical entity with different argument structure.

2. The 'deletion' of N in the perfect is independent from imperfective aspect: it is accounted for with an overflow pattern (Bjorkman 2011: actional features cannot be processed if an overt perfective layer is active) or through structural incompatibility (Bertocci & Pinzin 2021: the perfective morphs contain the actional layer).

3. The interaction of N with the roots is very specific, since it leads to the infixation (2) and to a kind of fusion of N with the root in the perfect (5), both *unica* in the Latin morphology:

(5) Lat. pres. iŭ-n-g-o à perf. iŭ-n-k-s-ī vs. Sanscrit pres. yŭ-nă-k-ti à aorist a-yauk-Ø-s-i-t

This would be hardly predictable if N would realize imperfective meaning, whereas it is unproblematic treating it as the spell out of an actional layer immediately local the v level (4).

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Ita / *sic* corrélatifs de complétives

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Il est généralement admis que *ita* et *sic* connaissent, outre leur emploi standard comme corrélatifs de différents types de propositions circonstancielles, un emploi assez rare comme cataphoriques de propositions complétives revêtant la forme d'un A.c.I., notamment après un *verbum sentiendi* ou *declarandi* (Kühner/Stegmann 1914 : 1, 719 ; 2, 572-3 ; Hofmann/Szantyr 1972 : 359 ; Lavency 2004 ; Pinkster 2021 : 35). Ainsi en :

Cic. *Cato* 78 : *Sic persuasi mihi, sic sentio, non posse eam naturam* [...] *esse mortalem;*
Cic. *fam.* 13,24,1 : *Ita enim scripsit ad me, sibi meam commendationem maximo adiumento fuisse,*

où *ita* et *sic* entrent en concurrence d'emploi avec le pronom neutre *id*, déictique textuel à l'accusatif, qui demande à être saturé par le contenu d'une proposition jouant le rôle d'argument ou d'actant par rapport à un noyau verbal.

À côté de ces exemples, où la construction infinitive ne laisse subsister aucun doute sur la nature de la subordonnée, *ita* et *sic* introduisent également des subordonnées au subjonctif, par ex. après le verbe *facio* (Panchón 2003 : 359) :

Plaut. *Poen.* 909 : *Ita di faxint ne apud lenonem hunc serviam !*
Plaut. *Mil.* 148–149 : […]*, eumque ita / Faciemus ut quod uiderit ne uiderit.* (voir aussi Plaut. *Most.* 389–390)

À condition qu'on admette dans le dernier exemple la figure de la prolepse, qui anticipe sous forme d'objet *(eum)* du verbe principal le sujet de la subordonnée, on peut se demander si la proposition en *(ut) ne* ne fonctionne pas, dans ces exemples également, comme complétive. Ceci impliquerait que, sur le modèle des infinitives citées plus haut, ces subordonnées conjonctives au subjonctif servent, malgré le relais adverbial *ita*, aussi de compléments essentiels à *facio*.

D'où le soupçon que *ita* et *sic* peuvent entrer en corrélation avec bien d'autres propositions complétives que les infinitives.

Cette idée, nous la mettrons à l'épreuve en recherchant dans des banques de données les occurrences de *ita* et *sic* diaphoriques entrant directement en séquence avec des verbes standard *interrogandi* et *imperandi* pour voir si ces adverbes peuvent relayer, en dehors de propositions déclaratives, aussi des propositions interrogatives ou volitives. Si tel est le cas, ces propositions revêtent-elles la forme de subordonnées complétives (figurant à une autre forme que l'A.c.I.) ou tendent-elles plutôt à garder, à l'intérieur d'un discours direct rapporté, le statut d'indépendantes ?

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Les emplois de la collocation *dum* + *interim*

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Les dictionnaires étymologiques des langues romanes (Meyer-Lübke, 1935) s'accordent à donner *dum interim* comme origine de esp. (*de*)*mientras*, it. (*do*)*mentre* et afr. (*en*)*dementres*. Les attestations latines sont très peu nombreuses (3 pour toute l'Antiquité d'après la base LLT, 8 d'après la base MGH). Si les renforcements cycliques des connecteurs sont bien documentés, ils prennent généralement la forme adverbe + conjonction (*tunc cum, interim quod*) plutôt que l'inverse. Cette collocation est donc en elle-même problématique. A cela s'ajoute que la valeur concessive des descendants romans n'apparaît pas dans les exemples latins relevés, qui ont une valeur temporelle.

Notre projet est de retracer l'évolution conduisant des structures à diptyque corrélatif *dum... interim/interim... dum...* à la collocation *interim dum*, puis à l'inversion *dum interim* :

(1a) **dum** quoquetur, **interim** potabimus (Plaut. *Men.* 214)
(1b) **interim** / meus oculus, da mihi suauium **dum** illic bibit (Plaut. *Stich.* 263-4)
(2) **interim dum** Mercurius vigilat, aedificavi hanc domum (Petr. *Sat.* 77,4)
(3) '*interea*', inquit, hoc est **dum interim** vacui a certamine sumus, nostros socios sepulturae mandemus (Donat. *interp. Virg.* 2,11)

Des évolutions de ce type sont bien connues (Herman 1963, Fagard 2011, Bodelot 2004). Nous nous appuierons sur les constructions voisines et/ou concurrentes : *dum* + *interea*, *interim* + *donec*, *quamdiu* et surtout sur celles qui présentent la double collocation, comme *simul ut/ut simul*. Pour expliquer le développement concessif de *dum interim* nous proposerons d'y voir un effet de la concurrence entre *cum* et *dum*.

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On Latin *nescioquis* "I don't know who" > "someone"

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Haspelmath (1997: 131) describes *nescioquis* as the source construction of the Romanian indefinite *neștine* "someone", although he does not include *nescioquis* later in his description of the Latin indefinite system (ibid. 253–256). In the same vein, if we look at the standard Latin lexicons, they usually describe this morphological formation as functioning as a fully-fledged indefinite (Lewis 1891[1991]: 535, OLD 1982 [2012]: 1291 and Gaffiot 1934 [2016]: 893). The same can be said of standard Latin grammars, which openly acknowledge the existence of such an indefinite. However, it is surprising – especially in the latest works on Latin indefinites (Álvarez Huerta 2009, Bertocchi et al. 2009, Bortolussi 2015, Gianollo 2018) – how little attention has been paid to this type of indefinite widely attested through Latin literature from the Republican into the Classical period. Thus, it seems rather evident that the indefinite *nescioquis* has been systematically neglected and,

consequently, excluded from typological discussion regarding its semantic role and syntactic distribution among Latin indefinites. Thus, in this paper I intend to fill that void by way of providing a full description of *nescioquis* and related indefinite adverbs, which, I believe, should be included in the typological discussion of Latin indefinites.

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Drawing the instrumental-comitative area: the semantic network of *co(-m/-n/-r/-l)-/cum* in Plautus

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This talk will describe the semantic network of the Early Latin preposition *cum* and its relation with the preverb *co(-m/-n/-r/-l)*. Although they individually received considerable attention, neither the relationship between preposition and preverb nor the relationship between the various senses included in their respective semantic networks has ever been systematically addressed.

Luraghi (2010: 79) described *cum* as expressing the semantic role "comitative" with human referents (Catull. 67,35–36: *sed de Postumio et Corneli narrat amore /* cum quibus *illa malum fecit adulterium* 'for she talks of the loves of Postumius and of Cornelius, with whom that one committed foul adultery') and non-prototypical comitatives with inanimate entities (Cic. *Catil.* 1,32: *obsidere* cum gladiis *curiam* 'besiege the Senate-house with swords'). Accompaniment extends to instruments in Late Latin (vs. the universality of Lakoff & Johnson's 1980 metaphor "an instrument is a companion"; Stoltz 1996).

The preverb conveys sociative/comitative meanings (*coadolesco* 'grow up together') and reciprocity/symmetry (*colloquor* 'talk each other'), intensifies the meaning of the verbal base or express completion (*concaleo* 'become thoroughly warm', *commuto* 'change entirely'). Furthermore, *co-* is a transitiviser (Hofmann, Szantyr 1965; Leumann 1975; Moussy 2005; Revuelta Puigdollers 2015; Zaliznjack, Shmelev 2007).

Based on cognitive grammar (Langacker 1991; Luraghi 2010), it will be argued that preverb and preposition share a basic semantics – the 'CUM relation', a functional universal according to Stoltz et al. 2006 – accounting for the entire set of concrete (e.g., comitative) and non-concrete (e.g., intensive) meanings they express. However, *co-/cum* instantiate the CUM-relation differently and diverse mechanisms are involved in the development of their semantic continua. Therefore, consistent with previous descriptions of preverbs and prepositions (e.g., Brucale, Mocciaro 2016), a

differentiated analysis is required, involving different grammaticalisation paths, as well as lexicalisation phenomena.

The analysis of the Plautin corpus, conducted on the Library of Latin Texts Online (LLT-A), allows us to trace the semantic maps of preposition and preverb in a specific phase of the language and to highlight the areas where they converge or diverge.

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Pragmatic function of repetition in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

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The proposed study focuses on the analysis of the pragmatic function that the repetition (in particular the polyptoton) presents in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The examples, obtained from a systematic reading and analysis, will be drawn, in particular, from the so-called Theban cycle (books III and IV) and from book VI of the poem. The only work in which the figures of repetition in Latin poetry are systematically analysed, according to a stylistic perspective, is that of Wills 1996. The analysis I propose combines the traditional research methods with the methodology of the pragmatics of communication, as elaborated by Watzlawick, Beavin, Jackson 1967. This method has been applied to classical Latin texts by L. Ricottilli and her school (cf. Ricottilli 2009a), in dialogical situations in which verbal and non-verbal communication is at stake (cf. Ricottilli 2000; 2009b; Calabrese 2019; see also Ricottilli 2021; Raccanelli 2021; Calabrese 2021). I also extended the application of the method to the strategies through which identity is communicated and expressed (cf. Calabrese 2017).

From a preliminary investigation, which nevertheless requires to be deepened, it appears that Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* makes a particularly extensive use of the polyptoton in the description of the actual metamorphic moment. This will, therefore, be the first context of a research aimed at identifying the role that repetition plays in defining the character's new identity, which can be in contrast, but can also present elements of continuity, compared to the previous identity. The second context of the research will focus on the dialogue between or among characters, with the aim of

understanding what role repetition plays in defining one's own identity and that of the interlocutor, and therefore in the definition of the relationship.

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Particolarità lessicali nel glossario degli *Hermeneumata Celtis*

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Il contributo propone l'indagine di alcune particolarità lessicali riconducibili al latino volgare, quali i sostantivi *anniculus*, 'agnello' (in *ThlL* 2, 109, s. v., solo aggettivo, indicante persona, animale o cosa 'di un anno') e *quaglum*, 'caglio' (*ThlL* 3, 1380,5-6, s. v. *coagulum*, registra la variante grafica *quagulum*).

Le due forme sono supposte dagli esiti romanzi e/o conoscono attestazioni medievali, ma non erano finora documentate nelle fonti antiche. Se ne segnala dunque l'occorrenza in sezioni del glossario latino-greco dei cosiddetti *Hermeneumata Celtis* recentemente edite sul portale *Onomastikón* (onomastikon.altervista.org).

Gli *Hermeneumata Celtis*, costituiti da un *colloquium* e da un glossario e risalenti alla tarda antichità, sono tramandati unicamente dal cod. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek suppl. Gr. 43. Essi furono trascritti nel 1495 dall'umanista Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) sulla base di un antigrafo all'epoca conservato presso la biblioteca dell'abbazia benedettina di Sponheim, in Germania, e oggi purtroppo perduto.

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Verbs in *-sc-* between inflection and derivation. Lexicographic representation and theoretical issues

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Verbs in *-sc-* (e.g. *calesco*) have been studied extensively in Latin linguistics, in particular with regard to their semantics (cf. Haverling 2000) and derivational history (cf. Budassi et al. 2020). In this talk, we are going to focus on a topic that has received much less attention, namely their relevance in the context of the debate on the distinction between inflection and derivation, and whether there is a dichotomy or continuum between the two (cf. among else Bybee 1985, Anderson 1992, Booij 1993, Haspelmath 1996).

Our starting point is the treatment of *-sc-* verbs in digital resources. In the database of the morphological analyser LEMLAT (Passarotti et al. 2017), the treatment is not homogeneous: for

instance, *clareo* 'shine' and *claresco* 'grow bright' are assigned the same identifier – as if they were different forms of the same lexeme; conversely, *luceo* 'glow' and *lucesco* 'begin to shine' have different identifiers. This difference is grounded in the attestation of *perfectum* forms in lexicographic sources: the first choice is made when the same *perfectum* form (e.g. *clarui*) is listed for both verbs, the second one when a *perfectum* form is recorded only for one of them (e.g. *luxi* for *luceo*). On the other hand, in the LiLa Knowledge Base (Passarotti et al. 2020) the treatment is uniform: all *-sc-* verbs constitute different lemmas than the related verbs without *-sc-*. This appears to be more consistent with the lexicographic tradition, where each has its own entry.

However, it is never the case that a *-sc-* verb and the corresponding non *-sc-* verb show different *perfectum* forms: either one or both of them are defective, or they share the same *perfectum* forms. This is a peculiar pattern that seems to point in the direction of a treatment where *-sc-* forms are considered to belong to inflection rather than derivation: we would have a single lexeme, with its *perfectum* forms, and two sets of *infectum* forms, one with *-sc-* and the other without it. Indeed, from a semantic standpoint, the function of the *-sc-* suffix appears to be related more to aspect than to *Aktionsart* (cf. Haverling 2000: §6.2, p. 456), and aspect is a property that is often an integral part of the inflectional system in many languages – Russian being a notable example. Therefore, it is not surprising that *-sc-* verbs might be taken to be placed in an intermediate position in the inflection-derivation continuum.

In this talk, we will investigate the behavior of *perfectum* forms related to *-sc-* verbs and/or to their counterparts without *-sc-*. In particular, we will try to provide a solution to the question whether a given *perfectum* form should be considered to pertain a) to a *-sc-* verb, or b) to its non *-sc-* counterpart, or c) to both, without relying exclusively on lexicographic data, that might be biased by formal similarities and traditional practices. We will also evaluate the consequences of the two concurring lexicographic representations, i.e. assigning forms in *-sc-* either to inflection or derivation.

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Lost in alliteration: a diachronic study of Latin sources

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What is alliteration? This question is apparently simple but poses actually a series of challenges when it comes to formulating a straightforward definition. As noticed by Traina (1977, 128): "nessuna figura di suono ha avuto definizioni e applicazioni così late, da includere praticamente tutte le altre". Examining the definitions in some of the most relevant publications, one finds slight or significant differences in terms of the nature of the sound (vocalic, consonant, syllabic or phoneme), its position (at the beginning, in the middle or at the end), the number of words involved and the distance between them. It goes without saying that carrying out an analysis of alliteration in a literary text requires the setting of strict boundaries to avoid including a significant number of false positives.

The study takes into consideration the Latin definitions of *parhomoeon* from the 1st century BC to the 7th century. Along with this figure of sound, it is necessary to consider homoeoteleuton and homoeoptoton because they all share the repetition of a segment, and they sometimes overlap. The investigation allows diachronic observation of the different problems that characterised these three figures of sound and try to offer a basis for comparison with modern definitions. During this presentation, I will display an overview of the many definitions, grouping them according to similarities and differences and underlining some relevant ecdotic problems.

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Extragrammaticality and neoformations in Petronius' linguistic exaggeration: from *nesapus* to *gaudimonium*

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Our research aims to highlight the tropic expressions with stylistic relevance of Petronius' language, especially in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, (*Satyricon*, § 26,7 – § 78,8), analyzed in their particular linguistic components that show the use of strategies today defined as extragrammaticality and neoformations. The aim of the work is to enucleate the morphological, syntactic and even semantic components that had the function of exaggerating the *vis comica* of Petronian characters and situations. Furthermore, the investigation allows us to identify linguistic means such as composition, suffixation, locutions "generic verb + specific noun", syntactic uses and parataxis, which are on the border or in contact with rhetorical strategies (e.g. the combination of irony with particular personal names). The goal is to verify if the author favored certain linguistic, morphological, syntactic or

semantic strategies, in the construction of a particular rhetorical figure. In terms of "extragrammatical" morphology, which uses univerbations, serial constructions, a morphology that uses suffixoids, a particular use of composition, which can be extended to the contamination of non-canonical use of cases and prepositions, of periphrastic forms, we can cite the following examples:

Morphology:

Sat. 61,3: *gaudimonio* (*gaudimonium)* by analogy to *tristimonium*, *matrimonium*

Sat. 58,3 and 74,17: *depraesentiarum* (cf. also *impraesentiarum*): the adverb arises from the lexicalization of the phrase *in praesentia rerum* as univerbation

Sat., 50,5: *et ne me putetis nesapium esse…*, where Trimalchio uses the compound *nesapius* with the meaning of "ignorant, idiot" (cf. TERENT. SCAUR., *G.L.K.,* 7,12,4: "*nesapus, qui non sapit*").

In antiphrastic or ironic meaning, such as *bellus* (*Sat.* 42,3), *audaculum* (*Sat.* 63,5), *sponsiunculam* (*Sat.* 58,8), *cerebellum* (*Sat.* 76,1).

Euphemism and suffixation: *homuncio*, *Sat.* 34,7; 37,10; 56,2: 66,6.

Euphemism and Nominal Composition: The comic combination of nominal composition and euphemistic trope has been achieved frequently, in cases such as: *bacciballum* (*Sat.* 61,6).

Syntax:

Sat. 56,7: *circumferri coeperunt pittacia,* "tickets began to be put into circulation"

Sat. 61,2: *usu venit = accidit*

Sat. 73,5: *in solio descendere* "go down to the door"

Sat. 71,10: *sibi suaviter facientem* "enjoy it blissfully"

Sat. 61,9: *per scutum, per ocream, egi arginavi* "I got busy and hurried, using shield and greave"

Sat. 71,11: *velit nolit*, "Willy-nilly"

Sat. 71, 9: *Scis enim quod epulum dedi* (*Scio quod*)

Sat. 47,9: *ego putabam petauristarios intrasse* (uses of tense and mood)

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On the phonological structure of verb stems

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This paper examines a hitherto unnoticed gap in the distribution of the most frequent consonant cluster, [nt], in Classical Latin. To wit, this cluster is never found at the end of verb (infectum or perfectum) stems. While the incidence of consonant clusters in any particular environment does not, and is not expected to, necessarily mirror their incidence in the language in general, the absence of [nt] in this position is remarkable for a variety of reasons (involving incidence, distribution, etymology) to be discussed in detail in the paper. We shall argue that this gap is not of the accidental kind: it has a functional motivation in the fact that [nt] is the only consonant cluster in Latin that has a clear morphological function as the exponent of 3Plur.

While overlaps and ambiguities arising among the phonological forms of morphological markers, or of stems, have been extensively studied (e.g. Bertram et al 2000a, 2000b, Baayen et al. 2002, Baerman 2011, Sauerland & Bobaljik 2013, Kaplan & Muratain 2015), similar overlaps and ambiguities arising between the phonological form of stems and affixes have not (with notable exceptions such as Plag et al. 2015). This paper thus represents the results of a preliminary investigation into these phenomena.

We argue that in Latin the absence of [nt] from stem-final position represents a case of syntagmatic pressure to avoid repeating the same sequence at too close an interval. The absence of sequences identical to the other two polysegmental verbal endings -*mus* (*-*mos*) and -*tis* (*-*tes*) – with a negligible number of easily explicable exceptions – may be seen as corroborating evidence for this functionally motivated gap.

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Relative comparatives without an explicit standard

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The paper will deal with relative comparatives (of both adjectives and adverbs) which are not accompanied by an explicit standard (in the form of an ablative of comparison or *quam* + noun phrase). I will claim – in contrast to what is implied in CUZZOLIN (2011: 552) – that not every comparative without an explicit standard (ES) is absolute. It will be shown that, in fact, in selected works of Classical authors of the first century BCE (Cicero, Caesar, Lucretius, and Ovid), the relative comparatives more often than not have an implicit standard. Building on the remarks in KÜHNER – STEGMANN (1955: 475–477) and CTIBOR (2021), I will show under which circumstances the standard of a relative comparative typically remains implicit (e.g. when it is easily recoverable from the context, situation, or cultural encyclopedia; when the speakers compare the change of quality over time or the difference between the quality in [what they see as] the actual and hypothetical universes; in the instances of the so-called partitive or determinative comparative, etc.). Cf. examples (1)–(5):

(1) Standard recoverable from the previous context: *Mars quoque deprensus fabrilia vincula sensit; /* **NOTIOR** *in caelo fabula nulla fuit.* (Ov. *am.* 1,9,39-40)

(2) Change of quality over time: *Quae res in dies* **CONFIRMATIOREM** *eius exercitum efficiebat.* (Caes. *civ.* 3,84)

(3) Comparison with hypothetical universe: *Id hoc* **FACILIUS** *iis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur.* (Caes. *Gall.* 1,2,3)

(4) Determinative comparative: *Postridie eius diei Caesar praesidio* <u>utrisque castris</u> *quod satis esse visum est reliquit, alarios omnes in conspectu hostium* **PRO CASTRIS MINORIBUS** *constituit.* (Caes. *Gall.* 1,51,1)

(5) Questions with *uter*: *Sed* <u>uter vestrum</u> *est* **CELERIOR***?* (Pl. *aul.* 321)

The paper will also present statistics on how frequent these types of relative comparatives without an ES are in selected texts of Cicero and other classical authors and how frequent is the truly absolute comparative (a term, which, in fact, needs some serious redefinition).

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The Aspectual Reference of the Present Participle in the Vulgate and the Vetus Latina

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The present contribution takes a fresh look upon the use of the present participle in the books of Genesis and Exodus in the Vulgate and the Vetus Latina. Previous studies of the use of the present participle in the Vulgate version of Genesis and Exodus have shown that it most frequently corresponds to the so-called consecutive imperfect in the Hebrew Masoretic text. Given that the consecutive imperfect is the most frequently used verbal category in narratives in Biblical Hebrew (cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990), it is reasonable to conclude that the present participle has developed into an aspectually neutral category in Late Latin (cf. Dahl forthcoming). Although it remains controversial whether a distinct category of neutral aspect exists (cf., e.g., Altshuler 2013, 2014, Dahl 2020), a substantial body of evidence shows that semantically specific aspect categories like progressives tend to acquire more general meanings over time, sometimes resulting in the apparent loss of aspect distinctions (cf., e.g., Bybee et al. 1994, Dahl 2020). This paper sets out to examine this development in some detail, based on a comparative study of the use of the present participle in the Vetus Latina and Vulgate versions of the Genesis and Exodus. Preliminary explorations suggest that the manuscripts constituting the corpus of the Vetus Latina are more restrictive in their use of the present participle to render the consecutive imperfect than the Vulgate. One aim of the present paper is to establish whether the difference between the two translations as regards the use of the present participle in this type of context is statistically significant or not, drawing on the chi-square test and the Fisher exact test. If this turns out to be the case, another important goal of this project is to establish whether and to what extent such differences are correlated with the lexical semantic properties of verbal predicates, drawing on the analytical framework developed in Dahl (2010). Here too, a quantitative analysis will be carried out in order to establish whether any statistically significant tendencies can be established in the available data. The results will be of great importance for understanding the details in the development of the Latin present participle in post-classical stages of the language.

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Virtus in technical treatises: meanings, values and uses

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The word *virtus*, used in a technical way, appears in many authors and over a fairly long period of time: in this paper are presented the evidences from 1st c. to 6th c. CE. *Virtus* refers to many domains, e. g. health, nature, science, medicine, veterinary science and architecture. It has a very common use and several meanings, depending not only on the field but also on the noun it refers to.

   In this essay numerous examples of different values and meanings of *virtus* are discussed, taking into account the difference between literal and metaphorical meaning. The literal meaning (*virtus* as value, quality) is very frequent and usually referred to natural elements both from a physical point of view and with regard to their characteristics. Among the meanings of *virtus*, both literal and metaphoric, it is possible to note a first distinction between singular and plural: in some authors and in some fields, the word is present only in one or in the other form. In medical and veterinary works, for example, only the singular is attested, in the meaning of "power" referred to medicine and remedies.

   Virtus appears only in the singular form also in Anthimus' *Epistula de observatione ciborum*, a text which combines information about food with dietetic and health advices given by a doctor and therefore can be considered halfway between a culinary and a medical work. Anthimus uses three times the name *virtus* both directly referred to some food and to his effects from the medical point of view. This paper will show the different value of the word in the *Epistula* as compared to other technical treatises.

   A further point which will be discussed is the semantic and pragmatic correlation between *vis* and *virtus*. It is particularly important to understand the use of these two words, the influence that *vis* could have had on *virtus* and the semantic evolution of *virtus*, as suggested by Adams (1995) from "manliness, courage" to "physical strength" and finally to "strength, efficacy" (about this passage, cf. also Balmaceda 2017).

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Thoughts on studying word order in Plautus

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Most studies of Latin word order ignore verse because of the undeniable influence that metre has on word order patterns. At best, grammars point out special patterns, such as Adj.1 – Adj.2 – Noun1 – Noun2 ('golden line'). However, a description of word order cannot be complete if it fails to take verse

into account; verse may not necessarily show us which patterns were normal, but it can show us which ones were possible.

Plautine comedy is an exciting corpus for the study of word order: not only are we dealing with dialogue, but most of his metres, and especially the iambo-trochaic ones, are also much more flexible than classical hexameters or Horatian verse. Metre clearly affects word order in Plautus, who uses *mea causa* in most positions, but has to resort to *causa mea* at line end. However, it is interesting to examine how large metrical influence is, and to what extent syntax, semantics, and pragmatics determine word order.

In a previous study (de Melo 2010), I examined possessive pronouns in Plautus; possessive pronouns offer a number of benefits to the student of word order: simple semantics and straightforward pragmatics (focal if contrastive, non-focal otherwise), but also a reasonable amount of metrical variety. The conclusion I reached was that metre has some influence on the position of possessives in Plautus, but that this influence is moderate. I distinguished between pre-modifier hyperbaton (position 1), placement directly before the head noun (position 2), placement directly after the head noun (position 3), and post-modifier hyperbaton (position 4). Metre leads to a substantial increase of hyperbaton (positions 1 and 4) when we compare Plautus with contemporary prose. However, the most important factor in the placement of the pronouns is focality: focality does not fully predict where a modifier goes, but focal elements are most likely to be in position 1, less likely to be in position 2, and so on.

At the International Colloquium, I want to expand my research and examine other elements of the noun phrase, especially the placement of adjectives and genitives. I intend to show to what extent we can use my previous methodologies for other modifiers and to what extent they need to be changed. And I plan to show how the principles involved in the placement of other modifiers differ from those I discovered for possessive pronouns.

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Gli *exempla ficta* nei grammatici latini

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Le grammatiche latine tardoantiche esemplificano le varie questioni grammaticali e linguistiche affrontate con una molteplicità di esemplificazioni, che sono per lo più tratte da testi letterari, sia poetici che prosastici, di *auctores* considerati come modelli linguistici oppure presi in considerazione per le loro particolarità linguistiche e grammaticali. Accanto agli esempi letterari esiste però una più ridotta ma comunque significativa serie di *exempla ficta*, che vengono di norma introdotti con una modalità più ridotta e specifica; su questa tipologia di esempi ci sono al momento pochi studi dedicati (BARATIN 2012, MUNZI 2011), anche se il tema viene poi toccato in vari altri lavori che riguardano alcune specifiche questioni, specialmente in relazione ad autori che usano gli exempla ficta con una certa abbondanza (Prisciano, Pompeo e altri).

Il presente contributo intende affrontare una serie di questioni specifiche, attraverso l'esame di alcuni esempi significativi che possono fungere da *case studies*. In primo luogo la tipologia e la modalità di costruzione di questo genere di esempi e in secondo luogo il loro rapporto con eventuali

modelli letterari, che possono avere fornito spunto per modifiche che finiscono per trasformare la citazione letteraria in un *exemplum fictum*. Quest'ultima tipologia si può in particolare riscontrare in esempi fittizi di natura metrica, che in vari casi presuppongono un modello letterario rielaborato. Un ultimo campo di indagine è la funzione che questa tipologia di esempi ha avuto nelle modalità di insegnamento in aula e nelle prassi scolastiche che si possono ricostruire dalle opere grammaticali tardoantiche.

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Shades of authority in the Latin language. A genre-based investigation

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Deontic modality is a broad semantic domain. While it is traditionally associated with the notions of permission and obligation (cf., e.g., Palmer 2001: 10), recent approaches suggest a more varied picture. In fact, the deontic domain can also be conceived in terms of the degree of (moral) desirability of the modalised state of affairs (henceforth SoA), as shown by Nuyts (2016: 36), or in terms of right and wrong with reference to some system of rules (Portner 2009: 2). On the other hand, there is a fair number of notions close to obligation and permission such as interdiction and advice (cf. already Lyons 1977: 823–831). The aim of this paper is to investigate the interaction between deontic notions and their expressions in various Latin genres with a focus on the construction and negotiation of authority.

The approach is corpus-based. The dataset consists of two annotated sub-corpora from the WoPoss corpus, a searchable corpus set up with the goal of investigating lexical and morphological (adjectival; i.e., the adjectival suffixes *-bilis*, *-ndus* and *-turus*) modality in the history of the Latin language (Dell'Oro 2022). The WoPoss corpus is annotated on multiple linguistic layers, including morphology and semantics of the modal passages. In this paper, the lexical perspective will be

combined with the inflectional one, by adding moods to the investigation. The first sub-corpus consists of works which address their readers in order to instruct them in practical matters, such as Cato's *De agri cultura*, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Tertullian's *De spectaculis*, *Regula Benedicti*. The second sub-corpus contains narrative works, not intended to directly transmit how-to-do/how-to-behave-knowledge, but in which various expressions of deontic modality can also appear, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Petronius' *Satyricon*, *Historia Apollonii*, the *Dialogi* of Gregory I. The two sub-corpora will be compared in order to evaluate the relative frequencies of deontic constructions and the distributions of deontic modality types.

After providing an overview of the results of the corpus analysis, a detailed analysis of the texts is offered in order to formulate and discuss some hypotheses in relation to specific genres inside the first sub-corpus: how and why the expression of deontic modality is modulated (e.g., mitigating or boosting authority; cf. Caffi 2007)? In answering this question, the author's stance, the public and the historical linguistic stage will be also taken into account.

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Latin blues: A corpus-based investigation of *caeruleus*

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The paper will cast light on diachronic and functional trends of the use of the colour term *caerul(e)us*, from its first attestations onward. Since the term has been classified in the analyses of Latin colour vocabulary as an emergent Basic Colour Term (Berlin and Kay 1969) – covering various parts of the areas nowadays comprised by "blue", "green", "white", or "black" (André 1949: 162–185, Baran 1983: 366–367, *ThLL, s.v. caeruleus, caerulus*) – the state of the research will be surveyed and supplemented by corpus data.

The prevalence of various chromatic meanings – including metaphorical and symbolic extensions – of the term across genres and periods will be examined. Furthermore, the objects it used to describe throughout history and its phraseological potential will be identified. An attempt will be made to use corpus data to verify the well-known fact about the colour term *caerul(e)us*, namely that during the ancient period its meaning shifted from light blue towards black and green under a Greek influence (Kristol 1980: 138). The results of the analysis will help us determine the extent to which the term had indeed become a fully established Basic Colour Term before disappearing in late antiquity. Finally, using the theory of prototypes, a semantic network for *caeruleus* will be proposed, based on a composite chromatic and non-chromatic central meaning of the word (Clarke 2004).

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What Makes a Greek Word Latin? Problems of Method at the TLL and Possible Solutions

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The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (TLL) proposes to be the definitive lexicon of all extant words of ancient Latin. But ancient authors writing in Latin used many words that are not straightforwardly Latin but are instead borrowed, more or less directly, from other ancient languages, especially Greek. Since Greek words appear in Latin texts in different forms (e.g. as one-off code-switches or as established loanwords) and exhibit different types and degrees of integration into the target language (e.g. graphemic, morphological, and semantic), what criteria do the TLL use in deciding which lemmata to include and which to exclude? Conversely, what kinds of Latin words do we find only in Greek texts and are these, in fact, part of the 'Latin language' or do they rather fall in the ambit of a Greek lexicon? We seek to answer such questions concerning the lexicographical methodology of the TLL with both descriptive and prescriptive analysis, offering some possible solutions but by no means deriving a hard-and-fast rule for issues of bilingualism.

Using the online database (De Gruyter), we search the TLL for several species of Graeco-Latin lemma. These include Greek words occurring in Greek script in Latin texts (Type A); Greek words transliterated into Latin script (Type B); Greek words appearing in Latin script and adapted to Latin phonology and/or morphology (Type C); Latin words recorded only in Greek script (Type D). These types of lemmata are ambiguous in their status as either Greek or Latin, raising a number of questions for Latin lexicography, such as:

- If a Greek word, or word form, is only attested in a Latin text, should the TLL include it by default?
- If the Greek word form is integrated into Latin derivational morphology does this make it a Latin word and therefore put it in the ambit of the TLL?
- If the word is repeatedly used or only a limited amount of times, does this affect whether the Gk word is included in the TLL or not?
- If the word is explicitly signalled as a loan-word (*Fremdwort*) by the author (e.g. by glossing or marking of its foreign character) does that militate against its inclusion in the TLL?
- What kinds of Latin words are mainly found in Greek script (e.g. legal terms, loan-blends, compound words)?

In response to these questions, we propose and weigh different solutions, including:

- Only loan-blends (*Lehnwörter*), containing Latin morphological adaptation and therefore naturalized to an extent, should be seen as part of the Latin lexicon, while unintegrated loan-words (*Fremdwörter*) should be considered Greek.
- Only lemmata that are attested multiple times in different authors can be seen as being part of the Latin language.
- Code-switches, which are only attested in contexts where the author expressly marks their foreign character and where a Latin equivalent is given, cannot be considered Latin and should not be included in the TLL.

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Latin *i*-stem adjectives

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Scholars have been dubious about *i*-stem adjective formation in Proto-Indo-European because it is not possible to reconstruct many word equations across branches, there are basically only Ved. *hári-* 'golden yellow': Av. *zairi-* 'tawny', and Gr. *ídris* (< *wid-ri-*) 'experienced': ON *vitr* 'knowledgeable'.

Even in the absence of many word equations, it is possible to identify two distinct derivational processes that created *i*-stem adjectives in Proto-Indo-European: nominalization and readjectivalization of original thematic forms, and *vrddhi* formation. These two processes are parallel and frequent enough in the daughter languages that they should give us confidence that the proto-language did have a category of *i*-stem adjectives.

As it is widely known, *i*-stem compound adjectives are very common in Latin, e.g. *imberbis* 'having beard' : *in-* plus *barba* 'beard'; *īn-fāmis* 'of ill-repute' : *in-* plus *fāma* 'rumor'; *prō-clīvis* 'downhill' : *prō-* plus *clīvus* 'slope' (cf. Bader 1962, Balles 2009). However, in this paper I will primarily focus on simplex adjectives, which are also present in Latin, although not as numerous.

I will show that simplex *i*-stem adjectives in Latin, like in other Indo-European branches, originate almost exclusively from the two processes mentioned before.

About the first process, the nominalization and readjectivalization of original thematic forms, was first observed by Schindler (1980: 390) and expanded by Nussbaum (2014, 1999). Nussbaum's crucial observation was that *i*-stem nominalization can have two different semantic readings: it can be an abstract, or an "instantive". Nussbaum further proposes that the common denominator behind these two readings is definiteness, and that the instantive reading was potentially likely to be reanalysed as an adjective. As I will show in this paper, the nominalization and readjectivalization of original *o*-stems is the most common process to derive *i*-stem adjectives in Latin, e.g. Lat. *fortis* 'strong' *vs FORCTUS*, Lat. *suāvis* 'sweet' *vs* Ved. *svādú-* 'sweet'. I could gather and analyze 34 simplex adjectives in this category.

The other possible process of creating *i*-stem adjectives is by a *vrddhi* derivation, traditionally defined as the formation of adjectives derived from a base (typically a noun), with the insertion of an increased ablaut grade in the root and the addition of a derivational suffix, either -*o*- or -*i*-. They usually have genitival meaning, i.e. 'of' or 'belonging to'. In this paper I will only discuss *vrddhi* with the derivational suffix * -*i*- (barytone) (cf. Debrunner: 1954: 303–304). This process is rarer than the previous one, and there are only two undeniable cases that I could find of *i*-stem *vrddhi* in latin, e.g. *ācer* 'sharp' ← *akro*- (cf. Gr. *akró*-), *sācer* 'sacred', 'cursed' ← *sakro*.

Besides the adjectives mentioned, there are several other *i*-stems with the suffix -*bilis/-lis*, with the suffix -*aris*, and the suffix -*ēnsis*, which have very specific semantic and usage.

By an etymological and morphological analysis of all Latin *i*-stem adjectives, I hope to show that Latin follows the processes mentioned above; and present some interesting etymological analyses of some adjectives.

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Enantiosemia in Latin: the case of lexemes suffixed with -*ōsus*

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Ancient literature has often been pointed out as defining the place of ambiguities in the negative, especially in a rhetorical approach (Aristotle, Quintilian). Yet ambiguity, both lexical and grammatical, exists indeed and is even central to some writing. Latin speakers have thus questioned cases of ambiguity in their language: for instance, Aulus Gellius gives an account of it in his Attic Nights (IV, 9, 12; IX, 12, 1), where he takes up and inflects in particular the thought of Nigidius Figulus on words in -*ōsus*. Starting from the two passages of Gellius cited above, we will try to analyse the 'Janus words' –or internal antonyms– identifiable in the Latinity of the second century AD, while considering that examples cited by Gellius also refer to earlier states of Latinity. Hence, the aim is to grasp the synchronic perception of learned speakers of Latin regarding these particular cases that summon two opposite orientations for the same morpheme -*ōsus*: noteworthy, positive vs. negative for *religiōsus* (IV, 9, 12) and diathetical for *invidiōsus* (*qui invidet* and *qui invidetur*). The axiological opposition appears to be motivated by the synchronic perception of an intensive signifier of the morpheme -*ōsus*, where this degree seems to be actualisable in good part or bad part, or even jointly in both argumentative scales.

Using this particular example, the theoretical approach proposed in Roman antiquity to cases of enantiosemia or 'Janus words' will be discussed, to see to what extent they do indeed appear as internal antonyms or not, and to what extent they may seem to constitute a special case of lexical ambiguity.

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On "Word-formation models" in Late Antique and Neo-Latin School Grammar

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One of the possible ways of classification of derived and compound lexemes in linguistics (both historical-comparative and synchronic) is classification according to semantic types and within them further according to word-formation models (cf. "Semantische Muster", e.g., *nomen agentis* and "Wortbildungsmuster", e.g. *PFv-tor, toris, masculinum* in Luhr 2008, p. VI and 147). In the works of ancient grammarians, a classification of groups of lexemes is recorded, which can be described as "word-formation models" in their historical rudiments. This classification was built on formal or semantic properties of the lexemes (Luhtala 2002: 41, 42). Within the framework of word-and-accident model as a general model of explaining lexical-semantic, derivational, and inflectional properties of word classes in late antique Latin grammar, these classifications are described under the *species* (Priscianus)/*qualitas* (Donatus) and *figura* accidents. Although Neo-Latin grammarians adhered to their ancient ancestors (the traditional "word-formation models" were maintained in Neo-Latin school grammars until the 19th century), they nevertheless disputed them at least to some extent.

The presented paper compares how these "word-formation models" were defined in late antique and neo-Latin school grammars. A typology of the definitions of these models is also presented, as well as a description of the formal, semantic, and functional criteria applied in them.

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Patientive *eh₁-formations in Latin: Origin, Function and Restrictional Tendencies

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Latin displays a number of synchronically stative presents in *-eh₁* (Leumann 1977:552–55), which at an earlier stage must have constituted patientive formations. By comparing the prototypical lexical aspect and argument structure of the corresponding Proto-Indo-European roots with that of the attested *eh₁*-states in Latin, the following pattern may be observed:

clueo[INTRANS], 'to be known (as)', √*ḱleu̯-[TRANS], 'to hear'.

iaceo[INTRANS], 'to lie', √*Hi̯eh₂-(k)-[TRANS], 'to throw'.

rigeo[INTRANS], 'to be stiff', √*reig´-[TRANS], 'to stretch'.

stupeo[INTRANS], 'to be stunned', √*(s)teu̯p-[TRANS], 'to hit'.

While *-eh₁* likely originated as an instrumental singular case ending (of a Caland root noun) and was reinterpreted as a verbal suffix (employed to derive states) only at a later stage of the protolanguage (Jasanoff 1978), it could also be used to derive patientives in other branches of the language family. In Greek, the suffix *-eh₁* was readily employed both to derive passive aorists of different types and stative presents, e.g. ἐτύπην, 'was struck', and ἀλγέω, 'to suffer' respectively (cf. Schwyzer 1939: 758–760, Chantraine 1961: 319–322, Rix 1992: 218).

However, judging by pairs such as *iacio*, 'to throw' – *iaceo*, 'to lie', and *pendo*, 'to hang[TRANS]' – *pendeo*, 'to hang[INTRANS]', this derivational process must furthermore have lost its productivity in the prehistory of Latin.

While it is clear that such patientive formations could only have been derived from prototypically transitive roots or bases, it is surprising to find that the argument structure of transitive roots such as *gʰeh₁bʰ-*, 'to take' (< *habeo*, 'to hold'), *ten-*, 'to stretch' (< *teneo*, 'to hold'), and *uei̯d-*, 'to see' (< *video*, 'id.') remained unaffected by this derivational process.

It seems likely that the prototypical semantics of a given root or base determined whether a formation in *-eh₁* would be interpreted as stative or patientive and the purpose of this paper is thus to delineate the underlying reasons behind this semantic process and to explore the restrictional tendencies on which it was contingent.

Primarily, the main issue seems to be whether the semantic content of a prototypically eventive root could be interpreted as a (resultative) state, a state of affairs perhaps comparable to the restrictional tendencies affecting the productivity of the nactostatic perfect (Kümmel 2000: 66–68) in early Indo-Iranian and likely already in Proto-Indo-European. In some cases, it even seems possible that the present in *-eh₁* has replaced an earlier presentic perfect.

On the other hand, the position of a given root on the transitivity hierarchy also seems to have had a bearing upon whether a patientive or stative formation was possible, such as in the case of *video*, 'to see'. As a perception verb, it belonged to the lower end of the hierarchy (cf. Meiser 1993: 299), which likely blocked a patientive interpretation.

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Formulaic language in non-literary texts: computational approaches

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In this paper, we will investigate the definition and identification of formulaic expressions in Latin non-literary texts. First, we will discuss how to define the concept of formulaicity, especially in prose texts; hence, we will propose a methodology for retrieval based on two case studies.

Based on Parry 1981, Netz 2003 has identified three features that distinguish recurrent sequences: they are "regularly used" (frequent) and/or "markedly repetitive" (more frequent in one specific text than in others) and/or "semantically marked" (they replace equivalent expressions). According to Netz, a sequence can be considered formulaic if at least one of the two last conditions is met. Recent studies have also focused on identifying textual recurrent patterns playing a specific role in the structure of the text (Longrée and Mellet 2013). Based on these and other previous works, we will attempt to formalize the features that mark a linguistic unit as formulaic and translate them in terms of statistical/quantitative observations that can be extrapolated with the use of digital corpus analysis.

In the second part of the talk, we will verify the applicability of such criteria by proposing two case studies, scientific (mathematical and astronomical) and epigraphic (funerary) texts.

In fact, the first studies of Ancient Greek scientific and technical texts highlight their high degree of repetition and lexical specialization (Heath 1897). The scholarship on Latin scientific and technical texts does not tackle, to the best of our knowledge, the question of formulaicity in a systematic manner, but the analysis of specific studies shows the strong link between the definition of *formulae* and the type of texts in which they are found. For example, in the *Naturalis Historia* by Pliny the Elder, we regularly find complex expressions such as <negation + comparative adjective/adverb + *partibus* + numeral> (to indicate the maximum distance between celestial bodies, Fantoli 2020), whereas in Lucretius' *De rerum natura* even the repetition, in specific metrical positions, of adverbial phrases such as *consimili modo,* can be considered formulaic (Schiesaro 1990).

As for the epigraphic texts, identifying formulaic language is a crucial step in the workflow of the epigraphists. To fill the gaps in a fragmentary inscription, stereotypical formulations are identified and used to recreate and understand the original text (Robert, 1961). These standardized expressions have little or no attestation outside the specific textual typology (Rhodes – Osborne, 2017). A systematic investigation of formulaic sequences, though, is far from being achieved. The analysis will focus on Latin funerary texts that—showing a high level of standardization throughout the Roman provinces—also constitute the most copious epigraphic texts from Antiquity (Chioffi, 2014).

By testing the definition and retrieval methods proposed in the first part on these two corpora, we wish to provide a concrete framework for the study of formulaic expression in non-literary texts.

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Motion and preverbation in Latin. The relation between the preverbs *ab-* and *ad-* and the verbal bases *eo* and *venio*

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The study of spatiality and motion has been conducted in a cognitive framework by Talmy (1975; 1983; 2000) and Langacker (2014). Fillmore (1966; 1997; 1983) has analyzed deixis, with reference to the different deictic value of Eng. *go* and *come*. Typologically, Wilkins and Hill (1995) show that not every language possesses a GO and a COME class of verbs. In particular, COME is not a lexical universal, and GO is not always deictic across languages (cf. also Botne 2005; Bourdin 2014; Goddard 2022). In ancient IE languages, spatiality is also connected to preverbation. Apart from a few cases (e.g. Lat. *cum-*), preverbs possess a spatial meaning and have been studied from different perspectives. Preverbs change the verbal base onto which they attach, especially with respect to its actional properties and its argument structure (e.g. Booij and Van Kemenade 2003; McGillivray 2014), because preverbs typically contribute to telicizing the verbal base (e.g. Bader 1997; Pompei 2010). Telicity is also connected to tense and verbal aspect (e.g. Comrie 1976; Comrie 1985), and verbs may change their usual verbal class (e.g. Vendler 1957; Kenny 1963 [2003]; Dowty 1986) depending on the aspect in which they are inflected.

Most of the studies on Latin preverbs have conducted a qualitative analysis on preverbed verbs and only few consider a diachronic perspective. A quantitative analysis about Latin preverbed verbs is provided by Meini and McGillivray (2010), McGillivray (2013; 2014) and Nuti (2016). This latter study analyzed the Latin verbs *eo* and *venio*, arguing that they are not deictically opposed, i.e. *eo* is atelic and not deictically defined, and it is a generic verb of motion (cf. *move*), while *venio* is telic and pragmatically defined. There is an opposition between the two verbs, in that *eo* has a centrifugal orientation, while *venio* possesses a centripetal orientation, because telic and ventive motion verbs tend to overlap. Diachronically, *venio* undergoes a change in prototypicality, as before the Classical period it was not prototypically telic and centripetal.

The aim of this paper is to give the first extensive corpus analysis of four Latin motion verbs prefixed with a Source and a Goal (Lakoff 1987) preverb, namely the pairs *abvenio/abeo* and *advenio/adeo*. Our contribution will combine (i) deixis, (ii) argument structure and lexical fillers, (iii) telicity, and (iv) actionality, which have not been considered jointly before. Our analysis will be based on distributional semantics (cf. Lenci 2008). We will analyze the four compounds both diachronically – from the 3rd cent. BCE to the 3rd cent. CE – and with respect to different literary genres and compare our results with Nuti's (2016) analysis on *eo* and *venio*. Our study will show the differences between *abvenio* and *abeo* on the one hand, and *advenio* and *adeo* on the other hand, comparing them with their verbal bases. Moreover, taking four Latin preverbed verbs as our starting point, we aim at providing useful guidelines for an extensive annotation of preverbed motion verbs that can be reused for other Indo-European languages such as Ancient Greek.

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Alternation and change of Latin ditransitive verbs as influenced by stylistic patterns and textual traditions

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The aim of this paper is to analyse the argument structure of Latin trivalent verbs of transfer (labelled *ditransitives* according to the typological approach), through a corpus study over the *Brepolis Library of Latin texts* and the *DigilibLT*. We examine the diachronic development of six ditransitive verbs, namely *do* 'to give', *dono* 'to donate' (physical possessive transfer); *doceo* 'to teach', *flagito* 'to entreat', *loquor* 'to talk (to), to tell' (cognitive transfer); and *celo* 'to hide' (dispossession). Since Early Latin, these verbs differ in the encoding of the two 'object-arguments', namely the 'Theme' (T), corresponding to the thing transferred, and the 'Recipient' (R) (see Napoli 2018 for an overview). While a verb like *do* expresses T and R with the accusative and dative, respectively (alternating the dative with the *ad* 'to' + accusative construction; cf. Fedriani & Prandi 2014, Adams & de Melo 2016 and references therein), other verbs, like *doceo*, are characterized by a double object construction, taking the accusative for both these arguments.

The data from Late Latin still point to a fluctuation of the way in which the R is realized for the analyzed verbs, although with a partial redistribution of the strategies involved. For example, the prepositional strategy with *ad* expanded (ex. 1), and the double object construction was not used anymore with some verbs that instantiated it in Classical Latin: the R was encoded instead by the dative (ex. 2).

(1) *De his enim **ad discipulos loquitur** dicens* […]
   'For he talked about these things to the disciples, saying […].' (Aug. *serm.* 210, 3)

(2) *Huius autem admirabilis rei rationem colligo ut possum, **quam vobis** non **celabo***
   'But I shall consider, as I can, the reason for this extraordinary thing that I will not hide from you.' (Aug. *serm.* 389, 10)

This arises the following issues: (i) under which conditions a constructional alternation developed for the ditransitive verbs under scrutiny; (ii) which functional factors may have influenced the selection of the potentially competing syntactic strategies (cf. Fedriani & Napoli 2020); (iii) how the changes in the argument structure should be interpreted in the light of a more general developmental direction followed by trivalent verbs of transfer, namely the spread of the prepositional construction with *ad*. In this talk, we will address these research-questions by focusing specifically on the role of textual traditions in the spread of different argument realizations, suggesting that in some cases they conventionalized as genre-dependent stylistic patterns.

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Persistencia del latín geórgico clásico o técnico en el hispano occidental rural: *arvum, far, pascua...*

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La gran obra lexicográfica del latín (ThLL, que incluye la referencia al romance REW) registra parcamente los términos hispanos derivados del latín, por el desigual estado de la bibliografía del área (leonesa, asturiana, gallega, española o portuguesa), con lo que pasan por desconocidas o exóticas – si no han sido reconocidas previamente en otras áreas – palabras de importante presencia en el mejor latín. Incluso se puede hablar de un cierto efecto paradójico de atribución de procedencia a áreas que han contado con superior erudición y estudios significados: como la gallega respecto a la castellana, o esta respecto a la catalana, o provenzal, o la italiana, actualmente a la neerlandesa, o, en fin a la arábiga hispana o clásica, la prerromana, púnica, descuidando términos de latín pleno y con tratamiento fonético regular, o considerando en ocasiones como préstamos inversos términos latinos o grecolatinos exportados hacia otras lenguas en contacto.

Al revisar pequeñas porciones del léxico hispano-latino romance occidental a la luz – en nuestro caso – de usos del gallego vivo central lucense, reflexionamos a la vez sobre su etimología latina, en un método circular, que contempla la fonética, morfología y semántica – en la sucesión fónica, conflicto de distintas soluciones, tipología verbal, derivación, sensibilidad o concepto expresado en las palabras, su presencia literaria u oral y su fijación en el tiempo, que quizá tiende a borrarse en los cambios actuales y dejar sin descendencia términos clásicos que fueron más fecundos de lo que parece.

Enumeramos: *arvum* y el neutro plural *arva*, cuya frecuencia es elevada en las Geórgicas de Virgilio, y sin embargo en el área hispana solo está recogido en un portugués: 'aro', el entorno campesino de una población, pero cuyo diminutivo: *árvolum* (confundido con los resultados de *árborem*) es toponímico en Galicia: Arbo en Pontevedra, Campo de Árbol, autotraducido en Lugo, y quizá León: Arbas del Puerto; Aragón: río Arba; Bética, yacimiento arqueológico (de s. I–III) identificado como *Arva*. Prueba de su arraigo en el latín común, el doble dim. *arvellum* se conserva en el apellido vascuence Arbeloa – con el característico presentador -a – y Arvelo, hispanoamericano. En diversas representaciones gráficas, otras derivaciones se confunden con derivados de *herba*: *arvensem*: Hervés; Herbón, Arbó probable resultado de -ólo sufijo diminutivo tónico derivado de formas latinas con hiato: *faséolo*: fashiólo: feixó(n), feixaô.

Far (farris): cereal, it. farro es más conocido en sus derivados *ferráceus*: ap. Ferraz, Ferraces; fárrago farrágine cat. ferratge (> forraje), cast. herrén, y, con probable influencia de los plurales neutros tipo *legumina*: **farragina* gall. ferraña, cereal cosechado en verde para forraje. A su vez 'ferraxón', coincidente con el ap. de fonética cast. Errejón, es la mezcla de granos de distintos cereales que se cosechan juntos. En todos los casos, la neutralización a/e ante r aproxima los resultados de *far* a los de *ferrum*; esto es sobre todo notorio en *farrarium -a,* que en más de un topónimo resulta encubierto por la homonimia con *ferrarium -a;* algún caso, como Herrera de Pisuerga, donde se documentan *prata* de las legiones augústeas, y Ferreira de Pallares ('pajares'), en Lugo, (y tal vez los Herreruelos, Ferreirós, Ferreirúa) parecen confirmados como '(pequeñas) praderas cerealistas' más que como forjas o herrerías, y creemos aportan nueva luz a la propia formación del léxico latino.

Pascua, asimismo virgiliano, perdura en documentación medieval gallega de descripción de terrenos, a menudo en asociación casi automática con *prata*; ambos neutros plurales se reinterpretan o recaracterizan como femenino (plural): Prada, y Bascuas, que pasa por pre-romano; el top. y ap. Abascal nos dejan ver como el uso con demostrativo *illa-pascua,* favoreció la sonorización como interior de p-, por evitar la ambigüedad con respecto al término cristiano- greco-hebraico de *Pascha/Pascua.*

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https://www.ine.es/nomen2/inicio_r.do: Instituto Nacional de Estadistica: Nomenclátor
Forcellini: *Totius latinitatis lexicon* (Brepols on-line)
thelatinlibrary.com: The Latin Library: Textos latinos
TLL: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, De Gruyter (on-line)

On some aspects of Latin folk etymology

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Folk etymology in Latin has primarily been examined in the context of special studies, e.g. in etymological analyses of lexical material discussed by Latin grammarians or in scholarly discussions of proper names, particularly toponyms referred to by ancient authors: for instance, Oscan (*)*Maloenton* (?) → Lat. *Maleventum* → *Beneventum;* Gk. *Epidamnum* (acc. sg.) → *Dyrrhachium* (both due to apotropaic reasons apparently?); Lat. *deus* 'god' would sometimes be related to quasi-homophonous Greek words like θεός 'god' (or δέος 'fear'); *popina* 'cook-house, meal for sale' was linked by Isidore of Seville to Gk. πεῖνα 'hunger'; *Antonius* might have been linked to Gk. ἄνθος, hence the later spelling *Anthonius* (possibly); etc. Nonetheless, conscious linguistic coinages like puns and word games, which are often invented by learned people, such as philosophers, 'antiquarians' and poets (cf. e.g. Horace, Martial), may hardly be considered folk etymology proper nowadays.

In this paper, I first aim to map basic 'patterns' of Latin folk etymology, with special regard to common nouns (e.g. *caerimonia* 'reverence, etc.' mistakenly related to the city of *Caere*). Moreover, some particular cases of folk etymology, in which other aspects, linguistic or socio-/non-linguistic, may be possibly involved (cf. examples above), will be of particular interest. The data is collected from current standard etymological dictionaries (e.g. Ernout & Meillet 2001; De Vaan 2008), while some other relevant works on Latin grammarians are taken into account too (e.g. Maltby 1991; De Melo 2019). Finally, the discussion will include some comparison with the phenomenon of folk etymology in Ancient Greek.

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Lexique et cognition en latin : les dénominations des catégories naturelles

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Les dénominations des entités appartenant aux catégories naturelles (plantes, arbres, animaux, entités astronomiques, géologiques, géographiques, etc.) relèvent de processus particuliers qui se distinguent des systèmes terminologiques dénotant les entités créées par la société.

Contrairement à ces derniers, qui reposent sur des hiérarchisations reflétant les hiérarchies des *realia*, dans le domaine des catégories naturelles les dénominations sont fondées sur des phénomènes cognitifs de perception et de sélection de traits saillants dans les entités à dénommer. Deux types de procédés sont mis en œuvre pour dénommer la nouvelle entité : soit un procédé direct à l'aide de l'orthonyme du trait saillant sélectionné, soit un procédé indirect par recours à une autre entité déjà pourvue d'une dénomination, et où la communauté linguistique perçoit des traits saillants similaires.

Le vocabulaire latin reflète les phénomènes cognitifs de la communauté linguistique. On le voit notamment dans les noms des animaux aquatiques tels qu'attestés chez Pline l'Ancien et chez d'autres auteurs de l'époque archaïque jusqu'à l'époque tardive (poissons, crustacés, mollusques, cnidaires*,* annélides, échinodermes, spongiaires, mammifères marins, « monstres » marins, couleuvres et tortues de mer). Le procédé dominant dans ce domaine est le procédé dénominatif indirect fondé sur des mécanismes associatifs semblables à ceux de la métaphore. Les dénominations des animaux marins sont transférées de la terre vers la mer, de même que celles des entités astronomiques sont transférées de la terre vers le ciel. Ainsi les dénominations permettent-elles de mettre en lumière, autour du centre cognitif qu'est l'Homme, des zones plus ou moins éloignées de lui selon le degré de connaissance qu'il en a.

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On the use and development of *fabulor*

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As is well known, *fabulor* ('to talk, to chat, to tell, etc.') is generally included, due to its diachronic distribution, among the features characteristic of so-called submerged Latinity, i.e. features that are frequent in archaic and (late) imperial Latin but absent or very rare in the classical age. Indeed, while still common in Plautus (56 attestations), the verb disappears almost entirely in later centuries, only to resurface in post-classical and late (notably Christian) sources (cf. ThLL 6/1, 34, 79ff; Marx 1909, 437–438; Löfstedt 1956, 324–325; Adams 2013, 383–385). In addition, *fabulor* has attracted the attention of both Latinists and Romanists because of its survival in Ibero-Romance (Sp. *hablar*, Port., Salam., Gal. *falar*) and in some Eastern Romance dialects (Friaul *fevelá* and Vegliot *faulár*) (cf. Buck 1915, 143–144). However, its use has never been the object of a systematic and detailed analysis. The current paper aims at filling this gap (at least partially) by analysing the occurrences and distribution of the verb in both literary and non-literary sources, from the 3rd c. BC until the 7th c. AD. The discussion shall focus on the syntactic and semantic properties of *fabulor* and on their evolution over time, with a specific focus on diastratic and diaphasic, as well as genre-related aspects. Additionally, the use of the verb will be compared with that of the polysemic coradical noun *fabula* which, similarly to *fabulor*, appears to have partly modified and enlarged meaning during the imperial period (cf. Brachet et al. 2020). The results of this analysis will allow us to review the commonly accepted opinion that the verb has been in continuous spoken use with approximately the same meaning between Plautus and Romance (cf. Adams 2013, 383–385; Pezzini 2016, 32).

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Verbal alternations in Latin: *ex*-compounds verbs

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"Verbal alternation" is the way to define the variation in the expression of the arguments of a verb. Levin (1993) states "that the behaviour of a verb, particularly with respect to the expression and interpretation of its arguments, is to a large extent determined by its meaning". Different alternations are identified as being applicable to verbs in a language: Causative/Inchoative alternations, alternations involving arguments within the VP (dative shift, double object constructions …), etc.

The aim of our contribution is to identify the verb alternations of a group of Latin verbs. In the framework of a research project, we are studying the alternations of compound verbs with the prefix *ex-*. In a first phase, we are analysing the examples collected by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Our intention is to offer the results of the analysis of about ten verbs with alternations and to study the different types of these alternations. We will also draw comparisons between the *ex*-compound verbs studied and their simple verbs.

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Las oposiciones privativas descubiertas en la Escuela de Praga y la tradición gramatical latina

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En el presente decenio se cumplirá un siglo de la publicación de los *Principios de fonología*, elaborados por N. Trubetzkoy en el Círculo Lingüístico de Praga. El descubrimiento de los **fonemas** como unidades distintivas no se limitó al ámbito propio, sino que trascendió a los niveles significativos. Así, en los estudios de R. Jacobson sobre los **morfemas** del verbo ruso o en los de M. S. Ruipérez (1954) sobre el sistema de aspectos y tiempos del verbo griego antiguo. Más allá de la gramática, el léxico parecía resistirse al análisis estructural. Pero un estudio programático de E. Coseriu (1964) vino a poner de manifiesto la existencia recurrente de paradigmas opositivos también entre los **lexemas**.

En esta línea y desde el primer lustro de los años setenta en que elaboramos nuestra tesis doctoral (1976), no hemos dejado de publicar estudios lexemáticos, en los que los tres tipos de oposiciones 'fonológicas' – equipolentes, privativas y graduales – están muy presentes. Las **oposiciones privativas** constan de tres valores: *mulier / uir // homo* 'ser h. femenino' / 'ser h. masculino' // 'ser humano'. El primero es el término 'positivo', que crea la oposición; el segundo es el término 'negativo', pues expresa el contravalor 'no mujer'; y el tercero es el término 'neutro', indiferente a la oposición de los anteriores.

Las oposiciones privativas son particularmente complejas cuando sus tres valores reciben **solo dos expresiones**. Tal es el caso de la anterior oposición latina *mulier / vir homo*, reducida en romance a *mujer / hombre // hombre*; *femme / homme // homme*, etc. La oposición latina *filia / filius // liberi* limitaba su expresión a *filia / filius // filii* en latín vulgar. Lo que obligaba a los juristas

a aclarar, en la interpretación de los testamentos, que en la mención única de *filii* estaban incluidas también las *filiae*.

El teléfono móvil ha traído consigo la creación de una oposición privativa: *móvil / fijo // teléfono*. El concepto de 'fijo' existía desde que se inventó el teléfono; pero no tenía más valor que un sonido como variante de un fonema. Ha tenido que llegar el *móvil* con su valor positivo para conferir a *fijo* el contravalor de 'no móvil', con una relevancia significativa similar a la pertinencia distintiva de un fonema. El método 'fonológico' surgido en Praga ha permitido conocer mucho mejor la funcionalidad estructural del plano semántico de las lenguas tanto en los niveles gramaticales como en el léxico. En los **gramáticos latinos** aparecen frecuentes oposiciones privativas, a las que solo les falta la formulación técnica derivada del descubrimiento de la fonología.

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Event nominal constructions: Beyond the prototypical complements

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The study of syntactic and semantic structure of complementation has been focused on verbal predication. However, some nouns denoting states of affairs can also have their own complementation schemes (although with the necessary modifications that the change of category requires).

In the description of nominal predications, the so-called subjective and objective genitives are considered the most prototypical complements. However, as is well known, some semantically marked predicate nouns – e.g., those related to motion verbs – can include other constituents – with other codifications – within their complementation structures. In this regard, we can observe the construction of (1) with the noun *adventu* 'the arrival', where the prepositional phrase *ad suas legiones* is identified with the Direction argument of the action.

1) Quamvis enim tu magna et mihi iucunda scripseris de **D. Bruti adventu ad suas legiones** (...) (Cic. *Att*. 14.13.2)
   "For although you have sent me great and welcome news about D. Brutus having joined his troops (...)" [literally: **the arrival of D. Brutus to his troops**]

Nevertheless, there are cases where certain genitives or adjectives that modify a predicate noun are not identified with central argument (subject or object). Two examples can be seen in (2) and (3) with the adjective *Siciliensem* and the genitive *ungulae asininae*, respectively:

2) sic per triennium ad **hanc frumenti emptionem Siciliensem** prope centiens et viciens erogatum est (Cic. *Ver*. 3.163)
   "Thus, the amount paid over to Verres in each of his three years for this purchase of corn in Sicily [literally: **this Sicily purchase of corn**] was nearly 120.000"

3) **ungulae asininae suffitio** partum maturat (Plin. *Nat*. 28.251)
   "**Fumigation with ass's hoofs** hastens delivery"

On the one hand, in (2), the adjective *Siciliensem* refers to the Recipient argument of *emptionem* 'the purchase'. On the other, in (3) the genitive *ungulae asininae* accompanying the noun *sufittio* 'fumigation' specifies what the smoke with which it is to fumigate consists of, i.e., functions as a kind of "Instrument argument".

From this perspective, the specific objectives this paper intends to pursue are as follows: (i) to describe which other constituents encoded in genitive and as nominal concordance material (and different to central arguments) are presented in event nominal constructions; and (ii) to explore which factors can explain the presence of these complements. For this purpose, I have chosen to carry out a detailed study of the event nouns within a reference corpus.

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Fecit curavit: epigraphic *formulae* and variation in Latin inscriptions

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Among the epigraphic *corpus* of ancient *conventus Pacensis*, in Lusitania (Herdade da Camugem, Vila Boim, Elvas, Portugal), is one monument that kept the final formula *fecit curavit* (Encarnação 1985, p. 650, n. 585); though it is not a single example, we shall demonstrate that it is quite unusual when compared to the very common formula, *faciendum curavit*. This paper aims to explain the option to use this formula instead of the common *faciendum curavit*, considering other epigraphic examples of its usage to understand if it can be related to the date of inscription or if it is an uncommon way to avoid the syntactic construction of the verb *curo* with the accusative *faciendum*. Besides, we shall consider the success of *faciendum curavit* as the "traditional formula by which the magistrates and other officials denote public work they are overseeing" (Bruun 2005, p. 23) and how the high frequency of its occurrence abridged could also lead to the reinterpretation of the formula itself and the use of alternative *formulae*, particularly, when it became common in funerary inscriptions. Nevertheless, the use of *fecit* similarly widens from specific kinds of epigraphic texts, stamps and *instrumenta domestica*, to funerary inscriptions. We shall consider in what way *fecit curavit* was an alternative *formula* to *faciendum curavit* in Classical Latin (Adamik 2015) in the different provinces of the Roman Empire, as well as other variants of the *formula*, and how syntactic options can add data to better understand variation in the Latin language.

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Between Translationese and Informal Late Latin: Notes on the Language of the Earliest Latin Translation of the *Vita Antonii*

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The earliest Latin translation of Athanasius of Alexandria's *Vita Antonii*, produced most probably for a Western audience in the late 350s CE, enjoyed a very brief and limited circulation before the early 370s CE, when it was supplanted by a new translation prepared by Evagrius of Antioch (ca. 320–ca. 395 CE). Surviving in a single tenth-eleventh-century manuscript and published in full only in 1939, this text has not enjoyed a great popularity or a very good reputation with scholars (historians and linguists alike) due to its author's excessively literal approach to translation and the sub-standard quality of its Latin.

The present paper intends to show that such reputation is undeserved, especially in light of the findings of recent attempts at circumscribing the identity of the author of this anonymous translation and the cultural context of its production. I will do so by presenting the results of a detailed examination of the inventory of demonstrative pronouns employed in the text in terms of its overall composition, frequency of use of individual components and the rate of survival of their inflectional forms, the syntactic values of individual pronominal forms, and their correspondence (or lack thereof) with their equivalents in the Greek original. My investigation will focus especially on disputed issues such as the interpretation of anaphoric/cataphoric and associative uses of demonstratives such as *ille*, *ipse*, *idem*, the possible emergence of some of the demonstratives as 'articloids', the overall restructuring of the demonstrative system in late non-standard Latin, and, in connection with these, the various choices made by the anonymous translator when rendering the forms of the Greek definite article into Latin.

The results of my investigation to date suggest that, far from being just another example of poor-quality translationese or an instance of (unlikely) use of Latin as a *Sondersprache*, the *versio vetustissima* of the *Vita Antonii* should rather be viewed as a valuable source of information about morphological and syntactic features of varieties of informal Latin spoken in fourth-century Egypt and language-contact induced changes in the context of Greek-Latin bilingualism.

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Lat. *mare*, *marmor* y gr. μαρμαίρω: una familia etimológica

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Para explicar el origen del lat. *mare* y de sus correspondientes indoeuropeos se ha propuesto la raíz *mori- 'mar, lago' (Pokorny, 748; Vaan, s. v. *mare* [*mor-i-]). Aparte de la hipótesis de Buck (1949: 36) que ponía dicha raíz en relación con el gr. μαρμαίρω 'brillar' – pero sin proporcionar argumentos –, no se ha establecido ninguna posible relación de parentesco con otras raíces, aunque se admite que el concepto de 'mar' no formaba parte del ámbito cognitivo de los protoindoeuropeos. La explicación invocada es que "it is equally possible that this word originally referred to an inland sea or a large lake" (Beekes, 2011: 49).

Tomando como punto de partida la hipótesis del parentesco con el gr. μαρμαίρω, nos proponemos mostrar que el lat. *mare* y sus cognados indoeuropeos proceden, de hecho, de una raíz con el sentido 'brillo', que Pokorny reconstruye como *mer-₂ 'brillar'.

Aducimos los siguientes argumentos:

1. Las superficies acuáticas reciben a menudo nombres por metonimia – normalmente a patir del aspecto brillante u, por el contrario, oscuro: por ejemplo, la raíz *bhel- 'brillante, blanco' proporciona los nombres ilír. *balta 'charco, paúl', ligur. *bola 'íd.', ing. *pool* 'pequeño lago', etc. (Pokorny, 118–120, s. v. *bhel-); *kel- / *kal- 'punto oscuro o claro' da origen al a.esl. *kalъ* 'palude' o al eslov. *kalina* 'charco' (Pokorny, 547–548, s. v. *kel-₄ / *kal-); para la raíz *leu-g- Pokorny (686) reconstruye dos sentidos, 'oscuro' y 'pantano'.

2. Los epítetos homéricos que describen el mar forman parte del mismo dominio visual: el mar puede ser cubierto por el brillo matinal (μαρμάρεος), o bien puede mostrarse como oscuro (ἰοειδής 'violeta', οἶνοψ 'del color del vino', μέλας 'negro') o crepuscular (ἠεροειδής). Retenemos el epíteto μαρμάρεος como significativo para nuestra demostración.

3. Las raíces homónimas propuestas por Pokorny *mer-₂ 'brillar', *mer-₃/mor- 'oscuro' y mer-₅ 'frotar, limpiar' se deberían reducir, de hecho, a un único étimo con el sentido de 'brillo, resplandor', que podría haber evolucionado en las tres direcciones. Así, la noción de 'crepúsculo' puede dar paso tanto a la idea de 'brillo del día', como a la de 'oscuridad de la noche' – las dos caras que definen también el mar. El gr. μάρμαρος 'mármol' y el lat. *marmor* 'íd.', incluidos bajo *mer-₅ 'frotar' (aduciéndose como paralelo la relación entre lat. *rupes* y *rumpo*), se explican mejor como denominaciones que verbalizan el aspecto brillante que define y singulariza este tipo de piedra.

Opinamos que la identificación etimológica no se debe limitar a la mera reconstrucción de un étimo que corresponda fonética y semánticamente a una serie de cognados, sino que implica también determinar si el étimo reconstruido representa realmente un concepto primario y, de no ser así, integrarlo en su familia etimológica.

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Le latin en grec : des mots latins attestés en grec. Étude de cas : Chrysippe de Tyane (chez Athénée)

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Cette présentation vise à identifier et à analyser les noms latins des gâteaux qui nous sont parvenus dans un fragment en grec, appartenant à Chrysippe de Tyane, qui a écrit au Iᵉ siècle ap. J.-Chr. un traité sur les noms de gâteaux. Quoique perdu comme œuvre individuelle, le traité est cité dans les *Deipnosophistes* d'Athénée (14, 647c), et c'est comme ça qu'on a accès aux noms de pâtisseries romains qui ne sont pas attestés en latin. En nous permettant de déduire le nom latin à partir de la forme grecque, le texte de Chrysippe devient une source unique pour le vocabulaire latin. En outre, il confirme et offre des précisions supplémentaires sur certaines pâtisseries dont parlent Caton et Varron – probablement deux des sources de Chrysippe. Une catégorie à part est représentée par les noms de pâtisseries qui ont été empruntés en latin au grec, et plus tard réempruntés en grec au latin avec une forme changée. Plusieurs noms sont des hapax ou bien des formes corrompues, qui imposent des conjectures pour être compris.

Nous nous proposons donc de réaliser un inventaire des noms de gâteaux latins attestés sous une translittération grecque, en essayant plutôt d'identifier les lexèmes latins non attestés dans des sources directes. La seconde étape consiste en l'analyse étymologique de ces noms, envisageant leur catégorisation selon l'origine.

On observe que Chrysippe de Tyane cite un nombre significatif de noms de *crustula* – qui reçoivent en grec le nom (au singulier) κλοῦστρον (< lat. *clustrum* < *crustlum*). Selon l'adjectif spécificatif qui correspond à leur dénomination, ces *crustula* peuvent être classés en deux catégories :

1. Des déonomastiques, qui peuvent reposer sur un anthroponyme ou un toponyme. Dans le cas des anthroponymes, il doit s'agir du nom de l'inventeur de la recette : Ἀπικιανὸν [κλοῦστρον] (*crustulum Apicianum* « gâteau d'Apicius »), Μοντιανόν (*Montianum*, un nom obscur pour lequel on offrira plusieurs hypothèses) etc. Pour ce qui est des toponymes, ils représentent probablement le lieu de provenance de la recette : Καππαδοκικόν [κλοῦστρον] (*crustulum Cappadocicum* « gâteau de Cappadoce ») etc.

2. Des adjectifs qui verbalisent une certaine caractéristique du gâteau : γωσλωανιον (*sic!*), probablement une forme corrompue pour laquelle on offre plusieurs interprétations possibles (*gustulum* ou *gulōsum*, sans exclure l'hypothèse d'un nom grec à la base) ; γουττᾶτον [κλοῦστρον] (*crustulum guttatum*); κλοῦστρον πούριον, dont l'interprétation est incertaine, peut-être pour *purissimum;* μαρυπτόν, un hapax qui pourrait attester en grec un nom latin pas documenté (peut-être *marrubium*, pour lequel on pourrait supposer comme base le toponyme *Marrubium*); πλίκιον, un autre hapax, où l'on peut supposer un emprunt d'un terme latin **plicium* (< *plicare* 'plier').

Dans la même liste on doit inclure l'hybride gréco-latin κλουστροπλακοῦς, un composé formé du lat. *clustrum (= crustulum)* et le gr. πλακοῦς 'tarte', ainsi qu'un lexème explicable à l'intérieur du grec (ἡδύβια), mais qui pourrait cacher un calc après le latin.

L'analyse de ce groupe de noms offert par le pâtissier grec Chrysippe de Tyane au Iᵉ siècle ap. J.-Chr. peut aboutir à la découverte de nouveaux mots latins.

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Representing Latin Labiovelars and Onglides: a metrical and typological analysis

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The question of the phonological representation, and possible phonetic quality, of the Latin voiceless labiovelar, or labiovelar cluster, stands at an inconclusive point. Whether orthographic <qu> represents a consonant + glide sequence /kw/, or a complex monosegment /kʷ/, has been the subject of a recent detailed account from Cser (2020: 20–32), who appeals to issues of distribution, phonotactics, morphophonology, and diachrony to claim that resolving this question of a monosegmental vs. cluster interpretation is not possible. However, there are several relevant issues at hand not included in his argument. In this paper, I will utilize not only language-internal, but also external, comparative evidence in order to tip the scales towards a monosegmental representation of <qu>, analyzing its metrical behavior; similarities to, and differences from, the onglide /j/, and the far more limited labiovelar sequence <gu>; diachronic development; and crosslinguistic typology.

Internally, <qu> + vowel phonotactics, due to the lack of restriction on the vowel, point to the labial element being a part of the syllable onset, as opposed to a glide in the nucleus with the vowel (cf. Davis & Hammond 1995). This can be likened to the onglide <i> /j/, which also does not have a restricted co-occurrence with vowels, and thus appears to be in the syllable onset. However, what may appear to be two onglides display critical differences evidenced by poetic meter. They differ in weight: a consonant + /j/ sequence (which are only morphologically derived, or across word boundaries) counts as two consonants, thus requiring a long position; in contradistinction, <qu> does not. Furthermore, when a word-final <-cu> sequence undergoes synizesis with a following vowel, the sequence [kwV] is produced, also requiring a long position. Hence it appears, following metrical weight, that Latin holds a three-way surface contrast between [kʷV], derived [kwV], and indeed also consonant + vowel [ku.V] (as in *cuī* vs. *quī*). While the other labiovelar sequence <gu> holds a similar contrast between <gu> as a consonant + vowel sequence vs. <gu> + vowel, and there is another consonant sequence <suV> which is also scanned light, their distributions are much more limited, and will thus be analyzed in comparison.

These internally motivated arguments will be situated within a broader crosslinguistic perspective, regarding both diachronic development and the typological normalcy of the proposed (and rejected) solutions (or, rather, rejected analyses against solutions). In conclusion, I will propose analyzing <qu> as a cross-linguistically ordinary two-root complex segment [kʷ] (cf. van de Weijer 1996: 69).

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Valency patterns and alternations in Classical Latin. Contributing to a new database on valency classes

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Verbal valency has long been a core topic in typology, historical linguistics, and in Latin linguistics. Regarding Latin, attention has usually been given to specific valency classes (e.g., Napoli 2018) and alternations (e.g., Cennamo et al. 2015), with only a few comprehensive studies (Lehmann 2002; Pinkster 2015). A systematic account of Classical Latin valency patterns and alternations framed within language typology is still lacking.

Here, we apply the *Valency Patterns Leipzig* (ValPaL) method (Malchukov – Comrie 2015) to Classical Latin (for similar endeavors, cf. Giuliani 2021 on Early Latin, Zanchi – Tarsi 2021 on Gothic). The ValPaL database contains cross-linguistic data of argument structure properties of 70 verbs selected for their semantics, basicness, and representativeness of the verbal lexicon (https://valpal.info). Valency classes are understood as groups of verbs sharing coding patterns and alternations. Argument structure constructions are represented as coding frames, showing case-marking and relevant verbal morphology.

For our analysis, we selected a corpus of classical prose Latin texts (Caesar, Cicero, and Sallust). As Latin is a *Korpussprache*, we selected Latin basic equivalents of ValPaL verbs based on morphological complexity, frequency, and continuity of attestation (Zanchi – Tarsi 2021). For infrequent verbs, we analyze all occurrences in the corpus. For verbs with token frequency higher than 100x, we consider a stratified random sample of 100 occurrences. We further check reference dictionaries and grammars.

Our study gives an overview of basic valency patterns and alternations of Classical Latin verbs. This work also is a contribution to PaVeDa-Pavia Verbs Database, a resource modeled upon ValPaL for cross-linguistic and diachronic analysis of valency patterns and alternations (https://aclanthology.org/2022.sigtyp-1.14/). Adding data from Classical Latin, together with those from Early Latin (Giuliani 2021) and Italian (Cennamo 2015) already in the database, enables research of valency over time. Besides, our findings re-open methodological issues regarding the cross-linguistic study of valency. Our corpus-based approach has challenged the representativeness of ValPaL core meanings, which e.g., fail to account for Latin "impersonal verbs" (e.g., *pudet* 'be ashamed'). Moreover, considering frequency information allows for an informed selection of basic valency patterns and for a fine-grained picture of valency alternations, avoiding under- or over-representations of argument structure constructions.

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Reconsidering the Latin Version of the 'Edict of Mediolanum': a Syntactical and a Text Criticism Approach

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The famous *Edictum Mediolani*, issued in 313, has been a subject of many historical disputes regarding its (legal) nature, its aims and especially its effects at the dawn of the Byzantine Empire, but, in spite of several critical editions, certain language aspects have escaped the eye of the editors. Preserved in its original language in a unique manuscript (*Colbertinus*, Paris lat. 2627), as part Lactantius' writing *De mortibus persecutorum*, the text has been translated into Greek by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea. The Latin text preserved in mss. *Colbertinus*, discovered in 1678, has some syntactical difficulties, which made its translators into modern languages to find strange solutions. A more careful look at the manuscript and a careful analysis of the syntax will show a new path in the critical approach of the text and might contribute to a new, more accurate critical edition.

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On problems in the description of the Early Latin verbal system

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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 *volo*, *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 *permanascere* '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 *verum 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 and 2018).

In this paper I will focus on a few such kinds of verb formations which tend not to continue 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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Language change across the ancient lifespan: Variation in the genitive singular of second declension *io*-stems in Ovid

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In this paper, I examine how a particular language change which took place in Augustan Rome, i.e., variation in the genitive ending of second declension *io*-stems, is reflected in Ovid˙s works. It is well known in modern linguistics that how a speaker talks and behaves linguistically is subject to change, even after the critical age of language acquisition (see e.g., Sankoff and Blondeau 2007, esp. 583–584; Sankoff 2018, 307; Harrington 2006; and e.g., Arnaud 1998 for a historical study). Therefore, the lifespan study in this paper is relevant for two particular reasons.

Firstly, the statistically significant results show that a lifespan study can be conducted successfully on a Latin poetical corpus. Secondly, the results are relevant for the long-controversial topic of whether Ovid˙s language changed during his exile. Ovid˙s seemingly anxious statements about his language in exile have interested both literary scholars and linguists (see e.g., Axelson 1945; Luck 1961; Nagle 1980; Williams 1994; Baeza Angulo 1992; Malaspina 1995; González Vázquez 1998; Adams 2003, 17–18, 105–106, 283; Gaertner 2004 and 2007). The variant genitive endings of second declension *io*-stems, i.e., -*ī* versus -*iī*, is an ideal variable to focus on across Ovid˙s lifespan since it represents an ongoing language change in Roman society at the time. Further, the different endings are metrically guaranteed.

The original genitive ending for second declension *io*-stems was -*ī*, as can be seen in e.g., Plautus (*beneficī*, Plaut. *Merc.* 996) and in Republican inscriptions (Adams, to appear). The later form -*iī* arose by analogy with second declension *o*-stems (Sihler 1995, 260; Weiss 2020, 240). Later grammarians emphasised the rationale of adding the second -*i* (*Charis.* 1.78.4), and they also emphasise the fact that the genitive of a word should not be shorter than the nominative (cf. *Charis.* 1.71.3; 1.78.4; *Diomed.* 1.103.7; *Prisc.* 2.296.20), a theory which seems to have been originally put forth by Varro (Merrill 1910, 74–76).

Ovid˙s older contemporary Propertius is the first poet whose writings contain a greater number of *io*-stems ending in -*iī* in the genitive rather than in -*ī* (Neue 1902, 145–146). The same applies to Ovid who also used a greater number of genitive endings in -*iī* rather than in -*ī*. However, as I show in the paper, an interesting picture begins to emerge when we look at the use of the variant endings across his lifespan. See *Figure 1*:
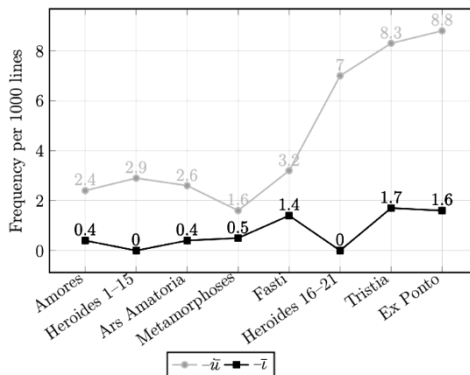

Figure 1: Variation in the genitive singular of second declension *io*-stems, with works shorter than one thousand lines excluded

There is clearly an upward leap in the use of the ending in -*iī* in the works from Ovidˈs exile, i.e., from *Heroides* 16–21 onwards, meaning that the language change has become increasingly visible in Ovidˈs writings later in his lifespan. In the paper I explore various potential reasons for this and whether we can relate this directly to the social circumstances and/or consequences of Ovidˈs time in exile.

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For the texts of Ovidˈs poetry, I have used several sources. The main one, against which I have checked other sources, is the database *PHI Latin Texts* which for the exile poetry is based on Showerman and Gooldˈs 1977 edition of the *Heroides* (Cambridge, MA), Luckˈs 1967 edition of *Tristia* (Heidelberg), Andréˈs 1977 edition of *Epistulae ex Ponto* (Paris) and Mozley and Gooldˈs 1979 edition of *Ibis* (Cambridge, MA). I have also relied on Neue (1902), cited in the bibliography here below. Thirdly, I have used the concordance by Deferri, Barry and McGuire (1939), cited below. They use the Teubner editions of Ovid, all printed in Leipzig: Ehwaldˈs *Metamorphoses* (1932), *Amores, Epistulae, Medicamina Faciei Feminae, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris* (1916); *Fasti, Fragmenta* edited by Ehwald-Lenz (1932); *Epistulae ex Ponto, Tristia, Ibis* edited by Ehwald-Levy (1922).

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"Valenzmisere" and Latin Syntax and Semantics

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Valency seems to be an established concept even in Latin linguistics. Nevertheless, there has been a long discussion, especially in German linguistics, whether everything has been done to get the real valency, which means: to have a homogeneous concept and not to define valency in different ways. The numerous and confusing ways to define valency were first named by Jacobs in a special publication devoted to this problem (1994) "Valency Misery", in German: "Valenzmisere".

One way out of this valency misery is now referred to as a "multi-dimensional valency concept" (MDV) by Jacobs himself (2003). In Latin linguistics we have several concepts, from Happ's more syntax-oriented one to Pinkster's semantic concept and to Lehmann's typological approach.

First, by this paper it will be shown what these three different approaches have in common. Secondly, it will be shown what the MDV concept exactly means in Latin linguistics. Thirdly, it will additionally be demonstrated which theoretical prerequisites should be maintained for a successful use of the concept of valency in Latin syntax and semantics. By this paper it is being attempted to solve some questions concerning the distinction of obligatory and facultative introduced by Happ and some so-called valency rules (Jacobs 2003) which can probably also be defined for Latin.

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Lex Rix Latina: On the development of word-initial *HRC* clusters in Latin

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When it comes to the historical phonology of Latin, one of the major unanswered questions is the outcome of word-initial *HRC* clusters (e.g., *h₁/₂/₃l̥C-, *h₁/₂/₃r̥C-, *h₁/₂/₃m̥C-, *h₁/₂/₃n̥C-). In

Greek, these sequences develop to vowel plus non-syllabic sonorant, where the quality of the vowel is dependent on the color of the laryngeal. This sound law is known as "Rix's Law" (after Rix 1970). Compare *$h_1r(g^h)$-skè- 'come' > Gk. ἔρχομαι (vs. Ved. r̥ccháti, Hitt. arškizzi), *$h_2r̥´tkò$- 'bear' > Gk. ἄρκτος (vs. Ved. r̥´kṣa-, Hitt. ḫartakka-), and *h_3rg^hi- 'testicle' > Gk. ὄρχις (vs. Av. ərəzi-, Hitt. arki-). Now some scholars believe that a phenomenon similar to Rix's Law may have operated in Latin as well (cf., e.g., Schrijver 1991: 56–73; Meiser 1998: 106–7; Weiss 2020: 57 n. 16), based on potential examples such as Lat. *ignis* 'fire' < *engnis < *h_1ngni- (cf. Ved. agní-, OCS ognь), Lat. *argentum* 'silver' < *h_2rg^nto- (cf. Av. ərəzata-), or Lat. *umbilīcus* 'navel' < *h_3nb^hVl- (cf. Gk. ὀμφαλὸς vs. OIr. *imbliu*). However, in other comparable contexts (i.e., adjacent to syllabic sonorants word-internally), Latin does *not* show three separate outcomes determined by the color of the laryngeal: unaccented *$CR̥h_{1/2/3}C$- develops to *CRāC* (and not *$CRēC$, *$CRāC$, *$CRōC$), as in Lat. (g)*nātus* 'son' < *$ǵn̥h_1$-tó- (vs. Gk. κασί-γνητος 'brother'), Lat. *lātus* 'carried, suffered' < *$tl̥h_2$-tó- (vs. Gk. τλη-θυμος 'of enduring soul' < *$tl̥h_2^o$), Lat. *strātus* 'spread (out)' < *$str̥h_3$-tó- (vs. Gk. στρωτός), and accented *$CR̥h_{1/2/3}C$- probably yields *CaR(a)C* throughout (and not *$CaR(e)C$, *$CaR(a)C$, *$CaR(o)C$; see Höfler 2017). Between stops, too, there is only one outcome of all three laryngeals, namely Lat. -ă- (cf. *fānum* 'sanctuary' < *făsno- < *$d^hh_1sn^o$, *stătus* 'set' < *sth_2-tó-, *dătus* 'given' < *dh_3-tó-), as opposed to Greek's -ε-, -α-, -ο- (e.g., Gk. θέσ-κελος 'wondrous' < *$d^hh_1s^o$, στατός 'placed' < *sth_2-tó-, δοτός 'granted' < *dh_3-tó-). In addition, there are several counterexamples that are difficult to explain away (as, e.g., Lat. *ursus* 'bear' < *$h_2r̥´tkò$-, and not *arsus). The aim of this talk is therefore to reassess the status of the Latin version of Rix's Law and adduce additional and so far, neglected evidence, which might be able to tip the scales in favour of a non-existence of such a phenomenon in Latin.

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Synonymy of the Latin stative verbs with the suffix -ē-

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Among the Latin stative verbs with the suffix -ē- related to the Caland system (see e.g., Fortson 2004: 123), which are generally derived from adjectival roots and primarily refer to natural physical states of things, bodily sensations of persons or visual experience as *calēre, frīgēre, madēre, languēre, rubēre, splendēre etc.* (cf. Leumann 1977: 552), there are several pairs or even groups of multiple verbs that are mutually synonymous. Such synonymous verbs are e.g., *algēre* and *frīgēre* "to be cold", *madēre* and *ūmēre* "to be wet", *candēre, nitēre* and *splendēre* "to shine", *languēre* and *marcēre* "to be sluggish", *stupēre* and *torpēre* "to be paralysed" and so on. However, absolute synonymy is very rare if it exists at all. A precondition for absolute synonymy would be the possibility of substituting synonyms one for the other in any context, including a corresponding alternation between literal and metaphorical uses (cf. Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 99), but this is prevented by the language economy

principle. Therefore, synonyms are generally "near synonyms" that differ in some of their senses as lexemes are usually polysemous, in their stylistic value, distribution, frequency etc.

It is the aim of this paper to illustrate the phenomenon of synonymy through a corpus-based study of the synonymous stative verbs using the frame semantic approach (see the FrameNet project). The frame semantic approach is based on the idea that linguistic entities as words, idioms and grammatical constructions evoke frames in the mind of language users. A frame is an abstract conceptual schema of a situation or an event, constituted by a series of participants called Frame Elements, which are situation-specific semantic roles (Johnson and Lenci 2011: 9). Analysing synonyms using the frame semantic approach can be applied to more precisely identify where their semantic fields overlap and where they do not. The paper will also focus on stylistic differences between individual synonyms if there are any, and the diachronic development from the Early Latin period until the end of the Late Latin period delimited by the year 735 A.D.

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Caught in between: *inter-* and related verbal prefixes in Latin

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Latin features three items derived from the Proto-Indo-European root *$h_2$en- 'in': *intrā* and *intrō*, both 'inside', and *inter* 'in between' (Ernout & Meillet 2001: 311–314; de Vaan 2008: 306). As is typical of spatial morphemes in ancient Indo-European languages (Cuzzolin et a. 2006), these items could be used in three contexts: either as adverbs (*intrā* and *intrō*), as prepositions (*intrā* and *inter*), or as verbal prefixes (*intrō* and *inter*).

When used as verbal prefixes, *intrō* and *inter* partake in the productive system of Latin prefixation, in which prefixes are used to express spatial, aspectual, and valency-related semantics (among others, Haverling 2000; Pompei 2010; Pinkster 2015). Specifically, while *intrō-* predominantly adds the spatial meaning 'inside', e.g., *intro-duco* 'lead inside', *inter-* displays a more varied usage, expressing spatial (*inter-pono* 'place in between') and distributive semantics (*inter-lego* 'pluck here and there'), as well as occurring in semantically non-transparent combinations, e.g., *dico* 'say' vs. *interdico* 'forbid'. In addition, *inter-* seldom occurs with inherently reciprocal (spatial) verbs, e.g. *texo = inter-texo* '(inter-)weave'. Remarkably, Latin offers no evidence of a genuinely reciprocal usage of *inter-*, which is, however, productively attested in its continuants in Romance

language (e.g., Fr. *entre-*; Inglese & Wolfsgruber in prep.). Instead, reciprocity in Latin is associated with the combination of prepositional *inter* with reflexive pronouns, e.g., *inter se* (Fanelli 2009).

Unfortunately, the semantic complexity of *inter*, both in its prepositional and prefixal usage, as well as that of its cognate forms *intrā* and *intrō*, remains underresearched, as it has only been object of lexicographical attention (Lewis & Short 1879; Glare 2012; see also Filimonov 2019), but no dedicated study has yet been carried out.

Taking stock of these premises, this paper aims at offering an in-depth analysis of *inter*-V compounds and related forms in Latin. To do so, I will examine the 129 *inter*-prefixed verbs listed in *WFL* and analyse their semantics by framing it in the context of cognitive linguistics, which has proven a suitable tool to account for the co-existence of spatial and abstract meanings of preverbs in Latin (Brucale & Mocciaro 2016, 2020; Brucale 2019), as well as in other ancient Indo-European languages (Zanchi 2019). Particular attention will be paid to the metaphoric and/or metonymic shifts that explain the extension of spatial *inter-* 'in between' to more abstract semantic domains, also taking into account comparable developments in the use of *inter* as a preposition and in the use of the cognate items *intrā* and *intrō*. In addition, data on the token frequency of individual *inter*-verbs will be retrieved from a chronologically ordered corpus of Latin (using the *LASLA* corpus), in order to trace the productivity of the various meanings of *inter-* across time, exploiting the metrics proposed by Baayen (2009).

The result of this work will shed light on the complexity of *inter*-prefixation in Latin, and will offer a new empiric baseline to achieve a better understanding of the developments of *inter*-verbs in Romance languages, with special attention to detecting how the reciprocal INTER-prefixation might have emerged.

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Web resources

WFL: https://wfl.marginalia.it/
LASLA: http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/lasla/

Linking Augustin's *Confessiones* to LiLa: textual resources as Linked Open Data

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The paper proposed describes the process of linking Augustine's prose work *Confessiones* to the knowledge base "LiLa: Linking Latin" (Passarotti, Mambrini 2021) according to the principles of Linked Data paradigm applied to linguistic resources (Cimiano et al. 2020).

Such a process makes Augustine's text interoperable, that is, the *Confessiones* become part of a net of information on linguistic data which include lexical resources – such as dictionaries –, textual resources – such as corpora –, and Natural Language Processing (NLP) tools – tools for automatic linguistic analysis, such as lemmatizers. The connection of these resources in a network of structured information enhances the hermeneutic potential they have as single entities.

The first part of the paper provides data on the process of linking itself. More specifically, it describes which part of the process were performed automatically, and which part needed a manual check. The second part of the paper builds on these data and offers a critical review of the process. It focuses on one side on the problems of automatic linking, and on the other side, on advantages of extracting information from a textual resource published as Linguistic Linked Open Data.

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Les vicissitudes des verbes déponents : activation et passivation

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Les verbes déponents constituent une catégorie particulière de verbes pour ce qui est de la **voix** (morphologie en *-or, -ris, -tur*, etc. ; périphrases composées de l'adjectif en *-tus* + auxiliaire *esse*) et de la **diathèse** (signifié de la **relation** qui s'établit entre le verbe et son sujet ; cf. Joffre 1996). On note pour les déponents une distorsion entre forme (voix) et sens (diathèse) qui les rapproche des verbes actifs : *loquor* relève du même champ sémantique que *dico*, *proficiscor* que *abeo*. Les déponents possèdent en outre un participe présent, un gérondif, tous deux « actifs » ainsi qu'un adjectif verbal passif, lorsqu'ils sont transitifs.

Si, dans l'ensemble, au fil des siècles, leur fonctionnement et leur morphologie restent stables dans les textes, on note cependant des fluctuations. Ces fluctuations peuvent être morphologiques avec les variantes *populor / populo* « dévaster » mais aussi diathétiques avec la « passivation des participes en *-tus* : *ultus* « qui a vengé » mais aussi « (qui est / a été) vengé ». On ajoutera à ces fluctuations le micro système des semi-déponents : *audeo, ausus sum* ; *gaudeo, gavisus sum* ; *soleo, solitus sum* et les alternances : *mereo / mereor, meritus sum / merui*. On sait enfin que les déponents qui se sont maintenus dans les langues romanes ont été « activés » : *utor > user* (*de*), *nascor > naître* qui toutefois a conservé le paradigme composé de type : *il est né*.

La communication a pour but, tout d'abord, de rappeler que les paradigmes en *-or, -ris,* etc. , ainsi que le participe en *-tus* sont les signifiants de la diathèse interne : le sujet est le siège de la réalisation du procès. Ces marques sont redondantes dans les déponents car elles s'appliquent à des bases lexicales déjà porteuses en elles-mêmes de ce trait sémantiques. Le passif, de son côté, ajoute à cette idée de « diathèse interne », celle d'une intervention extérieure. Il est donc tributaire du **contexte** et de l'existence, face à lui, un actif transitif.

On montrera que dans la majorité des cas, tant en synchronie qu'en diachronie, l'activation des déponents passe par la passivation, essentiellement celle du participe, le facteur déterminant étant ici encore le contexte, en particulier le contenu sémantique du substantif dont dépend le participe.

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Si vis pacem, para pacem. Latin Discourses of war and peace

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In this contribution, I would like to apply the concept of "argumentative pattern" to the analysis of Latin argumentative discourses dealing with war and peace. More specifically, I would like to focus on Cicero's treatise *De officiis* (cf. Harrer 1918; Gunermann 1976; Keller 2012; Lockwood 2022) and Erasmus' treatise *Querela pacis* (cf. Herding 1988; Dallmayr 2006; Ron 2014; Christ-von Wedel 2020) in order to find out which argumentative patterns are prototypically used by those who like

Cicero defend the concept of just war (*bellum iustum*) and those more radical pacifists who like Erasmus are generally, albeit with some exceptions, opposed to war.

Argumentative patterns have been defined within the Extended Theory of Pragma-Dialectics as (cf. van Eemeren 2018: 150): "a particular constellation of argumentative moves in which, in dealing with a particular kind of difference of opinion, in defence of a particular type of standpoint a particular argument scheme or combination of argument schemes is used in a particular kind of argument structure".

Argumentative passages in Cicero's and Erasmus' treatises will first be reconstructed as to the underlying argument schemes in order to identify argumentative patterns typical for Latin discourses dealing with war and peace, both in non-pacifist and pacifist texts. On the basis of these findings, I will attempt to evaluate these argumentative patterns critically with the help of adequate lists of critical questions, which in modern argumentation theory are used to systematically test the plausibility of argumentation. Finally, I would like to speculate about the possibility of an overall assessment of the quality of pro-war and anti-war argumentation (cf. Walzer 2015).

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Présentations différentes d'un contenu sémantique en latin : la synonymie syntaxique au niveau du syntagme et au niveau de la proposition

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1. La synonymie syntaxique est incrustée dans la langue comme une possibilité de choix, tant au niveau du syntagme qu'au niveau de la proposition. En effet, un même type de contenu sémantique peut être élaboré de manières diverses : le message qui le transmet peut avoir des points de départ différents, et les rapports internes de ce contenu peuvent être montrés d'une façon plus ou moins complexe. Au cours de la description grammaticale, nous devons tenir compte ainsi des différentes « présentations » du contenu, que la langue met à la disposition du locuteur : au cours de la formulation de son message, celui-ci est obligé de choisir entre des constructions caractéristiques qui ne s'opposent pas entre elles au point de vue logique, mais qui représentent des approches différentes du même contenu référentiel.

2. Ces oppositions présentationnelles peuvent concerner l'arrangement d'une phrase entière ou l'un de ses segments ; elles peuvent viser le mode d'expression de certaines relations sémantiques ou le rôle et le fonctionnement d'une structure dans le dynamisme communicatif.

2.1. En latin, au point de vue logico-sémantique, l'arrangement global de la phrase peut résulter du choix réalisé sur le plan de la diathèse. La présentation active *vs* passive du procès peut avoir des motifs différents, notamment le désir d'exprimer ou d'effacer l'agent ; le passif impersonnel permet d'effacer soit l'agent (*itur*), soit le patient (*disputatur a Petreio*, Caes. *civ.* 1,67,1). Le réfléchi à sens non-actif a son rôle à jouer à l'intérieur de la diathèse (une synonymie partielle existe entre *se movet* et *movetur*).

2.2. La variation de l'ordre des termes influe sur l'effet que la phrase exerce dans la communication (Spevak 2010). Dans le jeu du thème et du rhème, ce dernier tend à se placer à la fin de la phrase, en tant que porteur de l'information nouvelle ; un rhème initial porte un accent psychologique (Hofmann–Szantyr 1965: 403) : *Accepi tuas tris iam epistulas* (Cic. *Att.* 1,13,1). La thématisation d'un constituant peut se réaliser par extraposition initiale, également avec une valeur affective : *In viam quod te des hoc tempore nihil est* (Cic. *fam.* 14,12).

2.3. En ce qui concerne l'expression des relations grammaticales à un niveau inférieur à la phrase, celles-ci peuvent apparaître souvent avec une marque explicite supplémentaire, qui insiste sur l'existence de cette relation. L'expression du sujet pronominal – redondante en latin au sens strict du terme – est un exemple banal (accent particulier et nouveau thème introduit dans *Nos hic in re publica infirma misera commutabilique versamur* Cic. *Att.* 1,17,8). Certains subjonctifs automatiques de la subordonnée se ramènent à l'indication redondante de la dépendance, et le locuteur peut se libérer de l'automatisme (*nescio quid facis* pour *nescio quid facias*, Ernout–Thomas 1953: 314).

2.4. Le système linguistique prévoit des « présentations » emphatiques qui peuvent surgir à différents points de la phrase (répétition d'un élément au lieu de sa pronominalisation, ellipse, mise en relief liée à l'hyperbate, etc.).

3. L'existence des présentations constitue une possibilité de sauvetage lorsque l'un des termes de l'opposition est menacé (le futur remplacé par des périphrases : *dabit → dare habet*).

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Of Senses and Roles: Issues in joining the Latin WordNet and the Valency Lexicon for Latin

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This work describes the issues faced in pairing the valency frames of the valency lexicon Latin Vallex (Passarotti et al., 2016) with the synsets recorded in the Latin WordNet (Minozzi, 2017; Franzini et al., 2019) as they have been revised and enriched for inclusion in the LiLa Knowledge Base of Linguistic Resources for Latin (Mambrini et al., 2021). The "LiLa-Linking Latin" ERC funded project aims at reaching interoperability between the textual and lexical resources for Latin through the creation of an open-source Knowledge Base that has been built following the standards of the Linked Data paradigm (Passarotti et al., 2020). The Latin Vallex and the WordNet convey two different descriptions of lexical meaning: on the one hand there is the concept of linguistic valency (Fillmore, 1976; Ágel, 2009) which is used to denote the number of obligatory complements controlled by a word. In latin Vallex, these have been annotated using the guidelines of the Prague Dependency Treebank, which represent valency frames using labels for semantic roles such as ACT (Agent), PAT (Patient), BEN (Beneficiary), etc. (ref). On the other hand, a WordNet is based on the idea of synonymy in the broad sense: words are linked by synsets, sets of words "that are interchangeable in some context without changing the truth value of the proposition in which they are embedded" (https://wordnet.princeton.edu/). Despite their differences in scope (Passarotti et al., 2015), these two approaches are strictly related, since there tends to be one valency frame for each lexical sense of a word. This work is composed of two parts: the first part discusses the reasons behind the methods used in the ongoing manual refinement and extension of both the Latin Vallex and WordNet, and the issues involved in creating the synergy between synsets and valency frames. The second part lists case studies showing the research advantages of integrating these two resources with other linguistic and textual resources interlinked to the LiLa Knowledge Base. These could range from, for example, investigating the frequency and distribution of trivalent verbs with a certain meaning across the textual material linked in LiLa, to a ranking of the most frequently used bivalent deverbal nouns in the linked corpora.

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La colocación *rem gerere* en el origen de las 'gestas' romances

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El análisis de las colocaciones verbo-nominales en latín desde una perspectiva diacrónica permite comprobar cómo la evolución propia de la lengua se ve reflejada también en este tipo de combinaciones (Baños 2018). La renovación en las colocaciones se puede observar a partir de diferentes variaciones: una de las más comunes implica el cambio del colocativo, esto es, del verbo seleccionado por el sustantivo para la formación de colocaciones; tal es el caso de *iter facere* (*Rex pedibus **iter** plerumque **faciebat***, "El rey, por lo general, solía **marchar** a pie", Curt. 6, 5, 5), una de las construcciones más frecuentes y productivas en toda la latinidad ('marchar') que, desde época tardía, es desbancada por *iter agere* (Galdi 2018) (*post haec, p. c., quae, dum **iter agimus**, gesta sunt* [...] ("Padres conscriptos, después de estos hechos, que se llevaron a cabo mientras **marchábamos** [...]", Capitol. *Gord*. 27, 5).

Otra de las posibles evoluciones, y es la que aquí nos ocupa, tiene que ver con el hecho de que, debido a la alta frecuencia y naturalidad de una determinada construcción, en ocasiones, se acaba elidiendo el sustantivo y el verbo adquiere, por sí solo, el significado global de la combinación. Un ejemplo de este tipo de evolución es la colocación *vitam / tempus / aetatem agere* ('vivir'), tan interiorizada en el léxico de los hablantes que, con el tiempo, pasó a integrar todo su sentido en el verbo *agere*, sin necesidad de expresar el sustantivo (Jiménez Martínez & López Martín en preparación): *Tiberium quoque Rhodi **agentem** coluerat* ("Y también se había preocupado de Tiberio cuando **vivía** en Rodas", Tac. *ann*. 3, 48).

Pues bien, en esta ocasión vamos a tratar la evolución de una de las combinaciones más productivas en latín: *rem gerere* 'realizar hazañas/empresas'. A partir del análisis de un amplio corpus de historiadores latinos clásicos, posclásicos y tardíos (Salustio, César, Livio, Nepote, Curcio Rufo, Valerio Máximo, Veleyo Patérculo, Tácito, Suetonio, Aurelio Víctor, Eutropio, Amiano Marcelino, *Historia Augusta*), se pretende demostrar cómo la altísima frecuencia de esta combinación motivó, en primer lugar, su fosilización (*res gestas*, 'hazañas': *patrisque eius **res***

gestas […] *exposuit*, "y expuso las gestas de su padre […]", Suet. *gramm.* 27, 2), y, posteriormente, la elisión de *res* y su paso a las lenguas romances (e incluso en latín tardío) como 'gestas'.

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Per exempla: the forms and uses of example markers in Latin

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Besides being a rhetorical ornament that enriches the text, the *exemplum* is also a tool for persuasion and clarity in argumentation (Lyons 1989). From a linguistic point of view, exemplification typically entails an asymmetrical relation between two formal and logical units: an exemplified unit with a general referent and an exemplifying unit consisting of one or more elements that illustrate and specify the first unit (or *classe paradigmatique*, Landolsi 2018). From a semantic and syntactic perspective, this structure can be viewed as a non-prototypical type of apposition, since the exemplifying displays a relation of inclusion and partial co-referentiality with the exemplified (Quirk *et al.* 1985, Meyer 1992). Furthermore, exemplification also correlates with cognitive processes such as category building, list construction, and comparison (Lo Baido 2018, Barotto, Mauri 2018), and with discursive strategies such as reformulation, focalization, and hedging (Hyland 2007, Mihatsch 2010). In most languages, this wide range of functions is made explicit through various example markers, which usually precede the exemplifying unit and can be classified along a scale of formality, emphasis, and prosodic integration. Manzotti (1998) distinguishes four types of example markers: neutral (e.g., *for example, for instance*), comparative (e.g., *like, such as*), focalizing (e.g., *in particular, including*), and hypothetical (e.g., *say, let's say*).

This communication aims to provide an account of how exemplification is performed in Latin, with a focus on the different words (e.g., *ut, velut, praesertim, speciatim, forsan*), phrases (e.g., *exempli causa/gratia, verbi gratia, ad instar*), and constructions (e.g., *ut puta, ut si dices, si dicam*) which are exploited to mark the exemplifying sequence. To obtain an inventory of these expressions and analyze their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features, we will propose a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data gathered through the Library of Latin Texts (LLT) and the PHI Latin Texts corpora.

The research questions that will be addressed concern the functions and classification of the example markers, their different positions within the exemplifying construction and the pragmatic implications of this variation, the relative frequency in the diverse textual genres, and the processes of grammaticalization that some forms have undergone over time.

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Adulter (y *adultera*) en latín imperial

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Los primeros testimonios de *adulter* en latín apuntan a una sensible diferencia de uso con respecto a sus herederos modernos. Si hoy en día el término se aplica específicamente a quien, estando casado, se enreda en relaciones extramatrimoniales, en latín originariamente se empleaba para quien, estando o no casado, mantenía relaciones sexuales 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 *adulter* al sentido del español *amante* o del latín *amator*, esto es, a designar cualquier tipo de relación extramarital pero consentida, incluyendo las relaciones con mujeres solteras. *Adultera*, por su parte, término 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 y los atisbos de su futura evolución diacrónica que se vislumbran ya en el corpus considerado.

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Double dative constructions revisited: A reconciliatory approach

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The so-called "double dative constructions" contain a "dative of purpose" and a personal dative affected by the former. The dative of purpose is typically an abstract noun that functions as a predicate (e.g. note the coordination in (1) between *sibi esse gratam* and *mihi voluptati magnae fore*), whereby it is also referred to as a "predicative dative".

(1)   meam lenitatem et clementiam et sibi esse gratam et *mihi voluptati magnae* fore
        (Cic. *Att*. 14.19.2)

   The syntactic status of the personal dative is more disputed. Consider the following three competing analyses: in (1) a) *mihi* is a "dative of possession" and depends on the verb *fore* (Suárez Martínez 1992); b) *mihi* is an adnominal dative, i.e. it depends on the predicative dative (Baños 1995); c) *mihi* is the second argument of a two-place compositional verb phrase consisting of an abstract noun phrase in the dative and the copula (Dahl 2014). Cf. also Pinkster (2015, 2021) and Baños (2021) for non-uniform accounts based on the b) and c) analyses.

   Following a distinction between conceptual semantics and grammatical semantics (Bouchard 1995, i.a.), my proposal is based on the claim that the personal dative in double dative constructions is a *conceptual* argument of the predicative dative but is a *syntactico-semantic* adjunct of an extended predication formed by the verb and the predicative dative. My reconciliatory approach assumes some properties of the three analyses above but, at the same time, will be shown to differ from them: like in the a) and c) analyses, I contend that the personal dative in double dative constructions is not adnominal but mostly requires a verbal context for its licensing. Although the a) analysis can be said to receive support from the parallelism with the transitive possessive verb *habere* (e.g. cf. *Iste ceteris Siculis odio est* (Cic. *Ver*. 2.4.15) with *Ceteri Siculi istum odio habent*), it becomes problematic when dealing with transitive double dative constructions like the one in (2), where the possessor subject of the verb *habere* would not be expected to be reduplicated by an alleged "dative of possession", contrary to fact.

(2)   quod *viro* esse *odio* videas, tute *tibi odio* habeas (Plaut. *Men*. 111)

Although the personal dative is a conceptual argument of the predicative dative (see the b) analysis above), I contend that, unlike in the c) complex predicate analysis, the personal dative is syntactico-semantically related as an adjunct to the structure that contains the predicative dative and the verb. Dahl (2014) posited the c) complex predicate analysis only for the double dative construction with *esse* (e.g. note the parallelism like *{auxilio esse/auxiliari}* + personal dative). In this talk, I will argue against this analysis and against extending (a variant of) it to cover cases where (i) the verb is not *esse* and (ii) the predicative dative has been analyzed as an optional constituent: e.g. see (3), for which the adnominal analysis of the personal dative (i.e. the b) analysis above) was put forward by Pinkster (2021: 800).

(3)   *Ariobarzani* simul cum Agesilao *auxilio* profectus est. (Nep. *Tim*. 1.3)

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The presence and absence of introductory particles in subjunctive complement clauses in Plautus

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The aim of this presentation is to discuss the presence and absence of the conjunction *ut*, besides the use of other introductory particles, in the complete corpus of subjunctive substantive clauses in Plautus. Some hypotheses regarding the presence and absence of *ut* in subjunctive complement clauses following the verbs *facio* (Mazzanti 2020) and *volo* (Mazzanti forth.) have already been examined elsewhere. Now a more comprehensive view is pursued, so a database of all substantive clauses in Plautus was created, updating data from Durham (1901) and Bennett (1910/14). With this new database, we can obtain the synchronic distribution of such clauses and observe certain patterns. There are categories that do not allow the absence of the conjunction, while others display this feature abundantly. Explanations based on the semantic categories of main verbs and expressions and their relation to the subordinate verbs will be provided (using, for example, concepts developed by Cristofaro 2005). Then, those categories that allow the absence of conjunction will be further analysed. First, the distribution of morphosyntactic features of main and subordinate verbs will provide information about whether there is any kind of specialization, for example, if having the same subject triggers more easily the absence of conjunction, as in the case of the *fac venias* type. Second, the pragmatic level will be considered: is there a correlation between the concepts of performative verbs or metadirectives (Risselada 1993), among other pragmatic features, and the presence or absence of the conjunction? How can these correlations be explained? Finally, some hypothesis will

be suggested about what possible historical developments can be inferred from the synchronic distributions attested in the historical time.

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Few thoughts on the left periphery in Latin

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Interest in the study of Latin from the perspective of generative grammar has increased greatly in the last decades, especially in the fields of morphology and syntax. Contributing to this increase has certainly been the fact that Latin offers linguists a rather large corpus of data to draw on. This mitigates the difficulty stemming from the lack of a solid basis for investigation of syntactic structure, such as the comparison of grammatical and non-grammatical examples, and avoids a diminution in the predictive capability of syntactical theory. Grammatical analyses of Latin have essentially concentrated on synchronic aspects of the language, foregoing the most typical questions linked to a diachronic study.

The aim of this paper is to focus with reference to Latin on one aspect of the syntax – the left periphery – that has sparked the interest of many a researcher in the inter-linguistic perspective. As is well known, the term 'left periphery' refers to that area on the left of the subject, in the syntactic representation of a clause, where the relationships with the context are encoded.

In my work I am proposing a syntactic analysis that goes beyond mere sentence grammar and integrates discourse features as well while aiming at providing a theory of grammar able to encode the relationships between sentence grammar, context and bigger units such as discourses. Consequently, the CP-system, i.e., the notion of split Complementizer, is implied by the analysis I am going to propose. I give below a case of the phenomenon I intend to deal with:

tum   *Saturno*   *filius*   *qui*   *primus*   *natus*   *est*, *eum*   *necaverunt*
then$_{\text{PARTC}}$ Saturn$_{\text{DAT}}$ son$_{\text{NOM}}$ who$_{\text{NOM}}$ first$_{\text{NOM}}$ born   is,   he$_{\text{ACC}}$ kill$_{\text{PERF.IND.3P}}$
"they killed the son who was then the first-born of Saturn"

(Ennius, *Euhemerus*, FGH 63 F14).

Here the CP is that of a relative clause. Not only has '*Saturno*' shifted to the left of the relative pronoun in one of the split-CP projections, but also '*tum*' is found in what is the highest position of the left periphery of the relative clause.

However, a brief mention of Diachrony will be made to show how historical-comparative studies have evidenced a structural resemblance between the ancient Indo-European languages even in the left periphery of the sentence within which could land elements that were raised.

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Apte dicere. Locuzioni "epistemiche" e facework nell'oratoria di Cicerone

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Il contributo propone una ricognizione dell'uso di espressioni di carattere epistemico, parentetiche o meno, nella produzione oratoria di Cicerone. Squisitamente dialogiche, risorse di questo tipo hanno infatti una notevole rilevanza anche nell'*oratio*, seppure in parte diversa da quella che caratterizza il loro uso nello scambio dialogico vero e proprio, così come messo in scena dallo stesso Cicerone negli scritti di retorica e di filosofa.

Tra le funzioni che competono a questo tipo di locuzioni, ad esempio, particolarmente importanti appaiono nel discorso oratorio quelle di carattere pragmatico, per gli effetti diretti che possono avere sull'immagine che l'oratore presenta di sé, fondamentale per rendere la comunicazione efficace, cioè persuasiva.

In questa prospettiva, si prenderà in esame l'ampio e variato repertorio di espressioni presenti nelle orazioni del corpus ciceroniano (*ut opinor, ut arbitror, credo, ut sentio, ut mea opinio fert, mea sententia, meo animo* etc.), alla ricerca di possibili distinzioni di uso interne alla classe (come, per esempio tra locuzioni volte preferenzialmente a esplicitare lo statuto epistemico-evidenziale dell'asserzione e locuzioni per le quali appare invece prioritaria la valenza pragmatica). Particolare attenzione sarà riservata a un piccolo gruppo di locuzioni che, a prima vista equivalenti, appaiono invece impiegate da Cicerone per funzioni comunicative opposte (mitigazione vs boosting).

I risultati dell'analisi offriranno lo spunto per sviluppare alcune riflessioni sulle strategie pragmatiche che sostengono la performance dell'oratore, tanto nella costruzione di una sua specifica *persona* che nella gestione della relazione che essa intrattiene con il destinatario della comunicazione oratoria.

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¿Cómo pedir humildemente? La perífrasis *dignari* + inf.

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Como bien se sabe, el latín disponía de varias maneras con las cuales se podía expresar la petición y el ruego. El concepto de cortesía, así como las expresiones que significan "por favor" y su evolución hacia las lenguas romances fueron examinados por varios investigadores, entre los cuales cabe mencionar a Molinelli (2010, 2016), Ghezzi y Molinelli (2014, 2016), Dickey (2012, 2015, 2016), Unceta Gómez (2009, 2020), Fedriani (2017) y Hall (2009). El presente análisis pretende añadir una fórmula a la petición de cortesía que podría caracterizarse cómo "hiper cortés", en concreto la perífrasis *dignari* más infinitivo. Ésta aparece en estructuras como *rogo ut digneris facere* "pido que te dignes a hacer / te consideres digno de hacer", o sea "pido que seas tan amable de hacer". Está documentada por primera vez en las epístolas dirigidas por Plinio al emperador Trajano, es decir en situación de desigualdad social, y su frecuencia se acrecienta en los primeros siglos de nuestra era. Se encuentra en diferentes géneros literarios y en varios autores entre los que destacan los cristianos. Por lo tanto, la comunicación se basará en una examinación de la selección de textos de diferentes autores y géneros y enfocará sus condiciones de uso y su distribución en comparación con las

expresiones de ruego "regulares". Además, se plantearán factores que podrían haber contribuido a su surgimiento y extensión.

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Lexical creativity in the sermons of the 'Apuleian' bishop Zeno

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Not very much is known about Zeno, bishop of Verona in the '80s of the 4th century, perhaps born in Africa. A corpus of sermons (*Tractatus*) is attributed to him, including both complete texts and seemingly unfinished ones. Zeno's language is admittedly heavily indebted to the language of Apuleius, whose peculiar linguistic creativity is shown especially by lexical choices and lexical innovations. After a brief survey on the overall aspects of Zeno's (late) latin, his own lexical choices and innovations will be investigated in depth: including, e.g., rare Greek words, obscure technical terms (e.g., adj. in -*icius*), and lexical innovations (such as adj. in -*osus*, -*alis*, -*lentus*; subst. in -*tudo*). The investigation of these items will not focus on morphologic productivity as such; rather, it will aim to infer the motivations of Zeno's 'lexical creativity': among them, a crucial role is played by a taste for (a very Apuleian) verbal 'ludicity'.

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Substandard linguistic phenomena in the *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum*

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In 1999, the collection of *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* (*TPSulp*) was published by G. Camodeca which was reedited under the name *Tabulae Pompeianae Novae* (*TPN*) by J. G. Wolf. *TPSulp* as a collection of the archive of the Sulpicii banker family consists of 127 legal inscriptions on wax tablets according to the edition of Camodeca (http://www.ostia-antica.org/dict/topics/puteoli/presentation/puteoli-sulpicii.htm). These inscriptions contain 283 data, i. e. deviations from the classical norm recorded by me in the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (LLDB: http://lldb.elte.hu/). In my presentation, I would like to analyse these data recorded from *TPSulp* in the LLDB database.

A significant part of the recorded data demonstrates phonological changes (84%), with the majority being consonantism (53%) compared to the vocalism (31%). However, the morpho-syntactical data are not well attested in this corpus (only 6%), just like non-grammatical errors, as purely orthographic misspellings (only 10%).

Nevertheless, what makes these linguistic data notable is the peculiar distribution of the linguistic changes in these documents. Out of the 283 data, the majority, namely 197 data, comes from five documents: 55 data from *TPSulp* 52; 57 data from *TPSulp* 51; 47 data from *TPSulp* 68; 20 data from *TPSulp* 67; and 18 data from *TPSulp* 45. These documents also have a common feature, they all belonged to a group of legal submissions written by certain clients of the banker Sulpicius. The data always appear on the part of the document, which was definitely written by the parties. This position of the data may indicate that the distribution of the linguistic phenomena in the documents of *TPSulp* is related to certain features of the social background of these clients of the Sulpicii. These phenomena of *TPSulp,* to the best of my knowledge, were never examined in detail so far (despite Adams 2013). Therefore, I would like to focus on this issue in my presentation analysing the linguistic changes in the light of the data in the LLDB database.

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A New Approach to the Etymology of Latin *testa* 'earthenware' and *tesqua/tesca* '?'

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There is no doubt that the Latin word *testa* 'earthenware (like a pot)' was very important as daily vocabulary, as shown by and its inheritance into the Romance languages, e.g., Italian *testa* and French *tête* 'head' (with a well-known figurative semantic shift). Nevertheless, its etymology has long been disputed.

Given that it refers to earthenware objects, one might want to associate *testa* with *terra* '(surface of the) earth' and claim that *testa* is a product of *torreō* 'scorch' (← PIE √*ters-* 'dry up'), i.e., *'a burnt thing' — a nominalized, perfect passive participle. Under this morpho-semantic interpretation, the original form would include the verbal root in zero grade, i.e., **tr̥s-to-*; however, its reflex is *tosto-* (via **tors-to-*; see below for this consonant cluster reduction) with *o*-vocalism (see Walde and Hofmann II: 676). A mechanical reconstruction of the *e*-grade, as seen in Sihler (1995: 504), remains unmotivated. Thus, de Vaan (2008: 617) tentatively regards the form as a loanword (see also Schrijver 1991: 423), denying the derivation from **tek̑-* 'to build' (though supported by Walde and Hofmann) for several reasons, too.

It is true that the names of tools often spread with the items they represent, but it is still too early to give up looking for the origin of our word from Latin and Indo-European perspectives. My paper aims to present a novel etymology by proposing a connection with the verb *terg(e)ō* 'wipe clean/dry'. One of the features of the form, particularly notable for our purposes, is that the perfect passive participle *tersum* shows *e*-vocalism. The derivation from the stem *ters-* by *-to-* results in *testo-* with loss of *-r-* in the consonant cluster *-rst-* as with *testis* 'witness' (< **tersti-*; see Weiss 2020: 196). Derivatives in *-tu-* also trigger the same phonological change; thus, words such as *testūdō* '(the shell of a) tortoise' will join our discussion. My paper will demonstrate how these forms were morphologically derived by referring to other examples.

In terms of semantics, *testa* and *terg(e)ō* are well compatible with each other; in some cases, the former means 'tile' or 'pavement', and its water-resistant feature is in good agreement with the action indicated by *terg(e)ō*. Note that the semantic range of the verb is wider than this; based on several passages where it appears, keeping one thing away from another seems to be its basic concept. This nuance is extremely useful for examining the poorly attested word in Latin, *tesqua/tesca*, which has resisted firm interpretation; philological analyses suggest that this form is used to represent an area which is not normally accessible to the public (see Weiss 2010: 322). In this regard, my paper will etymologically link *tesqua/tesca* with *testa* and *terg(e)ō*.

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Metaphor between cognition and emotion in Imperial Latin texts

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This paper, based on the corpus-oriented approach, will explore the discussion of metaphor in the 2nd c. CE Latin passages on the cognitive and communicative force of language (especially Flav. Caper *Verb. Dub.* 109, Calp. Flacc. *Decl.* 10.15, Aul. Gell. *NA* 9, 9, 1-2; 9, 10; cf. also 9, 15). Greek and Latin theoretical passages on mental visuality, emotions, and embodied metaphor reveal the attention of Roman intellectuals to the communicative processes and interaction of language, mind and emotion. Roman authors were aware that emotional context specifically modulates mental simulation during metaphor processing. Emotions are often expressed metaphorically, and both emotions and metaphors are means of anchoring abstract meaning in language. The emotional context modulated the neural response in visual motion areas to the metaphorical interpretation of the sentences, but not to their literal interpretation.

Furthermore, contemporary research permits us to interpret Roman 2nd century CE analysis from a new psycholinguistic perspective. Being natural and universal metaphors depend on multi-layered cultural, religious, political and social codes, in other words, on 'common ground'. Roman 2nd century CE evidence on the discourses on communicational process and the interaction of speaking and meaning can significantly enrich the present exploration of cognitive metaphor.

Building on the recent studies on enactivism (Newen, e.a. 2018) and on my previous research (Novokhatko 2017, 2019, 2021), this paper will discuss bodily and experiential grasp brought by metaphor and the way and terms Latin grammarians discussed the grasp.

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Investigating dimensions of lexical-semantic variation in Latin with distributional methods

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A number of studies have stressed the role of sociolinguistic factors (Leiwo et al. 2012; Adams 2013) in lexical-semantic variation. Scholars have investigated the role of literary style (Traina et al. 2002), genre (Poccetti et al. 1999), register (Väänänen 1971; Herman 1975; Zamboni 2003; Clackson 2011; Cuzzolin 2014) and other social variables (Leiwo 2012). Although scholars have widely recognized the multi-dimensional nature of language variation in ancient languages (Leiwo et al. 2012) and its role as a precondition for semantic change (Chambers 2008), no study has yet given a quantitative account of how lexical meaning varies across different types of texts.

Distributional semantic methods (Lenci 2008), which rely on the quantitative analysis of word co-occurrence patterns in corpora, have been proven effective in assessing semantic (dis)similarity between terms and enable large-scale variational analyses of corpora. In recent studies, collocation-based techniques, count vectors and word embeddings models have also been employed to study lexical-semantic variation in Greek and Latin in a diachronic perspective (Sprugnoli et al. 2019; McGillivray et al. 2019; Nowak 2020; McGillivray and Nowak 2022).

Adopting the framework proposed in Biber and Conrad (2009), we investigate how text varieties contribute to and explain sense variation in Latin. To what extent are the same words used with different meanings in poetry compared to prose? How does the words' semantics correlate with the communicative purpose or register of texts? In which text types single authors use the same terms with different senses? Which words preserve a stable meaning across different text varieties?

We address these questions by applying a range of distributional methods (collocation analysis, count vectors and word embeddings) to the texts collected in the LatinISE corpus (McGillivray and Kilgariff 2013) and covering the period from the 2nd century BCE to the 7th century CE. We combine a quantitative evaluation with an in-depth corpus study which helps us explain observed patterns.

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On the evolution of Latin motion verbs. A view from Vindolanda

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The aim of this paper is an interpretation of the diachronic development of Latin motion verbs based on data from the Vindolanda tablets and other non-literary texts (e.g., similar collections such as the Bloomberg tablets, Carlisle, Vindonissa). While previous analyses have shown how these documents display features of non-classical language (e.g., for cases and prepositions expressing the goal, see

Adams 1995: 110; 2003: 551; Mackay 1999; Halla-Aho 2009; see also Cabrillana 1997; Van Laer 2019), the focus of my survey is a comparison with the general picture of motion verbs in classical literary texts with respect to aspectual and deictic features (e.g. telic *venio* vs. non-telic *eo*; or centripetal vs. centrifugal orientation; see Hofmann & Szantyr 1965:301-303; Ricca 1993; Nuti 2016).

At first sight, a peculiarity of the tablets is the overwhelmingly high frequency of *venio* as opposed to other motion verbs, whose occurrence is considerably limited. This phenomenon – to be compared to a similar tendency in Cicero's letters, but also in other Classical Latin texts – does not fully match later trends in Late Latin and Romance, where *venio* continues to be used complementarily with several other verbs (i.e., not only *eo*, but also *vado*, *ambulo*, etc.). I will therefore evaluate the impact of textual requirements specific to epistolary texts that might explain the use of motion verbs shown in the Vindolanda letters. Eventually, I will try to account for the state-of-affairs displayed in Vindolanda within a framework that includes also secondary typological developments apparently not foregrounded in typological descriptions and which, however, may be relevant factors in the diachronic drift of Latin motion verbs towards a configuration centered around a deictic principle (i.e. centrifugal or "itive" *eo* – centripetal or "ventive" *venio*; cf. *go* vs. *come*; see Wilkins & Hill 1995; Goddard 1997).

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The distribution of *-ia/-ies* suffixes in Latin abstract nouns

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Latin *-ia/-ies* (and *itia/-ities*) suffixes form abstract nouns derived from adjectives or nouns, such as *laetitia* (< *laetus*) 'joy', *militia* (< *miles*) 'military service' respectively, but also from verbs, like *species* (< *specio*) 'appearance'.

Both suffixes share meaning, and they also can be found in doublets, like the entirely synonymous *materia/materies* 'material', *planitia/planities* 'flat surface', *mollitia/mollities* 'softness', *luxuria/luxuries* 'luxury' and so on.

The distribution of these suffixes has been studied from different points of view. Setting aside the diachronic considerations (a.o. Pedersen 1926, Gil 1969, Palmer 1954), we will present the most relevant studies based on phonological or morphological conditioning of the suffix selection.

Recent studies, framed in Optimality Theory, consider that the distribution of both allomorphs is due to phonological conditioning. In an early work, Mester 1994 attributes either iambic (*ămō > ămŏ* 'I love') or cretic shortening (*dēsinō > dēsinŏ* 'I give up') to achieve 'full parsing into bimoraic trochees' (Mester 1994: 186). In the same way, Ito & Mester 2006 assume that the allomorph selection depends on prosodic issues, specifically on the base final syllable weight. Thus, in order to permit a correct syllable parsing, variant *-ia* follows stems with heavy final syllables (*audāciă/*audāciēs* 'audacity'), while *-ies* follows stems with light final syllables (*pernĭciēs/*pernĭciă* 'ruin'*)*. In the first case, variant *-ia* permit the correct parsing (H)('H)(LL), avoiding (H)('H)L(H) parsing, which left the penultimate syllable unparsed. On the other hand, in the second case, the variant *-ia* impedes the correct parsing, leaving the final light syllable unparsed in **pernĭciă*: ... (LL)L, while *-ies* allows the full parsing: (LL)(H).

Although this analysis seems to explain successfully in most cases the distribution of both suffixes, there are a set of words, such as the aforementioned *luxŭria/luxŭries* that display derived words with both suffixes, in spite of the defective parsing of *luxŭria*: ...(LL)L.

On the other hand, Palmer 1954 and Gil 1969 relate the selection of the variant to the class of the word base: *-ies* conforms deverbal nouns, such as *species* (< *specio*), or forms doublets in denominal nouns, such as *luxuria/luxuries*. Also, there are deadjectival doublets in *-tia/-ties* (e.g., *planitia/planities*, *mollitia/mollities*).

The goal of this work is twofold: on the one hand, to present the two basic point of view presented above and discuss their pros and cons. On the other hand, to give an analysis taking into account both phonological and morphological conditioning.

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Towards the Semantics and Pragmatics of Patient-preserving Lability in Early and Classical Latin: a Corpus-based Approach

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Patient-preserving lability (P-lability) or labile verbs refers to the phenomenon in which a verbal form can be used either transitively or intransitively without a formal change in the verb and with the preservation of the patient-like argument in the intransitive alternant (Kulikov 2014). An example in Latin is *converto*, which can occur in its transitive form (1a) and in its intransitive form with the omission of the agent and with a patient-like argument as its subject (1b). Patient-preserving lability

is a strategy to express the causative-anticausative alternation in Latin, with (1a) exemplifying the causative alternant and (1b) the anticausative alternant (Gianollo 2014; Cennamo & al. 2015).

(1)   (a)   <u>Bomilcar</u> (...) ne <u>praemia</u> Metelli in pestem **convorteret**
              "that he (Bomilcar) did not turn Metellus' profits into ruin"
              (Sall. *Iug.* 70, 5)
       (b)   Ne ista vobis <u>mansuetudo et misericordia</u> (...) in miseriam **convortat**
              "Hopefully, your clemency and pity do not turn into misfortune for you"
              (Sall. *Catil.* 52, 26)

In Early and Classical Latin, P-lability mostly occurs with degree achievements and indefinite change verbs, while achievements and accomplishments rarely display P-lability (Cennamo & al. 2015). Most verbs appearing in the causative-anticausative alternation are change-of-state and motion verbs that lack agent-oriented meaning components, both in Latin and in languages in general (Feltenius 1977, Haspelmath 1993, Gianollo 2014, Cennamo & al. 2015). Together with the mediopassive strategy (2a) and the reflexive strategy (2b), the labile strategy is one of the strategies to express the anticausative of an (originally) transitive verb in Latin (Gianollo 2014, Cennamo & al. 2015, Pinkster 2015).

(2)   (a)   in infimoque orbe <u>Luna</u> radiis Solis accensa **convertitur**.
              "And in the lowest sphere, the Moon, set on fire by the rays of the Sun, revolves"
              (Cic. *rep.* 6, 17)
       (b)   at <u>Agesilaus</u> in Phrygiam **se convertit**
              "But Agesilaus turns [himself] to Phrygia"
              (Nep. *Ages*. 3, 2)

Nevertheless, how P-lability exactly behaves in Early and Classical Latin remains largely unknown. A corpus-based approach to the anticausative alternation can shed new light on its distribution and the occurrence of lability during this period. Although lability became a generalized anticausative strategy in Late Latin, not every verb can display lability in Early and Classical Latin and, for many verbs, the mediopassive is the only available anticausative strategy. This paper discusses the semantic and pragmatic constraints determining the choice for P-lability, including the agentivity of the subject of the anticausative alternant, causalness of the verb (i.e. the ratio between the number of causative and anticausative uses, see Haspelmath & al. 2014 for its application in linguistic typology), Aktionsart, verbal class, date and register of the texts and the prose-poetry distinction (see Feltenius 1977).

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Between Linguistics and Stylistics: Nominal Compounding and Literary Genre in Latin

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In the last decades, linguistic research has developed useful tools for a better comprehension of the morphological structure of Latin compounds (e.g, Brucale 2012; Fruyt 2005; 2011; Lindner 2002; 2011-15; 2018; Oniga – Re 2017; Re 2020). Yet, there is also much to be done on the stylistic side of this phenomenon. We have collected linguistic data from a group of authors dating from the 3rd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D., and this material has been investigated aiming to consider the following aspects: 1. exam of each member of the compound (grammatical category and presence of suffixes, according to the typology proposed by Oniga 1988); 2. frequency of each compound in the Latin language; 3. notes on the literary use of each compound . First of all, analysing the two members of the compound under a linguistic light and considering the link between them could explain either the reasons of their historical origin and the use of each compound. Secondly, examining Latin compounds under a literary point of view (in the perspective of Diguet 2014), could explain why an author decided to create a nominal compound and to use it in a specific context. But the main goal of our research is to establish if links can be highlighted in the occurrence of some peculiar types of nominal compounds and the literary genre of the text in which they are used. The results of our research will try to show that certain types, as *bahuvrīhi* compounds and some kind of *nomina agentis*, are mainly used by poets than by prose writers while, on the opposite, the latter often prefer other types of compounds, like *nomina actionis* or nominal *abstracta*, which are poorly attested in poetry, especially in epics. Other types, as determinative compounds (*karmadhāraya*), result to be always very rare in every genre of Latin literature. Examples of each typology will be shown in order to prove our hypotheses on the base of statistical data.

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Variation et évolution de la négation du latin aux langues romanes

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Le latin classique est une langue 'compositionnelle' à double négation (DN) : la présence de deux *items* négatifs engendre une interprétation positive pour les éléments quantifiés. En latin classique, *nemo, nullus, nihil, numquam, nusquam,* etc. sont des quantifieurs négatifs pleins. En revanche, la concordance négative (NC), qui cumule plusieurs éléments morphologiquement négatifs, mais où un seul exprime la négation, est en contraste avec le « principe de compositionalité », qui pose que l'interprétation sémantique d'une proposition est le résultat de la somme des sens de ses composants. La DN, qui est normalement un phénomène non marqué en latin classique, devient plus rare, marquée et contrastive dans les langues romanes.

La présence d'une négation cumulative dans une structure a-compositionnelle engendre la positivisation des « N-words », en effaçant leur charge négative. Le but de notre travail est de montrer que l'évolution diachronique des « N-words » se situe au cœur du changement de l'état de DN du latin classique à celui de NC des langues romanes. L'évolution consiste du passage de l'emploi comme quantifieurs pleinement négatifs réalisant la DN en latin classique à un emploi qualitatif comme indéfinis génériques (« free choice ») en latin tardif et dans les langues romanes. Le procès évolutif prend en compte principalement la *positivisation* des indéfinis, comme l'avait suggéré Meyer-Lübke, et le jeu alterné de l'affaiblissement de la négation propositionnelle *non* et des « N-words », auxquels elle se met en relation dans la phrase. Il faut, donc, postuler *un basculement* entre la force négative de la négation de phrase *non* et le pronom négatif. Dans la NC, la force de la négation *non* est moindre en présence d'un pronom négatif sujet, mais elle est la plus grande en présence d'un TPN jouant d'autres rôles sémantiques.

Notre analyse focalise sur des contextes minoritaires, contrastifs, où une forme, presque disparue à un état de la langue, peut réapparaître comme marquée (c'est le cas de la DN en latin tardif et dans les langues romanes).

Néanmoins les témoignages parallèles de la NC révélés par des langues voisines, tels que l'osque et le grec ancien, seront également pris en compte en ce qui concerne leur impacte dans le diasystème du latin.

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Sull'etimologia del lat. *ballo* ('ballare')

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Si tenterà di avanzare una nuova ipotesi sull'etimologia del lat. *ballo*, 'ballare' (cfr. pure il gr. βαλλίζω), anche alla luce degli esiti romanzi e di alcune testimonianze epigrafiche e vascolari.

Particolare attenzione sarà inoltre riservata al rapporto fra il lat. *addenso / denso* e l'it. 'danzare', nonché al valore del gr. σακκάζω (da σάκκος, 'tela per filtrare').

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The thing is … : Observations on the largest noun in Latin: the entry *res* in the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*

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In the archives of the Thesaurus linguae Latinae, the material of the word *res* comprises about 22,000 slips, *res* thus being the most common noun in the Latin language. The large amount of material and the fact that the word usually gets its meaning from its association with accompanying adjectives and verbs made the editing of the *Thesaurus* entry extremely demanding.

Starting from the basic etymological meaning (from reh₁-i-, cf. e. g. Ved. rayí-) 'property, goods, wealth', *res* makes an astonishing development to end up as a word almost without a meaning of its own. It has hardly survived in Romance languages: only isolated usages like French ‚rien' or ‚car' (from *quare*) live on.

The work on the entry for *res* in the TLL was finished in 2022 and in this talk I will discuss various aspects of this word, syntactic as well as semantic. The focus will be particularly on special meanings and a few syntactic phenomena, as well as on the anaphoric and cataphoric function of the word to refer to preceding or following states of affairs or segments of discourse.

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On *de* + ablative and περί + genitive as arguments of nominal predications

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The study of Syntax and Semantics has traditionally focused on the prototypical predication formed by a verb and its arguments. However, it is quite common to find that the argument structure developed by a verb (1) can also occur when the head of the predication is a noun (2).

1.

    a.   *vae illi, qui tam indiligenter observavit ianuam* ("Woe to the person who has so carelessly kept the door", Pl. *As.* 273)

2.

    a.   *Nunc communiter ad omnium gemmarum observationem pertinentia dicemus opiniones secuti auctorum* ("Regarding the observation of precious stones in general, we will make some points following the opinions expressed by various authors", Plin. *Nat.* 37.196)

Moreover, it is also frequent to take as the basis of the analysis one verb or group of verbs to stablish their predicate frames. However, it has been shown that the meaning of a sentence does not rely only on the verb but stems from the construction (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001; Langacker 2008).

In this study I take as the starting point two prepositional phrases in ancient Greek and Latin to test to what extent their distributional patterns agree or differ. Specifically, I will investigate the data of περί + genitive and *de* + ablative, which share some common traits: they express the referent of communicative or cognitive State of Affairs (3) and they can develop into a Topic marker in the left-periphery (Bortolussi 2017: 106–107) (4).

3.

    a.   *ego de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea diligenter* ("I have already told you before about my circumstances", Cic. *Att.* 1.2)

    b.   τοῦτο μὲν ἔξεστι λέγειν καὶ περὶ ζωγράφων καὶ περὶ τεκτόνων ("This may also be said about painters and artisans", Pl. *Prt.* 312)

4.

    a.   *De domo et Curionis oratione, ut scribis ita est* ("As for the house and Curio's discourse, it is as you write", Cic. *Att.* 3.20)

    b.   περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων διωρίσθω τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ("As for these, they are divided the following way", Arist. *Poet.* 1147b)

The study, moreover, will focus specifically on the prepositional phrases of περί and *de* modifying a noun phrase. The main objective is to explore whether these phrases tend to associate to specific semantic fields, as well as to compare how the two classical languages behave in this regard.

The main hypothesis is that these phrases function as an argument in a subtype of transitive construction. This construction, related to the elaboration or transmission of information, allows to understand both the most frequent uses of these noun phrases as well as those only explainable through metaphor or metonymy.

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"Come per esso latino": Linking to the LiLa Knowledge Base a glossary of Latin loanwords from the Italian works of Dante Alighieri

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This contribution details the process of linking a glossary of Latin loanwords from the Italian works of Dante Alighieri to the LiLa Knowledge Base of Linguistic Resources for Latin. The ERC funded "LiLa-Linking Latin" project aims to reach interoperability between the existing textual and lexical resources for Latin through the creation of an open-ended Knowledge Base following the principles of the Linked Data paradigm (Passarotti et al., 2020). The core of the Knowledge Base is the Lemma Bank, a collection of about 200,000 Latin citation forms taken from the database of the morphological analyzer LEMLAT (Passarotti et al., 2017). Interoperability is achieved by linking the entries in lexical resources and tokens in corpora which point to the same lemma. The glossary was developed by Giulia Pedonese during her PhD course in Italian linguistics and collects the Latin loanwords attested in the four Italian works by XIIIth Century writer and poet Dante Alighieri (*Rime*, *Vita Nova*, *Convivio* and *Commedia*) as they are included in *DanteSearch*, a digital corpus collecting Dante's Italian and Latin works lemmatised with grammatical and syntactic marking (Tavoni, 2012). A total of 774 loanwords were selected by applying lexicological criteria to both the Italian and the Latin works of Dante Alighieri, whose bilingual production was oriented towards the legitimation of Italian as a literary language, achieved also by the implementation of the Italian lexicon with the support of Latin. The glossary includes information relevant to the historical linguistic framing of the loan, such as the loan type, which may be phono-morphological, semantic or due to translation, and its relative position of first attestation or *hapax legomenon* in the lexicon of XIIIth Century Italian as represented by the Corpus TLIO and Corpus OVI (Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, http://www.ovi.cnr.it/). This contribution will have two parts: in the first part it will show and evaluate the process of linking the loanwords, modelled as Italian lexical entries, to the corresponding Latin lemmas in the Lemma Bank and the ontologies used, namely the Ontolex-lemon model and LemonETY, an extension of Ontolex designed to model etymological information linked to lexical entries (Khan, 2018; Mambrini et al., 2020) which has already been used to link a glossary of Ancient Greek loanwords to the LiLa Knowledge Base (Franzini et al., 2020). The second part will discuss the modelling of other linguistic and lexicographic information originally included in the glossary and will present a few queries that can be run on the resources interlinked in LiLa. The queries will exploit particularly the interoperability permitted by LiLa between the glossary of Latin loanwords and the syntactically annotated Latin texts of Dante Alighieri provided by the UDante treebank (Passarotti et al., 2021) which is already included in the Knowledge Base.

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Syntactical Graecisms in the Latin New Testament Epistles

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The Latin translations of the New Testament reveal the influence of the Greek original sources in lexicon, syntax and word order. In the Latin Bible, lexical and syntactical calques of the Greek text are widespread: for instance, the genitive absolute *eorum omnium pereuntium* at 2 Peter 3:11 is attested in the citation of Pseudo-Augustine's *Liber de divinis scripturis* in place of the ablative absolute. This paper examines the syntactical constructions attested in the Latin New Testament Epistles which are affected by the Greek language. The instances under analysis are gathered from the Pauline and Catholic Epistles with a special focus on the First Letter to the Corinthians. Both the direct and indirect traditions of the Vetus Latina, namely the earliest translations transmitted by manuscripts and citations of Christian writers, will be examined with the aim of identifying cases in which the Latin syntax was influenced by Greek. The Latin versions contained in bilingual manuscripts, in which the Greek and Latin texts are put near each other, are likely to be heavily influenced by Greek syntax. Conversely, the biblical text quoted by the Church Fathers who received a rhetorical training, such as Jerome, Augustine and Marius Victorinus, is expected to be closer to the Latin standard language of the time. However, it will be demonstrated that this assumption is not always true. The Vetus Latina will be also compared with the Vulgate, the revision of the Latin translations accomplished by anonymous authors in the late fourth century, to observe whether the Vulgate keeps the Greek constructions or changes them according to the norms of the Latin language.

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Il lessico del vestiario nel glossario latino-greco degli "Hermeneumata Celtis"

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Com'è noto, quello degli *Hermeneumata Celtis* è il più esteso glossario bilingue latino-greco (organizzato in sezioni tematiche) a noi pervenuto dalla tarda antichità, tràdito 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.

Nel presente studio, che si inserisce nel più ampio progetto di edizione *online Onomastikón. Studi di lessicografia greca e latina* (https://onomastikon.altervista.org), saranno esaminati dal punto di vista linguistico ed ecdotico i termini relativi al lessico del vestiario, che si rinvengono nella sezione 31 di tale glossario, con specifico riguardo ad alcune particolarità lessicali, come, ad esempio, *HC gloss*. 31,68 *anabulare* / ἀναβολή; *HC gloss*. 31,100 *absus* / πόκος. Di tali forme, poco o per nulla altrove attestate, si chiarisce la valenza semantica e si delineano gli sviluppi nel latino medievale e i possibili esiti romanzi.

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Ablativus absolutus with the perfect participle: grammatical relations and diathesis

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The Latin structure in which a noun (or a pronoun) combines with another element (an adjective, a noun, a participle), both in the ablative, without any preposition or conjunction and with the function of a dependent proposition, was labelled *ablativus absolutus* (AA henceforth) by Medieval grammarians (Scaglione 1970). Previously, Latin grammarians used to deal with such constructions under the heading devoted to the ablative (or to the participle). Subsequently, the school tradition has usually described the AA in terms of lack of coreference linkage to the matrix clause.

After discussing some general issues relating to the analysis of AA (cf. Serbat 1979, Coleman 1989, Bauer 1993, Ramat 1994, Molinelli 2001), this paper focuses on those instances of AAs that contain a perfect participle, diachronically the source of Romance participial absolute constructions (Loporcaro 2003). In fact, in Latin, the implicit agent of the participle is fairly commonly coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause (Hoff 1989, Remmelink 2002, Pinkster 2021: 394, Spieralska 2021), as is also confirmed by the following examples given by the grammarian Diomedes: [...] *audito hoc verbo respondit*, [...] *inventa veritate tacuit, peracta oratione sedit* [...] (*GL* I 317.10; Milani 2001, Sluiter 2000). This raises the question whether the alleged absoluteness rule is thus broken or not.

The purpose of this paper is to rethink the description of AA by discussing the coreference linkage and highlighting the diathetic properties of the participle as well as the grammatical relations of the noun combined with it, supposedly its subject.

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Light verbs and Aktionsart: a case study

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The proposed talk aims at reflecting on the aspectual value of light verb constructions (LVCs) having *facio* and *habeo / teneo* as light verbs (LVs) and motion nouns like *iter* and *cursus* as predicative nouns.

In literature it has often been observed that the choice of LVs is relevant from the *Aktionsart* viewpoint. Flobert (1996: 195-196) notes that *facio* is *ponctuel*, and that "*tenere* rend quelque vigueur à *habere*", as well as that "les préfixes servent à redonner de la force" to these verbs. Likewise, Spevak (2014: 252) notes that *iter facio* "marks the accomplishment of *iter*", whereas García-Hernández (1989a, 1989b) highlights that also prefixes can have an aspectual value.

In this study we try to understand (1) to what extent *facio* can be considered as a telic LV, (2) and which are the differences with regard to the selection of *habeo / teneo*.

The study will deal with the period covered by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and take into account LVCs such as *iter facio/habeo/*(*teneo*) and *cursum facio/habeo/*(*teneo*).

The expected result is a revision of the actual aspectual values of the LVs under examination.

It seems, in fact, that *facio* does not always have a telic value. For, it can co-occur with phasal verbs like *coepi*, which can be used exclusively with durative verbs (1), and with the modifier 'for-x-time', marking atelicity (2):

1)   *Nauitae hauquaquam dubitantes, quin perisset, cursum, quem facere coeperant, tenuerunt.*
        (GELL. 16.19.15)
2)   *Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt* (CAES. *Gall.* 1.15.4)

On the other hand, *facio* is telic when prefixed, e.g. with *cum-*, as shown by the co-occurrence with the modifier 'in-x-time', that marks telicity:

3)   *ea cursum anno conficit et latitudinem lustrans signiferi orbis et longitudinem* (CIC. *nat. deor.* 2.53)

Conversely, the use of *habeo* with motion nouns like *iter* seems to be atelic (4), as well as that of *teneo* (1):

4)   *Nuntiatur Afranio magnos commeatus, qui iter habebant ad Caesarem, ad flumen constitisse*
        (CAES. *Gall*. 1.51.1)

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Sonoritas and word order. The types of hyperbata in the sepulchral late Latin inscriptions

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Late Latin sepulchral poetry is a versification "compendium" in which metaphors, hyperbata and euphonic effects all obey the constraints of metrical technique, mostly in hexametric verses or elegiac distiches. The euphonic function of anastrophe and verse hyperbaton is the primary objective of our investigation in this paper. Recent works, especially contributions such as those by Perez, R. H. (2001, 2006, 2017) and Bolanos, A. B. (2019), have taken a meticulous philological approach to the poetic inscriptions from Roman Hispania and Gallia Narbonensis. From a linguistic perspective, the relationship between contrasting syllabic sequences and hyperbaton in verse has been less fully explored and this is the main focus of our research. The present paper has mainly three objectives.

The first, the typology criterion researches the verse median fields in order to check out if in verses are median fields similar to those found and described in prose (Popan M., 2012 and 2017). In addition, it will be verified whether compact nominal groups similar to those from prose occur in some verses.

The second goal examines the common action of euphony (*sonoritas*) and word scrambling for creating the disjunctions in sepulchral verses. In our proposed corpus, we have collected verses that make evident such an authorial motivation to sound contrasts between syllables having "i" *tenuis* and "i" *crassa* for "i" vowel; "e" *brevis* and "e" *longa* for "e" vowel; "o" *brevis* and "o" *longa* for "o" vowel. These examples indicate that the hyperbaton must be subordinated to euphony (in Latin "*sonoritas*") in a much higher degree as usual noticed.

The third objective is to examine the contrast between verses with a smaller degree of word-order scrambling and those with hyperbata: it is argued that authors chose to juxtapose lines with different word order patterns having different verse prosody.

Three verses cited below, taken from a late Latin sepulchral inscription, indicate this prosody opposition: two verses "Hic recubat dignus Christo levita sacratus" and "Nomine dictus Aper Gallorum partibus ortus", near to prose style, enclose another interposed vers "**Totam** [qui *sancto* (tenuit) *moderamine*] **vitam**" which has a double hyperbaton:

Dignus Christo levita sacratus recubat.
Totam qui *sancto* tenuit *moderamine* **vitam**
Aper Gallorum partibus ortus nomine dictus
CEL CLE 00780 Bücheler-Lommatzsch
.

As research corpus, our paper proposes a selection of 50 poems chosen from the online collection *Carmina epigrafica*: Bücheler-Lommatzsch Collection in order to trace among them some observable and statistically recordable disjunction-hyperbaton processes.

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AcI redux. Remarques sur l'*AcI* en diachronie longue : du latin mérovingien au latin classique

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L'*AcI* a toujours été un sujet très controversé en linguistique latine :

> « À vrai dire, l'A.c.I. est une construction qui a tout ce qu'il faut pour étonner le grammairien. Le cas du sujet de l'A.c.I. est, comme l'a bien dit H. Hirt (1937, 115) tout à fait inattendu : Mir kommt es höchst sonderbar vor, daß in einer Sprache, die den Nom. und Akk. seit langem regelrecht unterscheidet, der Akk. auf einmal als Nominativ gebraucht werden soll » (Lavency, in *GFL* 10, 126)

Dans notre communication, nous nous proposons de réexaminer la problématique de cette construction en nous fondant entre autres sur l'excellente analyse de l'AcI présentée par le prof. M. Lavency dans la *GFL* X, 97–192. (Cf. également Hofmann/Szantyr 1965/1972, 353–363 §194–

198; *OLS* 2021, II 17–20 §14.8; 157–190 §15.92–15.108; Schauer/Burkard, 2020, 674–697 §477–487).

Notre réflexion s'appuiera sur les constations suivantes :

(1) l'AcI est constitué dès les débuts attestés de la langue latine ;

(2) Il est indiqué de distinguer entre les verbes déclencheurs **préceptifs,** *iubere…* et **admonitifs**, *admonere*, (Wackernagel 1920/2009, I 263-264), d'un côté, les *verba sentiendi et dicendi…* de l'autre ;

(Sur cette distinction fondamentale, cf. *GFL* X, 111–116 ; Pinkster/Kroon 2006, §5.4.2, 57 ; Pinkster 1990, 126–130 §7.4.2–7.4.4 ; *OLS* II 17 §14.8).

(3) Le latin écrit dans le *Regnum Francorum* du VIe–VIIIe s., communément appelé *latin mérovingien*, continue d'appartenir au diasystème latin et peut, le cas échéant, fournir des renseignements utiles sur le fonctionnement de structures linguistiques du diasystème à d'autres moments de la diachronie.

Ainsi, l'étude du fonctionnement de l'*AcI* en latin mérovingien permet de mieux saisir le fonctionnement de l'AcI en général. (Sur l'AcI en latin mérovingien, cf. Bonnet 1890/1968, 656–675 et Vielliard 1927, 229–233.)

Chez ces auteurs du VIe–VIIIe s. PCN, la structure s'est manifestement scindée en deux :

(1) **la structure traditionnelle**, *accusativus cum infinitivo*, après des verbes préceptifs et admonitifs, *Et iussit abbas foras de monasterio ubi peregrini recepcionem habebant manere patrem cum puella* / Et l'abbé donna l'ordre au père de demeurer avec sa fille à l'extérieur du monastère où logeaient les étrangers, *VSE* I 48–50 (= *Vita Sancte Eufrosine*, Bib. Univ. hist. Montpellier H55, 139r–142v ; cf. Reisdoerfer 2016), d'un côté,

(2) une **structure nouvelle** après un *verbum dicendi* introduite par **le subordonnant *quia*,** avec **le sujet** au *nominatif* et **le verbe** à un *mode personnel*, *Nuncia domno abbati quia eunuchus aliquis de palatio occurrere tibi* volit / Annonce au seigneur abbé qu'un eunuque du palais veut te (le *scil.*) rencontrer, *VSE* I 78, de l'autre.

(Sur ces structures, cf. Bonnet 1890, 659, 658–659 et Goelzer 1909, 264–267)

Les emplois en latin mérovingien :

(1) <u>**valident ainsi la dichotomie**</u> entre un **AcI *lato sensu*,** type *admonere…* // et un **AcI *stricto sensu*,** type *dico…* .

(2) <u>**mettent clairement en évidence**</u> le caractère anomal de l'AcI *stricto sensu* de plus en plus remplacé par une complétive introduite par les subordonnants ***quod/quia***.

(3) suggèrent que l'AcI du latin classique écrit pourrait être issu de constructions du type ***admonere* + C$_{acc}$ + Infinitif prolatif** <u>réanalysées</u> en *admonere* $||_{sub}$ S$_{acc}$ + V$_{inf.}$ puis étendues par analogie à d'autres complétives du type *dico…* par exemple.

(Sur le phénomène de la réanalyse, cf. les remarques de Wackernagel 1920/2009, I 265 sur le *Dativus cum Infinitivo* en ancien gothique.)

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Alternating opinions. The lexicon & syntax interface in the semantic field of Latin opinion verbs

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The opinion verbs have been deeply studied in several languages and in Latin, too. Among them, Latin *cēnseō*, *opīnor* and *sentiō* share some syntactic-semantic features and show some divergences as well. *Sentio* can be described as the most peculiar, for it is a polyvalent, "multimodal" lexical item (Jansegers, Enghels & Domínguez 2016, vid. Touratier 2008 and Fernández Jaén 2016, too), that can be categorized not only among the opinion verbs, but also among the perception and emotion verbs. The three of them yet belong in the semantic range of *putō*, *crēdō*, *arbitror*, *exīstimō* and others, and present a similar syntactic pattern.

Their prototypical Subjects are lexically human, and generally non-explicitly present in the clause; first person singular is not infrequent. Regarding Objects, these are typically abstract, eventive or propositional, namely neuter pronouns, indirect interrogative clauses, relative clauses, and, to a larger extent, infinitive clauses (*AcI*), the classical *verba sentiendi et cogitandi* Direct Object. There is possible also the Object + Complement of the Object construction, sometimes hardly distinguishable from the *AcI* construction (the issue about "Infinitival Copular Clause frame", as described in Levin 1993). To sum up, given their Predicative Frame with a Subject-Experiencer and an Object-Goal, cognitive verbs are typically transitive (Guillén Sutil 1990, García-Miguel & Comesaña Iglesias 2004), even despite their transitivity is rightly described as non-prototypical (Viberg 2001: 1296).

In any case, examples with non-explicit object are significantly numerous (vid. Levin 1993: 33ff.). Sometimes objects can be undoubtedly retrieved from the context; sometimes, instead, the verb seems to have an internal object, to be used *absolute*, or to be found truly intransitive (vid. Feltenius 1977). Adverbial or prepositional phrases sometimes seem to fulfil the referential gap. In these cases, intransitivization, ultimately, can be a way of subjectification (Langacker 1999) and pragmaticalization (I am thinking of the parenthetical uses of the three verbs, but particularly often, *opinor*, studied by Bolkestein 1998).

In studies on verbal syntax, the question of the so-called "verbal alternations" (Levin 1993), that is to say, the "regular possibility of variation in a verb's valency", has emerged as central. Although this possibility has been studied with verbs meaning activities, constructed with several participants, and especially implying physical entities and motions (where the variability is clearer), this paper studies the applicability of alternation model to cognitive verbs in Latin.

The questions raised will be, first: whether the syntactic behaviour of Latin cognitive, opinion verbs — such as the ones under study, *sentio*, *censeo* and *opinor* — can be described through alternations. The Unexpressed Object alternation, the "Complement of the Object alternation" (vid. de la Villa 2017) and the so-called "*As* alternation" (Levin 1993) appeal most our interests. Secondly, how can these syntactic alternative patterns, if possible, respond to the semantic variability of meanings, especially in the case of the polysemous *sentio*. A *corpus*-based study, in which theoretical and typological perspective will be both applied, will allow us to answer to the questions put above.

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Reversive *re-*. How to undo an action

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A special form of the prefix *re-* is 'reversion': the action of the simplex is undone. An example is *recingo* ('to unbelt'): after a coat has been belted once (*cingo*), it is 'unbelt' again. A previous state is restored, but not the state expressed in the simplex, but a state that existed before the action of the simplex. It involves a movement in the opposite direction to the movement of the simplex, without the action of the simplex (*cingo*) being performed again. There are relatively few verbs in this category, most from before Apuleius, but even in late antiquity this usage was still productive. Often, they are verbs that contrast a movement of closing with one of opening. A *re-*verb can thus have two opposite meanings, like *recludo*: 'to close again' and 'to open'.

In this group, the prefix *re-* reverses a simplex; thus, it has the same function that the prefix *de-* can have, e.g. *dearmo* ('disarm') and *develo* ('reveal').

In this paper, I will explore how two different prefixes can lead to the same usage, and to what extent these two variants might differ. Thus, there are the quasi-synonyms *detego* and *retego*, and *develo* and *revelo*. I will collect the relevant verbs from dictionaries (OLD, Georges), as well as from the already edited TLL articles and secondary literature.

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Marciana: A Case Study on Non-Standard Endings

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Latin nomenclature and onomastics have been well explored by scholars. However, there has been little work done on 'traditional' Latin names which do not follow regular paradigms. It is all too easy to discount this variation as trivial, yet as this paper will show, if we collect together all non-standard forms, there are interesting patterns with sociolinguistic significance. Furthermore, many scholars

have noted that female names are often considered to be secondary to male names, and my work aims further to challenge that assumption.

My research focuses on the use and spread of Greek-influenced endings in Latin. I chose the name *Marciana* for this case study for two reasons: it is the Latin name attested most commonly with these endings and with the largest number of different endings. *Marciana* would not at first glance seem to be an obvious choice for the transfer of Greek endings; its stem and suffix are Latin and it is found across a social range from slaves and freedwomen to senatorial women.

This paper will explore questions regarding language contact and bilingualism. It is clear from the endings shown in the table below that Greek influence is at play here, but while this is part of the explanation, it does not tell the whole story. One problem for this narrative of Greek influence is the high proportion of evidence for nominative *-e* found in Gaul – Gallia Narbonensis and Lugdunensis are ranked 3rd and 4th among the provinces for the frequency of occurrence of nominative *-e* in female names. Another problem is the tendency of some of these Greek endings to cluster around names suffixed in *-iana* when used in Latin. For example, genitives in *-es* and *-aes* are used on a wide variety of Latin names, whereas nominative *-e*, genitive *-enis* and dative *-eni* are very rare on Latin names except for those formed with the suffix *-iana*.

There are 218 non-abbreviated epigraphic examples of *Marciana* with standard Latin first declension inflection. This is a normal and expected distribution for a name ranked as the 52nd most common cognomen (figure from Nuorluoto (2021) based on the investigation of Kajanto (1965)). However, there are a further 45 examples where *Marciana* takes a non-standard ending. This paper will discuss whether this 4.8:1 ratio of standard to non-standard endings is representative of Latin onomastics more broadly or indicative of only a certain subset of names.

The table below lays out the various grammatical cases and endings found in this dataset.

Standard Endings		Non-Standard Endings	
Nominative	94	*-e*	26
Accusative	0	-	0
Genitive	27	*-aes, -es, -enis,* and *-e[]is* which could be *-enis* or *-etis*	4
Dative	31	*-eni, -ini, -eti,* and *-[e]ti*	18
Genitive or Dative	58	-	0
Ablative	1	-	0
Other (Accusative Plural, Nominative or Ablative)	7	-	1

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Uso e abuso nella terminologica grammaticale latina: *usurpo* e i suoi corradicali

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Il verbo *usurpo* ed i suoi derivati, per i quali non si dispone ancora delle voci del *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, conoscono un uso tecnico in ambito grammaticale, non preso affatto in considerazione da Forcellini e nell'*Oxford Latin Dictionary* e non compiutamente esplorato nel *Lexicon of Latin Grammatical Terminology* di S. Schad (2007). Il presente contributo amplia e completa la ricerca, avviata da S. Roesch (2016) limitatamente a Servio, estendendola a tutte le attestazioni di *usurpo* e dei suoi corradicali in contesti metalinguistici nell'insieme delle opere latine conservate sino a Isidoro.

La prima parte della relazione sarà dedicata a una breve sintesi degli altri valori semantici e ambiti di applicazione (in particolare quello giuridico) di *usurpo* e dei suoi derivati e quindi all'analisi delle occorrenze con funzione metalinguistica di questi lemmi in testi non grammaticali.

Nella seconda parte dell'intervento si presenteranno i risultati dello spoglio sistematico di tutte le attestazioni di *usurpo, usurpatio, usurpativus, usurpative* nel *corpus* dei grammatici latini e nei *commentarii* tardoantichi (Donato, Servio, raccolte di scolii a vari autori), che permette di osservare interessanti oscillazioni nel significato che questi termini rivestono presso autori diversi, ora di 'uso' in senso neutro ora, invece, di 'uso improprio'. L'opzione di ciascun grammatico per l'una o l'altra accezione di *usurpo* offre da ultimo degli spunti di riflessione sul diverso orientamento dei vari autori nell'esposizione della materia (normativo o descrittivo, con riferimento all'uso corrente o a quello letterario), eventualmente anche in relazione al contesto geografico e culturale in cui si collocava l'attività di ciascun maestro.

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Discontinuity of the noun phrase in Latin legal texts

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Discontinuity of the noun phrase, also called 'hyperbaton', is often viewed as a stylistic device (cf. Marouzeau 1962: 329). In my paper I will look at discontinuity of the noun and prepositional phrases, i.e. separation of agreeing modifiers (adjectives or determiners) or genitival modifiers from their head noun in non-literary texts, in which discontinuity is not expected. My corpus comprises legal texts from the republican period such as *Lex agraria*, *Lex repetundarum*, or *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* (Crawford 1996). I will show that discontinuity occurs also in this type of text. However, unlike argumentative texts, legal texts are prescriptive and they do not contain any subjectively qualifying adjectives, which may be used with emphasis, nor any connectors such as *autem* and *enim*.

Apart from the enclitics -*que* 'and' and -*ve* 'or', which regularly split up noun and prepositional phrases, discontinuity occurs in noun phrases with an indefinite pronoun such as *quis* 'anyone' or the relative pronoun *qui* 'who, which', for example QUI IUSSU C. CAESARIS … AGER DATUS ERIT 'which land shall have been granted by the order of C. Caesar …' (*Genet*. 104.12). Additionally, genitival modifiers are separated from their head noun, for example TESTIUM, QUEI <in> EAM REM ERUNT, VERBA 'the words of witnesses, who shall be (witnesses) for that matter' (*Repet*. 31). Discontinuity of adjectives is rare but it can be found. This can be explained by the fact that in legal texts, especially 'relational' adjectives such as *publicus* 'public', *militaris* 'military', *scaenicus* 'scenic' are used; with this type of adjective, discontinuity is infrequent in general. Furthermore, most of the noun phrases collected from my corpus contain the anaphoric pronoun *is*, which is seldom separated from its head noun (in 2% of the cases in Classical Latin, see Spevak 2010: 59). As for prepositional phrases, 'insertion' of the preposition between the modifier and the noun, for example QUO IN AGRO 'in which land' (*Agr*. 22), is quite common.

My data show that discontinuity of the noun and prepositional phrase also occurs in non-literary texts in which stylistic devices are not used. Therefore, my study confirms that discontinuity is a feature of the Latin language (as Pinkster 2021: 1097 claims), and not a stylistic device as such, which can be further exploited in literary texts, in particular in poetry.

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Encore sur les adjectifs et la diathèse

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Les catégories verbales, telles que l'aspect, le mode ou la diathèse se trouvent parfois convenables pour analyser la sémantique des adjectifs déverbaux. L'étude du signifié diathésique des adjectifs porte sur les questions de morphologie : est-ce la base verbale ou le choix du suffixe qui détermine la diathèse ? Dans le cas des adjectifs latins en *-to* le rapprochement avec les participes passés passifs semble être argument pour la deuxième explication. Cependant, comme l'a démontré M.-D. Joffre, qui avait analysé les adjectifs en *-to-* de ce point de vue : « C'est uniquement lorsque la forme en *-tus* est accordée, lorsqu'elle se rapporte à un substantif, qu'elle signifie la diathèse interne » (Joffre : 338). Ella a aussi proposé une explication de tous les cas où des adjectifs en *-to-* semblent changer de diathèse : « Chercher à voir dans le substantif un agent ou un patient (...) relève d'une analyse qui porte non sur les données purement linguistiques, mais sur la réalité extra-linguistique » (Joffre : 339). Les causes du phénomène de « flottement de diathèse » discernable dans le champ sémantique des certains adjectifs en *-to-*, doivent donc être cherchées en dehors de la morphologie.

L'analyse du champ sémantique de quelques autres adjectifs latins, comme *sanus* ou *tristis* prouve qu'en effet ce n'est pas une caractéristique d'un tel ou autre suffixe qui est à la source de ce phénomène sémantique. En outre, les données fournies par d'autres langues montrent que nous pouvons en effet avoir affaire à un fait de l'ordre cognitive plutôt que d'un trait rattaché à un système linguistique particulier.

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Phonologie des lettres de Claude

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Presque un siècle après la constitution du *Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, en 1926, je me propose d'analyser les lettres de l'empereur Claude du point de vue phonologique, en suivant certains postulats de l'école pragoise, qui survivent encore.

Comme on le sait, Claude proposa l'inclusion de trois nouvelles lettres dans l'alphabet latin : le *digamma inversum* (Ⅎ), qui, d'après les inscriptions, était utilisé pour représenter le /u/ à valeur consonantique qu'on trouve dans des mots comme ARⅎALIVM [arwalium] (CIL VI 2034) ; le *demieta* (Ⱶ), dont on discute la valeur, mais qui semble avoir représenté le son [ü], en des mots comme AEGⱵPTI [aegüpti] (CIL VI 918) ; et l'*antisigma*, normalement représenté comme un C inversé (Ɔ), dont on ne conserve aucun exemple ; on sait, cependant, qu'il était utilisé pour représenter le

digraphe composé d'une consonne occlusive labiale /p/ ou /b/ et un /s/, en des mots grecs comme *ciclops*, qui devrait être écrit CICLOↃ, ou latins comme *urbs*, qui devrait être écrit VRↃ.

L'analyse phonologique essaiera de montrer que, pour différentes raisons, on peut considérer l'addition de ces lettres superflue dans un cas, peut-être pertinente dans un autre cas, et phonologiquement compréhensible dans le troisième.

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Remarks on the spelling and pronunciation of upsilon in Latin

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In the Latin inscriptions of the Roman Empire, <Y> is often replaced by means of <V> or <I>. Such misspellings have been occasionally interpreted as a hint that Greek /ü/ "was perceived by the Romans like an intermediary sound between *i* and *u*" (Beu-Dachin 2014: 77). The same explanation is often also provided to similar graphic oscillations attested in Latin words, such as *maxumus ~ maximus*, in connection with the so-called *medius sonus*, that has been widely interpreted as being /ü/, although such an interpretation is misleading, as Suárez-Martínez (2016 & 2021) has convincingly demonstrated. In fact, /ü/ was absent from the phonological system of the Latin language, and most probably 'failed' to take root as an imported phoneme. Moralejo (1972) suggests that the epigraphic examples of V- and I-spellings have a real phonetic background, as they should be attached to two different stages: an earlier stage, in which upsilon was pronounced as [u]; and a later stage, in which it was pronounced as [ü], and mispronounced by average Latin speakers as [i]. Purnelle (1995) follows Moralejo but also endorses Niedermann's idea that the spelling V corresponded to the spontaneous pronunciation of ordinary people, and the spelling I corresponded to an artificial pronunciation trying to imitate, without achieving, the [ü] pronunciation of *y* of the cultivated people. On the other hand, the possibility of approximated spellings is never completely rejected by Biville (1990), who adds that the Latin pronunciation of upsilon could have been [wi], based on the (less frequent) instances in which <Y> is replaced by means of <VI>.

This paper will try to shed new light on the problem concerning the spelling and pronunciation of upsilon in Latin by analyzing the (ca. 2,100) data collected up to this point in the *Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age* (lldb.elte.hu/en). Misspellings concerning the letter upsilon will be examined from a geographic, diachronic and typological point of view.

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La syllepse de nombre chez les *grammatici Latini* et les grammairiens médiévaux (+IVe–XVe s.). Une conceptualisation dynamique

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La présente contribution s'inscrit dans le prolongement de travaux antérieurs portant sur les figures de style (Colombat & Rosier 1990, Grondeux 2003a, Colombat 2005) et souhaite rendre compte des écarts entre le sens actuel de certaines de ces figures, essentiellement stylistique, et le sens originel. La syllepse est généralement conçue comme une figure de style, notamment lorsqu'elle est expansée par le syntagme « de sens » (*in sensu*) : proche de l'antanaclase, la syllepse de sens se caractérise par le fait qu'un même mot réalise simultanément, dans l'occurrence dans laquelle il apparaît, les différents signifiés qui peuvent lui être associés. La syllepse de nombre, en revanche, paraît davantage dépréciée par les grammairiens et rhéteurs, sans doute parce qu'elle constitue le lieu d'une tension entre le morphosyntaxique et le sémantique. Nous souhaiterions donc proposer du terme *syllepsis* un parcours sémantique qui mette au jour les enseignements linguistiques que l'on peut tirer d'une étude longitudinale fine de l'emploi de ce terme dans le discours grammatical latin. Le choix de ce terme se justifie pour plusieurs raisons : d'une part, la syllepse apparaît comme un terme polysémique dès les premiers textes de grammairiens et se trouve donc différemment appréhendée selon qu'elle est considérée comme une *figura* ou, au contraire, comme un *vitium orationis* ; d'autre part, elle reste toujours controversée à l'heure actuelle et de nombreuses remarques de locuteurs, soucieux de bien écrire et de bien parler, attestent du sentiment d'insécurité face à des configurations où l'accord sylleptique semblerait acceptable en discours. Une première lecture des textes grammaticaux fait apparaître trois points saillants :

1. Le caractère plus ou moins réversible de l'accord : l'exemple traditionnel *Turba ruunt* (Grondeux 2003b) pourrait difficilement aboutir, dans un langage normé, à une séquence autre que *Turba ruit* (à confronter à ?? *Turbae ruunt*).

2. La place de l'argument sémantique dans la description morphosyntaxique du phénomène.

3. La richesse conceptuelle issue de l'hésitation entre une appréhension de la syllepse comme vice ou comme vertu du discours.

Il s'agirait donc de voir ce que nous révèle cette analyse sur la conceptualisation des objets grammaticaux. L'on a tendance à voir la grammaire comme figée, voire incohérente dans ses objets : comment concilier, en effet, que la *syllepsis* soit, chez Évrard de Béthune, à la fois *figura* et *vitium* ? C'est que, en réalité, la question est mal posée (Swiggers 1997) : les hésitations et contradictions sémantiques sont le reflet de concepts qui se définissent et s'affinent progressivement (Basset *et al.* 2007). Or, la syllepse nous semble être le foyer de reconfigurations sémantiques, elles-mêmes l'indice d'une progression dans la grammatisation (Auroux 1994) et l'intellectualisation des notions ou de ce qui fait de la grammaire une science du langage au carrefour de la philosophie et de l'anthropologie.

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Le rythme accentuel de l'asclépiade mineur latin

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En dépit de leur rôle central dans la poésie horatienne, les asclépiades mineurs ont suscité peu d'attention de la part de la recherche. Ces vers lyriques, hérités de la poésie grecque archaïque, ont été adaptés par les poètes latins, et par Horace notamment, au fonctionnement de la langue latine et à de nouvelles conditions de performance. Pour Coleman (1993), la différence de nature entre l'accent grec et latin permet d'introduire de nouvelles dynamiques rythmiques. Ces dynamiques reposent en grande partie sur des effets de contrepoint rythmique entre la place de l'ictus métrique, bien connu des auditeurs et lecteurs lettrés mais, selon W. S. Allen (1973), cantonné à un apprentissage scolaire, et celle de l'accent de langue. Les accents sont ainsi disposés de manière à rappeler le schéma métrique et son ictus, à s'en écarter complètement, ou à créer de nouvelles configurations rythmiques qui rappellent seulement en partie la construction théorique du vers. La prise en compte du rythme accentuel permet donc de comprendre les dynamiques rythmiques à l'œuvre dans le vers, mais aussi

de renouveler l'approche de la question du passage des formes grecques aux formes latines et des modalités nouvelles de performance qui les accompagnent.

Alors que la recherche s'est beaucoup penchée sur la question de la coïncidence entre ictus métrique et accent de mot dans l'hexamètre dactylique et dans le pentamètre, le domaine reste encore peu exploré concernant les vers lyriques, et plus particulièrement les asclépiades mineurs. A. Becker (2017) a dressé un premier état de la question, strictement limité à l'usage horatien. Cette étude a donc pour vocation de dégager les principales caractéristiques de l'accentuation des asclépiades mineurs latins afin de mieux comprendre le rôle de l'accent de langue dans la construction rythmique des vers lyriques latins. Nous interrogerons la place de l'accent de mot par rapport à celle de l'ictus métrique, la nature des mots accentués et la fréquence d'apparition de certaines configurations récurrentes qui peuvent être envisagées comme des rythmes accentuels. Nous comparerons également la technique horatienne à celle de ses successeurs latins, Sénèque et Prudence, qui nous fournissent un corpus assez large pour être comparable à celui d'Horace.

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La séquence [sujet + SVM + *aliquid*/*nihil*] : étude comparée de deux jugements de valeur

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Suite à la lecture de deux articles, l'un de S. Green (1), l'autre de R.J. Littlewood (2), où les auteurs relèvent la fréquence de *est aliquid* chez Ovide, nous nous sommes penché plus particulièrement sur la séquence [sujet + SVM + *aliquid*] dans laquelle *aliquid* est attribut du sujet et signifie de manière elliptique l'importance que représente ce sujet pour le locuteur (Ov., *H.* 4,29 : *est aliquid plenis pomaria carpere ramis*). D'une part, nous avons voulu savoir s'il s'agissait d'une formulation typiquement ovidienne, d'autre part nous l'avons comparée avec la séquence [sujet + SVM + *nihil*] qui en constitue une variante sémantique opposée. Pour ce faire, nous avons opéré un relevé exhaustif de toutes les occurrences de [sujet + SVM + *aliquid*/*nihil*] dans le corpus du PHI, qui couvre la

littérature latine depuis ses débuts jusqu'à l'an 200, en y faisant une recherche par forme. Pour les œuvres du même corpus qui y étaient disponibles, nous avons mené dans la base du LASLA (Université de Liège) une recherche par lemme via le programme Hyperbase (Université de Nice). Nous avons réparti les résultats obtenus en quatre catégories sémantiques distinctes, selon la fonction de *aliquid* et de *nihil* : 1° attribut avec complément visant à une définition déterminative du sujet (Mart. 2,28,5 : *ex istis nihil es, fateor, Sextille*), 2° attribut avec complément visant à une définition qualificative du sujet (Sen., *Ep.* 26,4 : *non quia aliquid mali ictus est*), 3° attribut sans complément visant à signifier l'existence du sujet (Sen., *Marc.* 19,5 : *id enim potest aut bonum aut malum esse, quod aliquid est*), 4° attribut sans complément visant à signifier l'importance du sujet, c'est-à-dire la séquence qui nous intéresse (voir ci-dessus). Nous avons ensuite comparé entre elles les occurrences de cette dernière catégorie des points de vue du genre (prose >< vers), de la syntaxe (ordre des mots dans la phrase ; (non-)contiguïté), et de la grammaire (catégorie grammaticale du sujet ; temps verbal de SVM). Parallèlement et à titre indicatif, nous avons comparé ces résultats avec ceux des trois autres catégories sémantiques.

Concernant la catégorie qui nous intéresse, les principales similitudes sont d'ordre syntaxique (éléments majoritairement contigus = semi-figement) et illocutoire (émettre un jugement de valeur). Quant aux différences, outre le caractère elliptique propre à [sujet + SVM + *aliquid*], elles sont d'ordre syntaxique (préférences inverses dans l'ordre des mots : SVM *aliquid* >< *nihil* SVM), fréquentiel (plus grande représentation de [sujet + SVM + *nihil*] dans le corpus et le temps) et générique (à l'inverse de [sujet + SVM + *aliquid*], [sujet + SVM + *nihil*] est proportionnellement moins présent en vers, mais avec une forte concentration chez Plaute et Martial).

En poésie plus particulièrement, sur 19 occurrences de [sujet + SVM + *aliquid*], 17 apparaissent chez Ovide dont 14 avec sujet-infinitif. C'est cette spécialisation de la séquence qui constitue un trait spécifique à Ovide, que nous qualifions dès lors de Motif Textuel (3) et dont nous donnons une définition des points de vue formel et fonctionnel.

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Los predicados verbales Dat-Nom: un análisis desde la noción de sujeto

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La comunicación explora la noción de sujeto gramatical en predicados impersonales de marco casual Dat-Nom en latín preclásico, conocidos en la bibliografía como construcciones de sujeto dativo (cf. Dahl 2014), como el ejemplo que vemos en (1).

(1)   *Non placet mihi cena quae bilem movet* ("No me gusta una cena que me remueva la bilis", Plaut. *Bacch*. 537)

El problema de oraciones como (1) es que desafían la definición tradicional de sujeto: la facultad de establecer concordancia verbal, la codificación en caso nominativo y la preferencia por el papel semántico de Agente (Keenan 1976, Ernout 1953). Esto se debe, entre otras cosas, a que la noción

tradicional de sujeto aplica bastante bien en estructuras con patrón sintáctico Nom-Acc, pero resulta menos evidente cuando se analizan otro tipo de construcciones, como los verbos impersonales.

Dicho esto, el objetivo del trabajo es evaluar el estatus de sujeto de los argumentos que participan de la predicación verbal que emplean el patrón Dat-Nom, a partir de distintas pruebas que se han propuesto para ello, ya sean pruebas sintácticas (reflexividad, reducción de la conjunción, Ascenso al Objeto/Sujeto, control de infinitivos, orden de palabras) como semánticas (rol semántico, animacidad, definitud) y pragmático-referenciales (topicalidad). Las pruebas se aplicaron a un conjunto de verbos impersonales pertenecientes a dos campos de significación: verbos de experiencia: *placet, dolet* y *libet*, y verbos modales: *decet, conuenit, necesse est, licet, usus est, satis est* y *uidetur*. El corpus empleado corresponde a las obras completas de Plauto, Terencio, Ennio y Nevio.

Nuestros resultados nos permiten concluir lo siguiente: en primer lugar, las pruebas sintácticas de sujeto nos llevan a considerar ambos argumentos verbales (dativo y nominativo) como potenciales sujetos, a partir de la semántica verbal de la predicación en cuestión y de la dinámica de fuerza entre los argumentos que participan de ella, en conformidad con la propuesta de Barðdal (2001, 2019) acerca de la existencia de predicados que alternan (*alternating predicates*) entre dos construcciones de estructuras argumentales diametralmente opuestas: Dat-Nom y Nom-Dat. Según esta hipótesis, cuando el dativo es el primer argumento (patrón Dat-Nom), el nominativo se comporta sintácticamente como objeto, mientras que cuando el nominativo es el primer argumento (patrón Nom-Dat), se comporta sintácticamente como sujeto y el dativo como objeto. Nuestros datos del latín preclásico apuntan hacia la misma dirección, en tanto ambos argumentos exhiben algunas propiedades sintácticas típicas de los sujetos cuando se encuentran en primera posición.

En segundo lugar, los argumentos dativos se encuentran significativamente más altos en la Jerarquía de Persona o Animacidad Extendida (cf. Croft 1998) que los argumentos nominativos, en línea con los datos de Fedriani (2014) y Dahl (2014) del latín clásico. Si bien las propiedades inherentes de los argumentos, como la animacidad y definitud, así como también sus rasgos referenciales y pragmático-discursivos no resultan determinantes para desencadenar un patrón de ordenamiento sintáctico particular, sí existe una tendencia de comportamiento que apunta a favorecer al dativo a desempeñar las propiedades semánticas y referenciales típicas de sujeto cuando se ubica en primera posición.

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Alternations and constructions in Latin: the case of *miscere* and its compounds

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The description of verbal alternations in Latin and other languages is a field that is receiving much attention. After initial works such as that of Lemaire (1983), other alternations have been described in recent years. At the same time, the distribution patterns of the alternating constructions have been proposed. Some of those patterns have been explained on a functional basis: the different interpretation of the semantic role of a constituent in some constructions and others. Thus, for example, the verb *adulor* can be constructed with an accusative (1) or dative (2) regimen (Villa 2022).

> (1)   Aspice taurorum iugo colla summissa … **adulantis**que **dominum feras**
> "See how bulls yield their necks to the yoke … and wild beasts fawn upon their master" (Sen. *Dial*. 4.31.6)
> (2)   **Claudio** igitur scriptores **adulamur**, qui duo milia navium barbararum et trecenta viginti milia armatorum delevit
> "We the writers fawn upon Claudius, who destroyed two thousand boats of the barbarians and three hundred twenty thousand armed enemies." (*Scr. Hist. Aug*. 8.2)

The difference between one construction and the other would be that in the first case the accusative is interpreted as a patient, while in the second it is interpreted as a benefactive.

Distributions of a pragmatic character (Revuelta 2017) or of an external character, that is, not strictly linguistic (Martín Rodríguez 1996), have also been proposed.

From a theoretical point of view, many of the alternating structures can be considered constructions in the sense of Goldberg (1995), that is, syntactic forms with an entity independent of the lexical items that in a given moment may fill the slots of the construction.

In the present paper we want to offer the result of an analysis of the uses of the verb *miscere* and its compounds. As it will be seen, with one and the same verb there can be semantically based alternations, pragmatically based alternations and also differences in the historical distribution of each usage.

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Latin constructions with *esse* + present participle

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This paper deals with the so-called verbal periphrases formed by *esse* + present participle and focuses on their distribution in Latin diachrony (from Archaic to Late Latin). The study is corpus-based, and the corpus investigated is that of LASLA (https://www.lasla.uliege.be/cms/c_8570411/fr/lasla-textes-latins).

According to scholars, combinations of *esse* + present participle show an uneven distribution in Latin diachrony: they are very rare in Classical Latin, are more frequent in Archaic Latin and Imperial Latin and grow in number in Biblical Latin, particularly in the Vulgate. In Archaic and Classical Latin, only adjectival participles such as *amans*, *florens*, *cupiens*, *potens* are allowed and the construction resembles a nominal predicate (cf. Ernout & Thomas 2002 [1953]: §287; Lyer 1930: 242-243). Conversely, the constructions attested in Biblical and Late Latin do not display the same constraint on the participle, as full verbal participles such as *docens*, *spectans*, *pascens* can also occur (cf. Barrett 1909; Marouzeau 1910: 37ff.; Löfstedt 1911: 246; Plater & White 1926: 109-110; Eklund 1970: 12ff.; Piras 1989/1990). According to scholars, the constructions of the latter type are periphrases with progressive meaning compared to simple verb forms (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 388). They originate in Biblical translations as an effect of the contact with Greek (Coseriu 1972, Dietrich 1973, Amenta 2003). The periphrastic analysis has been shown to be problematic for syntactic reasons, not only for Latin constructions but also for the Greek ones. The combination of 'to be' and the present participle expresses different types of construction in both Greek New Testament and its translation into Latin Vulgate (cf. Logozzo & Tronci 2020, 2021).

The goal of this study is to investigate the constructions with *esse* + present participle in the different stages of Latin, through a corpus-based analysis in order to answer to the following questions:

(1) What is the functional value of the combination with respect to the corresponding simple verb forms? Is it a true verbal periphrasis or not? If it is a periphrasis, does it denote a progressive meaning?

(2) What is the textual distribution of the combination in the different stages of Latin? Does the distribution allow us to identify some sociolinguistic variation, in terms of diastratia and/or diaphasia?

In order to answer these questions, I propose to investigate the corpus of LASLA, which extends from Archaic to Imperial Latin and contains texts of different types (Plautus, Caesar, Cicero, Petronius, etc.). The analysis will provide results for both the viewpoints of synchrony and diachrony. On the one hand, it will provide a deeper description of the distribution of *esse* + present participle in the different stages of Latin and the different texts. On the other hand, it will be possible to check whether there were some syntactic and semantic changes in the combination of *esse* and the present participle during the centuries.

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Some remarks on the use of *nisi* and *nisi quando* in curse texts from Britannia

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As is well known, the Latin curse tablets illustrate some linguistic peculiarities that are tied to the genre they belong to. They exhibit a highly formulaic and, to a certain extent, also artificial linguistic variety. The language of most of the epigraphic documents we possess includes certain habitual formulations repeating themselves, which are typical of certain types of inscriptions, this applies even more in curse tablets whose texts are, however, often formulated according to their own rules, which consider the magical ritual itself, and are focused on the supposed effect of the curse. One of the special features that occur exclusively in curse texts from Britannia, is the combination of a conditional clause with a temporal one, when expressing time data. In the case of prayers of justice, the writer often wants the guilty party to be punished and the stolen items to be returned to the owner. This is usually coupled with restrictions to last until the wish is granted, and mostly expressed by variations of the formula meaning "until", which refer to the lasting of a restriction for the wrongdoer - i.e., the restriction lasts until the thief returns the stolen item. In the texts coming from Britannia, a modification of this formula appears using *ante* and *nisi*. Apart from the usual connotations of the conjunction *nisi* "if not, unless" (condition) and *non nisi* "except" (false concessive clause), *nisi* has another semantic nuance here – it combines a conditional meaning with a temporal one: instead of the expected construction *ante ... quam,* the complex *non ante ... nisi (quando)* occurs.

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L'insertion syntaxique de la comparaison : l'exemple de *ut*

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L'appellation de 'proposition subordonnée de comparaison' semble inadaptée pour décrire le segment de texte introduit par *ut* (Pinkster 2021 : 718). Son emploi dans un système corrélatif oriente vers une interdépendance plutôt que vers une dépendance (Bodelot 2004 : 24). Dans le discours indirect, les deux propositions sont traitées comme des coordonnées (Orlandini 2004 : 96).

L'hétérogénéité de son fonctionnement a donné lieu à plusieurs études (Revuelta Puigdollers 2002, Cabrillana & Tarriño 2009). L'emploi du segment de texte introduit par *ut* comme 'marqueur de dialogisme' (Van Laer 2015) souligne le rôle démarcatif de *ut*, apte à provoquer un décrochage énonciatif.

La communication porte uniquement sur les comparaisons introduites par *ut* relevant de ce que H. Pinkster (2021 : 752) appelle 'similarity' et s'appuie sur un corpus en prose de l'époque classique et augustéenne.

L'objet de cette communication est de reconsidérer le dossier en prenant en compte un autre élément : la diversité des formes du segment de texte introduit par *ut*. La forme propositionnelle n'en est qu'une parmi d'autres. Lorsque ce segment se réduit à un seul mot, doit-on nécessairement supposer une ellipse ? Ne s'agit-il pas d'un type d'insertion syntaxique propre à la comparaison ?

Cette perspective amène à s'interroger sur le statut syntaxique de *ut* et du segment qu'il introduit : s'agit-il véritablement d'une conjonction et d'une proposition ? Une autre analyse semble alors possible, qui permet de rendre compte d'occurrences où il n'est pas possible de mettre syntaxiquement en parallèle 'comparant' et 'comparé' en plaçant l'ellipse du côté du comparé :

> *faciam **ut** potero* (Cic. *sen.* 7) « je ferai comme je pourrai »

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In for the long haul: 'long-range hyperbaton' in Cicero's orations

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In this paper, I examine longer separations of noun phrases, where more than one constituent intervene between the two components, as in:

Omnes enim in consulis iure et imperio debent esse **provinciae**. (Cic. *Phil.* 4.9)

The term 'long-range hyperbaton' was coined by Powell (2010), who besides the distance between the two parts of the noun phrase defines this type as involving specific categories of dependents, most importantly interrogatives, demonstratives, and adjectives of quantity and size. He argues that these separations are likely due to syntactic factors rather than pragmatic. A similar distinction of hyperbata is made by Spevak (2012), between those that are pragmatically motivated and those that are not. Although her study treats later Latin, her analysis greatly differs from Powell's, suggesting that hyperbata involving adjectives of quantity and size belong to the pragmatically motivated category. While the two studies are not necessarily irreconcilable, they clearly show that there is still no consensus in how to interpret hyperbaton, and that we likely need to take a number of factors into account.

My study is based on a large corpus of hyperbata extracted from Cicero's orations. Each instance has been tagged for a number of syntactic and semantic features, which allows simultaneous consideration of multiple factors and how they combine. I also undertook a close reading of each long separation, thus combining quantitative and qualitative methods. In particular, by examining the interposed words and whether these guide the reader/hearer to guess the noun, we may reconsider Marouzeau's 1935 suggestion that hyperbaton is a means to manage the expectations of the audience. Another question concerns the categories of dependents, central to both Powell's and Spevak's analyses, and why they are so frequently found in this type of hyperbaton. Lastly, I looked closer at the instances in relation to the rest of the sentence (including potential subordinate clauses), as well as the larger textual and contextual environment.

This paper will show how the study of hyperbaton is revelatory of many of the factors that influence Latin word order. There is an often-intricate interplay between different factors (whether syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, or other), but it is possible to identify recurring patterns and trends.

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XII-Tab. 8,8a *fruges excantāre* 'Feldfrüchte wegsingen' und andere unselegierte Resultativa im Lateinischen

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Untersucht werden soll eine bislang unerforschte Sonderkategorie von Partikelverben im Lateinischen, die sich dadurch auszeichnen, dass sie ein durch das entsprechende Simplex unselegierbares Objekt selegieren und dabei einen mittelbar bewirkten Orts- bzw. Zustandswechsel des Objekts ausdrücken. Das Objekt wird meistens als Folge der durch das Simplex ausgedrückten Handlung aus dem Bereich des Sprechers entfernt oder dorthin gebracht, vernichtet oder erzeugt, ohne direkt durch sie affiziert zu werden. Das betreffende Phänomen fällt unter die von GOLDBERG & JACKENDOFF (2004) als 'unselegiertes Resultativum' bezeichnete Konstruktion und ist in modernen germanischen Sprachen möglich, etwa im Deutschen:

1. a. Der Mann hatte das Geld halb **vertrunken**. (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 04.01.2002)
   a'. *Der Mann hatte das Geld halb getrunken.
   b. Bald darauf hatte er sich den Ruf des Party-Meisters **ertanzt**. (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 16.01.2002)
   b'. *Bald darauf hatte er sich den Ruf des Party-Meisters getanzt.

Die Nichttrivialität der unselegierten resultativen Partikelverbkonstruktion wird durch die typologische Evidenz ersichtlich, insofern sie nur in Sprachen möglich ist, die eine gewisse Unabhängigkeit autosemantischer Verbpartikeln aufweisen: Anders als in modernen germanischen Sprachen ist sie etwa in modernen semitischen und romanischen Sprachen unmöglich (GOLDBERG 1995; TALMY 1985, 1991, 2000). Zu beachten ist, dass die Nichttrivialität der Konstruktion eben aus dem Merkmal der Unselegiertheit hervorgeht: Das moderne Romanisch lässt etwa — bezeichnenderweise in hochspezialisierten Kontexten wie Kochanweisungen (MÉTAIRY 2022, mit Lit.) — eine Teilproduktivität unprototypischer Resultativa erkennen, allerdings nur *selegierter* Resultativa. Somit ist das Vorhandensein ihres unselegierten Pendants in einer gegebenen Sprach(famili)e von allgemeinerer Bedeutung und untersuchungsbedürftig.

Im Bereich der altindogermanischen Sprachen ist die Existenz unselegierter resultativer Partikelverbkonstruktionen im Indoiranischen von FORSSMAN (2000) nachgewiesen worden; an einer Untersuchung zum Lateinischen fehlt es allerdings. Unselegierte Resultativa sind im Lateinischen so früh wie im Zwölftafelgesetz bezeugt (5. Jh. v. Chr.):

2. XII-Tab. 8,8a   *Qui fruges* **excantassit**... *[ei, qui hoc fecerit, supplicium constitutum]*. (nach DÜLL ⁷1995)

   „Wer Feldfrüchte **weggesungen hat**... [dem, der dies tut, kommt die schwerste Strafe zu]."

Hier bezeichnet *excantāre* das strafbare Entfernen der Früchte von fremdem Feld *durch* magischen Gesang. An einer schon WACKERNAGELS (1924: 180f.) Aufmerksamkeit erregenden Plautusstelle geht Lesbonikus auf die Frage, was mit seinem Geld passiert sei, folgendermaßen ein:

3. Plaut. *Trin.* 407   ***Comensum, expotum, exunctum, elotum in balineis***. (DE MELO 2013)
      „(Es ist) **verfressen, vertrunken, versalbt, in Bädern verbadet**.“

Mit diesen Worten meint Lesbonikus, er habe das Geld *durch* Essen, Trinken, Salbung und Aufenthalt in Badehäusern verschwendet. In einer seiner scharfen Reden gegen Verres stellt sich Cicero folgende Frage:

4. Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,157   *Is <u>ullam</u> ab sese <u>calamitatem</u> poterit **deprecari**?* (PETERSON 1917)
      „Sollte ein solcher Mann <u>irgendein Unheil</u> von sich **wegbeten** können?“

Das Partikelverb *dēprecārī* bezeichnet an dieser Stelle das Abwehren von Unheil *durch* Gebet.

Der Beitrag strebt einen Umriss dieses Konstruktionstypus im Lateinischen an. Anhand einer repräsentativen Stichprobe sollen Probleme definitorischer Natur diskutiert und eine adäquate synchrone Beschreibung des Phänomens herausgearbeitet werden. Anschließend soll der Beitrag die lateinische Beleglage mit derjenigen anderer altindogermanischer Sprachen konfrontieren, in denen dieser Konstruktionstypus ungleich verteilt ist, und in einem diachronen Überblick über seine Entwicklung in den verschiedenen Sprach(zweig)en münden.

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Belgica Vulgaris: Linguistic Change and Cultural Integration in the Vulgar Latin Inscriptions of the province of Belgica

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The Northwestern 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 merged to a fusion that would determine the face of Europe for the next millennium and beyond.

My paper explores how this seminal blend is reflected in non-standard Latin inscriptions that document both sub-elite and adstratum features and therefore are most promising for recording also non-linguistic phenomena outside the beaten track. The focus will be on cities of the Roman province of Belgica, located west and south of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz, where, unlike in these three eastern beacon metropoles, Romanization was not fostered by a large afflux of population through military and administrative institutions, but operated by a more organic coalescence, favoured by polytheism and commerce. This holds in particular for a pre-eminent place of the Celtic tribe of Eburones, Aduatuca Tungrorum (Tongeren). Durocortorum (Reims) which saw the christening of Clovis, Turnacum (Tournai), as well as Augusta Suessionum (Soissons) and Divodurum (Metz), which were capitals of Frankish kingdoms, in their turn offer insights into the mechanisms by which the Franks' establishment in Roman Gaul operated.

In order to provide a most comprehensive description of the facets of these local substandard idioms, my paper combines methods of corpus, historical, areal, intercultural and sociolinguistics. This integrative approach will shed new light on the regional differentiation and diachronic evolution of Vulgar Latin as well as the sociolinguistic and intercultural dynamics of (De-)Romanisation. The starting point of my analysis is the entries of the Budapest-based *Database Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age* (http://lldb.elte.hu/) for these cities which I shall systematise to local grammars of Vulgar Latin. I shall pay special attention to clues of prominent Vulgar Latin and Romance phenomena (nasalisation, palatalisation) and regional differentiation (cf. Väänänen, Galdi) that is to be matched with later Gallo-Romance and the linguistic profiles, found in Cologne, Trier, and Mainz. Moreover, I shall discuss potential influence of Celtic substratum and Germanic superstratum. Religion, both pagan and Christian, as well as citizenship and local mobility will turn out to be driving factors in integration.

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Latin incorporating verbs: towards macro-/micro-typology of incorporation

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The paper analyzes the Latin language in the context of the typology of object incorporation. Some theoretical points will be important for our consideration.

According to the Mithun's definition (1984: 848), the term incorporation refers to "a particular type of compounding in which a V and N combine to form a new V. The N bears a specific semantic relationship to its host V – as patient, location, or instrument." Although there are examples of different semantic relationships within the Latin incorporating verbs, in this study, we will focus only on the cases with the N as patient. Another significant point concerns the distinction between "strong" incorporation, i.e. the complete incorporation of the noun stem into the verbal form, and "weak" incorporation, which implies close morphosyntactic unity of the noun and the verb ("noun stripping"). No less significant is that all languages which exhibit such morphological structures also have syntactic paraphrases (Mithun 1984: 847).

The phenomenon of incorporation in Latin has already been addressed by linguists (Rosen 1989, Fugier 1994, Baños 2012, Marini 2015). Latin incorporating verbs form a restricted non-productive class of words, such as *ludificari, belligerare, morigerari, curagere, gratulari, mandare etc.* In spite of its non-productivity and restricted number, this group of words shows a remarkable diversity in its morphosyntactic behaviour. Some incorporated complexes have parallel syntactic paraphrases (*ludificari – ludos facere)* while others do not *(mandare),* some incorporated nouns function as objects (*curagere*) while others – as instruments (*manumittere*). Finally, some of the verbs lose transitivity in the process of incorporation (*belligerare*) whereas others do not (*animadvertere*).

E. Marini (2015) applied the Mithun's typology of incorporation to the Latin incorporating verbs ending in *-ficare/-ficari* and has shown that at least three types of incorporation singled out by Mithun are found in Latin. At the same time, Marini underlined that the Mithun's typology is not exhaustive and therefore, further research in this field is required.

In our study, we are going to propose a new typology of object incorporation by drawing upon some languages that have not previously been considered in the context of this phenomenon (Gban, Swahili and Russian, *inter alia*). This typology is not based on the strict opposition of incorporating vs. non-incorporating languages but presents a kind of gradual continuum in which the place of a language depends on whether the language exhibits:

1) complete incorporation of the noun into the verb or just a close morphosyntactic unity of the noun and the verb,

2) detransitivisation of the incorporated complex,

3) parallel syntactic paraphrases.

Finally, we will show what place(s) the Latin language occupies in this typology.

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Demonstrative pronouns and metalinguistic participles in Latin of Digest

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In 1990s, there was research made concerning use of demonstrative pronouns and metalinguistic participles (*supradictus*, *suprascriptus*, etc.) in legal Latin. This research was based on a wide corpus of legal texts from 2nd century BC to Middle Ages (Selig 1992; Calboli 1997) with two main conclusions. Firstly, the adjectival use of the pronouns/participles prevails over the substantival one (with the significant exception of *is*) and secondly, the use of these pronouns/participles in adjectival use differs diachronically (decrease of *is* and more extensive use of metalinguistic participles, *ipse*, *iste* and *ille*).

However, Iustinian's Digest as a representative of legal language has not been included in this corpus.

In this contribution we will therefore focus on adjectival vs. substantival use of demonstrative pronouns as well as on their frequency and distribution in the text of Digest. Our findings will be compared and contrasted to those of previous research.

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Poster

How to invent a Latin etymology? The antic recipe

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Etymological inquiry can sometimes look opaque because of its number of cryptic elements. However, antique linguists integrated frequently etymologies in myths and narrations, and made of this device a poetic one. The literary part of antique etymology can't be underestimated, and we will precisely focus on the different ways in which etymology and poetry interact in linguistic thinking. We will have a linguistic approach of the phenomenon: words' nature, mythography, bilinguism and composition / derivation, through the prism of the method they employed.

Latin etymology is often presented as a field left free to the imagination, but this is more an opinion than a real fact. Ancient etymology is largely rooted in the literary and poetic practices of the time, and we will consider the interactions between linguistic theories and poetic creativity, especially in Latin poetry. If ancient etymology is really very different from the modern etymology, one may wonder if poetic etymology follows the same principles as in linguistics or in philosophy, and where are the main differences. This poster will insist on these differences and go further in the definition of antic etymology and of poetic etymology.

We will focus on Augustan poetry, which is really fond of etymological wordplays. Ovid and Vergil, in peculiar, made an extensive use of etymology in their poetry. We will consider the templates they use to create etymological motives and show how they invent Latin etymologies.

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