

Latin vulgaire - latin tardif XVI

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Plenary talks

Erudition tardive et références classiques

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A partir de trois textes tardifs (une grammaire anonyme dite "du Pseudo-Scaurus", conservée dans le manuscrit de Munich Clm 6281, lui-même copie du milieu du IXe s. d'un manuscrit insulaire, le Liber de praenominibus du manuscrit Vat. Latinus 4229, du IXe s., copié, pense-t-on, dans l'entourage Heiric d'Auxerre sur un manuscrit du Ve s., et enfin l'Ars grammatica de Priscien, composée dans le premier quart du VIe s.), on se propose d'étudier le rapport entretenu par les auteurs tardifs, anonymes ou non, avec les classiques auxquels ils ramènent leur érudition dans une perspective, partagée par eux trois, de traitement global. L'existence d'une consultation directe ou non et, dans ce dernier cas, celle d'une médiation documentaire sera au centre des interrogations qu'on retiendra à leur propos.

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Linguistic criticism: or how modern linguists can help editing ancient linguists

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There are countless examples on which one can apply what I will call “critical linguistics”, for there are countless loci desperati in the texts that have come down to us through the manuscript tradition - any manuscript tradition, from the Classical languages to the Germanic, Slavic, Celtic, Iranian, or Indian ones.

Louis Havet, in the preface to his formidable *Manuel de critique verbale*, claimed to be concerned with “pathologies” rather than “therapies” and that “a maladie seule est intéressante, là où le malade ne court aucun risque” (Havet 1911: XI).

Above all, he stressed the multi-layered nature of the hermeneutic approach employed by “critical linguistics”: «un critique, théoriquement, devrait opérer sur une grammaire construite par les grammairiens, sur une métrique construite par les métriciens, et ainsi de suite, de façon à n’avoir à s’occuper que de la critique elle-même, c’est-à-dire d’une certaine application d’une science faite ailleurs. En fait, il s’en faut de beaucoup que le travail critique soit isolable du reste; certains problèmes, en effet, n’ont pas encore été élucidés par les spécialistes» (Havet 1911: XIII).

Linguistic criticism is nothing more than the process of amending passages in which the analysis, interpretation, and related textual proposal require a “hermeneutic circle” in which historical-philological and historical-linguistic data interact. Certain passages taken from metalinguistic passages - particularly those by Roman grammarians and authors who were influenced by them (such as Nigidius Figulus, Julius Caesar, Quintilian, Martianus Capella, Pompeius and the so-called Appendix Probi) are particularly appropriate for highlighting the merits of such a method.

In these cases, despite the skepticism of authors, such as Seelman, the linguistic data is overlaid by interesting metalinguistic data, which necessarily require additional information and inferences that only careful linguistic reflection is capable of fully - and often successfully - exploiting. To the analysis of these passages, we will attempt to add two further cases, both drawn from Terentianus Maurus’ *De syllabis*.

In this way, we will try to carry out a reflection of Walter Belardi, who wrote several decades ago: «se è vero che nell’epoca nostra contemporanea non sempre la linguistica ha bisogno della filologia, e se è vero che l’asserzione contraria ha anch’essa le sue buone ragioni, ci sono settori di studio nei quali la necessità della collaborazione è assolutamente inderogabile. Fra questi primeggia il settore dell’indagine sulla storia del pensiero linguistico del passato sui temi del linguaggio, e in particolare del pensiero filosofico-grammaticale antico, poiché in tale indagine non possono esserci accertamento o acquisizione che non si basino su una interpretazione del documento antico il più possibile corretta dal punto di vista filologico, filosofico e linguistico» (Belardi – Cipriano 1990: 158).

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Unreal conditionals in Plautus and Terence

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In classical Latin, the present unreal is expressed with the imperfect subjunctive (*si facerem, essem*), and the past unreal, with the pluperfect subjunctive (*si fecissem, fuisset*). At some point before Plautus, the present unreal was expressed with the present subjunctive, and the past unreal, with the imperfect subjunctive. In Plautus and Terence, we can see change in progress. In Plautus, the present subjunctive still predominates for the present unreal (80% versus 20%), but for the past unreal, the pluperfect subjunctive is already as common as the imperfect subjunctive. In Terence, the past unreal is virtually always rendered with the pluperfect subjunctive, and in the present unreal, present and imperfect subjunctives are equally common.

There are three factors that are behind these developments. In Plautus, the pluperfect subjunctive replaces the imperfect first among telic verbs, where it originally indicated conclusion, a concept less relevant for atelic situations. In Terence, the pluperfect has been generalized, and the imperfect is replacing the present due to analogical pressures. And finally, in Terence the imperfect of *esse* is significantly more common than the present; I argue that *esse*, as the atelic verb *par excellence*, allowed for reinterpretations of past unreal subjunctives as present unreal ones particularly easily.

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Multilingualism and the History of Late and Medieval Latin. A Romance Perspective**Maria Selig** (maria.selig@ur.de)*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Universität Regensburg*

Multilingualism has become one of the dominant themes in contemporary linguistic thinking. We could refer to theories on individual bilingualism or multilingualism, rooted in psycholinguistic or cognitive research on language acquisition (Filipović 2019) as well as to attempts in sociolinguistics or conversation analysis to model code-switching phenomena (Bullock/Toribio 2009). Equally interesting are the approaches to social multilingualism and the long tradition of research on diglossia, linguistic diasystems, and standardization (Ayres-Bennet/Bellamy 2021). In all these fields, the new positive perspective on language contact and multilingualism has led to significant changes in the assessment of multilingual practices and linguistic diversity which are particularly important for historical linguistics (Pahta/Skaffari/Wright 2018, Buschfeld/Ronan/Vida-Mannl 2023, Pavlenko 2023, Bortolussi/Wolff 2025).

In my talk, I will ask where, from the perspective of a Romanist, research on Vulgar and Late Latin can find its place within these dynamics. Building on research of Roger Wright (Wright 2002) and Michel Banniard (Banniard 1992, 2025), I will propose a more nuanced understanding of the central concepts of *rusticus sermo* and *grammatica*, which would come to shape the linguistic practices following the ‘End of antiquity’ (cf. Vitali 2007).

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General Abstracts in alphabetical order according to sessions and authors

Christian Authors and the Language of the Vulgate

“El léxico como eje vertebrador y caracterizador de los CLE paganos y cristianos”

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Es evidente que las diferencias de concepción del mundo se reflejan -cuando hablamos de lenguaje- básicamente en el vocabulario y que es en el nivel léxico en el que se distinguen, en primera instancia, las lenguas de “grupo”.

No tiene nada de particular, pues, que las posibles convergencias y divergencias de los textos no cristianos y cristianos se capten, sobre todo, en este plano, “the only linguistic feature... the Christian vocabulary”¹, que es el objetivo de mi presente trabajo.

Mi indagación de ahora (por las limitaciones de espacio²) no podría, abarcar, sin embargo, todos los procedimientos de formación del léxico cristiano, que -como ya lo advirtiera Mohrmann³- son diversos, teniendo que centrarme, por tanto, en uno de ellos, el más frecuente, por otra parte en la “especialización de un vocabulario especial”⁴: las oscilaciones semánticas, los nuevos puntos de referencia que adoptan las palabras (paganas) en latín cristiano, hecho que nos resume con total claridad Sanders: “les signifiants sont les mêmes, les signifiés ont basculé”⁵.

El objetivo de mi comunicación es pues el examen de este proceder que puede tener como resultado el hecho de que un mismo vocablo actúe con referencias significativas desiguales según el contexto de uso (pagano o cristiano), objetivo que voy a acometer mediante la comparación del funcionamiento de un mismo grupo léxico en uno y otro tipo de latín a fin de comprobar el papel del vocabulario en tanto elemento articulador de las semejanzas y desemejanzas de la poesía epigráfica, pagana y cristiana, y su ideología subyacente.

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¹COLEMAN 1987, p.52.

²Inherentes a una aportación a un Congreso.

³Cf. MOHRMANN 1953, pp.254-262.

⁴ Cf. Según he señalado ya en otro lugar (ARIAS ABELLÁN 2014, p. 300), los mecanismos como préstamos y neologismos requieren un grado más elevado de especialización.

⁵SANDERS 1991, p.355.

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L'objet interne dans la Vulgate

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Pour évaluer la vitalité et la perception qu'avaient les Latins d'une construction marginale comme l'objet interne, on peut observer l'attitude des traducteurs confrontés à des langues comportant des objets internes, comme c'est le cas pour les traductions de la Bible. L'acceptation du calque par Jérôme serait le signe d'une certaine vitalité de la construction.

Nous confronterons sa pratique dans la Vulgate avec celle des autres traducteurs (*Vetus Latina*) et auteurs chrétiens, aussi bien quand il traduit à partir de l'hébreu que lorsqu'il révisé les textes de source grecque.

Nous verrons que se posent à cette occasion au moins trois questions :

- (i) Existe-t-il une extension de l'objet interne à l'accusatif dénotant l'objet effectué à des verbes transitifs admettant classiquement des objets affectés (e.g. *iudicium iudicare, calumniam calumniare*)?
- (ii) Observe-t-on une extension de l'objet interne à l'accusatif aux verbes dits inaccusatifs (e.g. *mortem morior, casum cado*)?
- (iii) Quels sont les critères de choix entre accusatif et ablatif : sémantique du verbe, présence d'un objet affecté....(*iudicium* vs *iudicio iudicare*) ?

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Alle origini del discorso catechetico latino

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Il tipo testuale “catechismo” ha costituito per molti secoli, a partire almeno dal periodo della Riforma luterana e poi dal Concilio di Trento, un tipo di grande rilevanza per la storia dell’educazione in Europa (e non solo) caratterizzato da una forma testuale molto ben definita (struttura a domande e risposte tra un maestro e un discepolo) e da un’intelaiatura tematica altrettanto chiaramente riconoscibile (alternanza e struttura dei temi trattati).

La nascita della tradizione discorsiva che ha portato allo sviluppo di questo tipo testuale non è stata però ancora chiaramente ricostruita. L’obiettivo di questo lavoro è quello di delineare una traiettoria evolutiva rintracciabile all’interno di testi tardoantichi e medievali che indichi un percorso da seguire per ricostruire la nascita e lo sviluppo delle caratteristiche lessicali, sintattiche, tematiche e macro-testuali che possiamo riconoscere nei catechismi che si diffondono a partire dal Cinquecento.

Al fine di perseguire questo proposito, in questo lavoro presentiamo l’analisi linguistica e testuale di alcuni testi molto influenti che possono essere considerati, per motivazioni anche diverse, dei punti di partenza e di sviluppo di elementi che risultano centrali nel tipo testuale del catechismo. I testi analizzati sono: il *De catechizandi rudibus* di Agostino, il *De ecclesiasticis officiis* di Isidoro di Siviglia, il *De institutione clericorum* di Rabano Mauro e la *Disputatio puerorum*. Ci soffermiamo in particolar modo sul piano lessicale, sintattico e macro-testuale, per evidenziare similitudini e differenze nella struttura dei testi dal punto di vista tematico e formale.

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Atque in the Vulgate

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Prose rhythm is a sometimes neglected factor in the language choices of late Latin texts. When we look at the instances of *atque* before a consonant in Jerome's translation of the bible, almost all fall into five metrical sequences inherited from classical prose rhythm. The Vulgate is not typically seen as rhythmical text; but this regularity shows that under the right conditions Jerome actively sought out metrical *clausulae*.

In this paper I will compare Jerome's prose rhythm in other texts and in the Vulgate, particularly looking at his use of *atque*. I will also consider how far he allowed himself to deviate from the text he was translating.

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L'utilisation de quelques procédés rhétoriques par Césaire d'Arles dans les Sermons au peuple, ou comment rendre parfaitement compréhensible une homélie en latin

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L'utilisation de quelques procédés rhétoriques par Césaire d'Arles dans les Sermons au peuple, ou comment rendre parfaitement compréhensible une homélie en latin. Une des questions que l'on peut se poser à propos des Sermons au peuple de Saint Césaire d'Arles est celle de leur parfaite compréhension par les auditeurs. On note certaines allusions à ce sujet dans les Sermons eux-mêmes (Sermons 1 et 6).

Nous chercherons donc dans cette communication à mettre en lumière certains des procédés mis en œuvre dans les Sermons au peuple pour rendre accessibles les propos du prédicateur. Outre la succession des reformulations d'une même idée, on s'attachera plus particulièrement à l'utilisation des structures comparatives. Fortement signalés (*sicut ... ita / sic ; quomodo ... ita / sic*), ces systèmes corrélatifs mettent très souvent en parallèle deux membres présentant le même schéma syntaxique, usant de la répétition de mots. On notera les gloses, souvent explicitées par *uel*, *uelut* ou *id est*. On peut alors se demander si ces procédés qui relèvent incontestablement de la rhétorique, mais qui sont utilisés ici avec une régularité particulièrement insistante, ne fournissaient pas aux auditeurs des repères puissants qui les soutenaient et les amenaient à la bonne compréhension des propos de leur évêque.

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El latín de las *Homiliae Toletanae* (CPL 1997)

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Bajo la denominación de *Homiliae Toletanae* (CPL 1997) es conocido el homiliario patrístico de la antigua liturgia hispánica, conservado mayoritariamente en el manuscrito London, BL, Add. 30853 —ejecutado, según las últimas investigaciones, en San Pedro de Cardeña en el s. XI).

La reciente edición del homiliario, objeto de mi tesis doctoral², me ha permitido concluir que fue compilado en diferentes etapas que se extienden desde mediados del s. VI a las postrimerías del s. VII o primeros años del s. VIII, y que, probablemente, Julián de Toledo (680 a 690) —al que con toda probabilidad debamos de añadir Ildefonso (657-667) y Félix de Toledo (693-c. 702)— estuvo detrás de su revisión y ampliación, tal y como demuestra el uso de la fuente más reciente localizada: su *Prognosticum futuri saeculi*, finalizada en el año 688. Aunque las *Homiliae Toletanae* agrupan algunos sermones patrísticos de autores precedentes copiados *ad litteram*, la mayoría de sus piezas son producto de la reelaboración y adaptación de textos anteriores a las exigencias de la celebración litúrgica.

El objetivo de la comunicación será analizar las principales características lingüísticas de estas reelaboraciones, con el fin de decidir si algunos de los usos de lengua pueden atribuirse a algún autor hispano en activo durante las etapas de compilación del homiliario —teniendo en especial consideración las figuras de los tres obispos toledanos mencionados arriba— o, más bien, son propios del copista del manuscrito que lo ha transmitido.

Palabras clave: Latín medieval, Hispania visigoda, Género homilético, *Homiliae Toletanae*, Lingüística

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Tracing language contact in Greek-Latin and Gothic-Latin manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles

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A considerable amount of bilingual manuscripts of the New Testament combines the Latin biblical text with corresponding texts in other languages, facilitating cross-linguistic influence. This paper examines the Latin text of the Pauline Epistles as transmitted by bilingual manuscripts dated from the fifth to the ninth centuries, in which Latin is paired with Greek and Gothic. The aim of this study is to determine whether the Latin text has been adapted to the lexical and morphosyntactic features of the accompanying languages. The extent and typology of such modifications as well as their implications for the development of Latin will be assessed. This paper explores the functions of these adaptations and identifies possible reasons for them, offering insights into the production, circulation, and use of these manuscripts.

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Riadattamenti semantici e morfosintattici nell'anonimo poema dell'*Heptateuchos*

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L'intervento prende in esame alcune particolarità linguistiche dell'anonimo poema dell'*Heptateuchos* (V sec. d. C. circa), con specifica attenzione ai tratti riconducibili al latino tardo.

L'analisi di alcuni fenomeni lessicali, morfosintattici e stilistici intende mostrare come il testo, che rientra nel genere della parafrasi biblica veterotestamentaria, rifletta dinamiche di evoluzione linguistica proprie dell'età tardoantica, pur muovendosi entro una cornice epica di ascendenza classica. Lo studio mira così a mettere in luce il rapporto tra conservazione e innovazione linguistica rispetto alla tradizione poetica precedente sia classica che cristiana presente nella riscrittura dell'ipotesto biblico (quello della *Vetus Latina*) attuata dal parafraste.

Si tratta dunque di una ricerca che indaga come la lingua del poema rifletta in maniera significativa un momento di transizione linguistica e culturale nella tarda antichità, incrociando tradizione letteraria epica e mutamenti linguistici del latino cristiano in maniera sinergica e funzionale a valorizzare la comprensione del testo sacro parafrasato.

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Note morfosintattiche agli *Actus Vercellenses* (Bibl. Capitol. 158)**Silvia Pieroni** (silvia.pieroni@unistrasi.it)*Università per Stranieri di Siena*

Gli *actus Vercellenses* sono un testo apocrifo latino tramandato da un unico testimone, il ms. 158 della Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli (fol. 327–372), anche noto come *actus Petri cum Simone* (Lipsius e Bonnet 1891) o *acta Petri* (Döhler 2018). Dopo la partenza di Paolo da Roma, vi si descrive l'arrivo di Simon mago e di Pietro, la lotta tra i due e il martirio del secondo. Il codice è della Spagna visigota del VII sec.; l'antigrafo (forse archetipo) è ora collocato nel tardo IV (Baldwin 2005), anch'esso in Spagna (o Africa del nord, secondo Poupon 1998). Il confronto con la tradizione greca parallela (*Vita Abercii*, *Pap. Oxy.* 849, *Martyrium Petri*) mostra una versione latina non letterale e invita a una considerazione del testo autonoma, seppure non indipendente.

A fronte di una ricca bibliografia sul contesto storico e filologico-letterario (Filippini 2007), l'esame più accurato della lingua, stigmatizzata per la rusticità, è ancora nell'edizione semidiplomatica di Gundermann-Lipsius (Lipsius e Bonnet 1891: XXXVII-LII). La comunicazione intende approfondirne l'analisi in chiave diacronica, mettendo a fuoco fenomeni morfosintattici che, sotto veste latina, lasciano trasparire la filigrana romanza: per esempio, giri preposizionali con *ad* in sostituzione del dativo (Adams 2013: 284-287), casi di paratassi tra forme finite e non finite, perifrasi con *habeo* e *facio*.

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Stil und Sprache des donatistischen Bischofs Petilianus von Cirta: Literarische Vorbilder und Latein des spätromischen Nordafrikas

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Abgesehen von den kurzen Bemerkungen von Monceaux 1922 und Lancel 1972 wurde die literarische Persönlichkeit von Petilianus (ca. 365-420 n. Chr.), einer der prominentesten Figuren des Donatismus in dem spätromischen Nordafrika, bisher fast nie untersucht. In der Tat konzentrierte sich Monceaux vor allem auf den Inhalt der *Epistula ad presbiteros et diaconos*, also des einzigen erhaltenen Werkes des Petilianus (Monceaux 1922, 79-85). Lancel's stilistischer Kommentar beschränkt sich hingegen auf wenige Passagen aus Petilianus' „defensio“ der pars Donati auf der Konferenz von Karthago (411 n. Chr.), die sich in den *Gesta collationis Carthaginensis* findet (Lancel 1972, 235-236; vgl. dazu auch Weidmann 2018, 25).

Der vorliegende Beitrag verfolgt somit zwei Ziele. Erstens soll eine der größten Lücken in den Studien zur lateinischen Literatur der Spätantike geschlossen werden, indem das Referat eine eingehende Analyse sowohl des Stilmerkmals des Petilianus als auch seiner literarischen Vorbilder (Sallust, Seneca, die Evangelisten, Tertullian und Cyprian) bietet. Zweitens wird ein Vergleich der stilistischen und sprachlichen Merkmale von Petilianus mit denen seiner afrikanischen Zeitgenossen, insb. Augustinus, durchgeführt, um die vermeintliche „Africitas“ eines der bedeutendsten lateinischen christlichen Schriftsteller der Spätantike zu diskutieren.

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«Le latin laborieux et incorrect de Filastrius»: primi sondaggi sulla lingua di Filastrio di Brescia

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Il nome di Filastrio, vescovo di Brescia nella seconda metà del quarto secolo, compare sporadicamente in molti testi classici di storia della lingua latina (ad es. Löfstedt 1936 o Hofmann - Szantyr 1965) come collettore di numerosi fenomeni di latino tardo e/o volgare, quali l'uso impersonale di *dicit* o *potest*, la particella *quod* per introdurre il discorso diretto, l'uso della perifrastica passiva gerundivo + *sum* per designare il semplice futuro passivo.

Dopo essere stato edito da Marx 1898, il *Diversarum hereseon liber* di Filastrio è stato oggetto di un singolo studio linguistico dedicato (Juret 1906) e di una nuova edizione (Heylen 1957), che costituiscono un buon punto di partenza per una rivalutazione del latino «laborieux et incorrect» (così Lejay 1898) del nostro autore alla luce delle moderne acquisizioni della linguistica latina e di un'attenta rivalutazione della tradizione testuale, qualora necessaria. Il presente contributo si propone di tracciare alcune direttrici preliminari di questa indagine con particolare attenzione alla morfologia verbale e alla sintassi.

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Epigraphy and Regional Latin

The Transformation of the Case System in Hispanic Latin in the Light of Epigraphic Evidence

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The reduction of the Latin case system during the first millennium A.D. is a relatively well-known process, both regarding its general tendencies and its regional peculiarities (Herman 2000: 51, 55, 58–59). The starting point, the five-case declension system, is well known from Classical Latin, and the end point is the caseless system of Romance languages (with modern Romanian constituting a partial exception) where the former syntactic functions of cases have been taken over by prepositions and word order. Between these two endpoints, a three-case system and, subsequently, a two-case system constituted transitional stages (the latter preserved for some time in Old French and Old Provençal). The three-case system—consisting of a nominative, a merged accusative–ablative, and a merged genitive–dative—appears not to have become established throughout the entire Latin-speaking area (Herman 2000: 110). According to one view, this three-case system did not develop at all in large parts of the Iberian Peninsula, as the merged genitive–dative failed to gain currency there (De Dardel 1964: 23). Another position holds that even the two-case system consisting of a nominative and an accusative (which absorbed the functions of the remaining cases) could not have survived for long in Hispania: on the basis of the analysis of the slate tablet texts, it seems that—similarly to Italy, but unlike Gaul—a case-less system had already emerged by the seventh century (cf. Herman 1995 = 2006: 29–30).

Earlier research (based primarily on Gaeng's studies of Latin inscriptions), however, did not yet have access to such comprehensive epigraphic linguistic databases as the LLDB (<https://lldb.elte.hu/>). The LLDB makes it possible to conduct a systematic investigation of the reduction and transformation of the case system across the entire Latin-speaking world, including Hispania, between the first and seventh centuries A.D. In the present paper, by means of a quantitative-distributional analysis, I aim to address, among other questions, whether a three-case and/or a two-case system emerged at all in Hispania, and whether a case-less system can indeed be shown to have developed there as early as the seventh century.

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The Place of Latin within Multilingual Magic: Insights from a Pannonian Amulet

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Multilingual magical texts offer a privileged insight into how language choice, script, and obscurity interacted in the construction of ritual efficacy in the Roman provinces. This paper examines a silver amulet from Ságvár (Pannonia), whose text combines magical signs, Greek-language expressions, and Greek-letter sequences that are no longer interpretable, alongside the repeated occurrence of the name Romulus, written in Latin letters. This combination raises the central question of the paper: how should the presence and function of Latin be understood within an otherwise Greek-dominated magical register, especially in comparison with other multilingual magical texts of the Roman world?

Pannonia was a predominantly Latin-speaking province, and, with few exceptions, longer magical texts produced there are composed in Latin. The paper therefore approaches the Ságvár amulet from a sociolinguistic perspective, asking whether its linguistic mixture reflects bilingual competence, ritual convention, or deliberate obscuring of meaning. Special attention is paid to the common assumption that code-switching itself possessed magical force, and to the extent to which language mixing served to increase the perceived effectiveness or complexity of the text.

Finally, a palaeographic analysis of letter forms is employed to assess whether the different linguistic components may be attributed to a single (possibly bilingual) scribe or to multiple hands. By placing the amulet within the broader corpus of *defixiones* and amulets, the paper explores whether Latin in this context may have functioned not only as a practical written medium, but also as a meaningful element within a multilingual magical practice.

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Vulgar Latin in Raetia and Possible Connections to Rhaeto-Romance

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This paper examines the state of Vulgar Latin in the province of Raetia on the basis of extant epigraphic evidence, with particular attention to its possible relationship to the emergence of the Rhaeto-Romance languages. The analysis focuses on the phonological and morphological features attested in the epigraphic material, placing special emphasis on deviations from Classical Latin norms that may reflect processes of vernacularization and regionally specific linguistic innovations.

The paper compares the linguistic evidence of Raetian inscriptions with the documented historical and modern stages of the Rhaeto-Romance languages, addressing the question of continuity versus discontinuity between Late Latin in Raetia and Rhaeto-Romance. Particular attention is paid to phenomena such as the restructuring of the vowel system, consonantal lenition, and the simplification of nominal and verbal inflection, which may be interpreted as potential indicators of a linguistic transition.

Rather than seeking to validate a linear model of direct descent, the aim of this study is to assess the extent to which the epigraphic evidence of Raetian Vulgar Latin can contribute to ongoing debates within Romance linguistics and historical linguistics concerning the origin and classification of the Rhaeto-Romance languages.

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The Latin Inscriptions as a Corpus: An Overview

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The corpus approach has been applied in almost all areas of textual research, not only in linguistics but also in other fields of the humanities and social sciences, such as law, cultural studies, history, and literary studies. It is often regarded as representing a paradigmatic shift, insofar as it enables the exploration of textual data from a macroscopic perspective. However, until relatively recently, the corpus approach has not been applied to the study of Latin inscriptions. Research involving the aggregation of inscriptional texts from databases into a cleaned, machine-readable format, stripped of Leiden editorial conventions, has made it possible to conduct large-scale analyses of Latin inscriptions.

This presentation examines Latin inscriptions from the EDCS—Epigraphy Database Clauss/Slaby both as a single corpus and as a set of subcorpora defined by regional and chronological parameters. Using natural language processing tools, an overview of the corpus and its subcorpora is provided through statistical measures such as token and lemma counts, part-of-speech distribution, named entity distribution, and frequency lists. Particular attention is given to keyness analysis, which is used to explore selected subcorpora in relation to the entire corpus.

The approach adopted in this study is corpus-driven. Its aim is to establish a systematic, quantitative textual profile of the Latin inscriptions contained in the EDCS.

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Tratti di latino volgare nei graffiti pompeiani: uno studio linguistico**Benedetta Muccioli** (tabita94@hotmail.it)

Il graffito pompeiano “*Quisquis ama valia, peria qui nosci amare, bis tanti peria quisquis amare vota*” offre un punto di partenza per indagare le caratteristiche del latino volgare nei graffiti urbani.

L'intervento si concentra sui tratti linguistici più ricorrenti in questo genere di testi: semplificazioni fonetiche, come *peria* per *pereat*, varianti morfosintattiche, come l'uso di *nosci amare* al posto di *noscere amare*, e adattamenti lessicali o neologismi derivanti dalla trascrizione di parlato informale.

La metodologia adottata è basata su osservazione diretta, trascrizione critica e confronto con un corpus di graffiti pompeiani coevi, con l'obiettivo di individuare schemi ricorrenti e deviazioni dalla norma classica. Analizzando i graffiti, emergono inoltre fenomeni come l'elisione di consonanti interne, l'uso di duplicazioni o ripetizioni per rafforzare il senso, e forme verbali non standard che riflettono modelli di pronuncia urbana.

Questi tratti permettono di ricostruire più fedelmente la pronuncia e le strutture tipiche del latino parlato, evidenziando come la scrittura dei graffiti non fosse solo decorativa, ma anche veicolo diretto della lingua viva, che fornisce un modello per lo studio sistematico dei tratti caratteristici del latino volgare e contribuisce alla comprensione dei meccanismi che porteranno alla formazione delle lingue romanze.

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‘Ni vulgaire, ni tardif’: un bilancio metodologico sul latino a Pompei**Maria Chiara Scappaticcio** (mariachiara.scappaticcio@unina.it)*Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II*

Le etichette spettate al latino documentato archeologicamente a Pompei sono numerose: fin dalla scoperta e dal progressivo riaffiorare dei resti dell’antica città sepolta dall’eruzione del Vesuvio del 79 d.C., i più di 12mila segmenti scritti che la costellano sono emersi per la loro eccezionalità nel restituire una voce ai più disparati aspetti della vita della città stessa. Gli studi sul ‘latino epigrafico’ di —o meglio, ‘da’— Pompei sono, ad oggi, numerosi, e i ‘graffiti pompeiani’ occupano un loro spazio —benché talora esiguo— nelle riflessioni sulla storia della lingua latina per la loro unicità nel restituire dettagli spesso ignoti di un latino ‘quotidiano’, ‘parlato’, ‘volgare’, ‘sub-standard’, e finanche ‘sommerso’.

L’analisi delle scritture latine di Pompei non può prescindere da una valutazione attenta e millimetrica radicata su parametri che —ferma restando l’importanza delle loro ‘forme’— ne hanno certamente determinato la lingua, come il parametro del tempo, quello dello spazio, oltre che, naturalmente, da un lato, la variabile di *status* e cultura dello scrivente —che si identifichi o meno con l’autore!—e, dall’altro, della possibile situazione contestuale in cui il messaggio sarebbe stato scritto (e concepito): la relazione ha come obiettivo una *mise au point* critica e metodologica sulle ‘voci’ di Pompei e sul loro contributo per lo studio rinnovato della lingua latina in età primoimperiale e di aspetti, talora inediti, della sua variazione.

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The Frankfurt Amulet: A Linguistic Sensation in the Empire's Borderland

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In 2018, a small silver object was discovered in a tomb, dated to the span between 230 and 260 AD, in a cemetery in the Roman city of Nida, in the territory of modern day Frankfurt. Advanced computed tomography techniques allowed deciphering an inscription, written in Latin on a silver plate inside the object, that turned out to contain a Christian amulet that is the earliest extant document for Christian presence north of the Alps.

The amulet bears not only an epigraphic and religious, but also a linguistic sensation, as I shall demonstrate in my talk. The votive purpose resulted in a language that is much better cared than in curse tablets (diphthongs are preserved in spelling throughout) and yields minor deviations from Classical Latin (we find only one instance of consonantal degemination, and a deponent is used in the active). Still, the enigmatic spelling *omnest* instead of *omnes*, which editors have tacitly corrected by athetizing the superfluous *t*, requires a careful linguistic discussion that will single out an early reflex of palatalization as most probable interpretation. I shall check this finding against the background of current scholarship on palatalization and buttress my thesis by further instances of this scarcely attested phenomenon from the west bank of the Rhine most of which have passed unnoticed in research thus far.

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From Archaic Comedy to Late Latin

Being *Frugi* and *Nequam* in Plautus and Beyond

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The Latin adjective *frugi* has a wide semantic range and slippery implications about social status. In Plautus, scholars have described it as a general word of praise for enslaved characters—a “top-down virtue” and the “thrifty” quality of saving up to buy one’s freedom (Richlin 2017) or the “skill of accommodation” to the enslaver (Stewart 2012). Gildenhard (2020) has argued that republican elites elevated the once-servile *frugalitas* to the canon of Roman virtues, letting later writers choose which of the *frug-* root’s associations to evoke.

This paper combines lexical semantics with the literary analysis of key passages in comic and satirical genres to investigate the extent to which *frugi* and its frequently collocated antonym *nequam* constituted servile-coded language. I argue that the word’s semantic field, which is ambiguous between various kinds of moral and financial worth, allowed the distinctions to be either elided or interrogated. The concept of being *frugi* is integral to the Plautine ‘good slave’ speech topos but is de-emphasized and thematically inverted in Terence. Plautus (Men. 578-9) and Horace (S. 2.7) draw attention to the ambiguously servile language of worth as a manifestation of status-based double-standards.

Furthermore, I nuance Gildenhard’s narrative of *frugi* being subsumed by the developments of *frugalitas*. Despite the canonized *frugalitas*, writers continued to use the concept of being *frugi* to invoke the idea of servile virtue, adapting the language of comedy to a time and context where its meaning had changed. This constitutes an example of the conflicting associations of archaism and low register in the literary reception of palliata comedy (cf. Holford-Strevens 2010).

The metalinguistic discourse of the late antique commentary and grammatical and etymological tradition is crucial to this analysis. We should see commentators like Donatus and Isidore as writing in their own temporal context, for speakers of Late Latin, rather than as straightforward interpreters of classical-period writers. From this perspective we see that *frugalis*, *frugalitas*, and *frugi* came to be interpreted by speakers as increasingly distinct in meaning and in social connotations, despite their etymological connection.

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Deixis as Social Action: Interactional Resource Early Roman Comedy

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Language functions as social action through which speakers negotiate stance and social relations (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). Early Roman comedy provides an exceptionally fertile corpus for examining these dynamics, as a performative genre that stages everyday interaction and offers one of the richest textual approximations to spoken Latin (Clackson 2011).

The present study treats deixis as a central interactional resource in the Plautine and Terentian corpus, adopting a socio-pragmatic perspective in which deictics signal social positioning between interlocutors (Barrios-Lech 2020). The analysis draws on two sociolinguistic frameworks: (i) Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles 1973) offers a model for analysing how speakers converge toward or diverge from their interlocutors; (ii) Third Wave Sociolinguistics (Eckert 2008) conceptualises variation as indexical (context-dependent).

The study looks at how the demonstrative *ille, illa, illud* is used across four comedies (*Miles Gloriosus*, *Bacchides*, *Adelphoe*, and *Heautontimorumenos*) by people from different social classes, with a particular focus on characters from 'lower' social groups, such as slaves and prostitutes. The results show contrasting patterns: both the syntactic position of *ille* and its distribution across different levels of clausal subordination correlate systematically with social hierarchies. These distributional asymmetries point to interactionally motivated choices characteristic of spoken discourse and will be examined as case studies to refine Schegloff's (1996) account of deictic word order within the clause. We expect our findings to make a pivotal contribution to the research on the diastatic and diaphasic component in spoken, particularly 'vulgar' (or non-standard) varieties of Latin from the archaic period.

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Grammar and Exegesis

Cassiodorus on *dispicio*/*disspicio* and the spelling-phonology interface

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Taking as its starting point a spelling alternation explicitly framed in metalinguistic terms, this paper analyses the spellings *dispicio* vs. *disspicio* to explore how phonological pressures interact with orthographic norms in Late Latin. In Cassiodorus (*De orthographia* 10.17-18, within rules on syllable division), the author prescribes -ss- and explicitly parses the verb as *dis-* et *spicio*, treating morphemic transparency as the criterion for correct spelling. He nevertheless reports a competing practice (*dispicio*), defended by analogy with environments where *dis-* is reduced. This alternation may reflect a morpho-phonological pressure at the boundary *dis#sC-*: if the initial *s* in *sC* clusters behaves as an appendix (extrasyllabic), /s+s/ contact becomes structurally unstable and may favour degemination, which can then be mirrored in orthography. A systematic EDCS survey of *s*-final prefixes provides an independent baseline for spelling behaviour across a large epigraphic record: simplified spellings are widespread and persist into Late Antiquity, including *dispicio* (114 tokens in the dataset compiled) and the well-known *exspecto* ~ *expecto* alternation (1057 vs 915). The Cassiodorus passage thus offers a window into prescriptive attempts to re-morphologise spelling against entrenched phonological and analogical tendencies.

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Brouillages chronologiques dans les inventaires lexicaux des grammairiens latins tardifs (Priscien, *Ars*)

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L'*Ars Prisciani* n'est pas seulement une grammaire raisonnée qui décrit les structures de la langue latine aux différents niveaux de l'analyse linguistique – graphémique, morphologique, syntaxique. Illustrée de multiples citations d'auteurs et d'exemples littéraires ou forgés pour les besoins de l'exposé didactique, elle constitue aussi un témoignage exceptionnel sur l'ensemble du lexique latin, tel qu'il pouvait être appréhendé par un grammairien du début du VI^e siècle.

Dans cette 'base de données' polyphonique se côtoient : – les mots issus d'une tradition littéraire de 800 ans ; ils peuvent donner lieu à des 'fiches' originales ou issues de la tradition grammaticale et lexicographique ; – des listes illustrant des catégories *formelles* – phoniques (inventaire des finales), flexionnelles, dérivationnelles (comme *-unculus*, *-urire*) ; les mots y sont décontextualisés, cités 'à plat' ; – et des gloses, unilingues ou bilingues, consubstantielles du texte de Priscien, ou introduites secondairement par des lecteurs médiévaux (Biville 2024).

L'*Ars Prisciani* n'a pas vocation à traiter de la réalité parlée contemporaine. Celle-ci n'en transparaît pas moins, explicitement ou 'en creux', au hasard des listes et des gloses, ainsi que dans le langage pédagogique, oralisé, qu'utilise parfois Priscien pour mieux se faire comprendre de son auditoire (Biville 2014. 2016). Si la dimension diachronique n'est pas absente, les autres axes de la variation linguistique ne sont pas retenus comme critères (on n'y trouve pas le marqueur *uulgo*). C'est donc au philologue moderne de 'faire le tri' des données pour repérer ce qui relève d'une réalité langagière tardive, ce qui appartient au lexique usuel et a traversé les siècles, et ce qui a connu une postérité romane.

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Les oeuvres grammaticales d'Accius dans l'Antiquité tardive : extraits des *Didascalica* et des *Pragmatica* chez Nonius Marcellus

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Si Accius est connu pour sa production dramatique, son activité de théoricien de la langue et de la littérature n'en demeure pas moins importante. Les sources anciennes lui attribuent deux ouvrages de nature grammaticale et littéraire (*Didascalica* ; *Pragmatica*), composés en vers mêlés de prose, ainsi qu'une série d'extraits portant sur l'orthographe et l'orthoépée (*GRFF*, p. 22-32 = Dangel, p. 252-260). Sur la vingtaine d'extraits conservés par la tradition indirecte, plus de la moitié proviennent d'auteurs de l'Antiquité tardive.

Le dictionnaire de Nonius Marcellus constitue une source essentielle tant pour la transmission de l'oeuvre dramatique d'Accius (~ 70 % du corpus) que pour celle des extraits grammaticaux transmis sous son nom (~ 40 %). Toutefois, ces deux ensembles n'ont pas suivi la même voie de transmission : alors que Nonius semble avoir eu accès à des listes conservant les tragédies d'Accius, les passages issus des *Didascalica* et des *Pragmatica* paraissent provenir de sources distinctes.

Cette contribution se propose d'étudier la transmission des écrits grammaticaux d'Accius chez Nonius, d'analyser les mécanismes citationnels du lexicographe en les confrontant au reste des extraits conservés, et de s'interroger sur la postérité des idées grammaticales et littéraires d'Accius dans l'Antiquité tardive. Elle examinera enfin les raisons qui ont fait du *De compendiosa doctrina* le réservoir par excellence des fragments acciens, précieux témoins de la tradition grammaticale latine antérieure à Aelius Stilo et à Varron.

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Quid est his arrideo? Simmaco come autorità linguistica

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L'intervento analizza i frammenti dell'opera di Simmaco riportati negli *Exempla Elocutionum*, nelle *Explanations in Donatum* e nel *de nominibus dubiis*, al fine di determinare per quale motivo egli venisse citato quale autorità linguistica in scritti variamente legati al mondo della scuola tardoantica. Se da un primo esame non emerge un interesse per tratti linguistici peculiari, il fr. 1 Seeck riportato da Arusiano Messio s. v. *Arrisit illi* apre una prospettiva di indagine diversa: il modo in cui Simmaco impiega nella sua produzione epistolare il dativo in dipendenza dal verbo *arridere*, costruito attestato già a partire da Terenzio, sembra adombrare un uso che gli è caratteristico e che si affermerà nella tarda antichità in questa particolare accezione.

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La formazione di un vademecum ortografico: il caso dell’*Orthographia Einsidlensis***Claudio Giammona** (claudio.giammona@uniroma1.it)*Sapienza Università di Roma*

Un testo ortografico conservato nel ms. Einsiedeln Stiftbibl., 81 (IX2/3) compare nel volume di Supplemento alla raccolta dei Grammatici Latini curata da Hagen con il titolo – descrittivo – di *Orthographia Einsidlensis* GL Suppl.297-299; lo studioso conosceva anche una versione più breve pubblicata da Usener nel 1867. I due testimoni non sono però i soli a trasmettere questa raccolta di precetti prevalentemente ortografici: a questi vanno aggiunti altri due testimoni per la versione *brevior* (Montpellier, BUM, H306, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 877), due per quella più ampia (München, BSB, Clm 14252; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 249) e un testimone che contiene entrambe (Paris, BNF, lat. 13025). Un riesame complessivo della tradizione consente di comprendere meglio le modalità di composizione di questo testo, e di riconoscere al suo interno sezioni originariamente strutturate per un diverso scopo e nelle quali la sovrapposizione di una indicazione in senso ortografico è apparentemente priva di una effettiva funzionalità.

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The Late Latin grammarians and language change

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The Late Latin grammarians understood quite well some of the changes from Classical to Late Latin: e.g., in the use of cases and prepositions (Arusianus Messius, late 4th c.), and in the use of the old diminutive forms (i.e. that *auris* was replaced by *auricula*; *Appendix Probi*, 7th c.).

Some changes were, however, not fully understood: here we have the changes in the actional system, as shown when Priscian in the early 6th c. attributes the perfect tense form *conticui* ‘I stopped talking’ to the rare poetic form *conticeo* and not to the much more common *conticesco* (*Ad Aen.* 2.1).

There seems to be some awareness of the changes in the use of the tenses: e.g., in the use of the perfect and imperfect tenses, as reflected by the fact that the Vulgate often has the perfect where the Vetus Latina has the imperfect, or when Donatus observes that *postquam apud ueteres non praeterito modo sed etiam praesenti tempore adiungi* (*Don. Ter. Phorm.* 1.2); or in the use of the future perfect, which was regarded as the subjunctive of the future in Late Latin Grammarians (e.g. *Sacerd. Gramm.* I p. 453 ff., *Prisc. Gramm.* II p. 416 ff.).

In this paper I intend to discuss the description of the Latin verbal system in the treatises written by the grammarians in the Late Roman period against the background of the ongoing changes.

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La trattazione delle *litterae terminales* nei grammatici latini

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I grammatici latini erano soliti seguire due metodi nella classificazione dei nomi: l'uno che, senza fare riferimento alle diverse declinazioni, esaminava solo le *litterae terminales*; l'altro che, dopo aver suddiviso tutti i nomi in quattro o cinque declinazioni, indagava in quali vocali o consonanti terminassero i nomi riconducibili all'una o all'altra famiglia flessiva. In relazione al primo metodo qui delineato – che risulta cronologicamente anteriore – va segnalato come, nelle trattazioni dei vari grammatici, il numero delle *litterae terminales* non si trovi a essere sempre lo stesso. Più specificatamente, divergenze piuttosto significative risultano esserci, da un lato, per le possibili terminazioni del nominativo, il cui numero risulta oscillare tra dodici (cfr., ad esempio, Char. 63, 21-24 B.), tredici (cfr. Pomp. GL V 164, 29-30), quattordici (cfr. Prisc. ars GL II 195, 11-16), se non addirittura quindici (cfr. Sacerd. 2, 1, 100 B.) *litterae*; dall'altro, per le possibili desinenze del genitivo, dove si rileva, in particolar modo, una differenza tra i grammatici che indicano o meno la possibile terminazione -u (cfr. rispettivamente Sacerd. 2, 1, 100 B. e Ps. Prob. nom. 61, 5-6 P.) Obiettivo dell'intervento che si vuole proporre è ripercorrere le trattazioni dei vari grammatici in merito alle *litterae terminales*, indagando se, dietro alle rispettive tesi, sia possibile individuare cambiamenti a cui sarebbe andata incontro la lingua latina in epoca tardoantica.

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Herba... paulatim pubescens articulatur. How Greek ‘shapes’ the Latin translation of Basil’s Hexaemeron by Eustathius**Paola Francesca Moretti** (paola.moretti@unimi.it)*Università degli Studi di Milano*

The fifth-century Latin translation of Basil of Caesarea’s *Hexaemeron*, which is attributed to Eustathius, is notable for its language. It is a ‘service translation’, whose author acknowledges his own *infantia* (‘lack of eloquence’) in the preface. In my paper, which draws on the limited scholarship on this text by earlier scholars, I will focus on some lexical items used to describe the creation and life of plants in the fifth homily. The relevant items to be considered include compound nouns, *-bilis*-suffixed adjectives, *-sco* verbs, some words that appear to be lexical or semantic ‘rarities’, and some apparent translation mistakes. In some cases, I will amend the text of Eustathius. In this investigation, I will also consider Ambrose of Milan’s Latin *interpretatio* of Basil’s *Hexaemeron*, a ‘literary translation’, notable for its linguistic flair and sophistication. Despite being somewhat clumsy and certainly not ‘literary’, Eustathius’ text deserves attention, because he explores the limits, possibilities and unrealized potential of the Latin language under the ‘pressure’ of the Greek text he translates. In other words, Eustathius’ text, although being not useful for setting a standard of late Latin, does demonstrate how far Latin can be innovated under the influence of Greek.

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‘Nuove’ etimologie latine nel commento di Servio ad *Aen.* 5 (con considerazioni su alcune allusioni etimologiche virgiliane)

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La presenza dell’etimologia latina nel commentario serviano al quinto libro dell’*Eneide* abbisogna senz’altro di attenzioni critiche ulteriori rispetto a quelle riservate nei lessici etimologici in uso e nei loro più recenti supplementi. Il confronto sistematico tra le etimologie latine effettivamente documentate nel commento di Servio ad *Aen.* 5 e l’insieme dei *records* ad esso relativi nei repertori mostra, infatti, che almeno venti di queste notazioni etimologiche non presentano né una registrazione né, di conseguenza, un raffronto con la tradizione precedente e successiva. Si tratta, per lo più, di etimologie di epiteti idionimici (ad es. *Hectoreus* ad *Aen.* 5, 190) e toponimici (ad es. *Tmarius* ad *Aen.* 5, 620), ma anche di toponimi (ad es. *Acarnania* ad *Aen.* 5, 298) e di nomi comuni (ad es. *mergus* ad *Aen.* 5, 128). D’altronde, sul versante della valutazione della relazione tra etimologia latina ed esegesi del testo di Virgilio, la critica non sembra aver tenuto nella dovuta considerazione alcune indicazioni serviane di possibili *etymological wordplays* virgiliani disseminati nel quinto libro del poema (ad es. *torus* ad *Aen.* 5, 388).

Il presente contributo mira, da un lato, ad integrare i lessici etimologici disponibili con ‘nuove’ etimologie latine illustrate da Servio nel commentario ad *Aen.* 5, opportunamente confrontate con la tradizione superstita, e, dall’altro, a discutere la plausibilità, dal punto di vista critico-letterario, delle segnalazioni serviane di allusioni etimologiche virgiliane ignorate dai moderni esegeti del quinto libro dell’*Eneide*.

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Discontinuity of the noun phrase in Servius' and Pompeius' commentaries

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In examining the development of noun phrases, Herman (1985) observed an increasing tendency to keep attributes adjacent to their head nouns in the late period. In an earlier work (Spevak 2012), I examined discontinuity in several literary texts (4th – 6th century). The aim of this contribution is to explore the use of discontinuity of the noun phrases in two technical treatises: Servius' commentary on Vergil's *Aeneid*, book 4 and Pompeius' commentary on Donatus' *Ars grammatica*, both dating from the 5th century. These texts were written by educated people but they are merely informative without stylistic elaboration. According to my data, both authors use the separation of noun and prepositional phrases by elements that do not belong to the phrase, especially by finite or non-finite verbs (cf. Adams 1971). However, in Servius' and Pompeius' treatises, discontinuity occurs in contrastive contexts, e.g. *duo tempora* 'two morae' with respect to *unum tempus* 'one mora':

... *unaquaeque syllaba, brevis si sit, unum tempus habet; si longa sit, duo habet tempora*. (Pomp. gram. Keil V 112.24)

In addition to the pragmatically motivated discontinuity, as shown above, Servius and Pompeius systematically use the separation of noun and prepositional phrases by enclitic connectors *autem* 'but' and *enim* 'for'.

In summary, compared to classical Latin prose, Servius and Pompeius use discontinuity primarily to mark a contrast between two entities. However, the tendency for using discontinuity does not seem to be decreasing.

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The Language of the Authors and the Texts

Percorsi lessicali da Tacito alla tarda antichità

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Nel variegato panorama del lessico di Tacito si registrano alcuni casi di neologismi o parole rare, che, dopo le occorrenze tacitane, ritornano in diversi autori della tarda antichità. Il contributo si propone di esaminare un campione significativo di esempi, allo scopo di ricostruire il percorso seguito dai singoli lessemi e soprattutto di individuare possibili - e finora non segnalate - riprese del testo tacitano. In tal senso, pur senza epocali 'rivoluzioni', nuove testimonianze di una lettura dello storico in età tardoantica potrebbero senza dubbio rinnovare le conoscenze e invitare a riprendere la discussione sulla ricezione e sulla circolazione di Tacito negli ultimi secoli dell'impero.

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De cómo un editor condiciona la lectura de un texto: Eduard Liechtenhan y la *Epistula Anthimi ad Theudericum regem Francorum*

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La *Epistula* de Antimo a Teodorico, el rey de lo Francos, fue publicada por primera vez en 1870 por V. Rose, quien revisó su edición en 1877. Una nueva edición crítica fue preparada por E. Liechtenhan y publicada en 1928 en la serie del Corpus Medicorum Latinorum. El propio Liechtenhan, discípulo de un eminente estudioso del latín vulgar como M. Niedermann, efectuó una revisión del texto publicado en 1928 y publicó una nueva edición, ahora acompañada de traducción al alemán, en 1963. Pero en la nueva edición el texto fue fuertemente vulgarizado por el editor como consecuencia de la elección de un manuscrito de Sankt Gallen como *codex optimus*. Los cambios introducidos dan a la lengua de Antimo una coloración fuertemente vulgar que quizás no se corresponde con la realidad. Y, sobre todo, han contribuido a afianzar la hipótesis de Rose de que Antimo era un médico griego y no hablante nativo en latín. Una nueva colación de los manuscritos de la *Epistula* permite corregir en buena medida esta interpretación de los hechos y poner de manifiesto que quizás la lengua de la obra es mucho menos vulgar de lo que se ha supuesto hasta el momento.

Low Latin in High Places: ‘Vulgar’ Latin and the Language of Cicero’s Correspondents

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In this paper, I examine sub-standard or ‘vulgar’ elements in the corpus of Ciceronian correspondence (68-43 BCE). My focus will be on language use in the c. 100 non-Ciceronian letters which were written by 29 different authors.

Scholars have often pointed out that Cicero’s correspondents use several sub-standard constructions which are not found in Cicero’s own language (Pinkster 2010:190; Adams 2016:144). Generally, Cicero’s language is considered more restrictive than that of some other elite writers. In this paper, I take a sociolinguistic approach and explore whether the use of such sub-standard features in the letters can be related to the social background of the authors.

The language use of one of the correspondents, M. Caelius Rufus, has received recent treatment (Pinkster 2010; Adams 2016). The treatment of other letter writers is older, dating to late nineteenth-century Germany. Interestingly for our purposes, many of these analyses (see references below) are focused on ‘vulgarisms’. However, since our understanding of sub-standard Latin has improved drastically over the past century (see Clackson 2011:526 for an overview of some of the relevant publications), this warrants a fresh examination, of both the constructions and of the correspondents’ linguistic choices. I will draw on a range of examples from the lexicon, morphology and syntax, considering constructions such as expressions with *facere*, the dative *mi* and *coepi* used with the infinitive.

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Patterns of variation and change: locative relative markers in Late Latin Charters**Guglielmo Inglese***Università di Torino*

Locative relative markers (LRMs), e.g. English *where*, often undergo extensions to new semantic roles or to new syntactic relations (Murelli 2011; Ballarè & Inglese 2022). Classical Latin had a four-way paradigm of LRMs specialized for distinct spatial relations: *ubi* (LOCATION), *unde* (SOURCE), *quo* (GOAL), and *quā* (PATH). In Late Latin this system shows clear signs of erosion. *Ubi* and *unde* increasingly broaden their semantic scope at the expenses of *quo* and *quā*, and they further expand to syntactic roles higher on the accessibility hierarchy (Prieto Entrialgo 2019), for example subjects, especially in formulaic contexts such as *in locum ubi dicitur X* ‘the place called X’ (D’Argenio & Ghezzi 2024).

This paper provides the first systematic analysis of the syntax and semantics of *ubi* and *unde* in the Late Latin Charter Treebank (LLCT), a corpus of legal texts from Central, Northern, and Southern Italy. The dataset contains 655 tokens of *ubi* and 150 of *unde*. The results corroborate Prieto Entrialgo’s (2019) findings from Iberian charters: in LLCT, both markers display semantic and syntactic extensions, though with differences. *Ubi* exhibits greater syntactic flexibility, whereas *unde* remains largely restricted to oblique syntactic positions while expanding to additional semantic roles. More broadly, the Late Latin evidence contributes to the diachronic typology of LRMs and provides a necessary basis for understanding the later development of Italian *dove* (cf. Ballarè et al. in stampa).

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A colloquial style? A contrastive study of the language of Cicero's *Ad familiars***Dominique Longrée** (dominique.longree@uliege.be)*Université de Liège*

Latinists have quite often wonder if the language of Latin familiar letters presents some colloquial features and could therefore be considered as a way to access spoken, and perhaps vulgar, Latin. In 1953, in an article about Cicero's style in his letters, R. Monsuez (1953: 120) wrote: by using techniques different from those of the oratory works, "le style épistolaire de Cicéron devient ainsi la fidèle reproduction du langage parlé et la lettre intime, ou très familière, est une véritable conversation par écrit". More recently, J. Hall (2009: 21) considered that "the language of letters reflects the type of language actually used by aristocrats in their meetings with each other". On the contrary, in a study on the language of Marcus Caelius Rufus, a correspondent of Cicero, H. Pinkster (2011) noticed that "it is difficult and often wrong to apply the notion 'colloquial' to the language of letters in general".

Since Pinkster's work, the LASLA (Laboratoire d'Analyse Statistique des Langues Anciennes de l'Université de Liège) has begun to process Cicero's correspondence. The available corpus now includes all the letters *ad Q. Titium*, *ad Brutum*, the first three books *ad Atticum* and the first four books of *Ad familiares*. The processing of the letters *ad Atticum* and *Ad Familiares* is going on and the whole corpus should be available in a few months. These texts have been lemmatised according to LASLA methods, with each form linked to a lemma, an index for disambiguating homographs, a complete morphosyntactic analysis and, for verbs, a code distinguishing between predicates of a main clause and those of a subordinate clause (in the latter case, the code indicates the type of clause). The processing of these new texts makes it possible to proceed to various quantitative and qualitative analysis with the software Hyperbase latin Web Edition. In particular, it's possible to calculate the linguistics specific features of each text of the corpus. In this paper, we will present some results of a contrastive statistical analysis between the various books of each sub-corpus of Cicero's correspondence, between those different sub-corpora, and between them and other epistolary (Seneca, Pliny) and non-epistolary texts from Cicero or other authors (e.g. Plautus). This study, focused on the *Ad Familiares*; will allow us to precise which linguistics features are specific to Cicero's familiar letters and to reconsider the questions of the "colloquiality" of some of those features.

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Astronomical Terminology in Book VIII of *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella – Knowledge and Language

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Astronomy, as presented in Book VIII of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (4th/5th century CE), is depicted both as a personified figure and as an organized system of knowledge conveyed to the reader. By the mid-ninth century, Capella's astronomy had become a leading authority in the field, shaping European education. Of particular interest is the modified geocentric model presented by Capella, in which the Earth remains motionless at the center of the universe, surrounded by the Moon, the Sun, and three planets, while Mercury and Venus revolve around the Sun.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the astronomical vocabulary found in Book VIII of *De nuptiis*, to identify its Greek and Latin sources, and to determine the functions these terms serve within the work. The analysis seeks to answer the question of the extent to which Capella adopted an existing terminological tradition and to what degree he introduced his own innovations by reshaping concepts in a Late Antique spirit. It will also consider whether the author uses specific terms consistently (e.g. *stella* and *sidus*) or employs them interchangeably depending on context. Ultimately, the paper aims to define the role of this vocabulary in shaping the Late Antique scientific tradition and to situate Capella within the history of the transmission of astronomical terminology between antiquity and the Middle Ages.

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Lessico, *iuncturae* e memoria poetica negli *Epigrammata Bobiensia***Francesca Romana Nocchi** (francesca.romana.nocchi@uniroma2.it)*Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata*

L'intervento si inserisce nel dibattito sull'intertestualità degli *Epigrammata Bobiensia*, finora affrontata in prevalenza sul piano tematico, proponendo un'analisi centrata sul lessico. Muovendo dalla centralità dei modelli classici, ma estendendo l'indagine alle consonanze con i poeti coevi come Ausonio, Claudiano, Ennodio, Rutilio Namaziano e Draconzio (Nocchi 2016, 2017, 2020), lo studio intende mostrare come la continuità con la tradizione si realizzi attraverso una riproposizione originale di termini, *iuncturae* e stilemi, oltre alla rielaborazione di *topoi*. In questo quadro, e alla luce della rivalutazione dell'influsso di Marziale (Mattiacci 2011, 2013), un ruolo centrale è svolto da Naucellio, la cui produzione consente di osservare con chiarezza le dinamiche di selezione e riuso del vocabolario poetico classico. Un caso esemplare è costituito dagli epigrammi di autopresentazione, nei quali il poeta adotta moduli lessicali e formule espressive riconducibili alla tradizione epigrammatica di Marziale. L'indagine si estende alla presenza di arcaismi ed epicismi, che attestano l'interesse di Naucellio (Luceri 2010, 2011, 2013) per la poesia arcaica e, in particolare, per il modello enniano (Nocchi 2018). In questa prospettiva, gli *Epigrammata Bobiensia* emergono come un vero e proprio laboratorio lessicale, nel quale il riuso del patrimonio latino si affianca alla sperimentazione linguistica implicata anche dalla traduzione e riscrittura di carmi di origine greca.

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Un sorprendente caso di disinteressato altruismo nelle *Variae* di Cassiodoro

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In Cassiod. var. 4,5,1 Teoderico così scrive a proposito di una grave carestia: *In Gallicana igitur regione uictualium cognouimus caritatem, ad quam negotiatio semper prompta festinat, ut empta largius angustiore pretio distrahantur. Sic euenit ut et uenditoribus satisfiat et illis prouisio nostra subueniat...* Poiché è sembrato strano che al fine di prestare soccorso alle popolazioni il re incoraggiasse i mercanti a recarsi nella regione per speculare sulla vendita di beni di prima necessità, gli studiosi hanno messo in atto alcune soluzioni critico-testuali o esegetiche miranti a risolvere l'apparente paradosso: Mommsen, con un'inversione, correggeva il testo in *angustiore pretio largius* (ma in tal modo i commercianti avrebbero pure ricevuto un danno economico); nella recente edizione pubblicata sotto la direzione di A. Giardina si lascia invece immutato il testo trádito, traducendo però: «...circostanza nella quale i commercianti accorrono sempre prontamente, per vendere le merci comprate in gran quantità a un prezzo più basso». Ma tali interventi o interpretazioni sono davvero compatibili con la lingua latina e con la mentalità del tempo?

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How Cicero Really Asked Questions: Colloquial Latin in the Correspondence with Atticus

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In this project, I examine how questions were asked in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, an underexploited source of colloquial Latin. In general, treatments of questions in Latin, are built around interrogative morphosyntax, found in the sources which mostly belong to Classical Latin or at least to high literary registers (see Brown et al. 2009; Pinkster 2015, 315–67). However, developments in pragmatics of conversation show that in colloquial language, requests for confirmation do not rely on interrogative morphosyntax (Dryer 2013). Since colloquial Latin is an important locus of the so-called 'vulgar Latin' which developed into Romance languages (Herman 1967), and since in the course of this development, the question particles, such as *-ne*, disappeared, it is worth asking how polar questions were asked in the colloquial Latin of the Classical period.

The preliminary results suggest that in this area, Cicero's Latin, despite being conducted in writing, reflects the situation found in spoken conversation, where epistemic stance markers (such as *fortasse* and *ut opinor*; see Potočnik, submitted), and epistemic status (Heritage 2012) play a larger role than morphosyntax. The results of the project will contribute to our understanding—both from a theoretical and methodological perspective—of colloquial Latin, notoriously hard to access through written sources, but important for our understanding of the functioning of Latin outside of the written, Classical standard.

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Tra *belua* e *grex*: metafore concettuali animali nella prosa di Ennodio

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Il contributo analizza l'impiego delle metafore concettuali di ambito animale nelle opere in prosa di Ennodio, adottando una prospettiva derivata dalla linguistica cognitiva. La nozione di metafora concettuale, ampiamente sviluppata negli studi moderni sul linguaggio, è stata finora applicata solo in misura limitata allo studio della lingua latina tarda, soprattutto in una prospettiva di semantica storica. L'esame del corpus prosastico di Ennodio mette in evidenza la ricorrenza di un insieme stabile di lessemi animali (*belua*, *fera*, *serpens*, *grex*, *pecus*, *avis*, *aquila*), impiegati non in senso referenziale ma come nuclei di strutture concettuali ricorrenti. Tali elementi lessicali funzionano come strumenti di categorizzazione e contribuiscono alla riorganizzazione del campo semantico morale e sociale: l'avversario è rappresentato come *belua* o *fera*, l'aggressività verbale come *uenenum* o *serpens*, la comunità come *grex* guidato dal *pastor*. La ripetizione di questi schemi favorisce la stabilizzazione di specifici valori semantici e la progressiva sistematizzazione di opposizioni concettuali. L'analisi consente inoltre di aprire prospettive comparative con altri autori tardoantichi, come Agostino e Cassiodoro, al fine di verificare la diffusione e la specializzazione di tali configurazioni nel latino tardo. Le metafore concettuali emergono così non soltanto come figure retoriche, ma come strutture linguistiche che partecipano ai processi di evoluzione semantica e di ristrutturazione del lessico nella prosa latina tardoantica.

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The epistolary corpus of Jerome of Stridon: analysis of his use of deictics

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Jerome of Stridon's knowledge of classical authors is well documented: not only in terms of quotations and reminiscences (Fraisie 1999; Godel 1964; Hagendahl 1974; Jeanjean 2014), but also in the purity and clarity of his language (Hritzu 1939; Canellis 2002). Saint Jerome is indeed the forefather of modern humanists, distinguished as the Father of the Church in whom the fusion of ancient and Christian ideas is best represented (Goelzer 1884). But to what extent do his language and style reflect his classicist soul on the one hand and the linguistic changes in Latin of his time on the other? In Jerome's works, we find syntactic constructions unknown in classical Latin, such as the construction of *verba dicendi* with 'ad + accusative' instead of the dative, a prelude to the structures of the Romance languages.

To answer this question, I will analyse his use of deictics in his corpus of letters (124 letters). We know that demonstrative pronouns began to weaken semantically and gradually took on the function of articles from Late Latin onwards (Carlier et al. 2010): was this also the case for the Ciceronian Jerome? His epistolary corpus will be examined using Hyperbase software (cf. Vanni 2020), which will allow us to compare and contrast it with two other corpora, one consisting of most of the prose works of the classical period and the other consisting of a selection of hagiographic works from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, in order to carry out a statistical and quantitative analysis of the use and frequency of deictics in the different corpora. Next, an analysis will be conducted on how Jerome uses demonstratives in his letters, analysing certain passages from his text and comparing them with others taken from classical and hagiographic works.

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Aspetti linguistici del latino dell'Editto di Rotari nella tradizione manoscritta più antica

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L'Editto di Rotari è una fonte di primaria importanza per lo studio del latino tardo e volgare. La sua analisi linguistica offre un ampio ventaglio di obiettivi di studio, e solleva problemi metodologici diversi: (a) il bilinguismo latino-germanico, (b) la natura della latinità longobarda e le sue specificità e somiglianze rispetto alla latinità tarda e volgare delle aree della *Langobardia maior* e *minor*, (c) i criteri di studio delle varianti linguistiche dei manoscritti, tema che costituisce l'interesse centrale di questo lavoro e di altri in preparazione.

Il rilievo dell'esame storico-linguistico della tradizione manoscritta del testo era già stato sottolineato, per il versante germanico, da Molinari (1998), che aveva suggerito di considerare i singoli testimoni non in una prospettiva ricostruttiva (come nell'edizione di Bluhme per i MGH), ma come "altrettante tracce di singoli e concreti contesti storici che documentano vari momenti di un lungo e complesso processo di interazione storico-culturale". Questo programma di ricerca filologico, preconditione indispensabile all'analisi delle varianti linguistiche, ha implicazioni anche per il latino dell'Editto. Esso è ora agevolato dal progetto di Buzzoni e Rosselli Del Turco di una nuova edizione digitale integrata di ognuno dei manoscritti, già realizzato per quanto riguarda il *Vercellensis* e l'*Eporedianus*.

In questo lavoro si intendono esaminare (a) alcune caratteristiche sintattiche, morfologiche e grafico-fonetiche condivise dai tre manoscritti S, V, E, e (b) le relative varianti. Il primo obiettivo permette di valutare gli aspetti di stabilità strutturale della trasmissione del testo e di effettuare dove possibile una stratigrafia delle costruzioni condivise che consenta di cogliere continuità rispetto a tradizioni discorsive del latino e discontinuità relative al latino tardo e volgare. I risultati raggiunti al riguardo costituiscono lo sfondo su cui interpretare le varianti dei tre manoscritti in chiave storica.

Si prenderanno in considerazione i tre manoscritti più antichi che hanno trasmesso il testo, il *Sangallensis* (S), degli ultimi decenni del settimo secolo, il *Vercellensis* (V), della prima metà dell'ottavo, e l'*Eporedianus* (E), di epoca carolingia.

Benché non privi di numerosi fenomeni di tendenziale convergenza, essi hanno caratteristiche linguistiche diverse, che contribuiscono a far luce su uno dei periodi più oscuri della storia linguistica del latino degli "usi comuni". Un secondo motivo di interesse riguarda il fatto che lo studio delle varianti testuali dei numerosi manoscritti che ci hanno trasmesso l'Editto consente di comprendere meglio dinamiche linguistiche del latino in rapporto a fasi storiche e contesti culturali diversi.

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From *Dignitas* to *Humilitas*. Religious Transformation and the Reconfiguration of Politeness in Augustine's and Jerome's Letters

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This paper proposes a pragmatic analysis of selected Latin letters by Augustine of Hippo and Jerome of Stridon, to explore how Christianity reshaped politeness strategies inherited from Greco-Roman epistolary traditions. Classical letter writing was largely grounded in elite social values and oriented toward the management of status and hierarchy (Hall 2009; Unceta Gómez 2019). By contrast, Christian correspondence of the late fourth and early fifth centuries reveals a significant reconfiguration of facework and conflict management informed by theological concepts such as *humilitas* and *caritas*. Through comparison with examples from pre-Christian Latin epistolography, the study will argue that mitigation in Christian letters becomes a spiritual and moral requirement rather than a merely social convention. More broadly, the paper highlights the importance of incorporating religion into the study of linguistic politeness, an understudied topic (see Ridealgh 2021), showing how religious value systems can reshape normative principles of interaction.

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Traits de langue tardive chez Justin et datation de son œuvre

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La datation de l'œuvre de l'historien Justin est depuis longtemps débattue, sans qu'on ait pu parvenir un consensus. Les uns proposent une datation haute, la fin du IV^e siècle, ainsi Zecchini ; d'autres une datation basse, la fin du II^e ou le début du III^e siècle, ainsi Yardley. Récemment Borgna, en se fondant notamment sur un passage du *Panegyrique* de Nazarius, a fixé un *terminus ante quem* à 321, et fait de Justin un auteur du début du IV^e siècle.

Les savants qui se sont penchés sur la question s'appuient en général sur des arguments historiques, souvent *a silentio* (absence d'allusion à tel épisode), quelques-uns sur des faits stylistiques, qui gardent un certain caractère subjectif. Aucun, à notre connaissance, n'a cherché si une étude lexicale ne pouvait pas donner des résultats plus concluants.

Après avoir repris l'état de la question, on essaiera d'examiner si une étude précise du lexique de Justin peut permettre de parvenir à des conclusions plus sûres.

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Latin Linguistics and Digital Resources

Risorse lessicografiche e strumenti di analisi linguistica per il latino tardo e volgare: le attività del Centro di ricerca *Onomastikón*

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Il contributo presenta le attività del Centro di ricerca «Onomastikón. Studi di lessicografia greca e latina», fondato il 12 febbraio 2020 presso l'Università di Catania e diretto da Vincenzo Ortoleva, Maria Rosaria Petringa e dal sottoscritto (onomastikon.altervista.org). Il Centro opera in collaborazione con istituzioni e progetti internazionali quali il *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* della Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften di Monaco di Baviera, il *Diccionario Griego-Español* del CSIC di Madrid, il *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* dell'Università della California, Irvine, e il progetto *Words in Progress* dell'Università di Genova.

Il Centro si propone di contribuire allo studio del lessico greco e latino con particolare attenzione alle fasi tarde e post-classiche del latino, caratterizzate da forte variazione linguistica, contatti interlinguistici e tradizione testuale complessa. Le attività del Centro combinano metodologie filologiche e strutturazione digitale dei dati lessicali, in vista della loro interrogabilità e riuso.

Un primo progetto, coordinato da Vincenzo Ortoleva, Maria Rosaria Petringa e Salvatore Cammisuli, è dedicato alla pubblicazione di un'edizione critica commentata delle sezioni ancora inedite del glossario latino-greco dei cosiddetti *Hermeneumata Celtis*, testo assai rilevante per lo studio del lessico e delle pratiche bilingui in età tardoantica. Un secondo progetto, coordinato da Maria Rosaria Petringa, mira alla creazione di un archivio digitale del lessico della poesia cristiana antica e medievale, concepito come risorsa utile all'analisi linguistica e a future applicazioni computazionali per il latino tardo.

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Enhancing the DigilibLT-LiLa Integration via LLM-Driven Disambiguation

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The integration of the DigilibLT (<https://digiliblt.uniupo.it/>) corpus into the LiLa (Linking Latin) Knowledge Base (<http://lila-erc.eu>) represents a critical milestone in the interoperability of Late and Vulgar Latin digital resources. Previous linking efforts resulted in a "bronze" version, characterised by unresolved lexical ambiguities. In this state, tokens corresponding to multiple lemmas in the LiLa Lemma Bank, typically due to homography, remained un-disambiguated. Furthermore, where no match was identified (either due to missing entries in the Lemma Bank or lemmatization errors), links are absent. Transitioning to a higher standard typically necessitates rigorous manual checking and the recruitment of human experts, which has long hindered the advancement of this material.

This proposal introduces an experimental methodology to elevate the status of the DigilibLT linking by leveraging the synergy between Large Language Models (LLMs) and the structured data within the LiLa ecosystem. Our approach utilises the semantic disambiguation capabilities of LLMs to select the correct link within the LiLa Lemma Bank, informed by definitions from the extensive dictionaries linked to LiLa. We focus our initial efforts on the technical and meta-linguistic texts of the Latin Grammarians in DigilibLT. These Late Antique grammarians are of profound interest to the scholarly community, serving as a vital resource for those studying the language, tradition, and lexicographical reflection on Latin language use, as well as for researchers interested in intertextuality and grammarians as sources for fragments of otherwise unknown works or variant readings.

By prompting LLMs to recognise semantics in context, we aim to automate the disambiguation of homographic entries and systematically assess the efficacy of this methodology. This workflow will accelerate the full integration of DigilibLT into the LiLa Lemma Bank, ultimately facilitating its consolidation as a Linked Data resource. We will present preliminary results evaluating the accuracy of this refinement.

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Computational Dating of Late and Medieval Latin Texts: Strategies, Perspectives, and Challenges

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This paper contributes to the development of NLP tools for Late and Vulgar Latin by presenting a prototype for automatic text dating based on machine learning methods and transparent, interpretable features suited for philological analysis. Although stylometric methods are firmly established for authorship attribution [3, 8, 9, 11, 13], their application to temporal classification remains rare. Building on recent work showing that diachronic variation can be quantified and leveraged for chronological attribution [5, 12, 14, 16], we apply this principle to a large corpus of Late and Medieval Latin texts, aiming to shed light on mechanisms of linguistic change across nearly a millennium.

The goal of this PhD project is to automatically date hagiographic texts edited in the *Patrologia Latina* (3rd-13th centuries). Because hagiographical texts involve distinctive transmission and composition properties (frequent rewritings, anonymity, dense and often unmarked biblical intertextuality... [1, 4, 6, 7]), we first worked on an extended corpus to design a robust model for dating the already sociolinguistically complex Late and Medieval Latin [2, 10, 15], before returning to hagiography in a second phase. This extended corpus contains over 5,000 texts from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

Methodologically, texts are segmented into 500-token samples to increase sample size and capture internal variation. Preprocessing applies lemmatization and POS-tagging within a limited mediolatin-specific pipeline. To force the model to distinguish periods but not authors, we focus on syntactical features: normalised frequencies of POS bigrams across segments ensure comparability. A linear SVM (Support Vector Machine) reaches 86.9% accuracy on the test set distinguishing two distant windows (4th-5th vs. 11th- 12th centuries), versus a 50% baseline, with balanced performance. Analysis of weights and distributions reveals stable sequences (e.g., pronoun-verb, adjective-verb) and diachronic shifts (e.g., noun-noun and noun-adjective increasing later), yielding interpretable hypotheses about syntactical change.

This prototype is the first step toward a broader objective with two complementary goals: expanding the feature set beyond syntactical bigrams to include lexical (at least to some extent), morphological, and semantic dimensions, validated on the extended corpus; and developing an interpretable computational model of linguistic evolution in post-Classical Latin. Only then will we apply the enriched model to the restricted hagiographic corpus to assess the robustness of diachronic signals to the distinctive properties of hagiography.

Despite significant progress for Classical Latin, later varieties remain under-resourced and pose specific methodological challenges. Beyond presenting a prototype, this paper underscores the importance of collaborative efforts to improve preprocessing pipelines and expand language resources for post-Classical Latin. By prioritising interpretability, we aim to connect computational modelling with philological inquiry, paving the way for more transparent and philologically grounded NLP approaches. Continued improvements in preprocessing and resource development will be essential to strengthen this approach and support more comprehensive analyses of linguistic change.

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Technical Language

Notarii and exceptores as linguistic observers in Late Latin

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Late Latin *notarii* and *exceptores* (Teitler 1985; Internullo 2023) wrote the minutes of trials, senate's and local councils' meetings, and church councils by using a set of established conventions for representing animated verbal exchange, sometimes in a form very close to a *verbatim* accurate rendering. Their transcriptions are therefore an interesting, albeit neglected, source of realistic representation of some spoken interaction in mostly formal contexts in the late period. In minutes reporting longer meetings, in which part of the protocol was repetitive, we can even follow the turn over of different notaries, with subtle alterations of individual idiosyncratic phrases. Exceptores paid attention to hierarchy and linguistic politeness in verbal exchange (Ferri 2022), and attempted to represent emotion in heated confrontation. My presentation will be a tentative incursion into some of court scribes' conventions, resources and formulae adopted to reproduce dialogue.

Records of court proceedings in the modern world are a useful source for linguists. Ways of encoding transcribed conversations have been devised, in which specific codes represent prosodic and interactional features in transcripts, such as interruptions, hesitations, voice overlap (people speaking at the same time), voice raising (cf. Bellucci 2005). None of these codes was available to ancient stenographers, who however had the means to encode some of this information. Grammarians and rhetorical teachers had some technical language to describe specific prosodic features (cf. Ferri 2016), but ancient stenographers seem not to wish to use it, and probably they were instructed to minimize descriptive inserts.

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De Apringio a Beato: la recepción (o copia) del *Comentario al Apocalipsis* del obispo de Beja por parte del teólogo lebaniego

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Para la composición de su *Comentario al Apocalipsis*, Beato de Liébana utilizó los *Comentarios* de tres autores que le precedieron: Apringio (Apr.), Ticonio (Tyc) y Victorino Petabionensis (Vic), que tuvo a su disposición, desconocemos en qué condiciones y lugares.

El más tardío de ellos es el escritor hispanorromano San Apringio (? - 540), obispo de Beja, cuyos *Comentarios al Apocalipsis* se conservan fragmentariamente. La obra, considerada por Isidoro de Sevilla como la mejor de todas, le proporcionó una enorme fama, pero no tuvo gran difusión: un siglo más tarde de su publicación, Braulio de Zaragoza buscó en vano un ejemplar.

El propósito de nuestra contribución es analizar cómo se sirve Beato de Liébana del texto de Apringio, observándose una gran variedad de tratamientos, que van desde la copia cuasi literal a adaptaciones del texto mediante diversos cambios e innovaciones.

The Language of the *Leges Novellae*

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One of the major challenges posed by late antique legal texts is understanding and analysing their language and style. The Theodosian and post-Theodosian *Leges Novellae* appear to be a most relevant test bench for this purpose, since – unlike the *Codex Theodosianus* and Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* – they contain complete, unaltered texts. This makes them ideal for thorough linguistic analysis.

Although these topics have long been considered worthy of study, they have only received limited attention in previous literature, notably by FRIDH 1956 and VIDÉN 1984. Moreover, all previous research relies on P. Meyer's 1905 edition, a major piece of scholarship for the time, which, however, now inevitably shows some limitations.

This paper presents the first results of an ongoing study of the language of the *Leges novellae*, based on a new critical edition currently being prepared in Pisa (Scuola Normale). It focuses on the interaction between philological and linguistic analysis, showing how both aspects deeply influence the making of the critical text.

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Linguistic Phenomena in Literary Texts

Petronius' knowledge of Vulgar Latin

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Petronius is one of the most important sources for Vulgar Latin, but it is still unclear how far his representation of the Latin of the freedmen in the *Cena* is based on his observations of actual speech, and how much is owed to stereotypes of non-elite speech which circulated in educated circles during the Roman Empire. Adams has shown how aspects of the Latin of the freedmen have parallels in the 'new non-literary Latin' (Adams 2003, 2005, 2013); prevalent features of the freedmen's speech, such as confusions of gender and case, are also clearly stigmatised by contemporary and later Latin authors, and several lexical choices are dispreferred by grammarians (Heraeus 1937).

In this paper I collect the relevant evidence, and I show what consideration of the representation of the outcome of the diphthong *au* in the speech of the freedmen can contribute to the debate. As noted by Boyce (1991: 40), the monophthongised variants *copo*, *coda* and *plodo* occur in the speeches of the freedmen, but not in the narrative or in the speech of other characters, where the *au* spelling occurs. Suetonius (*Vespasian* 22) and other sources indicate that the *o*-variant of certain words was stigmatised as a non-elite marker, but the evidence of epigraphy, tablets and papyri (as well as the later developments of the diphthong *au* in Romance languages) gives a more nuanced picture. The question of the date of the composition of the *Satyrica* will also be relevant for the paper's conclusions.

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Uso e funzioni di *de* nel *Pervigilium Veneris*

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Lo sviluppo della lingua latina è osservabile attraverso l'analisi dei testi che ci sono pervenuti, i quali, per loro natura, sono intenzionalmente frutto di una intenzione letteraria, anche quando la letterarietà è dissimulata grazie all'uso di una lingua che imita più che adottare un dettato diafasico tendente genericamente al parlato. Un esempio ben noto è il *Satyricon* di Petronio. Dati particolarmente preziosi si trovano invece in quelle opere che, pur con finalità artistiche, lasciano filtrare fenomeni linguistici che si staccano dalla lingua classica e anticipano soluzioni che si affermeranno in seguito, a volte secoli dopo. Un'opera simile è generalmente giudicata il *Pervigilium Veneris*, di autore sconosciuto e di datazione incerta, probabilmente del quarto secolo.

In particolare spicca la frequenza dell'impiego della preposizione *de* per esprimere funzioni che nel latino classico erano assolate da altre preposizioni o dal semplice ablativo, interpretato come segno dei cambiamenti che preannunciano le lingue romanze.

Questa la rassegna delle funzioni che sono state attribuite ai sintagmi introdotti da *de*:

- Complemento di causa:

- 1) *Et nemus comam resouit de maritis imbribus* (v. 4)

E la selva scioglie la chioma per le piogge fecondanti (Tr. Mandolfo)

- Complemento di strumento

- 2) *Implicat casas uirentis de flagello myrteo* (v. 6)

Intreccia capanne verdeggianti con ramoscelli di mirto

- Complemento di abbondanza

- 3) *Fecit undantem Dionem de maritis imbribus* (v. 11)

Creò Dione stillante di acque maritali

- Complemento di origine

- 4) *Moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam uirginem* (v. 71)

E poi dà a Marte la vergine pudica al tempio strappata

- Complemento di materia

- 5) *de cruore deque Amoris osculis* (v. 23)

del sangue e dei baci d'amore

Scopo del presente lavoro è quello di mostrare che un riesame delle attestazioni di *de* nel testo del *Pervigilium Veneris* non presenta una situazione così varia come si trova nei commenti e che le funzioni di *de* non sono così indiscutibilmente anticipatorie del romanzo, come spesso si sostiene, ma che, secondo questo parametro di analisi, la lingua del *Pervigilium Veneris* non mostra ancora innovazioni decisive rispetto alla lingua classica.

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Aulu-Gelle et le discours rapporté

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La présence du discours rapporté dans les *Nuits attiques*, liée à une pratique intensive de la citation d’auteurs appartenant à des genres et à des périodes divers, soulève la question du statut de ces extraits. La *Quellenforschung*, illustrée par les travaux de Mercklin (1860) et de Kretzschmer (1860), dans le sillage de l’enquête de Dirksen (1851) sur les sources juridiques, a cherché à ramener chaque chapitre de l’œuvre à une source unique, réduisant ainsi la pluralité des médiations textuelles et cantonnant Aulu-Gelle à un rôle de compilateur. En replaçant les citations dans leur contexte, l’application des théories modernes du discours rapporté conduit cependant à les envisager comme des lieux d’intersection entre plusieurs voix, dont la distinction exige une analyse fine des marques énonciatives. À partir d’un corpus d’environ 140 citations d’auteurs grammaticaux, cette communication se propose de montrer que la langue dans laquelle certaines d’entre elles sont formulées ne correspond pas toujours au latin de l’époque des auteurs cités, en particulier lorsqu’il s’agit de la période républicaine. La présence de traits linguistiques attestés à partir du II^e siècle p. C., et promis à une postérité durable, suggère une intervention active d’Aulu-Gelle dans la mise en forme de la parole d’autrui. Ces reformulations invitent ainsi à reconsidérer la prétendue objectivité du discours direct et, plus largement, les modalités de l’auctorialité dans les *Nuits attiques*.

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‘Archaisms’ and/or ‘vulgarisms’ in the *Cena Trimalchionis*? On *plouebat* and *mauoluit*

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In this paper I consider two verbs, *plouebat* ‘it rained’ (Sat. 44.18.3) and *mauoluit* ‘he preferred’ (Sat. 77.5.2), which act as case-studies for our attitude towards the linguistic characterisation of the freedmen in the *Cena Trimalchionis* section of Petronius’ *Satyrica*. Both have been considered to represent ‘vulgar’ features. I will argue that we need to consider each apparent case of ‘vulgarisms’ carefully, and with regard to its own word-history; this is particularly the case with apparent cases of ‘vulgar’ phonology, whose appearance in the text may often be due to the influence of copyists, or have other explanations.

In the case of *plouebat* for *pluebat*, Stefenelli (1962: 88) proposes a ‘vulgar’ sound change, with comparison to *poueri* for *pueri* at Pompeii (CIL 4.3730). But since the Romance languages also provide evidence for **o* here (unlike e.g. *iuuenis* > Italian *giovane*), it is better to see *plouebat* as reflecting a ‘submerged’ maintenance of the inherited form *plouere* rather than as the result of a ‘vulgar’ sound change.

Stefenelli (1962: 135) sees *mauoluit* as implying regularisation of *malle* to **mavolere*, but it could well be an archaism. Alternatively, one might see it as the result of a different regularisation of the irregular Classical paradigm *malo*, *mauult* → *mauolo*, *mauult*.

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Medical and Sexual Terminology

The technical Latin of Mustio's *Gynaecia* and *ita ut* as a procedural marker.

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Mustio's *Gynaecia* is a medical treatise about gynaecology, dated to the second half of the 6th century in the *Africa Romana*. The author declares in the introduction that he wanted to adapt into Latin the *Γυναικεῖα* of Soranus of Ephesus, to make it more accessible for his contemporary midwives ignorant of Greek. In order to do so, Mustio explicitly declares to use a simplified language – *multo simplicius uolui loqui* – that prioritises clarity and straightforwardness over rhetoric and elegance.

Among the various features of this technical language that are worth of discussion, one stands out for its frequency and peculiarity, i.e. a particular use of the connection *ita ut*, found in descriptions of processes and procedures. In these contexts, the connection between the element emphasised by *ita* and the subordinate clause introduced by *ut* is not logically sustained, and *ita ut* altogether seems to function more as a procedural marker. My preliminary research on the matter shows that this particular use of *ita ut* can be found in other technical texts such as Anthimos' *De observatione ciborum* and various medieval *libri medicinales*. In this paper, I will present the results of further data collection of this particular use, and I will try to explain its origin and its presence in the *Gynaecia* of Mustio.

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Notes on the Terminology of Oral Sex in Latin

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In his discussion of sarcasm in the *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis*, the rhetorician Iulius Rufinianus illustrates the figure with three examples, one of which is drawn from Cic. *dom.* 47 (*Sexte noster quoniam etiam iura ligurris*). This passage presents significant interpretative difficulties, owing to the obscene connotations associated with oral sex and to the ambiguity of the sexual imagery involved.

Starting from this case study, the paper builds on the foundations laid by J. N. Adams' *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (1982), a milestone in Latin lexicography and in the study of ancient sexual language, and by E. Montero Cartelle's *El latín erótico* (1991). At the same time, it incorporates updated literary and epigraphic evidence and draws on more recent methodological approaches to sexual and obscene language (see, e.g., Rocchi – Marchionni 2021, 74-75; Marchionni 2022, 135 n. 11).

The paper offers a systematic analysis of the sexual terminology related to oral sex, focusing on its modes of use, the contexts in which it occurs, and its variation across genres and periods.

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Verbs of ‘eating’ in Anthimus: a semantic-pragmatic analysis of some special cases

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In Anthimus’ *Epistula de obseruatione ciborum*, the semantic field indicating the act of eating is expressed through six verbs: *accipere*, *comedere*, *manducare*, *praesumere*, *sumere*, *uti*. They can be considered synonymous with each other, but it is possible to trace nuances of meaning in each of them, dictated by their specific use in each case. It can be noted, for instance, that *praesumo* is often used in the negative form, emphasising that a food should not be consumed due to its adverse effects on human health (Anthim. 22 *posteriora ipsorum [auuium] non praesumantur, quia grauant stomachum*, “Do not eat their hind part, because they burden the stomach” trans. Grant 2007).

Noteworthy is the meaning that *accipere* takes on in two instances: this verb, commonly used by doctors to express the intake of medicines, twice in Anthimus takes on the meaning of ‘to digest’ (e.g. Anthim. 11, about beef: *non bene accipiuntur*, ‘it is not digested well’).

This article aims to analyse the semantic and pragmatic values of verbs relating to eating in Anthimus’ work, comparing them with medical texts from a similar period, when possible. In light of the studies by Mudry (2000) and Gaide (2008), the shift from ‘*edere-comedere*’ to ‘*manducare*’ will be discussed (TLL s.v. *edo* I A 1; *comedo* I A 1a; *manduco* I A-B, II A 1a). More attention, however, will be given to less common verbs in the culinary field, such as *uti*.

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In Sickness and in Health: Semantic Change and Lexical Competition in Latin Medical Vocabulary

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Semantic Change (SC) is central in the development of technical vocabularies, as words from everyday language acquire specialised meanings in domain-specific discourse (Scarpa, 2020). In the Latin medical vocabulary, everyday terms evolved to refer to anatomical entities (*mola* 'millstone' > 'molar tooth'), pathological conditions (*caligo* 'darkness' > 'blindness'), or physiological processes (*menstrua* 'monthly' > 'menstrual cycle') (Mazzini, 1992; Langslow, 2000). These shifts are observable across genres (general vs. medical corpora; *plaga* 'blow' > 'surgical incision'; Colella & Farina, 2026; Marongiu, Forth.), and in diachrony (*causa* 'cause, beginning (of a disease)', > 'disease' from the 2nd c. CE; Svandrlik Civilia, 1993).

We investigate SC in the Latin medical vocabulary from a semasiological and onomasiological perspective, tracing the diachronic evolution of individual lexical items and the redistribution of competing terms for the same medical concepts. We focus on two conceptual domains: <ILLNESS> (*morbus*, *infirmetas*, *aegritudo*, *aegrotatio*, *valetudo*) and <CURE> (*cura*, *curatio*, *medicina*, *medela*, *medicamentum*, *medicamen*, *remedium*). We analyse how these terms evolve over time and how competing words share or shift the expression of the same concept. Our study is based on a corpus spanning the 3rd c. BCE to the 6th c. CE across diverse genres (historiography, poetry, novel, oratory, philosophy, theatre, technical texts) to examine how SC interacts with genre and register.

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Est cevere viri sed crissari mulierum. Due verbi dal vocabolario sessuale latino**Roberta Marchionni** (marchionni@thesaurus.badw.de)*Thesaurus linguae Latinae*

Nel suo *Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, Adams osserva che il latino disponeva di due termini per indicare i movimenti del partner ricettivo durante un rapporto sessuale: *ceveo*, riferito all'uomo, e *criso*, riferito alla donna. Tale convinzione si fonda sulle scarse attestazioni dei due termini nella letteratura antica e sulle ancor più rare occorrenze documentate nei graffiti. La tradizione lessicografica latina, a partire dalle glosse e dai commenti tardoantichi, passando per i vocabolari medievali, fino al *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, così come i lessici e i commentatori moderni, concordano sostanzialmente con questa interpretazione; in particolare, la valenza sessuale di entrambi i verbi appare più che sicura.

Restano tuttavia aperti diversi interrogativi. Anzitutto, come già segnalava lo stesso Adams, si tratta effettivamente di termini osceni? Inoltre, è lecito considerarli veri e propri termini tecnici, sul modello di *irrumo*, *futuo* e *pedico*, oppure il loro significato sessuale si è affermato attraverso procedimenti di eufemismo o di metafora? Infine, si può davvero parlare di una distinzione fondata sul genere, come suggerito nel titolo del contributo, che riprende un'espressione del *Catholicon* di Giovanni Balbi?

È all'indagine su questi dubbi ancora aperti che è dedicato il presente contributo.

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Aspetti linguistici negli *Euporista* di Teodoro Prisciano

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Teodoro Prisciano è uno dei più illustri esponenti della medicina latina tardoantica. Attivo nella provincia d’Africa tra IV e V secolo d.C., fu allievo del celebre Vindiciano e raccolse nella sua produzione, in modo eclettico, sia l’eredità ippocratico-galenica sia quella metodica. A lui è attribuito un trattato di patologia in tre libri, dal titolo *Euporista*.

Un’attenta analisi di questo testo ha rilevato come l’opera rappresenti una fonte preziosa per ricostruire gli sviluppi del latino in età tardoantica e alto-medievale, fornendo un campo di indagine assai ricco e fertile. Fino ad oggi, tuttavia, non esiste in letteratura uno studio complessivo e sistematico sulla lingua del nostro autore. Il presente contributo si propone, pertanto, di studiare le peculiarità linguistiche attestate negli *Euporista*, suddivise in innovazioni semantiche (e.g. *infiguratus* = “non appartenente ad un tipo particolare”; *accidens* = “sintomo”), nuove attestazioni (e.g. *pyroticus*; *polyplocus*; *paroptesis*), ed usi sintattici inusuali e rari (e.g. *dum* e *licet* con valore causale). Alcuni lemmi, inoltre, sono risultati essere *hapax* assoluti (e.g. il già citato *polyplocus*; *entheaticus*) oppure vengono impiegati per la prima volta dal nostro autore e ripresi solo diversi secoli dopo, come nel caso del verbo *superadhibeo*, impiegato da Teodoro e, dopo di lui, da Ugo Falcando (sec. XII) nell’opera *Historia sive Liber de regno Siciliae*.

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Middle Ages

The ambiguity of Italian *salvo* ‘save’, ‘except’: an investigation of its Medieval Latin origin

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In Italian, *salvo* can mean either ‘except’ (1, negative condition) or ‘provided’ (2, positive condition).

- (1) La lezione si terrà, salvo imprevisti
‘the class will take place, barring unforeseen circumstances’
- (2) La procedura sarà completata in tre settimane, salvo il diritto a una proroga
‘The procedure will be completed in three weeks, with the right to an extension’

The reason for the current polysemy lies in the diachrony of *salvo*. We retrace the main stages of the grammaticalization of *salvo*, with particular attention to its development in Medieval Latin. We analyze the semantic reanalysis causing the current ambiguity, already attested in Old Italian. In the Latin ablative absolute (3), predicative *salvus* introduces a positive condition, limiting the main situation under discussion, in a concessive construction.

- (3) ut id **saluo** foedere fieret (Liv. 38.38.18)

The exceptive meaning emerges as an innovation and becomes conventionalized in Romance in close connection to the fixation of an invariable form (It. *salvo*, Fr. *sauf*). In this respect, technical uses emerging in the legal language during the Medieval Latin stage appear to be particularly influential: in (4) an originally elliptical construction could have been reanalyzed as an invariable form.

- (4) ut predicti homines Grumi ipsas terras de cetero teneant et possideant sicut hactenus tenuerunt et possiderunt **salvo terratico et rationibus nostris** que nobis in eisdem terris competunt (Codice Diplomatico Barese).

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Sinesi del numero (e del genere?) nei genitivi di *is*, *ea*, *id*: un'analisi delle carte del *Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*

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Il contributo si ripropone di porre l'attenzione su un uso anomalo del pronome determinativo *is*, *ea*, *id* nelle indicazioni di possesso, rilevato in alcune carte relative ai secoli IX-X del *Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*⁶¹, nella sezione dei dispositivi in cui vengono elencati i beni pertinenti al terreno o alla casa oggetto della compravendita.

Osservando gli esempi in (1), notiamo che, mentre in (1a) il pronome determinativo è concordato nel genere e nel numero con il possessore (come vorrebbe la norma classica: il pronome *eius* è singolare come il sostantivo *casale* cui si riferisce), in (1b) il pronome sembra concordato con la cosa posseduta: il sostantivo che dovrebbe selezionare il genere e il numero del pronome è, come in (1a), il neutro singolare *casale*, ma invece di *eius* troviamo *eorum*, che sembra concordato nel numero con *vocabuli*, come si comporterebbe il possessivo *suus*, *sua*, *suum* (non 'nel casale e nei terreni di questo' ma 'nel casale e nei suoi terreni'⁷).

- (1) a. I, 182, 904, Chiusi, *Bonulinus not(arius)*, pag. 383, rr. 12-13: *in suprascriptu casale / vel per eius vocabulis*;
b. I, 166, 887, Chiusi, *Petru notarius*, pag. 350, r. 13: *in suprascripto casale vel in eorum vocabuli*.

Si cercherà di inquadrare la questione alla luce della ben nota confusione tra *suus* e *eius* (o *eorum* / *earum* al plurale) nel latino dei documenti notarili altomedievali (cfr. Politzer 1952) e, più in generale, nel latino tardo (cfr. Stotz 1998), vagliando la possibilità che contesti analoghi a (1b) possano far emergere anche accordi di genere non canonici secondo la norma classica, come sembra suggerire (2).

- (2) I, 165, 887, Chiusi, *Petru notarius*, pag. 348, r.1: *casa cum solamenta earum*.

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⁶ Il *codex* raccoglie documenti privati e, in misura minore pubblici, redatti principalmente a Chiusi (SI) e conservati nel fondo dell'archivio di Stato di Siena dedicato alle pergamene provenienti dal monastero del San Salvatore sul Monte Amiata.

⁷ Cfr. du Cange s.v. VOCABOLUM glossato come 'villa', 'praedium'.

Piedra y papel: Fragmentos dispares de un himno de San Juan Evangelista (París BN ms. 8093 f24va. Lugo, Catedral Portal N).

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Un dístico hexamétrico, con marcas de verso (X) y cesura (.), describe —en las tres caras visibles del ábaco de un capitel colgante con representación de la Santa Cena, en grupos caligráficos de mayúsculas y minúsculas redondeadas, con alguna abreviatura, como *Domini: dni: @* — un detalle de la escena, San Juan Evangelista al lado de Cristo: *DISCIPVLVS DOMINI PLACIDE DANS . MEMBRA QVIETI X DVM CIBAT IN CENA . CELESTIA VIDIT AMENA* ("El discípulo del Señor, plácidamente, dando sus miembros al reposo, alimentado, en la Cena, vio celestiales maravillas"). La palabra *QVIETI* —final de hexámetro en el centro de la cara frontal, seguida de marca en aspa y señales de grapa que indican que se perdió un pequeño adorno, seguramente un crismón— se corresponde con el rostro plácido de san Juan dormido. Las dulces visiones al lado del Señor se implica que son el origen, divino, del posterior Apocalipsis; en su rotunda simplicidad la idea parece remontarse a los tiempos de la negación arriana de la divinidad de Cristo, o las querellas del adopcionismo, con el fervor por los Comentarios del Apocalipsis, por lo que, aunque el texto está grabado a la ejecución de la portada, en torno al año 1200, tenemos que verlo como copia de un original anterior, entre el siglo V y el VIII. Así lo confirmaría otro texto (SE10, CLEB), copiado entre los de procedencia sevillana en la llamada *Anthologia Hispana*, tan semejante en sus conceptos que se diría inmediatamente sucesivo, como parte de una misma pieza.

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On the Text Structure and Language of the *Vita sancti Martini* (Passionale MR 164)**Lucija Krešić Nacevski** (lucijakresic01@gmail.com)*University of Zagreb, Faculty of Croatian Studies*

The biography of Saint Martin is recorded in the great Carolingian martyrology Passionale MR 164 (f. 243r – f.247r). According to its paleographic, linguistic and textual characteristics, the biography is dated to the end of the 10th century, and is believed to have been composed in Ravenna for the needs of the church of Sant Apollinare in Classe. Today it is situated in the Metropolitana library of the Archdiocese of Zagreb, where it is considered the oldest codex. Several relevant editions of the text of the biography of Saint Martin have been published so far, from which it is evident that the existence of this biography from Passionale MR 164 is not known to the public. This presentation deals with the analysis of the linguistic characteristics of the biography of Saint Martin in Passionale MR 164, as well as the textual structure based on a comparison with recent editions of the text of the biography of Saint Martin.

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Demonstratives in the 8th century charters of Gallia

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The main scope of the present paper is to examine the demonstrative usage of the 8th century parchment charters of Gallia (ChLA 13-19), originating predominantly from the chanceries of Pepin and Charlemagne. The demonstratives analysed include *hic*, *iste*, *ipse*, *ille* as well as their combinations with one another and/or temporal adjectives / metalinguistic participles. The data are contrasted with the results of the previously examined 8th century St. Gall (ChLA 1-2) and Luccan corpora (ChLA 30-39), thereby enabling a synchronic and diatopic analysis. The study adopts a heterogeneous methodology combining formulaic and linguistic categorisations developed in earlier studies (Pálfi 2023, Pálfi forthcoming). Accordingly, the data are analysed in more concise pools (within their formulaic or linguistic categories) to mitigate the formulas' negative effect on the distribution. The following problems are addressed: 1) the compositional tradition of the mainly chancery charters from Gallia and their comparability with the private charters from St. Gall and Lucca; 2) the analysability of the formulas, whether they exhibit slow change or are fossilised; 3) the patterns in demonstrative usage and their interpretational possibilities.

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Remarques sur la latinité de la *Vita Richarii primigenia* (BHL 7245)

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Nous préparons actuellement une *editio minor* de la *Vita Richarii Sacerdotis Centulensis Primigenia* (VRp), transmise notamment par le **ms. Wien**, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 420 (fol. 99–103, VIII^e–IX^e s., origine Saint-Amand) et le **ms. Avranches**, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, 167 (fol. 131v–133v, XIII^e–XIV^e s., origine Mont-Saint-Michel). L'édition sera accompagnée d'une traduction et d'un commentaire principalement axé sur la langue du texte.

La communication portera sur la **latinité** de la *Vita Richarii*. Après une brève présentation du saint et de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier, nous rappellerons succinctement l'état de la recherche sur la *Vita primigenia*. L'essentiel de l'exposé sera consacré à l'analyse linguistique.

Dans un premier temps, nous examinerons plusieurs traits bien attestés du latin mérovingien, tant sur le plan phonétique que morphosyntaxique (notamment la disparition des déponents ou l'emploi du cas régime direct en -o). Dans un second temps, nous analyserons un ensemble de *loci desperati* qui révèlent une maîtrise très défailante du lexique, de la morphologie et de la syntaxe latines, excédant largement les hésitations observées chez des scribes mérovingiens latinophones ou romanophones.

Ces faits de langue nous conduisent à formuler l'hypothèse que la *Vita Richarii primigenia* a été rédigée par, et destinée à, des moines principalement germanophones (vieux néerlandais, vieil anglais), et qu'elle a pu être récitée devant un public au moins partiellement germanophone. Cette hypothèse est confortée par l'origine probable du scribe — voire du rédacteur — dans le nord-est de la *Francia*, région partiellement caractérisée au haut Moyen Âge par une forte présence et une dynamique durable de populations germanophones.

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Fredegar as Compiler: Philological Observations

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The *Codex Claromontanus* is the primary witness for the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. It contains both Fredegar's original narrative (Book 4) and his compilation of earlier works (Books 1–3), most notably Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*. This composite structure creates a stylistic heterogeneity that invites detailed linguistic scrutiny.

My paper examines the relationship between Fredegar's original prose and his reworking of Gregory. By analyzing non-classical Latin features – morphological, phonetic, and syntactic – the study aims to isolate Fredegar's unique "idiolect." This allows us to distinguish his specific usage from both his source material and later scribal habits.

The Book 3 is not a simple reproduction: linguistic analysis reveals extensive modifications in vocabulary and syntax. These interventions mirror the non-classical tendencies found in Fredegar's original chapters, suggesting a deliberate linguistic practice rather than mere scribal corruption. My study also accounts for the role of the Merovingian scribe responsible for the *Codex Claromontanus*. By comparing variant readings and error patterns, we can separate secondary irregularities from Fredegar's own narrative style. Ultimately, this clarifies the compiler's linguistic profile within the broader context of early medieval historiography.

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***Pandecter, pandectae, pandectes*: evoluzione semantica e culturale del concetto di “raccolta esaustiva” dall’Antichità al Medioevo**

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Il contributo intende indagare l’origine e la fortuna delle parole latine *pandecter, pandectae* e *pandectes*, derivate dal greco πανδέκτης (πᾶν + δέχομαι = *omnia continens*). Questi termini, pur condividendo una comune radice etimologica, hanno assunto funzioni distinte nel lessico latino, rivelando la capacità della lingua latina di adattare il concetto di “raccolta esaustiva” a domini differenti. L’obiettivo del saggio è ricostruire l’evoluzione semantica e la storia linguistica e culturale di queste parole, dall’Antichità al Medioevo, per illustrare come un unico nucleo semantico si sia imposto in ambiti apparentemente distanti: culinaria, diritto, Bibbia ed enciclopedia.

L’indagine partirà da *pandecter* (-ēris, m.), titolo del quarto libro del *De re coquinaria* di Apicio, dove il termine indica un contenitore universale di ricette (TLL XI, 1 col. 191: *liber quo de diversis ferculis agitur*), da cui è passato nel *Glossarium Ansileubi* (nel senso di *omnia ferens*). Successivamente, si analizzerà il tecnicismo *Pandectae* (-arum, f. pl.), adottato per designare una specifica sezione del *Digestum* di Giustiniano, imponente compilazione del diritto tardo-antico che incarna l’idea di raccolta giuridica esaustiva e sistematica. L’articolo si concentrerà, quindi, sul sostantivo *pandectes* (-is, m.), impiegato da Cassiodoro nelle *Institutiones divinarum lectionum* (I V 2, I XII 3, I XIV 4, I XV 11) per indicare copie complete della Bibbia, comprendenti tanto l’Antico quanto il Nuovo Testamento. In questo senso, il contributo di Cassiodoro si rivela cruciale: attraverso la biblioteca del Vivarium e la produzione di Pandette, egli non solo preserva e riorganizza la tradizione dei testi biblici, ma estende il concetto di *pandectes* a un modello di sapere universale che ha influenzato nel profondo la cultura medievale. Il saggio termina con un accenno al trattato *Pandectarum Medicinae* di Matteo Silvatico, in cui “pandette” diventa sinonimo di repertorio totale del sapere medico.

In prospettiva interdisciplinare, si intende mostrare come la nozione di “raccolta esaustiva”, radicata nell’etimo greco, abbia guidato la trasmissione e l’uso dei termini, creando un filo concettuale che collega la cucina di Apicio, le aule di Giustiniano, le Bibbie di Vivarium e la medicina del Silvatico. Particolare attenzione viene rivolta al ruolo di Cassiodoro, non solo come compilatore, ma come ponte tra mondo antico e medievale, capace di trasformare e trasmettere il concetto attraverso i secoli.

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Morphosyntactic Developments

Weather/natural condition verbs and argument realization in Late Latin: a qualitative and quantitative study

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In this talk we investigate the argument structure of verbs denoting atmospheric and natural events/conditions in Late Latin, in light of the current discussion on their typology and subclasses (e.g. precipitation, temperature and stage-of-day events for weather events) (Eriksen et al. 2012; Levin & Krejci 2019, among others).

In Latin these verbs most typically occur in the default (‘impersonal’) third person singular active (1a-b), sometimes with an overt dummy subject, the demonstrative neuter pronoun *hoc* ‘this’, depending on the verb, as in (1b) (that could exemplify, however, the adverb *hoc* ‘here, hither’) (Leumann, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: §§ 45c, 220; Neue-Wagener 1985: 647–650; Pinkster 2015: 193–195; Cennamo & Fabrizio 2022: 195–199):

- (1) a. *ut multum pluerat* (Plaut., *Men. Prol.*, 63)
as a lot rain.IMPF.IND.3SG
‘As it rained heavily’
- b. *hoc... lucebit* (Plaut., *Cu.*, 182) (Ernout-Thomas 1964: 209)
this.N dawn.FUT.3SG
‘It will dawn’

Already in Early Latin, the default third person singular may also be found in monovalent patterns with the ablative (2a) and, more rarely, the accusative of the substance participant (2b) (Leumann, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: §§ 45c, 220), the different case-marking viewed as reflecting its argument (if in the accusative) vs adjunct (if in the ablative) status (‘satellite’ in Pinkster 2015: 194; Dahl 2020: 132–133):

- (2) a. *nivit sagittis* (Pacuv., *Praetext.* 4)
snow.PRES.IND.3SG shaft of lightning.ABL.PL
‘It is lightning’ (lit. ‘(It) snows with lightning’)
- b. ... *ninxerit caelestium molem mihi* (Acc., *Trag.*, 101)
snow.FUT.PERF.3SG heavenly.GEN.PL weight.ACC I.DAT
‘The sky will fall upon me like snow’ (lit. (It) will snow the heavenly weight to me’)

In Classical authors atmospheric and natural events/conditions verbs are also found in monovalent patterns with the source of the eventuality as subject ([± animate]), as for the light and sound emission verbs *illucescō* ‘to dawn’ (3a) and *tonō* ‘to thunder’ (3b) (see Neue-Wagener 1985: 647–650; Pinkster 2015: 193–195; Dahl 2020 and further examples therein):

- (3) a. *dies illuxisset* (Cic., *Diu.*, I, 50)
day.NOM dawn.SUBJ.PLUP.3SG
‘It had dawned’
- b. ... *Iove tonante...* (Cic. *Phil.* 5.8) (Pinkster 2015: 194)
Jupiter.ABL thunder.PRES.PTCP.ABL
‘Jupiter thundering’

In contrast, examples of the substance participant as subject are attested at a later stage (4a-b) (from I cent. AD), often in a non-literal meaning of the verb (e.g., FALL for *pluō* ‘to rain’, denoting a directed motion event in (4b)) (Pinkster 2015: 193):

- (4) a. ... *pluit* ... *nimbus* ... *teretis* *mali* ...
rain.PRES.IND.3SG cloud.M.NOM round.N.GEN.SG apple.N.GEN
‘... a shower of shapely apples rains down’ (Col. 10.364–365) (Pinkster 2015: 193)
b. *stridentia* *funda* *saxa* *pluunt*
whistle.PRES.PTCP.F.SG sling.F.SG.NOM stone.N.PL rain.PRES.IND.3PL
‘From a whistling sling stones are raining’ (Stat. Pap. *Thebais* 8.416–417) (I cent. AD)

A later development is also the divalent, causative use for some of these verbs (e.g., *pluō* ‘to rain’), with the NOM-ACC case-frame, first attested in Christian Latin and in Bible translations (Pinkster 2015: 194–195, int. al.) (5):

- (5) *Igitur* *Dominus* *pluit* *super Sodomam et Gomorram*
therefore Lord.NOM rain.PRES.IND.3SG over Sodom and Gomorra

sulphur *et ignem* *a Domino de caelo*
sulphur.N and fire.ACC by Lord from heaven.ABL
‘The Lord let it rain sulphur and fire over Sodom and Gomorra, from the Lord out of heaven’ (Vulg., *Gen.*, 19, 24).

As for the lexico-aspectual properties of the atmospheric and natural conditions verbs found in the active impersonal construction in Latin, they include most typically verbs of emission, ranging from the more stative-like light emission (e.g., *luceō* ‘to be light’), to the more processual/activity-like substance (e.g., *pluō* ‘to rain’), and sound (e.g., *tonō* ‘to thunder’) emission. Also other (activity and change of state) verbs may be used to denote atmospheric/natural conditions in the corresponding intransitive pattern in the 3rd person singular: *lapidō* ‘to throw stones’ (> *lapidat* ‘it is raining stones’), *vesperascō* ‘to get dark’ (> *vesperascit* ‘it is getting dark’), *siccō* ‘to dry’ (> *siccat* ‘it is dry’), *disserenō* ‘to become clear’ (> *disserenat* ‘it becomes clear’) (Neue-Wagner 1985: 647–650; Pinkster 2015: 192–195; Cennamo & Fabrizio 2022: 198–199).

In our study we will carry out a corpus-based investigation of the degree of syntactic elasticity of these verbs in Late Latin, considering (i) their *lexico-aspectual properties*, (ii) *the coding of their optional non-agreeing/agreeing argument* (e.g., accusative vs ablative/nominative), (iii) *the occurrence and frequency of the expletive-like deictic neuter pronoun hoc ‘this’ and its (argumental/non-argumental) status*, (iv) *the transitive, causative use of weather verbs beyond precipitation verbs such as pluō*, (v) *the type of strategy employed*. The parameters of variation considered will also be discussed for their interplay with the concomitant restructuring of grammatical voice and case-marking in Late and Medieval Latin, as witnessed in works from different genres (Norberg 1943: 153–158; Svennung 1935: 456–464; 472–478; Cennamo 1998; 2009; 2016: 967–970 and references therein).

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Modal alternation in adnominal relative clauses: continuity and functional restructuring in Early Medieval Latin

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This study investigates modal alternation between the indicative and subjunctive in Latin adnominal relative clauses. In the classical period, mood selection is determined by the nature of the antecedent and the speaker's perspective: the indicative marks specific reference, while the subjunctive is triggered by generic or non-specific antecedents (Pinkster 2015). Utilizing the *LLCT2 corpus*, the research examines how Early Medieval normative requirements restructured classical functions to prioritize informative stability. Analysis applies parameters such as antecedent specificity (Givón 1984, Hawkins 2015), information accessibility, and the restrictive/non-restrictive distinction (Vester 1989, Pinkster 2015).

In documents of the *corpus* (dated between the 7th and 9th centuries) adnominal relative clauses constitute 24.47% of total subordination. Within 4,011 occurrences, the indicative appears in 42.19% and the subjunctive in 5.83%. This reflects a pragmatic shift: while restrictive clauses retain partial variation for technical definition, the indicative becomes the near-exclusive choice in non-restrictive contexts to ensure informational univocity. The results highlight a systemic polarization driven by the prescriptive nature of the texts. Legal writing promotes the indicative to guarantee transactional certainty, neutralizing classical subjective nuances, while the subjunctive is refunctionalized as a deontic marker (Bybee et al. 1994) for obligations and necessities.

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Late Latin development of the stative verbs with the suffix *-e-* compared to the construction of copula and the adjective with the suffix *-idus*

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The stative verbs with the suffix *-ē-* belonging to the Caland group (of the type *calēre*) represent a special group of Latin verbs. These are intransitive verbs denoting natural physical states of things as *frīgēre* (to be cold), *tepēre* (to be warm), *madēre* (to be wet), *ārēre* (to be dry), *rigēre* (to be stiff), *tumēre* (to be swollen) or visual appearance of things as *splendēre* and *nitēre* (to shine, to be bright), *rubēre* (to be red) etc. Applied to humans, they primarily describe appearance forms as e.g. *pallēre* (to be pale), but as they are understood as accompanying phenomena of mental states, some of them also refer to the mental states themselves as a result of the metonymical semantic extension (cf. Dowty 2000, p. 125), as e.g. *stupēre* (to be stiff > to be surprised), *horrēre* (to bristle > to fear), *livēre* (to be greyish blue > to envy) etc. (cf. Leumann 1977, p. 552).

Haverling (2010, p. 289) says: “Latin, as opposed to some other languages, has verbs that indicate states. In this respect there is a structural difference between Latin and the later Romance languages, where such semantic functions are often rendered by a verb and an adjective.” Haverling continues that in Early and Classical Latin, in the sense “it is hot”, the verb *calet* occurs more often than an expression like *calidum est*. Concerning the Late Latin development, Haverling (2010, p. 321) adds that verbs like *calēre* are still in function in literary Late Latin but tend to be rare in the less elegant texts..

It is the aim of this paper to show that the development of the Latins stative verbs was not so straightforward and that both the constructions, namely the verb and the construction of a copula and the corresponding *-idus* adjective, coexisted for a long time from the earliest records through the classical period until the transition to Romance languages. The paper will focus on the development in the Late Latin period (from 200 AD to the 8th century) to show that in this respect, there were great differences between individual verbs, literary genres and individual authors’ preferences, based on corpus data. The paper will provide statistical data as well as many examples as:

Lac caprunum uel bubulum uel ouillum recens mulsum dum calet uel etiam calefactum gargarizatum tosillarum dolores et tumores cito sedat. (MARCELL. med.)

Goat's or cow's or sheep's milk freshly milked while warm as well as warmed, gargled, quickly soothes the pains and swellings of the sore throat.

rursus nec ideo verum, quia impolite enuntiatur, nec ideo falsum, quia splendidus sermo est (AUG. conf.)

Conversely, nothing is true just because it is said in a rough and ready way, or false just because it is a glorious piece of oratory.

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Electronic resources:

LIBRARY OF LATIN TEXTS, Brepolis

Les verbes en *-fico/-ficor* et les adjectifs en *-ficus*: un cas de divergence au cours des siècles

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C'est une explication majoritaire, acceptée jusqu'aux temps les plus récents, que les verbes en *-fico/-ficor* sont des dénominatifs d'adjectifs en *-ficus* (Oniga 2005: 216, Brucale 2012: 112). Par contre, nous montrerons que ces deux ensembles de mots, même s'ils sont constamment corrélés, demeurent le plus souvent divergents ou parallèles, au cours des siècles. Notre point de départ est un corpus exhaustif de données représenté par 150 verbes en *-fico/-ficor* et 112 adjectifs en *-ficus*: pour 67 verbes est attesté un adjectif correspondant, tandis que des 83 verbes sans adjectif correspondant, 57 sont datés entre le II^e et le VI^e siècle. Ensuite, dans l'ensemble des 67 verbes en *-fico/-ficor* avec adjectif correspondant on distingue six sous-ensembles sur la base de la datation de ces verbes, à savoir contemporaine, après ou avant l'adjectif en *-ficus*. Enfin, une variété encore plus remarquable de cas ressort de l'application d'autres critères, notamment le contexte, le domaine d'emploi et le genre littéraire (Oniga & Re 2025): par ex., *damnifico* (*Vetus Latina*) et *damnificus* (Plaute) (Marini 2015).

Nous conclurons par des remarques touchant à la corrélation entre forme et fonction, selon les principes de la Grammaire Relationnelle: il arrive qu'une même forme, ainsi qu'un même procès de composition, peut cacher des fonctions différentes. C'est ce que nous avons appelé divergence.

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Ut ita dixerim: a postclassical innovation

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The parenthetical clause *ut ita dicam*, deeply analysed by Fedriani and Molinelli (2013), has a less-known cognate, namely *ut ita dixerim*. According to the database Brepolis, *ut ita dixerim* appeared in the first century CE and continued to be used in the Late Latin period. Pinkster (2015: 579; 2021: 299) mentioned an example from Quintilian and suggested that *dixerim* could be used under the influence of *pace tua dixerim* “with your good leave or permission”. In addition, the potential perfect subjunctive appears in other structures, such as *facile dixerim* “I would easily say”, which might have also influenced the spread of *ut... dixerim* type.

The aim of this presentation is to focus on various issues related to the use of this phrase, its frequency and similarity with other phrases:

1. What expressions are found in the phrase except *ita* (e.g. *ut sic / vere / breviter / moderatius / non dixerim*)?
2. Do these expressions change over time or not?
3. What authors use *ut... dixerim* and, if they also employ *ut... dicam*, is there any difference in their uses and functions?
4. Can the parenthetical *ut... dixerim* change the classification of *ut... dicam*?

Dixerim also appears in the parenthetical clauses *ne dixerim*, although scarcely and predominantly in Tertullian’s works. Despite that, the negative clause can complete the picture of the phenomenon and shed more light on the use of the subjunctive in Latin.

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Da *potius, prius, citius (quam)* a it. *piuttosto (che)* : quando il latino ha *in nuce* il mutamento linguistico

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Il lavoro mira ad indagare le strutture latine *potius (prius, citius) quam* come antefatti dei costrutti romanzi, quali it. *piuttosto che*, fr. *plutôt que*, mettendo in evidenza i contesti semantico-sintattici che veicolano queste relazioni finora trascurate nell'ambito tanto della linguistica latina quanto di quella romanza.

Il percorso tracciato da Mokni (2008) per le forme romanze *piuttosto che*, *plutôt que* che va dal temporale (all'origine del composto *plutôt, piuttosto*), al preferenziale, al rettificativo affiora, in diversa misura, nelle espressioni latine della comparativa coordinante *potius ..quam* (ma anche *prius .. quam, citius quam*). Tale tendenza era già presente nei Comici e nel latino post-classico. Il punto chiave è l'interpretazione comparativa, che le temporali (*prius ...quam, citius quam*) possono ricevere, quando entra in gioco la soggettività del locutore:

Morituros se adfirmabant citius quam immixti Brutiis in alienos ritus, mores legesque, ac mox linguam etiam uerterentur (Liv. 24,3,12) Dichiarano di voler morire piuttosto che piegarsi, commisti coi Brutii, a riti a costumi a leggi forestiere, e in seguito anche ad altro idioma.

La struttura è asimmetrica, corrispondente al valore esclusivo di *aut* in latino classico, mentre in latino tardo la particella disgiuntiva presenta un indebolimento semantico che raggiunge il valore di *vel*. Un analogo mutamento, che va dall'esclusivo all'inclusivo si registra recentemente in contesti di oralità dell'italiano (Giacalone, Mauri 2015), con l'uso di *piuttosto che* con il valore di 'disgiunzione inclusiva' tra opzioni cumulabili in lista aperta segnalando l'indifferenza del locutore verso la scelta possibile, che è appunto il valore di *vel*. In questo modo *piuttosto che* entra in concorrenza con *o*, seguendo lo stesso percorso compiuto dall'evoluzione di *aut* in latino tardo.

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Canonical Word Order as Contrastive Background. Focal and Sentence Final Hyperbaton in *Historia Augusta*

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This paper investigates the relationship between canonical word order and hyperbaton in Late Latin prose, taking *Historia Augusta* as a case study. Hyperbaton is approached not as a stylistic ornament, but as a constructional choice (Spevak 2010), whose realization depends both on its internal properties and its textual embedding. The study argues that hyperbaton in Latin prose may be motivated by information-structural focusing, prosodic pressure and clause internal organization, depending on the pragmatic and prosodic context. Canonical word order is understood as a syntactic configuration of low informational salience, against which hyperbaton emerges as a marked syntactic strategy responding to increased pragmatic, prosodic, or affective load. The paper proposes a contrastive analysis of focal and sentence final hyperbata in *Historia Augusta*, with particular attention to the medial field between disjoint constituents. The main objectives are:

- (1) to identify focal hyperbata and analyse the regularities of their medial field;
- (2) to investigate the focal role of anteposed predicates in relation to the copula within the medial field of focal hyperbata;
- (3) to highlight the function of parenthetical insertions within sentence final hyperbata, showing how incises and metadiscursive elements contribute to the creation of syntactic disjunction.

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The imperfect and perfect of prototypical atelic predicates in Late Latin

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In the effort to track the development of Latin in the late period, it is my view that the primary task is to separate textual material produced by native speakers, which provides direct evidence of the natural development of Latin (while acknowledging that literary Latin is characterized by a high degree of conservatism), from texts that are the work of authors for whom Latin is a second language and thus reflect the development of the language in a specific, uneven way. In this endeavour, it is reasonable to focus on examining phenomena where the absence of the natural intuition of a native speaker is likely to complicate the correct use of a given linguistic device. At the same time, when working with literary texts, it is advisable to focus on phenomena that are unlikely to have undergone modifications during the transcribing of texts in the Middle Ages.

One such phenomenon may be the choice between the perfect and imperfect indicative. In general, each of these two forms can carry several different meanings, which are the sum of the meaning of the suffix itself and of the verb stem to which it is attached. As I have previously argued (Pultrová 2024; Pultrová in Proceedings from the ICLL 2025 [in print]), significant constraints are involved: some meanings are only possible with certain semantic types of verbs, while others are excluded. In the above-cited texts, I have analysed the behaviour of prototypical predicates for individual semantic verb classes in the classical period. In this paper, I will analyse two such prototypical predicates, specifically for the atelic verb classes – *amo* and *curro* – in Late Latin, with the aim of identifying shifts in the use of the imperfect and perfect tenses of these verbal predicates.

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La parenthèse existe-elle en latin? *De la rhétorique classique aux parenthèses modernes en passant par les stratégies graphiques du latin tardif*

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Dans cette communication, nous mettrons à l'épreuve une définition de la parenthèse qui se fonde sur la nature des indices de son identification dans une langue flexionnelle synthétique telle que le latin, d'un côté, et sur l'objectif que se pose le locuteur, de l'autre.

À priori et dans la majorité des études consacrées à ce phénomène, la spécificité de la parenthèse tient «aux deux caractéristiques suivantes :

1. Premièrement, la parenthèse s'identifie par les marques graphiques qui l'entourent ;
2. Deuxièmement, la mise en parenthèses procède de la décision d'un locuteur-scripteur qui choisit ces balises alors même qu'il dispose d'autres signes de ponctuation et d'autres moyens linguistiques ».⁸

En conséquence, l'on considère une parenthèse tout segment encadré par les forms typographiques qui guident l'interprétation. Or, dans une langue où il n'est pas toujours évident de décider des frontières de la phrase et où les deux critères importants d'identification des parenthèses ne sont pas disponibles (intonation et ponctuation sont absents des textes latins), la question qui se pose comment identifier la parenthèse dans les textes latins. Autrement dit : la parenthèse existe-t-elle en latin ?

Les réponses apportées à cette question et les analyses qu'elles suscitent sont majoritairement formalisées en termes de rapport entre le segment mis entre parenthèses et la phrase-hôte qui l'héberge et en termes d'identification de ses bornes.

Par ailleurs, les marqueurs spécifiques de frontières ne s'appliquent pas de manière systématique à la description de la parenthèse dans la mesure où elle peut être indirectement délimitée sur ses bords gauche et droit : le changement de proposition marque son début, tandis que la reprise de la phrase hôte en montre sa fin.

En latin classique (Ier siècle av. J.-C. – Ier siècle apr. J.-C.), l'absence de parenthèses graphiques était palliée par des structures syntaxiques et rhétoriques précises permettant d'insérer des remarques sans rompre la clarté du discours, tels que

- Des propositions incidentes (*incisa*) pour insérer un commentaire, un avis ou une précision au cœur d'une phrase.
- Verbes de pensée ou de parole : Des verbes comme *credo* (« je crois »), *opinor* (« je pense ») ou *ut ego arbitror* (« à mon avis ») étaient simplement intercalés sans ponctuation.
- Absence de marqueur : Ces phrases étaient autonomes sur le plan structurel mais intégrées linéairement entre deux groupes fonctionnels de la « phrase hôte ».

Plutôt que d'isoler visuellement une information, les auteurs l'intégraient par des mots de liaison qui jouaient le rôle de « parenthèses explicatives » :

- Explication directe : Emploi de *id est* ou *hoc est* (« c'est-à-dire ») pour préciser un terme.
- Conjonctions de subordination : Utilisation de *ut* (« comme »), *sicut* (« ainsi que ») ou de propositions relatives pour ajouter une information accessoire.

Dans certains textes officiels ou littéraires de l'époque impériale, les scribes utilisaient la disposition per cola et commata.

- Chaque unité de sens ou segment de pensée était écrit sur une nouvelle ligne.

⁸ Richard, E. (2008). « Pour une définition (très) stricte de la parenthèse à l'oral », *Verbum* XXX.

- Cette disposition permettait de séparer visuellement les remarques incidentes du corps principal du texte sans utiliser de signes de ponctuation spécifiques.

Pour les orateurs comme Cicéron, la parenthèse était une figure de style (une interruption du flux verbal) plutôt qu'un signe écrit. Elle était marquée à l'oral par un changement de ton ou de rythme (prosodie).

Bien que la *scriptio continua* (écriture sans espaces) fût la norme, on trouvait parfois des points médians (*interpuncts*) servant à séparer les mots, mais rarement pour isoler des clauses entières comme le font nos parenthèses modernes. Les signes spécifiques comme les crochets ou les parenthèses n'apparaîtront qu'à la Renaissance, notamment sous l'influence d'Érasme qui nomma les parenthèses *lunulae*.

Contrairement au latin classique qui privilégiait l'insertion fluide par la rhétorique, le latin tardif et médiéval se reposant sur une évolution des usages manuscrits et de la syntaxe, a développé les méthodes suivantes :

- Le soulignement (*Underlining*)

Dans de nombreux manuscrits médiévaux (notamment à partir du IX^e siècle), le soulignement était utilisé pour isoler visuellement des segments de texte. Il servait à marquer des citations, du discours direct, ou des informations incidentes (parentheses matérielles).

- Signes marginaux et "Diple"

Les copistes utilisaient parfois des signes dans la marge ou le corps du texte pour signaler une insertion ou une glose :

- La diple (>) ou des signes de renvoi permettaient d'insérer une précision sans rompre le texte principal.
- Certaines formes de crochets inversés ou de signes opposés commençaient à apparaître dans des cercles savants, mais leur usage restait rare et non normalisé avant la fin du Moyen Âge.

- Évolution des "Positurae"

Le système des *positurae* (signes de pause) s'est complexifié. Pour marquer une rupture de sens (ce que fait une parenthèse), les scribes utilisaient :

- Le punctus elevatus (ancêtre du point d'interrogation ou du point-virgule) pour indiquer une pause médiane avec un changement d'intonation.
- Le double ou triple point (: ou ::) pour signaler des segments de pensée distincts ou des explications complémentaires.

- Marqueurs lexicaux renforcés

Le latin tardif, plus analytique que le latin classique, multiplie les "mots-outils" pour encadrer une explication :

- Scilicet (savoir), videlicet (à savoir) ou id est (c'est-à-dire) deviennent des marqueurs quasi systématiques pour introduire une parenthèse explicative.
- L'usage de propositions relatives introduites par *quod* ou *quia* s'est généralisé pour ajouter des commentaires en marge du verbe principal.

- La glose interlinéaire

Plutôt que d'insérer l'information *dans* la phrase (ce qui aurait nécessité des parenthèses), les auteurs de latin tardif utilisaient souvent la glose. L'information "parenthétique" était écrite au-dessus de la ligne ou entre les lignes, isolant ainsi physiquement le commentaire du texte original.

On retient donc de ce survol, en se fondant sur l'examen de deux corpus du latin classique et tardif, d'abord qu'il est peu satisfaisant de concevoir la parenthèse comme un simple phénomène d'ordre typographique et syntaxique.

Ensuite de se demander si la parenthèse en latin constituerait-elle un indice qui invite à prendre en compte une perspective dynamique; autrement dit un système en cours de changement.

Nous rappellerons simplement ici que le latin se caractérise par une configuration en *scriptio continua*, avec des relations se rapprochant davantage de la parataxe et de la juxtaposition, alors que l'évolution du français va vers le découpage phrastique (ponctuation) avec de nouvelles relations de dépendance. L'une des premières fonctions de la ponctuation et don't l'utilité saute aux yeux quand on compare la *scriptio continua* des Anciens avec les éditions modernes de leurs textes est la fonction de segmentation à des fins de lisibilité. Il s'agit de découper le texte en unités visibles et lisibles pour en faciliter le parcours et l'interprétation. Ainsi la proposition parenthétique est un phénomène fréquent dans la langue moderne mais il a existé dans la langue des Anciens en tant qu'une idée avant d'être liée à un élément typographique précis.

Mots clés : parenthèse, latin, changement, dynamique

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On the tracks of *summa cum laude* – investigation of a (near) disappearance

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Constructions of the type *summa cum laude* and *qua in re*, where a preposition is placed inside the noun phrase that it governs, are a common feature of Classical Latin (see, e.g., Powell 2010: 173, Spevak 2014: 221, and Vendel 2024: Ch. 2). However, observations show that it all but disappears in Late Latin, both in higher register texts, such as Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*, and in texts belonging to lower stylistic registers, for instance Egeria’s *Itinerarium* (see Vendel 2025). It then returns *en force* in during the Renaissance, most likely as a deliberate attempt to emulate Cicero’s style (see, e.g. Warner 2012: 82–83). The question is what happens in between: When do these constructions fall out of use? Are they retained longer by some authors, in certain genres, text types, or contexts? What can we infer from this regarding their rhetoric and/or stylistic uses in Late Latin?

In this paper, I trace the all-but-complete disappearance of this word order in post-Classical Latin. In a first, quantitative phase, I use computational methods to survey large amounts of text and provide a diachronic overview, ranging from Tertullian to Gregory the Great. This will be followed by a more qualitative analysis of the stylistic connotations of these constructions.

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Phonological, Semantic, and Orthographic Developments

Phonological weight and constituent order: Evidence from Late Latin

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1. Background It is well known that phonological weight may affect constituent order. In the wake of Behaghel (1909), studies on (old) Indo-European languages have paid most attention to END WEIGHT (in the sense of Ryan 2019), that is, the tendency for heavier material to surface more to the right than functionally equivalent but phonologically lighter alternatives. Typologically, however, the direction of Heavy XP shift co-varies with directionality of complementation: in head-final (SOV) languages like Korean and Turkish, heavy XPs tend to shift to the left, not the right (BEGINNING WEIGHT, cf. Hawkins 1994).

2. Aims The paper has two aims. First, as Latin has both head-initial (VO) and head-final (OV) syntax, it is expected that phonological weight effects may either show right-edge or leftedge sensitivity. I test this hypothesis through a case study of the relative order of direct and indirect objects (in preverbal and postverbal contexts). Second, I also aim at establishing how phonological weight is best operationalized: is it the number of syllables that counts (cf. Ryan 2019), or rather the number of (primary) accents in a given phrase?

3. Methodology My corpus consists of a selection of Late Latin texts (from *ca.* 200 to 600 CE) drawn from the database brepolis.net. To assess the role of syllable weight, building on Cser (2020) I develop an algorithm to automatically detect syllable boundaries in Latin words.

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Identidad y cronología de *dolus* ‘duelo’, sinónimo tardío de *dolor* ‘dolor’ y homónimo de *dolus* ‘engaño’

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Tradicionalmente, *dolus* ‘duelo’ se presenta como sinónimo tardío de *dolor* ‘dolor’, pero este simple planteamiento resulta bastante más complejo a causa del homónimo *dolus* ‘engaño’, que es préstamo griego, presente en la lengua latina, al menos, desde la ley de las doce tablas. Un testimonio de Agustín de Hipona pone de manifiesto que *dolus* ‘duelo’ se confundía con *dolor* entre los fieles cristianos.

Multi fratres imperitiores latinitatis loquuntur sic, ut dicant ‘dolus illum torquet’ pro eo quod est dolor (Aug., *In euang. Ioh.* 7, 18).

No solo Agustín, otros autores intentaron aclarar la confusión que se cernía en torno a *dolor* y dieron lugar a mayor embrollo. Así, en una *differentia* de Isidoro de Sevilla se define *dolor* respecto de *dolus* ‘engaño’, a pesar de no haber entre ellos otra coincidencia formal que la del genitivo *dolorum*.

Inter dolum et dolorem. Dolor est corporis incommoditas siue molestia, dolus uero occulta malitia, blandis sermonibus adornata (Isid. *Diff.* 1, 109 [142]).

En realidad, la diferencia debería plantearse no sobre *dolor*, sino entre el popular *dolus* ‘duelo’ y el culto *dolus* ‘engaño’.

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Theatra tota exclamant: Cicerone, la quantità vocalica distintiva e il diasistema latino**Luca Onorato** (luca.onorato@sns.it)*Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa***Michele Loporcaro** (loporcar@rom.uzh.ch)*Università di Zurigo*

Il *consensus (paene) omnium* vede in *Orat.* 173 una prova che le opposizioni di quantità vocalica «étaient encore solidement ancrés dans l’usage quotidien et normal des latinophones» (Herman 2004: 275) a prescindere da istruzione e strato sociale. Incrina tale consenso Marotta (2018: 275) secondo cui «[i]n order to maintain that Cicero intended to refer to vowel length, it is [...] necessary to force the text»: egli farebbe invece riferimento al numero di sillabe del verso. Tale conclusione è funzionale all’accoglimento della tesi (Vineis 1984) che il latino parlato d’età repubblicana (certamente il parlato popolare) avesse perso la quantità vocalica prefigurando in ciò l’assetto prosodico (proto)romanzo.

Si argomenterà che le conclusioni di Marotta vanno riviste. Pur condividendo l’interpretazione di *una syllaba* come ablativo da lei difesa (seguendo Kroll 1958: 154, Moore 2012: 146 *et al.* e valorizzando opportunamente il parallelismo con *Parad.* 3.26 e *De orat.* 3.196), si mostrerà che essa è perfettamente compatibile con la visione tradizionale. Ostano, invece, all’interpretazione di Marotta due fatti: (1) il passo ciceroniano si riferisce alla prosodia, non al testo dei copioni scenici; (2) i versi scenici latini hanno numero molto variabile di sillabe.

Il *testimonium* ciceroniano non va dunque reinterpretato con Marotta e resta in linea col quadro della prosodia latino-romanza delineato recentemente in Loporcaro/Onorato (2025).

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Le conoscenze metriche e prosodiche dei „poeti di Bu Njem”

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J. N. Adams, nel suo studio intitolato *The Poets of Bu Njem: Language, Culture and the Centurionate*, pubblicato nel 1999, condusse un’approfondita indagine sociolinguistica su due poesie epigrafiche rinvenute a Bu Njem, nel territorio dell’attuale Libia, e datate al III secolo d.C. Lo studio, ancorché si occupi della romanizzazione degli abitanti della fortezza d’epoca imperiale denominata Gholaiia, viene spesso citato in opere di tematica differente. Adams, tra i vari aspetti, analizzò anche la prosodia dei due carmi epigrafici. Le sue conclusioni al riguardo sono divenute ben note tra gli studiosi interessati allo sviluppo della quantità vocalica latina in età imperiale. Esse, infatti, vengono solitamente citate a sostegno dell’ipotesi che il sistema classico di quantità vocalica fosse già completamente degradato nel III secolo dopo Cristo, almeno nelle province africane, dove la distinzione della quantità vocalica dipendeva dal livello d’istruzione dei parlanti. Il presente contributo cerca di dimostrare che i due carmi in questione non provano, in realtà, tale ipotesi.

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Workshop: Dove si incontrano il greco, il latino tardo e le lingue romanze

Rethinking *incipio* and *coepe*: Evidence from African *Vetus Latina* Witnesses

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The present paper examines the utilisation of *incipio/coepe* in a selection of *Vetus Latina* texts (Num 15,39; Ps 1,3; Hos 10,10; Acts 1,5 etc.), encompassing both direct and indirect witnesses, the majority of which are of African origin. The analysis proposes an expanded array of meanings that extends beyond the existing knowledge in the extant literature.

In particular, with the exception of instances in which *incipio/coepe* translate μέλλω or ἄρχομαι (cf. HAVERLING, 395-396; GALDI, 246-264), these verbs manifest at least four discrete syntactic functions:

- a. Express anteriority in the tense of subordinate clauses with respect to the tense of the main clause (relative tense), replacing passive forms (*coepe*);
- b. Exhibit aspectual ingressive value (*incipio*);
- c. Are used in the periphrastic rendering of the Greek future passive (*incipio*), e.g. Acts 1,5 βαπτισθήσεσθε] *incipietis baptizari/baptizabimini* AU ep 265;
- d. Can possess pleonastic value (*incipio, coepe*).

The analysis conducted herein highlights an original use of the aforementioned verbs in translation literature in the presence of Greek constructions whose rendering is perceived as difficult.

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Attractio relativi nel latino tardo: caratteri, diffusione e influsso del greco**Eleonora Cattafi** (eleonora.cattafi@ugent.be)*Ghent University*

L'*attractio relativi* è un tema discusso nella tradizione degli studi linguistici sul greco e sul latino. La diffusione del fenomeno nelle due lingue antiche risulta tuttavia diseguale: mentre in greco classico i casi di attrazione diventano comuni a partire da Eschilo (Probert 2015: 162-198), in latino classico l'attrazione diretta rimane un fenomeno marginale (Pompei 2011: 472-473).

La situazione sembra evolversi nel periodo successivo, quando i casi di attrazione si fanno più numerosi, in particolare nella Bibbia latina (Rönsch 1875: 443-444). L'influsso del greco è stato più volte citato come fattore scatenante di questa evoluzione (Humbert 1960: 85, Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 567, Calboli 2009: 68, inter alia), ma il tema non è mai stato oggetto di un approfondimento sistematico supportato da dati linguistici.

In questo senso, il latino tardo si offre come terreno privilegiato per un'indagine volta a individuare se l'*attractio relativi* costituisca un mero caso di calco traduttivo, oppure se il fenomeno abbia avuto un impatto più profondo sulla lingua. A tale scopo, si terrà in considerazione un corpus composto da testi latini tra il IV e il VI secolo d.C. con modello greco, da confrontare con testi coevi privi di un modello greco. L'analisi mostrerà inoltre alcune somiglianze e divergenze tra latino e greco nelle caratteristiche strutturali dell'attrazione, quali le combinazioni di casi e i loro esiti, nonché la configurazione morfosintattica delle relative coinvolte.

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The functional competition between ablative gerund and *cum* + subjunctive in Late Latin

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In Late Latin, the ablative gerund behaves mostly like a verb of an implicit subordinate clause (Kooreman 1989; Vangaeveer 2021: 144; Clementelli 2025). This statement makes relevant the analysis of its functional competition with other similar forms of subordination.

In this presentation, I examine the functional competition between the ablative gerund and *cum* + subjunctive. The comparability of these two types of subordination lies in their semantic similarity: being semantically vague or polysemous (Koning 1995: 57), their interpretation is largely determined by context (Luraghi 2001: 410; Adams 2013: 725). Since *cum* + subjunctive occurs in a wider range of contexts, the analysis is restricted to clauses that (1) express contemporaneity, (2) have a coreferential subject, and (3) are not passive.

The study is conducted on a corpus of 12 texts (679,728 tokens) dating from the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD. As for the methodology, Python is used for the query in texts.

The results show that, during centuries, the use of the ablative gerund increases, while that of the *cum* + subjunctive decreases. Moreover, statistical analysis (chi-square test and Pearson residuals, $|z| \geq 2$) confirms that these distributions are significant in several texts. Finally, the observed tendencies are further supported by the Romance outcomes: in the general restructuring of subordination, the ablative gerund survived, whereas *cum* + subjunctive did not.

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Tra influsso esterno e sviluppo interno: una rivalutazione del genitivo di comparazione dal latino classico all'alto Medioevo

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Come noto, in latino lo standard di comparazione si esprime principalmente mediante (i) *quam* seguito da un sostantivo nello stesso caso del primo termine, oppure (ii) l'ablativo di comparazione (Pinkster 2015: 727–733; Cuzzolin 2011: 601 sgg.). Accanto a queste due costruzioni, soprattutto nelle fasi più tarde della lingua, si riscontrano strategie alternative, tra le quali il genitivo di comparazione (GC) merita particolare attenzione. Attestata fin dall'età imperiale in fonti letterarie e non letterarie (Hofmann–Szantyr 1972: 113), questa costruzione è stata spesso interpretata come un fenomeno substandard e ricondotta all'influsso del greco, dove il genitivo rappresenta l'opzione non marcata per esprimere lo standard di comparazione (Cuzzolin 2011: 611). Nonostante ciò, essa non è mai stata oggetto di un'analisi sistematica.

Il presente contributo si propone di colmare tale lacuna mediante un riesame complessivo delle attestazioni note, sulla base dei dati raccolti da Wölfflin (1889), Landgraf (1913: 267 sgg.) e Hofmann–Szantyr (1972: 113), per un arco cronologico che va dal I al VI secolo d.C. L'analisi si articola in due sezioni principali.

Nella prima, verranno riesaminate le attestazioni più antiche del fenomeno, con particolare attenzione alle opere tecniche (Vitruvio e i testi giuridici). Si mostrerà che la quasi totalità dei casi ammette spiegazioni alternative per lo più riconducibili alla funzione partitiva del genitivo.

Nella seconda sezione, si discuteranno gli esempi più tardi e meno controversi della costruzione, ponendo l'accento sui contesti d'uso in cui essa figura. Qui si dimostrerà come, sebbene la maggior parte dei casi dipenda innegabilmente da modelli greci, il GC non possa essere ridotto a un semplice calco. In tutti i testi esaminati, infatti, esso non solo coesiste con l'ablativo di comparazione, ma ricorre con frequenza significativamente inferiore rispetto a quest'ultimo, che si conferma come opzione non marcata. Il genitivo invece rappresenta una scelta marcata, il cui impiego risulta semanticamente condizionato. In particolare, la maggior parte delle attestazioni è interpretabile come esito di una progressiva rianalisi di strutture originariamente partitive, influenzata, ma non determinata, dal greco. Tale sviluppo consente inoltre di rendere conto della successiva affermazione degli usi comparativi di *de* (generalizzatisi poi in alcune varietà romanze), interpretabili come prosecuzione funzionale di schemi precedentemente associati al genitivo.

Nel suo insieme, l'analisi mira dunque a ridefinire lo statuto del GC, mostrando come esso potrebbe non rappresentare un semplice calco o un tratto marginale della lingua, bensì il risultato di una più complessa interazione di fattori sintattici, semantici e di contatto linguistico.

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Latin-Greek code-switching and borrowing in late grammatical works: characteristics of insertions surviving in Romance

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Code-switching (CS) is generally defined as the alternation of two or more languages within a single conversation or text by bi- or multilinguals (cf. Adams 2003: 19; Elder & Mullen 2019: 7). In contrast, lexical borrowing refers to the adoption of words or phrases by bi- and multilinguals as well as by monolinguals (cf. Lavidas 2021: 9; Hickey 2010). While scholars have started to acknowledge that multiple factors play a role in identifying CS and borrowing (e.g. Matras 2020: 115–119), the question remains which factors are most closely associated with either of these contact phenomena.

To shed light on this distinction, this paper compares the characteristics of Greek words surviving into Italian, French and Spanish (i.e. established borrowings) with those not adopted by these Romance languages. This analysis is based on a corpus of Late Latin grammatical works – a genre that is heavily influenced by Greek sources on both a conceptual and lexical level, and thus highly bilingual (cf. Desbordes 1988, 1995; Denecker & Swiggers 2018; Biville 2021). In doing so, multiple factors are considered: the use of Greek or Latin alphabet, a Greek utterance's frequency in Latin, morphological adaptation and orthographical deviations. In sum, the aim of this paper is both to improve our theoretical understanding of CS and borrowing and to provide a more complete picture on the survival (and loss) of Greek words in Romance languages.

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Déictiques et anaphoriques dans les évangiles : αὐτός et ses traductions dans la Vulgate

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Cette étude constitue une étape d'une recherche plus large consacrée à la distribution des pronoms déictiques et anaphoriques dans les Évangiles grecs et latins. Nous nous proposons d'analyser, d'une part, l'évolution du système grec par rapport à la langue classique et, d'autre part, la manière dont les traducteurs latins — Jérôme en particulier — ont adapté le système grec, constitué des trois déictiques ὅδε, οὗτος et ἐκεῖνος, auxquels s'ajoutent l'anaphorique αὐτός et les usages pronominaux de l'article, au système latin. Celui-ci ne possède pas d'article, mais présente, à côté des trois déictiques canoniques *hic*, *iste* et *ille*, trois anaphoriques — *is*, *idem* et *ipse* — qui peuvent, dans certains emplois, se substituer aux déictiques, en particulier en latin tardif (voir, entre autres, Fruyt 2010, Pieroni 2010, Álvarez Huerta 2021 pour plus de détails ; pour le grec, cf. Humbert 1972 pour une synthèse).

Les traductions de αὐτός dans les Évangiles (environ 3 500 occurrences) constituent l'objet de cette première étape de notre recherche. En fonction pronominale, αὐτός est souvent rendu par *is* dans la Vulgate (et par *suus* dans les emplois dits « possessifs »), mais les traductions par *ille* sont également nombreuses. Si, dans certains cas, le choix semble dépendre du contexte — par exemple pour éviter une ambiguïté référentielle —, dans d'autres, l'emploi de *ille* à la place de *is* est plus difficile à expliquer. L'étude de corpus proposée vise non seulement à analyser les différentes traductions de αὐτός, mais aussi à prendre en compte, dans leur ensemble, les systèmes des anaphoriques et des déictiques de la Vulgate.

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Workshop: Infiniteness, Complementation and Alignment Change in Late Latin

Subject Infinitives and Alignment Change in Late Latin: Evidence from the *Vetus Italia*

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This paper examines the distribution of nominal infinitives functioning as subjects in the pre-Hieronymian Latin translations of the Old Testament (*Vetus Italia*), situating this phenomenon within the broader interaction between infinitival constructions and alignment change in Late Latin. While Classical Latin severely restricts the use of subject infinitives, Romance languages allow them with few or no constraints. Late Latin therefore constitutes a crucial intermediate stage for assessing whether this expansion is already underway and how it relates to ongoing changes in the alignment system.

Drawing on a text-based analysis of the *Vetus Italia*, the paper investigates whether subject infinitives occur in syntactic environments that go beyond those attested in Classical Latin, and whether such extensions correlate with a weakening of the inherited nominative–accusative alignment. Given the translational nature of the corpus, the study also evaluates the extent to which Greek source structures may have facilitated or accelerated these developments.

By integrating the study of subject infinitives into a systemic perspective on Late Latin morphosyntax, the paper contributes to a more comprehensive account of how infinitival strategies participate in alignment change and how they anticipate patterns that become fully productive in Early Romance.

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Time and semantic colour of the present participle as observed in a selection of Medieval Latin historical prose

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The present participle was always a central element of historical narrative, and it is well known and meticulously attested that the construction found further popularity in Late Latin historiography producing syntactic peculiarities, one of which is the increased use of the present participle to denote anteriority. Yet, despite a scholarly interest in the use of the present participle in Late Latin, its later life in Medieval Latin hasn't gained much attention. In this presentation I take the analysis forward in time by examining the construction in five chronicles written between the Carolingian Renaissance and the 12th century Renaissance (Freculf, Richer, Ademar, Sigebert and Helinand). Building upon the discoveries made in earlier research my focus is on the temporality of the present participle. The ways in which this is linked to its semantic uses (causal, modal etc.) are also discussed. The main questions are: What is the conjunct present participle's temporal relationship with the main verb (anteriority, simultaneity, posteriority) and how often are the different relationship types attested? What is the position of the present participle in the sentence (does it precede or follow the main verb) and to what extent does this reflect its temporal reference? How often does the present participle appear in specific semantic uses and how do these instances fit into the temporality spectrum of the participle? Results show that there are clear differences among the authors.

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The ablative absolute as a diagnostic of Latin L2 usage in medieval Latin: a corpus-based study**Timo Korkiakangas** (timo.korkiakangas@helsinki.fi)*University of Helsinki*

I present preliminary results from a project that explores mechanisms of Latin L2 acquisition in a corpus of 72 historical and hagiographical texts (869,000 words) from the 7th–13th c. (Italy, Francia). The presentation focuses on the use of participial ablative absolute (AA).

AAs are extracted from the corpus and compared, text- and author-wise, with Classical and Late Antique reference data (93,000 words from Caesar, Sallust and Livy (LASLA); 80,000 words from Jerome and Orosius). The analysis addresses variation in:

- lexicon: productivity,
- morphology: pron./nominal subject; sg/pl,
- syntax: potential discontinuity, internal order, position within matrix clause,
- prosody: possible preferences for specific metrical patterns,
- semantics: non-temporal values (e.g. causal, modal, concessive),
- discourse: sentence position and discourse-organizational function.

Do observable patterns reflect diachronic or regional variation beyond author-specific preferences? Do they correlate with available models or practices of in-/formal education?

Clear differences emerge. Some medieval authors use AAs only marginally while for others it is a central narrative device, employed frequently and with stylistic sophistication—sometimes more extensively than in Classical and Late Antique comparanda. Special attention is drawn by rare but significant cases (e.g. qualitative uses, contaminations). Lexical richness, discontinuity and semantic variation seem to correlate with authors' stylistic ambitions.

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Extension of the infinitive to the detriment of the supine and the gerund

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During the transition from Latin to Romance languages, there was a significant reduction of the nonfinite verb forms having the function of deverbal nouns (masdar, according to Haspelmath 1985), namely there was an extension of the infinitive into syntactic contexts previously reserved for the gerund and supine. The gerund survives thanks to its extension into the functions previously performed by participial forms (converb and participle, in the terms of Haspelmath 1985). The supine survives only in Romanian – at least according to some scholars (a.o. Manoliu-Manea 1989: 103; Dimitriu 1999: 620) – and exclusively within PPs.

This proposal aims to search for traces of this process of extension of the infinitive in a corpus of late Latin texts (Gospels, *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours, *Mulomedicina Chironis*, and *Itinerarium Egeriae*).

In the Gospels, for example, there are clear instances of the infinitive being used as noun argument, instead of the gerund in the genitive case:

1) *Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te et potestatem habeo crucifigere te?* (Vulg. Ioh. 19, 10)

Likewise, in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* the infinitive is used instead of the gerund in prepositional phrases (135: in *abstinere a cibo*).

Of the three forms available in the previous stages of the language, the most penalised seems to be the supine, also to the advantage of the gerund:

2) *quaecumque loca sunt hic grata ad videndum Christi* (Itin. Silv. 29, 5)

However, sporadic forms of supine are still present in the *Historia Francorum* (7, 1: *facilia factu*; 5,22: *mirum dictu*).

The data will be evaluated in quantitative as well as qualitative terms, to assess the causes of the phenomenon.

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Adgressus hostem, pugnavit et vicit: Costruzioni participiali e assolute in Paulus Diaconus**Federico Righi** (federico.righi@univr.it)

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Il presente studio, che si pone sulla scia di contributi quali Beata (2021), Coleman (2011), Ramat (2011) e Cotticelli-Kurras, Dahl e Živojinović (2024), si concentra sull'analisi delle costruzioni participiali e assolute nelle opere principali di uno degli autori più importanti dell'età carolingia, ovvero Paulus Diaconus.

Dopo una breve panoramica sull'analisi che i grammatici tardo-latini e alto-medievali fanno del participio, ai fini di inquadrare la consapevolezza metalinguistica dei parlanti del tempo nei confronti di tali costruzioni, si passeranno in rassegna le principali tipologie di costruzioni participiali che emergono dallo spoglio delle sue principali opere storiche dell'autore, con un focus specifico sull'*Historia Langobardorum*. L'analisi mostra in particolare un uso molto diversificato del participio e pare evidenziare un processo di rianalisi complessivo della struttura del discorso, che porta a un uso generalizzato del participio congiunto col soggetto della principale (es. "Hunni quoque, qui et Abares dicuntur, a Pannonia in Turingam ingressi, bella gravissima cum Francis gesserunt", Paul. Diac., *HL* IV, 11), in luogo di altre forme di subordinazione esplicita, più tipiche della prosa storica in epoca classica. Un'attenzione puntuale verrà rivolta alle costruzioni assolute, sia all'ablativo che in altri casi (prevalentemente nominativo), alle modalità con le quali esse compaiono all'interno dei testi e alle loro funzioni sintattiche e pragmatiche all'interno del discorso, anche in rapporto alle altre forme di subordinazione concorrenti. Per quanto riguarda l'ablativo assoluto, si illustrerà puntualmente il suo "sgretolamento": nell'opera di Paolo Diacono, infatti, non sono rari ablativi assoluti con strutture molto diverse da quelle tipiche del latino classico, ad es. prive di elemento nominale o reggenti a loro volta altre proposizioni subordinate.

Tutto ciò fotografa molto chiaramente la complessiva ristrutturazione dei meccanismi di subordinazione nella lingua latina tarda, e apre uno spiraglio importante verso la comprensione dei processi alla base della nascita delle lingue romanze.

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Aspectual Constraints on the Use of the *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* in Late Latin**Martina Vaníková** (martina.vanikova@ff.cuni.cz)*Charles University, Prague*

This paper investigates the distribution of present versus perfect infinitives in *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* constructions in Late Latin, with a focus on the role of verbal telicity.

In Classical Latin, perfect infinitives of telic verbs do not pose any complications, while present infinitives of telic verbs are rare in *AcI* constructions; when they occur, they do not express simple simultaneity, but rather render new meanings. This pattern aligns with findings from my previous research on telic verbs, which typically convey iterative or conative reinterpretations in combination with imperfective forms. The paper examines how these patterns appear in Late Latin, a period marked by significant changes in infinitival complementation.

Based on preliminary corpus observations, the study explores the hypothesis that telic present infinitives remain disfavoured in *AcI* constructions, whereas telic perfect infinitives are more stable due to their transparent aspectual value. The research offers a text-based study that provides insights into the interaction of telicity, infinitive forms, and complementation strategies.

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Competing Infiniteness: Gerunds and Participles in Late Latin Syntax

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This paper investigates the reorganization of infinite subordination strategies in Late Latin, focusing on the interaction between absolute constructions, emerging mixed patterns, and the ablative gerund in its convergent use. The gradual replacement of the classical ablative absolute by the accusative absolute is usually presented as a hallmark of post-classical morphosyntactic change (Helttula 1987; Pinkster 2021; Cotticelli-Kurras et al. 2024). However, we argue that the crucial dynamics of this development are already visible in 4th-century Latin, where several competing strategies coexist and display clear functional differentiation.

Adopting a synchronic perspective, the paper treats the 4th century not simply as a transitional phase but as a stage of structured variation, in which alternative non-finite constructions are employed for partially overlapping semantic and discourse-pragmatic purposes. This variation constitutes the immediate background against which later diachronic developments unfold. Rather than attributing the decline of the ablative absolute to mechanical case syncretism or to the increasing dominance of the accusative as a default case (Väänänen 1981; Adams 2013), our analysis points to a deeper restructuring of non-finite subordination, closely linked to changes in case orientation and patterns of event structuring.

Within this synchronic configuration, the ablative gerund emerges as a significant competitor to participial absolute constructions. Although often treated as peripheral in discussions of absolute clauses (Galdi & Vangaeveer 2019), 4th-century evidence shows that gerundial forms already display consistent functional tendencies, particularly in the encoding of temporal sequencing, simultaneity, and weak causal relations—functions traditionally associated with the ablative absolute. Drawing on a corpus of middle- and low-register texts, including narrative and travel literature such as the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, we show that forms such as *eundo*, *redeundo*, *dicendo*, and *facienda iter* function as invariant, discourse-oriented subordinators facilitating linear event progression with minimal morphosyntactic marking (cf. Halla-aho 2009; Haspelmath 1995).

A contrastive analysis of participial and gerundial strategies suggests that their coexistence in the 4th century reflects functional redistribution rather than free variation. Participles show higher degrees of syntactic integration, nominal anchoring, and relational semantics, and are preferentially used to encode background states, transitions, or episodic closure. Gerunds, by contrast, specialize in event-based linkage and pragmatic cohesion, thereby anticipating later Romance preferences for invariant, converb-like forms. We conclude that the 4th century represents a decisive stage in which synchronic variation crystallizes into diachronic change, providing a privileged perspective on the reconfiguration of Latin non-finite systems in the transition to Romance.

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Workshop: Late and Vulgar Latin through the Latin Grammarians

Exemplis ostenditur in scriptura: le citazioni bibliche nell'Ars Bernensis

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Nelle *artes grammaticae* precaroline la cristianizzazione della grammatica costituisce la traccia più evidente del mutato contesto storico-culturale e delle nuove finalità dell'insegnamento del latino. Tale processo, che investe tanto il piano degli exempla lessicali quanto la selezione di quelli letterari, emerge con chiarezza nell'*Ars Bernensis*, compilazione grammaticale anonima redatta probabilmente a Bobbio nel sec. VIII.

Escludendo gli esempi ricavati da grammatici precedenti, pressoché tutte le citazioni letterarie provengono infatti dalla Bibbia e da autori cristiani, testimoniando appieno l'ingresso di questa fase della latinità nella tradizione grammaticale. La relazione mira ad offrire una ricognizione sistematica dell'esemplificazione biblica e cristiana nell'*Ars Bernensis*, con particolare attenzione alle citazioni scritturali divergenti dalla Vulgata. Tali differenze risultano significative, poiché coincidono spesso con il fenomeno linguistico che l'autore intende illustrare e permettono di formulare ipotesi sulla versione della Bibbia impiegata dall'anonimo magister, nonché di ricostruire una parte della sua biblioteca.

L'indagine consentirà infine di valutare il ruolo dell'esegesi ibernica nella scelta dei testi citati e nel lessico adottato dal grammatico, gettando luce anche su quest'aspetto della stretta correlazione tra insegnamento grammaticale e commenti biblici.

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Prassi d'aula e dimensione orale nei grammatici tardoantichi

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I manuali grammaticali tardoantichi insegnavano la correttezza linguistica in contesti in cui dovevano ormai essersi affermate, almeno nel latino parlato, forme e strutture sintattiche prima ritenute scorrette. Nonostante ciò, la loro stessa prosa tradisce talvolta degli usi più tardi, come hanno messo in luce alcune ricerche condotte sulla “lingua dei grammatici”; si vedano a questo proposito gli studi di M. Rosellini sull’opera di Prisciano (ROSELLINI 2013) e quelli di A. Zago su Pompeo (ZAGO 2023), quest’ultimo spesso definito un “grammatico romanzo”. Questo contributo intende concentrarsi su alcuni nessi ed espressioni metalinguistiche impiegati dai grammatici tardoantichi, per cercare di capire se possano essere studiati anche in una dimensione diacronica.

Oggetto di indagine saranno innanzitutto i termini e le espressioni che riguardano l’esemplificazione (e.g. *ut, velut, praesertim, ut puta, ut si dices, si dicam, quasi*), con particolare attenzione a quelli che introducono i cosiddetti «quaestion-and-answer examples» (cfr. PONTANI 2007), in sezioni delle artes che sembrano riprodurre una dimensione orale e che talvolta si occupano proprio di fenomeni tipici del parlato. Oltre alle già valorizzate sezioni delle *Explanationes in Donatum* (cfr. DE NONNO 2010; DE PAOLIS 2024), particolarmente promettenti si mostrano a questo proposito i brani degli *Instituta artium pseudo-probiani* (GL IV 47-192), dove una dimensione orale sembra essere riprodotta nella lunga lista di *quaestiones* collocata al termine della trattazione del nome e del verbo.

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Motivi linguistici dell'interesse dei grammatici per Stazio

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Stazio è un autore che entra piuttosto tardi nel canone grammaticale: le prime citazioni occorrono nelle *Artes Grammaticae* di Sacerdote, ma solo a partire dal commento virgiliano di Servio si rinviene un ampio uso di *exempla* da Stazio, che diventerà fondamentale nel repertorio di *auctores (iuniores)* delle opere di Prisciano. Al netto di queste acquisizioni, rimangono ancora inesplorate le ragioni linguistiche che spinsero i grammatici a fare ricorso a questo poeta, che per lungo tempo non fu considerato un modello di riferimento.

Il presente contributo propone un esame sistematico della questione a partire dall'*Ars* di Prisciano, in cui compaiono circa ottanta citazioni di Stazio. Saranno esaminate le singole forme e fenomeni linguistici in relazione a cui Prisciano ricorre a exempla staziani, prestando anche attenzione alla loro distribuzione nella struttura complessiva della grammatica. Nei diciotto libri dell'*Ars*, infatti, Prisciano espone fonetica, morfologia e sintassi latine attraverso una ricca documentazione linguistica, basata sull'*usus* degli *auctores*: richiami a Stazio sono presenti in tutte le sezioni dell'opera, ma oltre metà si concentra in soli tre libri, dedicati alle *regulae* del nome (VI nominativo e genitivo; VII casi obliqui) e del verbo (X perfetto e supino della terza e quarta coniugazione). Inoltre, i versi di Stazio citati da Prisciano saranno confrontati con quelli ricordati da autori più antichi, per individuare elementi di continuità e innovazione rispetto alla tradizione grammaticale precedente.

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I testi esegetici come fonte di parole “volgari”

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Nell’esegesi tardoantica a Virgilio e Orazio, gli usi poetici o desueti dei due autori sono talvolta chiariti mediante il confronto con espressioni più attuali o di uso comune. I testi esegetici risultano così, al pari di quelli grammaticali, una fonte primaria di informazioni per la ricostruzione di alcuni tratti del latino della tarda antichità. In tali opere compaiono vocaboli di natura eterogenea — parole colloquiali o popolari, termini comuni contrapposti a tecnicismi, grecismi ed elementi propri del latino tardo estranei alla lingua dei *veteres* — introdotti attraverso formule quali *vulgo dicunt/dicitur* (con le varianti *appellant*, *vocant*) o *vulgare est* (Sofer 1936). Data la polisemia del termine *vulgo* (Biville 1995), si rende necessaria un’analisi puntuale dei singoli lemmi, al fine di chiarirne lo statuto e l’ambito d’uso.

Sulla base di uno spoglio sistematico dei vocaboli segnalati come “volgari” in Servio, nel Servio Danielino, negli *Scholia Bernensia*, in Porfirione e negli *Scholia in Horatium*, il presente contributo propone un’analisi lessicografica di una selezione di termini che sono ancora privi di una voce nel *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*: *scutra*, *striga*, *tabanus*, *teta*, *zema*. Per ciascun lemma saranno esaminate la diffusione cronologica e diastratica, le attestazioni parallele nella tradizione grammaticale e lessicografica e, per quanto possibile, la storia successiva fino al medioevo e l’eventuale continuazione nelle lingue romanze.

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Dici utroqueuersum: introduzione e sfortuna di un sintagma tecnico grammaticale in A. Gellio

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Nelle *Noctes Atticae* di A. Gellio Plauto è frequentemente menzionato come un'autorità linguistica (e.g. *elegantissimus uerborum Latinorum* 1.7.17), il che coincide con il *revival* nel II d.C. dell'interesse per il commediografo (Ferri 2020: 410). A giudicare dal termine *lorarii* che si trova solo in Gellio (10.3.19) e nei paratesti di alcune commedie plautine, si ritiene che egli abbia conosciuto un testo con tali paratesti, che coincide con la cosiddetta edizione adrianea contenente le 21 commedie varroniane (Ferri 2014: 779; vd. anche Deufert 2002: 221-224).

Nella commedia *Captiui* (368) compare l'hapax *utroque uorsum* 'in entrambe le direzioni'. Tuttavia, nella letteratura conservata questa espressione ricompare solo nella forma univerbata *utroqueuersum* in Gellio (5.12.10; 9.12.13 e 20; 12.9.2; 15.13. tit e 15.13.1), assumendo un valore grammaticale nell'espressione *dici utroqueuersum* con il valore di 'in entrambi i sensi'. Eppure, quando discute le commedie plautine (3.3), Gellio non sembra conoscere *Captiui*.

D'altro canto, Prisciano (*GL* III 75-76) nel trattare gli avverbi (libro 15) menziona come esempio di *species deriuatiua uel composita* in *-um* diversi composti di *-uersum*, tra cui *utroqueuersum*, e al riguardo cita Plaut. *Capt.* 368. Inoltre, nel glossario trasmesso da alcuni esemplari dell'*Ars* alla fine dei libri 14 o 15 (vd. Ritschl 233-234) si legge una lista di avverbi plautini presenti nelle 21 commedie varroniane, tra cui *utroqueuersum*, ascripto infatti alla commedia *Captiui*.

Vorrei analizzare dunque il significato di *utroque uorsum* insieme ad altri composti in *-uersum/-uorsum* in Plauto per capire se tali formazioni sono anche produttive a livello del 'parlato', per poi studiare il senso tecnico gelliano, il quale però non ha avuto la fortuna dei sinonimi *ambigua*, *ancipitia* e *communia*, dal momento che non ricompare usato con questo senso in nessun grammatico.

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‘Latino’ nella tarda antichità: usi metalinguistici di *Latinus* e *Latine* dal III al VII secolo

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L’aggettivo *Latinus* e l’avverbio corrispondente, *Latine*, per i quali non si dispone ancora delle voci dell’*Onomasticon* del *ThLL*, oltre ad assumere un comune valore etnico, sono spesso usati anche in contesti metalinguistici (cfr. Forcellini s. v. *Latine*; s. v. *I. Latinus*; *OLD* s. v. *Latine*, 1-2; s. v. *Latinus*, 2; Schad 2007, 233), in testi grammaticali e non. Il presente contributo mira a completare con l’analisi delle occorrenze dal III al VII secolo d. C. una ricerca sugli usi metalinguistici di *Latinus/-e* già avviata, limitatamente ai testi sino al II secolo d. C., con una relazione (*Che significa Latinus? Usi linguistici, opposita, iuxta posita*) nel 23rd International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics. Lo spoglio complessivo delle attestazioni di *Latinus/-e* nei secoli III-VII, condotto sul materiale dell’Archiv del Thesaurus linguae Latinae e verificato sulle principali banche dati (*LLT*, *MGH* ecc.), consentirà di mettere in luce sia gli aspetti di continuità rispetto alla documentazione più antica sia le innovazioni lessicali nell’uso di *Latinus/-e* in contesti storici mutati e in testi più eterogenei per origine geografica e matrice culturale. Particolare attenzione sarà riservata agli *opposita* e *iuxta posita* dei due termini, utili a chiarire se essi si riferiscano al latino in opposizione ad altre lingue, o a determinate varietà diastratiche o diafasiche del latino, o ancora a forme linguistiche conformi alla norma grammaticale e contrapposte a forme considerate scorrette.

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Frammenti di percezione del cambiamento linguistico nell'aristocrazia cristiana della Gallia, alla metà del V secolo: l'*Ars de orthographia* di Agrecio

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L'*Ars de orthographia* di Agrecio costituisce un caso fortunato nello studio della grammatica latina tardoantica, poiché il suo orizzonte storico, culturale e geografico è ricostruibile e chiara è l'occasione di composizione. Concepita come *addendum* al *De orthographia* dello Ps.-Capro ricevuto da Eucherio di Lione, l'opera si lega a una difficoltà dichiarata: Agrecio, come Consenzio in un contesto molto vicino, ravvisa una carenza nella manualistica di riferimento. La sua raccolta, pur attingendo a un ampio panorama di fonti tradizionali (commenti, *artes*, *differentiae verborum*), è destinata a un pubblico colto, che deve però confrontarsi con nuove problematiche nella ricerca dell'ideale aderenza alla *Latinitas*.

Questa forma di 'attualizzazione' dell'eredità grammaticale, che si manifesta anche nella formulazione delle *differentiae*, entra in dialogo con le principali tendenze evolutive della lingua, a partire dalle criticità che interessano il sistema vocalico. Contestualizzare la redazione della raccolta consente, dunque, di riconoscere tracce della prospettiva metodologica dell'autore e di restituire attenzione al valore di testimonianza di alcuni passaggi specifici, anche grazie al confronto con testi affini per cronologia o finalità. Tale approccio consente inoltre di recuperare determinati elementi della tradizione manoscritta, ma soprattutto preserva le specificità del trattato dal rischio di essere diluite nell'aura più latamente conservativa della grammatica latina.

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Osservazioni sull'impiego grammaticale di *synaeresis*

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Il termine *synaeresis* è generalmente impiegato per indicare il congiungimento eccezionale in un'unica sillaba di due vocali adiacenti appartenenti di regola a due sillabe consecutive di una parola. Il fenomeno descritto è annoverato tra i metaplasmi per divisione o contrazione di sillabe, ma è definito in maniera non univoca ora con il termine *synaeresis* (Pomp. *GL* V 296, 26 e 297, 28-29 = § 62 e § 65 Zago), ora con il termine *episynaliphe* (Don. *Mai.* 662, 5) ora giustapponendo i due vocaboli (Sacerd. 1, 14, 13). Sono per altro osservabili casi in cui *synaeresis* descrive un'altra tipologia di metaplasmo, nello specifico la sincope vocalica, non con funzione definitoria ma per spiegare la scansione di un verso virgiliano (come in Serv. *Aen.* 2, 379), o per presentare un'eccezione nella formazione dei participi perfetti (Prisc. *ars* 11, 34, 1-2).

Il presente contributo intende indagare la storia del termine, la sua varietà di significato (con particolare riguardo alla seconda e meno frequente accezione) e la diffusione dei significati nei testi grammaticali e esegetici, cercando di verificare se la diversità e l'oscillazione semantica siano sintomi di nuove consuetudini linguistiche.

L'analisi procederà dal corrispondente termine greco e dal suo uso, al passaggio alla trattazione grammaticale latina per poi procedere allo spoglio di tutte le attestazioni a partire dagli archivi del *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* e del *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch* presso la Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften di Monaco di Baviera.

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Workshop ‘Medioevo latino e romanzo: temi e risorse per una rinnovata indagine linguistica e lessicografica

Dai corpora ai glossari: MEDITA come infrastruttura digitale integrata per la lessicografia storico-etimologica italo-romanza

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Si presenterà lo stato d'avanzamento del progetto PRIN 2022 MEDITA e della piattaforma online MED.ITA, con i moduli MED.ITA-TXT, MED.ITA-LEMM e MED.ITA-GLOSS, destinata a rendere interrogabile la documentazione mediolatina non letteraria di area italiana e a sostenerne la valorizzazione nella lessicografia storico-etimologica e negli studi sul rapporto fra latino medievale e romanzo.

Saranno illustrati il modello dei dati e il flusso d'acquisizione dei glossari, la strutturazione e indicizzazione per la ricerca di lemmi e varianti grafiche, l'impiego dei metadati come strumento di filtraggio e replicabilità, nonché scelte ambiziose per riuso e interoperabilità dei dati in un quadro di Open Science (principi FAIR): la piattaforma di interoperabilità corDATA.

Si discuteranno ricadute dell'integrazione fra glossari e corpus testuali sulla ricostruzione diacronica del lessico, la verificabilità delle retrodatazioni e le attestazioni-ponte, la gestione della variazione grafica e semantica e la trasferibilità dei risultati verso altri cantieri lessicografici digitali. L'intervento presenterà la cornice metodologica e percorsi di consultazione esemplari.

Riferimenti:

Greco, P. / Cotugno, A. / Giuliani, M. (2024), *Il progetto MEDITA. La documentazione non letteraria mediolatina e la lessicografia storico-etimologica italo-romanza*. «Quaderni veneti», 13: 208-225.

Distribution and functions of adverbs across *chartulae* and *notitiae*: *exinde* and *unde* in 8th-century Tuscan notarial documents

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This paper investigates the distribution and functions of *exinde* and *unde* in 8th-century notarial charters from Tuscany, using data retrieved from the LLDB database (<https://lldb.elte.hu/en/database/>), a valuable resource for linguistic research on non-literary Latin throughout the 1st millennium A.D.

The analysis combines quantitative and qualitative approaches: first, it maps the frequency and distribution of these two adverbs, focusing on the contrast between formulaic segments in *chartulae* and the less constrained passages found in *notitiae*, with particular attention to direct speech; second, it categorises their respective semantic and textual values.

Both adverbs display a broad range of functions in Latin: for *exinde*, alongside temporal, spatial, and causal meanings, relational, partitive, and anaphoric uses are also attested (Sornicola 2011: 128-130); *unde* extends from a relative-interrogative adverb of place to a causal subordinating conjunction (Herman 1963: 68-69).

The study aims to test whether notarial writing shows a preferred association between context type (more vs. less formulaic) and function, and whether these uses are significant in light of Italo-Romance developments. In particular, although *exinde* has no Romance continuators, medieval legal documents reveal contexts that seem to anticipate pronominal uses comparable to the Romance outcomes of *inde* (Sornicola 2011). *Inde* itself is sporadically attested in our corpus and will be considered for comparison.

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Il *Corpus LatVolg*, il bifrontismo latino-volgare e le sue tradizioni discorsive

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Il *Corpus LatVolg* (*Corpus della latinità volgarizzata*) intende fornire materiali per lo studio del contatto tra latino e varietà italo-romanze nel medioevo, con applicazioni all'analisi lessicale, traduttologica e onomasiologica, permettendo ricerche sui volgarizzamenti italiani antichi a partire dal latino. Esso consente l'interrogazione di una parte dei volgarizzamenti del *Corpus OVI dell'italiano antico* a partire dal testo latino di partenza, comprendendo una grande varietà di testi, non soltanto classici, dalla prosa religiosa, come nel caso dei volgarizzamenti biblici e agiografici, alla trattatistica mediolatina, filosofico-moraleggiante, scientifica, letteraria, ecc., senza escludere la prosa documentaria. In una prospettiva più ampia, funzionale agli obiettivi dello strumento, raccoglie anche i glossari latino-volgari, le glosse volgari interlineari a opere latine e gli esercizi grammaticali del *Corpus OVI*. La comunicazione intende presentare le potenzialità dello strumento, approfondendo in particolare il rapporto tra il bifrontismo latino-volgare nel medioevo e le tradizioni discorsive che lo testimoniano in modo palmare.

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Tra **batāre* e *badare* c'è il latino medievale (e un'etimologia da ripensare)

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Nei lessici etimologici l'origine di it. *badare*, cat. e prov. *badar*, fr. *bayer*, *béer* rimanda a **batāre* 'sbadigliare, aprire la bocca'. La ricostruzione del verbo latino si fonda sulle glosse citate alle voci *battat* (*rectius batat*), *bataclo*, *bataclātio* nel TLL, e discusse alla luce dell'onomatopea *bat* nel DELL. Nelle *Glossae Scaligeri* (CGL V 601, 18) si trova anche *hippitare*, *oscitare*, *badare*, che Löwe (1876: 412) emenda ricalcando *hippitare*, *oscitare*, *bataclare* (CGL IV 524, 30), ma Meyer-Lübke (1903: 92) accetta richiamando gli epigoni di *bado*.

In effetti il verbo è assente nel latino tardo e alto-medievale, ma pare riemergere in forme romanze polisemiche, che implicano trafile complesse: 'stare a bocca aperta' quindi 'guardare a bocca aperta', poi 'fare attenzione' e anche 'stare in attesa; indugiare' (LEI s.v. *batāre*). Il DECat sintetizza il valore originario del cat. *badar* con "obrir (la boca, els ulls)", mentre il senso "mirar amb atenció (absorta)" appare alla fine del XIII sec. Nel TLIO i primi esempi di *badare* risalgono alla stessa epoca e rivelano significati analoghi.

Contemporaneamente compare anche *bada*, interpretato come nome deverbale nelle locuzioni *in bada* 'invano' e *a bada*, spesso in unione con *stare/tenere* (TLIO s.v. *bada* 1). Ma le carte latine medievali (Du Cange, CODOLCAT, CODOLHisp) spostano l'orizzonte e la datazione del sostantivo, precisandone l'uso in contesti, strutture e significati che rovesciano la relazione con *badare* e raccontano una storia alternativa.

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Workshop ‘Sound and Script: Voices of Identity’

Da Κεραστιάς a Cerasti: scrittura e trasformazione onomastica nel passaggio dal greco al latino

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La glossa cipria Κεραστιάς, attestata in Esichio (κ 2282) e presente anche nel lessico di Stefano di Bisanzio nella variante Κεραστίς (Steph. Byz. s.v. Κύπρος), designa un antico toponimo dell’isola di Cipro e offre un osservatorio privilegiato per analizzare le dinamiche di trasferimento onomastico e rielaborazione scrittoria nel passaggio dal greco al latino. L’interpretazione della glossa oscilla tra una spiegazione geografica – legata alla morfologia dell’isola costellata di promontori (κέρατα) – e una tradizione mitica relativa a presunti uomini dotati di corna (ἄνδρας οἱ εἶχον κέρατα, Schol. In Lyc. 447b). Tale esegesi, preservata dalla tradizione scoliastica, acquista pieno significato messa in relazione con il passo ovidiano contenuto nel libro X delle *Metamorfosi* (vv. 220-237). In questo contesto, la glossa è oggetto di uno slittamento semantico e identitario che trasforma il toponimo in un *ethnicon* mitologico. Il contributo intende esaminare le modalità di latinizzazione del nome e la sua rifunzionalizzazione semantica nella produzione latina che negozia e ristrutturata materiale di origine greca, fungendo da luogo di mediazione tra tradizione classica e nuove modalità di interpretazione identitaria.

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Micro-traditions in liminal epigraphy: morphographic plurality and linguistic identity

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This paper examines the epithets of the *Matronae* from Germania Inferior where Germanic plural endings in *-ims* (e.g. *Matronis Aflims*, CIL XIII, 8157) coexist with Latinised plural-dative forms in *-abus*. These forms are interpreted as the product of locally stabilised morphographic strategies, shaped by contact and epigraphic convention, rather than being dismissed as orthographic irregularities or signs of incomplete Latinisation (Cotugno 2019; Girardi 2018).

Moreover, the recurring use within the same epithets of the *half h* ⟨-I⟩ (e.g. *Matronis Saitcham-lims*, CIL XIII, 7916) appears to be embedded in a regionally bounded epigraphic micro-tradition, in which orthographic choice contributes to the visual articulation of linguistic and cultural identity (Cotugno 2019; Cotticelli Kurras & Cotugno, *in press*).

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Engraving the mind, binding the text: the experience of writing in Late Antiquity**Irene De Felice** (irene.defelice@uniupo.it)*University of Eastern Piedmont*

This contribution focuses on how Late Latin authors conceptualized and linguistically represented the act of writing, framing it as an embodied, material and sensorially experienced practice. To provide insight into this topic, a keyword-based corpus analysis is conducted to investigate the conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999) structuring Late Latin metadiscourse on textual production. These include, e.g., metaphors of the text as a living organism, whereby syntactic units are often viewed by grammarians as *membra* of a body, and even grammatical words are regarded as genuine *partes corporis* that *ligant membra et articulos* (Prisc. GL II, 552, 4). Such personifications frame the text almost as an extension of the body. However, the analysis is not limited to metaphors *for* the text; it also investigates how writing itself acts as a conceptual lens through which other realities are understood. One of the most frequently attested metaphors for memory is, not coincidentally, that of the writing surface (Draaisma 2000), through which past experiences are conceived as *impressa* in memory (Aug. *Trin.* XI, 11). Collectively, the metaphors used to describe the text and its structural components, alongside those rooted in scribal practice, reveal how Late Latin authors perceived writing as an embodied, culturally charged practice, directly linked to the transmission of knowledge and values relevant to personal and collective identity, rather than a neutral technical medium.

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From Late Latin to Early Italian: the emergence of velar palatalisation revisited

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Standard Italian displays an alternation between stops [k g] and affricates [tʃ dʒ] at the boundary between the stem and M PL desinence *-i* in nouns and adjectives, which is largely stress-conditioned. It occurs in forms with antepenultimate stress (*médico* — *médici*), but is absent from most words with penultimate stress (*cuóchi*), with few exceptions (notably *amíci*).

It has been shown (Bressler & Giavazzi, 2024) that this tendency was already present in 13th-century Tuscan, suggesting that the emergence of stress-conditioning may date back to Vulgar Latin. However, most accounts of velars palatalisation before front vowels in Late Latin rely on a limited set of epigraphic spellings (e.g. *INTCITAMENTO* CIL XIV,2165) and on modern Romance outcomes, without addressing the conditioning factors involved (Herman, 2000; Väänänen, 2006; Schirru et al., 2015).

This paper argues for a more fine-grained analysis of the phenomenon. Using Roman epigraphic evidence drawn from the LLDB and enriched with material from the EDCS, we examine not only the chronological distribution of palatalised spellings, but also two factors that may influence their occurrence: the position of the velar relative to the morpheme boundary, and to the lexical stress. The analysis focuses on inscriptions from Etruria (*Regio VII*), the area whose local variety later provided the basis for the pattern codified in Standard Italian. The 7th–8th-century Tuscan parchment charters (Adamik, 2025) are also studied.

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Latin Palatalization in sound(s) and script(s). A statistical linguistic approach

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Palatalisation was a prominent “Vulgar” Latin phenomenon operating on several types of consonants and yielding a new series of alveolo-palatal sounds that did not exist in Classical Latin (Recasens 2020). The outcomes of the phenomenon are clearly visible in Romance (*e.g.* Lat. *gratia(m)* > It. *grazia*, Sp. *gracia* *etc.*), and its harbingers are already to be seen in the epigraphic material from various areas of the Roman Empire (Tantimonaco forthcoming). Building on recent statistical approaches in the field of Latin dialectology (Papini 2022), the present study aims to conduct a preliminary analysis of palatalisation in inscriptions from the Roman Empire. Specifically, multivariate statistical analysis is applied to the set of linguistic data in the LLDB database (lldb.elte.hu/en), and the problem of nested data in inscriptions is also addressed.

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Language Behind Writing: Methodological Reflections on Latin Historical Data

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The inevitable filtering imposed by writing is one of the reasons why historical linguistic data qualify as ‘bad data’ (Labov 1994; Varvaro 1998): fragmentary evidence whose analysis requires a preliminary hermeneutic step to reconstruct its original ‘conditions of meaningfulness’ (Prosdocimi 2004 [1984]). Writing itself inevitably shapes these conditions, since «l’écriture voile la vue de la langue : elle n’est pas un vêtement, mais un travestissement» (Saussure 1960 [1916]: 51-52). Within this framework, the paper examines the methodological implications of two case studies in which writing produces two different kinds of “disguise” of language:

(i) The same graphic phenomenon conceals different phonological developments: the deletion of ⟨u⟩ between vowels of different quality (Rovai in press). Spellings such as *noember* ‘November’ (< *nouember*; CIL I² 1024, Rome, 2nd-1st c. BCE) and *paimentum* ‘floor’ (< *pauimentum*; CIL VI 4419, Rome, 10 CE) appear to show clear continuity with later forms such as *failla* ‘glowing ashes’ and *paor* ‘fear’ (< *fauilla*, *pauor*; *App. Probi* 73, 176, 5th c. CE). Yet, once their original context has been reconstructed, they turn out to have a completely different origin and reveal the writers’ Greek background;

(ii) Different spellings conceal the same phonetic form: the alternations *tertium*/-o ‘for the third time’, *quartum*/-o ‘for the fourth time’, etc. in frequency adverbs indicating ordinal rank (Rovai 2020). While the forms *tertio*, *quarto*, etc. were current in the *sermo cotidianus* (including among educated speakers), the spellings in -um are merely orthographic restorations confined to ‘super-high’ epigraphic registers (Adams 2003), thus displaying a diaphasically autonomous orthographic variation independent of phonetic reference.

Both case studies bear on the debate over ‘continuity vs. discontinuity’ between Republican and Late Latin (Adams & Vincent 2016). Any interpretation that fails to problematise the hiatus between language and writing risks producing a theoretically plausible yet historically unfounded reconstruction.

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A comparative study on changes in Greek aspirated consonants during the imperial period in Rome and Africa as evidenced in Latin inscriptions

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The three Greek aspirated consonants θ (th), φ (ph), and χ (ch) were originally transcribed in Latin without aspiration. However, closer contact with the Greek language later led to aspiration being added to the Latin transcription. During the Christian era of the Roman Empire, though, Roman linguistic awareness and the theoretical standards set out by later grammarians did not reflect reality, as evidenced by Roman epigraphic material. Between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC, the Greek aspirated consonants /ph/, /th/ and /kh/ became fricatives in Hellas. Gignac noted in his study of Greek papyri that the aspirated consonants lost their aspiration due to Egyptian influence, i.e., they did not become fricatives. This is particularly interesting in the case of the Latin transcription of the Greek letter φ, since this sound was the same as the Latin /f/ sound to Roman ears. Therefore, it is perfectly logical that the letter f was used to spell these loanwords and Greek names in the Latin alphabet. Which was a typical spelling mistake of the era in the city of Rome. In this paper, I will compare the Roman epigraphic material with African inscriptions to see whether they demonstrate a different tendency in the transcription of aspirated consonants due to Egyptian or Greek influence.

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ULTRA. Unveiling Latin Through Non-Literary Texts from Italy**Lucia Tamponi** (lucia.tamponi@hotmail.it)*University of Pisa*

Research on linguistic continuity and discontinuity is central to the study of Vulgar and Late Latin (Adams & Vincent 2016, eds.). The Italian peninsula, with its exceptional density and chronological depth of Latin documentary sources, provides a unique laboratory for observing both the persistence of inherited features and their replacement by innovative patterns. Non-literary texts, in particular, offer a privileged perspective on language change, preserving linguistic features often obscured in literary sources (Cuzzolin & Haverling 2009; Mancini 2012).

Despite the abundance of such materials, no comprehensive resource currently exists for their systematic linguistic investigation. This paper presents ULTRA, a project that addresses this gap by creating a unified, annotated database of digitized, dated non-literary Latin texts from Italy. The corpus brings together over 130,000 documents (ca. 6M words), spanning from the 7th c. BC to the 13th c. AD, covering both the earliest stages of Latin and the long transition towards the Romance languages.

Existing resources are integrated, harmonized and enriched with standardized metadata, lemmatization and part-of-speech tagging. ULTRA will enable large-scale quantitative and qualitative analyses of graphophonological, morphosyntactic and semantic phenomena central to Vulgar and Late Latin, providing new evidence for debates on continuity and discontinuity and offering a replicable model for the study of closed corpus languages.

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Apuleio “artificiale”: analisi e valutazione delle traduzioni di ChatGPT

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Apuleio non è soltanto l'autore dell'unico romanzo in latino a noi pervenuto, ma anche un linguista capace di sperimentare consapevolmente con la lingua all'interno della sua opera. È a partire da questo presupposto che il presente articolo indaga la possibilità che l'IA possa tradurre un latino così “eclettico”. Quest'ultimo, infatti, è caratterizzato da un'eterogeneità di arcaismi e grecismi, nonché da costruzioni sintattiche complesse che rendono difficile la sua traduzione già per un umano; ancor più tortuosa risulterà una resa affidata a un *Large Language Model* pre-addestrato. In questo studio si analizza l'*output* ottenuto dalla traduzione dei libri delle *Metamorfosi* incentrati sulla fiaba di Amore e Psiche. Il lavoro è svolto con ChatGPT nella sua versione GPT-5 e, successivamente, le traduzioni automatiche sono confrontate con traduzioni umane di riferimento in italiano. Dopo un accurato processo di *prompt engineering* volto a ottenere risultati ottimali, l'analisi qualitativa mira a individuare convergenze e tipologie ricorrenti di errore. La valutazione finale offre un panorama articolato: dal punto di vista stilistico la traduzione appare dignitosa e leggibile, seppur talvolta neutra; sul piano linguistico, invece, emergono criticità morfosintattiche che generano ambiguità, e problemi lessicali che producono connotazioni lontane dall'originale.

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Workshop: Valency, Voice, and Transitivity in Vulgar and Late Latin

Voice, alignment changes and transitivity in Late Latin

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In this talk we investigate two clusters of changes taking place in the encoding of transitivity and argument structure in Late Latin, witnessing the *rise of active/neutral systems*, exemplified by (i) the accusative in subject function (*crepitavit panem*.ACC ‘The bread crackled’), attested initially with unaccusatives (*nascitur contractionem*.ACC *Mul. Chir.* 516 ‘There arises a spasm’), subsequently with unergatives (*ipsum*.ACC *currit Lex Alam.* XCIV codd. A ‘He runs’) and transitives (*filios*.ACC ... *fecerunt*, ILCV 3052.B ‘His sons ... built it’) (Plank 1985; Cennamo 2009; Rovai 2012 and references therein), and (ii) the use of pleonastic reflexives *se/sibi* with intransitive verbs (with the accusative form *se* occurring with unergatives (*quod se periuraret Lex Sal.* 48, 2K ‘That he perjured’) and the dative form *sibi* with unaccusatives (*revertatur sibi Ed. Roth.* 216 ‘That he go back’) (Cennamo 2000: 42).

We discuss the interplay of the two phenomena with the concomitant *reorganization of voice distinctions*, as testified by the passive voice in active function (*amatur* ‘He is loved’ = *amat* ‘He loves’) and the active voice in passive function (*liberaret* ‘That he set (someone) free’ = *liberaretur* ‘That he be set free’) (Norberg 1943: 153-158; Cennamo 1998; 2009; 2016: 967-970), and show how the interaction of the two changes determines a deep restructuring in the encoding of the argument structure of the clause in the transition to Romance, probably reflecting a more general change, the rise of head-marking patterns in a predominantly dependent-marking language such as Latin.

More specifically, evidence will be given for the shift, in Late Latin, from *dependent-marked* split intransitivity systems (signaled on the S argument and initially reflecting its inactive nature), to *head-marked* split intransitivity systems (marked on the verb and applying to clusters of verbs/patterns, irrespective of purely semantic factors such as control) (cf. Nichols 1986b: 144).

The Late Latin data, therefore, offer interesting insights into possible routes through which a dependent-marking language may develop head-marking coding patterns, as a result of changes in the alignment of core arguments in various transitivity domains, an issue that ties in with past and more recent discussion on the emergence of semantically aligned systems (Mithun 2008 and contributions in Donohue & Wichmann 2008; Dahl 2020; Cotticelli & Dahl 2022 and references therein).

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In search of a transitivization: the history of *pauso***María Isabel Jiménez** (mariai.jimenez@uam.es)*Universidad Autónoma de Madrid***Chantal Melis** (cme@unam.mx)*National Autonomous University of Mexico*

This corpus-based study addresses the question of how *pauso* ‘cease from, stop’, whose first documentations pertain to late Latin, acquired the sense ‘put’ which it has in various Romance languages (*posar*, *poser*, *posare*). The topic deserves attention, considering that the involved evolutionary path, by no means transparent, has barely been touched upon in historical works.

We begin by examining the semantic and syntactic aspects of the behavior of *pauso* in late Latin texts. Our analysis corroborates the development of the sense ‘to rest’, coexisting alongside of the verb’s original meaning, and leads us to conclude that *pauso* functions as a basic intransitive verb, whose occasional peculiar uses (passive morphology, reflexivity, active past participle) presuppose some confusion with the (semi)deponents. We then proceed to utilize data from early Spanish, with references to other Romances, to bridge the gap between the situation encountered in Latin and the innovations which must have taken place in the daughter languages.

Our reconstruction proposes a fundamental shift of event-type, reflected in the generation of a body posture sense, metonymically driven (to rest in a specific position > to sit or lie down [in some place]), susceptible of being generalized to the conception of a change of location, and associated, on the syntactic plane, with indexes of transitivization through the mediation of voice phenomena (middle-reflexive *se*).

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The conative alternation in the diachrony of Latin: a corpus-based investigation

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This paper investigates the diachronic development of the conative alternation in Latin, understood as an argument-structure alternation whereby a verb that canonically selects a direct object (1, 3) either realizes its second argument as a prepositional phrase (2) (*ad* + accusative; cf., Ernout–Thomas 1964: 34) or incorporates the preposition into the verbal head (*ad* + V + accusative) (4), resulting in a reduction of telicity and/or a weakening of the referential status of the affected argument (cf., Levin 1993; Broccias 2001; Beavers 2010; Guerrero-Medina 2017; Zehentner 2025).

1. *Nihil **spectat** nisi fugam*. (Cic. *Att.* VIII 7, 1)
'He looks at nothing but flight.'
2. *Omnes avidi **spectant** ad carceris oras*. (Cic. *Div.* I 107)
'All eagerly look at the edges of the starting gates.'
3. *Mutinam **verberavit***. (Cic. *Phil.* VIII 20)
'He struck Modena.'
4. *Quem discolor ambit tigris et auratis **adverberat** unguibus armos*. (St. *Theb.* IX 683)
'The one that a mottled tiger-skin surrounds and lashes its shoulders with gilded claws.'

While the alternation is documented in English across several verb classes, its status in Latin has not yet received a systematic treatment.

The paper addresses three main questions: (i) which verbal classes license the conative alternation in Classical Latin, (ii) whether its distribution remains stable or undergoes expansion/restriction in Late Latin, (iii) how preverbalization interacts with the distribution of the alternation in Latin.

The study is based on a corpus-driven analysis of Classical and Late Latin texts drawn from the *Library of Latin Texts*. Data show that in Classical Latin the conative alternation is rare and restricted to a limited subset of verbal classes, namely verbs of hitting (e.g., *verberō* 'strike') and visual perception (e.g., *spectō* 'look at'). In Late Latin, the alternation becomes more widely attested, extending to new verb forms (e.g., *pulsō* 'hit', 5 vs. 6) and contexts.

5. *Vox fraterni mei **pulsat** ad ianuam*. (Ambr. *Fid.* IV 2)
'The voice of my brother knocks at the door.'
6. *Virgines **pulsabant** ianuam*. (Ambr. *Off.* II 29, 146)
'The virgins were knocking (at) the door.'

This expansion is interpreted as reflecting broader diachronic changes in the encoding of valency, transitivity, and aspect in Latin (cf., Cennamo 2001, 2003, 2009, 2011).

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The development of transitivity prominence in Late Latin

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Transitivity prominence is the degree to which a *transitive construction* is preferred with *bivalent* verbs (Haspelmath 2015). Late Latin is claimed to exhibit an increase in transitive bivalent verbs (+nom. Agent, +acc. Patient, +act., +pers. passive) (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 31–34, 50 ff.). For example, *uti* ‘use’ originally was an *extended intransitive* with an abl. object (see Pinkster 2015: 103 ff.), as in (1a), while it can appear as a transitive in Late Latin, as in (1b).

- (1) a. *recte oculis uteris* ‘You correctly use your eyes.’ (PLAVT. Epid. 5)
- b. *unctionem hanc utebis* ‘You will use this ointment.’ (CHIRON 580)

Some verbs also exhibit *Agent-preserving lability* (A-lability) alternating between transitive and intransitive constructions (cf. Kulikov & Lavidas 2014), such as *sedere* ‘sit’ in (2) (see Lehmann 2002 for Classical Latin).

- (2) a. *qui sedet ad dexteram tuam* ‘who sits at your right hand.’ (AVG. conf. 10, 43)
- b. *qui nunc eandem cathedram sedet.* ‘who now sits on the same episcopal chair.’ (AVG. epist. 53, 3)

This paper investigates the argument structure of the 300 most frequent bivalent verbs (in the LatinISE corpus). The results show that A-lability is semantically motivated (e.g., affectedness and definiteness), that more verbs admit the transitive construction (through A-lability or the replacement of the oblique object with an acc. object), and that bivalent deponents have become transitive. The results suggest an increase in transitivity prominence in Late Latin.

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Ad superiorem aetatem reveci sumus. Mediopassive in the Thesaurus linguae Latinae**Josine Schrickx** (j.schrickx@thesaurus.badw.de)*Thesaurus linguae Latinae*

For the category traditionally labeled *mediopassive*, several alternative terms have been proposed. Pinkster (2015: 260) uses the designation *autocausative passive*. These forms are passive in form but denote situations in which the subject is actively engaged in the process, without the presence of an external agent or cause. Other labels found in the literature include *middle voice*, *reflexive passive*, and *intrinsic passive* (Flobert 1975: 37).

Pinkster (2015: 263), following Flobert (1975), distinguishes three semantic classes of verbs that form an autocausative passive:

- verbs denoting physical treatment
- verbs denoting physical and mental changes
- verbs denoting changes in physical or social position

With the completion of the letter R in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (TLL), it is now possible to review our findings. The labels *mediopass.* or *mediopassive* were applied in 73 lemmata. This paper examines whether these instances can in fact be assigned to the classes outlined above. Particular attention will be given to the difficulties that arose in the entries for *remitto*, *removeo*, *reveho*, and *roto*. It is not always straightforward to decide whether the subject functions as the agent of the process or whether an external agent is simply left unexpressed.

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