

CONSENTIUS' *DE BARBARISMIS ET METAPLASMIS*:
CRITICAL EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY



Tommaso Mari
Brasenose College
University of Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*
in Classical Languages and Literature
Hilary Term 2016

D.PHIL. IN CLASSICAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

Tommaso Mari, Brasenose College, University of Oxford

Hilary Term 2016

TITLE OF THE THESIS

Consentius' *De barbarismis et metaplasms*: critical edition, translation, and commentary

Number of words (excluding text, translation, and bibliography): c. 99980

ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of a critical edition, English translation, and commentary of Consentius' *De barbarismis et metaplasms*. Consentius probably lived in Gaul in the fifth century, and this work was presumably part of a larger grammatical treatise; as it stands, it is the most extensive discussion of language deviations (errors in ordinary language and poetic licences) in the Latin grammatical tradition.

The critical edition has taken advantage from the availability of a manuscript and several sources of indirect tradition that were not used by previous editors. In the introduction, I provide a discussion of the tradition with a *stemma codicum*. The new text is quite close to that of previous editions, but arguably has several improvements. I also provide the first English translation of this work.

In the commentary, I look at the text from the points of view of historical linguistics and the history of linguistics.

The section on metaplasms is tightly embedded in the Latin grammatical tradition. This allows us to look into the grammatical approach to the poetic language. In particular, the role of archaisms is crucial in the grammarians' appreciation of poetry, and I analyse their views on this while also explaining the history and use of the forms Consentius and other grammarians discuss. An appendix to the discussion of metaplasms is the final section on the scansion of verses, which displays some original, if sometimes bizarre, views.

The section on barbarisms is most interesting for the language historian: as Consentius discusses errors that arise in spoken language, he provides evidence for substandard Latin that is unparalleled in ancient grammatical texts. I assess such evidence by looking at other grammatical treatises, substandard texts (literary or not), and the Romance languages. Several forms mentioned by Consentius foreshadow Romance developments. The text also provides us with information about the regional diversification of Latin.

To my Family

Contents

Introduction	1
1. THE AUTHOR	1
1.1. Consentius: where and when	2
1.2. Consentius: who	5
2. THE WORK	10
2.1. Structure	12
2.2. Sources	15
3. THE TRADITION	20
3.1. Editions	20
3.2. Manuscripts	21
3.3. Indirect tradition	25
3.3.1. <i>Bede</i>	26
3.3.2. <i>Excerpts in MS. Parisinus Latinus 7530</i>	26
3.3.3. <i>Ursus of Benevento</i>	27
3.3.4. <i>Pauca de barbarismo</i>	27
3.3.5. <i>Donatus Ortigraphus</i>	28
3.3.6. <i>Cruindmelus</i>	28
3.3.7. <i>Ars Laurehamensis – Murethach – Sedulius Scottus</i>	28
3.3.8. <i>Ermenrich of Ellwangen</i>	29

3.3.9. <i>Otfrid of Weissenburg</i>	29
3.3.10. <i>Florilegium in MS. V</i>	29
3.4. The stemma	30
3.4.1. <i>The archetype</i>	30
3.4.2. <i>The branch of BV (with Par. and Ursus)</i>	31
3.4.3. <i>The branch of M</i>	32
3.4.4. <i>A representation of the stemma codicum</i>	33
4. CRITERIA OF THIS EDITION	34
4.1. Text	35
4.2. Critical apparatus	36
Critical edition	36
SIGLA OF MANUSCRIPTS	37
ABBREVIATIONS OF THE SOURCES OF INDIRECT TRADITION	37
ARS CONSENTII V.C. DE BARBARISMIS ET METAPLASMIS	38
Translation	76
Commentary	115
Bibliography	362
ABBREVIATIONS	362
REFERENCES OF GRAMMATICAL WORKS	364
REFERENCES	367

Introduction

mihi non inuenuste dici uidetur aliud esse Latine, aliud grammaticae loqui.

—Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.27

1. THE AUTHOR

The manuscript tradition of the *Ars de barbarismis et metaplasms* (*DBM* in what follows)¹ ascribes this treatise to a *uir clarissimus* Consentius.² The same happens with the *De nomine et uerbo* (*DNV*) published by Keil in *GL* V.338-85.³ In his work, the author does not provide explicit information about himself. A number of clues have led Lachmann (1836: xiii) and the majority of later scholars to relate him to the family of the Consentius of Narbo who is the addressee of Sidonius Apollinaris' *carmen* 23 and letter 8.4, and is mentioned in letter 9.15: we shall consider why and how in what follows. There have been no attempts instead to identify the author of the *DBM* with the Consentius who had an epistolary exchange with Augustine,⁴ nor with other less illustrious namesakes.⁵ In what follows, I shall first examine elements

¹ *Ars de barbarismis et metaplasms* is the title by which our treatise has been known since it was first published by Buttmann (1817). This title is reported by the *inscriptio* in MS. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14666 (**M**), where *barbarismis* is abbreviated as *barbaris̄*. MS. Basel Universitätsbibliothek F III 15 d (**B**) abbreviates it as *baṛ*, and MS. Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Lat. Z. 497 (**V**) has *barbarismo*. Instead of *metaplasms*, **B** reads *soḻo*.

² *Ars Consentii u.c.* is omitted in **V**.

³ For the various titles of this treatise in the manuscript tradition, see Buffa Giolito (2003: 47 n. 2).

⁴ This Consentius, a Christian who lived on the Balearic Islands, sent to Augustine letter 119 of *CSEL* 34.2 and letters 11* and 12* published by Divjak (1981). He was the recipient of letters 120 and 205 and of the treatise *De mendacio*.

⁵ Gregory the Great mentions a Consentius in three letters (*epist.* 9.74, 93, and 94): the one mentioned in 93 and 94 was the *rector patrimonii Campaniae* in his time. A martyr Consentius appears in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, in *Acta Sanctorum Novembris* II.1 (1894), 151. We read of a Consentius in *CIL* II.6253 (from Spain), III.14360 (from Hungary), and V.4273 (from Brescia, Italy). For more details, see Buffa Giolito (2003: 63 nn. 103-4).

internal to C.'s works for locating him in space and time, then consider the proposals of identification that have been put forward so far.

1.1. Consentius: where and when

Since Osann (1835-9: II.346), scholars have found a reason for associating our C. with the Gallic family of the Consentiuses of Narbo in his frequently referring to Gallic towns as he discusses the gender of place-names, a fact which is unique among grammarians. In fact, at *DNV* 346.5-7 he mentions *Narbo* and *Arelas/Arelate*; at *DNV* 348.33 – 349.2 *Biterrae*, again *Narbo*, then *Treuiri*, *Aruerni*, and again *Arelate*; at *DNV* 349.15-18 *Dorocorthoro*. It may be relevant that he mentions twice Narbo, the hometown of the Consentii familiar to Sidonius Apollinaris, and once Biterrae, which is also referred to by the Gallo-Roman bishop when talking about his friend Consentius the younger (*epist.* 8.4.2). These eight instances are a large part of all the examples of toponyms of which C. discusses gender and number (30), and they fit in four of the ten groups that C. outlines (*feminina plurali tantum*, *masculina singulari tantum* and *plurali tantum*, etc.). It has been reasonably argued that only a Gallo-Roman would have used as grammar examples so many names of Gallic towns, and so often (cf. Holtz 1981: 83).⁶

An attempt to locate C. on the basis of his language or the survival of words or features that he presents as substandard in one Romance language or another is destined to fail, for our author does not employ what we can consider dialect terms, e.g. rare technical words whose usage was restricted to a particular area of the Roman speaking world (see Adams 2007: 357-60).⁷ And even admitting that his style has ‘einen Schimmer von der Leichtflüssigkeit der

⁶ It appears that in more recent years Holtz has also considered Sardinia as a possible homeland for C. (see the reference to a private communication in Uría Varela 2005: 99 n. 3), arguably in view of the three Sardinian place-names *Turribus*, *Sulcis* (*DNV* 349.4-5) and *Caralis* (*DNV* 349.11).

⁷ For a couple of Latin words C. speaks of a Gaulish origin: *mannus*, a coach-horse (*DNV* 364.9), and *cateia*, a kind of spear (*DBM* 2.8). However, neither is really used as a dialect term, and both are accompanied by several other loanwords.

französischen Sprache' (Schanz 1914: 211), we could by no means take this as evidence that he was a precursor of the French language, and therefore a Gaul himself.

On the other hand, a couple of points have been raised to deny C.'s Gallic origin. Firstly, Abbott (1909: 247) points to the fact that he refers to Gauls in the third person plural while discussing one fault of pronunciation of theirs (*DBM* 15.15-17 *Galli... utuntur, ut cum dicunt...*). This argument is easily dismissed if we consider that a devotee of *latinitas* would have tried hard to present himself as far removed from any local influences whatsoever, including (and maybe in particular) those of his own region (cf. Fögen 1997-8: 170). An enlightening comparison is the one with the grammarian Pompeius, an African who did not mind referring to the *Afri* in the third person plural when describing the incorrect way in which they pronounced the *l* (287.5 *labdacismis scatent Afri*). Moreover, even if the identification of our C. with Sidonius Apollinaris' friend is wrong, it is still relevant to our case that Sidonius extols C.'s Latin for its sounding like that of a native of the Subura (*carm.* 23.235-6 *seu Latialiter sonantem / tamquam Romulea satum Subura*): whether Sidonius' Consentius is the same as ours or not, this clearly shows how prestigious it was for a learned Gallo-Roman to speak Latin as they did in Rome, which might well explain why our author did not want to identify himself with the *Galli*, if indeed he was one.

Abbott (1909: 247) also observes that C.'s 'list of national errors seems to originate with him and yet only one of the number is Gallic – a state of affairs which does not on its face harmonize with the assumption that his home was in Gaul'. It is obvious, however, that this in itself proves nothing.

Finally, Schanz (1914: 180) cites a *catalogus grammaticorum* on f. 29^u of MS. *Bernensis* 243, dragged from an older source by Pierre Daniel, which might seem to attest to an Italian origin for the *libri Consentii*: *de Italia duo libri Consentii de nomine et uerbo et de barbarismo*. However, even if this is accurate, it says nothing about the origin of C. himself, for it refers to his books – and even if we were to take *libri Consentii* as a metonymy for the

author, this information would be unreliable in view of statements like the following *et libri Prisciani XX*, when we know Priscian to have been a native of Caesarea and to have taught at Constantinople, not in Italy.

I shall now consider the scarce internal evidence we can find for C.'s chronology. As is legitimate to expect from grammatical works, C. does not mention historical events of his time. Therefore, we shall turn to sources and citations from other works. It is commonly accepted that quotations from Lucan, as well as from Statius and Juvenal, are frequent in grammatical works written towards the end of the fourth century, starting with Servius, and very rare before (see Wessner 1929): for example, the only citation from Lucan in Donatus is not in the *Ars*, but in his commentary on Terence's *Eunuchus*, line 348 (Luc. 2.22-3). C. instead quotes Lucan several times:⁸ this is normally regarded as evidence that his work dates at least as early as the end of the fourth century (cf. Kaster 1988: 396, Fögen 1997-8: 171), and in particular that C. wrote after Donatus, who was active at Rome at least in the 50's and 60's of the fourth century (see Holtz 1981: 84). Some have claimed that C. used Donatus as his source (Jeep 1893: 69, Goetting 1899: 2-3), but more recently Holtz (1981: 87-91) has demonstrated that C. rather drew from the same source as Donatus (already argued by Keil in *GL* V.335 and Barwick 1922: 11). An objective *terminus ante quem* is the seventh century, for it is then that C.'s work is first quoted (in the insular grammars *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* and *Ars Ambrosiana*). But one might reasonably exclude the sixth century too, for it is hardly conceivable that a grammar of such kind and quality as C.'s one could be produced in Merovingian Gaul.

⁸ Luc. 2.54 at *DNV* 341.16-17 (but in a passage deleted by Keil as an interpolation), 2.668 at 345.22-3, 1.501 at 355.17-18, and the fragment 12 Blänsdorf (probably spurious) at *DBM* 26.19-20. The fact that all of the citations come from the first two books might reveal a grammatical reading of the work, which was quite common (see Holtz 1981: 84 n. 54).

1.2. Consentius: who

I hope to have shown that on the basis of the internal evidence the most likely framework for C. is late fourth- or fifth-century Gaul. This matches the identification of our author with either of the Consentii of Narbo, father and son, familiar to Sidonius Apollinaris (who lived c. 430 – c. 489 AD). Let us now consider carefully the possible matches.

We shall look first at the younger Consentius, the old friend and addressee of Sidonius' *carmen* 23 (written in 462/466) and letter 8.4 (written after 469), and also briefly mentioned in letter 9.15 (= Stroheker 1948: no. 96 = *PLRE* II s.v. Consentius 2, pp. 308-9). The alleged reason for the Gallo-Roman bishop to write the long poem 23 is to repay Consentius for his hospitality (lines 2-3, 436ff.) and to respond to the *multiplex poema* that Consentius had recently sent him while travelling to Massilia and Aquae Sextiae (lines 5-31). The younger Consentius might have been born around 410 (Loyen 1943: 82, 152). He was the son of the elder Consentius (praised at 23.97-174: I shall return to him later) and of a daughter of the Iovinus who was usurper in Gaul in 411-3, or of a descendant of the consul of 367 Fl. Iovinus (according to *PLRE* II.308; see Loyen 1943: 79-80). He had a grammatical and rhetorical education (*carm.* 23.211-3 *quicquid rhetoricae institutionis, / quicquid grammaticalis aut palaestrae est, / sicut iam tener hauseras, uorasti*): as this was the standard upbringing of upper class men, it need not be taken as evidence that this Consentius was our author. From 437 to 450 he served as *tribunus et notarius* in the palace under Valentinian III (*carm.* 23.214-21), and was sent on embassies to Theodosius II at Constantinople (*carm.* 23.228-32), thanks to his knowledge of Greek. Perhaps by way of hyperbole, as is customary of this kind of eulogy, Sidonius Apollinaris insists on his friend Consentius' outstanding mastery of the Greek language (*carm.* 23.233-40: *o, sodes, quotiens tibi loquenti / Byzantina Sophos dedere regna, / ... / seu linguae Argolicae rotunditate / undantem Marathone ceu creatum / plaudentes stupuere Bosphorani / mirati minus Atticos alumnos?*). This element, along with his embassies to Constantinople, may be taken as to match C.'s four remarks on the Greeks' pronunciation of

Latin (*DBM* 15.17, 16.8, 17.4, 17.14-15): should the author of our works be the same Consentius who went to Constantinople, we might be reasonably sure that these comments resulted from direct observation rather than secondary sources. I have already pointed to Sidonius' remark on the purity of Consentius' Latin (*carm.* 23.235-6), but this cannot be taken as evidence that he was the author of our works either.

The younger Consentius' career continued with the *cura palatii* under the emperor Avitus in 455/456 (*carm.* 23.428-32). By the time *carmen* 23 was written, Sidonius' friend 'was living on his estate by the sea near Narbo, the *ager Octavianus*, enjoying the social life of Narbo and engaging in literary activities' (*PLRE* II.309). Sidonius extols him as a disciple of the Muses (*carm.* 23.204-9), a multitalented poet in both Latin and Greek (*epist.* 9.15.1.18-22), a terrific connoisseur of theatre (*carm.* 23.263-303), and a skilful chariot racer in the past (*carm.* 23.304-427), 'possibly at the inauguration of an imperial consulship and if so probably in 440, 445 or 450' (*PLRE* II.309). In letter 8.4 Sidonius Apollinaris depicts him as somewhat 'privately' Christian and invites him to join the Church overtly and to donate (*epist.* 8.4.4 *ut qui Christo fauente clam sanctus es, iam palam religiosa uenerandus iugo salubri colla partier et corda subdare inuigiletque caelestibus lingua praeconiis, anima sentiis, dextra donariis: praecipue tamen dextra donariis, quia quicquid ecclesiis spargis, tibi colligis*). The identification of our writer with the younger Consentius has been suggested by Osann (1835-9: 2.345ff.), and more doubtfully by Gatti (1997: 130).

The elder Consentius (= Stroheker 1948: no. 95 = *PLRE* II s.v. Consentius 1, p. 308) must have been dead by the time *carmen* 23 was written (462/466), for he is consistently referred to in the past tense. His birth could be dated to the late fourth century (ca. 380 according to Loyen 1943: 80 n. 144). He is vaguely described as a polymath and hyperbolically compared to great Greeks and Romans of old, and even superior to them: *arguti, teneri, graues, dicaces, / si Consentius affuit, latebant* (*carm.* 23.168-9). The crowd of those the elder Consentius is said to equal or outdo is so diverse that it is difficult for us to tell what he actually did in his

lifetime. Among the Greeks, he is compared to the Seven Sages (note *sophistes* said of Pittacus at 23.106); he is said to have practised astronomy, geometry, poetry, music, theatre, epic, historiography, and oratory, and is compared to the major exponents of all these disciplines. At 23.111, before mentioning astronomy, Sidonius specifies that the elder Consentius dedicated himself to this art *uacante cura*, ‘in times of leisure’ (transl. Anderson): this could well apply not only to his interest in astronomy, but to all the subsequent disciplines. Among the Romans, Sidonius mentions by way of comparison Livy, Vergil, Terence, Plautus, Varro, Sallust, Tacitus, Petronius, Ovid, Seneca, Martial, Lucan and an unnamed poet who is probably Statius. Consentius’ allegedly impressive intellectual activity was certainly channelled into a written production (*carm.* 23.177 *paterque libris*). Some value has been attached to the appellation *sophista* at *carm.* 23.174: in particular, Loyen (1943: 79 and n. 129) thinks of him as a ‘professeur de morale et d’éloquence ou même simplement rhéteur’, imagining this to be his main occupation (hence *uacante cura* at 23.111 and the less revealing *auditum* at 23.102). While this cannot be excluded altogether, I think we have to consider that Sidonius uses *sophistes* for one of the Seven Sages at 23.106, and the same happens in *carm.* 2.177-8, where *sophistas* is said of all the Seven Sages (*ueteres audire sophistas: / Mileto quod crete Thales...*): these can by no means be considered sophists or rhetoricians. Similarly, *sophista* at 23.174 should typify the elder Consentius as a sort of sage of his times, not as a professional rhetorician (especially if one considers the preeminent position of the Sages in the list of the elder Consentius’ ideal predecessors: this suggests an identification between them, implying that *sophista* must carry the same meaning in both places). The interpretation of *sophista* as a rhetorician clearly plays a role in the identification of the elder Consentius with the author of our treatise (Loyen 1943: 80-1, followed by Holtz 1981: 83; cf. Kaster 1988: 397 and Fögen 1997-8: 169-70), as if a rhetorician could more likely write on grammar than someone who was not. It is particularly Buffa Giolito (2003: 68-72) who pursues this line of thought, trying to

find evidence for his being a *rhetor* in C.'s own work, not always plausibly.⁹ But even if the elder Consentius was not a rhetorician, as I believe he was not, this does not entail that he might not have been the author of the *DBM*. The fact that grammatical works are not ascribed by Sidonius to either of the Consentii cannot be considered a proof *e silentio* that neither of them wrote on grammar, for Sidonius might have merely omitted grammar as something not so lofty as the other intellectual occupations of his aristocratic friends.

As it turns out, there is no decisive proof for the identification of the author of our treatises with either Consentius. Even if neither of these was our man, nevertheless we would most likely find the solution within the family of the Consentii of Narbo, whereby our C. could be a relative of these two (Lachmann 1836: xiii, *GL* V.333, Goetz 1900: 911, Schanz 1914: 180, Kohlstedt 1917: 2). That he belonged to a distinguished family of senatorial order is suggested by the abbreviation *u.c.* (i.e. *uir clarissimus*) which accompanies his name in the *inscriptiones* of his works. The words *quinti consulis quinque ciuitatum* which follow *VC* in MS. *Bernensis* 432 (containing the *DNV*) are nothing else than a scribal attempt to explain *VC* itself and have to be discarded (cf. *GL* V.334).

Whoever C. might have been, it has been long believed that he was not a professional *grammaticus*, rather a 'learned amateur' (Kaster 1988: 396).¹⁰ For example, nowhere in the manuscript tradition is he referred to as *grammaticus* (unlike, for instance, Donatus at 585.1 H.): this term is only employed to describe him by the medieval Cruindmelus (43.20) and *Pauca de barbarismo* (14.2 of my own edition). But it is very likely that this late information is autoschediastic: it is all the more natural in works which mostly consist of citations from grammarians to regard as such anyone who wrote on grammar. One also notices C.'s tendency

⁹ Such are C.'s frequent use, for grammatical examples, of the words *rhetor* (*DNV* 351.11-12) and *orator* (*DNV* 351.15-16, 364.30, *DBM* 11.8, 11.20, 12.3, 12.14), his frequently mentioning Cicero (*DNV* 338.14, 339.5, 31.26, 350.3-4, 361.36, 362.13-14, 364.13-14) or quoting from his works (*DNV* 348.12, 371.20-2, 373.14, *DBM* 14.11-12, 21.12), his advice to abide by the *praecepta, quae a rhetoribus de gestu et de actione traduntur* (*DBM* 18.6-7), and so on.

¹⁰ As for the works of amateurs on grammar, Kaster (1988: 205) writes: 'Nongrammarians could produce learned works rooted in γραμματική, whether tricked out in literary elegance like the great works of Macrobius and Martianus Capella or straightforward manuals much like the grammarian's own'.

to keep his distance from professional grammarians. This is not so much suggested by his referring to *grammatici* as if he did not include himself in this category (cf. *DNV* 338.4 *partes orationis secundum grammaticos octo sunt*, as opposed to e.g. *Don.* 613.3 H. *partes orationis sunt octo*), for such expressions are not wanting in works of professional grammarians either (e.g. *Pomp.* 137.29 *corporalis dicitur res apud grammaticos...*). It is rather his sometimes polemic inclination towards the received doctrine of the grammarians that makes him stand out, as for example when he famously criticises the grammarians' custom of quoting poetry as examples of barbarisms (*DBM* 10.17 – 11.2). His doctrine, which is often heterodox, and his 'independence in organization and judgment' (Kaster 1988: 396; cf. Schanz, Hosius and Krüger 1920: 211), have also been treated as evidence that he was not a grammarian proper (cf. Holtz 1981: 83-4 'le caractère synthétique de son exposé; les heureuses libertés prises avec la doctrine reçue'). The same goes for C.'s style: according to Keil he displays *dicendi genus exquisitum et artificiosum et a uulgari grammaticorum consuetudine diuersum* (*GL* V.333), while Holtz (1981: 86) has it that 'il y a de sa part un effort soutenu pour récrire les formules banales de la grammaire scolaire'.

To be sure, it is not unthinkable that a grammarian proper might have wanted to distinguish himself from the mob of the grammarians, in both content and form; but the likelihood of him being a nongrammarian is certainly greater.

2. THE WORK

The *DBM*, as it has come down to us, is the most extensive and in-depth discussion of barbarisms and metaplasms in the surviving Roman grammatical tradition. If one looks at the size of the treatise in Keil's edition and compares it to the number of Keil's pages the corresponding discussion spans in the works of the other grammarians, one will realise how C.'s work surpasses them in length: whilst our work, even excluding the section *de scandendis uersibus* (where some aspects of metaplasms are discussed), adds up to a remarkable twelve and a half pages (*GL* V.386-98; eighteen and a half if one includes the section on scansion), barbarism and metaplasms are dealt with in about four pages in Sacerdos (*GL* VI.448-9 + 451-3), two and a half in Donatus (*GL* IV.392-3 + 395-7), three and a half in Charisius (*GL* I.265-6 + 277-9), four and a half in Diomedes (*GL* I.440-3 + 451-3), slightly under three in Servius' extant commentary on Donatus (*GL* IV.443-5 + 447.22-37), and ten in the wordy Pompeius (*GL* V.283-8 + 296-9). The only match for our work in antiquity is Quintilian's 'grammar' at *Inst.* 1.5, although the topics dealt with do not always overlap (cf. Ax 2011: 336).

A discussion of the *DBM* cannot overlook a broader consideration of C.'s work, for there is sound internal evidence that he wrote more on grammar than our text and the *DNV*, and it is commonly accepted that these two were but sections of a larger and comprehensive grammar (cf. *GL* V.332-3, Jeep 1893: 67, Fögen 1997-8: 165-7). This has been deduced from references to sections which are not extant and presented either as already dealt with or still to be dealt with. As far as the *DBM* is concerned, we learn from C. that he has already treated the issue of the *syllabae communes* in a specific section on syllables which is not extant (23.16-21), and that he will discuss clausulae in a chapter to follow – in which case, however, we cannot tell whether this was actually accomplished or not (14.14-19). One might add perhaps some unspecified vices which at 22.14-16 he states he will treat later. In the *DNV* we find a reference to a brief discussion of analogy and rules that was carried out 'in the first part of this

book' (353.17-18), and also a reference to a following section on the *declinatio uerborum* (377.25-6). I think, however, that one cannot completely rule out the possibility that he referred, at least in some of these cases, to other works of his rather than other sections of the same work.

What else C.'s original work(s) contained is shrouded in darkness. It has been suggested (Schanz, Hosius and Krüger 1920: 211, Fögen 1997-8: 166) that the treatise as a whole might have included all the parts of speech listed in the incipit of *DNV* (338.4-5 *Partes orationis secundum grammaticos octo sunt, id est nomen pronomen uerbum aduerbium participium coniunctio praepositio interiectio*), but there is no actual evidence to support this claim. Indeed, monographs on noun and verb alone as the most important parts of speech¹¹ are not wanting in Late Antiquity, if we think of Phocas' *De nomine et uerbo* (esp. 30.29-32 C. = *GL* V.411.16-18 *nominum igitur regulas et uerborum in unum congessi, quoniam haec fere principatum in partibus orationis obtinent*) or, if slightly different, Priscian's *Institutio de nomine*, where the verb is dealt with as well. On a different note, Eutyches dedicates a whole treatise to the verb alone. Even if the *DNV* and *DBM* were parts of the same work, the impression remains that these are two monographs, given how focused each of them is on two specific issues and how these issues intertwine with one another. Such an impression, and the consideration of the possible benefit a seemingly monographic treatise might bring to the understanding of the issue at stake, must have caused medieval scholars to separate the two sections and copy them independently from one another: in this way they got, as far as the *DBM* is concerned, a practical handbook of what forms one should avoid in speaking and writing. In fact, no medieval manuscript apart from that of Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14666) contains both works. The long-standing independence of these two, as well as their being apparently self-contained with regard to theme and character, make it reasonable for us to edit and discuss the

¹¹ For this idea, as old as Plato, see Fögen (1997-8: 166-7 and nn. 11-12), and in particular some explicit remarks by Donatus (613.4-5 H. *ex his duae sunt principales partes orationis, nomen et uerbum*), Servius (*GL* IV.428.8-10), Pompeius (134.18-19), and Cledonius (34.12-13).

DBM as a work in its own right: in fact, it has been so for more than a millennium, even if we admit that it originally was only a section of C.'s *magnum opus*.

2.1. Structure

C. himself repeatedly makes it clear that the structure of the treatise meets specific didactic concerns: the organisation of the contents is by and large driven by the criterion of the ease to learn (*facilius*, *apertius* etc. are recurring in thematic transitions). As barbarism and metaplasms are like two sides of a coin, they are to be discussed jointly, so that it will be easier to understand their differences (*DBM* 1.4-6). The joint discussion consists in the first place in defining the one phenomenon and the other separately, then in exposing the general similarities and differences (*DBM* 1.6-9). The latter operation makes it easier to assimilate the examples which will follow (*DBM* 3.3-5). As for the examples themselves, C. covers metaplasms first, as he states that prior knowledge of the language deviations that are grounded in poetic authority makes it easier to recognise those which are not (*DBM* 3.19-21). After the detailed examination of barbarisms is completed (including a comparison between barbarism and solecism at 18.8 – 22.2), a section *De scandendis uersibus* comes as an appendix to the discussion of metaplasms, for some metaplasms play a certain role in scansion (*DBM* 22.20 – 23.1). The result is a structure both systematic and compact; it will be of some use to outline it in greater detail:

1.1-9: Introduction: barbarisms and metaplasms are different.

1.10 – 2.1: three definitions of barbarism (1.10-13, 1.14-7, 1.17 – 2.1).

2.2-10: definition of barbarolexis with examples.

2.11-13: definition of metaplasms.

2.13-26: similarities between barbarism and metaplasms.

3.1-18: differences between barbarism and metaplasms.

3.19 – 5.13: metaplasms named according to the position of the change within the word:

- 3.22 – 4.14: metaplasms *per adiectionem*: prosthesis (3.23 – 4.4), epenthesis (4.4-10), paragoge (4.10-14).
- 4.14 – 5.13: metaplasms *per detractioem*: aphaeresis (4.16-20), syncope (4.20 – 5.8), apocope (5.9-11).
- 5.14 – 8.18: metaplasms not named according to the position of the change within the word:
- 5.17 – 6.10: metaplasms concerning *tempus*: ectasis (5.19 – 6.5), systole (6.5-10).
- 6.11 – 7.14: metaplasms concerning syllabification: diaeresis (6.13-19), episynaloephe (6.19 – 7.14).
- 7.15 – 8.12: metaplasms involving elision: synaloephe (7.17 – 8.7), ecthlipsis (8.8-10).
- 8.12-18: metaplasms *per inmutationem/transmutationem*: antithesis (8.13-15), metathesis (8.15-18).
- 8.19 – 9.2: no metaplasms concerning accent or aspiration.
- 9.3-23: tmesis.
- 9.24 – 10.8: when letter and syllable coincide in a metaplasm.
- 10.8-16: doubtful cases of metaplasm.
- 10.17 – 22.18: barbarisms:
- 10.18 – 11.2: foreword: examples from the spoken language, not poetry.
- 11.2-13: barbarisms *per adiectionem*.
- 11.13-23: barbarisms *per detractioem*.
- 11.23 – 12.8: barbarisms *per inmutationem*.
- 12.8-16. barbarisms *per transmutationem*.
- 12.17 – 13.8: barbarisms not complying with the *quadripertita ratio*: barbarism *per diaeresin* (13.2-4) and *per episynalphem* (13.4-8).
- 13.9 – 14.19: on whether wrongly constructed clausulae produce barbarisms.
- 14.20 – 17.21: vices typical of certain letters:
- 15.6-13: mytacism.

15.13 – 16.5: iotacism + the sound of *i* in standard Latin.

16.5-21: labdacism + the sound of *l* in standard Latin.

17.2-6: faulty pronunciation of *t*.

17.6-14: faulty pronunciation of *c*.

17.14-16: faulty pronunciation of *s*.

17.16-17: faulty pronunciation of *u*.

17.22 – 18.7: on whether barbarism also concerns improper behaviour.

18.8 – 22.2: barbarism and solecism:

18.8-10: general difference between barbarism and solecism.

18.10-21: on whether there are solecisms in one word.

18.21-19.18: on whether *pluralia tantum* in the singular and *singularia tantum* in the plural are solecisms or barbarisms.

19.18 – 22.2: on whether there can be both a barbarism and a solecism in the same word.

22.2-18: other vices.

22.19 – 32.20: *De scandendis uersibus*.

22.19 – 23.5: introduction: scansion and metaplasms connected. Some lines scan without licence, some do with licence.

23.5-13: lines which scan without licence.

23.13-16: lines which scan with licence.

23.16 – 25.13: examples of lines which scan by virtue of prosodic singularities (i.e. *syllabae communes*): lengthening in arsis (23.21 – 24.3), shortening of diphthong in hiatus (24.4-6), shortening of long vowel in hiatus (24.6-8), short vowel before *cr* (24.8-11), short vowel before *fl* (24.11-14), short vowel before consonant + *h* (24.15-18), short vowel before *sp* (24.18-20), long *hoc* (24.20 – 25.3), short vowel before *z* (25.3-5), short final *-i* in *mihi* (25.5-10); conclusion (25.11-13).

25.14 – 32.16: lines which scan by virtue of metaplasms.

25.18 – 26.10: metaplasms indicated in spelling by poets.

26.10 – 32.16: metaplasms not indicated in spelling:

26.11-17: cases of ectasis and systole.

26.17-24: cases of diaeresis and episynaloephe.

27.1 – 29.23: definition and difference of synaloephe and ecthlipsis.

30.1-16: synaloephe and ecthlipsis made in spelling or left to us to make.

30.17 – 32.16: how synaloephe and ecthlipsis work in practice.

32.16-20: antithesis and metathesis (not concerning scansion).

2.2. Sources

By the time C. wrote his treatise, barbarisms and metaplasms had long found a place in the Roman linguistic speculation. The first extant mention of barbarism occurs in the first century BC *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.17): this is but a brief definition, but the author refers to an *ars grammatica* of his for a thorough discussion on how to avoid barbarisms and solecisms (*haec qua ratione uitare possumus, in arte grammatica dilucide dicemus*). By the time of Quintilian, who writes about barbarism at *Inst.* 1.5.5-33, the issue was treated in elementary textbooks (*Inst.* 1.5.7 *ex quibus si quis erit plane inpolitus et uestibulum modo artis huius ingressus, intra haec, quae profitentium commentariolis uulgata sunt, consistet*). In later grammars, barbarisms and metaplasms are typically dealt with in the section on the *uitia et uirtutes orationis*. To the authors who discuss both phenomena, listed in Chapter 2 (Sacerdos, Donatus etc.), I shall add here the author of the *De ultimis syllabis*, who dedicates an appendix to metaplasms at *GL* IV.262-4; Audax, who deals with barbarism at *GL* VII.361-2; the work of ‘Sergius’ published by Schindel (1975: 242-79), where both barbarism and metaplasms are

discussed; and that of ‘Isidorus iunior’ also published by Schindel (1975: 184-241), in which page 204 is dedicated to barbarism.

Working out the sources of grammatical works is no easy task: first of all, grammarians do not often mention their *auctores*; second, as has appeared from the discussion on C.’s person, their chronology is often uncertain; third, the subject matter of their works is quite repetitive.

C. rarely makes his sources explicit, whilst he commonly refers to generic *quidam*, *alii*, *scriptores*, *praeceptores*, and the like. In our work he only mentions the *uir doctus* Celsus (*DBM* 8.1) and Asper (29.12-14). He also cites the former in *DNV* 375.1: Celsus is believed to be a grammarian active some time before the mid-third century AD. The latter might be the second-century grammarian Aemilius Asper (see my commentary). Neither is a literal citation, but C. only reports these authors’ opinion in quite an indirect way.¹² Whether C. had direct access to these earlier authors is not easy to tell: what we can hold for certain is that these two citations are unmatched in extant grammatical literature.

More recent authors go unnamed, but the *Quellenforschung* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has unveiled some of the ‘hidden’ sources. Just as with the *DNV*, most striking here is the absence of the name of Donatus, whose work is particularly close to C.’s one (the two of them and Diomedes form the so-called ‘Donatus-Gruppe’, according to Barwick 1922). As I hinted at above, by looking at the *DNV* it has been demonstrated that C. used the same source as Donatus rather than Donatus himself, for sometimes he shows a text which is close to that of the *grammaticus urbis Romae*, but superior. Since C. sometimes agrees in this with Diomedes, it is most natural to think that the three of them used the same source and Donatus purposely deviated.¹³ When it comes to the *DBM*, the situation is much the same, for C. is certainly closer to Donatus than to Charisius’ group. Barwick (1922: 36) points out, for

¹² The same goes for the mentions of earlier grammarians in the *DNV*: Varro at 351.9 and 357.23, Probus at 366.19, Palaemon at 375.8, Pansa at 378.24.

¹³ See e.g. *DNV* 351.9-10 *hunc tamen Varro sextum, interdum latinum appellat* and Diom. 302.5 *denique hunc Varro interdum sextum, interdum latinum appellat*, as opposed to Don. 624.13-14 H. *hunc quidam latinum, nonnulli sextum casum appellant* (and cf. Holtz 1981: 87-91).

example, how the *species* of the *quadripertita ratio* and the relevant examples are listed in the same order in Consentius (e.g. *DBM* 1.18-19) and Donatus (e.g. 653.6 H.), with *inmutatio* preceding *transmutatio*, as opposed to Charisius (and his source Cominianus), who has *transmutatio inmutatio* (e.g. Char. 350.7-8 B.). As for the elements which are involved in barbarisms, Charisius (Cominianus) consistently lists *tempus* in the first place (e.g. Char. 350.8 B.), while this normally comes in third (sometimes fourth) position in C. and Donatus. By and large, one can say that Charisius is less thorough than C. and Donatus in this section. Where C. consciously stands apart from both Donatus and Charisius is in the examples of barbarisms, for he famously argues against *eos scriptores* who pick their examples from poetry and looks instead into everyday speech as a source of barbarisms (*DBM* 10.17 – 11.1). Nevertheless, some of his examples (*salmentum*, *leriquum*, *displicina*) are traditional in discussions of barbarism. In the discussion of metaplasms as well C. is predictably closer to Donatus than to Charisius. This appears in the names of some metaplasms (*epenthesis* in C.-Don. vs. *parenthesis* in Char., *paragoge* in C.-Don. vs. *prosparepsis* in Char.) as well as in the examples, for all of Donatus' tokens of metaplasms are cited by C. too. However, some of the additional examples that C. provides compared to Donatus are found in Charisius as well;¹⁴ moreover, from time to time the form of C.'s definitions resembles those of Charisius rather than those of Donatus.¹⁵ This led Barwick (1922: 41) to conclude that C. used 'neben der Quelle der Don.-Gruppe noch eine andere Rezension der Schulgrammatik, die der vom Gewährsmann der Char.-Gruppe ausgeschrieben sehr ähnlich gewesen sein muß' (cf. already Kummrow 1880: 20-1, and *GL* V.336 on the more general issue).

¹⁴ Verg. *A.* 8.630 (*DBM* 4.9-10, Char. 366.19 B.), *A.* 9.231 (*DBM* 4.13-14, Char. 366.22 B.), Enn. *Ann.* 587 Skutsch (*DBM* 5.10-11, Char. 367.6 B.), *magi* as an apocope (*DBM* 5.10, Char. 367.5-6 B. has *mage*), Verg. *A.* 1.499 (*DBM* 6.4-5, Char. 367.10 B.), *A.* 9.26 (*DBM* 6.15-16, Char. 367.18 B.). Some of these examples are shared with other grammarians as well.

¹⁵ For example, the definition of ectasis sounds as *ectasis est extensio syllabae contra naturam uerbi* in Don. 661.11-12 H.; C.'s definition, *ectasis est cum correpta syllaba poeta sic auctoritate sua utitur, tamquam sit temporis longioris* (*DBM* 5.19-20), is much closer to Charisius' *ectasis est cum correpta syllaba contra rationem producitur* (367.8-9 B.). The same applies to the definitions of syncope and diaeresis, while C. is closer to Donatus in the definitions of epenthesis, paragoge, and episyndoesis (cf. Kummrow 1880: 20).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, some German scholars singled out elements of more ancient doctrine in C.'s work, tracing them back to the grammarian Remmius Palaemon, perhaps by the mediation of Scaurus (cf. Goetting 1899: 97-8, Wessner in Teuffel 1913: 457). This allegedly applies to those passages in which C. agrees with Quintilian (cf. Birt 1879: 21-6 and Goetting 1899: 84-98), for Palaemon was Quintilian's teacher and he arguably had a massive influence on his 'grammar' (see Ax 2011: 340); this might also be the case of some 'Palaemonian' sections in Diomedes, Charisius, and Velius Longus. However, Goetting seems to push the argument too far, for he traces back to Palaemon practically everything but C.'s remarks on the vices in the speech of his contemporaries: *praeter obseruationes, quas grammaticus de uitiiis, quibus suo tempore in pronuntiando sermone romano obnoxiae erant gentes, ipse annexit, ubique uetustissima uestigia elucere uidimus; partim cum Diomedis locis Palaemonianis, partim cum Quintiliano, Charisio, Velio Longo artigraphus conuenit, ita ut eum Palaemonis scrinia adiisse uel alium auctorem adhibuisse, qui Remmio usus est, cum summa ueri similitudine colligendum sit* (Goetting 1899: 96). Some reconstructions, however, are quite convincing. For example, at *DBM* 6.14-17, our author illustrates diaeresis by means of Vergil's *aquai* (*A.* 7.464-5) and *pictai* (*A.* 9.26), besides Lucretius' *Triuiiai* (1.84): of these, the first is quoted elsewhere only by Quintilian in his discussion of the diphthong *ae* (*Inst.* 1.7.18), while the second is in the same passage of Quintilian as well as in more recent authors (see my commentary). The same goes for some examples concerning episynaloephe (*DBM* 6.21 – 7.12): disyllabic *Phaethon* is first cited as a case of episynaloephe by Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.17), and *Marcipor* appears in *Inst.* 1.4.26 (although not in a discussion of episynaloephe). It seems quite plausible to me that these elements ultimately go back to Palaemon.

There are other passages or doctrinal elements which Goetting traces back to Palaemon, but these seem less plausibly Palaemonian to me. These are for example: the first definition of barbarism at *DBM* 1.10-13, which is close to Char. 349.18 – 350.1 B.; the doctrine of the *quadripertita ratio* (as in Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.6); the remarks on ectasis at *DBM* 5.19 – 6.3; the

discussion on whether *honos* and *arbo*s are metaplasms at 10.8-13, which Goetting (1899: 88) compares to Quint. *Inst.* 1.4.13, and that on *lapidicinae/lapididinae* (DBM 10.14-16); C.'s criticism of those who find fault with the pronunciation of *i*, *l*, and *m* only (DBM 14.20 – 15.4), as similar passages are in Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.11.4) and Priscian (*GL* II.35.27); the discussion of mytacism and how to avoid it (DBM 15.6-13) as mirrored in Diomedes (453.9-19); the discussion of iotacism (DBM 15.13 – 16.5) as partly reflected in Diomedes (453.6-7), more in the doctrine of Velius Longus (49.16-20) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.4.8, 1.7.22, 1.7.24); the remark on vocalic *i* in the Greeks' pronunciation of *ius* (DBM 15.17-19), for Goetting (1899: 92) traces back the grammarians' doctrine on vocalic/semivocalic *i* to Palaemon and compares Quint. *Inst.* 1.4.10; the description of the allophones of /l/ in Latin (DBM 16.14-21); the doctrine of the multiple vices in a single word (DBM 19.18 – 20.7); the fundamental doctrines of the *De scandendis uersibus*, especially the section *de syllabis communibus* and the following one on metaplasms used in scansion, which Goetting (1899: 95) compares to Char. 10.18 – 14.24 B., where he discusses the *syllabae communes* in the first place and then briefly touches upon synaloephe, systole and ectasis (according to Goetting, *haud dubie de praecepto Palaemoniano cogitandum est, quamuis a Consentio quaestiunculis miris, ne dicam absurdis, obrutum esse uideatur*); Goetting also ascribes to Palaemon the citations from ancient authors such as Ennius, Lucilius, and Lucan. If one considers how much Remmius Palaemon influenced and even shaped the later *ars grammatica*, one could not rule out that some of this material actually goes back to him one way or another, but except for the elements shared with Quintilian I think there is no real way to prove that C.'s doctrine rests on the work of Palaemon.

3. THE TRADITION

3.1. Editions

Whilst C.'s *DNV* has been known to the moderns since J. Sichardus' *editio princeps* in 1528,¹⁶ the *DBM* was first rescued from a long-lasting oblivion by P.C. Buttmann in 1817. For the *constitutio textus*, the German scholar used the ninth-century MS. Clm 14666 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, in which the then unknown text had been spotted a few years before by the legal scholar A.W. Cramer. In a time when it was not extraordinary to think that *nihil tam pusillum ex omni antiquitate, siue graeca, siue romana ad nos transmissum esse, e quo non aliqua saltem utilitas in communes litteras redundarit* (Buttmann 1817: vii), the unearthing of a new Latin work was just a step away from its being handed over to a philologist for him to publish *quam emendatissime* (Buttmann 1817: xv).

It was 1868 when H. Keil included both treatises (or sections of a larger *Ars*) in the fifth volume of his *Grammatici Latini*, the one dedicated to the *artium scriptores minores*: here the *DBM* spans the pages 386-404. As Keil could not benefit from new manuscripts, the progress of his edition consisted in the availability of a work of indirect tradition, the so-called *Pauca de barbarismo* (see §3.3.4), as well as his conjectures of course.

Not long into the twentieth century, Lindsay (1904) enthusiastically announced his discovery of a second authority for this text. This long *desideratum* was MS. F 15 III d of the Universitätsbibliothek Basel. The discovery was followed within a year by a collation of the new witness, which was meant to complement Keil's text (Winstedt 1905). This did not impede another edition of the *DBM* (in fact, the numerous flaws of Winstedt's collation seemed to call for one that was eventually accurate): in 1937 M. Niedermann published the work for the third

¹⁶ C.'s text, published along with other works in Sichardus' *Disciplinarum liberalium orbis* (Basel), was incomplete, and based on a manuscript which was subsequently lost (cf. Keil, *GL* V.333). Less than a century later (1605), H. van Putschen printed the whole text, relying on MS. *Bernensis* 432, in his *Grammaticae Latinae auctores antiqui* (Hannover).

time, with an appendix containing the fragment of the Ps.-Victorinus transmitted in the Basel MS.¹⁷ Niedermann widened the use of the indirect tradition by resorting to part of the extracts from C. contained in MS. Par. Lat. 7530 (published in Eckstein 1852: 26-9) and the Irish grammarian Cruindmelus (ed. Huemer 1883), besides the *Pauca de barbarismo*, which Niedermann read in the MS. Leiden Voss. Lat. Q 33.

If two analogous events do not make a rule, the happening of a third one gives at least the illusion of a tendency: about two centuries after the first manuscript of the *DBM* was discovered, and a hundred years after the Basel manuscript came to light, I have discovered a third witness of C.'s text in a well-known manuscript from Venice (see Mari 2016). To hope that we will be there in about a century, when the next witness of the *DBM* is unearthed, is perhaps too optimistic: such a consideration, alongside recent progresses in our knowledge of the indirect tradition of this work, seemed a sufficient reason for me to undertake this new critical edition.

3.2. Manuscripts

Here follow the descriptions of the three manuscripts that preserve our text, all of which I saw personally. The alphabetical and chronological order coincide.

B = Basel Universitätsbibliothek F III 15 d.¹⁸ 16 folios, where the text is arranged over two columns of 34-47 lines. Written in Irish minuscule, this manuscript is dated to the eighth century and was copied 'apparently in Ireland, to judge from the character of the Insular symptoms' (*CLA* VII nr. 847).¹⁹ To judge from a fifteenth-century pressmark on the front cover, it belonged to the monastery of Fulda in Germany, whither it arrived not later than the ninth

¹⁷ This edition was positively reviewed by Leumann (1938), van de Woestijne (1938), and Thomas (1938).

¹⁸ Images of this manuscript are currently available online at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/ubb/F-III-0015d>.

¹⁹ Schindel (1975: 189) suggests the Isle of Iona as the monastic centre where the manuscript was copied.

century (Schindel 1975: 189). Around 1630 it came into the possession of the Basel professor R. Faesch (1595-1667), and has been in Basel ever since (in the Universitätsbibliothek since 1823).

It contains Isid. Orig. 1.34 (ff. 1 – 8^{rb}), C.'s *DBM* (ff. 8^{rb} – 14^{ub}), and a short fragment on solecism and barbarism of the Ps.-Victorinus (ff. 14^{ub} – 15^{ub}). The whole manuscript was written by a single copyist. There are corrections, mostly minor, throughout the text; a few of these might be due to a different hand, approximately coeval and belonging in the same scriptorium (cf. Schindel 1975: 186). The typical Insular abbreviations are very frequent. The spelling too is typically Irish, although not always in a consistent way: some peculiar features are the confusion between *i* and *e*, *o* and *u*. The uncertainties in the spelling of technical terms from Greek are unsurprising.²⁰

The manuscript has been more or less thoroughly described by Funaioli (1911: 72, 1930: 420-2), Niedermann (1937: xii-xix), *CLA* VII nr. 847, Schindel (1975: 184-90) and Steinmann (1998: 341). Niedermann (1937: x-xii) also lists the mistakes of Winstedt's collation, but the Swiss scholar was not exceedingly accurate in his inspection either.

M = Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14666.²² This manuscript comes from the abbey of St. Emmeram at Regensburg, where it was classified as G 50. It consists of 114 folios: ff. 1 – 54 are dated to the ninth century, and contain both C.'s *DNV* (ff. 1 – 39) and *DBM* (ff. 40 – 54); ff. 55 – 84 are dated to the twelfth/thirteenth century, and contain Prisc. *GL* III.107.23 – 278.12; ff. 85 – 114 contain some *Quaestiones in Priscianum maiorem*.

²⁰ Details on spelling in Niedermann (1937: xiv-xix). As for the orthographic tendencies of the Irish, cf. the *Index orthographicus in carmina Scottorum* of *PLAC* III.795-6, Roger (1905: 265-6), Traube (1911: 62).

²¹ A rich bibliography is now available online at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/ubb/F-III-0015d/>. To that I would add Edel (1995: 106, 112), Holtz (1998: 1098), and Celentano (2003: 152).

²² Images of this MS. are currently available on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at <http://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&lv=1&bandnummer=bsb00082357&pimage=00001&suchbegriff=&l=de>.

The section containing C. was written by two different copyists: the first hand, which copied ff. 1 – 9^u 9, is Southern German; the one that copied the rest of the codicological unit (including the *DBM*) is a ‘feine keltische Minuskel’ (Bischoff 1960: 220 nr. 71), the same that copied a large part of a Vergilian manuscript of which several German libraries preserve fragments (see Bischoff 1960: 219-20 nr. 70). The scribe was likely from Wales or Cornwall. The text might well have been copied in the very abbey of St. Emmeram, while the codex was probably produced elsewhere.

Niedermann (1937: xxv) rightly speaks of a correcting hand different from that of the main text (e.g. at *DBM* 20.12 = f. 49^r 18 and 30.21 = f. 54^r 8); its corrections, however, are quite rare. More often we find glosses of usually negligible content that were apparently written by the same copyist of the text. The spelling of **M** features the same Irish traits seen in **B**, but to a lesser extent. There are also fewer abbreviations.

Descriptions of the manuscript are in Keil (*GL* V.329), Halm (1876: 213), Niedermann (1937: xix-xxv), Bischoff (1960: 220 nr. 71), Passalacqua (1978: 178 nr. 398). More information in Bischoff (1977: 48 n. 3), Cervani (1984: 403), Taeger (1991: 86), Degni and Peri (2000: 719), and Pinto (2010: 30).

V = Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Lat. Z. 497 (= 1811). This massive codex (202 folios) was produced in central Italy, probably in Rome (see Ammirati 2007: 51), in the eleventh century – not long before or after 1064, if a table for calculating the date of Easter on f. 177^r is anything to go by. The script is a Romanesque minuscule, with the text being arranged in two columns. Ff. 66 – 95 are an autonomous section from a codicological perspective, and were copied by a different scribe than the rest of the manuscript (*pace* Ammirati 2007: 50, 167). The *DBM* is contained on ff. 84^{ub} 39 – 90^{ua} 39. Also, a citation from it (*DBM* 32.9-14) is found

on f. 41^{ub} 16-21 in a famous *florilegium* spanning ff. 19 – 58,²³ following another from *DNV* 353.6 (see §3.3.8).

The manuscript as a whole is a handbook of the liberal arts, containing texts on grammar (ff. 1 – 95), rhetoric (96 – 106), dialectic (106 – 143), medicine (144 – 146), music (148 – 156), arithmetic (156 – 158), geometry (158 – 170), and astronomy (170 – 202). The handbook must have been conceived or even assembled by Lawrence of Amalfi, who was a monk at Monte Cassino from about 1021 and archbishop of Amalfi from 1029, whence he fled into exile to Florence. From about 1045 he lived and taught in Rome, where he died around 1049/1050 (cf. Roversi Monaco 2006: 53). A couple of his works are transmitted in this very manuscript (*Epistolae exegeticae* on f. 143 and a geometry treatise *De diuisione* on ff. 160 – 161).

In a still fundamental contribution, Newton (1962: 260-3) has demonstrated that **V** was copied from a manuscript written in the Beneventan script, for it displays some typically Beneventan features that must be due to the scribe's imitation of the exemplar: most notably, the Beneventan abbreviation for *eius*, the ligature for the assimilated *ti*-sound, and the 2-shaped interrogation sign. Since Supino Martini (1987: 128 n. 74) points out that the last two are not so unusual in the Romanesque script, one may add two further clues of a Beneventan exemplar: the abbreviation for *in* as an *i longa* crossed over by a horizontal stroke and the exchange *a/t*.

However, I have shown elsewhere (Mari 2016) that such features are totally absent from ff. 66 – 95, where C.'s treatise was copied among other grammatical works of insular origin or tradition, like Smaragdus' *Liber in partibus Donati* (ff. 66 – 81^{ub}) and a fragment of the abovementioned *Pauca de barbarismo* (ff. 81^{ub} – 84^{ub}), which precedes our *DBM*. It is no surprise that text of C. here displays several Insular traits, like the symbols for *autem*, *enim*, *est*, *et*, and *nihil*. All conspires to the conclusion that this part of the manuscript was not included in the Beneventan model: it must have been included when and where **V** was copied, from one

²³ For the *florilegium*, see Newton (1962: 259ff.).

or more different exemplars, so as to add to the grammatical material. This of course does not rule out the possibility that the model of this copy of the *DBM* circulated in the Beneventan area when Lawrence of Amalfi conceived his handbook or before.

The quality of the text is often quite poor: trivial mistakes are frequent, many of which are the result of misunderstood abbreviations (*post* for *per* at *DBM* 7.17, 8.19; *et* for *inter* at 9.14, 10.22, 27.21 etc.; *uel* for *inter* at 19.10; *inter* omitted, resulting in *dum* for *interdum* at 13.8, *est* for *interest* at 29.22). The spelling has Insular features, but less than in **B** and **M**. More interestingly, some technical terms derived from Greek are occasionally transliterated into the Greek alphabet (*imesin* at *DBM* 9.4, *epenthesis* at 20.17, etc.), which also happens with segments that are originally Latin (tanton *ex* tantone at *DBM* 29.14 and the *subscriptio* reading *finit ars Consentii u.c. feliciter amen*).

Since the study of Newton (1962), the interest this manuscript has aroused has been huge. A most detailed description is Zanatta (2004: 887-950); earlier descriptions are in Zanetti (1741: 202), Passalacqua (1978: 349-50 nr. 719), Zorzanello (1980-5: I.109-22), and *CB* III.399-401 nr. 388. Further bibliography includes Holtzmann (1947), *ALC* II.1123-4, Gallo (1962: 101-7), Newton (1965: 445-9, 1999: 195 n. 397, 2003: 171-4), Bloch (1972: 578-81), Cavallo (1975: 384; 1994), Scaffai (1980: 272), Supino Martini (1987: 39 nn. 36-37, 128 n. 74, 147 n. 2), Troncarelli (1987: 238-9 nr. 101), Dell'Omo (1996: 37, 80, 87), Brown (2000: 404-5), Ammirati (2007: 48-51), Munk Olsen (2007: 106), Fioretti (2012: 52-4), Mari (2016).

3.3. Indirect tradition

C. enjoyed some success in the Middle Ages, if one is to judge from his habitual presence in several grammatical works of this time: to the best of my knowledge, the sources of indirect tradition are the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*, the *Ars Ambrosiana*, the *Ars Bernensis*, Bede, a collection of excerpts preserved in MS. *Parisinus Latinus* 7530, Malsachanus, Tatwine, Clemens Scottus' *Ars grammatica*, Cruindmelus, the so-called *Donatus Ortigraphus*, the *Pauca*

de barbarismo, the *Ars Laureshamensis*, Murethach, Sedulius Scottus, Ermenrich of Ellwangen, Otfrid of Weissenburg, Ursus of Benevento, the *florilegium* contained in V. Most of these are concerned with the eight parts of speech, and cite the *DNV*. Here follows a brief description of those which use the *DBM*.²⁴

3.3.1. *Bede*

The earliest traces of the usage of C.'s *DBM* in the Middle Ages are to be found in Bede's *De arte metrica*: although C. is never mentioned explicitly, *DBM* 27.13-16 seems to be the ultimate source of some of Bede's remarks on synaloephe at 119.4-5 Kendall = *GL* VII.246.29-30 (see Patzlaff 1975: 65-6; for a little more, Lapidge 2006: 206).

3.3.2. *Excerpts in MS. Parisinus Latinus 7530*

A collection of excerpts from C.'s *DBM* is transmitted on ff. 125^u 13 – 127^r 10 of MS. Par. Lat. 7530. This is a famous handbook of the liberal arts, particularly focused on grammar, that was copied in Monte Cassino between 779 and 796 and probably connected to Paul the Deacon:²⁵ it contains numerous texts of late Latin grammarians, several of which must have gone through an insular stage of transmission and were at Fulda at some point (cf. Beeson 1927). In the whole manuscript there is a tendency 'à préférer à un texte antique integral des extraits plus ou moins fidèles' (Holtz 1975: 144). This also applies to C.'s *DBM*: extracts from this are copied progressively and adapted so as to create a quite organic treatise, a sort of summary of the original one. This makes the collection in the Par. Lat. 7530 the richest source of indirect tradition for our work, but also one which is not always reliable for the *constitutio textus*.

²⁴ Only the excerpts in the Par. Lat. 7530, the *Pauca de barbarismo*, and Cruindmelus have been used for the *constitutio textus* by previous editors.

²⁵ The study of Holtz (1975), with detailed description, is still of fundamental importance. More recently, see Tarquini (2002: 66-76). The website <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb/> offers periodically updated bibliography.

Eckstein (1852: 26-9) published about 3/5 of this collection (as far as f. 126^u 4 = *DBM* 17.17). While Keil does not seem to have been aware of this treatise, Niedermann criticised the incompleteness of Eckstein's edition but did not make any effort to complete his work. The present edition is the first to consider all of the excerpts.

3.3.3. *Ursus of Benevento*

Ursus, bishop of Benevento in the first half of the ninth century, is the author of the *Adbreuiatio artis grammaticae* contained in MS. Rome Biblioteca Casanatense 1086.²⁶ This is a grammatical handbook based on Priscian and some minor authors, among whom is our C.: pp. 19–22 of the *DBM* used with some freedom as a source for Ursus' *De soloecismo*.

Several of the texts transmitted in MS. *Casanatensis* are also found in MS. Par. Lat. 7530: Morelli (1910: 312, 326) and Holtz (1975: 141-2) have demonstrated that the two compilations had a common model, so there must have been a text of C. (not necessarily complete) circulating in the Beneventan area between the eighth and ninth century.

3.3.4. *Pauca de barbarismo*

This grammatical compilation, which is structured as a dialogue between a teacher and a student, closely follows Donatus' *Ars maior* III and in a way works as a commentary on it: the text of Donatus is decomposed into single statements (often abbreviated), which are explained by way of brief remarks of the compiler and citations from late Latin grammarians. This work was produced in the Carolingian empire in the early ninth century and has been doubtfully attributed to the Irish grammarian Clemens Scottus, who was probably the author of the *Ars grammatica* published by Tolkiehn (1928). However, this work looks more akin to the

²⁶ See Morelli (1910), Cicco (2006), Fioretti (2010); more bibliography at <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmt>

compilation named *Donatus Ortigraphus* (see §3.3.5), whose manuscript tradition partly overlaps with that of the *Pauca*, and one cannot rule out that the author was the same.

This compilation contains nine citations from C.'s *DBM* and was used by both Keil and Niedermann: while it is not easy to understand which manuscripts (if more than one) Keil used, Niedermann (1937: xlii n. 1) makes it clear that he used only one (Leiden Voss. lat. Q 33), so his readings are often not reliable if compared to the first critical edition that I have produced.²⁷

3.3.5. *Donatus Ortigraphus*

This compilation deals with the subject matter of the first two parts of Donatus' *Ars maior*. There are 26 citations from C. here, three of which come from the *DBM*, on the sound of *i* and *u* (15.13-19, 15.20 – 16.2, 17.16-17). According to Chittenden (1982: xlii-xliii) the anonymous compiler did not have direct access to C. but used an intermediate source 

3.3.6. *Cruindmelus*

The *Ars metrica* attributed, not without doubts, to the Irish grammarian Cruindmelus (ninth century),²⁸ offers three citations from C.'s *DBM*, none of which are faithful to the original (*DBM* 8.4-5 + 8.8-10, 15.20 – 16.2, 32.1-3). These have already been considered by Niedermann.

3.3.7. *Ars Laureshamensis* – *Murethach* – *Sedulius Scottus*

These three ninth-century Irish commentaries on Donatus' *Ars Maior* are very close to each other: as demonstrated by Holtz (1972), they have a common source. It is no surprise, therefore, that they share a couple of citations from C.'s *DBM* in passages that are almost identical and certainly depend on their model (*DBM* 1.17-18, 2.9-10).

²⁷ This will soon be published by ETS, Pisa.

²⁸ Cf. Huemer (1883: iv-vii), Manitius (1911-31: I.523ff. )

However, we also find some material from C. that is not shared. Sedulius Scottus for one cites again both passages, but more extensively and faithfully (Sed. 320.31, 321.51-6), and also reveals a knowledge of *DBM* 2.20-6 and 3.10-13 (Sed. 323.47-51 and 324.73-6 respectively, see Löfstedt 1984: 440  for Murethach, he proves to be aware of C.'s doctrine on ecthlipsis and synaloephe (*DBM* 29.10-17).

3.3.8. *Ermenrich of Ellwangen*

Ermenrich's *Epistola ad Grimaldum*, written to the abbot of St. Gallen around 850, is a sort of distillation of the intellectual activity at Fulda, Reichenau and St. Gallen in the ninth century (cf. Goullet 2008: 16). In a digression on the assibilation of *ti*, Ermenrich mocks some who invoke C.'s authority on the matter, and proves to know *DBM* 17.2-10 (13 Goullet = 547.34 – 548.3 Dümmler). Ermenrich's report is uncommonly picturesque, and he expresses his creed as to how grammatical authority has to be dealt with: *trahunt autem prae manibus Consentium quendam olim saepultum, nunc demum plorantem cur excitetur ab eis... sed ne reprehendamus Consentium, et hoc non est consuetudinis nostrae super auctoritate priscorum, tantum ductoribus illius in huiusmodi diuerticulo non consentiamus.*

3.3.9. *Otfrid of Weissenburg*

Otfrid, the first poet in German, was also a student at Fulda in the ninth century. He never mentions C. but seems to have employed *DBM* 7.15-21 for discussing synaloephe in his letter *ad Liutbertum* 70-4 (see Patzlaff 1975: 26-8).

3.3.10. *Florilegium in MS. V*

As already mentioned in the description of V (§3.2), its famous *florilegium* contains two contiguous citations from C., without attribution: *DNV* 353.6 (on adjectives governing the genitive) and *DBM* 32.9-14 (on synaloephe). There is neither a thematic link between these two

nor any precise relationship between them and the contents of the folio extracts from Bede's *De arte metrica* and Mallius Theodorus). But this is not particularly striking, given how randomly the excerpts are assembled in the *florilegium*. What is interesting is that the compiler of the *florilegium* might have had direct access to both works of C. in eleventh-century Monte Cassino.

3.4. The stemma

The stemmatic relations among the manuscripts can be figured out with some degree of certainty, as they preserve the whole of the *DBM*. It is not so simple, on the other hand, to assess the position of the indirect sources, for the sections of text they cite rarely overlap, and are sometimes treated quite freely. Therefore, I shall content myself with establishing a *stemma codicum*, and shall only add remarks on the position of the sources of indirect tradition when this seems reasonably safe.

3.4.1. *The archetype*

No single passage of our work is jointly transmitted by all of its sources (manuscripts and indirect tradition). This would make it rash for us to posit an archetype of the whole tradition, for there can be no conjunctive errors of all sources. There are, however, some sections that are transmitted by most of them. Here are a few errors that are common to the MSS. and some indirect sources, so that an archetype can be assumed at least for these. In case other indirect sources share some conjunctive errors with those that are already represented in the stemma, we can be sure that these too will fit in the stemma.

In order to demonstrate that there was an archetype, it will suffice to cite *DBM* 2.4-5. This is transmitted in **BMV**, the excerpts of MS. Par. Lat. 7530 and the *Pauca*. In a list of the elements of the word whose modification produces a barbarism, all of these sources wrongly have in the first place *uel accentibus* (*uel accentu* in *Par.*), while this must go after *uel*

temporibus (Niedermann has it after *uel syllabis*, see commentary). Moreover, plenty of errors are common to the MSS. alone, such as *firmum* for *fieri barbarismum* at 1.12, the gloss *siue syncrisis* at 4.5, or the lacuna following *apocope est* at 5.9.

3.4.2. The branch of **BV** (with *Par.* and *Ursus*)

The MSS. of Basel and Venice share a large number of errors, a few of which can hardly have come about independently or have been corrected by the copyist of **M**. At *DBM* 7.12-14 (*item si dicat aliquis neutrum disyllabum, quod trisyllabum fere enuntiamus, barbarismum faciet*), **BV** omit *barbarismum faciet*, which **M** can hardly have restored from the parallel at 6.19. At 8.14 (*ut mutatio fiat, numerus autem syllabarum non desit*), they omit *autem syllabarum*. At 23.11-12 (*iuxta communis linguae enuntiationem integri nati sunt*) **BV** read *enuntiati* instead of *nati*, an error which I doubt the copyist of **M** would have corrected if he had found it in his model. At 24.18-20, **BV** omit the whole sentence *cum alibi longam ecferant, ut unde spissa coma*. At 25.11-12 (*qui uero ultra hoc rationes defensionum quaerit*) **BV** omit *ultra hoc*. The later **V** cannot have been copied from **B**, for it avoids many of its errors, such as the omission of *penatibus*; *dixit enim gnato* (3.25).

There are reasons to think that the text used for the excerpts in MS. Par. Lat. 7530 belonged in the family of **B** (cf. Niedermann 1937: xli-xlii) and **V**, such as the fact that at *DBM* 16.15 (*nam alicubi pinguius, alicubi debet exilius proferri*), **BV** and *Par.* share the mistaken *plenus* against **M**'s *pinguius*. The excerpts seem closer to **B** than **V**, for *Par.* and **B** share some errors which **V** avoids, such as *systole/sistole* for *episynaliphe* at 12.20 and 13.5, the omission of *barbarismum* at 13.5 (*nonne uidetur per episynaliphen barbarismum facere*) and of *quidem* at 19.17 (*quod quidem prolatio talis peccet*). This matches well the fact that several texts contained in MS. Par. Lat. 7530 were at Fulda at some point (cf. §3.3.3), just like **B**. The Basel MS. cannot be the model of *Par.*, as the excerpts avoid several of **B**'s errors, such as the omission of *sed in sensu* at 22.5 (*peccant hi non in regula, non in prolatione, sed in sensu*).

Ursus of Benevento's *Adbreuiatio* too must belong in the same family, for he used the same source as MS. Par. Lat. 7530 (cf. §3.3.3): in order to find a shared error, we can look at *DBM* 22.3, one of the few passages transmitted in them both, where they write *possunt adnecti* against **M**'s *possumus adnectere* and **BV**'s *possis adnectere*.

If this reconstruction is plausible, it tells us something about the circulation of C.'s text. The codex from which both **B** and the excerpts copied in Italy descend must have been at Fulda in the eighth century;²⁹ towards the end of the century a copy of it was in Monte Cassino, and was available in South Italy at least until the ninth century, when it was used by Ursus of Benevento. Another copy of the *DBM* belonging in the same branch, but ultimately depending on its subarchetype rather than the model of **B** and the South Italian excerpts, was in Italy in the eleventh century: this was the exemplar of **V**. As the section of the Venice MS. containing the *DBM* is quite uniform, both in terms of codicology and content, and includes a ninth-century Carolingian compilation like the *Pauca de barbarismo*, it is likely that the whole section came to Italy as one, and that the model of **V**'s *DBM* was copied in the ninth-century Holy Roman Empire as well. It might be natural to think that this very copy was used for C.'s excerpts in the *florilegium* preserved by **V**, but there is no proof for this.

3.4.3. *The branch of M*

Niedermann (1937: xlv) had it that **M** and the *Pauca* shared a model. This is not a completely safe assumption, however, for the errors they have in common are only a few and not particularly revealing. Let us look for instance at *DBM* 17.2, where I print *ut ecce in t aliqui ita...*: this passage is corrupt in the whole tradition, but **V**'s *in t alii* and **B**'s *Itali* are closer to what I think is the correct reading than *in tali uerbo*, the error shared by **M** and the *Pauca* (where *uerbo* is clearly an interpolation). Just before (17.1-2), in *sunt genitalia quaedam*

²⁹ One has to bear in mind that in the ninth century Fulda was home to both Ermenrich of Ellwangen (§3.3.8) and Otfrid of Weissenburg (§3.3.9), who might have had access to C.'s work there.

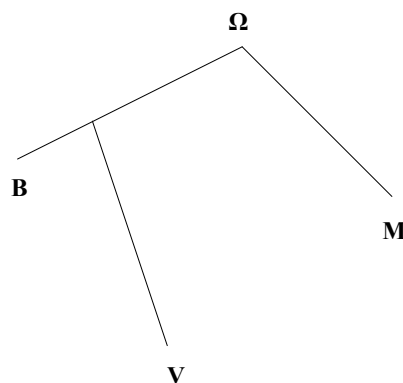
quorundam uitia, both add a word after *uitia*: **M** adds *nationum*, changing *quorundam* to *quarundam*, while the *Pauca* add *hominum*. Again, an insertion is found at 11.1 (*si paulo curiosius audiamus*), where **M** has an unnecessary *ea* after *audiamus*, the *Pauca* after *paulo*.

The *Donatus Ortigraphus*, which is very close in nature and manuscript tradition to the *Pauca*, contains only three citations from the *DBM*. In one of these, at 16.1 (*medium quiddam inter e et i habet*), both **M** and the *Donatus Ortigraphus* read *quendam sonum* instead of *quiddam*, which looks like an explanatory gloss; interestingly enough, in the same passage freely cited by Cruindmelus, one reads *sonum*. Cruindmelus seems to be close to the *Pauca* as they share an error at 32.2, the omission of *quae excluduntur* in the sentence *in hoc damno syllabarum quae excluduntur*. None of these compilations draws on **M**, for they all avoid some of its errors: at 22.2 (*eueniunt sane pleraque uitia*), **M** adds *plane* after *sane*, the *Pauca* does not; at 15.15 (*Galli hac pinguius utuntur*), the *Donatus Ortigraphus* avoids **M**'s *pinguius hanc*; at 8.5 (*accedit et consonans*), **M** omits *et*, which Cruindmelus correctly preserves. Based on such a poor evidence, one cannot say for certain that these texts belong in the same branch as **M**, but this cannot be ruled out either.

As for the other sources of indirect tradition, these simply cite too little text to be compared with the direct transmission.

3.4.4. A representation of the stemma codicum

Here is a representation of the stemma of the direct tradition.



4. CRITERIA OF THIS EDITION

4.1. Text

Where possible, I have applied the genealogical method in selecting textual variants: as a matter of fact, this is only the case with the agreement of **MV** against **B** and **BM** against **V**. To be sure, such agreements do not guarantee that the variants they attest are absolutely genuine: for two scribes may produce the same mistakes independently, and the reading of the archetype itself may have been corrupt. This is why I have sometimes preferred a *lectio singularis* (e.g. **B**'s *barbarolexin* against **MV**'s *barbaralexin* at 2.3, or **V**'s *Italusque* against **BM**'s *Italus* at 6.1), and sometimes accepted emendations or emended the text myself (e.g. my correction *multatur* at 4.17, where **MV** have *multatus* and **B** *motatus*).

The branches of **BV** and **M** are by and large equally authoritative, so we should be free of bias toward either branch. An exception consists of the cases in which **M** has more words than **BV** (and the two versions function equally well), for it seems to me that the scribe of **M** had a tendency to interpolate (see note on 5.5): in such cases, I have normally followed **BV**.

A matter of importance in certain grammatical discussions is diacritics. For example, we know little about the way late Latin linguists indicated diaeresis and episynaloephe in spelling, and the practice used in medieval manuscripts does not help much:³⁰ so, when C. distinguishes a form with diphthong from one with hiatus, I have followed previous editors in using the symbol of diaeresis (¨) for the forms with hiatus, whether it is a case of diaeresis (e.g. 7.17 *Phoëbum*) or episynaloephe (e.g. 7.21 *Phaethon pro Phaëthon*), except when this is made clear by the metre (e.g. *dixisse Phoebum*). I have used diacritics for vowel length (which grammarians employed) only where prosody is not self-evident from C.'s metalinguistic description.

³⁰ Even a valuable contribution such as the book of Scappaticcio (2012) cannot help on this.

I have used abundant punctuation, in line with the continental style of previous editors. I have italicised literary quotations and all grammatical examples, whether employed syntactically (e.g. 11.4-5 *si quis dicat...* totum *pro toto*) or asyntactically (11.18 *ut si quis dicat* orator: it appears that C.'s practice is quite inconsistent). In the introduction and commentary I have italicised all citations from Latin, but not the literary quotations and grammatical examples they contain.

I have adopted the page and line numbers of Niedermann's edition: **(1)** stands for the page number, ⁽¹⁾ for the line number. I indicate the number of every line.

4.2. Critical apparatus

My apparatus consists of up to three sections: the bottom or only one gives the variants, while above are given the sources of the indirect tradition, if any, and above them the sources of literary quotations, if any. I normally indicate the variants which are relevant to the *constitutio textus*, some *lectiones singulares* where interesting, and only rarely orthographical variants. For a correction, I write for example **B^{pc}** (**B^{ac}**, sometimes, for the first reading of the MS.); when the variant or correction is doubtlessly due to a different hand, I may use **B²** (**B¹** for the first reading). The apparatus is normally positive, and negative when there seems to be no risk of misunderstanding.

Critical edition

SIGLA OF MANUSCRIPTS

B	Basel Universitätsbibliothek F III 15 d.
M	Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14666.
V	Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Lat. Z. 497 (= 1811).
Ω	<i>Consensus codicum.</i>

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE SOURCES OF INDIRECT TRADITION

<i>Beda</i>	Bede, <i>De arte metrica</i> , ed. Kendall (1975), 81-171 (= <i>GL</i> VII.227-60).
<i>Cruind.</i>	Cruindmelus, ed. Huemer (1883).
<i>Erm.</i>	Ermenrich of Ellwangen, ed. Goullet (2008).
<i>Flor.</i>	<i>Florilegium</i> in V , ff. 19 – 58 (unpublished).
<i>Laur.</i>	<i>Ars Laurehamensis</i> , ed. Holtz (1977a).
<i>Mur.</i>	Murethach, ed. Holtz (1977b).
<i>Ort.</i>	Donatus Ortigraphus, ed. Chittenden (1982).
<i>Otfr.</i>	Otfrid of Weissenburg, <i>Ad Liutbertum</i> , ed. Erdmann (1882).
<i>Par.</i>	Excerpts in MS. Par. Lat. 7530, partial ed. Eckstein (1852).
<i>Pauca</i>	<i>Pauca de barbarismo</i> , my edition (forthcoming).
<i>Sed.</i>	Sedulius Scottus, <i>In Donati artem maiorem</i> , ed. Löfstedt (1977).
<i>Ursus</i>	Ursus of Benevento, in MS. Rome Casanatense 1086, ff. 1 – 53 (unpublished).

(1) ARS CONSENTII V. C. (2) DE BARBARISMIS ET METAPLASMIS

(3) Barbarismi a metaplasms distant et diuersi sunt et diuersas (4) definitiones habent. sed quia quidam modi, ex quibus eueniunt, (5) ipsis communes sunt, coniuncte de his dicendum est. sic enim, (6) quo a se et in quibus distent, facilius apparebit. quod cum ita (7) futurum sit in ipsa expositione, ad rem pertinet prius ut et (8) definitiones separatim demus et generaliter, quid distantiarum inter (9) se habeant, demonstramus.

(10) Barbarismus est, ut quidam uolunt, una pars orationis uitiosa (11) in communi sermone. haec definitio separat metaplasma eo, (12) quod fieri barbarismus dixi in communi sermone, quoniam, si (13) in poemate pars orationis uitiosa sit, metaplasma dicunt. (14) item barbarismus est, ut quidam definiunt, dictio uitiosa (15) enuntiatione. hoc ideo enuntiationem habet in reprehensione, (16) quoniam haec definitio ad tempora et accentus tantum pertinet, (17) id est prosodias. item barbarismus est dictio aliqua sui parte (18) uitiosa. hoc ad adiectionem et detraktionem et inmutationem et (19) transmutationem litterarum syllabarum accentuum temporum (2) adspirationumque pertinet, quod exemplis mox prolatis apparebit.

1.10-11 barbarismus – sermone: *Par.* 26.1 || 1.17-18 barbarismus – uitiosa: *Sed.* 320.31-1, *Laur.* 187.32 = *Mur.* 188.32 = *Sed.* 318.49 ||

1.1 ars consentii u. c. *om.* V || 1.2 barbarismis] barbari $\bar{s}$ M : bar $\bar{r}$ B : barbarismo V || metaplasms] sol $\bar{o}$ B || 1.4 eueniunt *Keil* : conueniunt BM : constant V : proueniunt *Niedermann* || 1.5 ipsis communes sunt BV : communes sunt in ipsis M || 1.7 et *om.* M || 1.11 sermone communi M || 1.12 fieri barbarismus *Keil* : firmum Ω : fieri illum *Buttmann* || dixi *Niedermann* : dixit Ω : dicit *Keil* || 1.13 aliqua *post* pars hab. B || 1.15 corrupta *post* enuntiatione hab. BV || enuntiationem *del.* *Keil* || in reprehensione] reprehensionem *Keil* || 1.18 detraktionem et *post* adiectionem et restituit *Niedermann*, ante adiectionem hab. BM, *om.* V || et transmutationem et inmutationem M ||

⁽²⁾Sed priusquam de metaplasmo subiungamus, admonere debemus ⁽³⁾aliud esse barbarismum, aliud barbarolexin. barbarismus enim, ⁽⁴⁾secundum definitiones superiores, uel litteris uel syllabis uel ⁽⁵⁾temporibus uel accentibus uel adspirationibus peccat, sicut mox ⁽⁶⁾palam fiet. barbaros autem lexis uno modo tantum intellegitur, ⁽⁷⁾cum ex aliena lingua in nostrum usum pars aliqua orationis ⁽⁸⁾inducitur, ut cum dicimus *cateias* hastas utique Gallorum, ⁽⁹⁾*mastrucam* uestimentum Sardorum, *magalia* ⁽¹⁰⁾Afrorum casas, *acinaces* gladios Medorum.

⁽¹¹⁾Nunc definitionem metaplasmi ponemus. metaplasmus est ⁽¹²⁾una pars orationis figurata contra consuetudinem uel ornatus ⁽¹³⁾alicuius causa uel metri necessitate cogente. hic metaplasmus, ⁽¹⁴⁾quantum ego sentio, etsi non forte omnibus, plerisque tamen isdem ⁽¹⁵⁾modis prouenit, quibus et barbarismus. nam ut omittamus ⁽¹⁶⁾diuersitates superiorum definitionum, tam barbarismi quam ⁽¹⁷⁾metaplasmi primam hanc definitionem habent, quod fiunt uel ⁽¹⁸⁾enuntiatione uel scripto. peccamus enim aut male enuntiando, id est ⁽¹⁹⁾uitiose loquendo, aut male scribendo, id est corrupte et oblique ⁽²⁰⁾litterarum seriem conectendo. his duobus modis quaternae ⁽²¹⁾species subiunguntur. nam aut adiectione aut detractioe aut ⁽²²⁾inmutatione aut transmutatione a iusta et debita sermonis regula ⁽²³⁾recedimus. per haec quattuor, quae ad barbarismum pertinent, ⁽²⁴⁾indubitanter quina decurrunt. nam adiectio detractio inmutatio ⁽²⁵⁾transmutatio uel in littera fit uel in syllaba uel in tempore uel ⁽²⁶⁾in accentu uel in adspiratione.

2.2-10 *Pauca* 5.4-9 || **2.4-10** uel litteris – Medorum: *Par.* 26.1-5 || **2.6-10** barbaros – Medorum: *Sed.* 321.51-6 ||
2.9 *mastrucam* – Sardorum: *Laur.* 189.73-4 = *Mur.* 189.74-5 = *Sed.* 321.71-2 || **2.20-6** his - adspiratione: *cf. Sed.* 323.47-51 ||

2.3 barbarolexin **B** : barbaralexin **MV** *Pauca* || **2.5** uel accentibus (accentu *Par.*) *post* temporibus *restitui*, *ante* uel litteris *transp.* **Ω** *Pauca Par.*, *ante* uel temporibus *transp.* *Niedermann* || **2.8** cum **M** *Sed.*, *om. cett.* || *cateias Par.* : *catheias BV* *Pauca* : *catheas M* : *catheyas Sed.* || *hastas post Gallorum transp.* **B** || **2.11** metaplasmi definitionem **M** || **2.12** una *om.* **BV** || **2.15** peruenit **M** || **2.17** primam **MV** : *om.* **B** : propriam *Heinrich* || communem *post* definitionem *suppl. Buttman* || **2.23** barbarismum **M** : barbarismos **BV** || **2.24** *indubitanter*] *indubitante B* : *indubitate B^{pc}V* || **2.25** fit **M** : fiet **BV** ||

(3) Nunc oportuna et tempestiva est ut, quae sit inter barbarismum ⁽²⁾et metaplasma distantia, prae loquamur, priusquam de ⁽³⁾singulis exempla accommodemus. tunc enim facilius ipsa exempla ⁽⁴⁾ad sensus nostros sua vi penetrabunt, si vis distantiae prius fuerit ⁽⁵⁾intimata. ergo inter barbarismum et metaplasma hoc interest, ⁽⁶⁾quod barbarismus in communi sermone, metaplasma in poemate ⁽⁷⁾est; item quod barbarismus citra auctoritatem lectionis inperite ⁽⁸⁾nunc a quibusdam praesumitur, metaplasma autem ille est, ⁽⁹⁾qui ex veterum scriptorum auctoritate vel praeiudicatae consuetudinis ⁽¹⁰⁾ratione profertur; item quod metaplasma ob similitudinem ⁽¹¹⁾lectionis aut veteris consuetudinis a doctis fit scienter, ⁽¹²⁾barbarismus vero ab imprudentibus nulla aut veterum aut consuetudinis ⁽¹³⁾auctoritate perspecta adsumitur. ad summum inter barbarismum ⁽¹⁴⁾et metaplasma hoc interest, quod adiectiones illae detractioesue ⁽¹⁵⁾ceteraque quae diximus in litteris syllabisue ac deinceps ceteris ⁽¹⁶⁾sub uno nomine barbarismi peccant, in metaplasmo vero alia ⁽¹⁷⁾atque alia nomina pro qualitatibus locisque suscipiunt, sicut mox ⁽¹⁸⁾apparebit.

3.10-13 metaplasma – perspecta: *Sed.* 324.73-6 ||

3.1 est *om.* **M** || inter barbarismum et metaplasma *ante nunc transp.* **B** || **3.2** de *om.* **BV** || **3.4** sua vi *Heraeus* : suaui **B** : suauiter **B^{pc}M** : *om.* **V** || **3.8** a] in **M** || locis *post* quibusdam *add.* **M** || **3.9** veterum *Keil* : uetere **Ω** : ueteri **B^{pc}** || vel *post* auctoritate *restituit Keil, post 3.10* metaplasma *transp.* **Ω Sed.** || **3.11** poetis *post* fit *add.* **B** || **3.13** ad summum **B** : item **M** : *om.* **V** ||

⁽¹⁹⁾Nunc exempla de metaplasmo prius dabimus. etenim confirmatis ⁽²⁰⁾his et manifestatis, quae ratione et auctoritatibus constant, ⁽²¹⁾illa quae in barbarismum temere delabuntur apertius apparebunt. ⁽²²⁾adiectio litterae uel syllabae per tria loca, sicut diximus, tres ⁽²³⁾metaplasmi fiunt: prothesis epenthesis paragoge. prothesis est ⁽²⁴⁾litterae, ubi ad caput una littera additur, ut est *cum sociis* ⁽²⁵⁾*gnatoque penatibus*; dixit enim *gnato*, ⁽²⁶⁾cum dicere debuerit *nato*. hoc qui uelit in alia parte orationis **(4)** facere citra auctoritatem, ut si dicat *coperit* pro ⁽²⁾*operit*, faciet barbarismum. item prothesis est syllabae, ut ⁽³⁾*tetulit senilis hostis ad caelum manus*. ⁽⁴⁾dixit enim *tetulit* pro eo quod est *tulit*. epenthesis ⁽⁵⁾est [siue syncrisis] adiectio litterae syllabaeue ad mediam ⁽⁶⁾dictionem: litterae, ut *relliquias Danaum* pro ⁽⁷⁾*reliquias*; syllabae, ut Ennius dicit plerumque *induperatorem* ⁽⁸⁾pro *imperatore*, et ut est *Mauortis* ⁽⁹⁾*in antro* pro *Martis*, et *nos abiisse* ⁽¹⁰⁾*rati* pro *abisse*. paragoge est, quae eadem prosparempsis ⁽¹¹⁾dicitur, adiectio litterae syllabaeue ad finem dictionis: ⁽¹²⁾litterae, ut *magis* pro *mage*; syllabae, ut *admittier* ⁽¹³⁾*orant* pro *admitti et potestur* pro ⁽¹⁴⁾*potest*.

3.24-5 Verg. *A.* 3.12 || **4.3** *TrRF Adesp.* 156 Schauer (= *inc.* 70 Ribbeck) || **4.6** Verg. *A.* 1.30 || **4.7** *induperatorem*: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 78, 322, 347, 577 Skutsch || **4.8-9** *Mauortis*: Verg. *A.* 8.630 || **4.9-10** *nos abiisse rati*: Verg. *A.* 2.25 || **4.12** *magis* pro *mage*: cf. Don. 661.3 H. || **4.12-13** *admittier orant*: Verg. *A.* 9.231 || **4.13** *potestur*: cf. Don. 661.4 H. ||

|| **3.20** *manifestis* **BV** || **3.21** *apertis* **BV** || exemplis *post* *apparebunt* *add.* **B** || **3.22** *tria* *Buttmann* : *trea* **M** : -III- **B** : *tres* **V** || *loca*] *locos* **B** : *locus* **V** || **3.25** *penatibus* – *gnato om.* **B** || **3.26** *debut* **M** || **4.1** *coperit* *post* *pro operit* *transp.* **BV** || **4.2** *barbarismum faciet* **B** || **4.2** *ut om.* **MV** || **4.3** *senilis* *Keil*, cf. *Pomp.* 296.3 : *senius* **MV** : *serius* **B** : *saeuus* *Buttmann* || **4.5** *siue syncrisis* *secl.* *Keil* || **4.8** *imperatorem* **BV** || *ut est*] *ut* **B** : *ue* **V** || **4.10** *prosparempsis* *correx* : *parempsis* **M** : *paralimpsis* **B** : *prolempsis* **V** : *parempsis* *Keil* || **4.12** *mage* *Keil*, cf. *Don.* 661.3 H. : *magi* **Ω** ||

His supradictis metaplasms, qui ex adiectione ⁽¹⁵⁾nascuntur litterae syllabaeue, tres alii contrarii sunt, qui ex ⁽¹⁶⁾detractione nascuntur: aphaeresis syncope apocope. aphaeresis ⁽¹⁷⁾est, ubi sermo prima sui parte littera syllabaeue multatur: ⁽¹⁸⁾littera, ut ait Terentius *mitte ista atque ad rem* ⁽¹⁹⁾*redi*, cum debuerit dicere *omitte*; syllaba, ut Virgilius ⁽²⁰⁾*temnere diuos pro contemnere*. syncope est, ⁽²¹⁾cum mediae parti orationis littera syllabaeue subtrahitur: littera, ⁽²²⁾ut cum dicimus *audacter* pro *audaciter*, *nomenclator* **(5)** pro *nomenculator*, *Mnestheus* ⁽²⁾pro *Menestheus* et *manet alta mente repostum* / ⁽³⁾*iudicium* pro *repositum*; syllaba, ut ⁽⁴⁾cum dicimus ⁽⁵⁾*apparent rari nantes* ⁽⁶⁾pro *natantes*, et Terentius *commorat* pro *commouerat*. ⁽⁷⁾in quo tantum ualet auctoritas, ut, si quis uoluerit ⁽⁸⁾dicere *morat* pro *mouerat*, barbarismum faciat. ⁽⁹⁾apocope est *** litterae, ut *Achilli* pro *Achillis* ⁽¹⁰⁾genituo et *magi* pro *magis*; syllabae, ut est *endo* ⁽¹¹⁾*suam do* pro *domum*. hi sunt metaplasmi quorum ⁽¹²⁾specialia nomina adiectione uel detractio litterae syllabaeue ⁽¹³⁾consistunt, pro locorum condicionibus his distributa.

4.18-19 Ter. *Ad.* 185 || **4.20** Verg. *A.* 6.620 || **4.22** audacter: cf. Don. 661.7 H. || **5.1** Mnestheus: Verg. *A.* 5.116 etc. || **5.2-3** manet...: Verg. *A.* 1.26-7 || **5.5** Verg. *A.* 1.118 || **5.6** Ter. *Ph.* 101 || **5.9** Achilli: cf. Don. 661.9 H. || **5.10** magi: cf. Char. 367.5-6 B. || **5.10-11** endo suam do: Enn. *Ann.* 587 Skutsch ||

4.15 syllabaeue] aut syllabae **BV** || **4.17** multatur *correx*: multatus **V**: multatus est **M**: motatus sit **B**: multatus fit *Niedermann*: mutilatus fit *Uria Varela* || **4.19** debuit **M** || **4.21** orationis] dictionis **B** || **4.22** nomenclator *correx*: nomeclator **Ω** || **5.1** nomenculator *correx*: nomenclator **Ω** || *Mnestheus Keil*: mnestius **M**: mnestus **B^{pc}**: mesteus **BV** || **5.2** *Menestheus Keil*: menestiu **M**: mnesteus **B**: inmestheo **V** || **5.2** est *post* *repostum add.* **B** || **5.3** iudicium *om.* **BV** || *repositum Buttman*: reposito **Ω** || **5.5** in gurgite uasto *post nantes hab.* **M** || **5.7-8** in quo – *mouerat om.* **V** || **5.9** *lacunam post* apocope est *statuit Keil* || **5.10** endo *Keil*: tendit **BV**: tetendit **M** ||

⁽¹⁴⁾Nunc de eis metaplasms loquemur qui nullam uarietatem nominum ⁽¹⁵⁾pro locorum condicionibus sortiuntur, sed ubicumque ⁽¹⁶⁾locorum transformata fuerit qualitas dictionis, eodem nomine ⁽¹⁷⁾censentur. ex his duo primi sunt, unus qui temporis adiectione, ⁽¹⁸⁾alius qui detractioe consistit. dicuntur autem ectasis et systole. ⁽¹⁹⁾ectasis est cum correpta syllaba poeta sic auctoritate sua utitur, ⁽²⁰⁾tamquam sit temporis longioris, ut est *Italiam fato* ⁽²¹⁾*profugus* et *conubia nostra / reppulit*, cum ⁽²²⁾*i* et *nu* per se aperte breues sint, ut alibi **(6)** *Italusque paterque Sabinus* ⁽²⁾et ⁽³⁾*conubio iungam stabili*. ⁽⁴⁾ipsius metaplasmi est et *exercet Diana choros*. ⁽⁵⁾nam breuis est *i*, ut *telis moriere Dianae*. ⁽⁶⁾systole est contrarius superiori metaplasmus, cum poeta longiorem ⁽⁷⁾syllabam metri necessitate castigat, ut est *aquosus* ⁽⁸⁾*Orion*, cum prima *Orionis* syllaba utique longa sit, ut alibi ⁽⁹⁾*circumspicit Oriona*. tale est et *unius ob* ⁽¹⁰⁾*noxam* et *unius ob iram*.

5.20-1 Italiam: Verg. *A.* 1.2 || **5.21** conubia: Verg. *A.* 4.213-4 || **6.1** Verg. *A.* 7.178 || **6.3** Verg. *A.* 4.126 || **6.4** Verg. *A.* 1.499 || **6.5** Verg. *A.* 11.857 || **6.7-8** Verg. *A.* 4.52 = 10.763 || **6.9** circumspicit: Verg. *A.* 3.517 || **6.9-10** unius ob noxam: Verg. *A.* 1.40 || **6.10** unius ob iram: Verg. *A.* 1.251 ||

5.14 eis **B** : his **M** : is **V** || loquamur **M** || **5.22** nu **BV** : u **M** || per se *om.* **MV** || **6.1** antiqua e cedro *ante* Italusque *hab.* **M** || Italusque **V** : Italus **BM** || **6.3** propriamque dicabo *post* stabili *hab.* **M** || **6.4** et *ante* ipsius *transp.* **M** || **6.5** i] a **B** : ai **V** || telis] et **B** : ex **V** || moriere] amore **BV** || **6.6** contrarius est **M** || **6.7** castiget **M** || **6.8** Orionis] Orion **M** || et *post* alibi *hab.* **M** || **6.9-10** et unius ob noxam et unius ob iram *restitui* : et unius ob iram **BV** : et unius ob noxam **M** : et unius ob iram et unius ob noxam *Niedermann* ||

⁽¹¹⁾Post hos duo metaplasmi ueniunt diuersa sibi qualitate ⁽¹²⁾contrarii, quibus hoc commune est, ut non nisi in diphthongis ⁽¹³⁾inueniantur. horum unus diaeresis, alius episynaliphe appellatur. ⁽¹⁴⁾diaeresis est, cum una syllaba in duas diuiditur, ut Virgilius: ⁽¹⁵⁾*aquai / fumidus* pro *aquae* et *pictai uestis* ⁽¹⁶⁾pro *pictae*; Lucretius: *Triuiiai uirginis aram* ⁽¹⁷⁾pro *Triuiiae*. quodsi quis audeat *Phoëbum* dicere, ⁽¹⁸⁾ueluti si uersum cludat *dixisse Phoebum*, utique ⁽¹⁹⁾barbarismum faciet, quia auctoritate deficit. episynaliphe est ⁽²⁰⁾conglutinatio duarum syllabarum in unam facta, ut cum dicimus ⁽²¹⁾*Phaethon* pro *Phaëthon* et *Marcipor* ⁽²²⁾pro *puer*, *Orpheus* pro *Orpheüs*. nam cum (7) sit *Orpheus* in trisyllabis, tamen metri causa disyllabum factum est, ⁽²⁾<ut est> ⁽³⁾*illa*: ‘*quis et me*’ inquit ‘*miseram et te*’ ⁽⁴⁾*perdidit, Orpheu*’ ⁽⁵⁾et sit *Tityrus Orpheus*, et *Orphei Calliopea* ⁽⁶⁾pro *Orpheï*. item *Protei* pro *Protei*: ⁽⁷⁾*Protei Menelaus adusque columnas*. et ⁽⁸⁾*Idomenei* simili modo: nam cum dixerit *Idomenea* ⁽⁹⁾*ducem*, alibi dixit *uersosque penates / Idomenei*. ⁽¹⁰⁾simile est et *Thyias*: nam ut scandi possit ⁽¹¹⁾uersus et stare, ex duabus syllabis unam fieri necesse est, ut ⁽¹²⁾*Thyias, ubi audito*. item si dicat aliquis *neutrum* ⁽¹³⁾disyllabum, quod trisyllabum fere enuntiamus, barbarismum faciet.

6.15 *aquai*: Verg. *A.* 7.464-5 || *pictai*: Verg. *A.* 9.26 || **6.16** *Lucr.* 1.84 || **6.21** *Phaethon*: cf. Don. 662.6 H. || **7.3-4** Verg. *G.* 4.494 || **7.5** sit – *Orpheus*: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.55 || *Orphei Calliopea*: Verg. *Ecl.* 4.57 || **7.7** Verg. *A.* 11.262 || **7.8-9** *Idomenea ducem*: Verg. *A.* 3.122 || **7.9** *uersosque*: Verg. *A.* 11.264-5 || **7.12** Verg. *A.* 4.302 ||

6.11 qualitate sibi **B** || **6.20** syllabarum *om.* **M** || cum dicimus *correxī* : cum diceret **M** : dicere **BV** : cum dicitur *Keil* || **6.21-2** *Marcipor* pro *Buttmann* : marci porro **Ω** || **7.1** in *om.* **V** || trisyllabis *Heraeus* : tribus (-III- **B**) syllabis **B^{pc}M** : trisyllabum **V** : syluis **B** || factum est **V** : facitur **B** : est **M** : facit *Heraeus* || **7.2** ut est *suppl. Heraeus* || **7.3** illa *om.* **BV** || **7.7** *Protei om.* **M** || **7.12** aliquis dicat **M** || **7.13** disyllabum *Keil* : disyllabo **M** : dissyllabo **B** : dissyll **V** || fere *om.* **M** || barbarismum faciet *om.* **BV** ||

⁽¹⁴⁾Post hos sunt duo metaplasmi quos partim iam poetae factos ⁽¹⁵⁾in scriptura ipsi relinquunt, partim faciendos nobis tradunt: ⁽¹⁶⁾synaliphe et ecthipsis. synaliphe uel syncrisis est cum per conlisionem ⁽¹⁷⁾concurrentium uocalium subtrahendi ex his aliquam ⁽¹⁸⁾praebetur occasio. hoc, sicut dixi, aut ipse poeta ita iam scriptum ⁽¹⁹⁾reliquit aut nobis subtrahendum tradidit. scriptum reliquit, ut est ⁽²⁰⁾illud *nec non aurumque animusque Latinost*; ⁽²¹⁾nobis subtrahendum permittit, ut est illud ⁽²²⁾*atque ea diuersa penitus dum parte geruntur*. **(8)** hoc, ut ait uir doctus Celsus, commode fit ubi eadem littera ⁽²⁾tollitur, quae et exprimitur, quale est *multa quoque et* ⁽³⁾*bello passus*; incommodius ubi alia tollitur, quale est ⁽⁴⁾*Karthago Italiam*; pessime ubi ei, quae tollitur, ⁽⁵⁾accedit et consonans, quale est *multum ille et terris*. ⁽⁶⁾haec tamen observatio, sicut idem ⁽⁷⁾adfirmat, in nostram linguam cadit, non etiam in Graecorum. ⁽⁸⁾ecthipsis est, cum non sola uocalis eximitur, sed necesse est ut ⁽⁹⁾eam consonans sequatur, quale est quod diximus *multum* ⁽¹⁰⁾*ille et terris*. hi duo metaplasmi maxime pertinent ⁽¹¹⁾ad scandendi rationem, de quibus separatim paulo post dicemus, ⁽¹²⁾quoniam longiorum quorundam indigent praeceptorum.

7.20 Verg. *A.* 12.23 || **7.22** Verg. *A.* 9.1 || **8.2-3** Verg. *A.* 1.5 || **8.4** Verg. *A.* 1.13 || **8.5 (= 8.9-10)** Verg. *A.* 1.3 ||

7.15-21 cf. *Otfr.* 6.70-4 || **8.4-5** pessime – consonans + **8.8-10** ecthipsis – terris: *Cruind.* 43.20-5 ||

7.14 hos *Buttmann* : haec **Ω** || metaplasmi duo **M** || **7.17** aliqua **MV** || **7.18** praebetur **M** || aut *om.* **M** || nobis *post* poeta *add.* **M** || **7.19** a *ante* nobis *add.* **M** || subtrahendi **M** || tradit **B** || **8.1** fit *Cramer* : fuit **Ω** || **8.2** et₁ *om.* **M** || **8.3** quale **BV** : tale **M** || **8.5** accedit **V** *Cruindmeli cod. P* : accidit **BM** || et₁ *om.* **M** || iactatus et alto *post* terris *hab.* **M**, et reliqua **V** || **8.12** quorundam longiorum **B** ||

Nunc duo ⁽¹³⁾metaplasmi restant, antithesis et metathesis. antithesis est, cum ⁽¹⁴⁾pro littera alia littera ponitur, ut mutatio fiat, numerus autem syllabarum ⁽¹⁵⁾non desit, ut cum dicimus *olli* pro *illi*. metathesis ⁽¹⁶⁾est, cum [quae fuerat in litteris] ab alio in alium locum ⁽¹⁷⁾littera transfertur, ut cum dicimus *Thymbre* pro ⁽¹⁸⁾*Thymber* et *Euandre* pro *Euander*.

⁽¹⁹⁾Ex his apparet per accentus et per adspirationem metaplasium ⁽²⁰⁾non fieri. haec enim fere duo specialiter barbarismo remanent, ⁽²¹⁾nisi forte quis *pone* metaplasium per transmutationem ⁽²²⁾accentus esse dicat. sed mihi non ita uidetur: nam si mutatio ⁽²³⁾ista accentus uerbi significationem non mutaret, utique ⁽²⁴⁾metaplasium diceremus; cum uero transmutatio accentus significationem ⁽²⁵⁾quoque uerbi mutet, non in eo est ratio, ut uerbum **(9)** contra consuetudinem enuntiatum uideatur, sed in eo, ut ideo ⁽²⁾aliter enuntiatum sit, quoniam significatio non eadem sequebatur.

8.15 olli: cf. Don. 663.1 H. || **8.17** Thymbre: Verg. A. 10.394 || **8.18** Euandre: Verg. A. 11.55 ||

8.14 pro littera alia littera **MV** : littera pro littera **B** || fiat **M** : sit **B** : fit **V** || autem syllabarum *om.* **BV** || **8.16** cum *om.* **V**, *post* quae *hab.* **B** || <mutato ordine> qui (*pro* quae) *Keil in app.*, <nulla sublata> quae *Nied. in app.* || quae fuerat (fuerit **BV**) in litteris *seclusi* : conseruatis litteris *coniecit Mariotti* || **8.17-18** Thymbre pro Thymber *Niedermann* : timbre pro timber **Ω** || **8.19** per₂ *om.* **M** || **8.21** *ante* pone *add.* ergo et **V**, *post* pone *add.* et ergo et propter **B**, et sit **V** || **8.23** utique **M** : tum erat ut **BV** || **9.1** ratio est *post* in eo *add.* **M** ||

⁽³⁾Multi inter metaplasmos reponunt speciem, quam appellant ⁽⁴⁾tmesin, eamque bifariam diuidunt sic: dicunt enim unam partem ⁽⁵⁾eius esse, cum de una parte orationis duae fiunt, ut est *non* ⁽⁶⁾*ulla laborum, / o uirgo, noua mi facies*. posuit ⁽⁷⁾enim duas partes, id est *non* et *ulla*, pro una, quae ⁽⁸⁾est *nulla*; aliam partem esse dicunt, cum uni parti ⁽⁹⁾orationis inmittitur pars orationis alia, quae ita in medio est ut ⁽¹⁰⁾illas duas portiunculas, quibus circumcincta est, necesse sit sensu atque ⁽¹¹⁾auditione coniungi, quale est *septem subiecta trioni* ⁽¹²⁾pro *septemtrioni* et *conque tubernalem* ⁽¹³⁾pro *contubernalem*, quo Lucilius in metro crebro ⁽¹⁴⁾utitur. sed ego arbitror ideo plerosque hoc inter metaplasmos non ⁽¹⁵⁾recepisse, quia non de una orationis parte haec consideratio putetur: ⁽¹⁶⁾nam duas partes esse dicunt *non* et *ulla*, item ⁽¹⁷⁾tres partes esse *subiecta* et *septem* et *trioni*. ⁽¹⁸⁾sed qui metaplasmm putant dicunt unius partis consideratione ⁽¹⁹⁾aliter enuntiatae metaplasmm factum. nam uidere dicunt se ⁽²⁰⁾unam partem orationis, id est *nulla*, aliter enuntiatam; ⁽²¹⁾item *septemtrioni* compositam esse illam quidem, tamen ⁽²²⁾unam partem aliter enuntiatam; similiter et *contubernalem*.

9.5-6 Verg. *A.* 6.103-4 || **9.11** Verg. *G.* 3.381 || **9.12** *conque tubernalem*: Lucil. 1137 ||

9.3 *speciem om.* **BV** || appellant **BV** : dicunt **M** || **9.4** *tmesin* *Buttmann* : *temesin* **M** : *themesin* **B** : *τῆμεσις* **V** ||
9.5 *partes post* fiunt *add.* **M** || **9.8** *aliam om.* **B** || *eius post* dicunt *add.* **M**, *post partem transp.* *Keil* || **9.10**
portiunculas correxi : *partiunculas* **BV** : *partes* **M** || **9.13** *contubernalem*] *contubernali* **B** : *contubernale* **V** || Lucilius
B^{pc} : Lucius **Ω** || *in metro om.* **BV** || **9.15** *haec om.* **BV** || **9.16** *dicunt om.* **BV** || **9.19** *uidere dicunt se*] *uides* (*uideris*
B) *esse* **BV** || **9.22** *partem unam* **M** ||

⁽²³⁾Ad haec omnia quae supra diximus haec admonenda habeo, ⁽²⁴⁾quod plerumque sic littera subtrahitur per metaplasum aut **(10)** adicitur, ut non solum in eo littera, sed et syllaba sit, ueluti est ⁽²⁾*omite*: nam *o* et littera et syllaba est, atque aliter se hoc ⁽³⁾habet quam cum dicimus *gnatum* pro *nato*. Item ⁽⁴⁾illud est, quod sic plerumque littera subtrahitur, ut per id et ⁽⁵⁾syllabarum damnum fiat, ut est *repostum*: nam licet ⁽⁶⁾solum subtractum sit *i* idque non ut syllaba, sed ut littera, tamen ⁽⁷⁾remanente illic *s* littera, quae in complexu syllabae erat, trisyllaba ⁽⁸⁾pars orationis facta est, quae erat quattuor syllabarum.

Item ⁽⁹⁾plerumque dictiones sunt de quibus contendere possit inter metaplasmos ⁽¹⁰⁾esse, cum non sint, ut, cum dicit aliquis *honos*, ⁽¹¹⁾*arbos*, uidetur ultimam litteram mutauisse. sed hoc non est ⁽¹²⁾metaplasmus, quia et *honos* et *arbos* et *honor* ⁽¹³⁾et *arbor* secundum latinitatis regulam rectus sermo est. ⁽¹⁴⁾simile est cum dicit quis *lapidicinas* et *lapicidinas*: ⁽¹⁵⁾in utroque enim metaplasmus non est per transmutationem, ⁽¹⁶⁾quoniam utrumque certa etymologia recte et latine dicitur.

10.2 *omite*: cf. **4.18-19** || **10.5** *repostum*: cf. **5.2-3** ||

10.4 est *om.* **BV** || per *om.* **BV** || **10.6** idque **BV** : atque **M** || **10.9** pleraeque **B^{pc}** || possit **B** : possi **V** : potest **M** || inter *om.* **BV** || **10.12** et *arbos* *om.* **BV** || **10.13** et *arbor* *om.* **BV** || **10.14** quis] aliquis **B** || **10.15** utroque **M** : neutroque **B** : utro **V** : neutro *Niedermann* || enim *om.* **V** || non *om.* **BV** ||

⁽¹⁷⁾Nunc iam quibus modis barbarismus fiat tempestiuius proferemus. ⁽¹⁸⁾in quo equidem non imitabor eos scriptores, qui exempla ⁽¹⁹⁾huius modi uitiorum de auctoritate lectionum dare uoluerunt, quo ⁽²⁰⁾factum est, ut eorum uitiorum confusione paene iam nemo intellegat ⁽²¹⁾quid barbarismus sit, quid metaplasmus. nam plerumque ⁽²²⁾alii atque alii, interdum idem ipsi, et ad metaplasum et ad ⁽²³⁾barbarismum isdem lectionis utuntur exemplis eoque cuncta confundunt. ⁽²⁴⁾nos exempla huius modi dabimus, quae in usu cotidie **(11)** loquentium animaduertere possumus, si paulo curiosius audiamus.

⁽²⁾Diximus per adiectionem litterae syllabae temporis accentus ⁽³⁾adspirationis fieri barbarismum. per adiectionem litterae ⁽⁴⁾sic fit, ut si quis dicat *coperit* pro *operit*, ⁽⁵⁾*gruit* pro *ruit*, *tottum* pro *toto*, *cottidie* ⁽⁶⁾pro *cotidie*, *quandius* pro *quandiu*; ⁽⁷⁾syllabae, ut si dicas *tutrusit* pro *trusit*; ⁽⁸⁾temporis, ut quidam dicunt *piper* producta priore syllaba, ⁽⁹⁾cum sit brevis, quod uitium Afrorum familiare est; accentus, ⁽¹⁰⁾ut qui dicens *triginta* priorem syllabam acuat et sequentem ⁽¹¹⁾grauiter enuntiet, qui modus et per inmutationem fieri uidetur; ⁽¹²⁾adspirationis, ut qui *homen* scribens adiciat primae ⁽¹³⁾syllabae adspirationem.

10.18 – 11.1 *Pauca* 14.2-7 || **11.3-15** per adiectionem – mille: *Par.* 26.6-10 ||

10.17 fiat *om.* **M** || tempestiuius *Keil* : tempestius **MV** : tempestius **B** : temperetur *Buttmann* || proferemus **B^{pc}** : proferimus **Ω** || **10.19** quo] qua *uel* quoniam *Heraeus* || **10.20** factum est, ut eorum uitiorum confusione *Niedermann* : eorum uitium factum est ut confuse **Ω** *Pauca* : ea uitiorum facta est confusio, ut *Keil* : eorum uitiorum confusione factum est, ut *Heraeus* : eorum uitio factum est, ut confuse *Buttmann* || **10.21** sit *post* metaplasmus *transp.* **B** || **10.22** ad₁] a **V**, *om.* **M** *Pauca* || ad₂ *om.* **MV** *Pauca* || **10.23** isdem **V** : hisdem **B** *Pauca* : eiusdem **M** || eoque] eo quod *Pauca* || **11.1** possimus **M** || ea *post* paulo *add. Pauca*, *post* audiamus **M** || **11.5** *cottidie* **M** : cotidie **B** (to *in ras.*) : tidie **V** : cotidie *Par.* || **11.7** dicas **M** : dicat **BV** *Par.* || **11.8** uel *pius post* *piper add.* **B** || **11.10** qui] si *Par.* : si quis *Keil* || syllabam acuat] acuit (acuat **B^{pc}**) syllabam **B** : syllabam acuit **V** *Par.* || **11.11** enuntiet **B^{pc}** : enuntiat *cett.* || **11.12** qui **BV** : si quis **M** : *om.* *Par.* || omen **BV** ||

Per detractiōem fiunt barbarismi sic: ⁽¹⁴⁾litterae, ut si quis dicat *uīlam* pro *uīllam*, *mile* ⁽¹⁵⁾pro *mille*, aut *socerum* uolens dicere dicat *socrum* ⁽¹⁶⁾*meum*, in quo erit et soloecismus, quia contra regulam ⁽¹⁷⁾est eiusdem nominis; syllabae, ut *salmentum* ⁽¹⁸⁾pro *salsamentum*; temporis, ut si quis dicat *orator* ⁽¹⁹⁾correpta priore syllaba, quod et ipsum uitium Afrorum ⁽²⁰⁾speciale est; accentus, ut si <quis> *oratore*m <dicens> ⁽²¹⁾priorem syllabam circumflexo accentu pronuntiet; adspirationis, ⁽²²⁾ut si quis *onorem* dicens citra adspirationem priorem syllabam ⁽²³⁾proferat.

Per inmutationem fiunt barbarismi sic: litterae, ut si ⁽²⁴⁾quis dicat *bobis* pro *uobis*, *peres* pro *pedes*, ⁽²⁵⁾*stetim* pro *statim*, quod uitium plebem ⁽²⁶⁾Romanam quadam deliciosa nouitatis affectatione corrumpit; **(12)** syllabae, ut si quis dicat *Tarterum* pro *Tartaro*; ⁽²⁾temporis, ut si quis *pices* dicens priorem extendat; ⁽³⁾accentus, ut si quis *oratore*m dicens primam ⁽⁴⁾acuat; adspirationis, ut si quis *Traciam* dicens primam ⁽⁵⁾subtiliter ecferat aut *Kharthaginem* dicens primam ⁽⁶⁾enuntiet cum adspiratione, aut si dicat pro *Euro Heurum*, ⁽⁷⁾ut adspirationem addat priori syllabae: sed hic modus ⁽⁸⁾erit et per adiectionem.

11.17-26 syllabae – corrumpit: *Par.* 26.10-15 ||

11.13-14 litterae sic **M** || **11.14** si quis dicat **M** : qui dicunt **B** : qui dicit **V** : *om.* *Par.* || **11.19** et *om.* **M** || **11.20** quis et dicens *suppl.* *Keil* || **11.22** quis *om.* **BV** *Par.* || honorem **BV** || **11.26** quasi *post* Romanam *add.* *Par.* || affectatione **V** : affectione *cett.* || **12.1** quis dicat **M** : dicat quis **V** : dicat **B** || *Tarterum*] *Tarderum* *Buttmann* || *Tartaro* **BV** : *Tartarum* **M** || **12.2** *pices* dicens **B** : dicat *pices* dicens **M** : *pisces* dicat **V** || **12.4** *thraciam* **B** || **12.5** *Kharthaginem* *correxī* : *Khartaginem* **BM**^{pc} : *Chartaginem* **M**^{ac} : *Cartaginem* **V** || **12.6** enuntiet **B** : enuntiat **MV** || *Euro Heurum* *Birt* : *Ebro* (*ebhro* **B**) *Hebrum* (*ebrum* **V**) **Ω** ||

Per transmutationem fiunt barbarismi ⁽⁹⁾sic: litterae, ut *plerum* pro *prelum*, ⁽¹⁰⁾*leriquum* pro *reliquum*, *interpetror* ⁽¹¹⁾pro *interpretor*, *coacla* pro *cloaca*; syllabae, ⁽¹²⁾ut *displicina* pro *disciplina*; temporis, ⁽¹³⁾ut si quis *pices* producta priore et correpta sequenti pronuntiet; ⁽¹⁴⁾accentus, ut si quis *oratore* pronuntians primam ⁽¹⁵⁾syllabam circumflectat; adspirationis, ut si quis *Thraciam* ⁽¹⁶⁾peruersa adspiratione proferat et dicat *Trachiam*.

⁽¹⁷⁾Hi sunt fere modi barbarismorum, ex quibus apparet adspiratione ⁽¹⁸⁾et accentu non ita frequenter fieri metaplasmos, et uicissim ⁽¹⁹⁾aliquos modos de metaplasms non positos a scriptoribus, ut barbarismi ⁽²⁰⁾similiter fieri posse uideantur, ueluti est diaeresis et episynaliphe. ⁽²¹⁾sed et hos et ceteros, quibus metaplasmi fiunt, si uelimus ⁽²²⁾aduertere per uitia non solum specialia hominum, sed generalia **(13)** quarundam nationum, animaduertimus etiam hos modos in ⁽²⁾barbarismis, quos scriptores praetermiserunt. nam ecce ⁽³⁾nonne uidetur per diaeresin barbarismum facere qui, ut dicat ⁽⁴⁾*soluit*, quod est disyllabum, dicit *solüit*? et rursum ⁽⁵⁾nonne uidetur per episynaliphen barbarismum facere qui, ⁽⁶⁾ut dicat *uuam passam*, dicit *uam passam* et, ⁽⁷⁾ut dicat *indurüit*, quod est tetrasyllabum, dicit *induruit*, ⁽⁸⁾quod est trisyllabum?

12.8-11 per transmutationem – interpretor: *Par.* 26.15-16 || **12.17-20** *Par.* 26.17-19 || **12.17 – 13.2** praetermiserunt: *Pauca* 4.4-9 || **13.2-7** nam ecce – induruit: *Par.* 26.20-2 ||

12.8-9 fiunt barbarismi sic *Niedermann* : barbarismi sic fiunt **BV** : sic fiunt barbarismi **M** || **12.9** ut *om.* **V** || si quis dicat *post* ut *hab.* **M** || *plerum* **B** : *perlum* **M** : *plerumque* **V** : *om.* *Par.* || *prelum* **M** : *plō* **B** : *om.* **V** : *praelum* *Keil* || **12.10** *leriquum* **B^{pc}** : *lericum* **V** *Par.* : *reilquum* **BM** || *reliquum*] *reliquo* **BV** || **12.10-11** *interpetror* pro *interpretor* **B** : *interpettor* pro *interpretor* **B^{pc}M** : *interpretor* pro *interpetror* *Par.* : *petror* pro *pretor* **V** || **12.13** dicat *post* quis *add.* **M**, dicens *Keil* || **12.17** et *post* apparet *hab.* **M** || **12.19** aliquos **MV** *Par.* : alios **B** *Pauca* || **12.20** episynaliphe] systole (sistole **B**) **B** *Par.* || **12.21** et₁ *om.* **M** *Pauca* || modos *post* hos *hab.* *Pauca* || **12.22** aduertere] animaduertere **M** || **13.1** animaduertemus *con.* *Buttmann* || **13.2** barbarismo **B** || esse *post* barbarismis *hab.* **M** || **13.3** facere barbarismum **M** || **13.4** est *om.* **MV** || **13.5** episynaliphen] systolen (sistolen **B**) **B** *Par.* || barbarismum *om.* **B** *Par.* || **13.6** *uuam*] *u,u,am* **M** || *uam* *Keil* : *.u.am* *Par.* : *ua* **B** : *uuam* **MV** || **13.8** est *om.* **BM** ||

⁽⁹⁾Haec fere sunt quae in ipsa prolatione barbarismum incurrunt. ⁽¹⁰⁾sed sunt et alii modi quos quidam <inter> barbarismos adnumerant, ⁽¹¹⁾de quibus quid sentiamus breuiter explicabimus. ac primum ⁽¹²⁾illud dicunt, structuras contra rationem temporum factas barbarismi ⁽¹³⁾uitio censendas. quod cum alii negent – aiunt enim structurae ⁽¹⁴⁾uitium in ipso titulo peccare, non in barbarismi crimen esse ⁽¹⁵⁾redigendum – nos quid sentiamus explicabimus. qui structuram ⁽¹⁶⁾non congruam facit, cum facere se structuram putet, temporis ⁽¹⁷⁾illic praecipue ratione peccat, interdum ut numero syllabarum ⁽¹⁸⁾non peccet, interdum ut etiam syllabarum numero peccet, idque ⁽¹⁹⁾bifariam facit sic, ut uel addat uel detrahat: nam utique si addit ⁽²⁰⁾aut detrahit tempus, quod non congrua ratione prolatum ⁽²¹⁾est, in barbarismi nomen incidat necesse est. unum ad hanc rem ⁽²²⁾probendam duos exempla sufficient. uult struere aliquis ex ⁽²³⁾trochaeo et molosso: si dicat *copiam esse doctorum*, ⁽²⁴⁾structuram optimam facit; quodsi dicat, hanc structuram ⁽²⁵⁾se facere existimans, *copiam esse ciborum*, barbarismum **(14)** fecerit. subtrahit enim tempus de molosso in prima ⁽²⁾syllaba et, dum structurae uult satisfacere, producit primam ⁽³⁾syllabam, ut dicat *cīborum*, cum *ci* brevis sit. adiectione ⁽⁴⁾ergo temporis in pronuntiando facit barbarismum.

13.10 praeceptores *post* quidam *add.* **M** || *inter suppl. Heraeus* || adnumerant **B** : adnominant **V** : nominant **M** ||
13.13 negant **M** || enim *om.* **MV** || **13.14** cum *post* peccare *add.* **M** || **13.16** congruam non **M** || putat **M** || **13.18**
interdum – peccet *om.* **V** || etiam *om.* **M** || numero syllabarum **M** || **13.19** sic *Keil* : sibi **M** : *om.* **BV** || nam **B** : iam
MV || **13.20** unum *post* aut *hab.* **B**, *post* tempus *transp. Niedermann* || **13.21** nomen] crimen *Niedermann in app.*
|| incidat *Buttmann* : incedat **Ω** || **13.22** sufficiunt **M** || **13.23** ut *ante* si *hab.* **M** || fecit **M** || **14.1** fecerit *Heinrich ap.*
Buttmann : fecerat **BM** : fecit **V** || **14.2** structurae **B** : structuram **V** : structura **M** || uult **B** : uelit **M** : uoluit **V** ||

Item e contrario ⁽⁵⁾putat se nescio quis facere structuram ex trochaeo et ione ⁽⁶⁾apellasonos, qualis est structura *esse uideatur*, <et> ⁽⁷⁾dicit ille *esse merebatur*. hic addit secundae syllabae ⁽⁸⁾posterioris uerbi tempus unum et eam pro breui longam posuit, ⁽⁹⁾quam in pronuntiatione ad similitudinem illius uerae structurae ⁽¹⁰⁾redigens corripuit, et facit fraudem sermoni per detractionem ⁽¹¹⁾temporis, atque ideo barbarismus est. uel qualis est *Verris* ⁽¹²⁾*nummos acceperat*, cum optima esset, ⁽¹³⁾si posuisset ex trochaeo et ione maiore *nummos Verris* ⁽¹⁴⁾*acceperat*. sed de hoc genere uitando longum est nunc ⁽¹⁵⁾disputare, cum sit mihi destinatus proprius titulus de structurarum ⁽¹⁶⁾ratione, ubi, cum plene exsecuti fuerimus, quibus modis ⁽¹⁷⁾bonae structurae fiant et quibus uitiosae, eodem ipso titulo doceri ⁽¹⁸⁾poterunt qui hoc genus barbarismi uitare uoluerint, qua ratione ⁽¹⁹⁾rectas structuras sequendo nihil in temporibus barbarismi sonent.

⁽²⁰⁾Secundo illud dicunt, mytacismos et labdacismos et iotacismos ad ⁽²¹⁾barbarismi speciem pertinere. hoc ego, quod ad certas litteras ⁽²²⁾huius modi <uitium> redigere uoluerunt, non satis probo. nam sunt et **(15)** aliae quaedam litterae, quae pro natura sua similibus uitiiis materiam ⁽²⁾praestant. ergo fient barbarismi huius modi, cum aut ⁽³⁾pinguius aliquid aut exilius sonabit quam ratio Romani sermonis ⁽⁴⁾exposcit, non in solis istis tribus litteris, sed et in aliis quibusdam. ⁽⁵⁾quare hinc quoque pauca dicemus.

14.20 mytacismi – **15.9** Aiakis: *Par.* 26.22-29 || **15.2-4** ergo – quibusdam: *Pauca* 28.3-4 ||

14.6 est *om.* **BM**, *post structura hab. Heraeus* || uidetur **M** || et *suppl. Niedermann*, cum *Cramer* || **14.7** dicit *del. Keil* || illi *Keil* || **14.10** corripit **BV** || sermonis **M** || **14.11** Verris **B** : Veris **V** : Verres **M** || **14.12-14** cum – acceperat *om.* **V** || **14.12-13** esset, si posuisset *Keil* : est si posuisset **B^{pc}M** : esse potuisset **B** : esse potuisset, si posuisset *Niedermann* || **14.13** nummos Verris *Niedermann* : nummos Verres **B** : nummos Verrēs *Keil in app.* : Verres nummos **M** || **14.17** modis *post* quibus *add.* **M** || **14.19** barbarismi **V** : barbarismis **M** : barbarum **B** || sonent **B** : sanent **V** : ponent **M** : ponant *Keil* || **4.22** uitium *suppl. Keil*, rem *Uria Varela* || redigere **B** *Par.* : redire **V** : reddere **M** || **15.2** fiunt **V** *Pauca Par.* || **15.3** sonat *Par. Pauca* ||

⁽⁶⁾Mytacismum dicunt, cum in dictione aliqua sic incuriose ⁽⁷⁾ponitur uocali sequente *m* littera, ut an ad priorem pertineat ⁽⁸⁾incertum sit, sicut plerumque passim loquuntur *dixeram* ⁽⁹⁾*illis, speciem aceti, faciem Aiakis*. huius ⁽¹⁰⁾uitii remedium est primum ut, quoties sic sonat pars orationis, ⁽¹¹⁾alia interponatur non a uocali incipiens, ut si haec ipsa emendare ⁽¹²⁾uelimus, *dixeram tunc illis, speciem* ⁽¹³⁾*boni aceti, faciem furentis Aiakis*.

Iotacismum ⁽¹⁴⁾dicunt uitium, quod per *i* litteram uel pinguius uel exilius ⁽¹⁵⁾prolatam fit. Galli hac pinguius utuntur, ut cum dicunt *ite*, ⁽¹⁶⁾non expresse ipsam proferentes, sed inter *e* et *i* pinguiorem sonum ⁽¹⁷⁾nescio quem ponentes. Graeci exilius hanc proferunt, adeo expressioni ⁽¹⁸⁾eius tenui studentes, ut, si dicant *ius*, aliquantulum ⁽¹⁹⁾de priore littera sic proferant, ut uideas disyllabum esse factum. ⁽²⁰⁾Romanae linguae in hoc haec erit moderatio, ut exilis sonus eius ⁽²¹⁾sit, ubi ab ea uerbum incipit, ut *ite*; pinguior, ubi in ea desinit, **(16)** ut *habui tenui*; medium quiddam inter *e* et *i* habet, ⁽²⁾ubi in medio sermone est, ut *hominem*. mihi tamen uidetur, ⁽³⁾quando producta est, plenior uel acutior esse; quando autem ⁽⁴⁾breuis est, medium sonum exhibere, sicut eadem exempla, quae ⁽⁵⁾posita sunt, possunt declarare.

15.13-16 iotacismum – inter e et i: *Par.* 26.29 – 28.1 || **15.13-19** iotacismum – factum: *Ort.* 21.356-63 || **15.20** Romanae – **16.2** hominem: *Par.* 28.1-3, *Ort.* 22.364-9, *Cruind.* 4.2-5 ||

15.6 aliqua **B** Pauca *Par.*: aliquid **M** : om. **V** || **15.7** uocalis **B** *Par.* || litteram **M** || an ad sequentem *post* pertineat *add. M*, *post* **15.8** sit *add. V* || **15.11** alia **BV** : aliqua **M** || **15.15** prolatam **V** : prolatum **BM** *Ort.* : prolata *Par.* || fit *Ort.* : sit **BM** *Par.* : facit **V** || **15.15** hac pinguius] pinguius hanc **M** || **15.16** proferentes *Keil* : proferunt *Par.* : referentes **Ω**, *Ort.* || **15.18** aliquantulum **M** *Ort.* : aliquantum **BV** || **15.19** priore **BV** *Ort.* : priori **M** || proferant *Buttmann* : proferunt **BMV** : profertur *Ort.* || uideas **V** : uides **M** *Ort.* : uidet **B** (*corr. in mg. adscripta euanuit*) : uideatur *Cramer* || **15.20** in hoc haec (*superscriptum*) erit **B** : in hoc erit **M** *Ort.* : inherit **V** : haec erit *Par.* || sonus eius **B** : eius sonus **M** *Ort.* : sonus **V** || **15.21** ite] ire **B** *Par.* || aut ante pinguior *hab.* **M** *Ort.* || uerbum *post* desinit *add. M* || **16.1** quiddam **BV** : quendam sonum **M** *Ort.* : sonum *Cruind.* : om. *Par.* || habet] et *Par.* : om. **V**, ante inter *transp.* *Ort.* || **16.3** plenior uel acutior esse **M** : uel acutior uel plenior esse **B** : uel acutior esse uel plenior **V** || autem om. **BV** || **16.4** exhibere **BM** : exhiberet **V** || debet *post* exhibere *add. M* ||

Labdacismi uitium in eo esse dicunt, ⁽⁶⁾quod eadem littera uel subtilius <a> quibusdam uel pinguius ecferatur. ⁽⁷⁾et re uera insitum alterutrum uitium quibusdam gentibus est. ⁽⁸⁾nam ecce Graeci subtiliter hunc sonum ecferunt: ubi enim dicunt ⁽⁹⁾*ille mihi dixit*, sic sonant duae primae syllabae ⁽¹⁰⁾quasi per unum *l* sermo ipse consistat. contra alii sic pronuntiant ⁽¹¹⁾*ille meum comitatus iter* et *illum* ⁽¹²⁾*ego per flammās*, ut aliquid illic soni etiam ⁽¹³⁾consonanti admiscere uideantur, quod est pinguissimae prolotionis. ⁽¹⁴⁾Romana lingua emendationem habet in hoc quoque distinctione. ⁽¹⁵⁾nam alicubi pinguius, alicubi debet exilius proferri: ⁽¹⁶⁾pinguius, cum uel *b* sequitur ut in *balbo*, uel *c* ut in ⁽¹⁷⁾*pulchro*, uel *f* ut in *Adelfis*, uel *g* ut in *alga*, ⁽¹⁸⁾uel *m* ut in *pulmone*, uel *p* ut in *Calpe*; exilius autem ⁽¹⁹⁾proferenda est, ubicumque ab ea uerbum incipit, ut in *lepore*, ⁽²⁰⁾*lana*, *lupo*, uel ubi in eodem uerbo et prior syllaba in ⁽²¹⁾hac finitur et sequens ab ea incipit, ut *ille* et *Allia*.

16.11 ille: Verg. *A.* 6.112 || **16.11-12** illum: Verg. *A.* 6.110 ||

16.5-21 labdacismi – Allia: *Par.* 28.3-11 ||

16.6 a suppl. *Keil* || **16.7** et - est *om. Par.* || insitum *om. M* || est *om. M^{ac}V* || **16.8** ubi *Keil* : ut **Ω** : cum *Par.* || dicat **BV** || **16.9** -ll- post duae hab. **M** || **16.10** ipse **MV^{sl}** : iste **B** || ut post pronuntiant add. **M** || **16.11** est post comitatus add. **M** || **16.12** eripui post flammās add. **M** (*ex Verg. A. 6.111*) || illic] i litterae *Buttmann* || **16.13** consonantis *Par.* || est post prolotionis *transp. M* || **16.14** romana lingua *Keil* : romanae linguae **Ω** *Par.* : romani linguae *Buttmann* || habet *Keil* : habent **Ω** : *om. Par.* || hoc *Keil* : hac **Ω** : *om. Par.* || **16.15** pinguius **M** : plenius **BV** *Par.* || **16.16** in balbo **BV** : balbus *Par.* : albo **M** || in₂ *om. M* *Par.* || **16.17** pulchro] pulcher *Par.* || alga *Par.* : algam **Ω** || **16.18** in₂ *om. BV* *Par.* || calpe **BV** *Par.* : salpo **B^{pc}** : scalpe **M** : scalps **M^{mg}** : scalpro *Keil* ||

⁽²³⁾Haec sunt exempla de his tribus litteris, quas quasi praecipuas **(17)** praeceptores notauerunt. sed et in aliis litteris sunt genitalia quaedam ⁽²⁾quorundam uitia, ut ecce in *t* aliqui ita pingue nescio quid ⁽³⁾sonant, ut, cum dicunt *etiam*, nihil de media syllaba ⁽⁴⁾infringant. Graeci contra, ubi non debent infringere, de sono eius litterae ⁽⁵⁾infringunt, ut, cum dicunt *optimus*, mediam syllabam ⁽⁶⁾ita sonent, quasi post *t z* Graecum admisceant. item litteram *c* ⁽⁷⁾quidam in quibusdam dictionibus non latine ecferunt, sed ita ⁽⁸⁾crasse, ut non discernas quid dicant, ut puta si <quis> dicat *sic* ⁽⁹⁾*ludit*, ita hoc loquitur, ut putes eum in secunda parte orationis ⁽¹⁰⁾*cludere* dixisse, non *ludere*. et item, si contra ⁽¹¹⁾dicat illud, contrarium putabis. alii contra ita subtiliter hoc ecferunt, ⁽¹²⁾ut, cum duo *c* habeant, desinentis prioris partis orationis ⁽¹³⁾et incipientis alterius, sic loquantur, quasi uno *c* utrumque explicant, ⁽¹⁴⁾ut dicunt multi *sic custodit*. item *s* litteram Graeci ⁽¹⁵⁾exiliter ecferunt adeo ut, cum dicunt *iussit*, per unum *s* ⁽¹⁶⁾eos dicere aestimes. *u* quoque litteram aliqui exilius ecferunt, ⁽¹⁷⁾ut, cum dicunt *ueni*, putes trisyllabum incipere.

17.1-6 in aliis litteris – admisceant: *Pauca* 28.5-8 || **17.2-10** cf. *Erm.* 13 Goullet || **17.6-17** litteram – incipere: *Par.* 28.11-18 || **17.16-17** u – incipere: *Ort.* 22.370-1 ||

16.23 exempla *om.* **BV** || **17.1** in *om.* **M** || genitalia **MV** *Pauca* : generalia **B** (*corr. manu altera in mg. adscripta euanuit*) : gentilia *Niedermann* || **17.2** quorundam **B** *Pauca* : quorum dicit **V** : quarundam **M** || hominum *post* uitia *add. Pauca*, nationum *add. M* || ut ecce *restitui* : ecce ut **Ω** : ecce *Keil* || in *t* aliqui *restitui* : in *t* alii **V** : itali **B** : in tali uerbo **M** *Pauca* : in *t* Itali *Niedermann* : in <littera> *t* aliqui *Keil* : in *t* tale uerbum *Cramer* || quid] quod *Pauca* || **17.3** sonat **M** || cum *om.* **M** || dicunt **M** : dicit **BV** *Pauca* || ita *post* dicunt *add. B*, ite **V** || **17.4** infringat **B** *Pauca* || **17.5** optimus] optumus **M** : obtimus *Pauca* || **17.6** sonent *Keil* : sonant **B^pcMV** *Pauca* : sonat **B** || *z*] *y* **B** || admisceant *Pauca* : admiscant **BV** : ammiscant **M** || *c in ras. scripsit M*, *om. V* || **17.8** dicant] dicunt **M** || quis *suppl. Keil* || **17.9** eum] eos *Par.* || **17.14** per *post* Graeci *add. B^{ac}V* || **17.16** eos *om.* **B^{ac}M** || exilius *Goetting* : pinguius **Ω** ||

Haec in his ⁽¹⁸⁾litteris a nobis adnotata sunt. fortasse sint etiam alia genitalia ⁽¹⁹⁾quorundam uitia, quae qui suae linguae puritatem uolunt custodire, ⁽²⁰⁾diligenter ut euitare ipsi possint et obseruare et animaduertere ⁽²¹⁾debent.

Tendunt longius plerique scriptores uitium barbarismi. ⁽²²⁾nam quicquid in habitu, quicquid in gestu, quicquid in **(18)** motu, etiam quicquid citiore aut tardiore incessu peccat, ⁽²⁾ut id ab elegantia eruditi hominis distare uideatur, barbarismum ⁽³⁾dicunt. quam rem ita censi non inutile est, ut sciant non mediocri ⁽⁴⁾se uitio laborare, qui ciuilem scientiam professi in his quoque mutis ⁽⁵⁾et tacitis rebus uitium aliquod contra rationem decoris incurrunt. ⁽⁶⁾quo magis sequenda sunt maxime haec praecepta, quae a rhetoribus ⁽⁷⁾de gestu et de actione traduntur.

17.21 tendunt – **18.3** dicunt: *Pauca* 8.10-12 || **18.3-5** sciant – incurrunt: *Par.* 28.18-19 ||

17.18 a nobis *om.* **M** || genitalia **MV** : gentilia **B** || **17.19** quorundam **BV** : quarundam nationum **M** || uitia quae *om.* **M** || **17.20** et] quae **M** || **18.1** aut] uel **M** || quis *ante* peccat *add. Pauca* || **18.3** ob *post* quam *hab.* **M** || **18.4** se *post* sciant *transp.* **M**, *post* laborare *Par.* || mutis] uitii **M** || **18.6** maxime *om.* **M** || **18.7** de actione] dictione **M** ||

⁽⁸⁾Inter barbarismum et soloecismum est quidem illa distantia a ⁽⁹⁾scriptoribus posita, quod barbarismus una orationis parte, soloecismus ⁽¹⁰⁾pluribus constat. sed hoc altius intellegere necesse est. ⁽¹¹⁾nam ecce qui dicat nominatiuo casu *fontis*, cum debuerit ⁽¹²⁾dicere *fons*, una orationis parte peccauit, nec tamen barbarismum ⁽¹³⁾recte dicemus hunc fecisse. sic enim peccauit, quomodo ⁽¹⁴⁾si *fontem* feminino genere dixisset. ergo cum contra regulam ⁽¹⁵⁾uel generis uel casus uel numeri prolatum quid fuerit, quia illic ⁽¹⁶⁾non ipsum solum spectatur, quod prolatum est, nec per se tantum ⁽¹⁷⁾penditur, sed accidentium regula discutitur neque ex adiectionibus ⁽¹⁸⁾aut detractationibus uitium fit, soloecismus plurium rerum contemplatione ⁽¹⁹⁾dicetur. ubi uero adiectiones detractationesue et cetera ⁽²⁰⁾in singulis partibus sunt inperite facta, ibi barbarismus est, ubi ⁽²¹⁾perite et cum auctoritate, ibi metaplasmus est.

18.8-10 inter – constat + 14-15 ergo – fuerit: *Par.* f. 126^u 4-6 ||

18.8 est post 18.9 posita *transp.* **M**, post distantia *Par.* || quidem] quaedam **M**, *om.* *Par.* || illa **BV** : illic **M** : ista *Par.* || 18.10 necesse *om.* **BV** || est post altius *transp.* **B** || 18.11 ecce **BV** : ille **M** || dicat **BV** : dicit **M** || 18.12 fons dicere **M** || nec] neque **BV** || 18.15 uel₁ *om.* **M** || 18.16 solum ipsum **M** || 18.17 pendit **M** || 18.18 uitium *om.* **B** || fit *Buttmann* : sit **M** : *om.* **BV** || 18.19 quae post cetera *add.* **M** || 18.20 sunt (*fiunt Keil*) post singulis *hab.* **M** *Keil* || sunt post facta *suppl.* *Keil* || est **M** : erit **B** : *om.* **V** || 18.21 et *om.* **M** || est ante metaplasmus *transp.* **V**, *om.* **B** ||

De illo quaeritur, ⁽²²⁾utrum, si ea, quae semper pluralia sunt, singulariter proferantur, ⁽²³⁾ueluti si quis dicat *scopam scalam quadrigam* ⁽²⁴⁾*sordem*, aut item si quis dicat *lucis paces*, soloecismum ⁽²⁵⁾an barbarismum faciat. est enim hoc dissimile ab ⁽²⁶⁾eo exemplo, quod superius positum est. nam qui dicit nominatiuo **(19)** *hic fontis, hic dentis*, ipsum nomen *fontis* et *dentis* ⁽²⁾tale profert, ut sine casus consideratione dici posse uideatur. ⁽³⁾nam in genitiuo rectum est *fontis* et *dentis* dixisse; ⁽⁴⁾hic autem, quod prorsus dici melius per latinitatem non potest ⁽⁵⁾singulariter aut pluraliter, nullo errore alterius intellectus accipi ⁽⁶⁾potest. itaque dicunt, quia non secutura casuum dispectione ⁽⁷⁾statim repudietur, cum quis dicat *quadrigam* aut *lucis*, ⁽⁸⁾barbarismum eum fecisse per inmutationem ultimae ⁽⁹⁾litterae. sed hoc non probabili ratione profertur. nam cum huius ⁽¹⁰⁾modi barbarismorum uitium diuisum sit in barbarismum et ⁽¹¹⁾barbarolexin ea ratione, ut barbarismus illud dicatur, quod cognitum ⁽¹²⁾in Latina lingua prolatione tantum peccat, barbarolexis illud, ⁽¹³⁾quod <ex> alterius gentis lingua arcessitur, hoc ad neutrum referri ⁽¹⁴⁾potest. nam barbarolexis non est, quoniam non alienae gentis ⁽¹⁵⁾uocabulum est; barbarismus non est, quoniam non dici potest ⁽¹⁶⁾melius latine ipso numero. remanet ergo ut sit soloecismus ⁽¹⁷⁾disputatione regularum habita, quod quidem prolatio talis peccet ⁽¹⁸⁾in numeris.

18.21-5 de illo – faciat: *Par.* f. 126^u 6-9 || **19.6-11** itaque – barbarolexin + **19.13-21** hoc – litterae + **19.23** debuit – **20.1** dicantur: *Par.* f. 126^u 9-23 || **19.9-18** nam – numeris: *Pauca* 34.2-7 ||

18.22 proferantur **V** *Par.* : proferuntur **BM** || **18.23-4** sordem quadrigam **M** || **18.24** paces *om.* **BV**, plū *add.* **B** || **18.25** enim **MV** : autem **B** || **18.26** casu *post* nominatiuo *add.* **M** || **19.1** ipsud **M** || **19.3** et dentis *om.* **BV** || **19.4** dici *om.* **BV** || melius *om.* **B** || **19.6** quia] quod **B** || **19.8** eum] enim **M** || **19.9** uel syllabae *post* litterae *hab.* **M** || **19.10** in **BV** *Par.* : inter **M** *Pauca* || **19.12** est *post* illud *hab.* **M** || **19.13** ex *suppl.* *Keil* || referri] adferri **M** || **19.14** quoniam] quia **M** || **19.15** dici non **B** || **19.16** in *ante* ipso *hab.* **M** || soloecismus sit **M** || **19.17** habita *Niedermann* : habeta **B** : habet **V** *Pauca* : *om.* **M** || quod] *post* quidem *transp.* **V**, *post* talis *Pauca*, quoniam **M** || quidem *om.* **B** *Par.* || peccat **M** ||

Ex quo iam apparet etiam illud in disputationem ⁽¹⁹⁾uenire, utrum una dictio possit et barbarismum habere et soloecismum. ⁽²⁰⁾hoc sic animaduertamus: qui dicit *ossua*, barbarismum ⁽²¹⁾facit per adiectionem litterae; item qui dicit *strenuas*, ⁽²²⁾barbarismum facit per adiectionem eiusdem litterae. ⁽²³⁾debut enim dicere *ossa* et *strenas*. porro qui dicit ⁽²⁴⁾*strenuam*, dicitur et barbarismum facere et soloecismum: ⁽²⁵⁾barbarismum quidem per adiectionem litterae, soloecismum ⁽²⁶⁾per artis regulas, quod *strenae* singulari numero **(20)** non dicantur. et ad hoc talem rationem adferunt scriptores, capaces esse ⁽²⁾per naturam singulas partes orationum, ut uitia multiplicata ⁽³⁾suscipiant. nam barbarismum non uno modo in una dictione ⁽⁴⁾posse fieri, ut si quis hoc ipsum quod diximus *ossua* producta ⁽⁵⁾priore syllaba pronuntiet. erit enim barbarismus per adiectionem ⁽⁶⁾temporis in prima syllaba et per adiectionem litterae in ⁽⁷⁾secunda syllaba. item *apse* pro *re ipsa*: nam *a*, quod erat ⁽⁸⁾ultimum, transmutauimus et *e* in postremum coniecimus pro *i*, ⁽⁹⁾quod fuerat primum, licet et *παρέλκων* sit haec dictio, ut est ⁽¹⁰⁾*adesdum*, quod genus metaplasmus non est, sed magis tropus. ⁽¹¹⁾quod etiam in metaplasms euenireprehendit qui diligentius ⁽¹²⁾animaduertit, ut cum dicimus *Iacchum* pro *Baccho*. ⁽¹³⁾et mutauimus litteram, quod est antithesis, nam pro *b* ⁽¹⁴⁾posuimus *i*, et unam syllabam in duas diuisimus, nam de ⁽¹⁵⁾*Bacch* fecimus *Iacch*, quod est diaeresis.

19.19 una – soloecismum + **19.23** qui dicit – **20.1** dicantur: *Ursus* f. 50^{ub} 7-11 || **20.3-9** nam – primum: *Par.* f. 126^u 23-8 || **20.11-14** quod – diuisimus: *Par.* f. 126^u 28-31 ||

19.18 etiam *om.* **V** *Par.* || **19.19** dictio una **M** || **19.20** sic **B** *Par.* : si **MV** || **19.25** barbarismum – soloecismum *om.* **M** || **20.1** scriptores *om.* **BV** || **20.3** et *post* nam *add.* **BV** || barbarismum] barbarismus **BM** *Par.* || non *om.* **V** || in *ante* uno *hab.* **BV** || **20.5** pronuntiat **M** || **20.7** *apse*] *abse* **V** : *adse* **B^{ac}** : *reapse* *Par.* || pro *re ipsa* **B**(*expuncto uocabulo re*)**V** *Par.*, *om.* **M** || **20.8** transmutauimus **V** : transmutabimus *Par.* : transmutabimus **B** : transmutamus **M** || **20.9** et *om.* **M** || *παρέλκων* *Cramer* : *parelicon* **B** : *ΠΑΡΑΛΙΚΩΝ* **M** : *παράλλον* **V** || **20.10** *adesdum* *corr.* *Cramer* : *adesteum* **Ω** || tropus magis **B** || **20.12** *Iacchum* pro *Baccho* *correx*i : *iachum* pro *bacho* **Ω** || **20.15** *Bacch* *correx*i : *bach* **Ω** || fecimus *om.* **M** || *Iacch* *correx*i : *iach* **Ω** ||

Aliud quiddam ⁽¹⁶⁾est, cum dicimus *Mauortis*. nam et inmittimus duas ⁽¹⁷⁾litteras *uo*, quod est epenthesis, et separatam consonantem alteri ⁽¹⁸⁾syllabae coniungimus, cum facimus *uor*, quod nescio an diaeresis ⁽¹⁹⁾dici possit; non enim per se tantum duas syllabas facit. item duos ⁽²⁰⁾metaplasmos habet, cum dicimus *satias* pro *satietas*. ⁽²¹⁾nam et mediae dictioni <duae> litterae subtractae sunt, ⁽²²⁾quod est syncope, et duae syllabae in unam redactae, quod est ⁽²³⁾episynaliphe. ergo *couaclam* qui dicit pro *cloaca*, ⁽²⁴⁾et per adiectionem barbarismum facit – addit enim *u* litteram **(21)** mediae syllabae – et per transmutationem: *l* enim litteram, quae ⁽²⁾erat in prima syllaba, mutauit et in ultima posuit. item qui ⁽³⁾dicit *forficem* pro *forcipe*. ergo, inquiunt, sicut et ⁽⁴⁾duo barbarismi et duo metaplasmi in una plerumque orationis ⁽⁵⁾parte cernuntur, sic consequens est ut possit in una parte ⁽⁶⁾orationis et soloecismus et barbarismus deprehendi, sicuti et ⁽⁷⁾soloecismus et metaplasmus, quale dicunt esse illud *urbemque* ⁽⁸⁾*Fidenam*. metaplasmm esse illud, quod *fi* syllabam, ⁽⁹⁾quae longa erat, contraxerit;

20.16 *Mauortis*: cf. **4.8-9** || **21.7-8** Verg. *A.* 6.773 ||

20.19-23 duos – episynaliphe: *Ursus* f. 50^{ub} 14-18 || **20.19** item – **21.2** posuit: *Par.* f. 126^u 31-7 || **20.23** ergo – **21.2** posuit: *Ursus* f. 50^{ub} 11-14 || **21.3-12** ergo – *Fidenas*: *Par.* f. 126^u 37 – 127^u 7 || **21.6-11** soloecismus – sit + **21.18** per artis regulam: *Ursus* f. 50^{ub} 18-22 ||

20.16 ut *ante* cum *add.* **M** || **20.17** alteri *Buttmann* : alterius **Ω** || **20.18** facimus] fecimus **M** || diaeresis] diaeresis **B^{pc}** : diarisis **M** : diacope **B** : ΔΝΑΠΙΕCNC **V** || AN ΕΠΕΟΥΘΕCNCNC *post* diaeresis *add.* **V** || **20.20** habes *coniec.* *Keil* || titoy (*a.c.*, anti ton *p.c.*) *post* satias *add.* **B**, ANΘH ΘΟΥ *add.* **V** || **20.21** duae *suppl.* *Keil* || **20.22** syncope] synacope **B** : sinagope **M** : CHNKΩΠIE **V** : syncopin *Par.* : sincopam *Ursus* || unam] unum **M** || retractae **V** || sunt *post* redactae *add.* **M** *Par.* || **20.23** couaclam **BV** : coacla **M** : couacla **M^{pc}** *Par.* || **20.24** facit barbarismum **BV** *Par.* || **21.1** per *om.* **M** || transmutationem] transmotationem **M** : inmotationem **B** : mutationem **V** || **21.2** mutauit] motauit **BM** : transmutauit *Keil* || **21.3** item *ante* ergo *hab.* **M** || et *om.* **M** *Par.* || **21.5** cernuntur *Keil* : geruntur **Ω** || **21.6** est *ante* et₃ *add.* **M** || **12.7** dicunt *post* illud *hab.* **M** || in urbemque **M** || **20.8** fi *om.* **MV** || **21.9** erat longa **B** ||

soloecismum esse in eo, quod ⁽¹⁰⁾numero singulari *Fidenam* protulerit, quae alioqui ⁽¹¹⁾plurali semper numero sit. debuit enim dicere *urbem Fidenas*, ⁽¹²⁾sicut Cicero dixit *urbem Syracusas*. itaque et ⁽¹³⁾soloecismum et barbarismum aiunt cerni posse in una parte ⁽¹⁴⁾orationis. contra hoc nihil aliud dicitur nisi hoc, animaduerso ⁽¹⁵⁾uitio maiore in parte orationis de soloecismo et barbarismo illic ⁽¹⁶⁾dispiciendi locum non esse; barbarismum enim esse qui ⁽¹⁷⁾corrumpat integram dictionem, non qui corruptae etiam superueniat; ⁽¹⁸⁾quod enim iam per artis regulam a latinitate summotum ⁽¹⁹⁾sit, hoc barbarismum fieri prolatione non posse, cum non pro ⁽²⁰⁾prolato haberi debeat. habet quidem quod dicitur non nihilum ⁽²¹⁾rationis, sed tamen ad ostendenda aut declaranda pueris uitia ⁽²²⁾nihil inpedi ostendi et emendari primo soloecismum, ut dicas ⁽²³⁾uerbi causa *strenas* singularem numerum non recipere, **(22)** tum ut addas non *strenuas* sed *strenas* esse ⁽²⁾dicendas.

21.12 Cic. *Ver.* 4.117, 5.26 ||

21.10 in *ante* numero *add.* **M** || protulerat **M** || quae] quod *Keil* || alioqui **B** : alioquin **V** : quidem **M** : *om.* *Par.* ||

21.11 plurali **M** : pl̄ri **V** : pluralis *Par.* : plū **B** || numero **M** : num̄ **V** : numeri **B** : numerus *Par.* || 21.15 maiore uitio **B** || 21.16 dispiciendi *Keil* : dispiciendo **M** : despiciendo **B** : inspiciendo **V** || dicunt *post* enim *add.* **B**, dicimus **M** || 21.17 corruptae *correx*i : corrupta **BVM**^{ac} : corruptam **M**^{pc} || 21.18 summotum (submotum **V**) **BV** : sumptum **M** : remotum *Keil* : semotum *Buttmann* || 21.19 hoc *om.* **BV** || dicimus *post* prolatione *add.* **M** || pro *om.* **B**, *ante* non *transp.* **V** || 21.22 et **MV** : aut **B** || 21.23 causa **BV** : gratia **M** || 22.1 addas **MV** : dicas **B** ||

Eueniunt sane pleraque uitia, quae specialiter partibus ⁽³⁾barbarismi non possumus adnectere. nam ecce plerique ex inperitia ⁽⁴⁾sic loquuntur, ut *tyrannicidas* dicant pro *tyrannis*: ⁽⁵⁾peccant hi non in regula, non in prolotione, sed in ⁽⁶⁾sensu. item alii plerumque *Sanguintinos* pro *Saguntinis* quasi ad ⁽⁷⁾uituperationem proferunt: peccant hi non in regula, non in prolotione, ⁽⁸⁾sed in historia.

Item plerique contra id quod agunt talem ⁽⁹⁾significationem proferunt, ut augere se putent, cum minuant, ut ⁽¹⁰⁾si quis dicat *inuictissimum ducem* aut *infidelissimum* ⁽¹¹⁾*amicum*: putat se plus dicere quam ⁽¹²⁾*inuictum* aut *infidelem*, cum *inuictissimus* ille ⁽¹³⁾sit, qui non est penitus uictus, et *infidelissimus* ille, qui non usque ⁽¹⁴⁾ad summum fidelis. haec atque huius modi alia si qua sunt forsitan ⁽¹⁵⁾uitia, si quidem non cadent in ea de quibus post dicturi sumus, ⁽¹⁶⁾ad barbarismi generale nomen recta ratione referentur. quicquid ⁽¹⁷⁾enim salua uel regulae uel prolotionis ratione peccat, id si specialis ⁽¹⁸⁾uitii nomen non habet, barbarismus iure dicetur.

22.2-3 eueniunt – nam: *Par.* f. 127^r 7-8 || **22.2-14** eueniunt – fidelis: *Ursus* f. 50^{ub} 22-31 || **22.2-8** eueniunt – historia: *Pauca* 8.2-6 || **22.14-18** haec – dicetur: *Pauca* 8.6-9 || **22.16-18** quicquid – dicetur: *Par.* f. 127^r 8-10 ||

22.2 plane *post* sane *add.* **M** || **22.2-3** barbarismi partibus **M** *Par.* || **22.3** possumus **M** *Pauca* : possis **BV** : possunt *Par.* || **22.6** sanguintinos **M** *Pauca* : sangiuntinos **V** : sanguinitos **B** : sanguntinos *Ursus* || pro Saguntinis *correx*i, pro sanguineis *Pauca*, *om. cett.* || **22.7** hi *Pauca* : hii **BV** : autem **M** : *om. Ursus* || **22.9** se **M** *Ursus*, *om. BV* || putent **B** : putant **MV** *Ursus* || **22.11** putant **M** || **22.13** est *om. BV* || **22.16** referuntur **M** || **22.17** aliqua natione (*ratione V*) *post* ratione *add.* **BV** || quis *ante* peccat *suppl. Keil* || **22.18** dicitur **V** *Par. Pauca* ||

⁽¹⁹⁾DE SCANDENDIS VERSIBVS

⁽²⁰⁾Nunc quoniam quid essent metaplasmi et definitionibus et ⁽²¹⁾exemplis plene insinuauimus, pertinere ad compendium et ad ordinem ⁽²²⁾docendi arbitror, ut de scandendis uersibus pauca dicamus. ⁽²³⁾magna enim pars scientiae, qua diiudicemus constet uersus an **(23)** non constet, ex intellectu metaplasmodum pendet atque consistit.

⁽²⁾Scire igitur ante omnia debemus uersum omnem, qui quidem a ⁽³⁾bono auctore conscriptus sit, uel suapte natura sine excusatione ⁽⁴⁾consistere uel quibusdam artificialibus rationibus defendi, ut consistere ⁽⁵⁾iudicetur. sine excusatione consistit uersus huius modi, ⁽⁶⁾*conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe* ⁽⁷⁾et ⁽⁸⁾*tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix.* ⁽⁹⁾hi enim et alii tales non auctoritate aliqua, non praerogatiua aliqua ⁽¹⁰⁾artis aut consuetudinis defenduntur. nihil additum, nihil detractum, ⁽¹¹⁾nihil mutatum habent, sed iuxta communis linguae enuntiationem ⁽¹²⁾integri nati sunt neque ulla ex parte aliquid dubitationis ⁽¹³⁾admittunt. cum excusatione porro duplici modo stare ⁽¹⁴⁾dicuntur. horum unus modus est, qui euenit artificiali quadam ⁽¹⁵⁾uarietate et multimoda obseruatione, alius qui metaplasmodum ui ⁽¹⁶⁾et potestate contingit.

23.6 Verg. *G.* 1.442 || **23.8** Verg. *A.* 7.1 ||

22.19 de scandendis uersibus *om.* **V** || **22.20** de *ante* definitionibus *hab.* **MV** || **22.21** ad₂ *om.* **BV** || **22.22** dicendi **B** || **22.23** diiudicemus *correx* : iudicemus **MV** : deiudicamus **B** : diiudicamus *Niedermann* || constet **MV** : constetne **B** || **23.1** pendet atque consistit **BV** : pendetne an non pendet **M** || **23.2-3** a bono **B** : ab uno **MV** || **23.4** a *ante* quibusdam *add.* **M** || artificialibus **Ω** || **23.6** refugerit *corr. Niedermann (ex Verg.)* : refugit **B** : reffugit **V** : refulserit **M** || **23.9** enim *om.* **M** || alii *om.* **BV** || non praerogatiua aliqua **B** (*in mg.*) : praerogatiua **MV** || **23.11** habent] habeat **M** : habeant **M^{pe}** || **23.12** nati] enuntiati **BV** || **23.14** ex *ante* artificiali *add.* **M** || artificiali **Ω** (*et infra*) || **23.15** et *om.* **BV** ||

Artificiali ratione quot modis excusatio ⁽¹⁷⁾euenit, plene, cum de syllabis tractarem, comprehendisse me scio. ⁽¹⁸⁾itaque nunc poni exempla sufficiet. haec huius modi erunt, ut, qui ⁽¹⁹⁾rationem scire plenius uelit, recurrere ad illum titulum debeat, ⁽²⁰⁾in quo expresse cuncta significantur. nam eadem iterari et taedet ⁽²¹⁾et superfluum est.

Haec exempla sunt huius modi. defenditur ⁽²²⁾ratione uersus ille ⁽²³⁾*emicat Euryalus et munere uictor amici*. ⁽²⁴⁾nam *lus et* sine dubio non stat priore parte, quoniam cum **(24)** breuem uocalem una consona sequitur, brevis permanet, sicut ⁽²⁾utique brevis est ⁽³⁾*Iuppiter annos*. ⁽⁴⁾item defenditur *insulae Ionio in magno*, cur *ae* ⁽⁵⁾diphthongos pro breui posita sit, cum utique longa sit, ut ⁽⁶⁾*Aeole namque tibi*. item defenditur *te Corydon* ⁽⁷⁾*o Alexi*, cur pro breui posita sit *o*, cum alioqui ⁽⁸⁾longa sit, ut *o ubi campi*. item defenditur *et uolucrum* ⁽⁹⁾*linguas*, cur *lu* pro ⁽¹⁰⁾breui posita sit duabus consonis sequentibus, cum alibi habeatur longa, ut est *pecudes* ⁽¹¹⁾*pictaeque uolucres*. item defenditur *auroque* ⁽¹²⁾*effulgere fluctus*, quare *re* duabus consonis sequentibus ⁽¹³⁾brevis posita sit, cum alibi habeatur longa, ut est

23.23 Verg. *A.* 5.337 || **24.3** Verg. *A.* 8.560 || **24.4** Verg. *A.* 3.211 || **24.6** Verg. *A.* 1.65 || **24.6-7** Verg. *Ecl.* 2.65 || **24.8** Verg. *G.* 2.486 || **24.8-9** Verg. *A.* 3.361 || **24.10-11** Verg. *G.* 3.243 || **24.11-12** Verg. *A.* 8.677 ||

23.18 poni nunc **M** || sufficiet *Niedermann* : sufficient **B** : sufficiunt **M** : sufficiant **V** : sufficit *Keil* || **23.20** significantur **M** : signantur **V** : figurantur **B** || et *om.* **M** || **23.21** sunt **BV** : sub **M** || **24.3** o mihi praeteritos referat si *ante* Iuppiter *hab.* **M** || Iuppiter **V** : Ioppiter **B** : Iupiter **M** || **24.4** cur **M** : quod **BV** || *ae* *Keil* : *lae* **BM** : *le* **V** || **24.5** diphthongos *Niedermann* : dyptongos **B** : diptongus **MV** : diphthongus *Keil* || ut *om.* **BV** || **24.6** corydon] coridon **MV** || **24.7** o cum] cum o **BV** || alioqui **B** : alioquin **V** : alibi **M** || **24.9** cur **M** : cum **BV** || **24.9-10** pro breui posita sit *post* sequentibus *transp.* *Niedermann* || **24.10** habeatur longa *Keil* : habetur longa **M** : longa sit **BV** || et *post* est *add.* **M** ||

⁽¹⁴⁾*inmanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.* ⁽¹⁵⁾item defenditur *hic erit unus honos*, cur *us* ⁽¹⁶⁾duabus consonis sequentibus brevis posita sit, cum alioqui isdem ⁽¹⁷⁾consonis sequentibus longa sit, ut *terga fatigamus* ⁽¹⁸⁾*hasta.* item defenditur *ponite spes sibi quisque*, ⁽¹⁹⁾cur *te* brevis sit, [cum *s* et *p* longam *te* fecerunt duae consonae] cum alibi longam eferant, ⁽²⁰⁾ut *unde spissa coma.* item defenditur **(25)** *hoc erat alma parens*, cur *hoc* una consona sequente ⁽²⁾longa posita sit, cum alioqui brevis ponatur, ut *solus* ⁽³⁾*hic inflexit sensus.* item defenditur *nemorosa* ⁽⁴⁾*Zacynthus*, cur *sa* sequente duplici brevis sit, cum alioqui ⁽⁵⁾longa habeatur, ut *exultat Amazon.* item ⁽⁶⁾defenditur ⁽⁷⁾*o mihi praeteritos*, ⁽⁸⁾cur *hi* breuem posuerit, cum alioqui longa sit, ut est ⁽⁹⁾*fata mihi, ferro sceleratam excindere* ⁽¹⁰⁾*gentem.* ⁽¹¹⁾haec exemplis breuiter admonuisse sufficiat. qui uero ultra hoc ⁽¹²⁾rationes defensionum quaerit, ad praedictum titulum, sicut diximus, ⁽¹³⁾recurrat.

24.14 Verg. *A.* 3.702 || **24.15** Verg. *A.* 5.308 || **24.17-18** Verg. *A.* 9.610 || **24.18** Verg. *A.* 11.309 || **24.20** Ter. Maur. 1103 || **25.1** Verg. *A.* 2.664 || **25.2-3** Verg. *A.* 4.22 || **25.3-4** Verg. *A.* 3.270 || **25.5** Verg. *A.* 11.648 || **25.7** Verg. *A.* 8.560 || **25.9-10** Verg. *A.* 9.137 ||

24.15 cur *us* **M** : currus **B** : cur nus **V** || **24.16** literis *post* consonis *add.* **BV** || sequentibus *om.* **V** || alioqui **BV** : alibi **M** || **24.19** cum – consonae *seclusi* || *s* et *p* **MV** : *te* **B** || *te* fecerunt **M** : effecerint **V** : efficerint **B** : efficere debuerint *Niedermann* || duae consonae efficerint **B** || **24.19-20** cum alibi – *coma om.* **BV** || eferant *Keil* : eferunt **M** || **25.1** una] nulla *Cramer* || **25.2** alioqui **B** : alioquin **V** : alibi **M** || ponatur] ponitur **M** || **25.4** *Zacynthus Niedermann* : *zacintus* **M** : *zancitus* **B** : *zacinetus* **V** || *sa*] *-sa-* **MV** : *-za-* **B** || *z post* duplici *add.* **BV** || **25.5** habeatur **BV** : sit **M** || *exultat* **B** || **25.7** referat si ioppiter annos *post* praeteritos *hab.* **B** || **25.8** *hi* **BV** : *i* **M** || est *om.* **M** || **25.11** ultra hoc *om.* **BV** || **25.12** praedictum] supradictum **B** || diximus] dixi **BV** ||

⁽¹⁴⁾Alius modus excusationis est, qui metaplasmodum uel et potestate ⁽¹⁵⁾contingit. de hoc pauca pertinentia satis ad rem praecepta dicemus, ⁽¹⁶⁾latius ea tantum exsecuturi, quae magis in usu sunt. illa ⁽¹⁷⁾uero, quae raro eueniunt, euenire tamen possunt, exempli tantum causa ⁽¹⁸⁾breuiter demonstrabimus. ac primum scire debemus metaplasmos ⁽¹⁹⁾hos uel a poetis ipsis positos iam in ipsa scriptura fieri, uel nobis, ⁽²⁰⁾cum ita scandendi aut pronuntiandi necessitas urgebit, faciendos ⁽²¹⁾relinqui. poetae faciunt metaplasmos cum ipsi iam scripturam ⁽²²⁾corruptam relinquunt, ut est *relliquias Danaum* et ⁽²³⁾*tanton me crimine dignum duxisti*. addidit ⁽²⁴⁾enim unam litteram, *l*, per metaplasmodum, item contra *** sicut **(26)** Lucilius: *atque ore corrupto*. dempsit enim unam litteram, ⁽²⁾*r*, per metaplasmodum. et Ennius: ⁽³⁾*huic statuam statui maiorum et obatus* ⁽⁴⁾*ahenis*. ⁽⁵⁾et hic quoque per metaplasmodum dempsit litteram *r*. haec cum ⁽⁶⁾eueniunt, nos in scandendo metaplasmodum non facimus. habet ⁽⁷⁾enim iam illum lectionis ipsius scriptura, quae sic a poeta relicta ⁽⁸⁾est. atque in istis modis adiectionis et detractio- nis, nisi ipsi poetae ⁽⁹⁾corruperint dictionem, nos eam corrumpere metaplasmi ⁽¹⁰⁾potestate non possumus.

25.22 Verg. *A.* 1.30 || **25.23** Verg. *A.* 10.668 || **26.1** Lucil. 1242-3 || **26.3-4** Enn. *Ann.* 579 Skutsch ||

25.16 tantum *om.* **M** || **25.18** demonstrabimus] demonstrauius **MV** || **25.19** a *ante* nobis *add.* **M** || **25.20** aut] uel **B** || esse *post* faciendos *hab.* **M** || **25.22** relinquunt corruptam **M** || et *om.* **BV** || **25.23** addit **BV** || **25.24** *l* *post* metaplasmodum *hab.* **M**, *om.* **V** || item] dempsit **V** (*sed contra altera manus deleuit*) || *post* contra *lacuna statuenda, qua suppl.* <dempsit unam litteram per metaplasmodum *e*> *Keil*, <dempsit litteram per metaplasmodum *e*> *Lachmann* (*ad Lucr.* 6.1135) || **26.1** Lucilius] lucius **BV** || *atque om.* **M** || corrupto **BV** || **26.2** *r* (*-i- V*) *post* metaplasmodum *hab.* **MV** || **26.3** maiorum et obatus *correx*i : maiorum obatu (*super ob superscripto* et) **M** : maiorum orbatur (*adscripta in mg. correctione aevi recentioris, ut uid., morbo*) **B** : maiore morbu **V** : maiorum et ab otu *Buttmann* : maiorum abitratu *Buttmann in addendis* : magis mansuram auguro *Ilberg* : maiorum †orbatur† *Skutsch* || **26.4** ahenis *Ilberg* : Athenis **Ω** || **26.5** *r* **BM** : *s* **B^{pc}V** : *e* *Stowasser* || haec] hoc *Buttmann* || **26.6** eueniunt] euenit **M** || **26.7** metaplasmodum *post* ipsius *add.* **M** || a poeta sic **BV** || **26.9** eam] iam **M** || corrumpere eam **B** ||

Sunt alii modi in quibus poeta corrupte quidem ⁽¹¹⁾legit ipse, sed hanc corruptionem scriptura non indicat, ut *Italiam* ⁽¹²⁾*fato profugus* et *aquosus Orion* et ⁽¹³⁾*labitur infelix studiorum* et *qua summa* ⁽¹⁴⁾*labentes*. siue enim producantur, siue breues sint *i* et *o* et *a*, ⁽¹⁵⁾aliter scribi non poterunt et in scriptura non apparebit ista corruptio, ⁽¹⁶⁾sed nos dirigemur in scandendo ad defendendum uersum ⁽¹⁷⁾metaplasmi potestate, qui erit aut systole aut ectasis. similis ratio ⁽¹⁸⁾erit in diaeresi et episynaliphe. nam quod Horatius ait *feraeque* ⁽¹⁹⁾*suetae* et quod Lucanus ait *dixisse* ⁽²⁰⁾*Phoebos* et Virgilius *et uotis iam nunc adsuesce* ⁽²¹⁾*uocari* et item *aeripedem ceruam*, siue conglutines ⁽²²⁾syllabas, siue diuidas, isdem litteris scribetur solusque ⁽²³⁾intellectus defendendi uersus ratione inducit metaplasmi potestatem, ⁽²⁴⁾prout haec aut illa ratio persuaserit.

(27) Sequuntur duo metaplasmi, quorum uis et potestas in scandendo ⁽²⁾maxime ualet, synaliphe et ecthipsis. de his hoc ordine ⁽³⁾praecipiemus, ut primum dicamus, quo inter se differant, cum ⁽⁴⁾quibusdam modis in scandendo conuenire consuerint. synaliphe ⁽⁵⁾est, cum syllaba una aut ex una uocali aut ex duabus uocalibus ⁽⁶⁾siue cum *m* littera consistens uelut superflua inuenitur in uersu ⁽⁷⁾et citra damnum uocis transilitur.

26.11-12 Verg. *A.* 1.2 || 26.12 Verg. *A.* 4.52, 10.763 || 26.13 Verg. *G.* 3.498 || 26.13-14 Verg. *A.* 2.463 || 26.18-19 Hor. *S.* 1.8.17 || 26.19-20 dixisse Phoebos: Luc. fr. 12 Blänsdorf || 26.20-1 Verg. *G.* 1.42 || 26.21 Verg. *A.* 6.802 ||

26.14 labentes **M** Vergilii *cod.* *M* : labantes **B** Verg. : laborantes **V** || 26.15 poterunt] potuerint **M** : poterant **V** || 26.16 dirigemur **V** : diregimur **B** : dirigimur **M** || 26.17 erit *om.* **M** || 26.18 oratius **Ω** || 26.19 suetae] soetae **M** : su(a)ete **V** || quod *om.* **M** || 26.21 et *om.* **M** || conglutinas **M** || 26.22 solusque **BV** : plusque **M** || 26.24 aut illa] ipsa **M** || 27.3 differant *Buttmann* : differunt **Ω** || 27.4 quibusdam **M** : quibus **BV** || conuenire *Heinrich ap. Buttmann* : euenire **Ω** || 27.5 aut₁] siue **BV** || aut₂] siue **B** || ex *om.* **MV** ||

Huius exempla haec sunt: ⁽⁸⁾*coniugio Anchisae, interea medium Aeneas, ⁽⁹⁾femineae ardentem*. ecthlipsis est cum ⁽¹⁰⁾concursum uocum non solum praeterit syllabas, sed excludit et ⁽¹¹⁾uelut expressas strangulatasque displodit. ideo denique hic metaplasmus ⁽¹²⁾ecthlipsis dicitur, quasi exprimens et eiciens, quae uelut ⁽¹³⁾superflua duabus obstant uocibus altrinsecus positis. ille quoque ⁽¹⁴⁾superior metaplasmus uelut lenior secundum suam uim etiam ⁽¹⁵⁾nomine censetur, quasi transiliat quae possunt transiliri: nam ideo ⁽¹⁶⁾denique synaliphe dicta est, quasi quodam saltu praetermittens. ⁽¹⁷⁾est ergo huius modi ecthlipseos haec uis, ut interdum uocalem ⁽¹⁸⁾solam excludat eamque nunc ut litteram, ut est *regina ⁽¹⁹⁾e speculis, scio me Danaïs, ⁽²⁰⁾per duodena regit, ⁽²¹⁾fluctusque atros*, interdum tamquam syllabam, ut ⁽²²⁾*atque ea diuersa*. item eius potestas est, **(28)** ut interdum diphthongon excludat, ut *femineae ardentem*. ⁽²⁾item eius potestas est, ut interdum uocalem cum *m* ⁽³⁾expellat, ut *interea medium Aeneas, fuit ⁽⁴⁾Ilium et ingens*.

27.8 coniugio: Verg. *A.* 3.475 || **27.8** interea: Verg. *A.* 5.1 || **27.9** Verg. *A.* 7.345 || **27.18-19** Verg. *A.* 4.586 || **27.19** Verg. *A.* 3.602 || **27.20** Verg. *G.* 1.232 || **27.21** Verg. *A.* 5.2 || **27.22** Verg. *A.* 9.1 || **28.1** interea: Verg. *A.* 7.345 || **28.3** Verg. *A.* 5.1 || **28.3-4** Verg. *A.* 2.325 ||

27.13-16 cf. Beda *metr.* 119.4-5 Kendall (= *GL* VII.246.29-30) ||

27.7 sunt haec **B** || **27.8** Anchisae (cf. *Vergilii MSS.*) Anchise *Niedermann* || et post anchisae add. **M** || **27.10** solum om. **BV** || excludit] cludit **M** || **27.11** displodit **B** || **27.12** eiciens **V** : ieciens **BM** || **27.13** superflua *Buttmann* : superfluo **Ω** || inuenit post superflua add. **M** || obstant **BV** : obstantibus **M** : obstant *Niedermann* || **27.14** lenior] leuior **M** || **27.15** censetur] censeretur **BV** || saltu quodam **BV** || **27.17** est post uis hab. **M** || modi om. **MV** || **27.20** mundi sol aureus astra post regit hab. **M** || **27.22** penitus post diuersa add. **M** || est post eius hab. **M**, post diuersa **BV** || **28.3** fuit **BV** : ruit **M** ||

Hae cum sint potestates duorum horum ⁽⁵⁾metaplasmodum, euenit interdum dubitatio primum, ut nescias ⁽⁶⁾utrum litteram an syllabam exclusam esse dicas, ut est *atque* ⁽⁷⁾*ea diuersa*. nam si priorem *e* excludas, litteram ⁽⁸⁾exclusisti, si posteriorem, syllabam exclusisti. ad defensionis autem ⁽⁹⁾rationem nihil refert quam excluseris. deinde euenit ea dubitatio, ⁽¹⁰⁾ut nescias utrum synaliphe sit an ecthlipsis per omnes modos, ⁽¹¹⁾ut ecce de una uocali, quae syllaba sit: ⁽¹²⁾nam uocalis, cum quasi littera excluditur, semper ad ⁽¹³⁾ecthlipsin pertinet. ergo sic dubium erit, utrum hoc an illo modo ⁽¹⁴⁾scandas, utrum synalipham an ecthlipsin facias, *coniugio* ⁽¹⁵⁾*Anchisae*. nam si sic scandas, *coniugianchi*, synalipham ⁽¹⁶⁾fecisti, transiluisti enim *o* syllabam: quae transilitur, non exclusa ⁽¹⁷⁾est; si sic scandas, *coniugionchisae*, ecthlipsis erit: exclusa est ⁽¹⁸⁾enim *a* et quasi expressa. Simile est et illud *accipio agnoscoque* ⁽¹⁹⁾*libens*: nam si sic scandas, *accipiagnos*, ⁽²⁰⁾synaliphe est; si sic, *accipiognos*, ecthlipsis est. ⁽²¹⁾tale est *femineae ardentem*: nam potes scandere ⁽²²⁾*femineardentem* et est synaliphe; item potes scandere **(29)** *femineaardentem* et erit ecthlipsis.

28.6-7 Verg. *A.* 9.1 || 28.14-15 Verg. *A.* 3.475 || 28.18-19 Verg. *A.* 8.155 || 28.21 Verg. *A.* 7.345 ||

28.4 hae Buttman : haec Ω || 28.6 est om. M || 28.9 quam BV : quo modo M || euenit post dubitatio transp. B || 28.11 euenit dubitatio post sit add. M || 28.15 Anchisae] aeacida pyrri V : eacidae pirri B || nam om. BV || coniugi anchi M : coniugia facis V : coniugi eaci B || 28.16 transilitur] ex gi (ci B^{pe}) potius (putius B) BV || 28.17 si sic scandas M : sicut cum scandis BV || coniugi onchi.sae M : coniugio ci B : coniugio ea V || 28.18 a Keil : diptongos B : diptongus V : om. M || 28.19 accipi agnos V : accipi agnoscoque li M : accipi agnosco B || 28.20 accipio gnos B : accipiagnos V : accipi ogno scoque li M || 28.21 tale Keil : talis Ω || est om. M || potes Cramer : potest Ω || 28.22 femine arden tem M : femin arden B : femin(a)e arden V || est MV : erit B || item potes] et potes (potest V) item MV || 29.1 femineaardentem] feminaardentem B : femin(a)e arden V ||

Item similiter incertum, sit ⁽²⁾synaliphe an ecthlypsis *fuit Ilium et ingens*: nam si ⁽³⁾sic scandas, *Iliet*, synaliphe est; si sic, *Iliut*, ecthlypsis est. ⁽⁴⁾simile est *egregium Antorem*: nam utroque modo ⁽⁵⁾scandi potest, *egregianto* et *egregiunto*. haec cum ita sint ⁽⁶⁾et manifesto appareat ex nominum ratione et definitionibus ipsis ⁽⁷⁾et exemplis suis quo a se hi duo metaplasmi distare uideantur, ⁽⁸⁾tamen iam communi quasi consensu in scandendo non solum ⁽⁹⁾nostra aetate, sed etiam apud scriptores synaliphae nomen praeualuisse ⁽¹⁰⁾uideo, adeo ut quasi uno consensu paene omnes in ecthlypseos ⁽¹¹⁾exemplis non aliud dent quam *multum ille et terris*, ⁽¹²⁾quod ipsum tamen refert, quo modo scandatur: nam si ⁽¹³⁾*multil* facias, episynaliphe erit secundum Asperum, qui dicit ⁽¹⁴⁾de duabus syllabis unam fieri, sicut *tanton* ex *tantone*; ⁽¹⁵⁾secundum me autem apocope est, ut *magi* pro *magis*. ⁽¹⁶⁾quodsi scandas *multul*, erit ecthlypsis, quia uocalis cum *m* ⁽¹⁷⁾excluditur, quasi exprimitur de medio uocum. nam non uelut ⁽¹⁸⁾transilitur tamquam unius uocis extrema, ut illic est *interea* ⁽¹⁹⁾*medium Aeneas*.

29.2 Verg. *A.* 2.325 || **29.4** Verg. *A.* 10.778 || **29.11** Verg. *A.* 1.3 || **29.18-19** Verg. *A.* 5.1 ||

29.10-17 cf. *Mur.* 228.22-5 ||

29.2 ruit **M** || **29.6** manifesto **BV** : manifeste **M** : manifesta *Buttmann* || appareant **M** || et **M** : et ex **B** : ex **V** || **29.6-7** ipsis et exemplis suis **M** : et exemplis ipsis **B** : et ex ipsis exemplis **V** || **29.9** apud scriptores *Keil* : a scriptoribus **Ω** || **29.10** in *om.* **M** || **29.11** exemplum *Buttmann* || et terris **V** : eterris **BM** || **29.13** multil **M** : mult **B** : mul **V** || facias **B** : facies **MV** || episynaliphe] synaliphe *Cramer* || **29.14** de **MV** : ex **B** || tanton] **ΘANΘΩN** **V** || ex] et **BM** : et **V** : e *Cramer* || tantone] **ΘANΘΩNE** **V** || **29.15** apocope **V** : paragoge **BM** || magi **V** : magis **BM** || magis **V** : magi **BM** : mage *Keil* || **29.16** multul **M** : multum ille **BV** || **29.17** nam **B** : *om.* **M** : non **V** || **29.18** est *om.* **BV** ||

Ergo, sicut diximus, iam paene uno ⁽²⁰⁾nomine utrumque censetur neque id ad rem pertinet: nobis enim ⁽²¹⁾sufficit discussas ex lectionibus ueterum dedisse differentias nihilque ⁽²²⁾interest res quaeque quo nomine censeatur, dummodo uis et ⁽²³⁾potestas earum uelut manu in omni hac dispectione teneatur.

⁽²⁴⁾Ergo ut ea quae restant plane aperteque dicamus, scire debemus **(30)** ante omnia in hac quoque horum duorum metaplasmodum potestate, ⁽²⁾siue eos quis discernat siue uno synaliphae nomine censebit, ⁽³⁾esse aliquam potestatem poetis, ut ipsi interdum corrumpant ⁽⁴⁾metaplasmo dictionem, quale est *nec non aurumque* ⁽⁵⁾*animusque Latinost.* quod cum euenit, metaplasmodum ⁽⁶⁾in dictione inuenimus, non in scandendo adferimus, quod ⁽⁷⁾utique faceremus, si reliquisset *Latino est*, sicut *excussa*que ⁽⁸⁾*pectore Iuno est.* sed hac potestate in ⁽⁹⁾metaplasmodis non semper abuti possunt poetae, ut scripturam ⁽¹⁰⁾corrumpant, sed cum integre scripturam reliquerint, nobis <in> ⁽¹¹⁾scandendo potestas remanet non enuntiandi ea, quae nihilominus ⁽¹²⁾scripturae series continet, ut est *multum ille et terris* ⁽¹³⁾*iactatus et alto.* si enim uoluisset sic relinquere, ⁽¹⁴⁾*mult*, incertum reliquisset: possumus enim accipere *mult* ⁽¹⁵⁾pro *multis*. quorsum haec? ut ostenderemus non semper habere ⁽¹⁶⁾potestatem poetas corrumpendae scripturae.

30.4-5 Verg. *A.* 12.23 || **30.7-8** excussa: Verg. *A.* 5.679 || **30.12-13** Verg. *A.* 1.3 ||

29.19 uno *ante* iam *transp.* **M**, *om.* **V** || **29.22** res quaeque quo nomine *Keil* : quae res quo nomine **B** : res quoque quo nomine **M** : res quo nomine **V** : quae res quoque nomine *Niedermann* || **29.23** dispectione **BV** : disputatione **M** || **30.1** duorum *om.* **MV** || **30.2** discernat **M** : discernit **BV** || **30.3** a *ante* poetis *add.* **BV** || **30.4** metaplasmodum **BV** || aurumque **V** : aurum **BM** || **30.7** utique *om.* **BV** || faceremus *Keil* : feceremus **V** : fecerimus **BM** || excussa **M** || **30.10** in *suppl.* *Keil* || **30.11** scandendo **V** *Keil* : scandendi **BM** || **30.14** possumus **B** : possumus **M** : possemus **V** || *mult*] multa **V** || **30.15** multis] multum **V** : multa *Keil in app.* || lacunam *post* multis *statuit* *Keil* || quorsum *Niedermann* : q̄r sum **B** : quorum **MV** || sunt exempla *post* haec *add.* **M** || ubique *post* semper *add.* **M** ||

⁽¹⁷⁾In his duobus metaplasms relinquitur nunc nobis, ut praecipiamus ⁽¹⁸⁾quo intellectu, cum scriptura integra legitur, quem ad ⁽¹⁹⁾modum metaplasma possumus inducere. ideo sic animaduertamus: ⁽²⁰⁾metaplasma, sicut diximus, aut litteram uocalem excludit ⁽²¹⁾aut syllabam ex una uocali aut duabus aut item syllabam ex una ⁽²²⁾uocali et *m* aut semisyllabam, ut est *puerum Astyanacta* ⁽²³⁾*trahebant*. sic enim scandendum est, *rastya*: ⁽²⁴⁾ita non tota perit *rum*. hoc exemplum oportunitate est hic ⁽²⁵⁾adici, quia de superioribus modis supra dixi. adnotari etiam hoc **(31)** loco potest quod interdum duae *m* pereunt cum uocali in una ⁽²⁾syllaba, ut est ⁽³⁾*extremum hunc, Arethusa*, ⁽⁴⁾ ⁽⁵⁾ut scandamus sic *extrehunc Are*. quodsi quis maluerit *mhunc* ⁽⁶⁾*Are*, non tota syllaba perit, sicut *rastya*.

30.22-3 Verg. *A.* 2.457 || **31.3** Verg. *Ecl.* 10.1 ||

30.17 relinquitur **M** : relinquetur **B** : relinquetur **V** || nobis nunc **M** || percipiamus **M** || **30.18** cum *om.* **M** || legitur] legatur *Keil* || uel *ante* quem *suppl.* *Keil* || **30.19** possumus] possimus *Keil* || animaduertamus] animaduertemus **M^{pc}** : animaduertimus **M** || **30.20** metaplasma] metaplasmos hos **M** || uocalem litteram **M** || excludit] excludunt *Keil* || **30.21** ex *ante* duabus *suppl.* *Keil* || **30.22** est *om.* **M** || **30.23** sic **M** : hic **BV** || *rastya*] *rastia* **M** : *puer astia* **V** || **31.1** *m* **V** : *mm* **M** : *mutae* **B** || **31.1-2** in una syllaba **B** : una **M** : *unam* **V** || **31.2** est *om.* **BV** || mihi concede laborem *post Arethusa hab.* **M** || **31.5** ut **B** : aut **M(in litura)****V** : nam *Keil* || scandamus] scandimus **M** || *rastya corr.* : *rasty* **B** : *rastia* **MV** ||

Ergo hi quattuor ⁽⁷⁾modi sic eueniunt, ut quicquid illud perit, uel inter duas uocales ⁽⁸⁾positum sit uel inter uocalem et consonantem aut inter consonantem ⁽⁹⁾et uocalem uel inter duas consonantes: inter duas uocales, ⁽¹⁰⁾ut *coniugio Anchisae, atque ea diuersa*; ⁽¹¹⁾inter uocalem et consonam, ut ⁽¹²⁾*Thybris ea fluuium, quam longa est, nocte* ⁽¹³⁾*tumentem*: ⁽¹⁴⁾*gas* enim dicendo *e* excludimus; tale est *regina e* ⁽¹⁵⁾*speculis*, inter uocalem *a* et consonantem *s* perit *e*; inter ⁽¹⁶⁾consonam et uocalem, ut *nunc scio quid sit amor* ⁽¹⁷⁾et *per duodena regit*; inter duas consonas, ut ⁽¹⁸⁾est ⁽¹⁹⁾*ad soceros atque auo puerum Astyanacta* ⁽²⁰⁾*trahebat*: ⁽²¹⁾scandimus enim sic, *rostquea*, ex quo apparet inter duas consonas ⁽²²⁾*a* uocalem perisse; *per ego has* ⁽²³⁾*lacrimas*, scandimus *ghaslacri*.

(32) Nunc illud animaduertendum est, quod in hoc damno syllabarum ⁽²⁾quae excluduntur, ubi una uocalis perit, maxime prior ⁽³⁾perit, idque iam scandendi ratio habet et paene ad hoc uox scandentium ⁽⁴⁾procliue decurrit, ut *regina e speculis*: quis ⁽⁵⁾enim non sic

31.10 Verg. A. 3.475 (= 9.1) || 31.12 Verg. A. 8.86 || 31.14-15 Verg. A. 4.586 || 31.16 Verg. Ecl. 8.43 || 31.17 Verg. G. 1.232 || 31.19-20 Verg. A. 2.457 || 31.22-3 Verg. A. 4.314 || 32.4 Verg. A. 4.586 ||

32.1-3 nunc – perit: *Pauca* 69.6-7, *Cruind.* 41.28-30 ||

31.6 hi] his B || 31.7 modis B || euenit *Niedermann* || illud] illic *Keil* || 31.8-9 positum – uocales om. B || 31.8 aut] uel *Keil* || 31.9 et uocalem om. M || 31.10 Anchisae BM : Anchise V || 31.11 uel ante inter hab. B || consonam] consonantem B : consonans V || 31.12 Thybris *Niedermann* : tiberis V : tiberis BM || 31.15 perit e post s transp. *Keil*, post a hab. M, om. BV || consonantem M : consonam BV || 31.16 consonam MV : consonantem B || 31.17 et om. BV || post regit add. duod puerum astyanacta trahebat B, puerum astianacta V, ante per duodena add. puerum astianacta M || 31.22 mene fugis ante per hab. M || 31.23 ghaslacri] gaslacri M || 32.1 illud animaduertendum est] hoc sciendum *Pauca* || quae excluduntur om. *Pauca Cruind.* ||

scandit, *reginespecu?* et ⁽⁶⁾ *ante, pudor, quam te uiolo aut tua iura resoluo*: ⁽⁷⁾quis non sic scandit, ut *o* potius pereat, quae praecedit, et sit ⁽⁸⁾*lauttua?* quod cum ita sit, tamen interdum euenit quiddam ⁽⁹⁾aut sono gratius aut necessitate adstrictius, ut posterior pereat, ut ⁽¹⁰⁾*isque ubi Dardanios habitus*: nemo enim ⁽¹¹⁾scandit sic, *isquubi*, quia duo *u* post *q* litteram in unam syllabam ⁽¹²⁾non coeunt, sed potius sic scandit, *isquebi*. simile est et ⁽¹³⁾*pluiiasque Yadas*, ut sic scandamus, *asquea*, ⁽¹⁴⁾potius quam *asquya*, quia *e* melius sonat, et item ⁽¹⁵⁾inuitatum est post *qu* et *y* subiungi, ut faciamus syllabam ⁽¹⁶⁾*quy*.

Reliqui sunt duo metaplasmi: antithesis, cum littera pro ⁽¹⁷⁾littera ponitur, ut *olli* pro *illi*, et metathesis, cum in ⁽¹⁸⁾alienum locum littera transfertur, ut *Thymbre* pro ⁽¹⁹⁾*Thymber*. sed id ad scandendi rationem non pertinet. ⁽²⁰⁾metaplasmmum enim, quem inuenimus, in qua *ui* scribitur intuebimur.

32.6 Verg. *A.* 4.27 || **32.10** Verg. *A.* 3.596 || **32.13** Verg. *A.* 1.744, 3.516 || **32.17** *olli*: cf. Don. 663.1 H. || **32.18** *Thymbre*: Verg. *A.* 10.394 ||

32.9-14 *isque* – *asquya*: *Flor.* f. 41^{ub} 16-21 ||

32.5 *reginespecu*] *regi nespecum* **V** : *regin especulis* **B** || **32.8** *lauttua* **B**(*ex corr.*) : *lautua* **MV** || **32.9** *adstrictius*] *districtius* **M** || **32.11** *sic om.* **BV** || *in unam syllabam*] *in syllabam unam* **B** : *in syllabam* **V** || **32.12** *scandit* **M** : *scandat* **B** : *scandet* **V** || **32.13** *pluiiasque Flor.* : *pluiasque* **B** : *plus uiasque* **V** : *pliadasque* **M** : *pleiadasque* *Keil* || *yadas Flor.* : *hyadas* **B** : *yadasque* **M** : *aquam addas* **V** || *sic om.* **BV** || *asquea* **B** : *abq(ue)* **V** : *dasquea* **M** : *pluiiasquea Flor.* || **32.14** *potius om.* **BV** || *asquya correxi* : *asquhya* **B** : *dasquya* **M** : *om.* **V** || *e* **M** : *et* **BV** || **32.15** *qu*] *q* **B** || *y* **M** : *uy* **B** : *u* **V** || **32.18** *alienum* **M** : *alium* **B** : *alia* **V** || *Thymbre Niedermann* : *tymbre* **B** : *timber* **M** : *timbre* **V** || **32.19** *Thymber Niedermann* : *tymber* **B** : *timber* **MV** || **32.20** *enim om.* **M** || *in qua ui* **M** : *ui in qua* **B** : *ui qua* **V** : *qua ui* *Keil* || *scribitur*] *scribatur* *Keil* ||

Translation

(1) THE TREATISE OF CONSENTIUS V. C. ON BARBARISMS AND METAPLASMS

Barbarisms are distinct from metaplasms: they are different and have different definitions. But as some of the ways by which they arise are common to them, we have to discuss them jointly. For in so doing, it will appear more easily in what respect and in which ways they differ from each other. As this will be so in the exposition proper, it is appropriate beforehand that we give separate definitions and generally show what the differences are between them.

Barbarism is, as some have it, one part of speech which is incorrect in ordinary language. This definition places metaplasms in a separate category, insofar as I have stated that barbarism happens in ordinary language, for, if a part of speech is incorrect in poetry, they call it metaplasms. Again, barbarism is, as some define it, a word which is incorrect in pronunciation. This puts the blame on pronunciation, because this definition only concerns quantities and accents, that is prosodies. Again, barbarism is a word which is incorrect in some element of itself. This concerns the addition, removal, substitution, and transposition of letters, syllables, accents, quantities, **(2)** and aspirations, as will be apparent from the examples to be offered later.

But before we add something on metaplasms, we must recall to mind that barbarism is one thing, barbarolexis is another. For barbarism, according to the definitions given above, is a mistake which involves letters, syllables, quantities, accents or aspirations, as will be plain later. Barbarolexis, on the other hand, can be understood in one way only, that is when some part of speech is introduced from a foreign language into our usage, as when we call *cateiae* the spears of the Gauls, *mastruca* the clothing of the Sardinians, *magalia* the houses of the Africans, *acinaces* the swords of the Medes.

Now we shall provide the definition of metaplasms. Metaplasms is one part of speech which is shaped contrary to custom, either for the sake of some ornament, or because metrical necessity requires it. Metaplasms, as far as I can judge, arises in most of the ways, even if perhaps not all the ways, in which barbarism does. For so as to omit the differences of the definitions given above, both barbarisms and metaplasms have this primary definition, that they take place either in pronunciation or in writing. For we make mistakes either in pronouncing badly, that is in speaking incorrectly, or in writing badly, that is in connecting the sequence of letters in a faulty and deviant way. Under these two ways come four types, for we diverge from the right and due rule of the language by means of addition, removal, substitution or transposition. Each of these four processes, as far as barbarism is concerned, applies without doubt to five elements, for addition, removal, substitution, and transposition involve a letter or a syllable or a quantity or an accent or an aspiration.

(3) It is now opportune and appropriate to start by saying what the difference is between barbarism and metaplasms, before we give examples of each of them. For then it will be easier for the examples to penetrate into our mind by themselves, if the meaning of this difference is made familiar first. So, the difference between barbarism and metaplasms is that we have barbarism in ordinary language, metaplasms in poetry; also, that barbarism is committed now by someone without the authority of literature and in an ignorant manner, while metaplasms is produced in conformity with the authority of ancient writers or by reason of an accepted usage; again, that metaplasms is consciously made by learned people on account of the analogy with literature or ancient usage, while barbarism is committed by ignorant people, without looking at the authority of either the ancients or usage. In the end, the difference between barbarism and metaplasms is that those additions, removals, and remaining processes which we said apply to letters, syllables, and the others which follow, are mistakes that only go by the name of barbarism, while as far as metaplasms is concerned they get different names depending on their features and positions within the word, as will be apparent shortly.

Now we shall provide examples of metaplasms first. For when these, which are based upon principle and authorities, are established firmly and made clear, those words which slip at random into barbarism will be more evident. By the addition of a letter or syllable, as we have said, there occur three metaplasms in three positions, namely prosthesis, epenthesis, and paragoge. It is a prosthesis of a letter when one letter is added to the beginning of a word, like *cum sociis gnatoque penatibus*; for the poet said *gnato*, while he should have said *nato*. A person who should want to do this in a different part of speech **(4)** without authority, as if he were to say *coperit* for *operit*, will perpetrate a barbarism. Similarly, there is prothesis of a syllable, like *tetulit senilis hostis ad caelum manus*, for the poet said *tetulit* for *tulit*. Epenthesis is the addition of a letter or syllable to the middle of a word: of a letter, like *relliquias Danaum* for *reliquias*; of a syllable, as Ennius very often says *induperator* for *imperator*, and like *Mauortis in antro* for *Martis* and *nos abiisse rati* for *abisse*. Paragoge, which is also called proparalempsis, is the addition of a letter or syllable to the end of a word: of a letter, like *magis* for *mage*; of a syllable, like *admittier orant* for *admitti* and *potestur* for *potest*.

The metaplasms just discussed, which arise from the addition of a letter or syllable, are the opposite of three others which arise from the removal: these are aphaeresis, syncope, and apocope. Aphaeresis is when a word is deprived of a letter or a syllable at its beginning: of a letter, as Terence says *mitte ista atque ad rem redi*, when he should have said *omitte*; of a syllable, as Vergil says *temnere diuos* for *contemnere*. Syncope is when a letter or syllable is removed from the middle of a word: a letter, as when we say *audacter* for *audaciter*, *nomenclator* (5) for *nomenculator*, *Mnestheus* for *Menestheus*, and *manet alta mente repostum iudicium* for *repositum*; a syllable, as when we say *apparent rari nantes* for *natantes*, and Terence says *commorat* instead of *commouerat*. In this matter, authority has so much value that, if somebody should want to say *morat* for *mouerat*, he perpetrates a barbarism. Apocope is *** of a letter, like *Achilli* for *Achillis* in the genitive and *magi* for *magis*; of a syllable, like *endo suam do* instead of *domum*. These are the metaplasms whose particular names are based upon the addition or removal of a letter or syllable, and are given to metaplasms according to the positions in which they take place.

Now we shall talk about those metaplasms which do not receive different names according to the positions in which they take place, but are identified with the same name wherever the change in a feature of the word occurs. Among these, two come first, one which consists of the addition of a quantity, the other which consists of the removal of a quantity: they are called ectasis and systole. Ectasis is when the poet, by virtue of his authority, employs a short syllable as if it were a long one, as in *Italiam fato profugus* and *conubia nostra reppulit*, whereas the *i* and *nu* are clearly short in themselves, as elsewhere (6) *Italusque paterque Sabinus* and *conubio iungam stabili*. The same metaplasm is also in *exercet Diana choros*, for the *i* is short, as in *telis moriere Dianae*. Systole is the metaplasm opposite to that above, when the poet shortens a longer syllable out of metrical necessity, as in *aquosus Orion*, whereas the first syllable of *Orion* is certainly long, as elsewhere *circumspicit Oriona*. Such is also *unius ob noxam* and *unius ob iram*.

After these there come two metaplasms which are opposite because of their different nature and have this in common, that they are only found in diphthongs. One of these is called diaeresis, the other one episynaloephe. Diaeresis is when a syllable is split in two, like in Vergil's *aquai fumidus* for *aquae* and *pictai uestis* for *pictae*, and in Lucretius' *Triuiui uirginis aram* instead of *Triuiiae*. But if someone should try to say *Phoëbum*, as if he finished a verse with *dixisse Phoebum*, he will certainly commit a barbarism, for he lacks authority. Episynaloephe is the gluing together of two syllables resulting in one, as when we say *Phaethon* for *Phaëthon* and *Marcipor* for *puer*, *Orpheus* for *Orpheüs*. For although (7) *Orpheus* is a trisyllabic word, for the sake of the metre it has become a disyllable, as in *illa*: '*quis et me*' *inquit* '*miseram et te perdidit, Orpheu*', and *sit Tityrus Orpheus*, and *Orphei Calliopea* for *Orpheï*, and likewise *Protei* for *Protei*, as in *Protei Menelaus adusque columnas* and *Idomenei* in a similar way. For although the poet said *Idomenea ducem*, elsewhere he said *uersosque penates / Idomenei*. *Thyias* is also similar, because, in order for the verse to scan and stand, two syllables should coalesce into one, as in *Thyias ubi audito*. Again, if someone were to say *neutrum* as a disyllable, which we generally pronounce as a trisyllable, he will commit a barbarism.

After these are two metaplasms which the poets partly hand down themselves, already represented in writing, partly entrust to us to put into practice, synaloephe and ecthlipsis. Synaloephe, or syncrisis, is when the clash of two vowels running together makes it possible to remove one of them. As I have said, either the poet himself has already left it in written form like this or he has entrusted us to effect the removal: he has left it written in such cases as *nec non aurumque animusque Latinost*; he lets us remove it in such cases as *atque ea diuersa penitus dum parte geruntur*. (8) As the learned Celsus says, this happens readily where the same letter is removed which is also pronounced, as for example *multa quoque et bello passus*; less readily, where a different letter is removed, as for example *Karthago Italiam*; least adequately, where a consonant comes after the letter which is removed, as for example *multum ille et terris*. Yet the last-mentioned observance, as the same Celsus states, applies only to our language, not also to Greek. Ecthlipsis is when not a vowel alone is taken out, but a consonant necessarily follows it, as in the aforesaid *multum ille et terris*. These two metaplasms are most relevant to scansion and we shall talk about them a little later, because they require some longer teaching.

Now there remain two metaplasms, antithesis and metathesis. Antithesis is when a letter replaces another letter, so that a change happens but the number of syllables is maintained, as when we say *olli* for *illi*. Metathesis is when a letter is transferred from one place to another, as when we say *Thymbre* for *Thymber* and *Euandre* for *Euander*.

It is apparent from this that metaplasms do not arise by means of accents and aspiration, for these two elements are restricted in particular to barbarism, unless someone would say that *pone* is a metaplasma arising through the transposition of an accent. But I do not think so: for if this change of accent did not change the meaning of the word, surely we would call it a metaplasma; but as the transposition of the accent changes the meaning of the word, too, the principle is not that the word **(9)** seems to have been uttered contrary to custom, but that it has been uttered differently because it had a different meaning.

Many include among metaplasms the category called tmesis and divide it in two parts: they say that one way in which it occurs is when two parts of speech are made out of one, as in *non ulla laborum, o uirgo, noua mi facies*, for the poet used two words, *non* and *ulla*, instead of one, *nulla*; they say that the other way in which tmesis occurs is when into a part of speech another one is inserted: the latter is in the middle, such that those two smaller parts which lie around it are necessarily connected in meaning and sound, as for example *septem subiecta trioni* instead of *septemtrioni* and *conque tubernalem* instead of *contubernalem*, which Lucilius frequently uses in metre. But I believe that the majority have not accepted this among metaplasms because this consideration is not believed to concern a single part of speech, for they say that *non* and *ulla* are two words, and likewise that *subiecta* and *septem* and *trioni* are three words. But those who deem this to be a metaplasma say that a metaplasma arises in consideration of one part of speech uttered differently, for they say that they see one part of speech, *nulla*, uttered differently; likewise, they say that *septemtrioni* is indeed a compound, yet a single word uttered differently, and similarly *contubernalem*.

To everything I have said above I have to add, by way of reminder, that very often by means of metaplasm a letter is removed or **(10)** added in such a way that this process does not involve only a letter, but also a syllable, such as *omitte*: for *o* is both a letter and a syllable, and this is different from when we say *gnatus* for *natus*. Also, there is the fact that very often a letter is removed in such a way that by means of this removal the loss of a syllable also occurs, as in *repostum*: for although only *i* has been removed and not as a syllable but as a letter, still, since there remains the letter *s* which was in the structure of the syllable, this word, which consisted of four syllables, has become a trisyllable.

Also, very often there are words which one could maintain are among metaplasms, although they are not: for example, when someone says *honos* and *arbos*, he seems to have changed the final letter. But this is not a metaplasm, because both *honos* and *arbos* on the one hand and *honor* and *arbor* on the other are correct words according to the rules of Latinity. It is similar when one says *lapidicinae* and *lapicidinae*, for in neither is there a metaplasm by means of transposition, because each of them is expressed correctly and in good Latin due to a reliable etymology.

Now at last we shall set forth quite opportunely the ways in which barbarism arises. In so doing, for my part, I shall not imitate those scholars who have wanted to give examples of such faults from literary authority, as a consequence of which it has happened that, because of the confusion of those faults, now almost nobody understands what a barbarism is, and what a metaplasma: for very often different people, and at times the very same ones, use the same literary examples for both barbarism and metaplasma, and in so doing mix them all up together. We shall give the type of examples which we can observe in the usage of everyday speakers, **(11)** if we listen a little more carefully. We have said that a barbarism can arise by the addition of a letter, syllable, quantity, accent, and aspiration. It arises by the addition of a letter, as for instance if someone were to say *coperit* for *operit*, *gruit* for *ruit*, *tottus* for *totus*, *cottidie* for *cotidie*, *quandius* for *quandiu*; of a syllable, as for instance if you were to say *tutrusit* for *trusit*; of a quantity, as some people say *piper* with a long first syllable, when it is short, a fault which is characteristic of Africans; of an accent, like someone who were to say *triginta* pronouncing the first syllable with an acute accent and the following with a grave accent, a type which seems to involve substitution, too; of an aspiration, like someone who were to write *homen*, adding an aspiration to the first syllable.

By means of removal barbarisms arise as follows: by removal of a letter, as for instance if someone were to say *uila* for *uilla*, *mile* for *mille*, or if someone were to say *socrum meum* intending to say *socerum*, which will also involve a solecism, for that is against the rule of this same noun; of a syllable, like *salmentum* for *salsamentum*; of a quantity, as for instance if someone were to say *orator* with a short first syllable, another fault which is particular to Africans; of an accent, as for instance if someone were to say *orator* pronouncing the first syllable with a circumflex accent; of an aspiration, as for instance if someone were to say *onor*, pronouncing the first syllable without aspiration.

By means of substitution barbarisms arise as follows: by substitution of a letter, as for instance if someone were to say *bobis* for *uobis*, *peres* for *pedes*, *stetim* for *statim*, a vice which corrupts the Roman plebs with their indulgent desire for novelty; **(12)** of a syllable, as for instance if someone were to say *Tarterus* for *Tartarus*; of a quantity, as for instance if someone were to say *pices* lengthening the first syllable; of an accent, as for instance if someone were to say *orator* pronouncing the first syllable with an acute accent; of an aspiration, as for instance if someone were to say *Tracia*, pronouncing the first syllable without aspiration, or *Kharthago*, pronouncing the first syllable with aspiration, or if he were to say *Heurus* for *Eurus*, so as to add an aspiration to the first syllable: but this type of barbarism will also involve an addition.

By means of transposition barbarisms take place as follows: by transposition of a letter, as for instance if someone were to say *plerum* for *prelum*, *leriquum* for *reliquum*, *interpetror* for *interpretor*, *coacla* for *cloaca*; of a syllable, like *displicina* for *disciplina*; of a quantity, as for instance if someone were to pronounce *pices* with a long first syllable and a short second syllable; of an accent, as for instance if someone were to pronounce *orator* with a circumflex accent on the first syllable; of an aspiration, as for instance if someone were to pronounce *Thracia* with swapped aspiration and said *Trachia*.

These are by and large the types of barbarisms, from which it is apparent that metaplasms are not produced as frequently through aspiration and accent, and on the other hand that some types of metaplasms have not been set out by scholars so as to make apparent that barbarisms can be produced in the same way, as in the case of diaeresis and episynaloephe. But if we should want to observe both these types and the others in which metaplasms are made from the viewpoint not only of the individual faults, but of those faults which more generally **(13)** belong to some nations, we notice these types as well in barbarisms which scholars have neglected. For does it not seem that someone who says *solüit* intending to say *soluit*, which is disyllabic, perpetrates a barbarism by means of diaeresis? And again, does it not seem that he who says *ua passa* intending to say *uua passa*, and *induruit*, which is trisyllabic, intending to say *indurüit*, which is tetrasyllabic, commits a barbarism by means of episynaloephe?

These are by and large the ways in which a barbarism arises in pronunciation. But there are also other types which some count among barbarisms: we shall briefly explain what we think about these. First, they say that clausulae which violate the proper prosodic patterns must be counted as barbarisms. Since some deny this – for they say that a defective clausula is a mistake under its own heading, and should not be blamed as a barbarism – we shall explain what we think. A person who thinks he is making a clausula and makes an improper one, by doing so makes a mistake which chiefly concerns prosodic rules, at times such that the mistake does not involve the number of syllables, at times such that it does; and he does this in one of two ways, by means of either addition or removal, for of course if he adds or removes a quantity, which is uttered in an improper way, this will necessarily fall into the category of barbarism. One or two examples will be sufficient to show this. Someone wants to form a clausula with a trochee and a molossus: if he were to say *copiam esse doctorum*, he will form a perfect clausula; if instead, while he believes he is forming such clausula, he were to say *copiam esse ciborum*, he will commit **(14)** a barbarism, for he removes a quantity from the molossus in the first syllable and, as he wants to accomplish the clausula, lengthens the first syllable, so as to say *cīborum*, although the *ci* is short. Therefore he commits a barbarism in pronunciation, by the addition of a quantity.

On the other hand, by contrast, someone believes he is forming a clausula with a trochee and an ionic a minore, such as *esse uideatur*, and he says *esse merebatur*: here he adds a quantity to the second syllable of the latter word and has placed as a long in the place of a short that syllable which he has shortened in pronunciation in an attempt to make it similar to the correct clausula, and he corrupts the word by the removal of a quantity, and therefore this is a barbarism. Such is the case of *Verris nummos acceperat*, which would be perfect if the author had construed it as *nummos Verris acceperat*, using a trochee and an ionic a maiore. But it would take a long time to discuss now how to avoid this kind of mistake, as I have planned a special chapter about the rules of clausulae: once we have there fully gone through the ways in which good and bad clausulae are made, those who wish to avoid this kind of barbarism will be able to learn in the same chapter how, observing the correct clausulae, they would utter nothing which results in a barbarism as far as quantity is concerned.

Secondly, some say that mytacisms, labdacisms, and iotacisms belong in the category of barbarisms; but I do not quite approve of the fact that they have wanted to reduce such a fault to certain letters, for there are also **(15)** some other letters which, by virtue of their nature, provide ground for similar faults. So barbarisms of this kind will arise when something sounds richer or thinner than the norm of the Roman language requires, and not only in these three letters, but in some others as well. Therefore we shall spend a few words on this issue, too.

They call it mytacism when in some word the letter *m* is so carelessly employed before a vowel that it is not clear whether it goes with the preceding one, just as one commonly says *dixeram illis, speciem aceti, faciem Aiakis*. The principal remedy against this vice is that, whenever a word sounds like this, another one which does not begin with a vowel should be inserted between this and the following word, as for instance if we wanted to amend these into *dixeram tunc illis, speciem boni aceti, faciem furentis Aiakis*.

They call iotacism the fault which occurs when the letter *i* is pronounced more richly or thinly than the norm. Gauls employ this letter more richly, as when they say *ite*, for they do not utter it distinctly, but pronounce some sort of richer sound between *e* and *i*. Greeks pronounce this letter more thinly, and strive so much after a thin utterance that, if they say *ius*, they pronounce a considerable part of the first letter in such a way that one would perceive that a disyllable has been produced. In this matter, the guidance of the Roman language will be that the sound of the *i* is thin when a word begins with this letter, as in *ite*; its sound is richer when a word ends with it, **(16)** as in *habui* and *tenui*; the letter *i* has an intermediate sound between *e* and *i* when it is in the middle of a word, as in *hominem*. However, it seems to me that when *i* is long it is fuller, or sharper; when it is short, on the other hand, it displays an intermediate sound, as the very examples which have been provided can show.

They say that the fault of labdacism consists in the fact that some speakers pronounce the letter *l* more thinly or richly than the norm. In fact, either fault is innate in some peoples. For the Greeks pronounce this sound thinly, because when they say *ille mihi dixit*, the first two syllables sound as if that very word had a single *l*. On the other hand, others pronounce *ille meum comitatus iter* and *illum ego per flammās* in such a way that they seem to add there some sound to the consonant as well, which is typical of a very rich pronunciation. In this matter too the correctness of the Roman language lies in a distinction. For in some places *l* must be pronounced more richly, in others more thinly: more richly, when *b* follows, as in *balbus*, or *c*, as in *pulcher*, or *f*, as in *Adelfi*, or *g*, as in *alga*, or *m*, as in *pulmo*, or *p*, as in *Calpe*; on the other hand, it must be pronounced more thinly whenever a word begins with it, as in *lepus*, *lana*, *lupus*, or where in the same word the preceding syllable ends with this letter and the following begins with it, as in *ille* and *Allia*.

These are examples of these three letters which our authorities **(17)** have indicated as principal; but also in other letters there are certain faults that are native to some peoples: for example, in the case of *t*, some produce such a rich sound that when they say *etiam* they do not break anything off in the middle syllable. On the contrary, the Greeks break off the sound of that letter when they should not, in such a way that, when they say *optimus*, they pronounce the middle syllable as if they were mingling in a Greek *z* after the *t*. Also, in certain words some people pronounce the letter *c* not according to the Latin rule, but so thickly that one cannot discern what they say: for example, if someone were to say *sic ludit*, he pronounces this so that one would think that the second word was *cludere*, not *ludere*. On the other hand, if he were by contrast to say the former, one will think that is the other way round. By contrast, others pronounce this sound so subtly that, when there are two *c*'s, one at the end of the preceding word and the other at the beginning of the following, they pronounce it as if by one *c* only they expressed them both, just as many say *sic custodit*. Also, the Greeks pronounce the letter *s* so thinly that, when they say *iussit*, one would think they are saying it with a single *s*. Some pronounce more thinly the letter *u* as well, so that when they say *ueni*, one would think that a trisyllable is beginning.

We have noted down these cases which occur with these letters. Perhaps there might be also other faults that are native to some peoples: those who want to preserve the purity of their language must carefully take notice of and pay attention to these, in order that they themselves can avoid them.

Very many scholars stretch the vice of barbarism further, for they say that anything is a barbarism that is wrong in appearance, in gesture, in **(18)** movement, even in a faster or slower walking pace, such as to seem to differ from the elegance of a well-educated man. It is not useless to judge this matter in such a way, so that those who are in politics and incur some fault which violates the elegance even in these mute and silent aspects will know that they struggle with a not insignificant vice. All the more so should one follow especially those instructions that are transmitted by rhetoricians about gesture and action.

Between barbarism and solecism the scholars have indeed established this difference, that barbarism consists in one word, solecism in more than one. But it is necessary to understand this issue more profoundly. For he who says as a nominative *fontis*, when he should say *fons*, has made a mistake in a single word, but we will not be right in saying that he has committed a barbarism, because he has made the same mistake as if he had said *fons* as a feminine. Therefore, since in this matter one does not look just at the utterance, nor is the utterance considered only in itself, but the rules of accident are examined, and this fault does not arise by means of addition or removal, an utterance that violates the rules of gender or case or number will be defined, in consideration of several factors, as solecism. On the other hand, where additions or removals and so on are carried out in single words in an unskilful manner, there is a barbarism; where skilfully and with some authority, there is a metaplasm.

There is a question as to whether one would commit a solecism or a barbarism if those words which are always plural were to be uttered as singular, as if someone were to say *scopam*, *scalam*, *quadrigam*, and *sordem*, or in like manner if someone were to say *lucēs* and *pacēs*. For this case is not like the example which has been provided above, because he who says (19) *hic fontis* and *hic dentis* as nominatives is expressing the very nouns which designate a spring and a tooth in such a way that it seems that these can be uttered with no consideration for their case, for it is in the genitive that one correctly says *fontis* and *dentis*. On the other hand, a word that in Latin does not have a more correct variant in the singular or plural can in no way be misunderstood as the other. So they say that, since the word is not regarded as wrong right away by the examination of the cases, when someone says *quadrigam* or *lucēs* he commits a barbarism by the substitution of the last letter. But this opinion is not acceptable, because, as barbarisms of this kind are divided into barbarism and barbarolexis according to the criterion that barbarism is defined as that which is known in Latin and is only wrong in the way it is expressed, while barbarolexis is defined as that which is borrowed from a foreign language, this case can be ascribed to neither. For this is neither barbarolexis, because it is not a foreign word, nor barbarism, because it cannot be uttered in better Latin in that very grammatical number. Therefore it remains for us to conclude that this is a solecism, in view of a discussion of syntactic rules, because indeed such an expression is faulty as regards grammatical number.

From this it is now clear that the discussion also arises as to whether a single word can encompass both a barbarism and a solecism. Let us consider this issue in the following way: he who says *ossua* commits a barbarism by the addition of a letter; likewise, he who says *strenuae* commits a barbarism by the addition of the same letter, for he should have said *ossa* and *strenae*. On the other hand, it is said that he who says *strenua* commits both a barbarism and a solecism – namely, a barbarism by the addition of a letter and a solecism by the violation of grammatical rules, because the word *strenae* does not have a singular. (20) And the grammatical authorities explain this phenomenon by arguing that single words are naturally susceptible to incurring multiple vices, because in one word a barbarism can take place in more than one way, as for example if someone were to pronounce the aforesaid *ossua* with a long first syllable. For this will be a barbarism by the addition of a quantity in the first syllable and of a letter in the second syllable. Again, *apse* for *re ipsa*, because we have changed the position of the *a*, which was last, and we have placed an *e* at the end instead of the *i*, which was first – although this word is also a *παρέλκον*, as is *adesdum*, a type which is not a metaplasm but rather a trope. He who considers the question carefully finds out that this happens with metaplasms too, as for example when we say *Iacchus* for *Bacchus*. We have both changed a letter, which is an antithesis (for we have substituted an *i* for a *b*), and split one syllable in two, for we have transformed *Bacch* into *Iacch*, which is a diaeresis.

It is a different case when we say *Mauortis*, for we both introduce two letters, *uo*, which is an epenthesis, and join a separated consonant to the other syllable when we create *uor* – but I do not know if this might be called a diaeresis, for it alone does not produce two syllables. Likewise, it has two metaplasms when we say *satias* for *satietas*, because two letters have been removed from the middle of the word, which is a syncope, and two syllables have been reduced into one, which is an episynaloephe. Therefore, he who says *couacla* for *cloaca* commits a barbarism both by addition, for he adds the letter *u* **(21)** to the middle syllable, and by transposition, for he has changed the position of the *l*, which was in the first syllable, placing it in the last syllable. Similarly if someone says *forfex* instead of *forceps*. Therefore, they say, just as both two barbarisms and two metaplasms are often spotted in a single word, so it follows that in a single word one may detect both a solecism and a barbarism, just as both a solecism and a metaplasm, such as they say is the case in *urbemque Fidenam*. The metaplasm consists of the fact that the poet has shortened the syllable *fi*, which was long.

The solecism consists of the fact that he has said in the singular *Fidenam*, which is otherwise always plural. For he should have said *urbem Fidenas*, just as Cicero said *urbem Syracusas*. Thus they say that both a solecism and a barbarism can be spotted in a single word. The only objection to this is that, when in a word a major fault is detected, then there is no room for reflecting upon solecism and barbarism. For a barbarism is that which corrupts a correct word, not that which comes on top of a word which is already corrupt, because that which has already been removed from correct Latin by the violation of a grammatical rule cannot become a barbarism in pronunciation, for it must not be deemed as actually pronounced. Certainly this statement makes some sense; however, in order to show and illustrate these vices to children, nothing keeps us from pointing to and chastising solecism first, for example to say that *strenae* does not have a singular, **(22)** then to add that one has to say *strenae*, not *strenuae*.

There occur indeed very many faults which we cannot specifically include in the categories of barbarism. For there are many people whose lack of knowledge drives them to say *tyrannicidae* instead of *tyranni*: their mistake does not lie in a grammatical rule, nor in pronunciation, but in the sense. Again, others very often say *Sanguintini* instead of *Saguntini*, as if to insult: their mistake does not lie in a grammatical rule, nor in pronunciation, but in history.

In like manner many people, contrary to what they aim at, utter an expression such as they think they are strengthening its meaning while they are actually weakening it, as for example if someone were to say *inuictissimus dux* or *infidelissimus amicus*: he thinks he is saying something more than *inuictus* or *infidelis*, whereas *inuictissimus* is the one who is not completely subdued, and *infidelissimus* the one who is not faithful to the highest degree. These faults and whatever others of this sort there may perhaps be, as long as they are not included among those which we are going to discuss later on, will be rightfully ascribed to the general category of barbarisms, for whatever mistake is made while the rules of grammar or phonology are preserved, that will be rightfully called a barbarism, if it does not have the name of a particular vice.

ON SCANNING VERSES

Now, since we have thoroughly explained with definitions and examples what metaplasms are, I think that the most efficient order of teaching requires that we say a few things about scansion. For a considerable part of the discipline by which we determine whether a line scans **(23)** or not depends upon and consists of the understanding of metaplasms.

So, first of all we need to bear in mind that every line composed by a good author either scans as it is without any licence or is defended in some artificial ways, so that it is held to scan. A line which scans without licence is one of this kind, *conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe*, and *tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix*. For these lines and others such need not be defended by some authority or prerogative of grammar or usage. In these nothing is added, nothing removed, nothing changed; rather, they have been composed blamelessly, in conformity with normal pronunciation, and in no way do they allow for any uncertainty. On the other hand, it is said that lines can scan with licence in two ways. One of these ways is that which comes about by means of some artificial variety and manifold observance; the other comes about by means of the virtue and force of the metaplasms.

I am aware that I have fully discussed the ways in which this licence takes place by virtue of an artificial principle when I dealt with syllables. Therefore, it will suffice now to give some examples. These will be of such a kind that if someone would like to know the matter more profoundly, he should go back to that chapter where all these issues are shown clearly, for to repeat the same here would be tedious and superfluous.

These examples are as follows. A line which is defended by virtue of an artificial principle is *emicat Euryalus et munere uictor amici*, for no doubt the first element of *lus et* would not scan, since when (24) a short vowel is followed by a consonant that remains short, just as in *Iuppiter annos*. Again, in *insulae Ionio in magno*, one defends the fact that the diphthong *ae* has been treated as short, whereas it is in fact long, as in *Aeole namque tibi*. Again, in *te Corydon o Alexi*, one defends the fact that *o* has been treated as short, whereas it is long elsewhere, as in *o ubi campi*. Again, in *et uolucrum linguas*, one defends the fact that *lu*, followed by two consonants, has been treated as short, whereas it is treated as long elsewhere, as in *pecudes pictaeque uolucres*. Again, in *auroque effulgere fluctus*, one defends the fact that *re*, followed by two consonants, has been treated as short whereas it is treated as long elsewhere,

as in *inmanisque Gela fluuii cognomine dicta*. Again, in *hic erit unus honos*, one defends the fact that *us*, followed by two consonants, has been treated as short, whereas it is long elsewhere when the same consonants follow, as in *terga fatigamus hasta*. Again, in *ponite spes sibi quisque*, one defends the fact that *te* is short, whereas they use it as long elsewhere, as in *unde spissa coma*. Again, (25) in *hoc erat alma parens*, one defends the fact that *hoc*, followed by one consonant only, has been treated as long, whereas it is treated as short elsewhere, as in *solus hic inflexit sensus*. Again, in *nemorosa Zacynthus*, one defends the fact that *sa*, followed by a double consonant, is short, whereas it is treated as long elsewhere, as in *exultat Amazon*. Again, in *o mihi praeteritos*, one defends the fact that the poet treated *hi* as short, whereas it is long elsewhere, as in *fata mihi ferro sceleratam excindere gentem*. Let it suffice for us to have briefly recalled these things to memory by means of examples. But if someone looks beyond this for the principles upon which these lines are defended, he should go back to the chapter previously mentioned, as we have said.

The other kind of licence is that which comes about by means of the virtue and force of the metaplasms. About this we shall give a few precepts which are quite relevant to the issue, and we shall discuss more extensively only those which are more used. On the other hand, those which occur rarely, and yet can occur, we shall briefly show for the sake of example only. And first of all we must bear in mind that these metaplasms are either laid out by the poets themselves already in writing or left to us to carry out when the exigency of scansion or pronunciation requires it. The poets carry out metaplasms when they themselves leave the spelling corrupt, as with *reliquias Danaum* and *tanton me crimine dignum duxisti*. For the poet added one letter, *l*, by virtue of metaplasma, and so to the contrary *** as (26) Lucilius' *atque ore corrupto*, for he took away one letter, *r*, by virtue of metaplasma; and Ennius' *huic statuam statui maiorum et obatus ahenis*: here as well he took away the letter *r* by virtue of metaplasma. When these things occur, we do not produce a metaplasma in scansion, for this is already in the spelling of the word itself, which has been left this way by the poet. And we cannot corrupt a word by virtue of metaplasma by adding and removing something, unless the poets themselves have corrupted it.

There are other ways in which the poet himself reads something corruptly, but does not indicate this corruption in writing, as in *Italiam fato profugus* and *aquosus Orion* and *labitur infelix studiorum* and *qua summa labentes*. For whether *i*, *o*, and *a* are long or short, it will not be possible for them to be written differently, and in spelling this corruption will not be apparent, but in scansion we shall be guided to defend the line by the force of the metaplasm, which will be a systole or an ectasis. A similar principle will apply to diaeresis and episynaloephe. For when Horace says *feraeque suetae*, and Lucan *dixisse Phoebos*, and Vergil *et uotis iam nunc adsuesce uocari* and likewise *aeripedem ceruam*, whether one were to join the syllables together or divide them, this will be written with the same letters, and discernment alone, in conformity with the modes of defending lines, brings in the virtue of metaplasm, insofar as the latter or the former propriety will seem more convincing.

(27) There follow two metaplasms whose nature and power are most effective in scanning: synaloephe and ecthlipsis. We shall give precepts about these in such order as to state first what the difference between them is, since in scanning they usually converge in some ways. Synaloephe is when one syllable consisting of one or two vowels or a vowel with *m* is found superfluous, as it were, in the verse and is jumped over without loss of sound.

Some examples of this are *coniugio Anchisae, interea medium Aeneas, femineae ardentem*. Ecthlipsis is when the running together of the sounds not only passes over the syllables, but cuts them off and deletes them as if they were squeezed out and stifled. This is why this metaplasm is named ecthlipsis, as if it squeezes out and removes those elements that are superfluous, as it were, and hinder the two sounds which are situated on both sides of them. That metaplasm seen above too, which is milder, as it were, has also its name determined by its force, as if it jumped over those elements that can be jumped over. For this is why it is named synaloephe, as if passing over those elements with a sort of jump. So such is the force of ecthlipsis: at times it cuts off a single vowel, in some cases as a letter, as in *regina e speculis, scio me Danais, per duodena regit, fluctusque atros*, in others as a syllable, as in *atque ea diuersa*. Also, it has the power **(28)** to cut off at times a diphthong, as in *femineae ardentem*. Also, it has the power to remove at times a vowel with *m*, as in *interea medium Aeneas* and *fuit Ilium et ingens*.

As these are the powers of these two metaplasms, at times there arises a doubt: first, you do not know whether you should say that a letter or a syllable has been cut off, as in *atque eadiuersa* – for if you cut off the first *e*, you have cut off a letter, whereas if you cut off the second, you have cut off a syllable. However, which letter you cut off is not relevant at all to the way of defending a line. Then there arises another doubt: you do not know whether you have a synaloephe or an ecthlipsis in all the cases, such as that of a vowel which makes a syllable; for when a vowel is cut off as a letter, that is always an ecthlipsis. Therefore it will be doubtful whether you should scan in this or that way, and whether you make a synaloephe or an ecthlipsis, in *coniugio Anchisae*: for if you scan it as *coniugianchi*, you have made a synaloephe, for you have jumped over the syllable *o* (this is jumped over, not cut off); if you scan it as *coniugionchisae*, it will be an ecthlipsis, for *a* has been cut off and squeezed out, as it were. The verse *accipio agnoscoque libens* is similar, for if you scan it as *accipiagnos*, that is a synaloephe; if *accipiognos*, it is an ecthlipsis. Of such a kind is *femineae ardentem*, for you can scan *femineardentem*, and that is a synaloephe; by contrast, you can scan **(29)** *femineaardentem* and that will be an ecthlipsis.

Also it is likewise uncertain whether in *fuit Ilium et ingens* there is a synaloephe or an ecthlipsis, for if you scan it as *Iliet*, that is a synaloephe; if as *Iliut*, that is an ecthlipsis. *Egregium Antorem* is similar, for it can be scanned in either way, *egregianto* and *egregiunto*. That being so, and although it is clear from the nature of the names, the very definitions, and their examples, in what respect these two metaplasms seem to differ from each other, nevertheless I see now that in scansion, not only in our time but also in the authorities, the term synaloephe has prevailed almost by common consent, so much so that among the examples of ecthlipsis nearly all of them cite almost unanimously nothing else but *multum ille et terris*. However, this example itself depends on how it is scanned, for if you were to scan *multil*, that will be episynaloephe according to Asper, who says that from two syllables you get one, like *tanton* from *tantone*; but in my opinion this is an apocope, like *magi* for *magis*; but if you scan *multul*, it will be an ecthlipsis, because a vowel with *m* is cut off and squeezed out from the middle of the words, as it were, for it is not jumped over, so to speak, as though it were the final vowel of one word, as in *interea medium Aeneas*.

Therefore, as we have said, now both of them are nearly identified with one word, but this does not matter: for it is sufficient for us to have presented and examined their differences from the texts of the ancient authors, and it does not matter what name each object is identified by, provided their nature and power are so to speak grasped in all this examination.

Therefore, to say clearly and openly what remains, first of all we have to know **(30)** that, as concerns the force of these two metaplasms as well, whether one distinguishes them or identifies them with the single term of synaloephe, the poets themselves can at times corrupt a word by means of metaplasm, as in *nec non aurumque animusque Latinost*. When this happens, we find the metaplasm already in the word and do not perform it in scanning, which we would surely do if the poet had written *Latino est*, just as *excussaue pectore Iuno est*. In employing metaplasms, however, the poets cannot always use their power to corrupt the spelling, but when they have left the spelling untouched, the power rests with us not to pronounce those elements which the sequence of the written characters nonetheless contains, as in *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*. For if the poet had intended to leave it as *mult*, he would have left it uncertain, for we could take *mult* for *multis*. For what purpose have we said this? To show that poets do not always have the power to corrupt the spelling.

As regards these two metaplasms, it now remains for us to teach with what understanding and in which way, when the spelling is unaltered, we can bring about a metaplasm. Therefore, let us consider it this way: this metaplasm, as we have said, cuts off either a vowel or a syllable consisting of a vowel or two or also a syllable consisting of a vowel plus *m* or a half-syllable: this is the case of *puerum Astyanacta trahebant*, for this must be scanned as *rastya*, and so not the whole syllable *rum* is lost; it is convenient to add this example here, because I have talked about the preceding types above. Here one can also observe **(31)** that at times two *m*'s are lost in one syllable, as in *extremum hunc, Arethusa*, so that we scan it as *extrehunc Are*; but if someone prefers *mhunc Are*, not the whole syllable is lost, like *rastya*.

Therefore, these four types come about in such a way that whatever element is dropped is either between two vowels or between a vowel and a consonant or between a consonant and a vowel or between two consonants: between two vowels, as in *coniugio Anchisae* and *atque ea diuersa*; between a vowel and a consonant, as in *Thybris ea fluuium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem*, for by saying *gast* we cut off the *e*; such is *regina e speculis*, where the *e* is dropped between the vowel *a* and the consonant *s*; between a consonant and a vowel, as in *nunc scio quid sit amor* and *per duodena regit*; between two consonants, as happens in *ad soceros atque auo puerum Astyanacta trahebat*, for we scan *rostquea*, from which it is apparent that the vowel *a* has been lost between two consonants; in *per ego has lacrimas*, we scan *ghaslacri*.

(32) Now we have to consider that in the loss of syllables which are cut off, when one vowel is dropped, this is especially the preceding one: the natural way of scanning entails it and the voice of those who scan, as I may say, runs downwards to it, as in *regina e speculis*. For

who does not scan it as *reginespecu*? And *ante, pudor, quam te uiolo aut tua iura resoluo*: who does not scan it in such a way that the *o* that comes first is lost, and you have *lauttua*? Although things are so, yet from time to time there is something more pleasing in sound or more constrained by necessity such that the second vowel is dropped, as in *isque ubi Dardanios habitus*: for no one scans it as *isquubi*, because two *u*'s after the letter *q* do not fit together into one syllable, but this is rather scanned as *isquebi*. Similar is *pluiiasque Yadas*, so that we scan *asquea* rather than *asquya*, because *e* sounds better, and also because it is unusual for *y* to be added after *qu* so as to make a syllable *quy*.

There remain two metaplasms: antithesis, when a letter takes the place of another letter, as in *olli* for *illi*, and metathesis, when a letter is moved to a different place, as in *Thymbre* for *Thymber*. But this does not concern the way of scanning: for we shall consider to what effect the metaplasm we come upon is written.

Commentary

1.3-9 Barbarismi ... demonstramus: the originality of C.'s *De barbarismis et metaplasms* is evident already from its opening, where our author puts considerable rhetorical effort into emphasising that barbarisms and metaplasms actually are different items (the alliterating *tricolon crescens* in the first sentence is quite revealing). No other grammarian writes an introduction to the section of the *uitia et uirtutes orationis* like this: more precisely, grammarians do not write introductions proper to this topic, but mostly start off with a thorough discussion of barbarism (which can include contrastive definitions of barbarism and metaplasma, as in Don. 653.2-3 H. *barbarismus est una pars orationis uitiosa in communi sermone. in poemate metaplasma*).

It is a well established view in recent scholarship that C. consciously tries to distinguish himself, in both content and style, from grammarians (see Holtz 1981: 83-4 n. 51), and this sort of programmatic declaration may be seen as one of the author's strategies to do so. There is the impression that C. points out some superficiality in the way the grammatical tradition deals with the whole issue of *uitia et uirtutes orationis*, and tackles it in a different way. The best course of action is to treat barbarisms and metaplasms jointly: this is possible because, despite their differences, they do have much in common, namely most of the ways in which they arise (cf. *DBM* 2.13-15 and 12.17-20). From a didactic perspective, this will help make their differences clear (cf. *DBM* 3.19-21).

A joint discussion of the two phenomena is unique in the Latin grammatical tradition: apart from an early comparison between them, as if they were the two sides of a coin, barbarisms and metaplasms are generally dealt with in different sections, among the *uitia* and the *uirtutes orationis*, respectively. Just to quote a couple of major artigraphers, Donatus' *Ars maior* has the discussion of barbarisms (653.1 – 655.2 H.) and that of metaplasms (660.7 – 663.3 H.) separated by two sections on solecisms and *cetera uitia*, and so does Charisius' work (barbarism at 349.18 – 351.12 B. and metaplasma at 366.1 – 368.11 B.).

1.3 Barbarismi a metaplasmi: for the history of the two concepts from the Greek origins down to the late Latin grammarians, see Holtz (1981: 137-41, with reference to solecism as well, and 171-2) and Vainio (1999: 143-8). Neumann (1917: 5-11) focuses more on the terms themselves, especially in the Roman world.

1.4 eueniunt: Keil's conjecture for **BM**'s *conueniunt* (**V**'s *constant*, which neither Keil nor Niedermann knew, must be a scribe's conjecture). *Conueniunt* ('they come together') would make the thought pleonastic, given the following *ipsis communes sunt*. *Eueniunt* is superior to Niedermann's *proueniunt* (which he must have taken from *DBM* 2.14 *isdem modis prouenit*, where Keil knew only **M**'s *peruenit* and changed it into *euenit*): unlike *prouenio*, *euenio* governing *ex* + ablative is attested in C. (cf. *DNV* 362.13, 366.16-17), and the confusion between the correct *conuenire* and *euenire* at *DBM* 27.4 shows that these were likely to be exchanged.

1.10 quidam: as is perfectly normal for a Latin grammarian (cf. Holtz 1981: 84), C. rarely mentions his sources, and often prefers to refer to other grammarians by way of *quidam* (*DBM* 1.14, 13.10; *DNV* 343.7, 27, 347.32, 350.11 etc.), *grammatici* (*DNV* 338.4, 341.24 etc.), or *scriptores* (*DBM* 10.18, 12.19, 13.2, 17.21 etc.). If we look at other authors, the first of C.'s three definitions of barbarism matches perfectly that of Donatus (653.2 H. *barbarismus est una pars orationis uitiosa in communi sermone*), with C. subsequently developing the concise statement that follows in Donatus (*in poemate metaplasmus*). It is also close to Cominianus' second definition as preserved in Char. 349.23 – 350.1 B. (that is why Goetting 1899: 84-5 thinks of Remmius Palaemon as the ultimate source for this doctrine).

una pars orationis: a barbarism is perpetrated in a single word. This is what makes it different from a solecism, as far as the latter, which we might define as a syntactic mistake, is perpetrated in the connection between words (see *DBM* 18.8-10).

1.11 in communi sermone: being opposite to *in poemate*, *communis sermo* must extensively include the whole realm of the language outside poetry, whether it is written or not (cf. *DBM* 2.17-8 *uel enuntiatione uel scripto*), literary or not, regardless of the level (i.e. not necessarily *sermo cotidianus* or *uulgaris*, cf. Ferri and Probert 2010: 38-40). The expression is found with this technical meaning in Schol. *Hor. Epist.* 1.16.4, Don. 653.2 H., Char. 14.8-12 B. (= Diom. 436.1-4), Serv. *Aen.* 7.445. According to this definition, therefore, both barbarism and metaplasm are mistakes in a single word, and it is only the context in which the word is used that makes the difference between them (cf. Vainio 1999: 124).

1.12 dixi: here all three of the MSS. have abbreviations for *dixit*. Editors have been uncomfortable with either the tense or the person of the verb: Cramer and Keil have suggested *dicit*, but Niedermann's *dixi* seems superior (cf. *DBM* 8.18, 30.25; *DNV* 371.25, 375.18).

1.14 dictio: on the difference between *dictio* and the *pars orationis* of the previous definition, see Holtz (1981: 139-40). In short, *dictio* was close to λέξις, which was used by Stoic grammarians to indicate a single word as opposed to λόγος 'discourse'; but it was ambiguous, as it also designated the action of saying or a speech, so the unequivocal *una pars orationis* tended to replace it (cf. Cominianus's discussion in Char. 349.18 – 350.1 B. *barbarismus est dictio uitiosa. haec autem definitio <et> generalis est et specialis. sed quoniam <dictio et> contexta oratio <et> una pars eius intellegitur, consuetudo hunc tantum barbarismum appellat qui fit in una parte orationis. aptius tamen hac utemur definitione, barbarismus est una pars orationis corrupta*).

1.14-15 uitiosa enuntiatione: BV read *corrupta* after *enuntiatione*, which is accepted by Niedermann. *Corrupta* could be understood as referred to *dictio* and coordinated with *uitiosa*, having *enuntiatione* as an ablative of respect. This would be a better explanation than taking *enuntiatione corrupta* as an ablative absolute. *Corrupta* would well match *dictio*, as *corrumpo dictionem* is found several times in C. (*DBM* 21.16-18, 26.8-9, 30.3-4); Diomedes,

moreover, writes of *una pars orationis* which is *enuntiatione... corrupta* (451.26-7). It seems to me, though, that *corrupta* is not really needed here, as it basically is a synonym of *uitiosa* (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 261: *Caesar ... consuetudinem uitiosam et corruptam... emendat*, Quint. *Inst.* 2.5.10, Aug. *c. Faust.* 11.4) and does not add any information to it (cf. Char. 350.25-26 B. *barbarismus est dictio uel pronuntiatione uel scriptura aliqua sui parte uitiosa*, where *dictio uitiosa* stands with ablatives of respect without any coordinated adjective). I think it likely that *corrupta* was a gloss on *uitiosa* which entered the text in the common ancestor of **BV**, and therefore I leave it out.

1.15 enuntiationem habet in reprehensione: along with Buttman and Niedermann, I keep the reading of the MSS., which Keil amends to *hoc ideo habet reprehensionem* (for *habeo reprehensionem* see Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.7, Quint. *Decl.* 265.12, Pomp. 284.17). This heavy correction would make indeed attractive sense: C. would find this definition inadequate, inasmuch as it is limited to only one of the two *modi* in which a barbarism can arise (cf. *enuntiatione uel scripto* at *DBM* 2.16-17). Nevertheless, it seems more likely to me that C.'s purpose in this section is to explain, not criticise, the definitions he gives (and indeed I would expect an adverb like *autem* to mark a criticism): this is why I prefer *enuntiationem habet in reprehensione* 'finds fault with the pronunciation', with C. subsequently explaining that the author of this definition focuses on the features which are typical of speech only. The other instance of *in reprehensione aliquem/aliquid habeo* I have found in Latin literature is Ambrosiast. *quaest. test.* 110.5 (in the passive): *sed cum duo genera tantum habeantur, impiorum et peccatorum, in reprehensione...* (on the language of the Ambrosiaster see Zelzer 1970).

This definition, as it stands here, is not found in other authors. Most grammarians state that barbarisms can be perpetrated both in writing and speaking (e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.6, Don. 653.5 H., Diom. 451.27). Not all of them, however, specify whether the barbarism in speech involves all the elements of a word or not. An argument quite close to C.'s explanation of this definition is found in a fragment attributed to Sergius in the *Pauca*: here this grammarian

ascribes *tempus* and *accentus* to barbarism in speaking, just as C. does (*Pauca 7 hoc sciendum quod adiectio detractio inmutatio transmutatio litterae et syllabae ad scribendum pertinet; temporis uero et accentus adiectio detractio inmutatio transmutatio ad pronuntiationem pertinet*). Such a line of reasoning may also underlie Quintilian's presentation of the matter: he separates quite clearly barbarisms *in scribendo* from barbarisms *in loquendo*, and says that the latter take place in different ways (*Inst.* 1.5.6): *quis hoc nescit, alios barbarismos scribendo fieri, alios loquendo (...), illud prius adiectione detractio inmutatione transmutatione, hoc secundum diuisione complexione adspiratione sono contineri?* He then goes on to deal separately with barbarisms in writing (1.5.12-17) and in speaking (1.5.17-33).

Of course, the argument that a *dictio uitiosa enuntiatione* is only about quantity and accent is not quite accurate if formulated this way, for mistakes involving letters and syllables are also reflected in speech. The matter is rather that mistakes involving quantity and accent are restricted to speech, for quantity and accent were not thoroughly marked in writing (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.6 *quod male scribitur male etiam dici necesse est, quae uitiose dixeris non utique et scripto peccant*). In fact, further on in the text C. writes that the *quadripertita ratio* (cf. next note) applies to both the written and the spoken realm, and subsequently adds that the elements involved are the letter, syllable, quantity, accent, and aspiration (*DBM* 2.20-6): in so doing, he proves to be aware that barbarisms in speaking are not just about quantity and accent.

It is quite revealing that C. does not mention aspiration among the *species* in which a barbarism in speaking can occur. It used to be quite a controversial issue whether barbarisms involving aspiration concerned writing or speaking (see Nig. Fig. fr. 21 *GRFF*, Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.19-21, Don. 654.10-12 H., and cf. Holtz 1981: 144 n. 53): the answer of each grammarian basically depended on what they considered *h* to be, whether a *littera* or a *nota adspirationis* (for a list of the passages where grammarians deal with *h*, see Biddau 2006: 177-8). C. for one does not seem to think that barbarism in aspiration concerns pronunciation alone, for he uses both *scribo* and *dico* regarding aspiration (*scribo* at *DBM* 11.12; *dico* at 11.22, 12.4-6, 12.16).

1.16 accentus: C. uses *accentus* (like Audax 361.24) where Donatus has *tonus* (609.5 H. *tonos alii accentus, alii tenores nominant*). Charisius talks about *sonus* (350.17-18 B. *fit inmutatio et per sonos*). Diomedes, on the other hand, does not take into account barbarisms involving accents.

1.17 prosodias: in the grammatical tradition this normally refers only to *accentus*, and not also *tempora* (see *TLL* X.2201.34ff.).

1.17 – 2.1 item barbarismus ... pertinet: the third definition, the only one that C. does not attribute to *quidam*, is given in quite a similar formulation by Charisius (350.25-6 B. *barbarismus est dictio uel pronuntiatione uel scriptura aliqua sui parte uitiosa*), where it is attributed to *alii*. This point allows C. to bring in what Quintilian called *quadripertita ratio*, the four actions which are responsible for language change if applied to the five ‘segments’ and ‘suprasegmental’ elements which words are made of according to the grammarians (for the history of the *quadripertita ratio*, see Ax 1986).

1.18 adiectionem et detractioem: the archetype had *adiectionem* and *detractioem* inverted, which was corrected by Niedermann in light of *DBM* 2.21, 2.24 etc.; **M** inverted *inmutationem* and *transmutationem* too. The order *detractio adiectio* is very rare (as for the lists, it is found in Aug. *gramm.* 11.2 only), whereas *transmutatio inmutatio* is found in Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.38 (a list with examples), Char. 350.7-8 B., and Ps. Mar. Victorin. 33.11 N. The order of actions that we observe here is the regular one (see Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.6, Don. 653.6 H., Char. 350.26-8 B., Diom. 451.32-3, Serv. *GL* IV.444.15-16, Pomp. 285.10, Audax 361.22-3).

2.4-5 uel litteris ... uel accentibus: the tradition has *uel accentibus* as the first item of the list before *uel litteris*, which is very unusual. Niedermann moved it after *syllabis* (cf. *DBM* 1.19) but I think that it was originally placed after *temporibus*, for this is the more usual order (cf.

DBM 1.16, 2.25-6, 11.2-3 etc.) and *uel accentibus* was more likely to be dropped by homoeoteleuton after *temporibus*.

2.6-8 barbaros autem lexis ... inducitur: for a detailed history of the term and concept of *barbarolexis*, see Vainio (1994). Quintilian was the first to distinguish from barbarism what would later be called *barbarolexis*, that is a loanword (*Inst.* 1.5.8 *unum gente, quale sit si quis Afrum uel Hispanum Latinae orationi nomen inserat*). The word *barbarolexis* is composed of βάρβαρος (used as an adjective and therefore preserving the *o* in the compound, cf. Holtz 1981: 137 n. 9) and λέξις, and may well be a Latin coinage, as it never occurs in extant Greek literature. Its first instance is found in *Sacerdos*, where it has the unparalleled meaning of a barbarism perpetrated in writing (451.14-15 *haec uitia, cum dicuntur, barbarismi sunt; cum scribuntur, barbarolexis*). The later grammarians hold *barbarolexis* to be a foreign word (Don. 653.3 H. *itemque in nostra loquella barbarismus, in peregrina barbarolexis dicitur*; similarly Char. 350.5-6 B., Diom. 451.31-2, Pomp. 284.19-21, Audax 361.20-1). C. is rather explicit in stating that *barbarolexis* is a foreign word which is introduced into the Latin language, i.e. a loanword. This cannot have been so obvious if Pompeius wrote that *barbarolexis* could also be a mistake in the use of a foreign word itself (284.24-8 *praeterea quaeritur, quem ad modum fiat in peregrinis uerbis ... in istis uerbis siqui peccauerit, non dicitur fecisse barbarismum, non dicitur fecisse metaplasmum, sed dicitur fecisse barbarolexin* etc.). I cannot say for sure whether this was implied in the other grammarians' formulation (although the examples they provide should not point in this direction) or just Pompeius' own development: what is clear is that this was not C.'s point. Interestingly enough, later in this work *barbarolexis* is presented as a subspecies of barbarism (*DBM* 19.9-11 *cum huius modi barbarismorum uitium diuisum sit in barbarismum et barbarolexin...*).

2.8 *cateias hastas utique Gallorum*: I follow the word order of the majority of the tradition (**MV** *Pauca*) against *utique Gallorum hastas* (**B** and Niedermann) and *utique hastas Gallorum* (some MSS. of *Pauca* and Keil).

The list of loanwords is traditional among the grammarians, with *cateia* being given as an example of *barbarolexis* in Don. 653.4 H., Pomp. 284.21, and Iul. Tol. 179.16 M.Y. This word first appears in Latin literature with Vergil (*A.* 7.741 *Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias*, said of *Campani*), followed by Valerius Flaccus (6.83), Silius Italicus (3.277) and Gellius (10.25.2). This weapon is supposed to be a kind of dart of a curved shape (cf. *panda* in Silius), which is usually likened to a boomerang on the account of Isidore (Isid. *Orig.* 18.7.7 *quod si ab artifice mittatur, rursum redit ad eum qui misit*; cf. Damsté 1910), but several scholars do not trust the medieval bishop of Seville and prefer to imagine it as a battle axe (Saunders 1930: 162ff., *EV* V.155). The scholion in Serv. auct. *Aen.* 7.741 is a late and stratified one blending entries on *cateia*, *claua* and *aclys*, and its information about studs on the *cateia* (*tota fere clavis ferreis illigata*) should be discarded (see Weisgerber 1937 and Horsfall 1969).

As for the origin of the *cateia*, Silius Italicus and Valerius Flaccus introduce it in armies of Africans and Scythians respectively, both barbarian peoples with no connection to Vergil's *Teutonico ritu*: the common opinion is that these poets simply drew the name of the weapon from Vergil without really knowing what this was. A Gaulish origin is the view of most late explanations: besides C., this is the opinion of Serv. *Aen.* 7.741 (*cateias tela Gallica, unde et Teutonicum ritum dixit*), Isid. *Orig.* 18.7.7, Iul. Tol. 23.354 and 179.16 M.Y., and *CGL* V.214.26. The fact that our C. was probably from Gaul does not entail that he was right in attributing *cateia* to Gauls: there is no guarantee that the weapon mentioned by Vergil was still used in C.'s times. One must be aware that the Romans tended to identify the historical Teutons, a Germanic tribe wiped out by Marius in 102 BC, with Gauls (see Weisgerber 1937: 104ff.), so Vergil's *Teutonico* may well have engendered an autoschediastic attribution to *Galli* (in fact *Galli* and *Teutoni* appear as synonyms in Servius). Servius Auctus has it that *cateia* belongs to

lingua Theotisca, a piece of information which would depend on a skewed interpretation of *Teutonico* (see Weisgerber 1937: 108ff. on the medieval equivalence of *teutonicus/theotiscus*). Pompeius is isolated in stating that *cateia* is a Persian word (284.24): in this text, however, one may suspect *Persarum* to be a gloss for the subsequent *Medorum* (said of the *acinaces*), and to have replaced a more suitable ethnonym which was said of *cateia*.

The matter is complicated, and it is not easy to tell whether Vergil meant *Teutonico* as typical of the historical Teutons or of a Gallic tribe, which would be most relevant to our case. Should the first option be valid (see Horsfall 2000: 483), there would be a point in the claim for a Germanic etymology from a widespread root **kat-* ‘crooked’, found in some toponyms across Northern Europe (cf. Kaspers 1942); the same root could possibly lie in *catax* ‘lame’, according to Walde and Hofmann (1938-54: I.181). If *cateia* is instead a Gallic noun and a Celtic etymology is to be reconstructed, Fick (1890-1909: II.66ff.) suggests OIr. *cath* ‘battle’ (see *DIL* I.86-7). Pokorny (1936) proposes MIr. *caithid* which has the meaning, among the others, ‘he throws’ (*DIL* I.55-6). This explanation is approved by Matasović (2009: 195), who reconstructs proto-Celtic **kat-yo-*, implying a PIE root **keh₂t-/*kh₂t-*, where Celtic preserves the 0-grade.

2.9 *mastrucam uestimentum Sardorum*: *mastruca* is provided as an example of loanword by Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.8) and, spelt *mastruga*, by Donatus (653.4 H.) and Pompeius (284.22). This is a sort of leather coat (cf. Isid. *Orig.* 19.23.5 *uestis... ex pelliculis ferarum*) which still belongs to Sardinian folklore: no doubt therefore that C. was right in his attribution to *Sardi*. In Latin literature, it occurs in Pl. *Poen.* 1313 (however spelt) and Cic. *Scaur. frag.* 20.45d where it is explicitly attributed to *Sardi* (*quem purpura regalis non commouit, eum Sardorum mastruca mutarit?*). Cicero also employs the adjective *mastrucatus* in *Prov.* 15.

Is it possible to go back further than the Sardinian usage? Several attempts have been made, none of them entirely satisfactory. A Phoenician origin is suggested by Ernout and Meillet (1979: 389) on the account of the Plautine occurrence, where *mastruca* is meant as an

insult to the Carthaginian character Hanno (an option not discarded by Terracini 1936). Whatmough (1937: 374) cautiously suggests Ligurian origin, but does not offer any evidence. Gaulish origin, proposed by Dottin (1920: 270), is totally groundless. In the end, it is more judicious to stop at Paleo-Sardinian, as do Walde and Hofmann (1938-54: II.48) and Bertoldi (1947: 25-6). Nencioni (1939: 37-8) corroborates this option quoting Sardinian, Iberian, and African toponyms and nouns ending in *-uca/-uga*, which might go back to a common pre-Indoeuropean layer.

2.9-10 *magalia* Afrorum casas: *magalia* is supposed to be a Punic loanword; it was employed almost exclusively in the plural (cf. *TLL* VIII.50.32-4) and denoted huts typical of North African, perhaps nomadic, populations (cf. Char. 37.8-9 B., Diom. 328.8, Pomp. 284.22, Isid. *Orig.* 15.12.4), round in form (Cato *Orig.* fr. 78 Peter) or oblong (Sal. *Jug.* 18.8). It is not clear whether *magalia* and *map(p)alia* are the same word (see Walde and Hofmann 1938-54: II.36, *TLL* VIII.369.36ff.): according to Serv. *Aen.* 4.259 they are, and *mapalia* might have been influenced by another Punic word, *mappa* (see Müller-Graupa 1914: 314-6 and 1930: 312). Vergil, from whose work this term is likely to have entered the grammatical tradition, appears to have used both *magalia* (*A.* 1.421 and 4.259) and *mapalia* (*G.* 3.340, cf. *EV* III.309-11). Serv. *Aen.* 1.421 says the word would be better spelt as *magaria* from a singular *magar*, which would mean *uilla* in *Poenorum lingua*, but this equivalence has been rejected by Schröder (1869: 104 n. 7) and Gsell (1913-28: I.313); on *Magaria* as a suburb of Carthago, see Pl. *Poen.* 86 and cf. Szyncer (1978 and 1986) and Lancel (1984: 39-40).

The Semitic origin of this word is backed by most modern scholars: Schröder (1869: 104) moves from the Servian *magar* to compare Hebr. *m^{eo}ārā* ‘cave’; Lewy (1932: 189) compares Hebr. *ma’gāl* ‘way’; Gaggiotti (1990: 774) suggests for *magaria* a Semitic root GVR ‘to live, stay’. On the other hand, Beguinot (1931: 6) derives this word from the Berber

languages (cf. modern Berber *nuāla* ‘hut’), but this seems now unlikely. On other loanwords from Punic into Latin, see Adams (2003: 454-5).

2.10 *acinaces* *gladios Medorum*: Gr. ἀκινάκης, this was a short straight sword used by the Persians (Hdt. 7.61), who had presumably taken it from the Scythians (see Moorey 1985: 26): Herodotus (4.62) reports that the Scythians used to worship it in their rites as a symbol of the war divinity (cf. Arnob. *nat.* 6.11). Illustrations can be seen in Daremberg and Saglio (1877-1919: I.31f.) and Stolze (1882: tab. 11, 12, 19, 20).

C. and Pompeius (284.23-4) ascribe this weapon to the Medes, probably deducing this information from Horace (*Carm.* 1.27.5 *Medus acinaces*, with many MSS. reading *acinacis*): the Horatian use of *Medus* is quite loose, as Medes were equivalent to Persians and Parthians in the perception of Horace and Augustan poets in general (cf. Wissemann 1982: 56-74 and *EO* I.523-5).

C. uses *acinacis* in the *DNV* as an example of a loanword acclimatised according to the rules of Latin morphology (364.8-12 *omne peregrinum nomen, siquidem id iam receptum est, ut... Medorum acinacis... dirigi ad eius latini sermonis similitudinem debet, cui proximum est. ut puta nominatiuo hic acinacis, simile huic uideo esse hic Tiberis*). A nominative singular *acinaces*, closer to the Greek form, is attested by Flor. *Epit.* 2.21.3 and possibly Pomp. 284.23 (if it is not inflected here, like the previous *cateia*).

2.11-13 *metaplasma est ... cogente*: cf. Sacerd. 451.25-6 *metaplasma est uel figura est dictio aliter composita quam debet metri uel decoris causa*, Char. 366.2-3 B. *metaplasma est dictio aliter quam debuit figurata metri aut decoris causa*. C.’s definition of metaplasma is closer to the ones of Sacerdos and Charisius than to that of Donatus (Don. 660.8-9 H. = Diom. 440.28-9 *metaplasma est transformatio quaedam recti solutique sermonis in alteram speciem metri ornatusue causa*).

2.12 una pars orationis: cf. the first definition of barbarism at *DBM* 1.10-11. Only **M** has *una*: in fact, Vainio (1999: 129-30) points out that, since ‘the collision of vowels (*synaliphe*) and that of a consonant and a vowel (*ecthlipsis*) in fact involve two words’, C. makes a ‘slip’ by saying that a metaplasm is *una pars orationis*, while ‘the grammarians usually do not explicitly say that the metaplasm concerns only one word’. However, some grammarians do employ *dictio* (see *Sacerdos* and *Charisius* above), which unequivocally designates a single word, and *Donatus* clearly means *una pars orationis* to underlie *in poemate metaplasumus* as well at 653.2-3 H. It is worth pointing out, anyway, that C. outlines some bizarre scansion where, by virtue of the metaplasm called *ecthlipsis*, two words undergo change: for the last letter of the preceding word and the first letter of the following one are elided (*DBM* 29.1ff. *Ilium et as Iliut* etc.).

2.12 figurata contra consuetudinem: this has the same function as *uitiosa* in the first definition of barbarism (*DBM* 1.10-11), marking the gap between the standard and non-standard form – although there seems to be no express stigmatisation here. For a detailed overview of *consuetudo* (‘customary usage’) in grammatical texts, see *Schad* (2007: 93-6). This was listed among the guidelines of *latinitas*, correct Latin, since *Varro* (fr. 268 *GRFF latinitas... constat autem... his quattuor, natura analogia consuetudine auctoritate*) and *Quintilian* (*Inst.* 1.6.1 *sermo constat ratione uetustate auctoritate consuetudine*). It is a crucial criterion in the later grammarians as well (cf. *Char.* 62.14-15 B., *Ps. Mar. Victorin. GL* VI.189.3-4).

It is quite remarkable that C. presents only *consuetudo* as the principle whose violation results in a metaplasm: as *consuetudo* is only one of several guidelines of correct Latin, one would rather expect a more comprehensive expression like *contra latinitatem* (cf. *Sacerdos*’ *aliter composita quam debet* or *Charisius*’ *aliter quam debuit figurata*), or one including different criteria such as *contra consuetudinem et rationem* or the like. At *DBM* 8.23 – 9.2 we find again that if *pone* with the stress on the last syllable were simply a *uerbum contra consuetudinem enuntiatum* and not a word with a different meaning, this would be a sufficient

condition to define it a metaplasma. This pre-eminence of *consuetudo* might reflect the special role it enjoyed in Quintilian's view, in which this sort of *consensus eruditorum* (cf. *Inst.* 1.6.45) was the *certissima loquendi magistra* (*Inst.* 1.6.3). In his *DNV*, C. presents cases where *consuetudo* overcomes *regula* in morphology (383.10-12, 18-20, 26-31).

It is worth pointing out that *consuetudo* can also be seen in diachronic perspective, therefore C. is entitled to talk of a *praeiudicata* or *uetus consuetudo*: indeed, while a metaplasma is a poetic violation of contemporary usage, it normally complies with an old usage and, unlike barbarism, is guaranteed by an authority – in other words, it can be an archaism (cf. *DBM* 3.7-13).

2.12-13 ornatus... necessitate: the connection between metaplasma and *necessitas* is already seen in Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.14: μεταπλασμοὺς enim et σχήματα, ut dixi, uocamus et laudem uirtutis necessitati damus. On *metri necessitas* see in particular De Nonno (1990: 465 n. 35). As regards *ornatus*, it is interesting that in the fifth/sixth-century commentaries on Donatus there emerges a tendency to discard it as a ground for metaplasma, only contemplating *metri necessitas* (see Serv. *GL* IV.443.33, 447.22-38, and passim in Pomp. 296.3 – 299.18). A Greek precedent for the couple *ornatus* and *metrum* can be seen in Dionysius Thrax on the παραπληρωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι (D.T. 642.27): παραπληρωματικοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ὅσοι μέτρου ἢ κόσμου ἔνεκεν παραλαμβάνονται.

2.16-18 tam barbarismi ... scripto: while most grammarians say, as we have seen above (*DBM* 1.14-17), that barbarisms arise in both writing and speaking, only C. goes as far as to say the same about metaplasms (see Vainio 1999: 126-7). This is not the place to discuss the oral delivery of poetry (see e.g. Ferri 2011: 349), but it will be helpful to recall Quintilian's remark on barbarisms in writing and speech, *quod male scribitur male etiam dici necesse est* (*Inst.* 1.5.6): if one applies this principle to metaplasms, the obvious conclusion is that as they are

committed in writing, they must also arise in speaking when poetry is read out. A development of this idea is in *DBM* 7.15-21, 25.18 – 26.24, 29.24 – 30.16.

2.20-23 his duobus ... recedimus: the four categories of change are here subordinate to the higher distinction between written and spoken language, and are presented as applying to both of them (cf. Don. 653.5-7 H. *his bipertitis quattuor species subponuntur...*). It is not so in Quintilian, where the *quadripertita ratio* only applies to barbarisms in writing, and barbarisms in speaking are said to arise in different ways (see note on *DBM* 1.15 and Ax 2011: 160-2), nor in Servius (*GL* IV.444.13-16). From the way they put it, one might expect C. and Donatus to provide two different sets of examples depending on whether modifications occur in writing or speaking, but such a distinction is not exploited and only one set is given (cf. Holtz 1981: 144).

2.22 sermonis regula: also in Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.44, Ter. Maur. 1659, Char. 240.26-7 B. Diomedes (456.4-11) says this is what Greeks call *analogia* and helps preserve the *recta scripturae ratio*.

2.23-6 per haec quattuor ... adspiratione: cf. *DBM* 1.18 – 2.1 and Don. 653.6-7 H. In the case of barbarism, all five elements of a word are liable to being added, removed, replaced or transposed; on the other hand, there are no metaplasms involving accent and aspiration (*DBM* 8.19-21).

For a similar sense and construction of *decurro*, see e.g. Pomp. 95.8 *omnia nomina per istos sex casus decurrunt* (and *TLL* 5.232.23-7). In my translation I have made *haec quattuor* the subject of the sentence and translated *decurrunt* as ‘applies to’ since a literal translation would not be idiomatic in English.

3.1-5 nunc oportunitum ... intimata: cf. *DBM* 1.5-9.

3.1-2 inter barbarismum et metaplasmm: Niedermann follows **B** and moves this expression to the beginning of the sentence. I find it best to follow **MV** and start the sentence with *nunc oportunitum...*, especially if one considers how commonly C. opens introductory passages with *nunc* (20 times: see e.g. *DBM* 2.11, 3.19, 5.14, 8.13, 10.17 etc.).

3.4-5 fuerit intimata: the future perfect passive constructed with the perfect passive participle and the future perfect of *esse* (instead of the simple future) is particularly common in Late Latin, although it is not a late creation: along with the pluperfect, double *perfectum* forms of it are registered as early as Plautus and Terence, but they get more and more frequent in Classical and Late Latin (see de Melo 2012). In this work C. uses it three more times (*transformata fuerit* at *DBM* 5.16, *exsecuti fuerimus* at 14.16, *prolatum fuerit* at 18.15), while there are no instances of the form with *ero*. In his *DNV* C. distinguishes these two forms that grammarians interpreted as future subjunctives: *in passivis uero eodem modo et tempore triplicem: dicimus enim cum legar, ulteriore cum lectus ero, item alio ulteriore cum lectus fuero* (375.11-13, expanding an opinion of Palaemon: see *GRFM* 77-8).

3.6-7 barbarismus ... poemate est: cf. *DBM* 1.10-13.

3.7-10 barbarismus ... profertur: this and the following ‘contrastive definitions’ are by and large equivalent, with just a little *uariatio* in terminology and word order. While the previous definition focuses on the different contexts in which barbarism and metaplasms occur (ordinary language vs. poetry), these two are instead about the authority which underlies a metaplasms and the awareness (or lack thereof) in deviating from the norm: cf. *DBM* 5.6-8, where *commorat* is a metaplasms because it is backed by Terence’s authority but the unprecedented *morat* would be a barbarism.

3.7 auctoritatem lectionis: as seen above (*DBM* 2.11-13), among the guidelines of *latinitas* was *auctoritas*, the ‘linguistic usage of recognized authors’ (Lausberg 1998: 222-3).

Consequently, *auctoritas lectionis* will be the literary authority (cf. Ps. Mar. Victorin. *GL* VI.189.5-6, *Anon. bob.* 22.2-4 P. = *GL* V.634.21-3). This is paralleled by *scriptorum auctoritas* in the following definition.

inperite: cf. *DBM* 18.20 in a similar statement.

3.8 praesumitur: technical verb of grammatical idiolect, meaning ‘to use a word, esp. against a rule’ (cf. *TLL* X.960.41-55): C. uses it with this meaning again in *DNV* 346.5.

3.9 ueterum scriptorum auctoritate: Keil’s conjectural *ueterum* seems preferable to the traditional reading *uetere* (accepted by Niedermann), for the ‘authority of the ancient writers’ makes more sense than the ‘ancient authority of the writers’; moreover, *auctoritas ueterum* is found in the next definition (*DBM* 3.12-13) and in *DNV* 354.15, and a similar *lectiones ueterum* at 29.21; *ueteres* is referred to *praeceptores* once (*DNV* 370.25) and is used as a substantivized adjective at *DNV* 354.29 and 384.6. On the other hand, *uetus* agrees with an abstract noun (*consuetudo*) only at *DBM* 3.11 (it is however a frequent *iunctura* in Varro, see *L.* 5.36, 9.7 etc.). On top of that, with the genitive *ueterum* we get a structure parallel to the following *praeiudicatae consuetudinis ratione*.

3.9-10 uel praeiudicatae consuetudinis ratione: between *auctoritate* and *praeiudicatae* Keil supplies *uel*, which lightens the accumulation of complements and creates a structural parallelism with the following definition (*ob similitudinem lectionis aut ueteris consuetudinis*). The *uel* that was originally here must have been dropped and crept in before *ob similitudinem* at 3.10, where it makes less sense: this is why I think it best to move it from 3.10 to 3.9. As for *praeiudicatae*, see *TLL* X.680.13ff., where it is said of *praeiudico*: *spectat quae iam pridem probata ad alia probanda afferuntur*. A similar use is found in Aug. *quaest. hept.* 4.28 and Aug. *gramm.* 4.2. It would be tempting to interpret this expression as designating the non-poetic language of the ancients: this could explain why the non-poetic *nomenclator* (4.22) and *Marcipor* (6.21) are included among metaplasms, but it does not seem quite plausible, as metaplasms are all about poetry.

It was said before (DBM 2.11-13) that according to Quintilian *sermo* or *latinitas* are guided by *ratio*, *uetustas*, *auctoritas*, and *consuetudo*. These can draw the line between a *uitium* and a *uirtus* (Inst. 1.5.5 and 9.3.3), and C. condenses them into two formulas (*ueterum scriptorum auctoritate* and *praeiudicatae consuetudinis ratio*). *Vetustas* and *auctoritas* were quite likely to fall together (cf. Kaster 1986: 328); but how could *consuetudo* and *ratio* be paired, given that *consuetudo* is the customary usage and *ratio* a “systematic account” – that is, a category based on the belief that the language conformed to a coherent, rational system (...) that the system and its rules grew out of and revealed the permanent nature of the language’ (Kaster 1986: 328; cf. Barwick 1922: 183-4, Lausberg 1998: 221-2, Schad 2007: 339-40)? One could rightfully reply that here *ratio* is used in a more generic sense, *consuetudinis ratio* being perhaps a circumlocution for *consuetudo* itself. Nevertheless, we cannot help but notice that, in another characterisation of metaplasms, C. states that they *ratione et auctoritatibus constant* (DBM 3.20): there, if he is consistent with DBM 3.9, he might be reducing *praeiudicatae consuetudinis ratio* of the present passage to *ratio* alone.

3.10-13 metaplasumus... adsumitur: just a rephrasing of the definitions at 3.7-9, with concepts slightly mixed and metaplasms defined before barbarism so as to form a chiasmic structure with the previous passage.

3.13-17 ad summum ... suscipiunt: the attention to the names of metaplasms and the remark that such names are given according to the ways and positions in which changes occur are typical of C. and of no other grammarian, and will recur again at DBM 5.11-17 (see Vainio 1999: 128-9). For an overall discussion of metaplasms as originally conceived by Greek and adapted by Latin grammarians, see Holtz (1981: 173-7).

3.17 pro qualitibus: cf. DBM 5.15-16 *ubicumque locorum transformata fuerit qualitas dictionis*. By *qualitibus*, C. seems to mean any condition a word happens to be in

(this does not coincide, of course, with the *qualitas nominum* of which we read at *DNV* 338.18 etc.). What determines the metaplasm is the change of the *qualitas*.

locisque: cf. *DBM* 3.22-3: *adiectio litterae uel syllabae per tria loca, sicut diximus, tres metaplasmi fiunt*. The *tria loca* are the beginning (3.24 *ad caput*), the middle (4.5-6 *ad mediam dictionem*), and the end of a word (4.11 *ad finem dictionis*).

3.19-21 Nunc ... apparebunt: C.'s plan is unique among the grammarians: as noted on *DBM* 1.3-9, the others generally treat barbarism first, then metaplasm, for the principle underlying the sequence *uitia – uirtutes orationis* appears to be a supposedly harmonious progression: the embellishment of the language requires the language itself to be correct, therefore we must learn how to avoid vices before being able to acquire the virtues (see Holtz 1981: 136, Baratin and Desbordes 1986: 44). C.'s original disposition is due to a pedagogic concern that sounds new for a grammarian: we should get acquainted with objects which are endowed with some degree of certainty, provided by *auctoritas* and *ratio* (cf. note on 3.7-10), before tackling the corresponding ones which come about as random slips.

3.23-4 prothesis ... additur: the spelling of this metaplasm is variable in the ancient sources as well as in manuscripts, and some of the confusion must be due to editors. *Prothesis* is shared by Sacerd. 451.30, Char. 366.7 B., and Pomp. 296.31, while *prosthesis* appears in the editions of Don. 660.12 H. (*prothesis* in several MSS.), Diom. 440.32 (*prothesis* in several MSS.), *Ult. Syll.* 262.24, Serg. 267.167 Schindel. Servius seems to contemplate both spellings, which might be due to the different editors of his works (Serv. *GL* IV.447.34 and *Aen.* 2.328). These forms go back to two different Greek words: however, while πρόθεσις usually indicates a preposition or prefixing (see LSJ s.v. IV), πρόσθεσις is the actual term for the addition of a letter or a syllable, regardless of the position within the word according to some grammarians (A.D. *Pron.* 75.16 τεοῦ... ἀπὸ τῆς τέο τῆι τοῦ υ προσθέσει), at the beginning according to others (Trypho

Pass. 1.11 Πρόσθεσις μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ προσθήκη στοιχείου κατ'ἀρχὴν ἢ συλλαβῆς). This ambiguity in our grammarians is likely to be due to the Romans' confusion of *προ* and *προς* (Holtz 1981: 178 n. 37).

3.24 caput: quite rare to indicate the beginning of a word: it is mostly used by Terentianus Maurus (e.g. line 106), usually with the genitive of *uerbum*.

3.25 gnato: *gnatus* is the example shared by the whole grammatical tradition when it comes to prosthesis, with different grammarians resorting to different instances from Vergil's poems: it is *A.* 3.12 here, *A.* 11.178 in Char. 366.11-12 B. and Diom. 441.1-2, *A.* 6.116 in Sacerd. 451.31 and *Ult. Syll.* 262.25, *A.* 1.664 in Serg. 267.169 Schindel; Donatus (660.13 H.) cites *gnato* without context.

Gnatus ('born', hence 'son') is the archaic past participle of *nascor* 'to be born', still preserving the initial *g-* of the PIE stem **ǵnh₁-to-* 'born', which results in a Plt. **gnāto-* (cf. Paelignian dative plural *cnatois*). It is believed that originary initial *gn-* became *n-* at the beginning of the second century BC (cf. *gnotus/notus* vs. Gr. γνωτός), perhaps via a stage *ηn-* (Kent 1945: 54, Leumann 1977: 187-8). It was preserved in *Gnaeus*, where the velar probably remained as a spelling pronunciation due to the common abbreviation *Cn.* (cf. *Naeuius* etc.), and, as far as *gnatus* is concerned, in inner positions of compounds like *agnatus* and *cognatus* (cf. Gr. κασίγνητος 'brother', and Gaul. *Cintu-gnātus* 'first-born'). Some fluctuation is observed in comedy, where Plautus and Terence quite regularly use *gnatus* for the substantive, *natus* for the participle.

Vergil's *gnato* is a patent archaism: it was such in the poet's time and even more so when C. wrote. It is not evident to us, though, whether our author knew that this was the originary form or took it as a poetic creation. C. was obviously aware of language change and knew that a gap existed between the Latin of the *ueteres* and the language of his own time (cf. *DNV* 354.29-30, 384.6-9); furthermore, the concept of ἀρχαϊσμός was familiar to grammarians

(cf. Donatus' comment on Terence's *mage* in his note on *Adelph.* 264). But the grammarians' attitude towards archaisms was prescriptive rather than descriptive: as Kaster (1988: 172ff.) puts it when talking about Servius, the grammarian's first concern was to teach readers the current language, from which archaisms were perceived as undesirable deviations – hence *debuit* (*debuerit* here) *dicere*, more a warning to the students than it was a criticism of the *auctor*.

3.26 – 4.2 hoc ... faciet barbarismum: a consequence of the principle stated at *DBM* 3.7-9 and 10-13. The same argument recurs at *DBM* 5.7-8, 6.17-19, 7.12-13: if one modifies a word without having a precedent in poetry (*auctoritas*), one will perpetrate a barbarism. For further considerations, see my note on 5.7-8.

4.1 coperit: employed in the list of barbarisms at *DBM* 11.3-4 (see note).

4.2-4 syllabae ... tulit: the form *tetuli* is the one discussed in the whole grammatical tradition, with some variations: as in the case of *gnato*, Donatus (660.13 H.) only supplies *tetulit*, with C. and Pompeius (296.7) citing the full iambic senarius from an unknown tragedy (*TrRF Adesp.* 156 Schauer = *inc.* 70 Ribbeck), while Charisius (366.13 B.) and Diomedes (441.3) quote *concitum tetuli gradum* (*TrRF Adesp.* 130 Schauer = *inc.* 25 Ribbeck), and Sacerdos (451.31-2) and Serg. 267.169-70 Schindel a passage from Ter. *An.* 808. The line looks different in C. and Pompeius, but some of the difference is due to the manuscript tradition. The unmetrical *senius* of **MV** (*serius* in **B**) is to be corrected in view of Pompeius' *senilis*. It is more complicated to make something out of *hostis* when compared with *Poeas* in Pompeius (*poeta/poetas* in the manuscripts), which is commonly accepted in the editions of the fragment: Ribbeck (1875: 561) claims this verse belongs to Accius' *Heraclidae*, where Philoctetes' old father Poeas possibly was the one who kindled the pyre of Hercules (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.7).

If this is correct, *hostis* must be wrong: however, there is no evidence for us to assume that this mistake occurred in C.'s tradition rather than in his sources, therefore *hostis* is to be retained.

Just as the case of *gnatus/natus*, the grammarians seem to be unaware that it is from *tetuli* that *tuli* has come about: *tetuli* is the archaic perfect with reduplication from a PIE stem **te-tolh₂-* or **te-tl_hh₂-* sharing the root of *tollo* (**tl-n(e)-h₂-*, *n* being a nasal infix), that is 'lift (up), carry off' (cf. de Vaan 2008: 622). Around the second century BC, the form lost the reduplication in compounds, due to syncope in the second syllable (cf. *rettuli* < **retetuli*, where a trace of the reduplication is retained in the double *t*), hence the shortened form *tuli* spread out and took over the originary form (Lindsay 1894: 503). Plautus' comedies still present a vast majority of *tetuli* over *tuli* (12 : 3), whilst the relation in Terence is the opposite (2 *tetuli* : 15 *tuli*). Later on, *tetuli* was only employed as an archaism.

4.4-6 epenthesis ... dictionem: by ἐπένθεσις Apollonius Dyscolus indicates the insertion of a letter into a word (e.g. *Pron.* 82.4 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν καὶ ἔτι μετ' ἐπενθέσεως τοῦ ε τεῖν) or of a word between two other words (e.g. *Synt.* 108.8). Epenthesis is sometimes called *parenthesis*: this is the only term used in *Char.* 366.15-16 B. and *Ult. Syll.* 262.32, a variant in *Don.* 661.2 H. (cf. in commentaries *Don. Eu.* 384, *Serv. A.* 1.635), and as an insertion of an element into a word has precedents in Greek (cf. *LSJ* s.v. II).

4.5 [siue syncrisis]: Keil deleted this as an interpolation. In fact, *syncrisis* is another name for synaloephe (cf. *DBM* 7.16) and has no connection with epenthesis, either logical or etymological. A striking parallel would seem to be *Char.* 366.18-19 B., *hunc metaplasmm* (sc. *parenthesin* = *epenthesin*) *quidam syncrisin* (*sinchirin* MS.) *appellant*: but this statement, which Barwick alone accepts in his text, is only found in the *excerpta* of MS. *Leidensis Voss.* 37.8, and it may not be genuine. It is not easy to explain the origin of the interpolation in C.: a straightforward explanation is that the source could be somehow related to Charisius, but one might also think that *syncrisis* stands here for *synchysis* (a very common exchange in

manuscripts), which is one of the *species* of hyperbaton alongside *parenthesis*, the other name of *epenthesis* (they are listed together in Don. 670.7 H.). The fact that the actual reading of Charisius' *excerptum* is *sinchirin* may point in this direction.

4.6 *relliquias*: taken from Verg. *A.* 1.30 etc., this illustrates epenthesis in Sacerd. 452.2, Don. 661.1 H., Serg. 267.173 Schindel, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.2, and Iul. Tol. 192.27 M.Y., but is also widely employed for the corresponding barbarism, even though it is poetic (Don. 653.8 H., Char. 350.10 B., Diom. 452.5-7, Serv. *GL* IV.444.18, Ps. Mar. Victorin. 36.1 N., Iul. Tol. 180.29 M.Y.). Servius (*GL* IV.444.10-11) is aware of the ambiguity and makes it clear that *relliquias* is a metaplasm when used by Vergil in his poems, a barbarism when used in *soluta oratio*; in his commentary on *A.* 1.30 he invokes metrical necessity to explain the gemination of *l* (*ut stet uersus geminauit l, nam in prosa reliquias dicimus*). C. cites this again at 25.22 as an example of those metaplasms in which the spelling is already altered by the poet, and if the remarks of the grammarians are anything to go by, the variant *rell-* was quite common in manuscripts (see also Caesellius in Cassiod. *orth.* X.12 S. = *GL* VII.203.5-8). In fact, *relliquias* is the reading of Vergil's MS. *Neapolitanus Vind. lat.* 6 (ninth/tenth century) at *A.* 1.30: most modern editors, however, go with the majority of the manuscript tradition against ancient scholarship and print the normal *reliquias* (with *rē-*). Closer to this perspective is Sacerdos (452.17-20), who cites *reliquias* as an example of ectasis, with lengthened *re-* instead of doubled *l*.

From the viewpoint of historical linguistics, *rel(l)iquiae* is the substantive for *rel(l)inquo*, formed by *linquo* 'to leave' and a prefix *re-/red-* marking movement back (see *OLD* s.v. *re-*). *Red-* 'is analogical to *prōd-* beside *prō-*, and from metanalysis in verbs such as *reddō* < **re-di-dō*' (de Vaan 2008: 516). This regularly occurs before vowels (*rēd-arguo*, *rēd-eo* etc.) and occasionally before consonants (*red-do*), but it is a matter of discussion whether, in cases like *relliquiae* and *relligio* (cited by Char. 366.17 B., Diom. 441.7, *Ult. Syll.* 262.33, Isid. *Orig.*

1.35.2), the compound with *red-* was only used for the sake of the hexameter, where the first syllable needed to be heavy (cf. Austin 1971: 39, Leumann 1977: 560, Ernout and Meillet 1979: 566).

4.7 *induperatorem*: quoted by Don. 661.2 H., Char. 366.20 B., Pomp. 297.1, Serg. 267.174 Schindel, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.2, *indŭpĕrātor* is a neologism coined by Ennius (*Ann.* 78, 322, 347, 577 Skutsch; later Lucr. 4.967 etc., Juv. 4.29 etc.) in order to fit the unmetrical *impĕrātor* into the hexameter. It rests upon *indu* (*endo*, perhaps with raising of *e-* before nasal + consonant), an archaic form of *in* (cf. the Duenos inscription in CIL I².4 *ted endo* ‘toward you’; *endo-itium*, *endo-ploro* etc. in Paul. *Fest.* p. 76-77M): this survives in *indago*, *indigena*, *indigeo*, *indoles*. As a stratagem for the coinage of words fitting into the hexameter, *indu-* was employed in *indugredi* (Lucr. 1.82, quoted for the epenthesis in *Ult. Syll.* 263.1 etc.), *indupedita* (Lucr. 1.240 etc.) and others. de Vaan (2008: 189) reconstructs a PIE **h₁(e)n-do* ‘inside’, with cognates in OIr. *and* ‘in it’, Hit. *anda* ‘into’, CLuw. *ānta* ‘into’, Lyc. *ñte* ‘inside’, Gr. *ēvðov* ‘inside’.

4.8 *Mauortis*: from Verg. *A.* 8.630. This is in Sacerd. 452.2, Char. 366.19 B., Diom. 441.9, *Ult. Syll.* 263.3. C. discusses it again at *DBM* 20.15-19, putting forward the hypothesis that the change *Mars* > *Mauors* entails a diaeresis as well as an epenthesis.

Mauors is an archaism, which is found in *CIL* I².991 (*Mauortei*, from Rome) and contracted as *Maurte* in I² 49 (from Tusculum). It made it into poetry with Enn. *Ann.* 99 Skutsch, and ever since it was used in an archaic fashion. The suggestion of Abbott (1909: 234) that ‘colloquial Latin kept many forms after they had disappeared from literature, and this may be a case in point’ is pointless.

The theonyms for Mars in ancient Italy are strikingly varied. A dative singular *mamartei* is found on the Lapis Satricanus (Volscan territory, sixth/fifth century BC: not unequivocally Latin, see Lucchesi and Magni 2002). This agrees with the Etruscan praenomen *Mamarce*

(seventh/sixth century, later *Mamerce*; see De Simone 1968-70: II.52) and Oscan *mamert-*, which is found in the dative singular *μαμερται mam(e)rt(ei)* (clearly marked as Oscan in Fest. p. 130M and Paul. *Fest.* p. 131M; see Untermann 2000: 446-8). One would hardly manage to figure out the relations of these forms with *mam-* and *Mauors*, for a change of intervocalic /m/ > /w/ is unparalleled, even as a dissimilation (cf. Ernout and Meillet 1979: 388; for a dissimilation of *m*, but at the beginning of a word, see *formica* < **mormica*). Equally unparalleled would be the opposite assimilation /w/ > /m/ (cf. Schulze 1904: 466 n. 1). Some difficulties are created, moreover, by the vocalism *a/e/o*. It is easier, on the other hand, to outline the development of the theonym within Latin as *Māuors* > **Māors* > *Mārs* (cf. Leumann 1977: 121), although *Māuors* and *Mārs* must have coexisted synchronically (cf. Nishimura 2011, based on epigraphical evidence).

4.9 *abiisse*: from Verg. *A.* 2.25, this is cited to illustrate a barbarism *per adiectionem syllabae* in Don. 653.9 H. and Char. 350.11 B., while Servius (*Aen.* 2.25) refers to it as an *epenthesis* made for the sake of metre. Only in *Ult. Syll.* 237.34ff. and 242.2-5 is a morphological explanation advanced, which suggests a reduplication of *i* in the perfect of some verbs.

Grammarians are not apparently aware that *abiisse* is nothing but the normal perfect infinitive of the compound *ab-eo*, of which *abīsse* represents the contracted form. Already in the ProtoItalic conjugation of the perfect of *eo*, some forms were not contracted, some were: see 1 sg. PIIt. **iyo 'ay* > **iyay* > Lat. *iī*, 2 sg. PIIt. **iyoytay* > **iyoystay* > OLat. **iyē-stē* > Lat. *iistī*, as opposed to 1 pl. PIIt. **īmos* > Lat. *īmus* (Meiser 1998: 223). Then the uncontracted and contracted form got mixed up in free alternation, opening the way to processes of analogical leveling in both directions. The *iī* form became the basis for the formation of the other tenses and moods of the perfect stem (*ieram iero ierim iissem* and *iisse*), but the different forms coexisted in poetry from the time of Plautus: see *iistī* Pl. *Ps.* 1175, *īstī* *Bac.* 577; *exiissem* *Rud.* 534, *exīssem* *St.* 743. An innovation was the *-uī* perfect: *exīuī* *St.* 459, *īuisse* *Mos.* 842 (not

undoubtedly genuine, though). As for *abiisse/abisse*, see Pl. *Men.* 556 *ut, si sequentur me, hac abiisse censeant* and *Capt.* 679 *abisse eum abs te mea opera atque astutia*.

In hexameters, both *abiisse* and *abisse* occur depending on the metrical need of the poet. The contracted forms are far more common in prose, though: and usually, when it comes to providing the conjugation scheme of *eo*, grammarians seem to prefer the contraction, see Char. 343.19ff. B., Prob. *inst.* 178.10ff. (but see Cledon. 57.16ff. ii *et iui, isti, iit uel iuit, et pluraliter iimus uel iuimus...*; Diom. 360.28ff. ii *isti iit ... iimus istis ierunt*). Interestingly, the very Donatus who says that *abiisse* is a barbarism uses it twice – provided that the text is correct – in his commentaries on Terence, at *Ad.* 782 (maybe influenced by *abiit* in the text) and *Eun.* 734.

4.10-11 paragoge ... dictionis: in Greek grammar παραγωγή means, as a general term, ‘derivation’ or ‘formation’: παραγωγός means ‘derivative’, just like Latin *paragogus* (cf. Char. 335.14-16 *sunt quaedam uerba, quae paragoga appellantur quaeque ex primitiui uerbi declinatione et mutationem et adiectionem litterarum capiunt*). In a more specific meaning, as derivation is made through an addition, παραγωγή can be the addition of some phonetic element to the end of a word (cf. A.D. *Synt.* 137.7).

4.10 prosparelempsis: where the MSS. read *parelempsis* (**M**), *paralimpsis* (**B**), and *prolempsis* (**V**), Keil corrected to *parelempsis*. This is almost a *hapax* in Latin: the only other occurrence is in Schol. *Hor. carm.* 1.12.1, which is also doubtful, for it indicates the rhetorical device normally called *paralipsis* (Gr. παράλειψις), ‘preterition’. I print *prosparelempsis*, which is what Char. 366.21 B. and *Ult. Syll.* 263.5 call this metaplasm (with some spelling variation). Donatus (661.4 H.) acknowledges this term, while Diomedes (441.11-19) confusedly discusses both *prosparelempsis* and *paragoge* as if they were two distinct metaplasms. I do not know of any instances of Gr. προσπαράληψις with the meaning it is given by the Latin grammarians.

4.12 *magis pro mage*: *mage* is Keil's correction for the manuscripts' *magi*. *Mage* is a form well attested in literature, whereas *magi* is normally regarded as a scribal mistake (Torzi 1991: 101 maintains that *magi* is acceptable, though): for instance, where Donatus offers the same example for paragoge (661.3 H.), the editors print *mage* but several manuscripts read *magi*; *magi* also appears in Vergil's sixth-century MS. *Romanus* at A. 10.481 and in a couple of epigraphical poems (*CLE* 44.2 *magi properares*, 495.4 *set magi lasciuos*). This example of paragoge is also found in Serg. 267.175-6 Schindel (where <*pro mage*> is supplied by the editor), Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.3, and in the medieval Irish grammarians who comment on Donatus: for Murethach (223.76ff.) and the author of the *Ars Laureshamensis* (213.53ff.) the metaplasm is *magi*, while both *mage* and *magi* are discussed in Sedulius Scottus (355.65) and the *Pauca* (61).

The opposite (and historically more correct) example, *mage* as the product of apocope (for *magis*), is provided by Char. 367.5-6 B. (*mage* in cod. L, *magi* in cod. N), Diom. 441.33-4, and *Ult. Syll.* 263.15-16. What is puzzling is that at *DBM* 5.10 C. joins these authors in presenting *magi* in the place of *magis* as an example of apocope. Moreover, where C. discusses the scansion of *multum ille* as *multil* (*DBM* 29.15), **BM** read *paragoge est, ut magis pro magi*, while **V** has *apocope est, ut magi pro magis*: in that passage I have tentatively chosen **V**'s version, which seems to make more sense in the context.

If we consider that the example of 29.15 must be identical with either 4.13 or 5.10, we are left with the manuscripts providing two contradictory statements: at 4.13 *magis* for *magi* is a paragoge, while at 5.10 (and probably 29.15) *magi* for *magis* is an apocope. I can think of three possible approaches to this situation: to accept the contradiction, to modify one of the examples, or to delete one of the examples as an interpolation. But one cannot delete the passage at 4.13, as that is the only example of paragoge; if *magi pro magis* at 5.10 were deleted, on the other hand, the contradiction would remain with the same example at 29.15 (if I am right in

following V there). Accepting the contradiction is not impossible, but not ideal either. What we can more realistically do is follow Keil (and Niedermann) in emending *magi* to *mage* at 4.13: in this way, we have C. side with Donatus on paragoge while espousing Charisius' doctrine on apocope, with the proviso that for C. the apocopated form of *magis* is *magi*, not *mage*. C. might have found the form *magi* in some manuscript and thought that both *mage* and *magi* were used in poetry (just as Sedulius Scottus and the author of the *Pauca* did some centuries later). This might mean that C. envisaged a process whereby *mage* yielded *magis* through paragoge (4.13), and in turn *magis* yielded *magi* through apocope (5.10).

If we focus on *magis pro mage* as a paragoge, the relation perceived between the two forms might be illustrated by a scholion of Donatus (*Ad.* 264): POTE *pro* potis, *ut* *mage pro magis* τῷ ἀρχαϊσμῷ. *Mage* is supposed to be the archaic form and *magis* the innovation, which has ousted *mage* and has become common in contemporary Latin. Surely it is odd to regard *magis* as a poetic licence, as it was the normal form in standard Latin: this also happens with *audacter* and *nomenclator* at *DBM* 4.22 – 5.1. Another limit of the grammarians' explanation is that, while they focus on the addition of *-s* to *mage* as a paragoge, they do not explain the vowel change *e > i* (those who talk of apocope in *magis > mage* do the opposite): this is paralleled by their overlooking sound change as they explain, say, *aquai* as a form of *aquae* with diaeresis (cf. *DBM* 14.15ff.).

As I mentioned above, the grammarians who regarded *mage* as a product of apocope from *magis* were closer to the truth. Nowadays, the dominant account for the couple *magis/magē* is that the former was the original one (see Osc. *mais*) and the latter was created from it in analogy with the adjective *potis-potē*, as if *-is* were an ending of nominative singular masculine/feminine and, consequently, *magē* were the neuter (cf. Lindsay 1894: 558, Solmsen 1894: 57 n. 1, Sommer 1914: 97, Leumann 1977: 228). A different explanation, entirely set in the realm of phonetics, is advanced by Niedermann (1953: 77), according to whom 'l'évanescence de l's final' typical of Early Latin (see Cic. *Or.* 48.161) led to a form **magī*,

whose final *-ī* eventually became *-ě*, just as we have nominative/accusative singular *marě* from a stem *marī-* (cf. nominative/accusative plural *mari-a*). In Plautus and Terence, it is normal to have *magis* before a vowel, *mage* before a consonant (see Lindsay 1922: 204-5 for norm and exceptions – *mage* sometimes before vowel in synaloephe; more recently, Questa 2007: 37-8). In Classical Latin, when the value of final *-s* was restored (it does indeed make position before a word beginning with a consonant in classical poetry), *mage* survived, probably being felt not as a phonetic result of *magis*, but as a neuter or an adverb (cf. Timpanaro 1978: 182-5), and it was especially handy for poets in cases of metrical convenience (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 10.481 *sed si mage legamus, propter metrum dictum est pro magis*; examples in Lucr. 4.81, 318, 756 and 5.1203, then Verg. *A.* 10.481). In Late Latin, and still in the Middle Ages, *mage* was quite successful in poetry, with some occurrences in prose as well (see *TLL* VIII.52.84 – 53.3).

4.12-13 *admittier orant*: Verg. *A.* 9.231, also in Sacerd. 452.4, Char. 366.22 B., and Diom. 441.13 (who also adds *accingier* from *A.* 4.493, like *Ult. Syll.* 263.6). The archaic feature of this form did not elude some grammarians, who attributed it to the *ueteres*, as Char. 224.16-19 B. (*infinitiuu passiua uerba ita solitos ueteres terminare, ut agitarier..., posteriores i littera, ut agitari...*) and Diom. 341.11-16.

In Early Latin, *-ier* served as an ending for the present passive infinitive, beside the more common *-ī*. The infinitive originally being a case of a verbal noun, it is assumed that the passive infinitive of the third conjugation ending in *-ī* < **-ey* (*ag-ī*) was based on the dative singular of a root-stem (**ag- + -ey*), while the verbs of the thematic conjugations inserted an *-r* < *-s-* adopted from the active infinitive (*amār-ī* < **amās- + -ey*). On the other hand, it is not clear where *-ier* comes from: a well-regarded account has it based on an instrumental ending **-yeh₁* (cf. Ved. absolutive in *-yā/-ya*, e.g. *-vr̥tyā* = Lat. *uertī, uortier*) through the addition of the passive mark *-r*, with **-iē-r* being shortened into *-ier* as a long vowel in final syllable before *-r* (García-Ramón 1993: 121ff., accepted by Meiser 1998: 225; the idea was already in

Thurneysen 1879: 46 and Sommer 1948: 593); alternatively, it may have been modelled upon an apocopated **fier* < *fieri*, or an *-er* may have been added to the usual *-(r)ī* (see Leumann 1977: 581-2). It is likely that *-ier* first appeared in verbs of the third conjugation (see *figier*, *gnoscier* in *SCBacch. CIL* I².581) and was secondly extended to the other conjugations (XII tab. 8.22 *testarier*, Pl. *Am.* 201 *fabularier*). Common in comedy (in Plautus, usually at the end of verses scanning – u –), this infinitive passive is later found mostly in legal documents (*Lex repetit. CIL* I².583.71 *auocarier*) and archaising poetry, such as Lucr. 1.207 *proferrier*, Catul. 61.42 *citarier* etc., Verg. *G.* 1.454 *immiscerier* etc.

4.13 *potestur*: quite a classical case of *adiectio*, this is not only listed among metaplasms (Don. 661.4 H., Diom. 441.19, Serg. 267.176 Schindel, Pomp. 297.2, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.3), but also drew the attention of Aug. *gramm.* 11.1, Fest. p. 241M and Non. p. 508.2M. The only one to put *potestur* in context is Pompeius, who cites a line reminiscent of Lucr. 3.1010.

Possum is one of those verbs governing the infinitive which, when the infinitive is passive, can be attracted into the passive themselves (see Bennett 1910-4: I.7, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 288). Thus we find *potestur* in Enn. *Ann.* 613 Skutsch, Pac. *trag.* 100, Quad. *hist.* 47, Lucr. 3.1010 (this applies to the third person singular of other tenses as well, so we have *poteratur*, *possitur*, *possetur*: see *TLL* X.137.8ff.). On the other hand, no instance is found of the plural *possuntur* quoted by Diomedes (385.15-17). That this phenomenon was typical of archaic Latin was clear to him, who observed that *possum tamen non nulli ueterum et passiuā declinatione figurarunt*. Another verb which functions in this way is the modal *(ne)queo* (Pl. *Sat. fr.* 109, *Rud.* 1064, *Pers.* 194). *Coepi* (Pl. *Men.* 718), and *desino* (*Most.* 958) in the perfect can turn into the passive form when taking a deponent as well (Kühner and Stegmann 1914: I.677, Menge 2009: 672-4).

4.16-17 aphaeresis ... multatur: for Greek grammarians, ἀφαίρεσις was the removal of initial letters or syllables (Trypho *Pass.* 1.20, Choerob. *in Theod.* 1 p. 148 H.), rarely of medial ones (A.D. *Pron.* 93.13). The view that this is a general metaplasm consisting of the mere subtraction of an element, no matter where in the word it happens, is embraced by Char. 366.24-6 B., who subsequently observes that the term especially applies to a removal from the beginning of words (cf. Diom. 441.20-1). Sacerdos (451.27) also names this metaplasm *encope*, which is a *hapax* in Latin and has no similar usage in Greek (ἐγκοπή meaning ‘incision’, ‘interruption’).

4.17 sermo: normally ‘(connected) speech’, its proximity to *sero* and *series* was acknowledged already by the ancients (cf. Var. *L.* 6.64 *sermo est a serie*); sometimes, however, it stands for ‘word’ (which is more commonly called *dictio* or *pars orationis*), as in Serv. *GL* IV.447.15-16 (*cacenphaton, quod dixit fieri aut in uno sermone aut in pluribus*). C. employs it this way at *DBM* 14.10, 16.2, and 16.10.

multatur: the MSS. read *multatus* (**MV**) and *motatus* (**B**), followed by *est* (**M**) and *sit* (**B**). Niedermann, apparently in order to get rid of the past tense, printed *multatus fit*, but a perfect participle + *fio* is unparalleled in C. He was right, however, to think a present tense desirable, for that is most commonly used in the definitions of metaplasms (cf. *DBM* 3.23-4, 4.20-1, 5.19, 6.5-7, 6.14, 7.17-19, 8.8-9), while a noun phrase is employed in the other cases: hence I suggest *multatur*. This having slipped into *multatus* (the exchange *r/s* was frequent in some scripts), one can easily explain why the scribes of **B** and **M** added a copula after it.

4.18 mitte: the *mitto/omitto* example is also found in Don. 661.5 H. and Pomp. 297.8-9, without context or indication of the author. Ps. Sergius (267.178-9 Schindel) quotes Ter. *An.* 904. The verse C. cites is Ter. *Ad.* 185, where *mitto* is not an aphaeretic form of *omitto* but a *simplex pro composito* (*ob + mitto*), a device Latin poets were particularly fond of (cf. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 298-300). Terence used it in *Ad.* 626 and 838 as well.

The couple *mitto/omitto* is resorted to again at *DBM* 9.23 – 10.3 so as to show that the loss of a letter can also entail the loss of a syllable (see note).

4.20 *temnere*: this example is much more common among the grammarians than the preceding *mitto*: Sacerdos alone of those who discuss aphaeresis does not quote it. *Temnere diuos* is from Verg. *A.* 6.620 (cf. Norden 1957: 291). Vergil uses *temno* in *A.* 1.542 and 665, 7.236, 10.737, *Ecl.* 3.110, and his taste for *simplex pro composito* is well known (see Austin 1971: 37, 177 and Harrison 1991: 68).

The etymology of *temno* is uncertain, coming from either a PIE **stemb-* ‘to shake violently’ or **temh₁-* ‘to cut’ (see de Vaan 2008: 609-10). The simplex was far less successful than its compound: *contemno* was generalised in both poetry and prose as early as Plautus, whereas *temno* enjoyed some favour among poets, probably as a back-formation, starting with Lucil. 1098; its only occurrence in classical prose seems to be the lofty Tac. *Hist.* 4.37, while in Late Antiquity Cassiodorus was especially fond of it (see *Var.* 3.79.31 etc.). Donatus treats *temno* as an archaism in his comment on Ter. *An.* 492 (*nam ueteres temnere dicebant sine praepositione*).

4.20-1 syncope ... subtrahitur: Tryphon (*Pass.* 1.23, 2.9, 3.9) defined syncope as the dropping of a syllable or a vowel making up a syllable from the middle of a word.

A tendency to syncope is inherent (if scarcely remarkable) in Latin from its prehistorical stage down to the formation of Romance languages: in archaic times, it was related to the general phenomenon of short vowel reduction after stressed syllables and the dynamic nature of the stress itself; this was revitalised in Late Latin and led to a wider spread of syncopated forms – for a balanced account of this matter, especially the Romance developments, see Loporcaro (2011a: 58-64). Syncope is by and large a feature of popular or familiar language with its tendency to speed and agility, and when a full and syncopated form coexist, the latter

is of a lower register (see the *Appendix Probi*, where 25 out of 227 forms listed are condemned because they are affected by syncope, and cf. Väänänen 1981: 40-4).

4.21 orationis: I tentatively accept **MV**'s *orationis* instead of **B**'s *dictionis*, preferred by Niedermann. With the latter, the expression would mean literally 'from the middle part of a word'; this would be supported by parallels in Char. 366.9, 21-2, 25-6 and especially 28 B. (*syncope est cum mediae parti dictionis aliquid subducitur*), Diom. 441.11-12 and 452.23-4, Sacerd. 451.30. But *pars dictionis* is unparalleled in C., whereas *pars orationis* (see note on DBM 1.14) is very frequent, and C. usually has the adjective *medius* agree with the term meaning 'word' (e.g. DBM 4.5-6 *ad mediam dictionem*, 16.2 *in medio sermone*, 20.21 *mediae dictioni*), which seems quite decisive.

4.22 audacter pro audaciter: among those who discuss syncope as a metaplasm, only Donatus (661.7 H.) and C. cite this, neither providing the context (likewise the later Iul. Tol. 192.40 M.Y.). The adverb formed from the third-declension adjective *audax* was *audaciter* (like *ferociter* from *ferox* and *uelociter* from *uelox*), but the interconsonantal short *i* was dropped by syncope (see Leumann 1977: 98-9, 500). While there is some fluctuation in prose (and in MSS., see TLL II.1248.79 – 1249.8), *audacter* is the only form used in poetry: this must be the reason why it was singled out as a metaplasm. By the first century it must have been so deep-seated in usage that Quintilian pointed to the use of *audaciter* as emblematic of the excessive love for analogy of some orators (*Inst.* 1.6.17 *inhaerent tamen ei quidam molestissima diligentiae peruersitate, ut audaciter potius dicant quam audacter, licet omnes oratores aliud sequantur*). The *audacter* side is joined by Dositheus (65.3 T. = GL VII.412.3 *audax audacter, non audaciter*); other grammarians seem to prefer the full form and yet acknowledge that also *audacter* is good Latin (Caper 106.19, Aug. *reg.* 119.3-6 M. = GL V.519.6-9), as it is defended by authority or usage (Char. 239.22-4 B. *audax audaciter... sed meminerimus audacter*

eruditorum consuetudine sine i littera elatum, Prisc. GL III.76.24 *audax audaci audaciter (sed per syncopam in usu est frequentiore audacter)*)).

4.22 – 5.1 *nomenclator pro nomenculator*: the MSS. have *nomeclator pro nomenclator*, which has been printed by all editors. However, that would hardly illustrate a *syncope*, for, although it is not explicitly stated that a *syncope* must involve a vowel (grammarians simply talk of *littera*), nowhere in the grammatical tradition is an example provided where a consonant only is dropped, as the case would be here with the *n* (an only apparent exception is Iul. Tol. 180.36 M.Y., as his *infatibus* for *infantibus* is a barbarism, not a metaplasm). It is well known that already at an early time *n* before the fricatives *s* and *f* represented but a nasalisation of the previous vowel, and was eventually lost (see Quint. Inst. 1.7.29 *consules exempta n littera legimus*, and later *Appendix Probi* 19, 76 etc. with Baehrens 1922: 95-7; cf. Leumann 1977: 144-6, Allen 1978: 27-8); it is only rarely that *n* is dropped before stops, e.g. in epigraphical sources like *CIL* IV.1945 *pricipis* and *CIL* XIII.848 *defuctus* (see Lindsay 1894: 66, following Schuchardt 1866-8: I.105-8). We only have a real syncope here if we amend the text to *nomenclator pro nomenculator* (pace Abbott 1909: 242-3). *Nomenculator*, which designates the slave who accompanied his master during a political campaign and told him the names of the persons they came across, is a compound of *nomen* and *cālo* ('call', 'summon', cf. *kalendae, curia Calabra* in Var. L. 6.4.27, and Gr. καλέω, Umbr. *kařetu* = Lat. *calāto*; see Walde and Hofmann 1938-54: I.141-2). The short *a* turned into short *u* before velar *l* (see Leumann 1977: 85) and was eventually dropped, but the original form lived on alongside *nomenclator*. While all modern reflexes of this or cognate words are based on a syncopated form (e.g. 'nomenclature' from *nomenclatura*), Latin authors used both of them, and grammarians discussed which one was right (Caper 110.16 *nomenculator recte*, Char. 136.4-5 B. *nomenclator sine u dicitur, ut Verrius ait, uelut nominis calator*). Therefore an easy correction, which only implies the loss of a nasal bar in the first word and a *u* in the second, seems

preferable to thinking that *perperam noster in schola olim subnotarit praeceptoris dictata* (Buttmann 1817: 6 n. 6) and going with the manuscript tradition. After all, MSS. **B** and **V** make the same mistake in the next example, for instead of Mnestheus *pro* Menestheus they write respectively *mesteus pro mnestheus* (**B**) and *mesteus pro inmestheo* (**V**): this demonstrates that for copyists a syncope might well consist of the dropping of *n*, which must have been the case in the example of *nomenclator* as well.

Nomenclator as an example of metaplasms is supplied by C. alone. This is the only case of a form that is not found in extant Latin poetry (while *nomenculator* is in Mart. 10.30.23); if this is not a reason to question the genuineness of the example, it might be that C. (or his source) made an exception to the rule and chose a word that interested him albeit it was not strictly poetic (unless he picked this from a lost work – but in such a case one would expect the context to be cited).

5.1-2 Mnestheus pro Menestheus: this is again a unique example in C. of all grammarians. As he must have in mind some passages of the *Aeneid*, he is establishing an undue connection here, because Mnestheus and Menestheus are simply two different characters in Vergil's work. Mnestheus is one of the more eminent Trojans: he stands out in the boat-race of book 5, is commander of the Trojan camp during Aeneas' absence (*A.* 9.171-3), and is claimed to be the ancestor of the *gens Memmia* (*A.* 5.117), arguably in view of the etymological connection Μνησθέυς – μνησθαι – *meminisse* (see Mørland 1957: 104-5 and Williams 1960: 69-70). Menestheus is a minor Trojan mentioned in *A.* 10.129: here the unmetrical *Mnestheo* is the reading of most ancient manuscripts and scholars, including Macrob. 5.17.19, who also confuses the two characters (see Timpanaro 1986: 156), while the correct *Menestheo* is preserved only in some Carolingian MSS. and the commentary of Servius *ad loc.*, who clearly distinguishes Menestheus from Mnestheus (*non Mnestheo, de quo paulo post dicturus est, legendum est, ne uersus non stet, sed Menestheo*). A more illustrious Menestheus was the leader

of the Athenian contingent at Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.552, cf. *NP* VII.1239 s.v. 1), and a Greek grammarian named Menestheus was in Bordeaux in the mid-fourth century (cf. Kaster 1988: 312 n. 99). Between Mnestheus and Menestheus there is no apparent relation, not even etymological, for the name Μενεσθεύς (like Μενεσθένης) has to do with ‘to hold out’ and ‘strength’ (cf. Chantraine 1968-80: 1000 and von Kamptz 1982: 62, ‘mit Standkraft ausharrend’). Whether C. was misled by Menestheus at *A.* 10.129 or by the name of the Homeric hero or (more strangely) of the Greek grammarian, the connection he established between the two names is groundless. Some confusion has come about in more recent times as well: Abbott (1909: 238) seems to ignore *A.* 10.129, for he takes Menestheus as a popular form with anaptyxis of *e*, while Kohlstedt (1917: 57 n. 1) agrees with C. in considering this a case of syncope.

The name *Mnestheus* was employed by other grammarians to illustrate the initial cluster *mn-*, e.g. Scaur. *GL* VII.18.2 (but *Mnester* in Biddau’s newest edition at 23.19), Diom. 425.6-8, Serv. *GL* IV.427.28, *Ult. Syll.* 221.25, Prisc. *GL* II.41.26, Isid. *Orig.* 1.4.9 (the cluster *mn* was a problematic one for Latin speakers, and in loanwords from Greek of early times it tended to receive a parasitic vowel, e.g. *mīna* < Gr. μῆνᾱ). This should show that the name *Mnestheus* was acclimatised enough in its correct form and confusion with *Menestheus* was not widespread.

5.2 *repostum*: this is from Verg. *A.* 1.26 and is cited by C. alone, but the phenomenon is commented on by Servius, too (*Aen.* 1.26 *repostum autem syncope est; unam enim de medio syllabam tulit*; cf. also *Aen.* 3.364). Vergil used the syncopated form five more times (*A.* 3.364, 6.59, 6.655, 11.149, *G.* 3.527), always at line end. At *DBM* 10.3-8 C. points out that the loss of a letter implies, in words like *repostum*, the loss of a syllable as well and the rearrangement of the entire word.

Although *pōno* was perceived as a simple verb and formed many compounds like our *repōno*, it actually consists of *sīno* ‘to leave alone’ preceded by the preverb **po-* ‘off, away’ (de Vaan 2008: 476). The word-formation itself involves syncope: **po-sīno* > **posno* > **pozno* > *pōno*. In the perfect participle *pōsitus*, the short post-tonic vowel was likely to be dropped as in many other proparoxytones (see Leumann 1977: 96). The syncopated form was quite commonly used by poets out of metrical necessity (*repost-* in Enn. *inc.* 22 Skutsch, Lucr. 1.35, 3.346, Hor. *Epod.* 9.1 etc.), while there are only a couple of instances of *postus* (or compounds) in literary prose, both in Cato: *expostum* in *Agr.* 151.2 and *posturus* in 161.3. The syncopated form is more common in low-register and substandard texts: as far as *pono* is concerned, we find *postas* in *CIL* IV.8203 (a Pompeian inscription about a loan from the usurer Faustilla) and *postae* in a letter of Claudius Terentianus from 115 AD (467.23; for later instances, see *TLL* X.2631.61-4). The derivatives of *positus* created in Late Antiquity are mostly based on the syncopated form, like *impostor* ‘charlatan’ (*impositor* only in Varro meaning ‘the one who imposes a name’, cf. *TLL* VII.667.20-3) and *impostura* ‘the making of fraudulent claims’ (cf. *TLL* VII.667.43-5). Unsurprisingly, it is by and large syncopated forms that have been preserved in the Romance languages: for example, the reflexes of *repostus* are It. *riposto*, Cat. *rabost*, Sp. *repuesto*, OFr. *repostail* (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 542). When an unsyncopated form is found, that is generally a learned variant, e.g. It. *composito*, Fr. (and Eng.) *composite* as opposed to It. *composta*, Fr. (and Eng.) *compote*.

5.5 nantes: the example (Verg. *A.* 1.118) is also provided by Sacerd. 448.1-3, 25-7, and as a barbarism by Char. 351.2-3 B. and Diom. 452.25-6; *nantes* is interpreted as a syncopated form by Aphthon. 39.1, in a discussion on word change out of metrical necessity. It is striking that so many grammarians misinterpreted this form. Servius (*Aen.* 1.118) maintains the good name of the profession by correctly parsing the verb as the present participle of *no nare*. This root verb (from a PIE stem **sneh₂-*) was weaker than its frequentative *nato*, forms of which tended

to replace the monosyllabic forms *nas*, *nat*, *nant* (cf. Löfstedt 1928-33: II.51); in line with the general predilection for frequentatives that is observable in Vulgar Latin (cf. Löfstedt 1959: 28-9), *nato* has survived at the expense of *no* down to the Romance languages, as is seen in some South Italian dialects *natare*, Prov. Cat. Sp. Port. *nadar*, and in the slightly different It. *nuotare*, ORom. *notà* etc. (from a twin form **nōtare*, in which the *o* has been explained as a dissimilation *a-a* > *o-a* or otherwise, never quite conclusively: cf. Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 433).

The line is complete in **M**, while **BV** omit *in gurgite uasto*. It happens several times that **M** gives an entire Vergilian line and **BV** only the part relevant to the grammatical discussion (*DBM* 6.1, 6.3, 8.5, 24.3, 27.20, 31.2). The question whether **M** interpolates or **BV** suppresses parts of text that are genuine is not an easy one to answer. Niedermann always followed **M** in such cases: I have chosen instead to follow **BV**. Where both branches agree on the extension of Vergil's citations, partial lines are normally given (83 instances), whereas full lines are a small minority (9 instances). Also, **M** sometimes adds just one or two words to Vergil's lines (*DBM* 16.11, 16.12, 27.22, 31.22), and in general shows a tendency to interpolate one or two words in order to make C.'s sentences clearer (cf. *DBM* 3.8, 7.18, 9.1, 9.5, 9.8, 12.13 etc.). Therefore, I think that in such cases it is quite likely that the scribe of **M** wanted to fill a Vergilian line he remembered (cf. Introduction §4.1).

5.6 commorat: this example (Ter. *Ph.* 101 *commorat omnis nos*) is shared with Don. 661.8 H., who notes the syncope (calling it *figura*) in his Terentian commentary as well (likewise Eugraph. *Ter. Phorm.* 101). Shortened forms of the *ui*-perfect were in common use since Plautus: the interuocalic *u* tended to be dropped (cf. Leumann 1977: 136-7) and vowel contraction took place. This is not quite what we define as a syncope in modern terms. *Moueo* and its compounds function in this respect like the verbs with perfect in *-ōuī* (*nōuī*), so we find *commōrat* also in Turp. *com.* 30 and Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.1.1 (= 5.1 Shackleton Bailey). Other contracted forms are *commōrunt* (Lucr. 766), *commōrit* (*Rhet. Her.* 447.60, Cael. in Cic. *Fam.* 8.15.1, Hor.

2.1.45 cf. Prisc. *GL* III.110.12), *commōrant* (Cypr. Gall. *num.* 192), and see Georges (1890: 153) for those with with *-ōss-*.

5.7-8 in quo ... barbarismum faciat: C. restates the distinguishing force of *auctoritas* (see notes on *DBM* 3.26 – 4.2, 6.17-19, 7.12-13): if someone modifies a word in a way that has never been used by an *auctor*, a barbarism will arise (cf. Vainio 1999: 142). This is quite straightforward so far as the *communis sermo* is concerned, but shows the limits of the ancient definition if one tries to analyse the interrelation between context (prose or poetry) and authority. For example, it is not absolutely clear what would happen if someone were to write *morat* in verse: would this be a barbarism in poetry, since no ancient *auctor* ever used it? Pompeius for one acknowledges the possibility of barbarisms in poetry, if a modification is made without metrical necessity (283.37 – 284.18, cf. Kaster 1988: 151), but it is difficult to say whether C. would have agreed, nor can we say for certain whether he would have admitted of new metaplasms forged by contemporary poets (cf. Kaster 1988: 174-5 on Servius: ‘*figurae* (or metaplasms, which operate under the same terms) are a large but finite and isolated repository of ancient expressions. The repository is, above all, controllable; it is not to be extended’).

C. omits the other side of the problem as well, whether a metaplasm used *in communi sermone* would be a barbarism (as would be the case of *commorat* in Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.2.1). Pompeius makes it clear that it would (283.35-6 *puta si ego in soluta oratione uelim dicere reliquias Catilina, facio barbarismum*), and it is likely that C. would have been of the same opinion.

5.8 *morat*: the only other instance of the contracted form in the perfect stem of the simplex *moueo* is in the medieval Gloss.^L I Ansil. MO 491 *morunt mouerunt* (perhaps from Verg. *A.* 4.367 *admorunt*).

5.9 apocope est * litterae, ut:** in the MSS., *apocope est* is followed by *litterae ut Achilli pro Achillis*, which clearly is the first example of apocope: the definition is missing and Keil (followed by Niedermann) rightly indicates a lacuna. As a matter of fact, there is no way to be completely sure that the missing sentence was before *litterae* and not after it, for there is one definition where *litterae* follows *prothesis est* and precedes the definition (3.23-4 *prothesis est litterae, ubi ad caput una littera additur, ut...*): however, it is safer to reckon that this case fits in the more frequent pattern of 4.4-6, 4.10-12 etc. and posit the lacuna before *litterae*. For an example of how the definition might have run, see Don. 661.9 H. *apocope est ablatio de fine dictionis* etc.

Ἀποκοπή as the cutting off of one or more letters is found already in Arist. *Po.* 1458^b2: as such, it could be used in a loose way to indicate the mere dropping of an element regardless of where in the word this happened (not unlike ἀφαίρεσις, cf. note on 4.16-17). For the specification of the word-end as the typical place of apocope, see Trypho *Pass.* 1.28 2.18, 3.18 (κατὰ τὸ τέλος). Trypho only talks of apocope of one syllable (up to two syllables can be dropped according to A.D. *Adu.* 157.13, as in βριθέως/βριῖ), whereas Roman grammarians stick to the usual pattern *littera-syllaba* and give relevant examples (but only *syllaba* in Sacerd. 452.9 *cum in fine dictionis syllaba tollitur*).

5.9-10 Achilli pro Achillis genitiuo: this example (possibly from Vergil: it appears in *A.* 1.30, 1.475, 2.275, 3.87, 6.839) is mentioned as a metaplasm by Don. 661.9 H. and Pomp. 297.11-12. It is also frequently considered when grammarians discuss how to inflect Greek names in Latin, as this was always a problem for them and literary authors alike (see Var. *L.* 10.69-71 and Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.58 with Ax 2011: 210-1). In Greek, the hero's name is Ἀχιλλεύς, which passes into Latin as *Achillēs* like Ὀδυσσεύς as *Ulixēs* (see Char. 21.2ff. B., Prisc. *GL* II.39.13-14): this was due to Etruscan mediation according to Leumann (1977: 458), while others think of Greek variants in -ης (see Biville 1986). The question of the genitive is controversial: in the

view of Leumann (1945, then 1977: 446-7), Greek names that entered in Latin with an *-es* nominative (especially the heroes *Herculēs Ulixēs Achillēs*) were initially treated as nouns of the fifth declension, thus forming a genitive *-ei* > *-ī* (e.g. *Herculēī* in Pl. *Cas.* 398), only later as nouns of the third declension with a genitive in *-is*: for the genitive *Achilli* is already found in Pl. *Bac.* 938 and Acc. *trag.* 145, whereas *Achillis* first occurred in B. *Hisp.* 25.4 and Verg. *A.* 2.476, and later replaced the original form. Less convincing seems the explanation that, as in Greek a nominative in *-ης* could either have a genitive in *-ους* (corresponding to Latin third declension *-is*) or *-ου* (Latin second declension *-ī*), *Achilles* confusingly developed both forms (see Kühner and Holzweissig 1912: 364, based on Plin. *dub. serm.* 85 D.C. = 35 *GRFM*): this does not quite match the fact that Early Latin tended to inflect Greek names from the nominative as if they were Latin (Leumann 1945: 238). A third explanation (Kühner and Holzweissig 1912: 494) takes *Achillī* < *Achillei* as a second declension genitive of *Achilleus*: *Achillei* is attested (trisyllabic in Verg. *G.* 3.91, tetrasyllabic with *-ēī* in Hor. *Epod.* 17.14 and *Carm.* 1.15.34, cf. Char. 21.3 B. *quidam dicunt* hic Achilleus huius Achillei), but the lack of a nominative *Achilleus* in older times (the first instance is in Cic. *ad Brut.* 1.6(9.15).2, then only in grammarians) makes it hard to explain in this way the Plautine genitive *Achillī*.

Grammarians variously explained the genitive *Achilli*, normally assuming that *Achillis* was the original form: for example, C. says that *Achilles* is inflected as a noun of the Latin third declension (*DNV* 364.27-9 *dicimus enim nos Achilles, cum illi dicant 'Αχιλλεύς, et ita fit nostra regula, sicut proles huius prolis*), and consistently admits the possibility of removing the final consonant of the genitive when the nominative ends in *-es* (*DNV* 359.24-6 *nam siquando nominatiuus es syllaba terminatur, ut Achilles Vlixes, potest genitiuo ultima consonans subtrahi, et facit huius Achilli Vlixi*). Sacerdos takes *Achilli* as a dative used instead of the genitive (479.11-12 *datium posuit pro genitiuo, ut... Vergilius inmitis Achilli pro Achillis*), in this echoed by Priscian (*GL* II.247.6). Charisius, who takes *Achilli* as a second declension genitive (20.27ff., 48.7ff, B.), does not seem to find any particular rationale in the alternation

–is/–i (86.14-19 B. *inueniuntur autem apud ueteres quae sine ratione genetium fa<ciunt> per i, ut... apud Vergilium* atque inmitis Achilli, *et alio loco* pellacis Vlixī). According to Servius (*Aen.* 2.7), *Achilli* is only a *uetus genetiuus*: he elsewhere explains the choice of this form as the poet’s attempt to avoid homoeoteleuton (*Aen.* 1.30). Long before these, Quintilian had included the genitives *Vlixī* and *Achilli* among those Greek forms which in ancient times were inflected as if they were Latin (*Inst.* 1.5.63 *sic genetiuus Vlixī et Achilli fecit*), the opposition being with the *recentiores* who *instituerunt Graecis nominibus Graecas declinationes potius dare* (the question of the –is genitive is not touched upon, so we do not really know how he saw it, but he certainly took *Achilli* to be ancient).

5.10 et magi pro magis: see note on 4.12.

5.10-11 endo suam do pro domum: this adonic, surely the clausula of an hexameter, is also reported by Char. 367.6 B., Diom. 441.34, *Ult. Syll.* 263.12 (*namque suam do*), and Aphthon. 56.9 (*endo sua do*). Ausonius’ attribution to Ennius (*techn.* 14.159-60 Patillon = 15.18 Green *unde Rudinus ait...*) is normally trusted, so this piece of verse appears as Enn. *Ann.* 587 Skutsch. Varro cites it in his *Res Rusticae* (3.17.10), where the editors print *domum* but Timpanaro (1978: 127-8) has *do* as in the grammarians. Ennius’ verbal experimentalism is well known: in this case, he apocopated *domum* on the model of Homeric δῶ for δῶμα (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 7.364 ἡμέτερον δῶ), quite frequent at line end.

5.10 endo: given that C.’s contemporaries get this right, the corrupted *tendit* (**BV**) and *tetendit* (**M**) should be attributed to scribes, not to C. himself, and can be emended away. *Endo* is an archaic form of *in* (see note on *DBM* 4.7) that is used here with the accusative of motion *domum* as this usually takes a preposition (*in* or *ad*) when limited by an adjective or possessive pronoun (cf. Bennett 1910-4: II.230-2, Menge 2009: 458-9).

Interestingly enough, the Greek grammatical tradition offers the Homeric form δῶ both when discussing apocope as a πάθος τῆς λέξεως (e.g. Jos. Rhac. *Syn.* 568.2 Ἀποκοπή ἐστὶν... οἶον δῶμα δῶ) and when dealing with it as a broader linguistic phenomenon (A.D. *Adu.* 158.15 ἀποκοπὴν τὸ δῶ σημαίνει τὸ δῶμα). This illustrates well the careful adaptation of Greek models made by those Roman grammarians who laid the groundwork for the Late Antique artigraphic tradition (see Holtz 1981: 172).

5.11-17 hi ... censetur: cf. note on *DBM* 3.13-17.

5.13 pro locorum condicionibus: a periphrasis of *pro... locisque* at 3.17, which I have translated here and at 5.15 as ‘according to the positions in which they take place’ (within a word, of course).

his: i.e. the metaplasms, hence my translation of *his distributa* as ‘given to metaplasms’ (*distributa* refers to *nomina*).

5.19-20 ectasis ... longioris: ἑκτασις, literally ‘stretching out’, ‘extension’, was current signifying the lengthening of a short syllable already in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*comp.* 25) and frequent in Apollonius Dyscolus (e.g. *adu.* 159.6). The Byzantine Joseph Rhacendytes, basing his discussion on a Late Antique rhetorical treatise, distinguishes between the lengthening of anceps syllables and those which are short by nature, φύσει (*syn.* 566.20). The idea that ectasis is perpetrated *contra naturam* is shared by many a grammarian (Don. 661.11 H., Max. Victorin. 15.15 C. = *GL* VI.221.20, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.4, Iul. Tol. 193.50-1 M.Y.; cf. Pomp. 297.14-15 *naturaliter*), while it is *contra rationem* for Char. 367.8 B. and Diom. 442.1.

5.19 auctoritate sua: with *auctoritas* C. normally refers to the repository of the poetic language of old, while here it is the actual power of the poets in the making of poetry.

5.20 *Italiam*: *Italia*, the toponym initially designating modern Calabria only, must have been borrowed from Oscan *Vitel(l)iiú* via Greek, for only a Greek medium can explain the loss of *V-*: the connection with *uitulus* (cf. Umbr. accusative plural *vithuf* ‘calves’) was suggested in ancient times already (Paul. Fest. p. 106-7M *Italia dicta quod magnos italos, hoc est boues habeat*) and is taken by many moderns to signify ‘land of young cattle’ (for other interpretations, see Walde and Hofmann 1938-54: I.723).

The initial *I* was naturally short (cf. Lucil. 825), but usually lengthened in poetry: Vergil, the source for this quotation (*A.* 1.2), always has it long, whereas *I* is normally short in *Italus*, which is used as a counterexample at *DBM* 5.21 – 6.1 (*Italus* has long *I* in *A.* 3.185, 7.643, 9.698). The lengthening apparently goes back to Greek poetry, e.g. Hermipp. *fr.* 63.6 ἐκ δ’ αὖ Ἰταλίας χόνδρον καὶ πλευρὰ βόεια and Archestr. 34.8, 51.1 (see Schulze 1892: 153-4); hence the usage of Roman poets, remarked upon by Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.18 *praeterea quae fiunt spatio, siue cum syllaba correpta producitur, ut Italiam fato profugus, seu longa corripitur, <ut> unius ob noxam et furias, extra carmen non deprendas, sed nec in carmine uitia dicenda sunt*). All the late grammatical tradition ultimately owes this point to Quintilian (or his sources: Remmius Palaemon?): the *Italiam* example is also found in Don. 661.11 H., Pomp. 297.17, Max. Victorin. 16.1 C. (= *GL* VI.221.21), and Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.4; some grammarians employ this line in order to illustrate the barbarism *per adiectionem temporis* as well (Don. 653.9-10 H., Char. 350.9-10 B., Diom. 452.1-5, Serv. *GL* IV.444.19-20, Iul. Tol. 180.33-5 M.Y.). C. cites this example once again in the section *De scandendis uersibus*, as a case of metaplasm which is not reflected in spelling (*DBM* 26.10-12).

5.21 *conubia*: Verg. *A.* 4.213-4, cited by C. alone as an example of ectasis. We unfortunately have no indication that C. gives us this information on grounds other than his knowledge and understanding of Latin poetry and Vergil. The prosody of *conubium* is more controversial than one might expect in view of the long *u* of *nūbo* (etymology uncertain according to de Vaan

2008: 417, to be connected with *nūbēs* for Ernout and Meillet 1979: 449). For instance, other compounds such as *innuba*, *pronuba*, *subnuba* no doubt have a short *u*. In verse, the nominative/accusative plural *conubia* (6 times in Vergil) has *u* regularly long and bearing the ictus, but there are a few cases where *u* is in thesis and can only be long if we admit of synizesis in *-bia* (see *TLL* IV.814.57-60); synizesis is also invoked by those who claim a long *u* in the oblique cases, as in Verg. *A.* 1.73 *conubio iungam...* (a line quoted by C. as well to prove that *u* in *conubium* is normally short) and others (see *TLL* IV.814.50-7). There are indeed some late, not hexametric instances where *u* is clearly short: Prud. *cath.* 3.75 (*conubii*), Mart. Cap. 1.92 (*conubio*) and Sidon. *carm.* 14.1 (*conubio*). On this evidence, Maas (1904) concluded that *conubium* had a long *u* among the pre-Augustan and Augustan poets, whereas the post-Augustan ones could have it shortened. Among the ancients, Servius spoke for a normally long *u* that was occasionally shortened out of metrical necessity (*Aen.* 4.126 *nu naturaliter longa est ab eo, quod est nubere, ut <213> conubia nostra reppulit; sed modo metri causa corripuit*). C. saw things the other way around, and his view is supported by the vast majority of those who reject such a massive recourse to synizesis: from Müller (1861: 258f.) and Munro (1886: 209-11), all the way down to Wackernagel (1926) and Austin (1971: 48), the more common view is that the originally short *u* was lengthened in *conubia* in coincidence with the metrical ictus. Neither Green (1986) nor Timpanaro in *EV* IV.881 is conclusive on this complex issue.

5.22 *i* et *nu*: I cautiously print **BV**'s *nu* instead of **M**'s *u*, for C. is talking about syllables, not vowels, and there are some interesting parallels where the whole syllable is referred to (*DBM* 14.3, 23.23-4, 24.8-10, 24.11-12; and cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4.126).

per se: I think the omission of this expression occurred independently in **M** and **V** due to the similarity of the following *aperte*.

6.1 *Italusque*: the comparison between *Italia* and *Italus* that moderns make in order to assess the quantity of the initial *I* (see note on 5.20) is to be traced back to ancient grammarians,

for this Vergilian line (*A.* 7.178) is also quoted in Max. Victorin. 16.7-8 C. (= *GL* VI.221.26) and *Ult. Syll.* 259.18-19 so as to illustrate the artificial lengthening of a naturally short syllable. In Maximus Victorinus, this is part of the interesting argument that the first syllable of the adjective indicating a province, e.g. *Afer*, must have the same prosody as that of the name of the province itself, e.g. *Africa* (16.3-6 C. = *GL* VI.221.23-5).

6.3 *conubio iungam stabili*: Verg. *A.* 4.126, also commented upon by Servius *ad loc.*, who takes its short *u* as the exception, not the rule.

6.4 *exercet Diana choros*: Verg. *A.* 1.499 was a classical example of ectasis (Char. 367.8-10 B., Diom. 442.1-4, *Ult. Syll.* 263.17, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.4) and barbarism *per adiectionem temporis* (Ps. Mar. Victorin. 36.8 N., Audax 362.9-11). Some took *Di-* as a *communis syllaba* instead (*Ult. Syll.* 259.22-4, *Frg. bob.* *GL* VI.626.35, and in a way also Max. Victorin. 14.1-4 C. = *GL* VI.220.18-20).

Contrary to the opinion of most grammarians, *i* in *Diana* was originally long (see Enn. *Ann.* 240 Skutsch and *TrFR* 13.10 Manuwald = *scen.* 33 Vahlen, Pl. *Bac.* 312). This seems to be acknowledged by Servius Auctus (*Aen.* 1.499 *sane Dianam ueteres ideo melius producebant, quia sub diuo dea sit uenandi gratia*), but *ueteres* here might just refer to Vergil. Modern etymologies mostly have *Diana* derived from either *dīus* ‘godly’ (de Vaan 2008: 168) or *sub dīū* ‘in the open air’ (Leumann 1977: 106, 325). *Dīana* with short *i* first appears in Lucil. 104 (*moenia, tum Liparas, Facelinae templa Dianae*). In hexametric poetry, it regularly occurs at the line-end (see e.g. C.’s counterexample *moriere Dianae*): it is always so in Vergil except for our *A.* 1.499, while in later poets *Dīana* can be used in other positions as well (cf. Auson. 395, Paul. Nol. *carm.* 19.95, Drac. *Romul.* 10.154). The form with short *i* was to overtake the original one but never replaced it completely (see *TLL* III.127.28ff).

6.5 *telis moriere Dianae*: Verg. *A.* 11.857, also quoted by Max. Victorin. 16.3-4 C. (= *GL* VI.220.20). For *Dīana*, different authors supply different examples (see Corazza 2011: 108).

6.6 *systole est contrarius superiori metaplasmus*: in Greek grammar, συστολή (from συστέλλω ‘draw together’, ‘contract’) is the change of a long vowel into a short one (see A.D. *adu.* 159.7, *synt.* 401.10 regarding ξηρόν/ξηρόν, ποθήσαι/ποθέσαι). Joseph Rhacendytes (*syn.* 566.24) defines it by contrast to the preceding ἑκτασις, an idea of opposition that also operates here, in Donatus (662.1 H. *contraria ectasi*), and elsewhere.

6.6-7 *longiorem syllabam*: consistently with the fact that metaplasms occur in metre (*metri necessitate* is the criterion generally used to explain *systole*), where it is the syllable that matters, the element to which *systole* is applied by Latin grammarians is theoretically the syllable, not the vowel: in fact, however, they do coincide, as all the given examples concern vowels.

6.7 *castigat*: in the sense ‘to shorten’ that is normally attached to *corripio*, this appears to be unique to C. and to this passage in particular: such an extension of its meaning might have been facilitated by the fact that both *castigo* and *corripio* also mean ‘to chastise’ (cf. Caper 104.3). *Castigo* in a discussion on sounds is also used by Vel. Long. 50.4 and 71.5 (see *TLL* III.535.70-4).

6.7-9 *aquosus Orion ... circumspicit Oriona*: the former illustrates *systole* in Don. 662.1-2 H., Diom. 442.10, Pomp. 299.6-10 (who takes the alternation $\bar{o}/\acute{o}$ in *Orion* as an antithesis *in temporibus*), and *Ult. Syll.* 263.19-20. *Ult. Syll.* 259.14-17 uses *nimbosus Orion* (Verg. *A.* 1.535), as opposed to *circumspicit Oriona*, to exemplify the shortening of a naturally long syllable in Vergil (Mar. Victorin. 93.12-15 M. uses the same examples but focuses on the prosody of Greek *o*), while Max. Victorin. 16.5-8 C. uses *aquosus Orion* and *circumspicit*

Oriona to show the ambivalent prosody of the first syllable in some *nomina propria*. A more picturesque account is offered by Servius (*Aen.* 1.535), who tells the Roman version of Orion's myth according to which the hunter was born from the urine of Jupiter, Neptune, and Mercury, and explains his name by the folk etymology *urina-Urion* (Gr. Οὐρίων), whence *Ōrion* (see *Ov. Fast.* 5.535-6 *hunc Hyrieus, quia sic genitus, uocat Uriona: / perdidit antiquum littera prima sonum*; *Hyg. Astr.* 2.34.1). The switch of *Ou* (*U*) into *Ō* allegedly replicates the Greek tendency for *ou* to be simplified into *o*.

C. cites *aquosus Orion* again at *DBM* 26.12 among those metaplasms that do not affect orthography.

6.8 prima *Orionis* syllaba utique longa sit: Gr. Ὀρίων (*Hom. Od.* 5.121 etc.) from Ὀρίων has the first syllable long with no exception: it is Vergil who makes an innovation having short *O-* in three instances, always at line end (*A.* 4.52 and 10.763, both matching C.'s *aquosus Orion*, and *A.* 1.535 *nimbosus Orion*), with the normal prosody occurring instead at *A.* 3.517 *circumspicit Oriona* (line end) and 7.719 (mid-line). *Prop.* 2.16.51 imitates Vergil's systole, and so do Horace (*Epod.* 15.7, *Carm.* 2.13.39), Ovid (*Ars* 1.731) and others. Generally speaking, names of molossic form (— — —) like *Sychaeus*, *Grādīuus*, *Fīdēnae*, *Ātīnās* and the aforesaid *Dīāna*, have their first syllable shortened in verse ending (cf. Leumann 1947: 136 n. 29, with references to Greek).

6.9-10 *unius ob noxam et unius ob iram*: both branches of the stemma omit one of the two examples: **M** only has *et unius ob noxam*, whereas **BV** have *et unius ob iram*, this being clearly due to a different *saut* in either case. The example with the marked form should go first, as is regular in this section (*pace* Niedermann, who prints it the other way round).

The pronominal adjective *unus*, like *solus*, *totus* and others, had the genitive singular in *-ūs*: this was normal in both prose and scenic poetry. The forms in *-ūs* were introduced later in poetry: *unūs* first appears in *Lucil.* 366, then *Catul.* 5.3, *Lucr.* 2.379 and 3.1073. Vergil used

unīus twice, both times at the beginning of the hexameter (our *unīus ob noxam* at *A.* 1.41, *unīus in* at *A.* 2.131), and *unīus* once (our *unīus ob iram* at *A.* 1.251). The example goes back at least to Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.18 (like *Italiam* of *DBM* 5.20-1), possibly to Palaemon (see Holtz 1981: 152): it is then picked up by Don. 653.12 H. (as a barbarism *per detractionem temporis*) and *Frg. Bob. GL* VI.626.1-3 (to illustrate the prosody of *unius*). In fact, it is all about prevocalic vowel shortening, as pointed out by Servius (*Aen.* 1.41 *in istis sermonibus unius illius ipsius naturaliter media producitur syllaba, sed cum opus est corripitur hac excusatione: nam quotiens uocalem longam uocalis sequitur, ei uires detrahit ... et ob hoc mutant accentum*; cf. also Serv. *Aen.* 1.451).

6.11-12 diuersa sibi qualitate contrarii: I take *sibi* to go with *contrarii*, as C. normally uses *contrarius* with a dative (*DBM* 4.14-15, 6.6, *DNV* 356.14, 370.4). The word order of **B** – *diuersa qualitate sibi contrarii* – is certainly more plain than that of **MV**, but might be the result of a scribe's normalisation. The fact that *sibi* is removed from *contrariae* at *DNV* 356.13-14 (*efficitur ut plerumque regulae sibi uideantur esse contrariae*) suggests we accept the archetypal word order and take this synchysis to be C.'s stylistic choice.

6.14 diaeresis ... diuiditur: this traditionally applies to diphthongs (cf. Jos. Rhac. *Syn.* 567.6-7 Διαίρεσις ἐστὶ συλλαβῆς δίφθογγον ἐχούσης ἀνάλυσις ἢ διάλυσις εἰς δύο συλλαβὰς, οἷον παῖς πάϊς), which has been pointed out by C. himself just before (*DBM* 6.12-13 *non nisi in diphthongis inueniantur*). Yet C. has a somewhat broader concept of diaeresis, for at 13.2-4 he calls *diaeresis* the pronunciation of *sol[w]it* as *sol[u]it*, and likewise at 26.19 Horace's *suētae*: neither *ui* nor *ue* are really diphthongs according to grammarians (see Mar. Victorin. 91.3-5 M.). From this we might infer that C. included among diphthongs those which we describe as rising diphthongs, i.e. made of a semivowel and a vowel. But there is more to it, for in a couple of cases the allegedly original form does not even have a rising diphthong, and yet C. thinks of

diaeresis: *DBM* 20.11-15 *Iacchus* for *Bacchus* and 20.15-19 *Mauortis* for *Martis* (here C. is hesitant, however). So for C. diaeresis actually takes place *cum una syllaba in duas diuiditur*, whether said syllable is a diphthong or not. One might add that the case of trisyllabic *soluit* is not a metaplasm, but a barbarism that arises *per diaeresin* (cf. note on 13.2-4): so diaeresis is not just a metaplasm, but a process that can more generally apply to spoken language.

Diaeresis is named *diuisio* by Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.17) and Sacerdos (459.31), quite a faithful translation of Greek διαίρεσις; it is also named *diazeuxis* in *Ult. Syll.* 263.21 and *dialysis* in Vel. Long. 57.24. As in Greek, where διαίρεσις can indicate a division of one word into two (Ath. 11.492a, Trypho *Trop.* 1.8), in Latin *diaeresis* can stand for a tmesis (Don. *Ter. Andr.* 486) and even, in a different semantic field, for a mere division of some physical entity (Sacerd. 459.31-2).

6.15 *aquai* / *fumidus*: Verg. *A.* 7.464-5, and *aquai* alone is cited by Quintilian in his discussion of the spelling of the diphthong *ae* (*Inst.* 1.7.18). According to Goetting (1899: 86), the common source is Palaemon.

The archaic first-declension genitive singular in *-āī* is typically quoted by grammarians so as to illustrate diaeresis: they assumed the original form to be the diphthong *-ae*, which would simply be dissected into two syllables by ancient poets (Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.17, Sacerd. 449.1-3, Don. 662.3-4, Char. 367.17-18, Diom. 442.11-4, Pomp. 297.30ff., *Ult. Syll.* 263.21-5, Prisc. *GL* II.37.14-20, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.4). Historical linguistics reconstruct the process exactly the other way round: the disyllabic genitive singular in *-āī* was the original one (in fact, an innovation modelled upon the *-ī* genitive of the second declension, replacing the older IE ending *-ās*, which only survived in fossilized expressions such as *pater familias*). Already before Plautus this had turned into monosyllabic [aj] (normally spelt *-ae*, as in *SCBacch. CIL* I².581 *aedem* etc., but cf. *pulcraī feminae* of *CIL* VI.15346.2 in the second century BC). Although Plautus had the new form regularly (see Leo 1912: 338ff. and Leumann 1977: 418), he still used the disyllabic genitive (*Aul.* 295 *filiāī*, *Mil.* 103 *magnāī rēī publicāī grātiā* etc.);

the same goes for Ennius (*Ann.* 31 Skutsch *rex Albā Longā*, 179 Skutsch *siluā frondosā* etc.), very often for the archaising Lucretius (1.29 *militiā*, 1.41 *patriā*, 1.84 *Triuiā* etc.), and four times for Vergil as an archaism (besides this and the following case, *A.* 3.354 *aulai medio* and 6.747 *aurai*). It is more difficult to assess the syllabic limit in prose, such as in inscriptions, but there are good reasons to assume that disyllabic *-āi* is represented in *CIL* I².443 *Fortunai pocolo*, *SCBacch.* *CIL* I².581 *Duelonai* and elsewhere (Leumann 1977: 419).

What was the phonological reality of *ae* in C.'s times? It is commonly accepted that the monophthongisation of the diphthong *ae* into mid open *ē* was being generalised in speech in the early Empire (see Adams 2013: 73-5). When it comes to grammarians, however, Adams (2013: 77) has it that they 'for a while tried to keep the diphthong going in educated speech, but that by the fourth century they had given up the attempt': for *ae* is referred to as a single sound by Aphthonius (66.28 – 67.4 Orpheus... *cum a, ut ita declinetur* Orphaeus, *ut* Aristaeus... *haec latina, quae per diphthongon effertur*, but cf. 32.4-6s) and Servius (*GL* IV.421.19-21 *e quando producitur, uicinum est ad sonum i litterae, ut meta; quando autem correptum, uicinum est ad sonum diphthongi*; on Pomp. 285.8-9 see Zago 2013: 13, cited in my note on 11.8-9). On the other hand, *ae* is apparently still presented as a diphthong by Diomedes (452.17-19 *cum debeat ae pronuntiari, praetor...*) and by those writing before the fourth century (Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.18 and Scaur. 19.13 – 21.5 B. = *GL* VII.16.7 – 17.1). To be sure, it is not always easy to tell if a grammarian is discussing sound or spelling. Nevertheless, the fact that C. could look at the traditional diaeresis *ae > āi* as a single vowel (*ē*) being split into two different ones might help to explain why he thought that a diaeresis was also in *Bacchus > Iacchus* (*DBM* 20.11-15).

6.15 pictai uestis: Verg. *A.* 9.26, a more traditional example for grammarians treating diaeresis: first occurring in Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.18 (about the spelling of the diphthong rather than diaeresis), it is cited in Char. 367.18 B., Diom. 442.12, Pomp. 297.32, *Ult. Syll.* 263.22, Prisc. *GL* II.37.20, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.4, and also in authors discussing orthography (Scaur. 21.3 B. = *GL*

VII.16.9, Vel. Long. 57.20-8, Mar. Victorin. 76.27 – 77.12 M.). According to Goetting (1899: 86) it goes back to Palaemon.

6.16 Lucretius: *Triuiat uirginis aram*: as mentioned above, Lucretius makes extensive use of this genitive out of his fondness for archaisms. This segment (Lucr. 1.84) is quoted elsewhere only in Priscian's section on genitives in *-āī* (GL II.285.10), and is more correct than the reading of Lucretius' MSS. (*triuiat* and *triuiat*). The claim of Butterfield (2013: 81) that here C. is copying Priscian cannot be right, as the latter is later. This is C.'s only quotation from Lucretius, so we cannot say for certain whether he had direct access to his work or not.

6.17-19 *Phoëbum* dicere, ueluti si uersum cludat dixisse *Phoebum*, utique barbarismum faciet, quia auctoritate deficit: *dixisse Phoebum* is not found in literature and clearly is a fictitious example, although the seductive idea that this 'stammt... aus metrischen Schulübungen' (Kohlstedt 1917: 53) cannot be proved. This statement is tightly connected to DBM 26.19-20, where C. talks about those metaplasms which do not affect spelling and, as far as diaeresis is concerned, writes *et Lucanus ait dixisse Phoebos*. It will be convenient to discuss these two passages jointly, starting with the latter. Unger (1858) tried to ascribe *dixisse Phoebos* to a lost work of Lucan, which he thought was named *Heliaca*, but must be *Iliaca*. The more recent editors credit this lost work with a few fragments (5 and 6, plus a *dubium* 6a in Blänsdorf 2011; 5 and 6 in Courtney 2003; 6 and 7 in Morel 1927), but do not include *dixisse Phoebos* among them. This appears instead as fr. 12 Blänsdorf = 11 Courtney = 13 Morel, and is regarded as *dubium* by Blänsdorf (2011: 322) and *falsum* by Courtney (2003: 355). The concerns about this piece of verse go back to Buttmann (1817) himself, for he envisaged it to be a corruption of Lucan's *duxit aëno* (10.124: but *a(h)ēnus* is normally trisyllabic). Müller (1861: 263) discarded the idea that C. could condemn as a barbarism the diaeresis in *Phoebum* and attribute it to Lucan at the same time: so he suggested that C. meant to quote in fact Luc. 2.51 *Aquilone Suebos* but was led astray by the preceding *suetae*, which he quoted from Hor. S. 1.8.17, and

his earlier *dixisse Phoebum*. Roughly the same opinion is expressed by Courtney (2003: 355), who adds that ‘Lucan of course could not have scanned *Phoebus* as three syllables nor used the word in the plural’.

The almost literal repetition of *dixisse Phoebum/Phoebos* can be interpreted in different ways. One is, of course, the influence of the former on the latter: whether this should be attributed to C.’s own memory or to the confusion of some scribe (less likely, as the two passages are quite distant from each other), it might be that C. meant to quote a different clausula in the latter case, perhaps Luc. 2.51 *Aquilone Suebos*. The new MS. V could possibly support this view, as it reads *suebas* instead of *Phoebos*, a *lectio singularis* that could have survived as a marginal or interlinear variant from some older stage of copying; moreover, an odd *saxifi* follows in V, surely a gloss pointing to the Saxon origin of the *Suebi*.

However, I think it more likely that both *Phoebum* at 6.17 and *Phoebos* at 26.20 are more or less what C. wrote. Indeed, the slight discrepancy between the two forms is in keeping with C.’s theory of metaplasms and barbarisms as seen in *DBM* 5.7-8: there, *morat* for *mouerat* was a barbarism, while the Terentian *commorat* was acceptable. In the case of *Phoëbum/Phoëbos* as well, our author has it that only the very word in the very case and number that was employed by the poet with his *auctoritas* may be used without committing a barbarism: so as long as one uses in poetry the allegedly Lucanean *Phoëbos*, that will be a metaplasma, but if one applies the same diaeresis to a different form and says *Phoëbum*, then that will be a barbarism. Vainio (1999: 142) seems to imply this, but she also suggests that, in the case of *dixisse Phoebos*, ‘Consentius does not consider this diaeresis as very successfully formed’: however, I do not see any reason for believing so.

When it comes to the ending of *Phoebos* at 26.19, my explanation does obviously not prevent us from emending it. As we have seen, Courtney (2003: 355) regards the plural as impossible. *Phoebos* could therefore be a Greek nominative, as in Mart. Cap. 3.280, *Fin. Metr. GL* VI.234.14, and Serv. *GL* IV.453.15, although everywhere else (Lucan being no exception)

the alternative theonym for Apollo is inflected as a name of the Latin second declension (which excludes *Phoebon* of Unger 1858: 13). In the absence of a context, both a nominative *Phoebus* and a dative *Phoebo* might work. Probably, however, it is better to keep *Phoebos*, especially if one considers that C. may have had access to a corrupt text.

The question remains whether C. is quoting a genuine line from Lucan at 26.19-20. In his work there are three other Lucanean citations, each of them faithful to the original: Luc. 2.54 at *DNV* 341.16-17 (an interpolation, according to Keil), 2.668 at 345.22-3, and 1.501 at 355.17-18. But it was one thing to quote from the still famous *Pharsalia*, a totally different one to draw from a minor, probably lost, work. More decisively, it is extremely unlikely that Lucan ever scanned any form of *Phoebus* with a diaeresis: whether C. found this in one of his sources or unconsciously mangled another Lucanean clausula, he surely believed that *dixisse Phoëbos* (or *Phoëbus* or *Phoëbo*) was genuine, but Lucan cannot have possibly written this. Vainio (1999: 141) writes that Lucan ‘does not have such a firm position’ as Vergil when it comes to poetic authority (cf. Serv. *Georg.* 2.288 *minor autem est Lucani et Gracchi auctoritas*), but I would not go as far as to claim that this is true for C., as he never shows any dismissive attitude towards Lucan.

6.19 episynaliphe: this term is unparalleled in extant Greek literature: its first instance is in Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.18), where it is restored by conjecture as the accusative ἐπισυναλιφήν (or ἐπισυναλοιφήν) against *synalifen* and ΣΥΝΑΛΙΦΗΝ of the manuscripts (preferred by Colson 1916: 23). A *hapax* ἐπισυναλοιφή exists in Greek meaning an elision at line-end in Choerob. *in Heph.* p. 226 C. (ninth century). For the coalescence of two vowels into a diphthong Greek had συναίρεσις (see A.D. *Adu.* 132.25 αἱ τοιαῦται προφοραὶ ἐν συναιρέσει εἰσί, πνέει πνεῖ, χέει χεῖ, ῥέει ῥεῖ), which occurs in Latin authors as well, for Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.18) and Sacerdos (453.1) use it as a synonym of *episynaliphe*; quite oddly, *synaeresis* only is found in Pompeius’ commentary on Donatus (297.28, 298.5), who has on the contrary *episynaliphe* (Don. 662.5

H.); Servius invokes *synaeresis* a fair number of times in his commentary on Vergil (in fact, he never mentions *episynaliphe*). On the other hand, we find *episynaliphe* in Char. 367.19 B., Diom. 442.20, and *Ult. Syll.* 263.26. Isidore (*Orig.* 1.35.5) apparently wrote *episynaloephe*. An alternative in Greek is συνίησις (see LSJ s.v. 2), which had little fortune in Latin (Serv. *Aen.* 1.353 etc., Prisc. *GL* II.298.3).

6.20 conglutinatio: in definitions of episynaloephe, this term is also used by Donatus and Diomedes, whereas Quintilian uses *complexio*.

duarum syllabarum: the focus is on the syllable, not the vowels. Surely we have to keep in mind C.'s remark that episynaloephe, just like diaeresis, is found *non nisi in diphthongis* (*DBM* 6.11-13), yet the same observation made about diaeresis is valid here: C. talks of episynaloephe even in cases where no diphthong is involved, as for example at 6.21-2 Marcipor *pro puer* and 13.5-8 *nonne uidetur per episynaliphen barbarismum facere qui, ut dicat uam passam, dicit uam passam et, ut dicat induruit, quod est tetrasyllabum, dicit induruit, quod est trisyllabum* (here he is also stating that from episynaloephe a barbarism can arise, showing that this too, like diaeresis, is not just a metaplasm). Related perhaps to this loose idea, a somewhat inappropriate recourse to episynaloephe (or *synaeresis*, as he calls that) is seen for instance in Serv. *Aen.* 4.16 VINCLO... *synaeresis est pro uinculo*, *Buc.* 4.5 SAECLORVM *synaeresis pro saeculorum*: it is true that two syllables are merged into one, but that is rather a syncope. C. tends to be more precise on this: at *DBM* 20.19-23, on *satias* < *satietas*, he invokes both syncope and episynaloephe.

ut cum dicimus: **BV** omit *cum*, while the verb is *diceret* in **M** and *dicere* in **BV**. As this does not work, Keil conjectures *dicitur*, but *cum dicitur* is used only once by C. (*DNV* 379.32-3); so I suggest that we should read *ut cum dicimus*, as in *DBM* 2.8, 4.22, 5.3-4, 8.15 and 17 (the nominatives after the transitive *dicimus* are not problematic, as is shown at 4.22 – 5.1 *dicimus... nomenclator... Mnestheus*).

6.21 *Phaethon* pro *Phaëthon*: Greek Φαέθων is obviously trisyllabic, and so is it as a rule in Latin (see Hor. *C.* 4.11.25 *terret ambustus Phaethon auaras*, Mart. 5.53.4 *Deucalion uel, si non placet hic, Phaethon*). The first to give an example of *Phaethon* undergoing episynaloephe is again Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.18), who quotes Var. *At. poet.* 10 Blänsdorf (= 11 Courtney = 10 Morel) *tum te flagranti deiectum fulmine Phaethon* (going back to Palaemon, according to Goetting 1899: 87). The line is cited in full, without attribution, also in Aphthon. 66.18-22, where the phenomenon is called συνεκφώνησις, and 147.26-30. Like C., Don. 662.6 H., Pomp. 298.7, and Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.5 only quote the word in question.

6.21-2 *Marcipor* pro *puer*: other such names are *Gaipor* (Fest. p. 257M, *CIL* I².996), *Lucipor* (Plin. *Nat.* 33.26), *Quintipor* (Var. *Men.* 59, Fest. p. 257M, *CIL* I².2430) and others (see Leumann 1977: 134). In archaic times, slaves were sometimes named by composing their master's name in the genitive with *-por* (see Quint. *Inst.* 1.4.26 *in seruis iam intercidit illud genus, quod ducebatur a domino, unde Marcipores Publiporesque*): the latter element was explained by ancient grammarians as originating from *puer* (cf. Prisc. *GL* II.236.11-15 *a puero composita... Marci puer*), so *Marcipor* should mean 'Marcus' boy'. This is the dominant explanation in modern scholarship as well, although the sound change *puer* > *por* is not a plain one to account for: as *puer* most likely originates from **poueros* (Walde and Hofmann 1938-54: II.382), so *-por* might come from **pouer*, the different vowel development from the simple *puer* being due to compound accentuation (cf. Solmsen 1894: 103-5). *Marcipor*, *Publipor* etc. entered the third declension as nouns in *-or*, but unlike common nouns, they reportedly had short *-o-* in oblique cases (see Prob. *cath.* 16.16-19 and Prisc. *GL* II.236.11-15), a piece of information that is questioned by Solmsen. The *i* of the first element must have been short, if such syncopated forms as *Marpor* (*CIL* I².1358) and *Naepori* (= *Gnaei p.*, *CIL* I².1342) are anything to go by (an exception is *Olīpor* = *Aulī p.* in *CIL* I².1263): this is odd if that is a genitive, and a vowel shortening due to the shift of stress in composition has been suggested (Walde and Hofmann 1938-54: II.382). The difficulty of this explanation has led Cheesman

(2009) to propose that a name like *Marcipor* is not a determinative compound where *Marci* is the genitive of the master's name, but a copulative or juxtapositional compound where *Marci* is the name of the slave himself and *-i-* is the result of vowel weakening (*Marco(s) *pouero(s) > *Marcopouero(s) > *Marcipouero(s)* etc.), so that *Marcipor* would stand for 'the boy Marcus' rather than 'Marcus' boy'.

C. alone cites *Marcipor* as a metaplasm. The agreement with Quintilian is again taken by Birt (1879: 24-5) and Goetting (1899: 89) as pointing to Palaemon as the ultimate source. As with the case of *nomenclator*, it is striking that the name is never attested in extant poetry. The closest we can come to poetry lies in the information that a certain *Marcipor*, slave of Oppius, accompanied Plautus' *Stichus* as a *tibicen* (Didasc. *Plaut. Stich.* 3), and that *Marcipor* was also the title of one of Varro's Menippean satires (fragments 269-87). It is also striking, as pointed out in the note on *DBM* 6.20, that C. speaks of episynaloephe here, where surely two syllables are reduced into one, yet no diphthong is involved in the allegedly final form, and the sounds change.

6.22 *Orpheus pro Orpheüs*: this is rare testimony about the current pronunciation of *Orpheus* in Latin and, more generally, of Greek names ending with *-eus*. Historical Latin had generally lost the original diphthong *eu* (*eu > ou*), and only a secondary *eu* was sometimes preserved (*neu seu ceu heu* etc., see Leumann 1977: 70). This did not prevent grammarians from including *eu* among the generally accepted diphthongs (e.g. Ter. Maur. 426, 467 etc., Don. 606.1 H.; cf. Jeep 1893: 114 and Mariotti 1967: 236). When Greek names in *-εὐς* were introduced into Latin, they were inflected as if belonging to the second declension (see Char. 48.13ff. B., who rightly makes the exception of the vocative, normally in *-eu*, and the accusative, sometimes in *-ea*): the nominative could scan with either disyllabic *-ēus* or monosyllabic *-ēus* (*Pēlēus* in Acc. *trag.* 668, *Atrēus* in *TrRF Adesp.* 106 Schauer = 103 Ribbeck); the same goes for the genitive (*Nērēi* in Andr. *trag.* 5, *Nērēi* in Enn. *TrFR* 41 Manuwald = *scen.* 122 Vahlen), and one also finds a disyllabic accusative *-ēum* like *Penthēum*

(Pl. *Mer.* 469; more in Leumann 1945: 252 n. 34 and Neue and Wagener 1892-1905: I.504ff.).

In classical poetry, *-eus* of Greek names scans regularly as one syllable as in Greek: *Orpheus* does not occur in verse before Vergil and Horace, who have it and its inflected forms as disyllables (fluctuating is *Orphēa*/*Orphēā*, where Greek has Ὀρφέα, while the only instance of an ablative is *Orphēō* in Hor. *C.* 1.2.8); it scans with diaeresis, though, in *Culex* 117 *tantum non Orphēus Hebrum* (so in other names: Phaed. 5.1.1 *Phalerēus* and *Anthologia Latina* 234.20 *Thesēus*).

A trisyllabic *Orpheüs* as C. posits it seems in keeping with the archaic treatment of Greek names as Latin second declension nouns, and perhaps with a statement of Aphthonius on the prosody of *Orpheus*, whereby the trisyllabic scansion is said to be the Latin pronunciation as opposed to the Greek, which is disyllabic (66.28 – 67.4 *quaeritur Orpheus in metro... utrum trisyllabum an disyllabum sit, an idem nomen duplici enuntiatione promatur, aut sine a littera, ut Peleus, Pentheus, aut cum a, ut ita declinetur Orphaeus, ut Aristaeus. uisum est tamen hoc posse discerni, ut illa sine a littera Graeca sit enuntiatio, haec Latina, quae per diphthongon effertur*: here *ae* represents *ē*). There might be indirect hints of a trisyllabic or disyllabic pronunciation of Greek names in Quintilian's discussion of the accentuation of *Atreus* (*Atrei* for Ax 2011: 46), *Nerei*, and *Terei* at *Inst.* 1.5.24 (see Ax 2011: 180-1).

7.1 in trisyllabis: Heraeus' conjecture (reported by Niedermann), whereas the MSS. read *in tribus* (or *III*) *syllabis* (**B^pcM**), *in syluis* (**B**), *trisyllabum* (**V**). *In trisyllabis*, meaning that *Orpheus* belongs in the category of trisyllabic words, has some good parallels (Don. 610.1 H., Diom. 431.23, Audax 330.6).

7.1-2 factum est, <ut est>: after *disyllabum* and before the Vergilian quote, **B** reads *facitur*, **M** *est*, while **V** has *factum est* before *disyllabum*. Niedermann prints Heraeus' conjectural *facit, ut est*, which mixes **B** and **M**. I think it best to take **V** as a starting point and print *factum est, <ut est>*, for *disyllabum factum est* is paralleled in *DBM* 10.7-8 (*trisyllaba*

pars orationis facta est) and 15.19 (*disyllabum esse factum*), and after *est* the *ut est* that is necessary to introduce the citation might have been omitted by homoeoteleuton.

7.3-4 *illa ... Orpheu'*: Verg. *G.* 4.494. Only the disyllabic Greek vocative in *-eu* is attested for *Orpheus* (cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.44, *Culex* 292). Grammarians generally acknowledged the vocative in *-eu* for Greek names in *-eus*, see Char. 48.17 B., Prob. *nom.* 71.21-3 P. (= *GL* IV.213.30; but *o Ilionee* Prob. *inst.* 103.18), Serv. *georg.* 4.446, Mart. Cap. 3.304, Prisc. *GL* II.301.7-13. C. states that the vocative in *-eu* has one syllable less than the nominative in *-eus* in his *DNV* (359.31-2 *uel subtracta una littera consonante etiam numerum minuit syllabarum, ut hic Proteus o Proteu*).

7.5 *sit Tityrus Orpheus*: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.55.

7.5-6 *Orphei Calliopea pro Orpheï*: Verg. *Ecl.* 4.57 (*Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo*): here *Orphei* is a dative corresponding to Greek Ὀρφεΐ (so in Verg. *G.* 4.545, 553), where Lat. normally has *Orpheo* (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.41.98). If C. were right here, then the information would be that, at least in his times, Latin speakers tended to utter the Graecising dative *Orphei* as three syllables: this could possibly match with the fact that, once the original *ei* had become *ī*, *ei* as a diphthong occurred very rarely in Latin (cf. Allen 1978: 63), yet it is doubtful that the dative in *-ei* for Greek names was ever common outside poetry. But in fact that appears to be contradicted by Servius (*Aen.* 1.120, on *Ilionei* as a dative), who states that the dative *Orphei* ends with a diphthong: *nam constat huiusmodi Graeca nomina dativum singularem in ei diphthongum mittere, ut Orphei; nam illa solutio est cum Orphei separatim dicimus: nec modo Ilionei possumus dicere adstrictum esse genetivum, ut ipse sit qui et dativus*. If we look at the next examples, moreover, the suspicion arises that here C. took *Orphei* for a genitive, because both *Protei* and *Idomenei* are genitives (the fact that C. does not quote from the preceding line *adsit*, the verb governing the dative *Orphei*, may strengthen our suspicion). If C. really took *Orphei* for a genitive, his claim that trisyllabic *Orpheï* was the correct form would be easily explained, for we have already seen genitives of Greek names in *-eus* ending in disyllabic *-ēī*

(*Nerēi* Andr. *trag.* 5 and Pacuv. *trag.* 408, *Nyctēi* Pacuv. *trag.* 1a, *Penthēi* Hor. *C.* 2.19.14). That *Orphei* in Verg. *A.* 1.120 was a Graecising dative was perfectly clear on the other hand to the grammarian Phocas (47.10-12 C. = *GL* V.423.11-12 *haec datiuum singularem duplicem habent... et Orpheo et Orphei, ut Vergilius Orphei Calliopea Lino*) as well as Servius (*georg.* 4.358).

7.7 *Protei Menelaus*: Verg. *A.* 11.262. Servius' comment on this (*Protei autem Latinus est genetiuus, constrictus per synaeresin*) agrees with C.'s view that the genitive ending *-ei* should be disyllabic (possibly relevant also is Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.24 on *Nerei* and *Terei*, with Ax 2011: 180-1). *Proteus* is only attested since Vergil, its endings *-eus* and *-ei* consistently being diphthongal in poetry.

7.8-9 *Idomenei ... Idomenea ducem ... uersosque penates* / *Idomenei*: *Idomenēa* (Verg. *A.* 3.122) goes back to Ἰδομενῆα (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.406), but the disyllabic ending is rather the exception than the rule when it comes to the instances of this name in Latin poetry, for in all the other cases the name ends with a diphthong, as in C.'s example of a genitive *Idomenēi* (Verg. *A.* 11.264-5), while the nominative *Idomenēus* appears in Verg. *A.* 3.401, Hor. *C.* 4.9.20, Ov. *Met.* 13.258.

7.10 *Thyias*: Verg. *A.* 4.302. One of the names used to illustrate the Greek accent in Audax 330.14, Dosith. 7.7-8 T. (= *GL* VII.379.2), Ps. Mar. Victorin. *GL* VI.193.15.

7.11 *ex duabus syllabis unam*: C. must think that *Thyias* is originally trisyllabic (which it is not) and that episynaloephe applies to allegedly disyllabic *Thyi-*: for if his claim is that *Thyias* has to scan as one syllable, the line would be ametrical. This will be better understood if we look into the status of *yi* in Latin. As *Thyias* corresponds to Greek θυιάς 'Bacchante', so *yi* represents the Greek diphthong υι (see Sturtevant 1940: 56, Leumann 1977: 78). So it was normal for Vergil and other poets to treat *Thyi-* as a diphthong, but this must have caused some trouble to grammarians, for *yi* was not traditionally included among the Latin diphthongs (see Serv. *Aen.* 3.226 *HARPYIAE υι Graeca diphthongos est: nam Latina esse non potest, quia ne*

v quidem habemus, and *GL* IV.423.32-3). An apparent exception is Marius Victorinus (91.1-3 M.), who ranks this cluster among the diphthongs, but when it comes to *Harpyiae* he too describes *yi* rather as a short vowel *y* followed by consonantal *i*, forming a long syllable (94.21-2 M., see also *Ult. Syll.* 257.14-15). This view is roughly shared by Velius Longus (55.17-24), who ultimately equates *Thyias* to *Troia* and *aio*, with the intervocalic *i* being uttered as *yy* (55.17-18 *quotiens... duabus uocalibus interiecta haec littera est, duarum consonantium obtinet uicem*). Before this, however, he had stated that Greeks in principle would not have *vi* as tautosyllabic and would rather utter a word like *θυιάς* as a trisyllable *θυῖας* (55.13 *uelintque μῦῖα καὶ θυῖας trisyllaba nomina esse*), if *natura* (with Homer's testimony) did not force them to treat *Thyi-* as one syllable. This can shed light on C.'s view inasmuch as he seems to think something similar: *Thyias* would be trisyllabic, with *yi* being naturally split into two different syllables and *i* being a proper vowel, but in order to fit the metre it is made disyllabic as *yi* is treated as tautosyllabic. In fact, heterosyllabic *yi* can be observed only once in Latin poetry, namely in *Rut. Nam.* 1.608, where *harpyias* is the last word of a pentameter (*circumsistentes reppulit harpyias?*).

7.12-13 item si dicat aliquis neutrum disyllabum, quod trisyllabum fere enuntiamus, barbarismum faciet: as in *DBM* 6.17-19 about diaeresis, here comes the example of an episynaloephe that results in a barbarism as it allegedly is unprecedented in the poetic tradition. *Barbarismum faciet* is omitted by **BV**, but the same expression in the parallel argument at 7.19 proves this genuine.

C. is right in saying that *neuter*, a compound of the negative *ne-* and *uter*, was normally trisyllabic, with the morpheme boundary being preserved (*něūter*: cf. Birt 1879: 2ff. and Leumann 1977: 70, 150), yet he seems to ignore some poetic cases where this surely is disyllabic. The first instance of surely disyllabic *neuter* seems to be the post-Ovidian *Ciris* 68 *siue est neutra parens* (see Lyne 1978: 131, with Vollmer's conjecture *siue necutra*). Other than this, in classical poetry it is difficult to tell, for where *neuter* is employed *eu* can be scanned

either as two short syllables or as a diphthong (Hor. *S.* 2.2.66, Ov. *Met.* 4.379 etc., see Neue and Wagener 1892-1905: II.545-6): according to Lyne, such ambiguity ‘is presumably a reflection of a real ambiguity in the status of its pronunciation’, and he suggests that this is the probable reason for this word’s rareness in poetry – for example, it never occurs in Vergil (on ‘prosodisch bedenklichen’ words see Axelson 1945: 21ff.). Other forms of *neuter* are certainly disyllabic in Terentianus Maurus (399 *neutra* as a trochee and 1293 *alternum nutans et neutro pondere sidens*), Claudian (8.81 and *carm. min.* 23.16), and later than C. in Arator 498.

If instead C. is specifically discussing *neutrum* rather than any other forms of *neuter* (as at 6.17-19 he seems to discuss *Phoëbum*), we find this treated as disyllabic in *De aue Phoenice* 163 (not so Birt 1879: 6-8), in Epigr. *Bob.* 26.26 *neutrum optes igitur...*, and in *CLE* 1497.1 *Vita bonum est et uita malum, mors neutrum habet ho[ru]m*.

7.14-16 Post ... ecthlipsis: cf. Sacerd. 448.25-8 *inter syncopen ergo et synalifam hoc est, quod syncope ab ipsis ponitur poetis, nantes pro natantes; synalifa autem a nobis uel pronuntiantibus uel pedes scandentibus fit, cum a poeta plenum uerbum ponatur*. This point recalls *DBM* 2.16-18, where metaplasms (and barbarisms) are said to occur *uel enuntiatione uel scripto*; C. expands on this below when discussing synaloephe (7.18-22), and more in detail at 25.18 – 26.24, where other sorts of metaplasms as well are said to be made by poets in writing; finally at 29.24 – 30.16, again on synaloephe and ecthlipsis.

7.16-18 synaliphe ... occasio: συναλιφή (or συναλοιφή: on this fluctuation in the MSS. cf. *GG* II.194.14 *in app.*) indicates in Greek the ‘coalescing of two syllables into one’ (LSJ s.v. 1), either by elision, crasis, or synaeresis, cf. Jos. Rhac. *Syn.* 568.8-10 Συναλοιφή τοίνυν ἐστὶ δύο συλλαβῶν κατὰ τὰ φωνήεντα ἔνωσις ... κατὰ ἔκθλιψιν, κατὰ κρᾶσιν, κατὰ συναίρεσιν (respective examples in A.D. *Synt.* 140.20-2 ἐμ’ αὐτὸν, *Synt.* 5.26-8 ὅλλοι, *Conj.* 228.18 δηῦτε).

The Latin grammarians usually employ the term *synaliphe* (*syncrisis*, from Greek σύγκρισις ‘aggregation’, is also found in Don. 662.10 H. and Diom. 442.18) in the case of contact between the final vowel of one word and the initial of the following (e.g. Sacerd. 453.4 *de conuenientibus inter se litteris*, Don. 662.7 H. *concurrentium uocalium*, Char. 367.23 B. *duarum uocalium concursu*, Ult. Syll. 263.28-9 *concursu duarum uocalium nulla intercedente consonante* etc.); a minority include the case of final vowel + *-m* (see note on 8.1-5), which most grammarians call instead *ecthlipsis*. We moderns consider both cases as one.

The phonetic reality of synaloephe in Latin poetry has been quite a controversial issue, as some scholars maintain that it implied total elision of the final vowel and others only partial elision (for a bibliography of synaloephe in general, see Cupaiuolo 1995: 29-32). Elision as total loss of the final vowel seems to have been operating to some extent in spoken language, as is revealed by the spelling of such expressions as *animaduerto* for *animus aduerto*, *magnōpere* for *magnō opere* and so on (see Sturtevant and Kent 1915: 130-1 with the reply of Soubiran 1966: 59-61). In poetry, however, it appears that total elision was not the case: the most striking of the ancient *testimonia* is an opinion of the first-century grammarian Valerius Probus, reported by Gellius (13.21), where the authoritative scholar perceives a difference between *turrim* and *turrem* in synaloephe which suggests that a trace of the final syllable remained (*aurem tuam interroga, quo quid loco conueniat dicere... idem Vergilius turrim dixit, non turrem... turrim in praecipiti stantem... quae sunt, opinor, iucundioris gracilitatis quam si suo utrumque loco per e litteram dicas*). Soubiran (1966: 80-91) and Rossi (1969: 441-7) convincingly argue, on metrical grounds, that the final vowel was not completely lost, but reduced to such an extent that it was still audible; on a slightly different note, Allen (1978: 80-1) suggests that total elision happened in short final vowels, whereas long final *-ī* and *-ū* underwent synizesis, and other vowels (including nasalized ones) and diphthongs underwent contraction.

However this functioned in Early and Classical Latin, the situation was to change in time, and by Late Antiquity total elision must have been regular at least in the scholastic tradition. This is seen in the theoretical explanations of the grammarians: *elisio* is the word used by Sacerdos (453.4-5), Charisius (367.23 B.), and the author *De ultimis syllabis* (263.28-9), whereas Diomedes has the verb *eliditur* (442.15-16); *conlisio* (Don. 662.7-8 H., Diom. 442.15-16, and Pomp. 298.17), meaning ‘clash’, seems to designate the process rather than the result, but the latter is nonetheless made clear by expressions like *per interceptionem* (Don.) as referring to elision (C.’s *subtrahendi* plays the same role in our passage, cf. *DBM* 4.20-1 where *subtraho* is used of syncope). When it comes to the practice of scansion, total elision is revealed by the grammarians’ ‘phonetic transcriptions’, which consistently leave out the elided syllables (see Sacerd. 448.28-30 *mene incepto, nos scandimus menincepto; monstrhor nos percutimus, cum poeta posuerit monstrum horrendum*, Mar. Victorin. 85.17-24 M. *eliduntur autem uocales singulae, cum duae concurrerunt, ut men incepto desistere victam?, non mene ... M autem: mult ille et terris (uocalis et consonans pariter)...*, Pomp. 298.12-16; the same will be observed in *DBM* 28.14 – 29.5).

In the present definition C. sides with most other grammarians; in the section *De scandendis uersibus* (*DBM* 27.4ff.), however, he defines *synaliphe* in a different way, enhancing it with details that seem to point to other grammatical traditions. It is relevant to remark here that the Latin grammarians have employed the very general term συναλιφή for the narrower concept of elision, which the Greeks called ἔκθλιψις: as I have already pointed out and will explain in more detail later on, *ecthlipsis* has become in turn a particular case of elision (see Sacerd. 453.6-8 *de ecthlipsi. de hac superuacuum est dicere, quia synaliphae similis est. quidam tamen inter synaliphen et ecthlipsin hoc interesse uoluerunt, ut synaliphe sit uocalium, ecthlipsis uero consonantium*).

aliquam: this is the reading of **B**, but Keil had printed it instead of *aliqua* of **M** (and **V**) before **B** was discovered. The accusative is needed as the object of *subtrahendi* (but cf.

subtrahendum used absolutely at 7.19-21) and as the determiner of the partitive *ex his*. For a parallel usage of *aliquam* in a similar context, see Aphth. 66.13-15 (quoted in the note on 27.11).

7.18-20 scriptum reliquit ... *Latinost*: *Latinost* is a case of what modern grammarians have called ‘prodelision’ (Allen 1978: 122-3) or ‘aphaeresis’ (Weiss 2009: 426). According to Pezzini (2011 and 2015), this is rather a contraction of *est*, that is ‘a reduced spelling of the second and third person singular present of *sum*, in which the verbal forms *est* and *es* lose their initial *e* (*est* > *-st*, *es* > *-’s*) and attach themselves to the preceding word’ (Pezzini 2015: 27); this happens when the preceding word ends in vowel, vowel + *m* or vowel + *s*. Pezzini argues that this spelling must have reflected a real phenomenon of speech in archaic Latin, in which *est* underwent an enclitic reduction into *st*, a morphological variant of *est*. The more traditional account is that prodelision, a sort of backwards elision, is a sandhi-phenomenon implying the loss of the vowel of *est* in a post-vocalic context.

However prodelision came about, it was common in the works of early Latin poets like Plautus and Terence, in whose manuscript tradition it is extensively reflected, and it seems to occur in Lucretius and Vergil as well as in later poets (see Pezzini 2015: 37-51). Vergil is obviously the source of *Latinost* (*A.* 12.23). The Late-Antique manuscripts of his work preserve a fair amount of these spellings, which medieval manuscripts tend to normalise: in our case, *Latinost* is in MS. *Vaticanus Palatinus lat.* 1631. It is obvious that C.’s judgement as to whether a metaplasm is handed down in written form or not by a poet is an incidental fact of the manuscript tradition: our author must have found this spelling in his manuscript of Vergil, unlike for instance *Iuno est* of *A.* 5.679, which scans in the same way but is given as an example of a metaplasm not represented in writing (*DBM* 30.4-8, in contrast with *Latinost*).

Prodelision was touched upon by other grammarians discussing orthography, as for example the fourth-century Marius Victorinus (85.25ff. M.): *cum fuerit autem scriptum*

audiendus est *et* scribendus est *et* mutandus est *et similia generis masculini, primam uocem integram relinquetis, ex nouissima autem e et s detrahetis. idem facietis in femininis, ut prima uox cuius generis sit appareat, idemque in neutris*. Victorinus was a radical grammarian whose creed was that orthography should reflect pronunciation, but it is difficult for us to tell how trustworthy his account is. According to Pezzini (2015: 79-80), ‘the passage of Victorinus provides evidence for the existence of contracted spellings but it does not necessarily support the view that at his time contracted forms were standard in speech’. Another passage in which prodelision seems to be implied is one of the second-century orthographist Velius Longus (80.20 – 81.2): *est etiam ubi uocales subducebantur, si id aut decor compositionis aut metri necessitas exigebat, ut adeo in teneris consuescere multum est* (see Pezzini 2015: 83-4; in fact, *multumst* is the spelling of MS. *Vaticanus Latinus* 3867 at Verg. *G.* 2.272).

It is relevant to point out that ancient grammarians did not distinguish between prodelision (or contraction of *est*) and synaloephe: for example, Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.4.109) saw synaloephe in *praesidium est*. From C.’s viewpoint this works well, as he contemplates the elision of the following sound in a clash of vowels even when this does not involve *est* (*DBM* 28.13ff. *coniugio Anchisae > coniugionchisae, accipio agnoscoque > accipiognoscoque* etc.): however, when he gives a name to these cases it is *ecthlipsis* rather than synaloephe. This overlapping of prodelision and synaloephe/*ecthlipsis* cannot be regarded as proof that the prodelision of *est* did not exist anymore as an active phenomenon in the everyday Latin of Late Antiquity (as suggested by Leonhardt 1988: 247), because the same mingling of terms appears in Quintilian, too. At the same time, C.’s passage cannot be taken as evidence that prodelision was still a productive phenomenon, as it only concerns scansion of poetry and how this is reflected in spelling.

7.21-2 nobis subtrahendum permittit ... atque ea diuersa: Verg. *A.* 9.1 is a classical case of synaloephe (Don. 662.9 H., Char. 367.25 B., Diom. 442.17, *Ult. Syll.* 263.29, Isid. *Orig.*

1.35.5). It is striking that C. cites the same example as a case of *ecthlipsis* at *DBM* 27.22, where the line of demarcation between the two metaplasms is different. At 28.6-8, C. says that in *atque ea* one can exclude either the final *-e* of *atque* (as a letter) or the initial *e-* of *ea* (as a syllable).

8.1 Celsus: C. quotes him once in *DNV* (375.1) on the use of the imperative, more a paraphrase than a literal quotation. Scholars more or less agree that this Celsus (as he is most often cited: see Char. 261.1, 268.20 B. etc., Prisc. *GL* II.148.7, 215.14 etc.) is the same as *Arruntius Celsus* (Char. 276.9, 286.13, 287.12 B.), *Arruntius* (Prisc. *GL* II.98.8, 251.13, 3.408.2), and the wrongly named *Arruntius Claudius* (Diom. 321.11). Nothing by him has come down to us except quotations in other authors such as those aforementioned. He was presumably a professional grammarian who lived before the mid-third century AD: the *terminus ante quem* is Iulius Romanus, the source for the section of Charisius' work in which Celsus is quoted (see Kaster 1988: 390). As several of Celsus' quotes deal with passages taken from Terence's *Phormio* and Vergil's *Aeneid* 11, it has been argued that he wrote a commentary on these two works (Wessner 1905: 16, Deufert 2002: 209 n. 57, Welsh 2010: 282; not so Ritschl 1845: 370). From the fragments we also see a certain interest in archaic and rare words as well as ancient authors. There has also been a controversy as to whether one should attribute to Arruntius Celsus the quotes in Serv. auct. *georg.* 1.277, 2.333, 2.479-482, 3.188, 3.296, 3.313 (Suringar 1834-5: II.159-66, Ritter 1843: 61-5, Thilo 1881-1902: III.xvi n. 3, Timpanaro 1986: 69 n. 1) or to the first-century encyclopaedist A. Cornelius Celsus (Ribbeck 1866: 25, *GRFM* 40-1, Stok 1994: 282 and 301). For further details and bibliography, see the page edited by J. Burghini on the website of the Fragmentary Latin Grammarians (<http://www.corpusgl.eu/component/content/article/10-fragmenta/26-arruntius-celsus.html>).

uir doctus: C. says this of Probus at *DNV* 366.19 (*uir doctissimus*). Fögen (1997-8: 179-80) seems right in not attributing any particular significance to this as a possible predilection for Celsus over other sources.

8.1-5 commode ... *multum ille*: *tollo* is used only here in this work, as well as *exprimo* in the meaning ‘to pronounce’, which is elsewhere a synonym of *icio* (*DBM* 27.11-12, 28.18 and 29.17): this special use of the vocabulary makes it likely that C. is quite faithful to his source in his paraphrase (Burghini 2012: 185).

Quite originally, Celsus set up a scale of ease for synaloephe based on the identity or difference of the sounds involved: as pointed out by Soubiran (1966: 68), this might be taken as evidence of partial rather than total elision, for there would be no difficulty or harshness in the pronunciation if the preceding vowel were totally elided (*Karthag’ Italiam* and *mult’ ille* would probably be as easy as *quoque’ et*), whereas the pronunciation is harder if the preceding vowel is only reduced and coalesced with the following. This is probably what Celsus meant at a time when partial elision was still the rule in scansion. On the other hand, from the examples that C. provides at *DBM* pp. 28-29 it appears that our author was accustomed to total elision just as it seems that this was regular in Late Antiquity. Therefore, we might conclude that in this passage C. is just passively taking up an outdated doctrine. If we are right to understand Celsus’ statement this way, we may find the verb *tollitur* inadequate to signify partial elision: but this may just be due to the fact that Latin lacked very precise terminology in phonetics.

This passage has elicited further observations: Burghini (2012: 185) takes the three examples as referring to the different extent to which the elision affects the intelligibility of the word involved, for it would be minimal when the vowel elided is the same as the one pronounced (*quoque et*) and maximal when the whole ending is elided (*multum ille*), thus obscuring the morphological marker. C. certainly shows an interest in this later (*DBM* 30.13-15 *si enim uoluisset sic relinquere, mult, incertum reliquisset: possimus enim accipere mult pro multis etc.*): but there the discussion is about spelling, in which respect it is all the more appropriate to bring up problems of intelligibility. I think instead that here the concern is phonological rather than morphological: for C., mentioning *consonans* (8.5), seems to be interested in the sound itself rather than the grammatical function it marks, and the way this

whole issue is dealt with recalls Donatus' remark that a synaloephe like *atque ea* (where the vowel elided is the same as the one pronounced) is *lubrica quaedam lenisque conlisio* (662.7 H.), whereas the case of *multum ille et terris* (which is given as the example of the ecthlipsis there as well as below in *DBM*) is a *difficilis ac dura conlisio* (662.11-12 H.), no doubt in terms which concern the sound. As implicit in Soubiran's point, the underlying criterion must be one of euphony (note that *euphonia* is a weighty criterion for C., cf. *DNV* 354.17-18 *euphonia, quae plus in uocibus ualet <quam regula>*).

On a different note, Encuentra Ortega (2004: 15) points out that another feature of this sort of scale is the different quantity of the final vowels (*quoquē*, *Karthagō*, maybe *-um* as a closed syllable?), and interestingly suggests that Celsus was concerned with quantities: something of the sort would be seen in *Ult. Syll.* 263.30 – 264.5 *fiunt enim synaliphae his modis: interdum enim brevis in breuem cadit ... interdum brevis in longam ... interdum longa in breuem* etc., and previously in *Quint. Inst.* 9.4.33 *tum uocalium concursus... pessime longae, quae easdem inter se litteras committunt, sonabunt... minus peccabit qui longis breues subiciet, et adhuc qui praeponet longae breuem. minima est in duabus breuibus offensio*, although Quintilian is not talking about poetry, but prose.

All the three examples provided by Celsus are taken from the first lines of the *Aeneid*: as an instance of synaloephe, *multa quoque et bello passus* (*Verg. A.* 1.5) was quoted by the common source of Audax and Ps. Marius Victorinus (see quotation below), while *Karthago Italiam* (*A.* 1.13) is only quoted by C.; *multum ille et terris...* (*A.* 1.3), on the other hand, is the classic example of ecthlipsis, and is regarded as such wherever C. has to put a label on it (*DBM* 8.9 and 29.11-12). Only the aforementioned Audax and Ps. Marius Victorinus agree with Celsus in considering *multum ille* a synaloephe, on the ground that synaloephe is a clash of vowels no matter whether alone or with a consonant in between (*Audax* 339.26-8 = *Ps. Mar. Victorin. GL* VI.212.25 – 213.2 *synalifan tunc esse, cum uocales inter se configunt seu solae, ut multa*

quoque et bello passus, *seu interposita consonante, ut multum ille et terris*; see also Ps. Mar. Victorin. *GL* VI.223.21-3).

8.6-7 haec tamen observatio ... non etiam in Graecorum: this is said of the case of final *-m*, which does not have a parallel in Greek. Arruntius Celsus also refers to Greek in a passage cited by Diomedes (321.11-12)

idem: **M** has *ipse*, but since the pronoun refers to the aforementioned Celsus, *idem* is better (cf. *DNV* 345.17-18 *ait enim Virgilius sic... et idem rursus dixit...*).

8.8-10 ecthipsis est cum non sola uocalis eximitur ... eam consonans sequatur ... multum ille et terris: another term for ecthipsis is ἔκτριψις (Aphthon. 66.13). As pointed out before (*DBM* 7.17-19), ἔκθλιψις (from ἐκθλίβω, originally meaning ‘to squeeze out’) in the Greek tradition refers to elision (e.g. Tim. Gaz. *Synt.* 5-11 λέξις εἰς φωνῆεν ἢ εἰς φωνήεντα καταλήγουσα, τῆς ἐπιφερομένης λέξεως ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἢ φωνηέντων ἀρχομένης ... ἐκθλίβεται ... οἷον κατὰ ἐμοῦ, κατ’ ἐμοῦ, ἀπὸ Ἀριστάρχου, ἀπ’ Ἀριστάρχου, κατὰ εὐέργου, κατ’ εὐέργου), but also to the ejection of a letter from the middle of a word (Jos. Rhac. *Synth.* 567.27-9 Ἐκθλιψίς ἐστὶν ἀποβολὴ ἐνὸς συμφώνου οὐ ποιοῦντος συλλαβὴν· οἷον σκῆπτρον σκῆπτον, σκηπτροῦχος σκηπτοῦχος). In Latin it came to indicate a subspecies of elision at word boundaries, that of a vowel followed by *-m* (for the exceptions see note on *DBM* 27.17-18 and following). This matches well the fact that ἔκθλιψις in Greek is the ‘mode d’elision le plus total’ (Holtz 1981: 174) and especially that it can involve consonants as well as vowels. Grammarians generally talk of *consonans*, with just a few specifying that this only applies to *-m* (*Ult. Syll.* 264.10-11 *intercedente sola m littera consonante*, Serv. *Aen.* 11.243 *numquam enim ecthipsis fit per n litteram*). C. refers specifically to *-m* at *DBM* 27.4-7, but only as one of the cases of his peculiar definition of synaloephe: in this passage C. provides a traditional account of ecthipsis along with the traditional example (*multum ille*, Verg. *A.* 1.3), while at 27.1ff., the doctrine on this point is more original.

As regards the phonetic roots of this phenomenon, it is well established in scholarship that in Classical Latin final *-m* was not actually pronounced as a consonant, but probably reduced to nasalisation and lengthening of the preceding vowel (see Allen 1978: 30-1), except in stressed monosyllables like *rem* (> Fr. *rien*; see Niedermann 1953: 83-6 and Meiser 1998: 94). In early inscriptions final *-m* was often omitted, and in poetry it allowed the clash of vowels. Ancient testimonies on the value of final *-m* are Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.4.40), Velius Longus (54.13-15, 80.17-20), and Priscian (*GL* II.29.15 - 30.4 *M obscurum in extremitate dictionum sonat ... finalis dictionis subtrahitur m in metro plerumque, si a uocali incipit sequens dictio ... uetustissimi tamen non semper eam subtrahebant*).

There is a view that in Late Antiquity final *-m* was restored in the pronunciation of the educated (Encuentra Ortega 2004). A proof of this may be some grammarians' need to state that it was not only the vowel that should be elided in ecthipsis, but *-m* too: for why should they have needed to make this explicit if final *-m* was not pronounced? As a counterargument, one might say that even in case final *-m* was not pronounced, grammarians intended to get rid of the ambiguity possibly engendered by the spelling, which preserved *-m*, or that they were so influenced by the spelling that they considered *-m* to be there even if it was no phonetic reality. That a spelling pronunciation of final *-m* was in fashion at least among some purists might be suggested by the way mytacism is discussed (see note on *DBM* 15.10-13).

8.10-12. hi duo metaplasmi ... praeceptorum: see *DBM* 27.1ff.

8.13 antithesis: Greek grammarians only seldom use the term ἀντίθεσις as the substitution of one letter for another (e.g. Hdn. *Gr.* 2.945 ὥσπερ κνεφάλλων ἢ πτίλων σεσαγμένος. ὥστε καὶ ἀντίθεσις ἐγένετο τοῦ α εἰς ε· ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸ κνάφος ἐγένετο, Jos. Rhac. *Syn.* 569.18 Ἀντίθεσις, οἷον Διόνυσος Διόνισος). In Latin grammar too antithesis applies to one letter only, while the corresponding barbarism *per immutationem* can also affect the syllable as well as the other

elements (see *DBM* 11.23 - 12.8).

8.14 pro littera alia littera: this is the reading of **MV** and points to the archetype, against **B**'s *littera pro littera* (accepted by Niedermann). The latter is paralleled by the other definition of antithesis at *DBM* 32.16-17, but I take this as a variation (this is not problematic, as C. varies his definition of metathesis as well, cf. 8.15-17 and 32.17-18). In **B**, *alia littera* might have been dropped by homoeoteleuton and reinserted in the wrong position, with *alia* being misunderstood as a sign for *aliter* or the like and omitted.

8.14-15 numerus autem syllabarum non desit: a typical concern of C., who comments extensively on the consequences of metaplasms on the syllabic structure of words at *DBM* 9.24 – 10.8. This is apparently contradicted by his example of *Iacchus* for *Bacchus*, for which he has to posit both antithesis and diaeresis in order to explain the different syllabification (see note on 20.12).

olli pro illi: antithesis is one of the least productive metaplasms in the view of grammarians, as it is invoked only once in a commentary on a poetic work (Serv. *Aen.* 6.644 CHOREAS re corripuit propter metrum... ergo aut systolen fecit, aut antithesin, e pro ei ponens: nam Graecum est nomen), and the grammarians provide just a couple of standard examples when discussing it: *impete* for *impetu* (Char. 368.7-8 B., Diom. 442.28-30, *Ult. Syll.* 264.14, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.6) and our *olli* for *illi* (besides C., Sacerd. 452.11, Don. 663.1 H., Diom. 442.30, Pomp. 298.33-4, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.6). As usual, from the viewpoint of historical grammar, the diachronic relation between the two forms works the other way round, for originally the demonstrative pronoun was *ollus* (PIE **h₂ol-no-* ‘that, yonder’, from which Gaul. *ollo-*, OIr. *ol* ‘beyond’, etc.; Plt. **olno-* > **ollo-*, cf. Osc. *úlleís* [genitive singular masculine] ‘of that one’ etc., while Umbr. *ulu* ‘thither’ and Lat. *ōlim* seem to require a root **h₂ōl-* with **ō-*; see de Vaan 2008: 426 and Dupraz 2012: 117-27). This is also witnessed by Varro (*L.* 7.3.42) *olli ualet illi, dictum ab olla et ollo... alterum apparet in funeribus indictiuis, quo dicitur ollus leto datus est* (for the position of *dictum* see de Melo 2015) and Donatus (*Andr.* 238.20) *nam*

pronomina huiusmodi ueteres sic proferebant: ille ollus ellus. Ollus then got the pronominal endings *-e, -ud* like *iste, istud*; *ille* was supposedly formed on the model of *is* and *iste*, and replaced *olle* by the beginning of the literary period, confining the older original form to fossilized expressions and poetic archaisms: *olli*, for example, appears several times in Ennius (e.g. in the famous *Ann.* 31 Skutsch *olli respondit rex Albai longai*), hence more than twenty times in Vergil, especially at the beginning of the hexameter.

A reason why the grammarians were not so interested in antithesis may lie in the fact that it generally did not affect metre but only *ornatus*, as pointed out by Pompeius (298.32-4 *hoc in latinis [antithesis] in metaplasmo non inuenis [in latino], sed inuenis in ornatu. hoc est enim apud Latinos olli, quod est illi. et quid mihi praestat? nihil* etc.).

A somewhat similar process to antithesis is antistoechon or antistichon, which strictly refers to the exchange of pairs of vowels of the same quality but different length, *ε/η* and *ο/ω* (thus in Mar. Victorin. 93.7-10 M.), but in a wider sense indicates changes of sounds of all sorts, so that Pompeius defines it with nearly the same words as used of antithesis (194.34-5 *antistichon dicitur, quando altera littera pro altera ponitur*) although he restricts it to *u/i*, and Servius invokes it several times to explain sound changes in Vergil (*Ecl.* 1.2 *quod Graeci μελετῶ dicunt, per antistoechon meditor dixerunt Latini: l enim et d interdum sibi inuicem cedunt*; *Georg.* 1.186 *curculio per antistoechon dictum quasi gurgulio*; *Aen.* 1.301, 421, 726). However, antistoechon is never ranked among metaplasms.

8.15-17 metathesis est, cum [quae fuerit in litteris] ab alio in alium locum littera transfertur: the expression *quae fuerit* (**BV**, *fuerat* **M**) *in litteris* is obscure and surely reveals a corruption: the editors have variously postulated a lacuna (Keil: *cum <mutato ordine> qui fuerat in litteris*; Niedermann: *cum <nulla sublata> quae fuerat in litteris*) or suggested an extensive correction like *conseruatis litteris* (Mariotti 1952), which would be supported by parallel expressions such as Don. 663.2-3 H. *nulla tamen ex dictione sublata* or Sacerd. 452.13

isdem litteris in uerbo manentibus. None of these interventions, however, seems really decisive, so much so that Niedermann defined this as *locus corruptus necdum satis probabili coniectura emendatus*. The only approach which has not been pursued is to delete *quae fuerit in litteris*, which I find more plausible, for it looks like the gloss of someone who wanted to distinguish metathesis meant as the transposition of letters (i.e. the metathesis *quae fuerit in litteris*) from the rhetorical figure of the same name but indicating *transpositio temporum* which is discussed for instance in Isid. Orig. 2.21.34 *metathesis est, quae mittit animos iudicum in res praeteritas aut futuras, hoc modo: Reuocate mentis ad spectaculum...*, or from metathesis indicating *transpositio sententiarum* or *translatio causae* (see TLL VIII.878.29ff.). The passage at 32.17-18, where metathesis is defined *cum in alienum locum littera transfertur* with no further details, may support the deletion of *quae fuerit in litteris* (although that is not a parallel without variations).

Among Greek grammarians, μετάθεσις can indicate either the substitution of a letter (Latin *immutatio*, cf. A.D. adv. 198.10-11 καὶ παρὰ τὸ σύω δὲ τὸ σύδην· ὅπερ ἐσχημάτιστο, ἐκ μεταθέσεως τοῦ εἰς τὸ υ, παρὰ τὸ σέω) or the transposition of a letter as in Latin (Trypho Pass. 4 Μετάθεσις δὲ στοιχείου ἐστὶ μετακίνησις ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας τάξεως ἐφ' ἑτέραν τάξιν, οἷον ὡς ὅταν τὰ δαρτά δρατά λέγωμεν etc.). C.'s definition is closer to that of Tryphon than are the definitions of most Latin grammarians, for these present metathesis as the inversion of two letters rather than the relocation of one (see Sacerd. 452.13-14 *metathesis est, cum... fit transmutatio litterarum, ac si dicas leriquias pro reliquias*, Char. 368.9 B. *ordo litterarum mutatus*, Diom. 442.31-2, Don. 663.2 H. *translatio litterarum in alienum locum*, Pomp. 299.16, Ult. Syll. 264.15, Iul. Tol. 194.78-9 M.Y.). The other grammarians' interpretation is more consistent with the idea of *transmutatio* and the instances of barbarism which rest upon it (e.g. DBM 12.9 *plerum pro prelum*), but the traditional examples, *Thymbre* for *Thymber* and *Euandre* for *Euander*, could justify both definitions.

8.17-18 *Thymbre pro Thymber*: in the case of this minor Rutulian warrior slaughtered

by Pallas at Verg. *A.* 10.390-6 (see *EV* V.180), no Greek equivalent exists, nor is the nominative attested in Vergil, who only uses the vocatives *Thymber* (*A.* 10.391) and *Thymbre* (*A.* 10.394). Most grammarians assumed the nominative to be *Thymber*, thus regarding *Thymbre* as a metathetic form (Don. 663.3 H., Char. 368.9-11 B., Diom. 442.33-4, Pomp. 299.13-16, *Ult. Syll.* 264.16, Isid. 1.35.6, Iul. Tol. 194.80 M.Y.). This was fashioned *metri causa* according to Servius (*Aen.* 10.394 THYMBRE *pro* Thymber, *metri causa metaplasum fecit*). Harrison (1991: 174) compares the ‘variation in declension of the name *metri causa*’ in Homer, where at *Il.* 16.7 and 11 Patroclus is addressed both as Πατρόκλεις and Πάτροκλε. Priscian instead treats *Thymber* just like *Euander*, assuming a form in *-us* as well for the nominative, from which the vocative *Thymbre* would be regular (*GL* II.300.11-17 *Virgilius cum paulo ante Thymber nominatiuum (sic!) protulit, mox uocatiuum Thymbre posuit in X... sed non est uocatiuus a nominatiuo in ex desinente, sed in us accipiendus: hic Thymbrus o Thymbre*).

8.18 *Euandre pro Euander*: mentioned as a metathesis by Don. 663.3 H., Isid. 1.35.6 and Iul. Tol. 194.80 M.Y. too, while also being presented as a barbarism *per transmutationem* in Don. 654.4 H., Serv. *GL* IV.445.4, Pomp. 285.14-15, Iul. Tol. 181.47-8 M.Y. It belongs to those Greek names in *-πος* (Εὐάνδρος) which in Latin have a nominative both in *-er* (like Μένανδρος/*Menander* or a substantive like ἄγρός/*ager*) and in *-us* (Vergil has *Euandrus* five times, *Euander* only once at *A.* 10.515): so the vocative *Euandre* (Verg. *A.* 11.55) is no metathetic form of *Euander*, but regularly shaped from *Euandrus* (Neue and Wagener 1892-1905: I.123-4, Leumann 1977: 456). It is quite surprising that the grammarians of the ‘Donatus-Gruppe’ fail to understand this formation, especially in the case of Servius, who elsewhere proves to be aware of the two nominatives (*Aen.* 1.273 *et sciendum quia omnia nomina, quae de Graecis in os exeuntibus ad nos transeunt, apud nos aut in us tantum exeunt... aut in utrumque, ut Εὐάνδρος Euandrus Euander*). It is also instructive to observe how Servius Auctus connects the forms which seem irregular (*Euandrus, Euandre*) to the Greek (Serv. auct. *Aen.* 11.55 *AT NON EVANDRE aut mutauit declinationem: nam Euander facit, ut ipse X <515>*

Pallas, Euander in ipsis: *aut Graecum uocatiuum fecit* ὃ Εὐάνδρε, cf. Serv. auct. *Aen.* 8.185).

The awareness of the double nominative *Euander/Euandrus* is evident in Prob. *cath.* 13.25, Char. 22.23 (cf. *Exc. Bob.* 13.8-9 D.N. = *GL* I.540.4), 105.22 and 162.19-21 B., Audax 336.25-7 = Ps. Mar. Victorin. *GL* VI.209.7-8, Asper *gramm. Verg.* 536.4, Prisc. *GL* II.224.9 – 225.4, 300.17-23 *solent enim poetae huiuscemodi saepe nomina tam in er quam in us proferre: Teucer et Teucrus, Euander et Euandrus* etc. (where Priscian implicitly connects the vocative *Euandre* to *Euandrus*).

8.19-20 per accentus et per adspirationem metaplasum non fieri ... barbarismo remanent: C. is the only one who makes this explicit. Changes in the accentuation and aspiration of a word have nothing to do with poetry, in that they neither count metrically nor concern *ornatus*. Accent and aspiration have no place in the Greek lists of *πάθη τῆς λέξεως* either (see Holtz 1981: 177).

8.21 – 9.2 nisi forte quis pone ... sequebatur: according to grammarians, *pone* as the imperative from *pono* and as the adverb meaning ‘behind’ (from **post-ne*) differ in the accent, in that the latter exceptionally has it on the last syllable (*pōné*), allegedly for purposes of disambiguation (e.g. Don. 610.13-14 H. *in Latinis neque acutus accentus in ultima syllaba poni potest nisi discretionis causa, ut in aduerbio pone, ideo ne uerbum putetur imperatiui modi*; see more generally Lenchantin De Gubernatis 1923a and 1923b). Indeed, they were liable to confusion, as is shown by a pun in Plautus’ *Aulularia* 637, where a servant deliberately misunderstands the imperative *pone* as the adverb ‘behind’, thereby alluding to anal sex.

The phonetic nature of the accent in Latin, whether it was one of pitch or stress, has been controversial: much of the discussion lies in the reliability of the grammarians, who agree on it basically corresponding to the Greek accent, so much so that they distinguish between *accentus acutus*, *circumflexus*, and *gravis* (see Don. 609.5-6 H.). The common view is that this account is untrustworthy and purely shaped on Greek theories (there is a useful parallel of how

grammarians of several modern languages have misinterpreted the nature of their accent before the nineteenth century in Abbott 1943).

As to the adverb *pone*, some grammarians do not specify what kind of accent it has, some say that it is *acutus* (Fest. p. 249M *pone graui sono antiqui utebantur pro loci significatione*, Don. 610.13-14 H., Audax 330.18-19 = Ps. Mar. Victorin. *GL* VI.193.19, Diom. 433.5-6), a few say that it is *circumflexus*, which would imply long $-\bar{e}$: this is the case of Mart. Cap. 3.271 and Cledon. 69.29-30. This would be the case of C. himself, if Keil is not right in deleting the passage that includes *DNV* 347.5-7 *sed et accentus ostendit diuersam significationem unius dictionis: pone si uerbum est, grauis est ultima; si aduerbium, circumflexa*. Surely the adverb *pone* has short $-\acute{e}$ (cf. Verg. *A.* 2.275 *pone subit coniunx*), and Leumann (1977: 238) explains these grammarians' claim for long $-\bar{e}$ as based on the Vulgar Latin lengthening of stressed short vowels.

Moderns are generally skeptical about this differentiation based on the accent, which according to grammarians also involves such couples as *síne* (imperative from *sino*) vs. *siné* (preposition) or *uérum* (neuter of the adjective *uerus*) vs. *uerúm* (conjunction) etc., and discount it as 'eine grundlose Erfindung der Grammatiker' (Kühner and Holzweissig 1912: 241) or 'a grammarians' rationalization' (Allen 1978: 87, and cf. n. 2). The artificial nature of this switch of accent seems confirmed by a somewhat polemic remark of Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.25): *ceterum scio iam quosdam eruditos, nonnullos etiam grammaticos sic docere ac loqui ut propter quaedam uocum discrimina uerbum interim acuto sono finiant...* The reason why C. puts forth the option that the adverb *poné* might be a metaplasm based on *pone* is that this is chiefly poetic (see *TLL* X.2628.40ff.). However, he has to reject this hypothesis, on the grounds that the adverb *poné* is not an altered form of the verb *pone*: the two of them are just different words with a different meaning (cf. *DNV* 347.5-7, if genuine), and we know that a metaplasm must be instead a corrupt word (cf. *DBM* 1.13).

In a gloss variously entered in the text of **B** and **V** (*pone et ergo et propter B, ergo et*

pone et sit V) we observe *ergo*, which the grammarians used to associate with *poné* as a word with the accent (*circumflexus*) on the last syllable – some even distinguished between *érgo* as a conjunction and *ergô* as a preposition (see *TLL* V.759.36ff., Leumann 1977: 239).

9.3-4 multi ... tmesin: it is impossible to identify the *multi* who numbered tmesis (or diacope) among the metaplasms, because among Latin grammarians tmesis was regarded as a subspecies of hyperbaton, that is a tropus, at least since Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.6.66 *poetae quidem etiam uerborum diuisione faciunt transgressionem... at id quidem proprie dici tropos possit*), although he never called it tmesis (just like Trypho in *Trop.* 197.22-3, who defined the tmesis κατὰ ταῦρον ἐδηδώς as ὑπερβατὸν ἐν λέξει). The only instance where tmesis is somehow associated with metaplasms is in Sacerdos (449.7-9), where tmesis follows the discussion of synaloephe and synaeresis and precedes enallage: but the passage is definitely out of place, and tmesis is discussed again, more appropriately, in the section *de tropis* at 466.25 (cf. *GL* VI.421).

9.4-8 eamque bifariam ... nulla: neither this definition nor this example is found elsewhere as one of tmesis. The difference with the usual concept is that here a word is divided into two other words whose composition does not exactly match the original form and that no other word is interposed. That *non ulla* stands for *nulla* is pointed out in a comment by Servius Auctus on this very line (Verg. *A.* 6.104 NON VLLA LABORVM *pro nulla, ut non ullus aratro cessit honos*) and in Serv. *georg.* 2.420 (NON VLLA EST OLEIS C(VLTVRA) *id est nulla*). However, if C. or his sources conceived *nullus* as made up of *non* + *ullus*, this would be incorrect, and closer to the truth would be Isidore: *nullus autem quasi ne ullus* (*Orig.* 10.184). *Nūllus* derives from **ne-oino-lo-* just as *ūllus* < **oinlo-* < **oinolo-*, where **oino-* is the PIt. for *ūnus* (see de Vaan 2008: 642); however, Isidore plausibly thinks of the conjunction *nē* (< PIE **nē*), not quite the same as the prefix *ne-* (< PIE **ne*) which composes *nūllus* as well as *nōn* itself (from **ne-oinom*).

9.8 aliam partem: after *partem*, both Keil and Niedermann print *eius*, which **M** has after *dicunt*, clearly out of place. But *eius* is unnecessary after *C.* referred to *partem eius* at 9.4-5, and must be an interpolation.

9.8-11 uni parti ... coniungi: the second definition is the common one, which implies the division of a word with the interposition of one or more other words. This was a process of Indo-European origin and usual in Homeric language as a phenomenon of free word composition which involved preverbs (still quite autonomous then) and their verbs; it was also frequent in the religious language of Early Latin (cf. Paul. Fest. p. 190M *ob uos sacro* and 402.30M *sub uos placo*). It then ‘became mechanized on this basis as a metrical device in Greek and Latin poetry’ (Lausberg 1998: 319). In Latin poetry, as we shall see below, this came to a point of high artificiality inasmuch as it involved not only composite verbs but compounds of any kind and also simple words (cf. Don. 671.3-4 H. *tnesis est unius compositi aut simplicis uerbi sectio*).

9.9 quae ita in medio est: quite pleonastic and typical of *C.*’s effort to vary traditional definitions.

9.10 portiunculas: this is my correction of **BV**’s *partiunculas* (a rare misspelling due to confusion with *particula*, see *TLL* X.43.68ff.), the alternative being **M**’s *partes*. *Portiuncula* is rare and normally used in religious context, but it can be a synonym of *particula* (see *TLL* X.44.37ff.) and is used a few times in grammar (Aphthon. 52.12, 74.10 and 27). It certainly is *difficilior* than *partes* and more precise if one considers that *pars orationis* means ‘word’, while *tnesis* produces two fragments of a word.

9.11 auditione: unmatched in the sense of *sonus* (see *TLL* II.1293.20).

septem subiecta trioni: Verg. *G.* 3.381, the standard example of *tnesis* since Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.6.66), is cited in Don. 671.3-4 H., Char. 362.22 B., Diom. 460.30-2, Serg. *GL* IV.565, Pomp. 309.32. *Sacerdos* (449.8 and 466.26) has the strange *septem compacta trioniles*. *Septem*

subiecta trioni works as a touchstone for other instances of tmesis observed by commentators (see Schol. Hor. *serm.* 9.33, Serv. *Aen.* 1.412 etc.).

The singular *septemtrio* (used for both Ursa Major and Minor) is in fact a back-formation from *septemtriones*, the seven stars of the Ursa Major (*triones* indicated oxen used for ploughing, see Var. *L.* 7.74 *triones enim et boues appellantur*, and Gel. 2.21.9 *septem stellis, ex quibus quasi iuncti triones figurantur*). *Septemtriones* was felt as two words (see Cic. *N.D.* 2.105 *quae nostri septem soliti uocitare triones*), and so the singular too was divided in dactylic poetry, where it could not scan otherwise.

9.12 *conque tubernalem*: this is the only testimony of this fragment (Lucil. 1137). The name *Lucilius* only appears in **B** as a correction of *Lucius*, which is shared by all the MSS. and occurs again as an error in **BV** at *DBM* 26.1 (on *Lucilius/Lucius*, see Hertz 1845: 397-8). The authorship of the fragment is therefore beyond question. Lucilius was renowned in Late Antiquity for his use of tmesis (cf. Auson. *epist.* 15.35-8 *inuenies praesto subiuncta petorrita mulis: / uilla Lucani- mox potieris -aco. / rescisso discas componere nomine uersum: / Lucili uatis sic imitator eris*).

9.13 in metro: not easy to justify, since this is its only occurrence in **C.**, and it is in **M** alone; moreover, we only know poetic works by Lucilius, so it is hard to guess why our author needed to specify that this is in metre, especially given that he is discussing metaplasms. It might be that **C.** perceived Lucilius as quite a hazy figure for his contemporaries, and so thought that some words on this archaic author might help. Otherwise, this could be an indirect way to point out that this tmesis was made *metri necessitate*, as *contubernālis* cannot fit in the hexameter: this would also explain why Lucilius is said to have used it *crebro* (an adverb, not an adjective, in view of the word order) – we have no indication that this piece of information is trustworthy, though.

Tmesis in Latin poetry usually separates a preposition (or a prefix equated to a preposition) from its verb or noun, and especially in early times the cases are frequent of

enclitics, mostly *-que*, attached to the preposition or prefix, such as Lucr. 6.456 *conque gregantur* (with 16 other cases), Verg. *A.* 9.288 *inque salutata*, Ov. *Met.* 12.497 *inque cruentatus*: that of Lucilius is the first documented occurrence of this usage, which was however to yield, after Lucretius, to a more frequent interposition of non-enclitics (see Bernard 1960: 20ff. and Pianezzola 1968).

Other grammarians include cases of tmesis *simplicis uerbi* like *saxo cere comminuit brum* (for *cerebrum*) and *Massili portabant iuuenes ad litora tanas* (for *Massilitanas*), quoted in Don. 671.4-6 H. and others, once attributed to Ennius in view of Serg. *GL* IV.565 (*Ennius 'et saxo cere comminuit brum'*), but now generally rejected (after Timpanaro 1948: 196-7): Skutsch (1985: 788) numbers these two fragments as 5 and 6 of the *spuria* and suggests that they may belong to Lucilius instead, for whom tmesis in simple nouns can be assumed on the ground of Ausonius' passage.

9.14-22 sed ego ... contubernalem: here C. puts forth an objection to the consideration of tmesis as a metaplasm and a counter-objection, without ultimately expressing his own opinion. However, by closing with the counter-objection he might be revealing some sympathy for this view.

Both the objection and the counter-objection revolve on the pedantic issue of whether the word affected by tmesis is one or more, for if metaplasm is defined as *una pars orationis figurata contra consuetudinem* (*DBM* 2.11-12) then there should not be a metaplasm when more words are involved (a similar question traditionally concerned the possibility of solecisms in one word only, see *DBM* 18.8ff.). According to C., most grammarians (*plerosque*) do not include tmesis among metaphrasms because the words in question are more than one, for they look at the result of tmesis, obviously more than one word, rather than the compound before the division: so *non* and *ulla* are two words, and when analysing the tmesis of *septemtrioni* they even include *subiecta*, so as to count three words.

In C.'s account one might see a slight inconsistency in that he first says *arbitror*, as if he were guessing the reason himself, and then uses *dicunt*, as if the grammarians explicitly stated this reason (*dicunt* is omitted by **BV** but seems genuine).

9.18-19 unius partis consideratione aliter enuntiata: this dominates the counter-objection and recalls *dictio uitiosa enuntiatione* (*DBM* 1.14-15), but in this case *enuntio* is about more than just phonetics, for the words in question are broken into different parts and so are they written. C. displays the whole issue as though it were a real controversy, but we have no trace of the arguments of either side in extant literature.

9.24 – 10.5 littera subtrahitur ... syllabarum damnum fiat: a concern about the changes in the syllabic structure of a word has been already seen at 8.14 *numerus autem syllabarum non desit*.

10.1 non solum in eo littera, sed et syllaba sit: it did not escape the grammarians that a single vowel can be a syllable (Don. 605.10-11 H. *syllaba est comprehensio litterarum uel unius uocalis enuntiatio temporum capax*, Char. 8.9-10 B., *Ult. Syll.* 219.22-3). According to some, however, this only happens *abusiue*, because a proper syllable is a *coniunctio litterarum* just as συλλαβή comes from συλλαμβάνω (Mar. Victorin. 90.12-15 M., Aphthon. 31.24 – 32.3, Serv. *GL* IV.423.12-14, Pomp. 111.27 – 112.2, Prisc. *GL* II.44.2-5). This doctrine goes back at least to Dionysius Thrax (I 1.16.7-8 Συλλαβή ἐστὶ κυρίως σύλληψις συμφώνων μετὰ φωνήεντος ἢ φωνηέντων, οἷον κ α ρ β ο ὤ ς · καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἑνὸς φωνήεντος, οἷον α η). Although this was a common notion, when dealing with metaplasms no other grammarian noticed this possible ambiguity in examples like *mitte/omitte* (see note on *DBM* 4.18). The identity of letter and syllable is an issue at *DBM* 27.17-21 too and is central in C.'s theory of synaloephe and ecthlipsis to distinguish the two metaplasms (28.4ff.).

10.5 repostum: in the case of *repostum* for *repositum* (quoted at 5.2-3) the syncope of *i* provokes the collapse of a syllable and the secondary rearrangement of the word.

10.7 complexu: same as *coniunctio* (see *TLL* III.2102.80ff.), as in *DNV* 358.6 *semituocalibus et mutis c et t plurimi complexus cum uocalibus... nascuntur*.

10.9-13 metaplasmos esse, cum non sint ... et honos et arbos et honor et arbor secundum latinitatis regulam rectus sermo est: in order to contextualise C.'s point, it will be helpful to discuss briefly nouns like *honos/honor*, and outline the way grammarians considered them. These disyllabic nouns of the third declension originally ended in *-ōs*, like masculine *honōs* and feminine *arbōs*. The intervocalic *-s-* (which is seen in *honestus*, *arbustus*) underwent rhotacism very early in the oblique cases (genitive *honōris*, *arboris*; rhotacism is usually dated to the fourth century BC); only later the final *-ōs* turned into *-or* because of the levelling analogy of *nomina agentis* in *-or -ōris* such as *dator -ōris* (cf. Niedermann 1953: 98-9, Leumann 1977: 111 and 179). However, the forms in *-ōs* were still in use in Classical Latin and beyond as archaisms. *Honor* already occurs in the epitaph of a Scipio in 139 BC (*CIL* I².15 line 4 *stirpem nobilitauit honor*) besides *Pl. Rud.* 196 and *Trin.* 663, but *honos* is found in Terence (*Eun.* 1023), regularly in Cicero and Livy and always in Vergil; Servius testifies that it was used even when it was not required by metre (*Aen.* 1.253 *HONOS cum secundum artem dicamus honor arbor lepor, plerumque poetae r in s mutant causa metri; os enim longa est, or brevis ... sed ecce in hoc loco etiam sine metri necessitate honos dixit*); *arbōs* was very common in poetry, especially in Vergil (see *TLL* II.419.57ff.).

Quintilian acknowledged the chronological priority of such nominatives as *arbos* and attributed the sound change to rhotacism (*Inst.* 1.4.12 *nam ut Valesii Fusii in Valerios Furiosque uenerunt, ita arbos, labos, uapos etiam et clamor ac lasis fuerunt*). According to Marius Victorinus, *honor* and *arbor* were the contemporary rule, and the corresponding nouns ending in *-s* archaic variants (70.15-17 M. R et S litterae apud antiquos communem potestatem habebant, arbos, labos, honos, nunc arbor, labor, honor; likewise Isid. *Orig.* 1.27.23). Some present *honos* and *honor* as basically indifferent, without any comment as to their chronological

or stylistic features (Prob. *cath.* 16.2-4 *nor tertiae sunt declinationi... ut hic honor... et honos*, Prisc. *GL* II.185.3-4 *diuersis uocibus saepe inuenimus unam eandemque fieri significationem, ut... honor et honos*); on the other hand, *arbor* seems to them preferable or prior to *arbos* (Prob. *cath.* 20.8 *quidam hic labos et haec arbos declinauerunt, sed melius or terminabuntur, labor arbor*; Prisc. *GL* II.31.19 [scil. r *transit*] *in s: arbos pro arbor*). According to others, *honos* and *arbos* are deviations from the rule (Gloss.^L I *Ansil.* HO 76 *honos et arbos contra regulam dicitur*, Diff. Suet. p. 307.6 Roth *si fuerit honos..., genitiuo casu sit honotis*).

C.'s point is that the forms in *-or* are synchronically more usual, so that those in *-os* might seem to have come about *per immutationem litterae* and therefore be considered metaplasms: he must be referring to poetry, where archaisms in *-os* were particularly concentrated. As a matter of fact, C. uses *arbor* and not *arbos* elsewhere (see *DNV* 347.11, 358.3; *honor* is never quoted in the *DNV*). However, both forms are legitimised by the *latinitatis regula: latinitas*, the 'idiomatically correct manner of expression' in Latin (Lausberg 1998: 220) is never defined by C., but referred to two more times (*DBM* 19.4 and 21.18); *regula*, as defined in *DNV* 353.27-8 (*regula autem generalitate quadam magnam multitudinem nominum comprehendit, quae sub eandem rationem cadunt*), is the normal rule of inflection. So C. is saying that, in spite of what might appear, the forms in *-os* are not metaplasms, for both the ending *-or* and *-os* abide by the regular inflection of these nouns. This clashes for example with the aforementioned Serv. *Aen.* 1.253 *HONOS cum secundum artem dicamus honor arbor ... melius tamen est seruire regulae*.

A later view on *arbos* and *arbor* is that they were different in meaning (Isid. *Orig.* 17.6.3 *arbor autem et fructifera et sterilis; arbos autem non nisi fructifera*).

10.14 simile est cum dicit aliquis lapidicinas et lapicidinas: *lapidicīnae* and *lapicīdīnae* 'stone-quarries', are both well attested in literature and inscriptions (cf. *TLL* VII.941.20ff.). Plautus (*Capt.* 736, 944) has inflected forms of *lapicīdīnae*. Unsurprisingly, there is some

fluctuation in MSS. of prose works, where prosody does not help: *lapicīdīnae* is in all MSS. of Cic. *Div.* 2.49 and seems regular in Pliny the Elder (but the MSS. have both forms), but *lapidicīnae* is found in the MSS. of Cic. *Div.* 1.23 (not the editions), Var. *L.* 5.151 and *R.* 1.2.23, Vitruv. 2.7.3 etc., and gets more and more frequent in time, so that it is the only form attested in the Digest (cf. Iavol. *dig.* 23.5.18).

It goes without saying that both forms are connected with *lapicīda* ‘stone-quarrier’, which is however scarcely attested and only since Var. *L.* 8.62. Leumann (1977: 235) explains *lapicīda* as haplology from **lapidicīda*, as the stem for the composition with *caedo* should be *lapid-* with prosthetic *-i-* like later *lapidifer*, *lapidicaesor*, not *lap-* with prosthetic *-i-*. From *lapicīda* he then derives the formation of *lapicīdīnae* as one of those substantives designating the place of an activity which add the suffix *-īna* to the stem of the noun designating the profession, like *sutrīna* from *sutor* and *officīna* from *opifex* (Leumann 1977: 328). The plural in *-īnae* probably imitates here the Graecising *latomiae/lautumiae*, from *λατομίαι* (the only instances of the singular *lapicīdīna* are found in glossaries, like Gloss.^L III *Abstr.* LA 24; see Craig 1927). In the common view, *lapidicīnae* is a metathetical form of *lapicīdīnae*, fostered by the influence of words in *-cen*, *-cina*, *-cinium* like *tībīcen -ina* (cf. Ernout and Meillet 1979: 341): this would be parallel to *forceps* > *forpex* being facilitated by the frequency of words in *-ex* (on the otherwise relatively rare phenomenon of metathesis, see Leumann 1977: 232-3). According to a more recent contribution (Wachter 1993), our understanding of the situation should be turned upside-down, in view of the preeminence of *lapidicīnae* over *lapicīdīnae* in the ancient sources and the reappraisal of some readings usually discarded as errors (such as *lapricedinis* in Cato *Agr.* 135.6 and *lapricidinis* in Pl. *Capt.* 1000). As a first step, according to Wachter, **lapidicīda* produced **lapidicīdīnae*, which developed in two ways: on the one hand it produced, by haplology of the second *-dī-*, *lapidicīnae*. On the other hand, by syncope in the second syllable, **lapidicīdīnae* produced **lapdicīdīnae*, whence *d* dissimilated into *r* (like *meridies* < *medidies*), producing that *lapricīdīnae* which is seen in Pl. *Capt.* 1000 and Cato *Agr.*

135.6 (Wachter regards the vowel *-e-* in Cato's *lapricedinis* as the long closed *e* preceding *i* in the process [ai] > [ei] > [ē] > [ī]). This form did not last for long, but provoked **lapidicīda* to lose the syllable *-di-* and turn into *lapicīda*, which also seemed etymologically more justifiable (cf. the archaising *-caed-* in *lapicaedīnae* of *CIL* II.5181.48 and 54). From this, another word for 'stone-quarries' was shaped as *lapicīdīnae* (Wachter dates this to the early Empire). This reconstruction is interesting and useful to explain the preeminence of *lapidicīnae*, but is very complicated and not exempt from problems: for instance, haplology usually involves unstressed syllables which belong to the first element of the compound or derivative (see Leumann 1977: 234-5), which would not be the case of the second *-di-* in **lapidicīdīnae*; secondly, it does not take into due account the two early occurrences of *lapicīdīnae* (Pl. *Capt.* 736 and 944: it is true that *lapri-* would work as well, yet the MSS. are unanimous).

C. knows both forms: the fact that he puts *lapidicinae* first might or might not reflect its preeminence in Late Antiquity – in the case above, for example, the archaic forms in *-os* were presented first.

10.15 in utroque enim metaplasmus non est: this is the reading of **M**, while **B** has *neutroque... est* and **V** *utro... est*. Niedermann conjectures the plain *in neutro enim metaplasmus est*, for *neuter* is the normal negation of *uterque*. Yet *uterque* is sometimes used with a negative, once by C. himself (*DNV* 349.28-9 *euenit ut aut utraque pars casibus declinetur... aut utraque non declinetur*) and also by more canonical authors (e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 85.23 *uterque non sitit*): therefore, I accept **M**'s reading. This expression shows that C. sees the two forms as equivalent, not one as the artificial modification of the other.

10.16 utrumque certa etymologia: this seems to entail that each of them has an etymology of its own, different from that of the other: if this is C.'s view, the etymology he assumes of *lapidicinae* is easy to guess, as *-cid-* clearly recalls *caedo*, but it would be harder to understand what verb he sees as the second member of *lapidicinae*, if not *caedo* (it is noteworthy that the form *lapidic-* did not obscure the connection with *caedo* as felt by, e.g.,

Paul. Fest. 118M *lapidicinae ubi exciduntur lapides*). Alternatively, by this expression, C. might simply mean that, although these two words have the same lexical components (*lapis* and *caedo*), they have them arranged differently and independently from each other. C. employs etymology again at *DBM* 27.11ff. in order to explain the different nature of synaloephe and ecthipsis.

10.17 proferemus: the tradition has the present *proferimus*, corrected into *proferemus* by **B**². The future is usual in announcements of this kind (cf. *DBM* 2.11, 3.19, 5.14 etc.) and should be accepted.

10.19-20 quo factum est, ut eorum uitiorum confusione: Niedermann's version is perhaps the best of the several ways in which this surely corrupt passage has been arranged so far. The tradition unanimously reads *quo eorum uitium factum est ut confuse*. Here editors suspect *uitium*, because *eorum uitium* would mean 'the flaw of them (i.e. *scriptores*)', which does not make good sense, for *uitium* here must be a flaw of speech as in the previous relative: therefore, this is usually emended to *uitiorum* (the singular might have come about as an apparent subject of *factum est*). *Confuse* does not work well in a sentence with *nemo intellegat*, and is emended to either *confusione* or *confusio*. Some minor changes as well as transpositions are made to match these emendations. Keil's *quo ea uitiorum facta est confusio, ut paene...* makes good sense, but Niedermann's one is easier to justify.

10.24 – 11.1 usu cotidie loquentium: expressions of the like are often found in C.'s contemporary Augustine, whose attention to everyday language was bound to his popularising purposes (e.g. *de Gen.* 3.11 *quod in usu loquendi cotidiano facile animaduerti potest*; *Quaest. hept.* 3.54.660, 3.57.1482).

11.1 si paulo curiosius audiamus: **M** and *Pauca* have *ea* as an object of *audiamus*, but in different positions: *Pauca* after *paulo* (so in Keil and Niedermann), while **M** after *audiamus* (so Buttman). **BV** instead omit it: this seems more reasonable to me, because *ea* stands for

exempla, and in this context one should not listen to the examples, but rather spot the examples when attentively listening to people speaking; the fact itself that *ea* appears in different positions in **M** and *Pauca* makes one suspect an interpolation.

It has already been pointed out (see note on *DBM* 1.3-9) that C. tries to distinguish himself from the grammatical tradition, and the unusual claim that we read here is one of the most remarkable expressions of his originality. Indeed, most of the examples that the grammarians employed to illustrate barbarisms were drawn from poetry (e.g. eight out of twelve instances in Donatus). This is quite paradoxical if one considers that the poetic deviations from the standard language were classified as metaplasms: in doing so, grammarians ended up explaining *uitia* by means of *uirtutes*. The reason for this must be sought in the focus on poetry which was predominant in the Roman school: students were already familiar with the poems, so the examples were easier to memorise, moreover any occasion was good for being confronted with some more poetry.

Already Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.11) argued against this attitude, which he deemed a display of erudition. He had the pedagogical concern in mind that this could spoil the boys' appreciation of poetry. However, as C. points out, not only did grammarians use poetical examples for barbarisms, at times they also employed the very same lines to illustrate metaplasms: so, for example, Donatus quotes Vergil's *reliquias* both as a barbarism *per adiectionem litterae* (653.8 H.) and as an epenthesis (661.1 H.), or *Italiam fato profugus* (Verg. *A.* 1.2) to exemplify both a barbarism *per adiectionem temporis* (653.9 H.) and an ectasis (661.11 H.). In the ninth century this paradox did not elude the attention of the Irish grammarian Murethach (192.28-42). C. might be exaggerating things when he states that this overlap has led to a situation in which almost nobody can tell a barbarism and a metaplasm apart, and it is not quite so clear whom he is referring to, whether schoolboys, or educated people, or even the grammarians themselves: what matters to us, however, is that this need for clarity urges him to provide allegedly real mistakes.

Quintilian stated that many examples of barbarism could be found *uulgo* and even be made up by anyone (1.5.10 *sibi etiam quisque fingere potest, ut uerbo cui libebit adiciat litteram syllabamue uel detrahat...*). C. declares instead that he will restrict the range of his examples to everyday speech, implicitly excluding fictive examples. The question of C.'s reliability is crucial: is he true to his word? Are his examples really taken from spoken Latin? We will get helpful clues if we find that the cases collected by C. are comparable to deviations which we know to belong to spoken Latin, as for example from statements concerning the same phenomena in independent works, misspellings in inscriptions, and reflexes in Romance. On this basis, we can conclude that most of the thirty-three examples that C. provides are, or are likely to be, taken from spoken Latin; some of them (at least *salmentum* and *displicina*) are traditional, but can easily have occurred in speech; a few are dubious but not impossible (*tutrusit*, for instance); another few must be discarded as fictive and only made up out of a need for completeness, such as some regarding the accent (e.g. *ôrator*, *órator*). Overall, our author seems very reliable as far as the genuineness of his examples is concerned (see Abbott 1909: 233, Vainio 2000: 40, Adams 2007: 205; a more general appreciation of C.'s contribution is expressed by Löfstedt 1983: 466 and Banniard 1992: 34).

A further question arises as to whether all the examples of spoken Latin are also testimonies to Vulgar Latin: this is not to be taken for granted, because barbarisms can also include occasional mistakes and mere innovations, not only substandard speaking habits, for the grammarians' normative purpose was to keep the inherited language correct against deviations of all kinds (see Herman 1991: 35). Moreover, sociolinguistics was certainly not their main focus (see Adams 2013: 12), so much so that in only one of the following examples does C. explicitly attribute a vice to the lower classes, and he also characterises it geographically (*plebs Romana* at *DBM* 11.25). Whether the examples provided belong to Vulgar Latin must be therefore assessed on a case-by-case basis.

11.3-4 per adiectionem litterae ... *coperit pro operit*: we have already come across this example at *DBM* 4.1-2, where it illustrates the way a barbarism arises if one adds a letter to a word without the authority of the tradition. As a matter of fact, *coperit* does exist as the third person singular in the present indicative of *cōperio*, the contracted form of *coopero* (*co-* + *operio*). This made its appearance in literature at least as early as Cato *inc.* 50 Jordan *fenoribus copertus est*, then Lucr. 5.342 (*cōperuisse*) and 6.491 (*cōperiant*). The third person singular *cōperit* appears in Apul. *Met.* 1.11 and, in poetry, Paul. Nol. *carm.* 24.388. Gellius (2.17.7 and 4.17.6) acknowledges it as a compound with the preposition *con-*. *Operio* and *coopero* are of course different verbs, but their slightly different meanings (respectively, ‘to cover’ and ‘to cover completely’) tended to merge and the two were used as synonyms, until the compound replaced the simple (as to the preference for compound over simple forms in Vulgar Latin, see Väänänen 1981: 99-100). Therefore, it is on *cōperio* that all the Romance forms are based, such as Rum. *acoperi*, It. *coprire*, Fr. *couvrir*, Sp. *cubrir* (see Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 174).

Some questions about C.’s statement arise immediately: why does he present *coperit* as a barbarism by addition of *c-*, while it is a mere compound? A plausible answer is that he failed to understand the formation of the word, because he was deceived by the contraction of *coo-*, wrongly reckoning the accidental addition of *c-* to *ōperio* rather than a composition (cf. Müller 1861: 253). Moreover, there is some evidence that in metrical texts from Late Antiquity the syllable *co-* of *cōperio* could be treated as short, as in *ōperio*: this is observed several times in the fourth/fifth-century *Carmen aduersus Marcionem*, where *cōperit* occurs at 2.91 (*aut coperit nudos, fouet aut suo uellere uulnus*), the perfect *cōperuit* at 3.116, and the participle *cōpertus* (variously inflected) at 1.136, 2.11, 4.13, 5.213; something similar we find in *CLE* 1977.5 (= *CIL* VIII.20277) *dum cibi ponuntur calicesq(ue) ei copertae*, an epigraphic poem in poorly composed hexameters from Aïn El Kebira, dated 299 AD. It is not easy to say how relevant these cases are, but if it were possible to identify behind this use a similar tendency in spoken Latin, then we could imagine that C., on hearing some form of *cōperio* for the expected *cōperio*,

might have been more easily led to explain it as a prosthetic *c-* being added to the simple *ōperio*. Indeed, if open unstressed syllables were prone to being shortened at this time (see note on DBM 11.8-9), then a form *cōperio* would not be unexpected. This would certainly not apply to *coperit*, where the stress on *co-* would preserve its length: but we must be aware that C. is wont to present verbs in the third person singular (*gruit* 11.5, *tutrusit* 11.7, *soluit* 13.2-4, etc.), so that we can readily imagine that he was struck by some other form with the stress on a different syllable and *-o-* actually shortened, and only reported the third person *coperit* out of habit.

On a slightly different note, it is worth pointing out that, arguably due to the influence of *cōperio*, several Romance reflexes of *aperio* ('to open') have developed an initial *o-* instead of the expected *a-* (which remains in It. 'aprire', Sp. Port. 'abrir'): these are Fr. *ouvrir*, Prov. Cat. *obrir*, and such forms as *oprire* in Italian dialects (see Meyer-Lübke 1890-1902: I.290 and 1911-20: 35). According to some (Morf 1905: 454 n. 3, Kohlsiedt 1917: 51) C.'s example shows that, by his time, the development *aperio* > *operio* 'to open' had started. The alleged reason would be that *operio* was about to be ousted by *coperio* in the meaning 'to cover', so that a semantic opposition was established between *coperio* and *aperio*; this caused pressure of the former on the latter, which ultimately resulted in *operio*. I think, however, that C.'s example alone is no proof that *coperio* was already replacing *operio*, especially given that he says nothing about the distribution of these forms. Therefore, it is probably rash to assume the development *aperio* > *operio* already in C.'s time.

11.5 *gruit pro ruit*: little of certainty can be said about *gruit pro ruit*, and no attempts to emend the text have been made. The form *gruit* is attested elsewhere only in glossaries, where it is explained as *inuenit*, corrected into *inminet* by Goetz (CGL V.459.15, 502.59), and as *imminit*, *incumbit* (in MS. Leiden B.P.L. 67D, see Löwe 1876: 118).

A verb *gruo -ere* is attested indicating the cry of the crane (*grus*), which of course has nothing to do with *ruo* 'to rush'. More plausibly, in *gruo* one could recognise the verb only

found in the compounds *congruo* ‘to unite’ and *ingruo* ‘to attack’, a cognate of Gr. ἔχραον ‘attacked’ from a PIE **-g^hr(e)uh₁-e/o-* (de Vaan 2008: 274), which can be related to *ruo* itself (from PIE **h₃reu-e/o-*, see de Vaan 2008: 530). In this respect, C.’s *gruit* has been explained as the original *gruo* having survived as a simplex in Vulgar Latin (Seelmann 1885: 349) or as a *simplex pro composito* back-formation from *congruo* or *ingruo* (Kohlstedt 1917: 91-2). One has to be aware that, although the general tendency in Vulgar and Late Latin was to have the compound instead of the simplex, at times the opposite was true (see Bonnet 1890: 233, Dubois 1903: 414, Müller-Marquardt 1912: 122), and there appear to be instances of back-formation of a simplex from a compound, such as *pletura* < *depletura* (see Adams 1995: 61). If either of these interpretations is correct, it seems that C. failed to realise that *gruit* and *ruit* are different verbs: but the addition of an initial *g-* must have seemed plausible to him, in view of the couple *gnatus/natus* of *DBM* 3.24.

There is also a view that, by adding a *g-*, C. ‘may be trying to imitate an odd pronuntiation of the initial “r”’ (Maltby 2012: 736-7), but there is no evidence that in Vulgar or Late Latin *r* was pronounced differently from the alveolar trill that we normally assume for Classical Latin; moreover, when C. deals with the odd pronunciation of a letter (*DBM* 15.6 - 17.17), he always gives a detailed and technical explanation, and never simply provides an example with a corrupt spelling.

To give C. more credit, instead, one could compare the prosthetic *g-* before initial *r-* in several Romance varieties: Fr. *grenouille*, Prov. *granolha*, Cat. *granota*, Tusc. Neap. *granocchia* (besides *ranocchia*) from Lat. *ranucula* ‘little frog’ (whatever origin one might assume for it, see Meier 1969); Tusc. *gracimolo* (besides *racimolo*) from Lat. *racemus* ‘cluster of grapes’; Neap. *granceto* (similar in other dialects) from Lat. *rancidus* ‘rancid’; It. *graspo* (besides *raspo*) as a deverbal substantive ultimately from Germanic *raspon* ‘to collect hastily’, and others. However, if the example *gruit pro ruit* should reveal an actual phenomenon of prosthesis in Vulgar Latin, this has left no traces in the Romance languages.

11.5 *tottum pro toto*: since C. does not mention a change of vowel length, we can assume that he has in mind *tōttus* (from *tōtus*). If this is correct, he is the witness of the substandard form which underlies most Romance developments, like Rum. *tot*, It. *tutto* (see below for the vowel *u*), Sard. *tottu*, Fr. *tout*, Cat. *tot*, while Sp. Port. *todo* rests on the standard *tōtus* (see Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 668).

Many attempts have been made to explain the double *t* in the substandard form, none of which is really decisive. In Latin, words including clusters of a long vowel plus a single consonant tended to develop a variant with a short vowel plus a double consonant (e.g. *cūpa/cŭppa*, *mūcus/mŭccus* etc., see Lindsay 1894: 115-6), but this cannot be the case of *tōtus/tōttus*, as the long *ō* is required by the Romance outcomes. According to Grandgent (1962: 70), *tōttus* might be a cross between *tōtus* and *tōttus*, the latter obeying the tendency observed above: the problem with this view is that he takes as evidence of *tōttus* the very statement of C., which I have said witnesses *tōttus* itself. Gröber (1889: 129ff.) moves instead from such expressive repetitions of *tōtus* as occur in Plautus (*Cas.* 621 *tota, tota occidi*) to posit a reduplicated form **tōttotus*, like OIt. *tututto* and OSard. *tottot(t)a*: from this, *tōttus* might have been produced by means of syncope. But this seems quite unlikely, because we would expect the second syllable to be long (*tōtus tōtus* > **tōttōtus*), thereby hindering the syncope. Just as unlikely appears the explanation of Körting (1907: 969-70), who suggests the influence of an unattested **quottus* for *quotus* and compares *cottidie*. More recently, the idea of emphatic pronunciation triggering consonant gemination has enjoyed some favour (Bourciez 1949: 41, Pisani 1950: 165, Leumann 1977: 183). Kohlstedt (1917: 78) supports a similar view with evidence from experimental phonetics.

11.5-6 *cottidie pro cotidie*: both *cottīdiē* and *cotīdiē* are attested in the best manuscripts of early authors and in inscriptions: here *cottidie* appears already in the first century BC with the *lex Iul.*

munic. (CIL I.206) 16, while the first occurrence of *cotidie* dates from about 150 AD with Decret. *decur. Tergest.* (CIL V.532). Most modern scholars seem to regard *cottidie* as the original form, the compound of some form of *quot* and *dies*, but neither the underlying forms nor the way in which the geminate *t* has come about are absolutely clear. According to Sommer (1948: 207) and Walde and Hofmann (1938-54: I.282), the underlying forms are **quotitei* (cf. OInd. *katithá-*) + *diē*: the resulting geminate *t* was simplified in Imperial times through etymological connection with *quot dies*. Leumann (1977: 270) derives *cottīdiē* from **quoti diēs*, on the example of Greek ὅσημέραι ‘as many days as are = daily’, with *ī* and *ē* influenced by *postrīdiē* (thus also de Vaan 2008: 511); the geminate *t* he explains elsewhere as a ‘Spontane Dehnung... ohne spürbare Expressivität’ (Leumann 1977: 183). According to others the first element would be a **quot-tus* ‘formed from *quot-* with that TO-suffix which is used in Ordinal Numerals, *quar-tus quin-tus*’ (Lindsay 1894: 560-1).

When it comes to grammarians, they seem to have been mostly concerned with the spelling of the first syllable, whether *co-* or *quo-*, rather than with the question of single or geminate *t*, which is only discussed by C. In the first century AD, Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.7.9) criticised those pedants who wrote *quotidie* instead of *cotidie* in order to connect it to *quot diebus*: one of these might have been the philosopher Cornutus (in Cassiod. *orth.* I.29 S. = *GL* VII.149.6-8). Similar remarks are to be found in Velius Longus (79.15-18) and Papirianus (in Cassiod. *orth.* IV.5 S. = *GL* VII.158.18-19), who derive *cotidie* from *continenti die*, while Marius Victorinus (76.18 M.) and Priscian (*GL* III.334.9) have it from *quot dies* but admit the spelling with *co-* (in fact, Marius Victorinus recommends it). These sources unequivocally refer to *quotidie* as opposed to *cotidie*, not *cottidie*: this suggests that *cotidie* with single *t* was regarded as the standard form at this stage, at least among grammarians. It is certainly deemed to be such by C., who uses *cotidie* non-metalinguistically at *DBM* 10.23.

Despite our grammarian’s condemnation of *cottidie*, this appears to be very frequent, and not as a marked form, in late authors like Augustine (at least as far as we can judge from

the modern editions, but chances are that editors have just standardised the spelling). *Cottidie* also seems more frequent than *cotidie* in later inscriptions (cf. *TLL* IV.1091.71 ff., listing *Edict. Imp. Diocl.* 1.15, *CIL* VI.1783.32, *CLE* 186.11, 231.3, 629.9, 708.3-4). So it appears that, while the two forms as a matter of fact coexisted, the purists preferred the one with single *t* as it tallied better with the phonology of the alleged etymology.

As far as the Romance languages are concerned, it is a form with geminate *t* of the adjective *cottidianus/quottidianus* that seems to underlie such outcomes as Sard. *fittianu/vittianu* ‘daily’, Salentino (v)*uttisciana* ‘working day’, and in all probability OSp. *cutiano* ‘daily’ (Ford 1911: 206, Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 522, Heinimann 1985: 8).

11.6 *quandius pro quandiu*: a few occurrences of *quandius/quamdius* instead of *quandiu/quamdiu* are found in epigraphical sources: epitaphs from Rome (*CIL* VI.6308.2, 5 from the first century AD; VI.13101.5 and VI.30111 = *CLE* 1094, probably later), and a first-century-AD curse tablet from Mainz (see Blänsdorf 2004). When it comes to the Romance languages, one finds that *quandius* ‘as long as’ is attested in Provençal as well as *tandius* from *tamdiu* (Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 519, 644).

How can we explain such a form? As is seen in *interdius* (Pl. *As.* 599 etc.) alongside *interdiū* ‘by day’, and perhaps in *nudiustertius* ‘three days ago’, there existed once a form *dius* of the adverb *diū* (see de Vaan 2008: 173): one might think that this survived and was productive in Vulgar Latin (Schuchardt 1866: III 282) so much so that it produced *quandius*, which would sporadically emerge in inscriptions and eventually resurface in Provençal. The circumstance that C., whose alleged origin is from Narbonese Gaul, attests to this form in the fifth century, could possibly corroborate this narrative.

As an alternative, one may think that the addition of final *-s* is an innovation and has nothing to do with an original *dius*. Kohlstedt (1917: 92) suggests that *-s* was added to *quandiu* by analogy with those adverbs ending in *-s* like *intus minus* etc. According to Blänsdorf (2010:

168), *quandius* in the Mainz curse tablet is ‘a false analogy to *quando* and *prius*’. To see *quandius* as some sort of analogical formation is perhaps more reasonable, but the question remains as to whether this was a random slip or a durable innovation. Kohlstedt endorses the latter option, for she regards the Provençal case as a further development of the barbarism described by C. (cf. Leumann 1938: 442)

It is worth mentioning that similarly corrupt forms of *quandiu* are attested, such as the one with addition of hypercorrect final *-m* (*quandium*) in the poem of Q. Avidius Quintianus set up on stone in the military outpost of Bu Njem, and dated 202-3 AD (see Adams 1999: 125).

11.7 syllabae, ut si dicas *tutrusit* pro *trusit*: a perfect *tutrusi* from *trudo* is unattested elsewhere. As a form which combines reduplication and the suffix *-si*, it is reminiscent of *uiuixit* (CIL VI.9317): that could be interpreted, however, as a mere diplography. If *tutrusit* is not to be discarded as an invention of C. himself, it might be an analogical neoformation after *tutudi* (Sommer 1948: 612, Pisani 1950: 165, Leumann 1977: 587). Vulgar Latin had a tendency to suppress the reduplication in the perfect stem, so that only *dedi* and *steti* survive in the Romance languages (see Grandgent 1962: 181, Väänänen 1981: 142): in view of this, one may exclude the possibility that *tutrusi* was vulgar. Alternatively, it might more likely be a hypercorrect formation meant to contrast with the substandard tendency to lose the reduplication (Kohlstedt 1917: 91).

11.8-9 temporis, ut quidam dicunt *piper* producta priore syllaba, cum sit brevis, quod uitium Afrorum familiare est: first of four remarks on vowel length (the others being DBM 11.18-20 *orator* with the first *o* shortened, 12.2-3 *pices* with lengthened *i*, 12.12-14 *pices* with lengthened *i* and shortened *e*) which will prove important for our understanding of vowel length developments in Late Latin and proto-Romance. I shall consider these metalinguistic statements alongside those of other late authors and epigraphical evidence from different areas of the

Roman Empire, for these remarks are also relevant to the regional diversification of Latin.

According to C., Africans uttered *piper* ‘pepper’ lengthening the *i*, which was naturally short. In his other remark on vowel length in African pronunciation (*DBM* 11.18-20), C. informs us that Africans pronounced *orator* shortening the first *o*. Other such observations are provided by Augustine: he reports that Africans (probably meaning the *imperiti* among them) did not distinguish between long and short vowels, so that the words *ōs* (gen. *ōssis*) ‘bone’ and *ōs* (gen. *ōris*) sounded equal (*Doctr. christ.* 4.10.24 *cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem ossum potius quam os dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo, quod sunt ossa, sed ab eo, quod sunt ora, intellegatur, ubi Afrae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant?*); in *De musica* 2.1.1, a passage concerning syllabic length with no reference to African pronunciation, he represents the *magister* as making the example of *cano* wrongly uttered with long *a*, which would cause the reproach of the grammarian, *custos ille uidelicet historiae*. Other examples can be quoted, although less detailed, of lengthening of short vowels in the grammarians, such as *Sacerd.* 451.13-14 *per immutationem accentuum, ac si dicas Cērēs ce longa, cum brevis sit, et res breui, cum sit longa*, *Don.* 654.5 H. *si quis deos producta priore syllaba et correpta posteriore pronuntiet*, and *Aug. gramm.* 11.2 *aut si dicat bonus et primam syllabam producat adiectione temporis*.

One cannot but observe that in all these cases the lengthened vowel is the one in an open syllable under stress. Also, in the case of C.’s *orator* and *pices* (12.12-14), *Sacerdos*’ *Cērēs*, and *Donatus*’ *deos*, the unstressed vowels get shortened. Some take this to be no coincidence, with C. and the other authors attesting to the phenomenon of open syllable lengthening (OSL), whereby short vowels in stressed open syllables are lengthened (e.g. Schuchardt 1866-8: III.43-4, Pisani 1950: 165, Bonfante 1956: 354, Acquati 1971: 158, Adams 2007: 263-5, Loporcaro 2011a: 55ff. and 2015: 20ff.). This is observed in modern Italian and other Romance varieties, where it has ousted contrastive vowel length (see e.g. the *a* in It. [‘ka:ne] vs. [ka’nestro]). The complementary shortening of unstressed vowels would be the development of an older

tendency of Latin (see Leumann 1977: 107-10). However, when OSL arose is controversial, with different scholars dating it to as early as the third century BC and as late as the early Middle Ages, depending among other factors on when they place the collapse of the contrastive vowel length system and the connection (if any) between the two phenomena (see Loporcaro 2015: 25-40 for an overview of several theories). Those who reckon that OSL came about at a later stage than Late Latin/Proto-Romance, propound a reductive interpretation of C.'s statements, whereby only neutralisation of contrastive vowel quantities would be revealed (e.g. Schürr 1956: 111 and 1970: 5-6, Lausberg 1976: 206-7, Belardi 1979: 44, Lancel 1981: 277, Castellani 1991: 20, Crevatin 1992: 30, Fanciullo 1992: 178, Mancini 1994: 625 and 2001: 315-18).

An element of remarkable interest in C.'s (and Augustine's) passages is the attribution of the vice to African speakers of Latin. There is a view that OSL arose in African Latin, or at least was faster and/or more marked there. Scholars have provided several pieces of evidence for this claim. One is the versification of the African poet Commodian (chronology uncertain, third/fifth century AD), in whose hexameters an accentual principle seems to replace the quantitative one (i.e. stressed = long, unstressed = short). Also, Herman (1982) has analysed African metrical inscriptions from the first to the mid-fourth centuries AD, as compared to a contemporary and a later epigraphical corpus from Rome: he found that the ratio of errors in unstressed vowels was very similar in Africa and in the earlier corpus from Rome, but errors in stressed vowels were much more frequent in Africa; the later corpus from Rome (fourth-sixth centuries), however, catches up with the African as far as errors in stressed vowels are concerned. Reservations about the decisiveness of Herman's statistical distinctions have recently been voiced by Adams (2007: 667 n. 61), who also suggests amendments to Herman's method (pp. 629-30). A like gap in the prosodic competence of Africans and non-Africans Latin speakers might be seen in the epigraphical poems of the centurions M. Porcius Iasuchtan (a Lybian?) and Q. Avidius Quintianus (probably from Italy), which were found at the military outpost of Bu Njem (Tripolitania) and date to the early third century AD (see Adams 1999).

The problem with Iasuchtan is whether he was a native speaker of Latin or he learnt it as a second language, which would clearly undermine the significance of his errors for our understanding of African Latin. According to Adams (1999: 123) ‘it is distinctly possible that Latin was not his first language’, which is also the conclusion of Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 256-62), while Loporcaro (2015: 46-51) argues that Iasuchtan’s mistakes are not incompatible with Latin being his mother tongue. To be sure, signs of lengthening of stressed vowels and shortening of unstressed ones are registered in inscriptional verses from other areas of the Empire as well, although on a minor scale (see Adams 1999: 116-17 and n. 39), and in the third century we find that the non-African grammarian Sacerdos treats *perspicere possit* as a heroic clausula just like *primus ab oris*, thereby lengthening the stressed *i* (493.21-4). So it may have been inaccurate for C. to attribute these ‘vices’ to Africans only (see Adams 2007: 265). One has to remember, however, that in the analogous case of *pices* (*DBM* 12.2-3, 12.12-14) he does not single out any regional variety, although it is by no means certain that this should be taken as evidence that he contemplated the same phenomenon as arising in non-African Latin (he might well have taken for granted that this applied to Africans). But we are probably just too demanding: if by C.’s time the phenomenon in question was common to more than one linguistic community, we can hardly expect an ancient linguist to be so scrupulous as to mention them all, while it is likely that he would have been content with singling out the variety he was more familiar with or in which the feature was more evident to an external observer (and cf. Adams 2007: 5 for the limits in experience and scope of ancient testimonies). The situation would clearly be different if he or his source attributed the feature to Africans only out of the prejudice that African Latin was particularly bad (see Adams 2007: 260 for testimonies). But this should not be the case, for C. discusses vices of Greeks, Gauls, and the Roman plebs as well, and there are plenty of cases in which he does not feel any urge to state which peoples are responsible for which vices, although one would expect that from his foreword (cf. *DBM* 12.21 – 13.8 and 17.1-21). Therefore, I do not see any reason why he should have attributed such a

linguistic feature to Africans if this was not at least in part correct.

Among those who do not accept OSL at this period and interpret C.'s (and Augustine's) passages as showing only that contrastive vowel length was being neutralised, Mancini (2001: 315-18) points to other grammarians' statements as evidence for the shortening of long stressed vowels in open syllables. Pompeius (285.6-8) writes *plerumque male pronuntiamus et facimus uitium, ut brevis syllaba longo tractu sonet aut iterum longa breuiore sono: siqui uelit dicere Rōma, aut si uelit dicere ēquus pro eo quod est equus* (I accept here the corrections *Rōma* and *ēquus* for Keil's *Ruoma* and *aequus*, see Zago 2013: 13; the phonological matter, however, does not change). Likewise, Servius (*GL* IV.444.12-14) has: *fit autem barbarismus... <pronuntiatione>, si aut naturaliter longas syllabas breuiter proferamus, ut Romam, aut si naturaliter breues producamus, ut rosam*. So both the commentators on Donatus attest to the possibility for *Rōma* to be pronounced as *Rōma*, which would undermine the OSL system as described above. One might add Aug. *gramm.* 11.2 *aut si dicat pone et primam syllabam corripit detractio temporis*. But the problem with these testimonies is that one could hardly hold them to be actual cases picked from spoken Latin rather than *exempla ficta* not representative of phonological reality. As a matter of fact, *Roma* is used by both Servius and Pompeius (who draws from Servius' commentary) as a stock example for different phenomena (cf. Serv. *GL* IV.421.18, 422.9, 426.33, 444.5; Pomp. 120.31, 129.3, 252.26, 253.18-19, 254.3, 285.31, 289.25ff., 291.33ff.): this makes it possible that *Roma* was never actually pronounced with a short *o*.

In sum, it appears safe to state that the evidence considered (other metalinguistical remarks and versification, in epigraphy or not) matches C.'s account fairly well. That OSL (and complementary shortening of unstressed long syllables) was at work in C.'s time, and that our author was ultimately referring to this phenomenon in his remarks on vowel length, seems to me appealing. The epigraphical evidence undoubtedly indicates that in the fifth century OSL was not confined to Africa, but it is also compatible with the view that OSL first arose in Africa,

or at least that it was faster or more marked there (see Adams 2007: 264-5, Loporcaro 2011a: 57 and 2015: 43, 58). If, following Servius and Pompeius, one should reject OSL in Late Latin (or rather the variety of Latin criticised by the grammarians) and reconstruct neutralisation of quantity instead, how should the grammarians' indications of length be interpreted? Perhaps one might reckon that on hearing the neutralised varieties the grammarians, competent speakers still trained in prosody, interpreted the *o* in *Roma* as shortened and the *e* in *equus* (or *o* in *rosa*) as lengthened, and described them according to obsolete categories.

If we consider vowel quality instead of quantity, we are confronted with the view that the African vowel system was similar to that of Sardinian. In varieties of Sardinian, vowel length lost its phonological value just as in the other Romance languages, but a different merger of vowels occurred, with long and short counterparts merging into one undistinguished phoneme, as for example /i:/ and /i/ into /i/ (instead of /i:/ > /i/ and /i/ > /e/ of common Romance): so Latin *piper* yields Sard. *pibere* vs. It. *pepe*, Fr. *poivre*, Prov. Cat. Sp. *pebre*). Sardinian has a five-vowel system. The same seems to have been true of African Latin: this is supported, among the metalinguistic testimonies, by Augustine's indication that *ōs* and *ōs* sounded equal to Africans, because this would also imply that they were not different in quality, unlike their Romance reflexes (and cf. already Serv. *GL* IV.421.16-21). Another element which points in this direction is the extreme scarcity of misspellings of *e* for short *ī* in African inscriptions, which we would expect to be much more frequent if *ē* and *ī* were confused (this is relevant, of course, because all other types of errors are frequent: see Adams 2007: 643). Last, but not least, there seem to be reliable testimonies in the late fifteenth century that the Romance language still spoken in some rural areas of Tunisia sounded like Sardinian (see Loporcaro 2015: 47-9). In such a context, C.'s *pīper* may contribute to our understanding of this issue as it attests to the fact that in African Latin short *ī* had not merged with long *ē* at this stage.

However, C. says nothing about the quality of the *i* in *piper* nor states whether it was uttered differently elsewhere. This has left room for doubts about our author's actual perception

and account of the phenomenon. For example, there is a view that by the fifth century both the Romance merger of $\bar{e}$ and $\check{i}$ into closed e and the OSL had taken hold, so that a Gaul like C. might have pronounced <piper> as ['pe:per], with closed e lengthened under the stress (von Wartburg 1950: 81). It has been argued that, influenced as he was by the current pronunciation, C. would have thought of his [e:] as the regular phoneme /i/, so as to interpret the African [i:] as different in quantity, not quality as it actually was (Weinrich 1958: 24-5). Castellani (1991: 20-1) also assumes that a difference in timbre, not in length, is at stake in the i of *piper*.

Nevertheless, although inscriptions from Gaul show an ever increasing confusion of short i and long e in the fifth/sixth centuries (see Adams 2007: 640-1), which confirms that the merger of the two was on its way, I would not push this evidence as far as to assume that even a linguist fighting language change was so overwhelmed by it that he could not distinguish between [i] and [e], especially when his observations seem so straightforward; and indeed at DBM 16.2-5 [scil. i littera] *mihi tamen uidetur, quando producta est, plenior uel acutior esse; quando brevis est, medium sonum exhibere*, C. clearly senses that a difference in quality matches that in quantity between short and long i , an awareness which should suffice to demonstrate that he could not misunderstand to such an extent the phonological opposition. C. here is just that kind of *custos historiae* sketched by Augustine: he is doing nothing but his job of trying to preserve vowel quantity, a job which was then typical of the grammarians (cf. Aug. *De musica* 2.1.1 *ac primum responde, utrum bene didiceris eam quam grammatici docent, syllabarum breuium longarumque distantiam*), although in some cases not even the grammarians could accomplish it properly (e.g. Serg. *GL* IV.522.24-5 *syllabas natura longas difficile est scire*).

It is worth quoting, in conclusion, an actual case of *piper* with long i in poetry coinciding with metrical stress (Anth. 209.3 = 200.3 Shackleton Bailey) *piperis exigui formam uix corpore comples*; in line 10 of the same poem, where the first i of *piperi* does not fall under metrical stress, it is short (*aequalis piperi...*).

11.9-11 accentus, ut qui dicens *triginta* priorem syllabam acuat et sequentem grauiter enuntiet, qui modus et per inmutationem fieri uidetur: C.'s discussion of barbarisms involving accent poses a number of problems. As a matter of fact, although most grammarians assume for the accent the same changes applied to the other elements (*adiectio*, *detractio*, *immutatio*, *transmutatio*), C. alone provides an example of each case: among the others, some even skip the examples altogether (e.g. Don. 654.7-9 H. *toni quoque similiter per has quattuor species conmutantur... quorum exempla ultro se offerent, si quis inquirat*). It will be helpful to set forth C.'s other examples and try to explain their rationale at once (a useful discussion is in Mancini 2001: 333 n. 16), before moving on to a detailed consideration of *triginta*. The case of *detractio accentus* is illustrated thus (*DBM* 11.20-1): *ut si <quis> oratorem <dicens> priorem syllabam circumflexo accentu pronuntiet*. When it comes to *immutatio*, C. writes (12.3-4): *ut si quis oratorem dicens primam acuat*. The instance of *transmutatio*, finally, is explained in this way: *accentus, ut si quis oratorem pronuntians primam syllabam circumflectat* (12.14-15).

The most obvious interpretation of the *adiectio accentus* in *triginta* seems to be that an accent is added where there was none (on the first syllable), although this happens in the other three cases as well. To be sure, the mere addition of an accent to the first syllable would result in *tríginta*, which is obviously impossible from a prosodic perspective: even if one admits secondary accent, there cannot be two adjacent accents in one word, so the penultimate syllable must receive a grave accent and be unstressed (cf. however Aug. *gramm.* 11.2 *si autem duas acuat syllabas in una parte orationis, adiectione acuminis offendit auditum*). The reason why the case of *tríginta* is said to entail an *immutatio* as well is not clear, as the exchange of *acutus* and *grauis* seems rather a *transmutatio*. Perhaps C. envisages here a sort of double *immutatio*, that is the substitution of a *grauis* with an *acutus* on the antepenultimate syllable and vice versa on the penultimate. The *adiectio accentus* is illustrated quite differently in other grammarians. Servius writes (*GL* IV.444.20-1): *accentu, ut hic; aliter enim pronomen, aliter aduerbium*

pronuntiandum est. As the adverb had long *i*, the pronoun short *i*, Servius probably means that the accent is circumflex on the adverb, acute on the pronoun: this is the opinion of Pompeius (285.24-6), who considers as *adiectio accentus* the use of a circumflex where the acute would be normal, that is the addition of an accent to a preexisting accent (*quo modo addis accentum? si uelis dicere árma <pro eo quod est árma>*). A case similar to that of *tríginta* is the first one mentioned by Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.22) *cum acuta et grauis alia pro alia ponuntur, ut in hoc 'Camillus', si acuitur prima* (perhaps with regard to the Greek accentuation Κάμυλλος?), and the only instance of barbarism involving accent in Audax (362.16-18) *accentu fit barbarismus, cum aut acutus pro graui aut grauis pro acuto uel alius pro quolibet ponitur, ut si dicas Metellus acuto accentu <in> prima, cum in secunda sit acutus accentus, in prima grauis*. A similar statement is also in Ps. Mar. Victorin. 36.29 - 37.2 N. *ut cum <aut> acutus pro graui aut grauis pro acuto uel alius pro quolibet ponitur, ut si dicas Metellus acuta prima syllaba...* Here this is presented as a case of *immutatio* (*inmutatione quomodo fit barbarismus? aut per litteras aut per accentus*). Neither Quintilian nor Audax call this a case of *adiectio*.

In all three other cases, I take it that *oratore* is just an inflected form depending on transitive verbs and C. is actually thinking of the nominative *orator*, for it would be indefensible to posit an accent on the fourth from last syllable as would be the case with *oratore*. The *detractio accentus* that produces *ôrator* instead of *orâtor* (11.20-1) might be explained as the removal of an accent from its natural position, so that the penultimate has now no accent (or rather has it *grauis*), while the antepenultimate receives a circumflex, as that syllable is long. How C. could envisage a circumflex instead of an acute on the antepenultimate is unclear: perhaps it was conceivable as a mistake – however, the same is also found as a case of *transmutatio*. A somewhat similar process of *detractio* is implied in the remark of Serv. *GL* IV.444.26-8 *quando dicimus deinde: mediam enim habere debuit <acutam>, quia positione longa est*: the accent would be removed from the *i* and fall on the preceding syllable (Servius conceives the word as a trisyllable). Pompeius provides an example which is the opposite of

that given before (285.30-2 *detrahimus accentum, si uelis dicere Róma, cum tractim debeas dicere: longiorem enim illum accentum ad breuem traxisti*); similarly Anecd. Helv. cxv f. 18^b *detrahuntur accentus, ut si quis meta creta et cetera talia sub acuto accentu pronuntiauerit, cum sub circumflexo pronuntianda sint: tunc fit detractio circumflexi et positio acuti*.

The *immutatio accentus* that produces *órator* instead of *orâtor* (12.3-4) might be seen as the substitution of an accent with one of a different kind: of a circumflex with an acute (regardless of the position), as it seems to Mancini (2001), or rather of a circumflex with a *grauis*, with subsequent retraction of the accent on the antepenultimate (which could also be interpreted as a substitution of a *grauis* with an *acutus*, if one wants to see a parallel with *tríginta*). This seems to be a more correct reading, as an analogous case is the second listed by Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.22-3 *grauis pro flexa, ut Cethegus (et hic prima acuta; nam media mutatur)*. Here Quintilian, as in the previous case, could be pointing to the Greek accentuation of a Roman name (Κέθηγος) in terms of the substitution (*immutatio*?) of a circumflex with a *grauis*. As an alleged case of *immutatio accentus* I have mentioned above *Métellus* in Ps. Mar. Victorin. 36.29 – 37.2 N. (*Métellus* also in Audax 362.16-18 and Iul. Tol. 181.66-70 M.Y., although they do not call it *immutatio*). As regards Sacerdos, when discussing *immutatio accentuum*, he talks about vowel length rather than accent (451.13-14 *per immutationem accentuum, ac si dicas Cērēs ce longa, cum brevis sit, et res breui, cum sit longa*), whereby he could imply that a circumflex instead of an acute is placed on *Ce*.

The *transmutatio accentus* yielding *ôrator* instead of *orâtor* (12.14-15) can be explained quite easily as the transposition of the circumflex on the antepenultimate, or the shift of *circumflexus* and *grauis*: as has already been observed, the same *ôrator* is cited as a case of *detractio accentus* (11.20-1). Interestingly, C. is the only grammarian who gives an example of this *species*.

Several elements of interest have emerged from this exposition: it is remarkable that only C., of all grammarians, produces instances of each case of barbarism resulting from the

application of the *quadripertita ratio* to the accent. His examples are to be explained in a different way from those provided by Servius and Pompeius. Three of the examples that C. provides concern the same word (*orator*), and two of them describe the same change (*ôrator*). This allows for some conclusions: the doctrine of barbarisms *per accentus* was one neither fixed nor particularly detailed. This may be due in part to the fact that most grammarians drew their examples from literary texts, in which accents did not play a significant role. It was commonly acknowledged that barbarisms could take place by means of accent, but to establish the forms and ways in which they could take place was very much up to the individuals. The application of the *quadripertita ratio*, which was somewhat artificial even as applied to such segments as *litterae*, was all the more artificial when applied to suprasegmentals such as prosody and accent, especially because the grammarians' theory of accent was artificial in itself, based as it was on the Greek system. Things were further complicated by the practice of treating as separate categories two elements, accent and quantity, which were tightly bound. In sum, finding instances of wrong use of accent and fitting them to the categories of *adiectio detractio immutatio transmutatio* was a hard, if not impossible, task. In order to do so, grammarians needed to stretch some interpretations and, at times, to make up some examples. I believe that this plausibly explains C.'s use of the same word (*orator*) for three different cases: these can hardly represent instances of spoken usage, and should be regarded instead as *exempla ficta*. But this also speaks against the possibility that *trīginta* is a fictive example, as it is isolated and explained as both a case of *adiectio* and a case of *immutatio*: for why would C. have made up so ambiguous an example that he himself had to interpret in two ways? Therefore, I reject the idea of Kohlstedt (1917: 43) that *trīginta* was a mere school example. Surely, this does not guarantee in itself that this form was drawn from Vulgar Latin, but only that the grammarian actually heard it from someone: I shall pursue this line of enquiry in what follows.

One cannot discuss the accentuation of *trīginta* without touching upon the numerals denoting multiples of ten, at least those for 'twenty' and 'forty'. This class of words is quite

complicated as regards their development over time, as evidence for them in both substandard Latin and the Romance languages is extremely varied. The aberrant forms of these numerals found in inscriptions and papyri are as follows. For the classical *uīgīntī*, we observe on the one hand *uigenti* (*CIL* V.1645) alongside the Greek transliterations βίγεντι (in a papyrus from second-century Egypt, see Cavenaile 1958: 300 n. 193) and βειεντι (in a papyrus from sixth-century Ravenna; *Virg. gramm. epit.* 4.1.6 has *uienti*), and on the other hand *uinti* (*CIL* VI.19007 and VIII 8573). For the classical *trīgīntā*, we find *trigenta* (*Cod. Theod. Lugd.* 7.17 etc.), *trienta* (*CIL* XII.5399; *Virg. gramm. epit.* 4.3.3), *trenta* (in some documents from the seventh century onwards), and *trinta* (again in early medieval documents). As to *quadrāgīntā*, most interesting is *qarranta* which we read on a fifth-century inscription from the Mosel area (*CIL* XIII.7645), alongside *quadragenta*, *quarraginta* etc. at a later date (more examples in Jud 1905: 234-44).

As for the reflexes in the Romance languages, we notice a division between the Iberian languages (except Catalan), which appear to continue these numerals in the full forms of Classical Latin, and the others, which go back to the shorter forms: so OSp. *veínte treínta cuaraénta*, OPort. *viinte triinta quareenta* are opposed to It. *venti* (but *vinti* in varieties other than Florentine) *trenta quaranta*, Fr. *vingt trente quarante*, Prov. *vint trenta caranta*, Cat. *vint trenta koaranta*, Sard. *vinti trinta baranta* (see table 1). What all these forms share is the loss of Latin *g* (as in Lat. *regīna* > OIt. Sard. *reina*, Fr. *reine*, Sp. *reina* etc.).

	OSp.	OPort.	Italian	French	Provencale	Catalan	Sardinian
20	<i>veínte</i>	<i>viinte</i>	<i>venti</i>	<i>vingt</i>	<i>vint</i>	<i>vint</i>	<i>vinti</i>
30	<i>treínta</i>	<i>triinta</i>	<i>trenta</i>	<i>trente</i>	<i>trenta</i>	<i>trenta</i>	<i>trinta</i>
40	<i>cuaraénta</i>	<i>quareenta</i>	<i>quaranta</i>	<i>quarante</i>	<i>caranta</i>	<i>koaranta</i>	<i>baranta</i>

Table 1

What differentiates these two series, instead, is believed by many to be the stress, for while in OSp. and OPort. it still was on the penultimate syllable as in the classical form, it may be the retraction of the accent on the antepenultimate syllable that made it possible for *ĩ* to be dropped in the other forms, as attested to by C. (a typical case of retraction is in the word for ‘liver’, Lat. *ficātum* > It. *fégato*, Sp. *hígado*, Fr. *foie*; see Grandgent 1962: 63). This must have happened in *quadraginta* and the following multiples of ten (e.g. Lat. *quinguaginta* > It. *cinquanta*, Lat. *sexaginta* > It. *sessanta*, etc.), for if the accent had not been retracted, *quadraginta* would have yielded It. **quaraénta*, as Lat. *sagitta* > It. *saetta* (but Jud 1905: 242 has *quadraginta* > **quadraénta* > *quaranta*, with a contraction paralleled in the It. variant *mastro* and Sard. *mastru* from *magister*: the coexistence of *mastro* and *maestro* is not easy to explain). As it is very likely that words of the same kind have the same accentual patterns, many scholars assume that the same retraction took place, in one way or another, in the substandard forms of *uiginti* and *triginta* as well, thereby accepting C.’s testimony on *triginta* (Corssen 1868-70: II.901, Seelmann 1885: 47, Meyer-Lübke 1890-1902: I.494, Lindsay 1894: 165, Sommer 1948: 104 etc.). Others, however, discard this possibility (D’Ovidio 1884, Rydberg 1897, Jud 1905, Morf 1905: 453-7 etc.) and stick to the classical accentuation. Either way, the reconstructions are far from certain: I shall discuss some hypotheses that have been influential in scholarship.

First of all, one must establish the forms underlying the non-Iberian reflexes: these appear to be *uinti* and *trenta*, in which a most difficult point is to explain the different vowels of the first syllable, given the identical structure of the Latin starting point. Among those who reject the shift of accent, Rydberg (1897) envisages a process *uiginti* > *uigénti* > **uijénti* > *uiénti* > *uénti*, and *triginta* > *trigénta* > **trijénta* > *triénta* > *trénta*, always with closed *e*. The reduction of *ie* in hiatus to *e*, however, is far from obvious: the parallels of Lat. *pariétem* > It. *parete*, Lat. *abiétem* > It. *abete* that Rydberg produces are not really persuasive, for both have short *-ĩ-* as opposed to long *-ī-* in the first syllable of *uiginti triginta* (clearly a long vowel would

have been more resistant). Moreover, *vénti* does not quite match most Romance reflexes, which have *-i-* instead of *-e-* (a way to sort this out would be to assume that in all languages but Florentine *-e-* turned into *-i-* as influenced by the final *-i*, as we have Lat. *feci* > It. *feci* but Neap. *ficə* Fr. *fis* Prov. *fis* etc., see Meyer-Lübke 1890-1902: I.98; also, there might operate a raising before nasal + stop). Jud (1905) reconstructs a process *uīgīntī* > **uījīntī* > **uīīntī* > *uīntī* with a contraction as in *nīhīl* > *nīl*, which must have taken place before *ī* > *e*; he also accepts Rydberg's reconstruction of *trigīnta*, with the exception that he takes the passage *trigīnta* > *triénta* as influenced from **quadraénta* because of the identical ending. Also, he allows for a parallel development *uīgīnti* > *uénti* (which would explain It. *venti*) under the influence of *triénta*, and a regular *trigīnta* > *trīnta* (explaining Sard. *trinta*). Morf (1905: 453-7) accepts Jud's final picture but states that *uinti* has preserved the middle *ī* of *uīgīnti* under the pressure of the final *-ī*, and that *trenta* is the regular outcome of *trigīnta* after the opening of *ī*, *trinta* being instead analogical to *uinti*.

As for those who posit the retraction of the accent and the subsequent dropping of *gī*, they tend to explain the vowel *e* in *trenta* as influenced by the numerals *trēs*, *tredecim*, so that the starting point would have been *trégīntā*, while *uīgīnti* would have led more straightforwardly to Romance *vinti* (so Gröber 1889: 131 and 142, Meyer-Lübke 1890-1902: I.494). The retraction of the accent has been variously explained, but never with decisive arguments: Corssen (1870) relates it to the archaic initial stress, of which this case would not necessarily be a continuation, rather a late confirmation (just as several other cases of accent retraction are observed in Vulgar Latin). Of a similar opinion was Seelmann (1885), according to whom the stress on the prefix was typical of archaic Latin (but the view of Skutsch 1892: 162-3 that in Plautus *trigīnta* was accented sixteen times on the first syllable, only nine on the penultimate, is now unacceptable, as is the underlying theory of ictus = accent). Grandgent (1962: 64) cautiously explains the shift as 'a natural tendency to differentiate the numerals from one another', as in English 'thirteen', 'fourteen' etc. Tekavčić (1980: 219) suggests an influence

of the Greek numbers in -άκοντα. Väänänen (1981: 35) invokes a generic ‘intensité initiale expressive’.

More recently, Mancini (2001) has tried to shed new light on the phenomenon through a more accurate inspection of C.’s text. He has pointed out that our author’s discussion reveals not only a retraction of the accent, but also a shortening of the syllable that gets stressed (*tri*), for he uses the verb *acuat* which designates an acute accent. Given that C. contemplates the possibility of a circumflex on the first syllable of *ōrātor* as a barbarism *per detractionem* (DBM 11.20) and *per transmutationem* (12.14-15), although in the grammatical theory the circumflex can only be on the penultimate syllable (see Don. 609.8-9 H. *circumflexus autem, quotlibet syllabarum sit dictio, non tenebit nisi paenultimum locum*), Mancini (2001: 231-3) suggests that if *tri-* were long, C. would have rather talked of *circumflexus*. Therefore, *tri-* must have been short in the spoken Latin of C.’s time and place: it would follow that *trīginta* came to be pronounced as *trejenta*, whence the expected *trenta* (so *uīginti* > *vinti*, like Lat. *frīgīdus* > OSp. *frido*). The shift of the accent would have been caused by the need to stress the morpheme indicating the number ‘three’, as in *tredecim*. This reconstruction is intriguing, but it is left unclear why the *i* in *tri-* was uttered as short: perhaps that was a result of the process of shortening of unstressed vowels? In this case, one should assume that the retraction of the accent took place only in a later phase. Also, it is by no means certain that C. would have attributed a circumflex rather than an acute accent to a long antepenultimate syllable, by analogy with two cases of barbarism but contrary to the rule of the accent. Moreover, one should not forget that C. regards this as a case of barbarism *per immutationem* too, and that the other case of barbarism *per immutationem accentus* is *ōrator*, with an acute accent on an antepenultimate long syllable just as in *trīginta* (unless one were to object that even in *orator* the first syllable had been shortened).

An interesting view to explain C.’s remark is offered by Lausberg (1956-62: III.170-1): he argues that in Vulgar Latin the cluster *-igi-* was reduced to *-ij-*: so *uīginti* > *uījnti*, *trīginta* >

trijnta, so that the accent automatically shifted on the vowel of the originally antepenultimate syllable; the current pronunciation *trijnta* caused the schoolboys reading *triginta* of literary Latin to stress the first syllable, whence C.'s point (although he does not talk of schoolboys). So, in a way, the shift of accent that C. attests to would be secondary and dependent on the vowel reduction, not causing the reduction itself. A somewhat similar opinion on C.'s reliability was expressed by D'Ovidio (1884), who sees in *triginta* a compromise between spoken and literary Latin. Jud (1905: 250) argues that C., here and elsewhere, is addressing a certain group or class of his fellow countrymen, not phenomena more widely spread in spoken Latin: in particular, given C.'s allegedly Gaulish origin, he supports the idea (of Rydberg 1897: 339) that the initial accent on *triginta* is due to a Celtic substratum, which is however impossible to demonstrate.

As has been shown, the matter is so intricate that to take a stance on the development of the numeral for 'thirty' from Latin to the Romance languages is no easy task, and is beyond the scope of this commentary. Yet I believe that there are no strong reasons to discard C.'s testimony: the retraction of the accent, which is plausible already on linguistic grounds, is all the more attractive.

11.12 *homen*: I accept M's marked form *homen* as opposed to BV's *omen*, which is *facilior*: I apply the same principle to all following forms concerning aspiration, assuming that C. consistently wrote the corrupt form.

The Latin aspirate, deriving from PIE g^h or g^h , was quite weak and liable to be lost already in Republican times, so it was sometimes dropped in early inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* I².819 *ostiam*, I² 924 *Oratia* etc.). Also, the tendency to drop *h* must have been typical of rural Latin (see Var. *L.* 5.97 where we are likely to read *aedus* for *haedus* and *ircus* for *hircus*; Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.20 attributes the same to *ueteres*). On the other hand, the aspirate was at times added hypercorrectly: Catullus famously mocked a certain Arrius for his affected use of the *h* both

with vowels and consonants (Catul. 84: *chommoda, hinsidias, Hionios*), and Nigidius Figulus (in Gell. 13.6.3) criticised this usage as rustic (*rusticus fit sermo, inquit, si adspires perperam*); in Pompeian inscriptions, both dropping and wrong addition of *h* are extremely frequent (see Väänänen 1966: 57-8). In Vulgar Latin the aspirate must have been lost completely, if one is to judge from the Romance languages, where no trace of it is left in pronunciation (though it often survives in spelling, especially in French: cf. Lat. *homo* > Fr. *homme*).

But grammarians and pedants were still in Late Antiquity trying to preserve the correct use of aspiration, as is testified, besides the statements of the grammarians themselves, by a passage of Augustine, who condemns such an obsession for linguistic purism (*Serm.* 1.18.29): *uide quomodo diligenter obseruent filii hominum pacta litterarum et syllabarum accepta a prioribus locutoribus et a te accepta aeterna pacta perpetuae salutis neglegant, ut qui illa sonorum uetera placita teneat aut doceat, si contra disciplinam grammaticam sine adspiratione primae syllabae hominem dixerit, magis displiceat hominibus, quam si contra tua praecepta hominem oderit, cum sit homo*. The words *prioribus locutoribus* and *uetera placita* say a good deal about how the pronunciation of *h* was perceived in Augustine's time; and indeed his words are matched by the remarks of some grammarians who actually stigmatise the pronunciation of *homo* without aspiration (ironically, one is in a work which has been attributed to Augustine himself, *Ars breuiata* 11.1 *si quis dicat hominem detracta aspiratione barbarismum facit*; others are Diom. 452.22-3 *adspirationis, ut si quis dicat omo sine adspiratione, cum debeat aspere pronuntiari*, Pomp. 285.32-3 *detrahimus aspirationem, <omo pro> homo*).

Hypercorrect addition of the aspirate must have been an issue for the grammarians: Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.20) reports the *nimius usus* of the aspiration, which lasted for a short time but caused misspellings like *choronae chenturiones praechones* to survive in inscriptions of his age; other examples are *hemo pro emo* (Diom. 452.14), *homnia* for *omnia* (Pomp. 285.27), *hora* for *ora* (Sacerd. 451.6-7), and *horcus pro orcus* (Serv. *GL* IV.444.21-2).

As far as *omen* is concerned, that at times *h* was wrongly added is confirmed by

misspellings in manuscripts, as in MS. B of Cic. *Div.* 2.83; at times *omen* is confused with *homo* (Pl. *Cas.* 510, *Epid.* 397, *Most.* 464 etc.). C. uses the verb *scribo* here, and verbs of saying (*dico*, *profero*, *ecfero*, *enuntio*) in the other instances where he discusses aspiration: there are no strong reasons to believe that in the case of *adiectio* he refers exclusively to orthography. As already observed in the note on *DBM* 1.15, it was a matter of debate whether barbarisms of aspiration concerned speaking or writing (see Don. 654.10-12 H. *totidem modis etiam per adspirationem deprehenditur barbarismus, quem quidam scripto, quidam pronuntiationi iudicant adscribendum, propter h scilicet, quam alii litteram, alii adspirationis notam putant*): in C.'s view, they must have regarded both.

11.14-15 uilam pro uillam, mile pro mille: in the Romance languages, save Italian and Sardinian, double consonants were generally reduced to single. This happened at a late stage with the stops, at least after the sonorisation of intervocalic consonants (see Sp. *gato* < Lat. *cattus* vs. Sp. *rueda* < Lat. *rota*). The reflexes of *ll* are instead more diversified: this is preserved in Italian (Lat. *caballus* > It. *cavallo*); in Sardinian and South Italian dialects it turns into a double voiced retroflex stop (Sard. *caḍḍu*); it is palatalised in Spanish (*caballo* is pronounced *caba[ʎ]o*); it is reduced to single *l* in Portuguese, French and Provençal (Port. *cavalo*, Fr. *cheval*). In French and Provençal, in particular, *ll* seems to have been shortened at an early stage after a long vowel (see Meyer-Lübke 1890-1902: I.455-7 and 1920: 147-8), as indicated by the fact that it does not hinder diphthongisation, while it does after a short vowel, as in Fr. *étoile* < Lat. *stēlla* vs. Fr. *selle* < Lat. *sēlla*, or OFr. *oule* < Lat. *ōlla* vs. OFr. *fol* < Lat. *fōllis*. However, Ettmayer (1906a) spoke against this being a 'Lautgesetz' of French, observing that in several cases variants with single *l* were common already in Latin (for example, *ōlla* coexisted with *aulla* and *aula*, see *TLL* II.1453.9ff.). It is well known that in certain environments there existed a tendency already in archaic Latin to shorten *ll*, as for example after diphthongs as in *paulum* < *paullum* (*paullo* still in *CIL* VI.859) or *caelum* 'chisel' < **kaillo*- < **kaid-lo*- (from *caedo*),

and also in the context *-illi-*, in which case the examples are, interestingly, *uīlicus* (a derivative of C.'s *uīlla*) and *mīlia* (the plural of *mīlle*). According to Lindsay (1894: 112) this took place in the Imperial age: at least, we find the spelling with single *l* in inscriptions from that time, whereas in the Monumentum Ancyranum we still read *millia*. Pliny the Elder (*dub. serm.* 9 D.C. = 102 *GRFM*) states that *milia* is to be spelt and uttered with one *l* (*mille non debemus aliter dicere, nisi per geminum l ... in numero plurali unum l ponere debemus et dicere milia*); but this passage is cited by Pompeius (185.18-21) to answer a question that must have been common in his time: *quaesitum est hoc ipsum, utrum mille diceremus an mile, id est utrum per geminum l an per unum* (185.16-18). As is evident, C.'s point was not totally isolated. Indeed, we find a misspelling *mile* for *mille* in a Pompeian wax tablet written on 15 September 39 AD by the freedman and merchant Gaius Nouius Eunus (*TPSulp.* 68). This is to be contextualised with other instances of double continuants reduced to single in the spelling of this and like texts (like *suma* for *summam*, *faris* for *farris*). According to Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 243), 'it is possible that they reflect imperfect learning on Eunus's part – note the forms *milia* 'thousands' (...) in the case of the other geminates, nearly all of the writings with a single consonant occur after an accented syllable. Eunus may have heard the length of the consonant following an accented syllable as part of the cumulative effect of the stress, and not have indicated the geminate in his writing'. Generally speaking, when it comes to long consonants, one has to acknowledge that the early spelling practice of writing single letters indifferently for long or short sounds complicates the evidence, as it is not clear the extent to which it was influential as and after it gradually died out.

If we look at the Romance languages, *mille* produced It. *mille* on the one hand, Engad. Fr. Prov. Cat. Sp. Port. *mil* on the other; from Lat. *uilla* one has *villa* in It. Cat. Sp. Port., *vila* in Ven. (as was pronounced Prov. *villa*), *vile* in OFr. One may be tempted to envisage a continuity between the reduction of *ll* attested to by C. and that observed in Old French and Provençal, especially as in both *uilla* and *mille* the *i* is long. C.'s remark could apply to the

substandard Latin of his area, so that Old French would only develop a phenomenon already established. The problem with this view is that C. only provides examples of *ll* shortened after *ī*, not in other contexts, and that *uila* and *mile* might be explained as influenced by *uilicus* and *milia*, so that this could be just an isolated phenomenon with no connection whatsoever to the reduction of *ll* after long vowels in Old French.

Interestingly, another remark on the shortening of double *l* is found at *DBM* 16.8-10, where the issue is the faulty pronunciation of the Greeks, so there is a slight possibility that C. is implicitly referring to the Greeks here as well.

11.15-17 *socerum* ... *socrum meum* ... *nominis*: Latin used *socer*, *-erī* (PIE **suékuro-*) for ‘father-in-law’ and *socrus*, *-ūs* (PIE **swekrúh₂-*) for ‘mother-in-law’. As C. points out, for ‘father-in-law’ syncopated forms are attested, too: for example, genitive *socri* in Ulp. *dig.* 38.10.6; dative/ablative *socro* in *CIL* III.5516, 5794, 6235, 6.11638, 8.2885, 3143, 3399; dative/ablative plural *socris* in *CIL* III.3678, 4281; accusative plural *socros* in *CIL* III.3760 (see Neue and Wagener 1892-1905: I.119-20). A dative *socri* seems to have been used by Naevius (*com.* 66) *desine socri tuo, fratri patrueli meo*: but Nonius (p. 223.21M), who quotes the fragment, reads *socru*, which he regards as a masculine usage of *socrus* (under *socrus* it is registered in *OLD* s.v. c). A case of *socrus* used as a masculine is found in *TrRF adesp.* 55 Schauer (= Enn. *scen.* 357 Vahlen) *qui quondam a socru / Oenomao...*, where some prefer the syncopated *socro* (this is quoted in Cic. *Tusc.* 3.26).

C. purposely chose the accusative *socerum*, as this is the only form which, if syncopated, is identical with the accusative of *socrus*: this way, C. could show at the same time a barbarism (the syncope of *socerum*, which is substandard as shown by inscriptions) and a solecism. For once the form *socrum* is produced by mistake, it gets reanalysed, regardless of the speaker’s intention, as the word for ‘mother-in-law’, and its connection with the masculine pronoun *meum* is deemed as asyntactic: the *regula eiusdem nominis* (where *nomen* refers to *socrus*) concerns

here its gender (cf. *DBM* 18.14-19 *ergo cum contra regulam uel generis uel casus uel numeri prolatum quid fuerit, ... soloecismus plurium rerum contemplatione dicetur*).

C. discusses at length the question of whether a barbarism and a solecism can occur simultaneously in the section 19.18 – 22.2. This example is different from the one employed there (*strenuam* at 19.24): in the case of *socrum* the phonological corruption of the word (i.e. the barbarism) happens first and causes as a secondary effect the syntactic incongruity to take place, while in the case of *strenuam* barbarism and solecism are two different vices occurring independently of each other; moreover, *socrum* is a solecism only as connected to *meum*, while *strenuam* is a solecism in itself because it allegedly violates the rule of the *pluralia tantum*.

The syncopated form stigmatised by C. underlies several Romance reflexes, as Rum. *socru*, Calabr. *socru*, Log. *sogru*, OFr. *suecre*, Prov. Cat. *sogre*, Sp. *suegro*, Port. *sogro*, while the standard Lat. *socerum* has been preserved in It. *suocero* and other Italian varieties. In both *suocero* and *suocera* the diphthong is exceptional, as it normally does not arise in the antepenultimate: according to Meyer-Lübke (1890-1902: I.182), this is due to the influence of *suora nuora*; alternatively, one could reckon that either *suocero* or *suocera* or both go back to a time when at least one form was disyllabic, so that it was regularly diphthongised, and the one then influenced the other.

11.17-18 syllabae, ut salmentum pro salsamentum: a traditional example of barbarism *per detractionem syllabae*, also found in Don. 653.11-12 H., Serg. 259.27 Schindel, Cominianus in Char. 350.15 B., Ps. Mar. Victorin. 36.14 N. *Salmentum* was defended as good Latin by ps. Caper in a late (fifth-century?) treatise composed on the basis of the second-century grammarian Flavius Caper's *De latinitate* (101.8): *salmenta proferre non timeas, quia latinum est*. This might reveal that already in the second century this word was questioned as incorrect. That *salmentum* was substandard seems confirmed by the fact that it is found only a couple of times in contexts other than lists of barbarisms, namely in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (767,

768), while *salsamentum* (which indicates salted food, especially fish, or brine, and is usually plural) is attested as early as Cato (*Agr.* 88.2) and Terence (*Ad.* 380). *Salmentum* might have arisen from *salsamentum* by haplology, but could also be an original formation from **sald-* + *-mentum* or directly *sal* + *-mentum* (see Perrot 1961: 181-2, Holtz 1981: 151 n. 101).

In the Irish commentators on Donatus one finds a distinction in meaning between *salsamentum* and *salmentum*: *salmentum enim est purgamentum maris, salsamentum uero salsugo dicitur, in qua liquefit sal, ut carnes condiantur* (*Ars Laureshamensis* 193.76-9, and Murethach 196.32-4 almost to the letter; Sedulius Scottus 328.5-22 develops the explanation further). This doctrine, which goes back to the common source of the commentators, has no support in other sources and is likely to have been made up. On the other hand, the author of the *Pauca* (16) observes: *salsamentum rationabilis Latina est, salmentum uero rusticana*. Neither *salsamentum* nor *salmentum* left traces in the Romance languages.

11.18-19 orator correpta priore syllaba: Castellani (1991: 21) suggests *orator* should be emended to *orat*, probably in view of the indication *priore syllaba*: this would imply a disyllable, for *prior* is normally said of the first of two items. However, although C. explicitly endorses this rule (cf. *DNV* 340.3-5 *sed primus de multis, de duobus prior dicitur, sicut de duobus alterum dicimus, de multis alium*), he sometimes uses *prior* as *primus* in a series of more than two objects (cf. *DBM* 11.10 *triginta... priorem syllabam acuat*, 11.20-1 *oratorem... priorem syllabam... pronuntiet*, 15.18-19 *ius... aliquantum de priore littera sic proferant*, 20.4-5 *ossua producta priore syllaba*: in all these cases the form in question is certain), so there is no reason to question the genuinity of *orator* (on the usage of *prior* as *primus* see *TLL* X.1337.12ff.).

As a matter of fact, *orator* with the first syllable short is found three times in the fifth-century Gaulish poet Cyprianus Gallus (*num.* 595, *Ios.* 322, *iud.* 733), always in hexameters beginning *mittit oratores*.

quod et ipsum uitium Afrorum speciale est: see note on *DBM* 11.8-9 for a full

discussion of this and related passages on vowel length.

11.20-1 *accentus, ut si <quis> oratorem <dicens> priorem syllabam circumflexo accentu pronuntiet*: *oratorem* must stand for *orator*, for if an accentuation *ôrator* is impossible, all the more so would be *ôratorem*, which would even violate the Penultimate Law. The same holds true of the following cases of *oratorem* too (*DBM* 12.3, 14). In fact, after transitive verbs the accusative of the nouns used as examples of barbarisms is the norm, the nominative an exception, such as *orator* at 11.18 (in the cases of neuter nouns it is impossible to say). The latter, asyntactic, usage, which is quite typical of the grammarians when talking metalinguistically (see Biville 2007: 118-9), is more frequent after *pro*, in which the correct word is often put in the same case as the marked example (e.g. *DBM* 11.14 *uillam pro uillam*).

11.20 <quis> ... <dicens>: inserted by Keil, whereas Buttmann suggested <*pronuntians*>. As *oratorem* cannot be a pendent accusative, something needs supplying, unless one wanted to emend *oratorem* to *oratoris* (i.e. ‘the first syllable of *orator*’), just as we find *prima Orionis syllaba* at *DBM* 6.8. The expression *si quis... dicens* is very common in this section (11.22, 12.2, 3, 4) and probably is the best choice.

For a discussion of barbarism *per detractioem accentus*, see my comment on 11.9-11. I can add here the interpretation of Norberg (1985: 29) who takes the word in question as accusative *ôratôrem*, with a secondary accent on the first syllable. But this does not seem correct, because the accent that in this reconstruction would be primary (that on the penultimate) needs to be removed, as this is a case of *detractio*.

11.22 *onorem*: *honorem* in **BV** is *facilior*. This is the example of barbarism *per detractioem adspirationis* also in Audax 362.15 and Ps. Mar. Victorin. 36.18 N. This misspelling sometimes appears in inscriptions (*CIL* IV.1396, VIII.4681, IX.10, X.4724, XII.2486, XIV.107), and the confusion may have been worsened in view of the alleged connection with *onus* (cf. Var. *L.*

5.73 honos *ab onere: itaque honestum dicitur quod oneratum, et dictum*: Onus est honos qui sustinet rem publicam). The *h-* was lost in the spelling of this word in most Romance languages.

11.24 *bobis pro uobis*: the very same misspelling is found in an inscription from Praeneste (*CIL* XIV.3323 *a bobis*). In Classical Latin, the semivowel [w] was written <u> and transliterated in Greek as ου (e.g. Οὐαλεριος for *Valerius*). Such misspellings as that indicated by C. appear quite early: in a Pompeian tablet from 15 September 39 AD one finds *Iobe = Ioue, dibi = diui* (*TPSulp.* 68, *scriptura interior* 12 and 13, in Camodeca 1999), and in initial position *baliat = ualeat* (*CIL* IV.4874), *Berus = Verus* (*CIL* IV.4380), or in Greek letters Βειβιω = *Vibio*. The opposite, <u> for , also occurs, as in *Viuiia = Vibia* (*CIL* IV.5924a) and *Viui = Vibii* (*CIL* IV.2953), but this misspelling has been also explained as an assimilation or dittography (see Väänänen 1966: 50, Adams 2013: 183). In the early second century, the same confusion is registered in the letters of Claudius Terentianus (fourteen instances of for <u>, see Adams 1977: 31) and later in other substandard documents, both in Latin and in Greek transliteration: in the *Appendix Probi* we find e.g. *uapulo non baplo* (215) and the reverse *baculus non uaclus* (9). This issue arose to such a prominence in Late Antiquity that it was even the object of entire treatises, such as Martyrius' *De b muta et u uocali*.

A speculative reason for this confusion is usually seen in an early merger of /w/ and /b/ as a bilabial fricative [β]: Latin had no grapheme for it, which was therefore rendered with either or <u> (see Väänänen 1981: 50). As a matter of fact, for <u> is much more frequent a misspelling than the opposite, but generally this is regarded as unlikely to have been phonetically motivated: may have been favoured because it was more obviously consonantal, while <u> was also employed for the vowel /u/ (see Löfstedt 1961: 153-4, Adams 1977: 31). However, one may reckon instead that at least for some time and in some positions [b] was preserved as a stop, and only [w] had its articulation changed to [β]: as this sound was not adequately represented by <u>, speakers might have been prone to render it by (see

Adams 2013: 184-5). It is not impossible, I believe, that this could contribute to the greater frequency of for <u>, while the reverse, which occurred more rarely, may be interpreted as hypercorrection.

The position in which the confusion takes place seems crucial: in earlier documents (such as the letters of Claudius Terentianus) for <u> is found chiefly in initial position; later, the two are mainly confused between vowels. In Christian inscriptions dating to the fifth and sixth century as analysed by Herman (1965) there also appear geographical differences: in general, the exchange /<u> turns out to be far more frequent, if compared to other spelling mistakes, in Rome and southern Italy than in northern Italy and Gaul: this is especially true of the initial position, where confusion is almost absent in Gaulish and northern Italian inscriptions (see also Barbarino 1978 and Adams 2013: 187-9). One must always bear in mind that the absence or rarity of a phonetic misspelling is not sufficient to argue for the absence of the corresponding phonetic feature, for other factors play a role such as the education and literacy of the writer (see Adams 2007: 226-66 and 2013: 189-90). Yet C.'s testimony matches the epigraphical evidence, at least in that it shows that a competent speaker presumably from Gaul felt the *b/u* confusion as more typical of the substandard spoken language of Rome (cf. 11.25-6 *plebem Romanam*) than of Gaul.

If one turns to the reflexes of /w/ and /b/ in Italian and French, these eventually merged in /v/ between vowels (Lat. *la/w/are* > It. *la/v/are* Fr. *la/v/er* and Lat. *ca/b/allus* > It. *ca/v/allo* Fr. *che/v/al*) but remained distinct in initial position, with /w/ turning into /v/ (Lat. */w/acca* > It. */v/acca* Fr. */v/ache*) and /b/ remaining intact (Lat. */b/ene* > It. */b/ene* Fr. */b/ien*); in southern Italian varieties and Spanish /b/ became a fricative also in initial position (but in Spanish this must have been a later development).

Now, how does C.'s testimony fit in this reconstruction? Several parameters must be taken into consideration. If here our author were pointing only to a misspelling, not to a phonetic mistake that he picked from the spoken language (contrary to his claim of *DBM* 10.24 – 11.2,

but we have seen that he sometimes provides fictional examples), this statement would tell us nothing more than the ancient inscriptions or letters do. If instead this genuinely is an element of substandard spoken Latin, the question arises as to what actual sounds C. refers to by means of and <u>, in view of the changes that we reconstruct as possibly having occurred by his time.

A preliminary point concerns the pronunciation of /w/ and whether a difference existed between that of the educated and the substandard: a statement of Velius Longus attests to the fact that in the second century AD /w/ must have been a fricative of some kind, and as such accepted by the educated (58.17-19 u *litteram digamma... sonat cum aliqua adspiratione*). But more details are lacking, and it is not easy to tell whether the situation was exactly the same three centuries later and everywhere in the Empire (e.g. in Gaul, C.'s area), especially when it comes to the relation between low and educated pronunciation.

If /w/ was a fricative of some sort in the educated pronunciation of C.'s time (as already attested by Velius Longus), the main point is to figure out how /b/ sounded. If at all sociolinguistic levels /b/ and /w/ had fully merged as [β], C. might have heard Roman plebeians pronounce something like [β]o[β]is: so how could he tell that the initial sound was /b/ rather than /w/? Perhaps there was still a difference in articulation between the two sounds. Otherwise, it might be that our Gaulish author was not familiar with the sound [β], because /b/ and /w/ were still relatively distinct in his area especially in initial position (as Gaulish inscriptions seem to reveal), and therefore he perceived both instances of [β] as closer to /b/ (hence *bobis*). This view does not necessarily clash with the fact that even in Rome the merger was much more common intervocalically, if only we assume that C. heard *bobis* after a vowel (cf. *CIL* XIV.3323 a *bobis*).

If instead only /w/ had become [β] and /b/ was still pronounced [b], C. might have heard something like [β]o[b]is. Again, if C. was not familiar with the sound [β], he might have taken it for /b/, just as in writing was often used for [β] (<[w]>) as it seemed more representative

of the new sound than <u>.

An alternative is that the sound confusion sometimes caused speakers to pronounce [b] proper instead of [β] (<[w]>): C. might have actually heard [b]*obis*, as he claims. This was perhaps easier in initial position, where we have seen that /b/ was particularly strong. Interestingly, <bb> (with syntactic doubling: cf. note on 17.10-11) substitutes for initial <v> in a ninth-century inscription in the Roman catacomb of Commodilla, *non dicere ille secreta a bboce* (for *a voce*: ‘do not say the secret prayers aloud’): it appears that in cases of syntactic doubling such was the result of the merger of *b-* and *v-* in southern Italian varieties (see Loporcaro 2009: 125).

11.24 *peres pro pedes*: already in Early Latin *d* tended to rhotacise in certain positions such as the end of prepositions before labials, like *apur finem* for *apud finem* (*CIL* I².5, a Marsian inscription), *arfuisse* < *adfuisse*, and *aruorsum* < *aduorsum* (*SCBacch. CIL* I².581; more in Leumann 1977: 155). *Aruenire* seems to be cited as a barbarism by means of substitution by Diomedes (452.28-9 *per* <*par*>*allagen, id est mutatione litterae, si litteram aliam pro alia pronuntiemus, ut aruenire pro aduenire*), but that is a conjecture for the manuscripts’ *asuenire*. Similar remarks on archaic *d* > *r* in this context are in Vel. Long. 71.20-2 (*aruorsario*), Mar. Victorin. 72.6-7 M. (*aruentum, apur*), Prisc. *GL* II.35.2ff. (*ar, aruenas* etc.).

Between vowels, as is the case with C.’s *peres*, the change *d* > *r* is sometimes due to dissimilation, as in Lat. *meridie* < **medidie* (cf. Var. *L.* 6.4), *maredus* < *madidus* in *CGL* IV.452.7 etc. (see Battisti 1949: 175, Svennung 1955: 127-8). In inscriptions, it is probably assimilation that produces *eritor* for *editor* (*CIL* X.6565 from Velletri, 365/75 AD), *experet* for *expedit* (*CIL* XV.7199 from Rome, late fourth century AD), *Atenororus* for *Athenodorus* (Ephem. *epigr.* 8.385, from Baia). Palladius (12.22.1) and others display *columbares*, a vulgar variant of *colymbades* (a kind of pickled olives) from Gr. κολυμβάδες: according to Leumann (1977: 155) this is due to ‘Anlehnung an ein geläufiges Suffix’. None of these processes can be

at work in *irus* for *idus* (Inscr. *christ.* Diehl 1266 and 2998C, both from Rome), *iris* for *idis* = *idibus* (Inscr. *christ.* Diehl 1419 from Boville), and *merilas* for *medullas* (cf. OIt. *merolla* ‘marrow’), which is found in the second/third-century *Tab. defix.* 135 A8 and B3 Audollent from Mentana, near Rome (see Jeanneret 1918: 34-5). For other forms, see Sommer and Pfister (1977: 138). The geographical distribution of the epigraphical evidence is compatible with C.’s attribution of this vice to Rome (11.25-6 *plebem Romanam*).

This change is reminiscent of the treatment of intervocalic *d* in Umbrian, where it regularly became a sort of sibilant *r*, whose sign in the native alphabet we usually represent as **ř** (*rs* in Umbrian inscriptions in the Latin alphabet): so the equivalent of Lat. *pede* is Umbr. **peři**, *persi* (see Buck 1904: 82). Posner (1961: 90) suggests that Umbrian influence might underlie the substitution of *r* for *d* in Vulgar Latin forms with dissimilation such as *Atenororus* for *Athenodorus*. However, this should not be the case of C.’s *peres*, because this is attested too late for Umbrian substrate influence to be still active.

As for C.’s testimony and Romance, it has been customary at least since Seelmann (1885: 311) to point out that the change *d* > *r* between vowels is regular in some southern Italian dialects (chiefly Neapolitan, but also in parts of Lucania, Calabria, Sicily, and in some Tuscan varieties; see Rohlfs 1966: 204, 294-5): in Naples, for example, the word for ‘foot’ is *pere* (cf. Ledgeway 2009: 94-7). In the ninth century, a remark by Hilderic of Monte Cassino sounds strikingly close to C.’s statement: *usque hodie in quibusdam Latinorum populis r pro d utitur. Nam ubi modo dicere debent, moro dicunt; ubi uado, uaro dicunt; ubi pedem, perem dicunt* (28.31 – 29.3 in Lentini 1975). It would be fascinating to establish a direct connection between C.’s remark and modern Neapolitan, via Hilderic (cf. Abbott 1909: 242, Löfstedt 1983: 467): but several studies have highlighted that the rhotacism of *d* must be relatively recent in Neapolitan (see Battisti 1912: 177 n. 1, Wahlgren 1930: 47), so it is unlikely that continuity should be assumed between the ancient and modern phenomenon (see Rohlfs 1966: 295 n. 2, who dates rhotacism to the sixteenth century or later).

11.25 *stetim* pro *statim*: it is difficult to explain *stetim* for *stātim*, which seems no regular development. A parallel could be seen in *grāuis* > **greuis* (from which It. *greve*, Fr. *grief* etc.), but this is supposed to be modelled upon *leuis* (see Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 287). As for typical cases of the change *a* > *e*, neither the vowel weakening seen in e.g. *fācio* > *artifex* nor the semivowel-related change observed in the substandard *Ienuarius* < *Iānuarius* nor that due to the proximity of *r* such as *Caeser* < *Caesar* (and Tarterum *pro* Tartaro at 12.1-2) can be at work in this case, because no such conditioning environment is present here.

In Late Latin there are, however, other instances of a change *a* > *e* which seem independent of syllabic structure: these are found in inscriptions from all over the Empire, not specifically from Rome as C.'s *plebem Romanam* would suggest (*CIL* III.13430 *unenimis* for *unanimis*; V.8464 *Stepheni*; VIII.4328, 11475, 27472 *aenis* for *annis*, etc.), and one is reported by ps. Probus (*nom.* 69.3 P. = *GL* IV.212.3 *fetigati an fatigati? melius fetigati*).

On this basis, Herman (1978) suggested that a process of palatalisation of *a* took place in Late Latin, by means of which *a* could be pronounced as *e*, but not necessarily and in all conditions: if there actually was palatalisation, the change *a* > *e* was never generalised, but remained an allophonic process (this hypothesis is embraced by Loporcaro 2011b: 138-9). A somewhat similar view must have inspired Seelmann (1885: 173) in his comparison of *stetim* with the cockney 'keb' for 'cab': according to the German scholar, in the Latin of the Empire *a* was pronounced in a way similar to the vowel of English 'man', so that it could easily become *e*. The evidence for such change, however, is scanty, and single instances can be interpreted in a number of ways: for example, *fetigatus* may be based on *defetigatus* (just as *tuli* instead of *tetuli* comes from the compound), *unenimis* on a misunderstanding of the model *factus* – *defectus*, and others may be misspellings of no phonetic relevance. Others have interpreted *stetim* as influenced by the perfect *steti* (see Kohlstedt 1917: 46, Leumann 1977: 505): that *statim* is a derivative of *sto* was clear at least to Priscian (*GL* III.63.10-13 *deriuatiua igitur*

aduerbia... sto status statim), and such an awareness might have triggered the change.

11.25-6 quod uitium plebem Romanam quadam deliciosa nouitatis affectatione corrumpit: before *quadam*, the extracts in MS. Par. Lat. 7530 have *quasi*, accepted by Niedermann: but *Par.* alone has no stemmatic authority, often tweaks the text, and *quasi* is unnecessary here. Another reading which has little authority in view of the stemma is *V*'s *affectatione* as opposed to *affectione* in the rest of the tradition: neither word is attested in *C.*, but *affectatio* makes better sense in the context ('aspiration', as in the translation of Adams 2007: 205, is the proper meaning of *affectatio*, not *affectio*, see *OLD* s.v.), it goes more naturally with an objective genitive, is rarer, and might have produced *affectio* by means of haplography, so I think it is best to accept it here.

This sentence is of interest for a sociolinguistic and geographic characterisation of the features discussed. *Quod uitium* could theoretically go with the last example only, *stetim*, but one more plausibly understands it as referring to the phenomenon of *immutatio litterae* as a whole (see Adams 2007: 205): in a similar case (*DBM* 15.6-10 *mytacismum dicunt... sicut... dixeram illis, speciem aceti, faciem Aiakis. huius uitii remedium est...*), *huius uitii* clearly refers back to the phenomenon of *mytacism*, not the last example; also, it would be odd if one single mistake rather than a general tendency were said to corrupt the Roman plebs.

Remarks on linguistic usages of the Roman plebs are extremely rare: one such is in Consultus Fortunatianus (*Ars rhet.* 3.4 *RLM* p. 123), according to whom the *Romani uernaculi* take neuter nouns for masculines. Our passage shows a typically negative attitude towards the Roman lower classes, reproaching in this case their affected taste for new linguistic usages, no matter if aberrant: the underlying idea seems to be that a linguistic change is something that can be deliberately selected and adopted. Of course one cannot take for granted that *C.* personally heard these phonetic mistakes committed by Roman plebeians and did not draw them from other sources. Also, as was the case with *OSL* among the Africans (note on *DBM* 11.8-9), it is

not to be concluded that these vices were current only among the Roman plebs (this would clash with the epigraphical evidence we shall see later), but that these were especially common or distinguishable in that environment, or that C. was more familiar with it. It might even be that a ‘negative attitude to Romans (...) encouraged the writer to seek out vices in them that he might have found in others as well if he had chosen to look’ (Adams 2007: 205-6): however, if this were true, C. would have perhaps provided us with more comments on the linguistic usages of the Roman plebs than he actually did.

12.1 syllabae, ut si quis dicat *Tarterum* pro *Tartaro*: one would hardly regard this as the substitution of a syllable, for we would rather have the whole syllable, not just one letter, changed; that is why Buttmann conjectured *tarderum*. Apparently, however, the ancients were content with less: so Donatus (654.1 H.) has *permities* for *pernicies*, the explanation of which caused some embarrassment to the Irish commentators (e.g. *Ars Laureshamensis* 193.97ff. *quaerendum est autem, quare dixerit Donatus inmutationem esse syllabae in hoc nomine ... ad quod respondendum inmutationem esse syllabae ueraciter, quia inmutatur t cum suo i in locum c et i*), and Audax (362.7-8) has *tum* for *tunc* and *relicum* for *reliquum*.

To find cases where a whole syllable was replaced was hard to say the least: therefore, most grammarians do not provide any example of *immutatio syllabae*, while a few have to content themselves with cases where only one letter is changed – the assumption being perhaps that when one letter is different, the whole syllable too is different.

It is normally assumed that in pre-literary times, in compounds and derivatives of Latin inherited words, a short *a* in open unstressed syllable, if followed by *r*, rose to *e* (e.g. *dare* – *reddere*); the same applied to ancient loanwords from Greek, such as *camera* < καμάρα (but the purist Verrius Flaccus recommended *camara*, see Char. 73.9-10 B.), *falerae* < φάλαρα, and the city name *Aleria* < Ἀλαλία (the preservation of *a* in such words as *barbarus hilarus Megara* is usually explained by the fact that they are more recent, see Leumann 1977: 81). But there are

instances of this phenomenon also at a later time, as substandard forms: so *separare* must have had a variant **seperare*, from which It. *scev(e)rare*, Fr. *sevrer* (similarly *comparare* – **comperare*), and in inscriptions there frequently occurs the spelling *Caeser*, *-eris* (e.g. *CIL* IV.2308, VI.9492 etc.). As regards loanwords, *cithara non citera* is recommended in *Appendix Probi* 23 (from *citera*, Rum. *ceteră* and It. *cet(e)ra*), and an isolated case of *hilerus* for *hilarus* (< ἰλαρός) occurs in *CIL* II.3684.

It is hard to say whether in the substandard Latin of the Empire such a weakening of *a* before *r* was a phonological rule or only occasional and due to analogy (see Biville 1988: 203-4). *Tartarus* (< Τάρταρος), the underworld, along with the plural *Tartara* (Gr. Τάρταρα), was well acclimatised in Latin poetry since Lucretius (e.g. 3.1012), and quite popular among Christian writers as a term for hell.

It would be appealing to recognise in C.'s *Tartarum* an early attestation of the neuter *tartarum* 'dregs of wine' (see Forcellini and Du Cange s.v.) instead of an inflected form of *Tartarus*. Neuter *tartarum* is chiefly medieval (first found in the *Compositiones Lucenses*, see Svennung 1941: 75) and is continued in It. *tartaro* 'tartar' etc. Already in the late Empire this seems to underlie *linum tartarale* 'thread rubbed with *tartarum*' which we find in substandard texts like Pelagonius 260 and Chiron 6.567 (cf. Adams 1995: 582 for a different interpretation of Pelagonius' passage). But that seems unlikely, as this would be the only case in which C. uses as an example a word unattested in contemporary or earlier written texts, and there is no reason to assume that *Tartarus* was too learned a word for a discussion on barbarisms; and even if M's *pro Tartarum* should be correct, that would not necessarily point to a neuter, because this form might simply be in the same case as *Tarterum*, as uilam *pro* uillam at 11.14.

Interestingly, variants with *-er-* are found here and there in Romance, of course independently of the phenomenon registered by C.: in Milanese a form *tartera* (from *tartarum*) has existed alongside *tartara* to indicate a kind of cake (see Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 648), and a cake *tartera* occurs for example in the thirteenth century Italian poem *Il Fiore*; for long an

Italian byform of *Tartaro* ‘Tatar’ was *Tartero*.

12.2 temporis, ut si quis *pices* dicens priorem extendat: the only other example supplied by a grammarian of *immutatio temporis* is the Vergilian *feruëre Leucaten* (*A.* 8.677) in Don. 654.2 H. The substitution of a quantity can be either a lengthening (*adiectio*) or a shortening (*detractio*), so this is quite an artificial category.

C.’s example fits well in the reconstruction of the open syllable lengthening as discussed in the note on *DBM* 11.8-9. The choice of the word is surprising, because the uncountable noun *pix* is only rarely found in the plural: indeed, it was considered a *singulare tantum* by Varro (*fr.* 51 Goetz-Schoell in *Char.* 116.9-10 B.). *Pices* can hardly be corrupt here, as it is found also at 12.12-13. The fact that it is in the plural, rather than in any disyllabic form of the singular, might indicate that this word was used in the school rather than picked from the street: the source was perhaps Verg. *G.* 450, one of the few instances of *pices* (this was quoted by Charisius to mitigate Varro’s assertion). This idea is corroborated by the use of precisely the same example in order to illustrate the category of *transmutatio*. This clearly does not speak against the possibility that such a word was ever pronounced with the open stressed syllable lengthened.

12.3-4 accentus, ut si quis *oratore* dicens primam acuat: see discussion on *DBM* 11.9-11.

12.4-8 adspirationis ... adiectionem: C. only of all grammarians provides examples of *immutatio adspirationis*. There seems to be a distinction here between aspirated consonants and aspirated vowels: in the latter case (*Heurus* for *Eurus*) C. seems to envisage the aspiration as added to the vowel, so that this can be seen also as an *adiectio*; in the case of the consonants, the aspirate and non-aspirate seem to be considered as different phonemes, so much so that to talk about substitution makes sense.

Latin did non inherit aspirated consonants, and when these came with Greek loanwords

in early times, they were initially rendered by the corresponding unaspirated stops. Things must have reached a turning point by the end of the second century BC, with inscriptions showing *h* both in Greek and, surprisingly, Latin words (like *pulcher*, *triumphus* etc.): so Cicero (*Orat.* 160) reports that, while previously he had followed the ancient usage of aspirating vowels only, he recently yielded to the popular fashion and aspirated some consonants too. I have already referred to a famous passage of Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.20) on this matter in the note on *DBM* 11.12. In Classical Latin, the educated pronunciation of the aspirates must have been very close to that of Classical Greek, while it is hard to say whether at a later stage aspirates turned into fricatives as they did in later Greek. In some passages of later grammarians, *f* and *ph* seem equivalent in sound (Diom. 423.28-30 *et hoc scire debemus quod f littera tum scribitur, cum latina dictio scribitur, ut felix, nam si peregrina fuerit, p et h scribimus, ut Phoebus Phaethon*; Caper 95.4), while no similar indications are given as to the other aspirated consonants.

12.4 *Traciam*: *Tracia* is sometimes found in inscriptions, such as *CIL* XIV.3623 (*Traces* in VII.67, VIII.2258, XIV.3631).

12.5 *subtiliter*: as applied to phonetics, this is exclusive to C. At *DBM* 16.6-8 it refers to the geminate *l* as pronounced by the Greeks, that is as a single consonant; at 17.11 to double *c* uttered as single. Here it means ‘without aspiration’: the general idea it conveys is therefore one of simplicity, i.e. when the option is given between a more and a less complex phonetic element, *subtiliter* indicates the less complex one (so a single rather than a double consonant, a non-aspirated vowel rather than an aspirated one).

***Kharthaginem*:** the MSS. omit *h* after *t*, and so do the editors. But if it were *Khartaginem* there would be a *transmutatio adspirationis* (cf. Ps. Mar. Victorin. 36.23 N. *transmutatione...* *Khartaginem pro Karthagine*), not an *immutatio*, for the correct spelling has *th* (as in the other two instances of the word in C., at *DBM* 8.4 and *DNV* 348.32). Therefore, this slight emendation seems necessary. The initial velar can be rendered by either *K*- or *C*-: the latter is more frequent in general, but some grammarians prescribe the former (see *TLL*

O.2.212.69ff.); the MSS. fluctuate here, but all have *K-* at *DBM* 8.4. Spelling mistakes involving the *h* in the toponym of Carthage are frequent and various, since the aspirate took hold both in pronunciation and writing (Cicero, again in *Orat.* 160, says he once used to pronounce *Cartago*). *Chartago* is found in *Lex agr.* (*CIL* I.200) 81, *Liv. epit. Oxyrh.* 1.22, 4.83, and 4.90; instances of *Charthago* are found in manuscripts.

12.6 pro Euro Heurum: an ingenious correction of Birt (1897: 64), where the MSS. have *pro* Ebro Hebrum, which all editors have accepted so far. The problem with this reading is that *Hebrus* is the right spelling of this river name (from Gr. Ἡβρος), and as such is transmitted in literary authors: it would be odd if C. were to stigmatise it as a corruption. The Hebrus (*Evros* in modern Greek) is a river of ancient Thracia, a region which has just been mentioned. This can lead to two conclusions at least: one could accept *pro* Ebro Hebrum and think that C. alluded to the Hebrus because it was connected with Thracia (Carthage intervenes, however), but got its etymology wrong (maybe due to some folk etymology?). But I think it more likely that he actually mentioned the wind Eurus and the scribe of the archetype corrupted its name, perhaps misled by the proximity of *Traciam* and the frequent association of this region and its river (e.g. *Hor. C.* 3.25.10-11). To this one might add the frequent exchange *b/u* in medieval manuscripts. Grammarians, moreover, seem to have been more familiar with *Eurus* than *Hebrus*, since many of them used the expression *uelocior Euro* as an example of hyperbole (e.g. *Char.* 363.10-12 B., *Diom.* 461.22-3 etc.).

12.8-9 per transmutationem ... litterae: C. provides four examples of *transmutatio litterae*, which is a fair number. Metathesis must have been quite a common phenomenon in Vulgar Latin, as it usually is in less careful speech, but rather occasional, and left only rare traces in Romance: some apparent reflexes will be seen, but they should rather be deemed polygenic.

fiunt barbarismi sic: the position of *sic* and *fiunt* in the MSS. is fluctuating (*sic fiunt barbarismi* **M**, *barbarismi sic fiunt* **BV**), so Niedermann adopts the word order of the preceding

two formulations (*fiunt barbarismi sic* at *DBM* 11.13, 23). This is not a strictly necessary correction and the phrasing of either branch of the tradition could work, but the fact that they do differ makes it possible that they are both wrong and Niedermann is right (*sic* and *fiunt* may have been written above *barbarismi* and entered the text in different positions).

12.9 *plerum pro prelum*: this is in **B** and supported by **V**'s *plerumque*, while **M** has *perlum* (which Keil prints). The correct form after *pro* must be *prelum* (which need not be spelt *prae-* as in Keil), a wine- or oil- press. As a metathetic form **M**'s *perlum* would be possible, because exchanges of a vowel and a liquid between consonants do occur, such as *phyrigio* for *phrygio* (Pl. *Aul.* 508), *tarpezita* for Gr. τραπεζίτης (Pl. *Cur.* 341, 406, 711), and *corcotarii* from Gr. κροκωτός (Pl. *Aul.* 521). But *plerum* belongs in a more common category, the reciprocal metathesis of two consonants, which is especially frequent in the case of *r* and *l*, as for example in *leriqu-* for *reliqu-* (see below *DBM* 12.10), and the Greek variants Αὐλήριος for *Aurelius*, Ουαρελιανός for *Valerianus* (see Leumann 1977: 232-3). *Plerum* is a variant for *prelum* in some MSS. of Var. *R.* 1.54.2-3, Plin. *Nat.* 13.77, Claud. *carm. min.* 25.101.

12.10 *leriquum pro reliquum*: the *transmutatio* of *reliquum* too created some troubles for the copyists: **BM** have *reilquum*, which is corrected to *leriquum* in **B** (in the margin, probably by the same copyist), while **V** and *Par.* have *lericum*, which supports *leriquum*. *Reilquum* has a parallel in Ps. Mar. Victorin. 36.19 N. (*transmutatione litterae quatinus? ut inperiti dicunt reilqui pro reliqui*), a text which is only preserved in the Basel MS. of C. where it follows the *DBM*, so that one might plausibly argue that the copyist in writing *reilqui* was influenced by *reilquum* he wrote before; a stronger parallel seems Char. 350.16 B., if the text is correct (*reilcum pro eo quod est relicum*). Other grammarians support *leriquum*, such as Sacerd. 452.14 (*leriquias pro reliquias*) and Diom. 452.29-31 (*leriquias*): this form involving interchange of *r-l* is superior in view of ancient mistakes in writing and analogous phenomena in modern languages: so *lerinquas* for *relinquas* is attested in *Tab. defix.* 286 B10 Audollent, and the same occurs in some Italian dialects, such as Ven. *leriquia* and Romagn. *lerequia* (see

Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 540, Kohlstedt 1917: 85-6). Similarly, *religio* was corrupted as *lerigio* (Diom. 452.32).

12.10-11: while the first two examples of *immutatio litterae* are cases of reciprocal interchange of two liquids (*r-l* > *l-r* and vice versa), the next two entail the relocation of a liquid after a following consonant (i.e. *CL-C* > *C-CL*).

interperror pro interpretor: the reading of **B^{pc}M** is *interperror*, which was accepted by Keil, but **B**'s *interperror* (also in *Par.* but in the wrong order, and supported by *petror pro pretor* of **V**) is far more natural a metathesis, since much more common than the interchange of *r* and a vowel is the relocation of *r* after a consonant (i.e. *Cr-C* > *C-Cr*, such as *trado* > *tadro* CIL X.8249, *crocodillus* > *cocodrillus* > It. *coccodrillo* etc., see Leumann 1977: 233). *Interperror* might have been influenced by *impetro*. Moreover, *interperror* would be odd in that the closed syllable would cause the stress to switch onto the penultimate. *Interperror* is also found in some manuscripts of the Vulgate, and *interpetratio* in CIL III.2880; in Italian, *interpetrare* and its derivatives were accepted in literary language until the nineteenth century.

12.11 *coacla pro cloaca:* according to Schuchardt (1866: III.312), the metathesis is fostered by the pseudo-etymological connection with *coagula*, which is impossible to demonstrate. The exact form *coacla* was attested in the Dalmatian variety of Ragusa, now Dubrovnik (see Bartoli 1906: 2.268), while the metathetical variant *cacla* is found in CGL V.565.51: a similar case of metathesis of *l* is *port(u)laca* > **porclaca* > *porcaccla* 'purslane' (It. *porcacchia*, see Meyer-Lübke 1911-20: 500). C. notes another corruption of *cloaca* as *couacla* (DBM 20.23). For several other forms, see TLL III.1358.34-50.

12.11-12 syllabae, ut *displicina pro disciplina:* this is the traditional example, shared by Don. 654.4-5 H., Audax 362.9, Aug. *gramm.* 11.2, Iul. Tol. 181.49 M.Y (also Prisc. GL III.114.2, not on barbarism). *Displicina* has been understood as a wordplay on the displeasure (*displicet*)

of discipline, perhaps current among schoolboys (Lindsay 1894: 97): as a pun, *displicina* occurred in Italian as well. Of course there is no way to demonstrate that the whole syllables (*pli-ci*) rather than just *pl-c* were interchanged: a similar case is that of *intestina* > (*i*)*stentina*, which is very frequent in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*.

12.12-13 temporis, ut si quis pices producta priore et correpta sequenti pronuntiet: the choice of the word *pices* has been discussed in the comment on *DBM* 12.2. The lengthening of *i* and shortening of *e* fits perfectly in the OSL system. One could wonder whether it is likely that the same word, *pices*, was pronounced sometimes with *i* lengthened (12.2), sometimes with both *i* lengthened and *e* shortened: I believe that there are no reasons to exclude this, just as there is no reason to assume that only one substandard form at a time can exist (for example, C. says that *cloaca* was corrupted as *coacla* and *couacla*). Similar examples are Donatus' *dēōs* (654.5-6 H.) and Sacerdos' *Cērēs* (451.13-14).

12.14-15 accentus, ut si quis oratorem pronuntians primam syllabam circumflectat: see the relevant discussion in the note on *DBM* 11.9-11.

12.15-16 adspirationis ... Trachiam: it is quite conceivable that, if one knows that an unfamiliar word contains an aspirate but does not know where that should be, the aspirate will be misplaced, whether in speech or writing (e.g. *Chorintus* in *CIL* II.4261, VI.25228, X.3699.1, 41). As for our case, we read *Traechia* in *CIL* I *Fasti cap. a.* 727 XII (p. 478); the spelling *Trachia* was also quite frequent in the Middle Ages. For comparable examples see Seelmann (1885: 260).

12.17-18 adspiratione... metaplasmos: cf. *DBM* 8.19-21, where *per accentus et per adspirationem metaplasma non fieri* is more clear-cut, and ultimately more correct, than the

cautious *non ita frequenter fieri*: there are no metaplasms at all involving changes in accent and aspiration, because these concern neither *metrum* nor *ornatus*.

12.18-20 et uicissim ... episynaliphe: there are more ways in which barbarisms can arise than those listed by the grammarians, for the traditional barbarisms are only based on the *quadripertita ratio*, while there also arise barbarisms corresponding to diaeresis and episynaloephe. In fact, this point had been previously raised by Quintilian, who however failed to provide examples from spoken language (*Inst.* 1.5.17 *plus exigunt suptilitatis quae accidunt in dicendo uitia, quia exempla eorum tradi scripto non possunt, nisi cum in uersus inciderunt, ut diuisio Europai Asiai, et ei contrarium uitium, quod συναίρεσιν et ἐπισυναλοιφήν Graeci uocant...*).

aliquos: this is the text of **MV Par.**, which seems preferable to *alios* (**B Pauca**) since *aliquos* is better supported by the tradition and more liable to be corrupted into *alios* than the other way round.

12.22 – 13.1 generalia quarundam nationum: C. suggests concentrating on national vices so it will be possible to spot those barbarisms that correspond to diaeresis and episynaloephe. Much to our regret, he does not explicitly state in which populations these vices are typically found. That some non-standard sounds were characteristic of some *nationes* had been pointed out already by Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.33 *sunt etiam proprii quidam et inenarrabiles soni, quibus nonnumquam nationes reprehendimus*, which I prefer to the conjectural *deprehendimus*; see Adams 2007: 117 for this and related passages). From the scarce details C. gives in *DBM* about peripheral ethnolinguistic communities (*Afri*, *Graeci*, and *Galli*), these appear as homogenous both diatopically and diastratically, while we have noted that social differentiation is linguistically relevant in Rome (*plebem Romanam* at 11.25-6).

13.2-4 nam ecce ... soliuit: as diaeresis is the dissection of one syllable into two, so C. calls diaeresis the pronunciation of a semivowel as a vowel, which causes a syllable to be split into

two. Given that the opposite was much more frequent (see the following case), some assume that this was a case of hypercorrection (Maltby 2012: 731). Later in the text, however, we find the similar case of *ueni* pronounced with vocalic *u*, which is likely to be attributed to Greeks speaking Latin (see note on *DBM* 17.16-17): it is not to be excluded that the same might hold here. Also, instances of diaeresis in *soluo* and compounds do occur in non-scenic poetry, such as Catul. 2b.3 *soluit* (on which Prisc. *GL* II.16.12ff.), 66.38 *dissoluo*, Tib. 1.7.2 *dissoluenda* (cf. *TLL* V.1495.17ff. and Leumann 1977: 133 for other instances): C. cannot be referring to such cases, since his explicit concern here is barbarisms, but something similar might have happened in speech.

13.5-6 per episynaliphen ... *uam passam*: this remark poses some problems: as episynaloephe is meant to be the fusion of two syllables into one, how can this be the case of disyllabic *uua* > disyllabic *ua*, if it was /w/ that was dropped? It appears only natural that the semivowel was lost: besides being reconstructed in some contexts for prehistoric Latin (see Leumann 1977: 133ff.), the dropping of intervocalic *u* must have taken place with some frequency in Vulgar Latin, as it is registered several times in the *Appendix Probi* (73 *fauilla non failla*, cf. Sic. *faiḍḍa* Neap. *faellā*; 174 *riuus non rius*, cf. OIt. Sp. Port. *rio* etc.; 176 *pauor non paor*, cf. Log. *pore* OFr. Prov. Cat. *paor* It. *paura*), and occurs in inscriptions (see Sommer 1914: 176). Logudorese has *ua* ‘grapes’, and as a perpetuation of *ua* Abbott (1909: 238) quotes Fr. *luette* (< *l’u(u)etta*) ‘uvula’. If this is the phenomenon C. singles out in the case of *ua passa*, the only way for him to see a syllabic reduction here is if he takes *uua* as a trisyllable, or if he takes the modified *ua* as a monosyllable.

An actual reduction of the number of syllables is produced only if C. is referring to a pronunciation [wa] with semivocalic *u*, as could be produced for example through aphaeresis of the vocalic *u* (aphaeresis was not a rare phenomenon in Vulgar Latin, see Väänänen 1981: 48). Kohlstedt (1917: 58-9) suggests instead that there took place both the more predictable

dropping of intervocalic [w] and a ‘Kurzformbildung’ whereby the resulting [ua] became [wa]. This should have been a result of the syntagmatic association *ua passa* ‘raisins’, in which the main stress was on *pas-* and *ua* was pretonic, making it easier for [u] to become [w]. This role of *passa* would explain why C. used it, although *uua* was perfectly self-standing.

As it is not absolutely sure that C. takes *u* in *uam* to be vocalic instead of semivocalic, I have not used a diaeresis mark in the text.

13.7 *indurüit ... dicit induruit*: we recognise here the tendency of unstressed /u/ in hiatus to become [w] (see Väänänen 1981: 48), which is regular in Vulgar Latin. This is also shown by misspellings in inscriptions, such as omissions of *u* (*Ianarius, quattor*) and instances of *b* for *u* as happens with the semivowels (*aperberit* for *aperuerit* in *Inscr. christ. Diehl* 825). Poetry sometimes requires the semivowel for the sake of metre, as for example *Lucr.* 4.66 *quam quae tenuia sunt* (see Leumann 1977: 133).

13.10 *quidam* <inter> *barbarismos adnumerant*: after *quidam*, **M** has *praeceptores*. *Praeceptores* occurs in *DBM* 17.1 and *DNV* 370.24, while *quidam* alone to indicate grammarians is in *DBM* 1.10, 1.14, *DNV* 343.7, 27. Given that **M** has a slight tendency to interpolate, this might be the case.

M’s *nominant* as well as **V**’s *adnominant* are unparalleled in C., while forms of **B**’s *adnumerant* are found in *DNV* 351.19, 375.24, 377.25. With *adnumerant*, Heraeus’ insertion of *inter* seems necessary.

13.12 *structuras*: on the history of this term, see Lieberg (1967): in the ancient grammarians’ idiom, this was a synonym of *clausula* (for a general overview of *clausulae* and prose rhythm, see Oberhelman 2003). Whether a wrong *clausula* should be regarded as a barbarism is a question posed by Servius (*GL* IV.445.30-4) and Pompeius (288.18-21): they both deny this is the case, stating that wrong *clausulae* are just *malae structurae* or *malae compositiones*, for they involve more than one word. It must be such a view that C. refers to

when he writes *aiunt enim structurae uitium in ipso titulo peccare* (on *titulus*, see note on *DBM* 14.15-16).

Sacerdos (493.20 – 494.17 = Prob. *cath.* 41.7-35), on the other hand, does associate *structura* and barbarism. How he does it, however, is controversial: while most interpreters have understood the expression *barbarismus nostri temporis* as referring to the shortening of long final vowels (Herman 2000: 48, Adamik 2014) or loss of vowel length contrast in general (Väänänen 1981: 31), Adams (2007: 264 n. 244) seems to be right in taking it as a ‘clausula not approved at the present time’.

13.15-17 qui structuram ... peccat: according to C., a barbarism in a clausula does not consist of a bad clausula, that is the wrong sequence of long and short syllables: it arises instead when one wants to fit a prosodically unsuitable word into the desired clausula, thus altering its prosody. In this respect, it is a normal barbarism involving quantity (cf. di Capua 1937: 148). The framework is one of oral delivery, as is clear from the expression *in pronuntiando*, and the quantitative system is taken for granted here as everywhere else in C.

13.17 numero syllabarum: this concern is typical of C., as seen at *DBM* 8.14 and 10.4 (cf. notes). Here the author does not explain how such a change could follow from an addition or subtraction of quantity.

13.23 – 14.4 ex trochaeo et molosso ... facit barbarismum: for the clausula trochee + molossus (– u | – – –), see Lausberg (1998: 448). A Ciceronian example is *tela uitemus* (*Cat.* 1.2). In C.’s example, the hypothetical speaker uses as a molossus *ciborum*, which has a short first syllable, whereas a molossus requires it to be long as in *doctorum*: in order for the word to sound as a molossus, the speaker lengthens the *i*, and in so doing perpetrates a barbarism *per adiectionem temporis*.

From our perspective, things might appear a little different as this case could be seen as fitting in the general framework of long unstressed syllables being shortened (*DBM* 11.8-9 and

11.18-20, see Leonhardt 1989: 60). As a word like *dēlēctum* (in bold the stressed vowel) was vulgarly pronounced with the unstressed *e* shortened (*dēlēctum*), but clearly had long *e* when it was in the clausula trochee + molossus (*essē dēlēctum*), so educated speakers might have felt that also a word like *cībōrum* was but the substandard spoken variant of *cībōrum*, and therefore they might have been prone to use this hypercorrect version with lengthened *i* in the clausula.

14.6 apellasonos: latinisation of ἀπ'ἐλάσσονος (i.e. *a minore*), and printed as such in Mart. Cap. 9.982 and Ter. Maur. 2056, 2079, 2092.

14.6-7 qualis est structura esse uideatur, <et> dicit ille esse merebatur: the combination of some small textual issues produces remarkable differences in the editions: in particular, Keil prints *qualis structura esse uidetur illi esse merebatur*. Since **BV** have *uideatur*, which is traditionally employed in clausulae, it is probably best to follow Niedermann and print a text which includes both the right clausula (*esse uideatur*) and the wrong one (*esse merebatur*), as in the previous passage. It is hardly a coincidence that the wrong clausula is preceded by something so close to the correct example.

Esse uideatur, the most favourite Ciceronian clausula, is nowadays interpreted as a cretic-spondee/cretic-trochee with a resolution of the third syllable (cf. Lausberg 1998: 448-9); according to Sacerdos (494.27-8 = Prob. *cath.* 42.10-11) it is rather a choree + third paeon (– u | u u – u). The clausula trochee + *ionicus minor* is represented in Mart. Cap. 5.522 by *litus agitantī*.

In *esse merebatur* the problem that C. singles out is again the choice of a word whose prosody does not fit in the prosodic pattern required, for *mērēbātur* has the second syllable long whilst the *ionicus minor* requires it to be short (as in *uīdēātur*): this causes the speaker to shorten it, thereby violating the natural prosody of the word and committing a barbarism *per detractionem temporis*. Just like the previous examples, we might rather regard this case as a consequence of the shortening of unstressed syllables, for *mērēbātur* might have been vulgarly

pronounced as *měřěbātur* (with the second unstressed *e* shortened): someone might have felt this was suitable as a *ionicus minor* and used it in the clausula.

14.10 fraudem facit sermoni: *fraudem facere alicui rei* was mostly common in Late Latin (see *TLL* VI.1268.64ff.).

14.11-14 uel qualis est Verris nummos acceperat, cum optima esset, si posuisset ex trochaeo et ione maiore nummos Verris acceperat: the manuscript tradition provides a text that is hard to sort out. A sensible principle for the *constitutio textus* and the interpretation of the passage is that a contrast between the bad and the good clausula should appear. The former example is from Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.70, where the text actually is *Verres nummos acceperat*. The clausula *nummos acceperat*, a spondee + Ionic *a maiore* (– – | – – u u), was apparently not a favourite one of late grammarians: for example, Martianus Capella (5.522) criticised Cicero's *capsas admisero* (*Div. Caec.* 51). It seems reasonable that the former example that C. provides should match Cicero's text, at least as far as the clausula is concerned; on the other hand, whether it is *Verres* as in **M** or *Verris* as in **B** (**V** has *Veris*, which points to *Verris*) is not relevant to the prosodic issue. The difference should lie in the latter example, which is suggested as the good clausula and whose prosodic sequence must be – u | – – u u: here **M**'s reading is the same as before, which is obviously impossible, whereas **B** shows an inversion *nummos Verres acceperat*, which is also impossible if *Verrēs* has a long last syllable as it should. One might think of *Verrēs* as suggested by Keil in his *apparatus*, but it is unlikely that C. deemed the last syllable of this name as short, as it is always said to be long by the grammarians (cf. *Sacerd.* 478.16, *Prisc. GL* II.324.17; also *Agroec. GL* VII.115.23, but cf. Pugliarello 1978: 52, 155-6). Here is when **BV**'s *Verris* of the former example comes in: the genitive *Verrīs* is the trochee that C. says is needed, so it may be best to assume that our author misquoted Cicero's text in both cases, possibly because the sentence was excerpted from its context. Although a variant *uerrīs* existed for *uerrēs* 'boar' (*Var. R.* 2.4.4, 8) and a nominative *Verris* is found once (*CIL*

I².1150), it is not so likely that C. employed a rare nominative in –īs.

14.12-13 esset, si posuisset: the MSS. read *est si posuisset* (**B^{pc}M**) or *esse potuisset* (**B^{ac}**). Keil's correction *esset, si posuisset* is more elegant than Niedermann's *esse potuisset, si posuisset*, and is paralleled in *DNV* 373.12-13 *aliud autem esset, si aut ille non adiecisset...*

If we are to interpret this case in the light of the previous ones, C. should be implying that a barbarism is committed here when someone shortens the second syllable of *nummos* in order to have a trochee instead of simply using a word in this position which is actually a trochee.

14.15-16 cum sit mihi destinatus proprius titulus de structurarum ratione: nowhere in C. do we read a section dedicated to clausulae: this is one of a number of clues that the original work was larger and included sections which are now lost (see Keil *GL* V.332, Fögen 1997-8: 166, and §2 of my Introduction; cf. also Leonhardt 1989: 54-5, who talks of a 'Prosodielehre'). However, since C. sets this plan in the future, we cannot be certain that such a chapter was ever actually accomplished.

That said, the question now arises as to whether C.'s discussion of clausulae provides us with information about his contemporaries' feeling of quantity. What kind of speaker did the grammarian have in mind? Apparently, one learned enough to know clausulae and be able to pronounce a vowel as long or short, but such that he could employ a short syllable where a long one was required and vice versa. Whether the speaker is depicted as ignoring the exact prosody of some words or simply not paying due attention to it, the phenomenon of shortening of open unstressed syllables can play a role in all this, and can tell us that by C.'s time even educated people were prone to alter natural quantities depending on word stress.

In a more extreme view, this could be a sign that in forming clausulae some speakers already adhered to a rhythmic principle, paying more attention to word stress (and word boundaries) than actual quantities, and that at least in some cases quantities were only applied

artificially in view of one's scholastic knowledge of clausulae (cf. Bornecque 1907: 159). Lausberg (1998: 457) takes this, and the consequent reduction of the types of clausulae, as a step towards the development of the medieval *cursus*.

14.19 nihil in temporibus barbarismi sonent: the last two words are *barbarum sonent* in **B**, *barbarismi sanent* in **V**, and *barbarismis ponent* in **M**. Keil corrects **M**'s text to *barbarismi ponant*, while Niedermann accepts the reading of **B**. I print *barbarismi*, which is backed by the agreement of **M** and **V**, and *sonent*, for it makes better sense than *ponant* in a context where errors of quantity are discussed (also, the ending *-ent* which is common to both readings in a clause which requires a subjunctive suggests that the subjunctive *sonent* is original).

14.20 – 15.2 secundo ... praestant: the inclusion among barbarisms of vices concerning certain letters is to be traced back at least to Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.32), although it is controversial whether mytacisms actually are in his list. Closer to C. in time are Don. 654.13 H., Diom. 453.3ff., Serv. *GL* IV.445.6ff., Pomp. 286.6-7 (C.'s order *mytacismus labdacismus iotacismus* is shared with Donatus, the others having *iotacismus labdacismus mytacismus*). Donatus and Diomedes do not state themselves that these are barbarisms, but ascribe this view to *nonnulli*. C. does not approve of the limitation to the sounds *i l m*, and includes the faulty pronunciation of other letters, too. This can be compared with a passage of Quintilian, although his remarks concern more generally the errors a teacher has to chastise in the pronunciation of a would-be orator (*Inst.* 1.11.4 *in primis uitia si qua sunt oris emendet, ... ut suis quaeque litterae sonis enuntientur. quarundam enim uel exilitate uel pinguitudine nimia laboramus...*), and discusses the letters *rho*, *c*, *g*, *s*.

15.3 pinguius ... exilius: cf. *plus aequo minusue sonantia* by which Donatus (654.15 H.) and Diomedes (453.5) refer to the unnamed vices that some include among barbarisms. These terms are most common among grammarians in phonetical discussions, but are vague, and have different meanings when applied to different sounds (for a thorough examination see

Kohlstedt 1917: 21-39; Haverling 1995 focuses more on the rhetorical use of *pinguis*). At times they have a rather definite phonetic connotation, at times they are more impressionistic: the general impression, however, is that *pinguis* denotes a somehow ‘rich’ sound, while *exilis* a less complex one. Whatever this precisely means depends on the different sounds in question, which will have to be established case by case.

The use of degrees of comparison needs discussing. It seems to me that a spectrum is assumed for each feature, with *exilis* and *pinguis* at each end. When C. uses a comparative, the quality predicated is not higher in degree than the positive of the adjective, but tends to one end of the spectrum as opposed to the other: when C. describes a vice saying that a faulty sound is *pinguior*, that does not mean that it is *pinguior* than an already *pinguis* sound (i.e. exceedingly *pinguis*), but that the faulty sound tends to the *pinguis*-end and the correct sound to the *exilis*-end.

ratio: seen before (*DBM* 2.11-13, 3.9) as one of the traditional guidelines of *Latinitas*, that based on ‘logical consistency’ (Lausberg 1998: 221). In other words, the ‘rule’ of Latin from a prescriptive viewpoint. *Ratio Romani sermonis* is also found in Diom. 453.21, where solecisms are discussed.

Romani sermonis: this expression (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 2.14.1 and Diom. 451.26, deleted by Keil), like *Romana lingua* (*DBM* 15.20, 16.14), stands for correct Latin (see Vainio 1999: 116, 121 and Adams 2007: 245-7), since Latin was the language spoken in the Roman Empire, and is not restricted to the city of Rome (as for example *plebem Romanam* at 11.25: note the different position of the adjective).

15.6 Mytacismum: as usual with learned words of Greek origin, the orthography of this kind of barbarism is fluctuating in C.’s MSS. as well as in the grammatical tradition in general, with the result that several spellings are contemplated: *mytacismus*, *moetacismus*, *myotacismus* (see *TLL* VIII.1332.29ff., and Niedermann 1948; Bickel 1937 only admits *moetacismus*). Since the

vice concerns the letter *m* (μῃ in Greek), μυτακισμός is what we would expect in Greek, where the word is however unattested. It is doubtful whether it should appear in Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.32 *et illa per sono accidunt...: ἰωτακισμούς <et μυτακισμούς> et λαβδακισμούς* (as some editors print, for the codd. A and b read *miotacismus* instead of *iotacismus*): if it does, then we would have Quintilian state that this term, together with the others, was coined by Greeks as he adds *feliciores fingendis nominibus Graeci uocant*.

If we exclude Quintilian, the first occurrence of mytacism is in Sacerdos (454.22, where Keil prints *myotacismus*), so one cannot rule out the possibility that this is a Latin coinage (be it Greek or Latin, the model is likely to be ἰωτακισμός reanalysed as ἰω-τακισμός). In C.'s MSS. the spelling *mytacismus* is common enough that it can be taken for granted: at 14.20 **V** reads *mytacismus*, **B** *moytacismos*, and **M** *moetacismos*; here **M** has *mytacismum*, **V** *mitacismum*, **B** *moytacismum*, and *miotacismus* is the reading of *Par.*

15.6-7 in dictione aliqua sic incuriose ponitur uocali sequente m littera: Keil, following **M**, prints *in dictione aliquid sic incuriose ponitur uocali sequente m litteram*, but Niedermann's text is more precise (*m littera* is a more likely subject for *ponitur* than the vague *aliquid*) and entrenched in the tradition (*aliqua* is transmitted in **B Par. Pauca**, *aliquid* in **M**, while **V** omits the word altogether).

15.7-8 an ad priorem pertineat incertum sit: **M** has *an ad sequentem* after *pertineat*, **V** has it after *incertum sit*, and **B Par.** omit it. A disjunctive interrogative with double *an* would be odd, and the displacement of this expression in **M** and **V** might reveal it to be a spurious addition (as it is regarded by Niedermann).

15.10-13 quoties sic sonat ... faciem furentis Aiakis: at 15.11 *alia* (**BV**) seems superior to *aliqua* (**M**) in view of *DBM* 9.8-9 *cum uni parti orationis inmittitur pars orationis alia*. As for the punctuation, a pause seems to be better placed after *pars orationis* (Niedermann) than before it (Keil), so that *sonat* is given an explicit subject (an implied *uitium* from *uitii* preceding would hardly make a suitable subject for *sonat*). Such phrasing certainly obscures the fact that

mytacism arises from the juxtaposition of two words and gives the impression that it is located in just one word; but I take this to be a negligence on the part of C. – and we should bear in mind that at 14.20-1 he seems to include mytacism among barbarisms, which affect *una pars orationis*.

Seven grammarians besides C. define mytacism, all of them quite consistently except Martianus Capella (5.514), whose focus is more of a stylistic one (he says mytacism consists of the overabundance of *m*'s in a short string). The core of their definition is the prevocalic position of final *-m* (cf. Sacerd. 454.22-4 *myotacismus fit, cum finita pars orationis in m et excepta <a uocali> foedam faciat dictionem, ut poeta cum primum animum ad scribendum appulit*; also Diom. 453.9-19, Serv. *GL* IV.445.14-19, Pomp. 287.7-20, Isid. *Orig.* 1.32.6, Iul. Tol. 182.96-8 M.Y.): the first part of C.'s discussion matches this closely.

It is a more complicated task to pin down what fault the grammarians singled out in this phonological context. C.'s explanation *ut an ad priorem pertineat incertum sit* sounds analogous to that of Pompeius (287.8-9 *non enim uideris dicere hominem amicum, sed homine mamicum*) in focusing on the possibly wrong perception of word boundaries. Niedermann (1948: 9 n. 2) takes this at face value, understanding mytacism as the erroneous attachment of final *-m* to the following vowel. More plausibly, Nyman (1977: 116) shifts the focus onto the hearer, for expressions like Pompeius' *uideris* and C.'s *incertum sit* make it clear that the phonological sequence is uttered in such a way that it may sound as if final *-m* were attached to the following vowel, not that it actually is. So, in C.'s case, the faulty pronunciation must be [dikseramillis] etc., not [diksera millis].

One problem that arises here is that of the pronunciation of final *-m*, as it has been stated that this was generally reduced to nasalisation of the preceding vowel (see note on *DBM* 8.8-10). If this is so, how could it be perceived as part of the following word? A possible answer is that grammarians imply here spelling pronunciation of final *-m* (cf. Holtz 1981: 158 'majorer... le *-m* final'). Already in the first century AD Annaeus Cornutus had referred to some erudite

people who were keen on pronouncing final *-m* (in Cassiod. *orth.* I.1-4 S. = *GL* VII.147.24 – 148.2 *animaduerti quosdam, Aemili amice, eruditos etiam m litteram nec ubi oporteat dicentes, nec ubi oporteat supprimentes ... igitur si duo uerba coniungantur, quorum prius m consonantem nouissimam habeat posterius<que> a uocale incipiat, m consonans perscribitur quidem: ceterum in enuntiando durum et barbarum sonat*). Such a fashion may have been widespread in Late Antiquity as well.

A legitimate question would now be why it was final *-m*, when pronounced as such, that created issues of word boundary, and not other consonants. For the same would apply to any consonant followed by a vowel: so *ab illis* could be taken as *a billis* and so on (in the case of final *-c* at *DBM* 17.6ff., C. describes its sound explicitly). One may find an answer in the way Nyman (1977: 117) understands Pompeius' discussion of mytacism, basing it on the allophonic distribution of /m/: according to him, the grammarian warns against spelling pronunciation, for when final *-m* was pronounced fully and a string like [hominemamikum] was heard, 'the word boundary was perceived as falling between *homine* and *mamicum*' in that proper *m* was typically the onset of syllables, while as a signal of final *-m* one would have expected nasalization ([hominew̃amikum], with [w̃] being a 'bilabial nasal glide' according to Nyman). This is an interesting explanation, but it is based on a questionable interpretation of the strategies that the grammarian propounds for avoiding mytacism. Pompeius, allegedly following the second-century grammarian Melissus, suggests either *exclusio* of *m* or preferably *suspensio* (so does Servius, *GL* IV.445.16-19): the former consists of suppressing final *-m* (this is also apparently described by Diom. 453.11 *haec enim scribitur quidem, non autem enuntiatur*), but must be avoided in that it produces an undesirable hiatus (*homine amicum*). As regards the more convenient *suspensio*, the problem of Nyman's interpretation is that he takes it as a 'reduced pronunciation of the *m* sound': this does not seem quite correct from a semantic point of view, for *suspensio* points to a pause in the articulation (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.1 *suspendere spiritum* 'to take a fresh breath', Diom. 438.5-6 *subdistincio est silentii nota*

legitimi, qua pronuntiationis terminus sensu manente ita suspenditur...). Diomedes too seems to refer to a pause by the term *distinctio* as regards final *-m* at line end (453.15-17 *distinctio quoque, quae separat uerba, ut est dum conderet urbem / inferretque d. L.*). Therefore Pompeius and Servius are stating that in order to avoid word boundary ambiguity in a context -VM#V- one has to mark a pause after final *-m*, not that this must be reduced (cf. Niedermann 1948: 9 n. 2, Encuentra Ortega 2004: 5). So, in the end, it is the spelling pronunciation of final *-m* that causes the problem, but the solution to it still contemplates spelling pronunciation. The reduction of *-m* seems instead represented by the concept of *exclusio*, for it is conceivable that Pompeius referred to nasalisation in the simplistic terms of suppression of *-m*.

Turning to C., while the problem he tackles is the same as that discussed by Pompeius, his solution is different in that it entails the interposition of a word with a consonantal onset, so as to have for example *dixeram tunc illis*: such a course of action is also suggested by Diomedes in order to avoid hiatus (466.30-3 *illi incumbit* becomes *illi totus incumbit*).

As I hope to have shown, the theory of mytacism is quite hard to grasp in its phonological reality. Part of the difficulty lies in the hazy phonological terminology of the grammarians, part may consist in the fact that opinions of more ancient grammarians are reported (e.g. Melissus, some centuries earlier than Pompeius) as if phonetics had remained unchanged ever since. However, it seems only fair for Late Antiquity to conclude that in some cultured environments a spelling pronunciation of final *-m* was in force or at least contemplated, while it is perhaps hasty to assume that it was generalised among the educated (as does Encuentra Ortega 2004: 4): for in the grammarians we only have scanty indirect evidence, whereas explicit defence of spelling pronunciation is lacking altogether, and still in the sixth century Priscian describes final *-m* as an obscure sound (*GL* II.29.15ff., see note on 8.8-10).

Evidence for spelling pronunciation of final *-m* other than in grammarians may be found in the cases of unelided -VM before vowel in late versification (e.g. *CE* 2.1238.15 *undecim et*

turmas messorum duximus annis, cf. Diehl 1899: 123-39). On a different note, it appears that the grammarians' teaching on mytacism influenced the practice of later writers, for they show a tendency more marked than the ancient authors to avoid the context -VM#V- (cf. Encuentra Ortega 2004: 8ff.). Vainio (1999: 119) suggests that mytacism may have been common among the Gauls because a tendency 'to link words in pronunciation' is typical of French *liaison*, but there is no ground for this view.

15.13 iotacismum: as noted above, the first mention of iotacism (ἰωτακισμός) occurs in Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.32, where this vice is not discussed in detail. The tradition on iotacism is wide and varied, for the grammarians provide three main definitions of it (see Zago 2016: 291-3): one concerns the faulty pronunciation of dental consonant + *i* (Serv. *GL* IV.445.8-12, Pomp. 286.7-33, Sergius in *Pauca* 26 = *QSQ* 55), which C. discusses at 17.2-6 but not under the name of iotacism; secondly, as with mytacism, Martianus Capella (5.514) focuses on a more rhetorical aspect, for his definition criticises the alliteration of *i*; thirdly, one could artificially group together all those definitions which in different ways pertain to an altered pronunciation of *i* (Diom. 453.7 *cum i littera supra iustum decorem in distinctionibus extenditur*, Isid. *Orig.* 1.32.7 *quotiens in iota littera duplicatur sonus*, like Iul. Tol. 182.89-92 M.Y.). C.'s definition can be included in this last group.

C.'s discussion goes far beyond the vice of iotacism, which he singles out in the faulty pronunciation of *i* typical of Gauls and Greeks, for he also tries to outline the correct pronunciation of *i* in Latin (discussions of the whole excerpt are in Seelmann 1885: 193-203, Kohlstedt 1917: 46-51, Vainio 1999: 116-7, Adams 2007: 244-50).

15.14 pinguius uel exilius: one of the main hindrances to a full understanding of C.'s account is the terminology, for the phonological meaning of *pinguis*, *exilis*, *tenuis*, and *plenus* is not clear, and they do not seem always to be used consistently throughout the passage, especially when correct and regional uses are compared. *Pinguis* and *plenus* are normally

synonyms, and opposite to *exilis* and *tenuis* (see Schad 2007: 157, 300-1, 397): *pinguis* was used of *i* in Vel. Long. 49.17 as opposed to *exilis*, and in Pomp. 104.4-7 as opposed to *tenuis*; *plenus* was used of *i* by Lucil. 358-61 as opposed to *exilis* (in Scaur. 27.7-8 B. = *GL* VII.18.23, see Biddau 2006: 147-50); *exilis* of *i* is also found in Vel. Long. 68.8. *Tenuis* of *i* is in Lucil. 369 (in Vel. Long. 56.11). The meaning of these terms is impressionistic and often obscure, and seems to differ from one author to another. In our passage things are also complicated by ‘the writer’s chaotic switches between long and short *i* and also *yod*, without much attempt to specify what he is talking about’ (Adams 2007: 245).

15.15-17 Galli ... ponentes: according to C., Gauls pronounced *i* in *īte* not distinctly, but as a somewhat richer sound between *i* and *e*, that is probably in too open a way (Vainio 1999: 117). This is the only testimony ever of lax pronunciation of stressed *ī*. Evidence of *e* substituting for *ī* in epigraphy is inconclusive, and practically non-existent in the Romance languages. Sommer and Pfister (1977: 58) quote a few epigraphical cases with reference to C.’s passage: *CIL* III.781.9 *oreginem*, 5.1676 *peregreno*, 14.1011 *feliu*s (more in Seelmann 1885: 202). But these are too isolated to be relevant (see Kohlstedt 1917: 49), and in any case not from Gaul. Also, Adams (2007: 249-50) makes it clear that no Celtic substratum is to be assumed: this was ‘some oddity, but whatever it might have been it was of no long-term significance in the area’.

This example is to be contrasted with one of correct Latin pronunciation at 15.21, where *īte* is again used and the sound of *ī* is said to be *exilis*, which in this context should mean ‘closed’ (Vainio 1999: 116). This is the only remark on Gallic Latin made by C.: the question arises as to whether, besides this case, C. regarded their pronunciation of *i* as in compliance with correct Latin, or rather singled out only one oddity while neglecting others. For a thorough discussion of Gallic Latin see Adams (2007: 240ff.).

Seelmann (1885: 200) finds an analogy between C.’s comment on Gallic *i* and the alleged *pataunitas* of the spellings *sibe* and *quase* in the works of Livy as pointed out by

Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.4.8), but that seems groundless.

15.17-19 Graeci ... disyllabum esse factum: there are a few textual problems here. *Aliquantulum* (**M** *Ort.*) appears superior to *aliquantum* (**BV**), for it seems easier for the former to slip into the latter (after *-tu-*, *-lu-* could be dropped by haplography). Editors have printed **M**'s *priori* instead of *priore* (**BV** *Ort.*), which indeed is preferable for it is better attested here and regular in C. (cf. *DBM* 11.8, 11.19, 12.13, 20.5, 23.24). As regards the form of the verb *uideo* in the consecutive clause, **V**'s *uideas* (already conjectured by Cramer and printed by Keil) is acceptable because second person subjunctives like this are common (*DBM* 17.9 *ita hoc loquitur, ut putes...*, 17.17 *ut... putes trisyllabum incipere*) and compatible with *uides* of **M** *Ort.*; *uideatur* (also conjectured by Cramer and printed by Niedermann) also makes sense, but it is safer to choose a reading attested in the tradition.

The phenomenon in itself seems quite clear: as is the case of /w/ (see notes on *DBM* 13.2-4 and 17.16-17), Greek had lost the phoneme /j/, which was only preserved in diphthongs and as a result of synizesis (see Allen 1968: 49). Therefore, Greeks speaking Latin might have been unable to pronounce [j] and uttered it as vocalic [i], thus making *ius* disyllabic (see Adams 2003: 435). According to others (Niedermann 1948: 10, Vainio 1996: 252), the pronunciation criticised consisted of vocalic *i* plus a glide, [ij]: this view may rest on too strict an interpretation of *aliquantulum de priore littera sic proferant*, which Vainio (1996: 252) takes as to indicate that the Greeks 'pronounce a certain part of *i* in initial position too closely, so that they seem to make a double sound of it'. I think instead this should more generically mean that they pronounce a fair amount of the *i*, that is they stretch it a little.

15.17 exilius hanc proferunt: an illuminating parallel for the meaning of *exilius* seems to be Pomp. 104.4-7, where vocalic *u* and *i* are described as *tenuēs* (synonym of *exilis*), while *pinguis* is used of semivocalic *u* and the sound [j] in the assimilated *tius* of *Titius*: the same must apply to properly semivocalic *i*, for Pompeius states *si iungantur ad alias litteras, pingues sonant*. Therefore, by saying that Greeks pronounce *exilius* the *i* in *ius*, C. should mean that *i* is

not semivocalic but vocalic.

Perhaps we can go further, if only speculatively. As seen above, *exilis* is used of the *i* of *īte* in correct Latin: if C. were consistent throughout the passage, the *i* of *ius* as pronounced *exilius* by the Greeks might be a closed *i*. The analogy might stretch further so as to indicate that this *i* was also long, thus giving [i:u:s] – but whether this could confirm Vainio's reconstruction [iju:s] is difficult to say.

15.17-18 adeo expressioni eius tenui studentes: C. presents Greeks as deliberately affecting a marked pronunciation, just as he did with the *plebs Romana* and its passion for novelty (*DBM* 11.25). The impression is more of a biased comment which hardly invalidates what has been reconstructed for the Greeks' difficulty with semivowels. Also, a question which remains unanswered is whether *exilis i* was typical of the Greeks in other contexts, too.

15.20 – 16.5 Romanae linguae ... possunt declarare: in this difficult passage, C. provides two accounts of the correct pronunciation of *i* in Latin: in the former, the quality of *i* depends on its position within the word (15.20 – 16.2); in the latter, on its quantity (16.2-5). These two accounts conflict with one another: as shown by *mihi tamen uidetur* (16.2), it is the latter that reflects C.'s actual view. This is good news, for the former account, whose source is unknown, is not very clear, and surely based on a weak and artificial criterion: in a way, it is the same criterion as that traditionally used for the allophones of *l* (see *DBM* 16.14-21), but it does not work well for *i*. On the other hand, the latter account is not just clear, but also the only description provided by an ancient linguist of what appears to be the proto-Romance situation of *i* (a less clear account of the sounds of *i*, using *exilis* and *pinguis*, is in the second-century Vel. Long. 49.16-20, see Lindsay 1894: 26-7). It is worth pointing out that C. does not present this as a vulgar feature, but as standard Latin (the same goes with other late grammarians describing the different quality of *e* and *o* depending on their quantity, e.g. Serv. *GL* IV.421.16-21, Serg. *GL* IV.520.27-31, Pomp. 102.4-18, Aphthon. 33.3-8).

15.20 Romanae linguae: a synonym of *Romanus sermo* i.e. Latin (see note on *DBM* 15.3 and Hilka 1924).

in hoc haec: *haec* is found after *hoc* in **B**, and replaces *in hoc* in *Par.*; **MV Ort.** omit *haec* altogether. After *hoc*, *haec* is easily dropped, especially if abbreviated. As *haec... moderatio* would then introduce the *ut*-clause, the presence of *haec* is all the more desirable in that it makes it possible for *in hoc* to mean ‘in this matter’, as in *DBM* 16.14 and *DNV* 346.2 (*in hoc hac obseruatione utimur*, with *hoc* omitted in **M**).

moderatio: like *emendatio* when it comes to the allophones of *l* (16.14), this marks the shift from the randomness of the error to the regularity and rationality of good Latin – it is not by chance that C. uses *ratio Romani sermonis* at 15.3 (see note). As Adams (2007: 248) puts it, Latin ‘exercises a type of moderation, which consists of giving the letter different values in different environments’.

15.20-1 exilis ... incipit, ut ite: as regards the quality of *i* depending exclusively on its position, first C. states that an *i* which begins a word is *exilis*, as in *ite* (the imperative, transmitted by **MV Ort. Cruind.**, is better attested than *ire* of **B Par.** and recalls *ite* of 15.15). *Exilis* means ‘closed’ here, which works perfectly in this case, where *i* is long and stressed. But this statement cannot apply to all initial *i*’s, for C. himself implicitly describes the correct pronunciation of initial *i* (*yod*) in *ius* as not *exilis* as he condemns the fact that Greeks pronounce it *exilius* (*DBM* 15.17-19); also, no case is provided of initial short *i* (e.g. *ibi*), so the generalisation is wrong.

15.21 – 16.1 pinguior, ubi in ea desinit, ut habui tenui: it is not clear how this is to be understood: is final *i* a sound midway between *i* and *e*, just as *pinguior* describes the Gaulish pronunciation of *i* in *ite* when C. says *inter e et i pinguiorem sonum nescio quem*? Why then does C. seem to make a distinction between this case and that of *hominem*, where *i* is actually described as *medium quiddam inter e et i*? Is it a different degree of openness, so that three different *i*’s are to be assumed (*exilis*, *pinguior* and *medium inter e et i*, cf. Schuchardt 1866-8:

3.191)? Or is *pinguior* used in the same way as I assume C. conceived semivocalic *i* in *ius*? Lindsay (1894: 27) is of this opinion and envisages a pronunciation *habuyi tenuyi*.

If instead we understand *pinguior i* in *habui* as an ‘open’ final *–i*, one problem we have to face is that final *–i* in the perfect was long, and we have no evidence that *ī* was ever lax (cf. 15.13-19 with the Gauls’ *i*), while *ĩ* was (cf. *DBM* 16.3-4): one might suppose then that ‘long *i* in final syllable was subject to shortening, in keeping with a tendency throughout the history of Latin for vowels in final syllable to be weakened in various ways’ (Adams 2007: 248). Wright (1982: 57) cites the Spanish preterites *hube* and *tuve* as a proof of the openness of *i* in *habui tenui*, but Italian *ebbi* and *tenni* preserve the *i*.

16.1 medium quiddam: the choice is between *quiddam* (**BV**, omitted in *Par.*) and *quendam sonum* (**M** *Ort.*; Cruindmelus has *sonum*). It is difficult to decide in view of parallels, for an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘sound’ occurs at 15.2-3 (*cum aut pinguius aliquid aut exilius sonabit*), while an expression analogous to *quendam sonum* appears at 15.16-17 (*pinguiorem sonum nescio quem ponentes*). Also, the *utrum in alterum* argument is double-edged, for *quiddam* might have come about if *sonum* was dropped and *quendam* alone was not understood anymore, while *quendam sonum* might be an explanatory gloss (maybe taken from 16.4 *medium sonum*?): since glosses are frequent in **M**, I am inclined to prefer *quiddam*.

16.2 hominem: *i* in the middle of a word is said to have a sound intermediate between *e* and *i*: this works well for *homīnem*, where *i* is short, but it is to be excluded that the same applied to *ī*, as for example in *amīcus*. Therefore, the account is once again incomplete, and the rule based on the position deceptive. However, this remark in itself (alongside the following one on the relation between quantity and quality) can say a good deal about the quality of *ĩ* in standard Latin, which by C.’s time must have been more open than that of *ī*, thus progressing to a merger with *ē*. In the case of *hominem*, short unstressed *ĩ* underwent syncope in most Romance languages (Fr. *homme*, Sp. *hombre*), but C. ‘must have been referring to an earlier stage, and in any case he is talking about ‘correct’ Latin, in which the vowel might have been

maintained by careful speakers' (Adams 2007: 248). A similar effort to maintain unstressed *ĩ* against syncope is seen in *Appendix Probi* 53 *calida non calda*. As for the actual pronunciation, Wright (1982: 57) suggests that this could represent the 'tendency to a centralized schwa', which Adams (2007: 248 n. 183) rightly rejects as 'not well characterised by Consentius' *medium quiddam inter e et i*'.

mihi tamen uidetur: this clearly introduces the actual opinion of C. as opposed to the doctrine just laid out (cf. Goidanich 1906: 42).

16.3 quando producta est, plenior uel acutior esse: I read with **M** (and Keil) *plenior uel acutior esse* instead of *uel acutior uel plenior esse* (**B** and Niedermann; *uel acutior esse uel plenior* in **V**). It seems to me that there should be no alternative between the two adjectives, but rather that the latter is added as a clarification, for here I take *plenior* 'fuller' as opposite to *pinguior* 'more open' (cf. Schad 2007: 301, where *plenus* and *pinguis* are synonyms), and *acutior* 'sharper' as specifying it from the point of view of vocalic height. Also, the different word order in the related **B** and **V** makes it likely that the corruption arose in their exemplar. If this is correct, C. is saying that long *i* is closed. Since the following *quando autem brevis est, medium sonum exhibere* no doubt means that short *i* is more open, this account foreshadows the proto-Romance distribution.

If instead **B**'s *uel acutior uel plenior esse* (or **V**'s *uel acutior esse uel plenior*) were correct, one might understand an alternative between *acutior* 'sharper' *ĩ* and *plenior* 'fuller' *ĩ*, *plenior* being in this case a synonym of *pinguior* as in Lucil. 361 (that is, the *ĩ* in the example *ĩte* would be *acutior*, while that in *habuĩ* would be *plenior* = *pinguior*, whatever it means). In this scenario, only short *ĩ* would univocally have a *medium sonum*. With such a tripartite distribution (closed *ĩ*, maybe more open *ĩ*, and open *ĩ*), the statement *sicut eadem exempla, quae posita sunt, possunt declarare* would work perfectly: one would get three different sounds of *i* perfectly matching the three examples provided in the account based on the position of *i* within the word (cf. Schuchardt 1866-8: III.191). But this does not seem likely, for **BV**'s text is less

plausible and the idea of a more open $\bar{i}$ in standard Latin is problematic, as we have seen. One may wonder why C. decided to make things tricky for us by employing *acutior* and *plenior* instead of the terms he accustomed us to, but this would not direct the interpretation in one way or the other.

16.4 medium sonum exhibere: M's *debet* after *exhibere* seems unnecessarily prescriptive in this context, while *exhibere* can be governed by *uidetur* at 16.2.

16.5 labdacismi: for the spelling of *labdacismus* and the fluctuation in manuscripts (mostly *lautacismus*), see Niedermann (1948: 14-15). Like $\iota\omega\tau\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\lambda\alpha\beta\delta\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ first appears in Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.32, where it is not defined.

16.5-6 in eo esse dicunt, quod eadem littera uel subtilius <a> quibusdam uel pinguius efferatur: labdacism is described in different ways by late grammarians, but the general idea emerges that it formally involves *l* (single or geminate) being pronounced *exilius/tenuius* or *pinguius/largius* than the norm (Diom. 453.8-9, Serv. *GL* IV.445.12-13, Pomp. 286.34 – 287.6, Sergius in *Pauca* 27 = *QSQ* 54, Isid. *Orig.* 1.32.8, Iul. Tol. 182.92-6 M.Y., Isid. *Iun.* 204.15 Schindel). A corollary is that there are different correct ways of pronouncing *l* in different environments (cf. *DBM* 16.14-21). There are also minority views of labdacism: according to Martianus Capella (5.514) this consists of the alliteration of *l*, while both Isidore and Julian of Toledo also contemplate the assimilation *nl* > *ll*.

The insertion of <a> before *quibusdam* is due to Keil. The simple ablative of the MSS. (and Niedermann) can function neither as an agent nor as an ablative of comparison.

16.7 insitum ... gentibus est: that labdacisms are especially frequent among certain peoples is also stated by Pompeius (on Africans and possibly Romans), Sergius (Africans and Romans), and Isidore (Africans). I may start by saying that C.'s account of labdacism seems to combine a fresh observation on the Greeks' inability to pronounce double *l* with the more traditional remark on double *l* wrongly uttered as velar. The former remark concerns the length of *ll*; the latter, its quality.

16.8-10 Graeci subtiliter ... consistat: the MSS. read *ut enim dicunt*, but *ut* does not fit in here. Niedermann prints *Par.*'s *cum*, but Keil's *ubi* seems superior as it is palaeographically closer to *ut*. *Ille mihi dixit* might be a quote from Vulg. *Ioh.* 1.33. After *duae*, **M** reads *·ll·*: the problem with the resulting expression, 'the two *l*'s of the first syllable', is that the *l*'s belong to different syllables, not just one: that *·ll·* must be discarded as an interpolation is proved by the fact that *l* is a neuter immediately after (*unum l*), not a feminine as it would be if it agreed with *duae*. *Duae primae syllabae* is a little odd given that *ille* has only two syllables, but it is readily explained as indicating the first two syllables of the whole sequence *ille mihi dixit*. At 16.10, *ipse* is backed by the agreement of **MV**.

Subtiliter is not the same as *exilis* in its meaning 'clear' (in the terminology of Allen 1978: 33), for *exilius* is said to be the correct way to pronounce *ll* (16.20-1), and that cannot be the case with this vice. Instances of *subtiliter* at *DBM* 12.5 (unaspirated *Tracia*) and 17.11 (*sic custodit* pronounced with single *c*) make it clear that the adverb refers to a simple sound, when the alternative of one allegedly more complex is given. Therefore, the discussion is not about the quality of *l* but its quantity, for apparently the Greeks were unable to pronounce *ll* (there is no reason to think that by pronouncing single *l* instead of double, Greeks also changed its quality). C. makes the same remark on their pronunciation of *ss* (17.14-16): this is all in keeping with the simplification of double consonants that seems to have taken place in Greek from the third century BC, so much so that Standard Modern Greek does not have geminates (see Horrocks 2010: 171). In Greek papyri, for example, λ and $\lambda\lambda$ are commonly exchanged, a sign of 'the identification in speech of single and double consonants corresponding to the loss of quantitative distinction in vowels' (Gignac 1976: 154-5). In Greek transcriptions of Latin names, *ll* is frequently transcribed as λ , the opposite also being frequent (see Eckinger 1900: 104-6). A remark on the erroneous simplification of *ll* has been observed already at 11.13-14 (*uilam, mile*), where it was not ascribed to any particular nation.

16.10-13 contra alii sic pronuntiant ... pinguissimae prolationis: the MSS. read

consonanti, while *Par.* has *consonantis*: the latter is printed by Keil (although he did not use *Par.*) and Niedermann, and would roughly mean ‘they seem to add/mix there some sound of the consonant as well’. But this is not clear to me: does it mean that they ‘add an extra consonant sound to the long /l/’ as Vainio (1999: 119) believes? I prefer the dative *consonanti*, which provides the sentence with an indirect object: such a text would translate ‘they seem to add there some sound to the consonant as well’.

It is difficult to determine the phonological reality of this vice. C. says this is typical of a *pinguissima prolatio*. As *pinguis l* is generally interpreted as velar, the *pinguissima prolatio* of geminate *l* might also be velar: such a pronunciation would be fittingly illustrated by an expression denoting increased sonorisation of *l* such as *aliquid soni... admiscere* (so Burghini and Uría Varela 2010: 189 n. 42): therefore, C. should be saying that, while as a rule *ll* is ‘clear’, some pronounce it as ‘dark’. Less plausibly, some have also suggested that, by pointing to the addition of some sound to the consonant, C. indicates a palatalised sound like that of double *l* in modern Spanish (see Lindsay 1894: 92, Vainio 1999: 119). Yet another interpretation is put forward by Belardi (1984: 94-5), according to whom the addition of *aliquid soni* might mean that *alii* pronounce *ll* as somewhat too long, as opposed to the Greeks who pronounce it as single *l*. The account of labdacism in Servius, Pompeius, and Sergius seems to support the first explanation of C.’s passage, for all of them say that *ll* is wrong when pronounced *pinguius*, that is when it sounds velar (see e.g. Serv. *GL* IV.445.12-13 *labdacismi fiunt, si aut unum <l> tenuius dicis [solocismum], ut Lucius, aut geminum pinguius, ut Metellus*).

Who are the *alii* C. refers to? The extract from Sergius in *Pauca* 27 = *QSQ* 54 (*Romani uero duo ll pinguius, ut Metellus*) ascribes a ‘richer’ pronunciation of *ll* to the Romans. This passage is very close to a difficult one of Pompeius (287.5-6): *labdacismis scatent Afri, raro est ut aliquis dicat l: per geminum l sic locuntur Romani, omnes Latini sic locuntur*, Catullus Metellus (Zago, in her yet unpublished edition of this section, punctuates after *per geminum l*). Unlike Sergius, here Pompeius seems to say that Romans are the repository of the correct

pronunciation of *ll*. Since we do not know the relation between the texts of Sergius and Pompeius, one cannot exclude that Sergius simply elaborated on Pompeius' (or their common source's) doctrine, not necessarily in the most correct way.

On a different note, I shall touch upon a couple of textual issues not relevant to the general discussion, but symptomatic of the habits of **M**'s copyist. In the quotation from Verg. *A.* 6.112 *ille meum comitatus iter*, **M** adds an unmetrical *est* after *comitatus*, apparently for the sake of syntactic clarity. The same seems to take place in the following piece of verse, *illum ego per flammās* (Verg. *A.* 6.110): this hexameter would continue with *et mille sequentia tela*, but **M** skips this and adds *eripui* taken from the next line, in order to give the sentence a verb.

16.14 Romana ... habet: the MSS. have *Romanae linguae... habent*, but there can hardly be more than one language of Rome, so editors have corrected it into *Romana lingua... habet*.

emendationem: this sets a prescriptive discourse and is used several times by C. in connection with *loquendi* (*DNV* 353.32, 357.24-5, 380.33): here the sense is one of general correctness rather than the act of correction (see *TLL* VI.455.67ff., esp. 78ff.).

in hoc quoque distinctione: the tradition has *in hac*, which must have come about as some scribe connected it to *distinctione*. Keil's *in hoc* 'in this matter' has parallel at *DBM* 15.20 and *DNV* 346.2. *Distinctione* is an instrumental ablative.

16.5 alicubi pinguius, alicubi debet exilius proferri: for the use of comparatives, see note on 15.3: in a spectrum having *pinguiter* and *exiliter* at its ends, a sound pronounced *pinguius* tends toward *pinguiter*, and vice versa. This is one of the few accounts of the complementary distribution of *l* provided by ancient linguists. I shall first set these against each other, then try to compare the information they provide with historical phonology.

The more ancient account is ascribed to Pliny the Elder by Priscian (*GL* II.29.8-12): *L triplicem, ut Plinio uidetur, sonum habet: exilem, quando geminatur secundo loco posita, ut ille, Metellus; plenum, quando finit nomina uel syllabas et quando aliquam habet ante se in*

eadem syllaba consonantem, ut sol, silua, flauus, clarus; medium in aliis, ut lectum, lectus (dub. serm. 8 D.C. = 2 GRFM).

Another is found in Martianus Capella (3.241): *l uero littera tripliciter sonat. nam exilem sonum reddit cum geminatur, ut sollers, Sallustius, medium autem cum terminat nomina, ut sol sal, item leniter sonat cum uocales anteuenit, ut lapis, lepus, liber, locus, lucerna; plenum uero sonum habet, cum ei praeferuntur litterae p g c f, ut in Plauto, glebis, Claudio, Flauo.*

Whether these share a source or the latter draws on the former, Pliny and Martianus Capella are closer to one another than is C., for our author does not discuss the sound of *l* in some environments and gives a slightly different account of others. Whilst C. identifies two sounds of *l*, just as we moderns reconstruct, Pliny and Martianus distinguish three: one of these they call *exilis* (like C.), that is ‘clear’ *l*; one *plenus* (= *pinguius* in C.), that is ‘dark’ *l*; the third one is *medius*, which is not matched in C. and is difficult for us to determine, if indeed it was different from ‘clear’ and ‘dark’: recently, Sen (2015: 15ff.) has suggested that this was ‘underspecified for tongue body position’ (see below). But as much as Pliny and Martianus are close, even their descriptions diverge to some extent: how do we account for the differences between all of the grammarians? One important point to make is that all three allegedly discuss the phonology of standard, not substandard Latin: differences should not be due to diastratic variation. Possible reasons for the inconsistency can be different sources, different perception of phenomena, and in some cases language change, for some centuries have elapsed between Pliny’s account and the later ones (unless they all depend on earlier sources, like Palaemon as suggested by Goetting 1899: 92).

16.16-18 pinguius ... Calpe: the only environment where C. explicitly allows for ‘dark’ *l* is the preconsonantal position, which is also admitted by Pliny (*quando finit... syllabas... silua*), while Martianus omits this context. C. also gives a list of ‘velarising’ consonants, i.e. the labials *p b m f* and the velar *c g*, where it is not clear whether this is meant to be a full set or not. In the examples we come across a few textual problems. Where *in* is omitted, it has to be

restored, for these are all ablatives. **BV**'s *balbo* seems preferable to **M**'s *albo* inasmuch as it is *difficilior*. *Par.*'s *alga* is correct as opposed to *algam* of **BMV**. As for the example illustrating the cluster *lp*, **B¹V** *Par.* read *Calpe* (one of the pillars of Hercules), **B²** has the non-existent *salpo*, **M** the also non-existent *scalpe* (*scalps* in the margins), while Keil conjectures *scalpro*: *Calpe* is probably the easiest and best of all these, and occurs sometimes in Charisius (e.g. 67.4, 74.9, 77.30 B.).

C. and Pliny are proved right by the Romance reflexes, for preconsonantal *l* has been vocalised as *u* in most Romance languages other than Italian and Romanian: this could only happen if *l* was velar (see Meyer-Lübke 1890-1902: I.403-8). So *balbus* has yielded OFr. *baup*, Sp. *bobo*, while *l* has been preserved in It. *balbo*; a word with *lf* like *sulfur* has produced Fr. *soufre*, Prov. *soupre*, Sp. *azufre*, but It. *zolfo*; from *pulmo* one has Fr. *poumon* and Prov. *paumú*, but It. *polmone* Rom. *plămân* Sp. *pulmon* etc.

16.18-20 exilius ... lepore, lana, lupō: C. locates *l* pronounced *exilius* in initial position before any vowel, front or back; according to Pliny, *l* in such an environment has a *medius sonus* (his example is *lectum*, but this should work with all vowels, as he says *in aliis*), and in Martianus initial *l* before any vowel is said to sound *leniter* (perhaps the same as *medius*, for the sentence is introduced by *item* following the description of the middle sound). This doctrine clashes with that of the group including Servius, Pompeius, Sergius, and Isidore, for when they discuss labdacism they imply that single *l* is in every context *pinguis*, as the vice consists in pronouncing it *exilius* (e.g. Serv. *GL* IV.445.12-13 *labdacismi fiunt, si aut unum <l> tenuius dicis*).

It seems reasonable that all prevocalic *l*'s are included, both initial and intervocalic. In prehistoric Latin, *l* in onsets must have been 'clear' before long and short *i*, 'dark' before all other vowels: see e.g. *uelim* vs. *uolēbam/uolam/uolo/uolumus* from Plt. **wel-mi* (Leumann 1977: 140). It is doubtful how *l* was pronounced before short *e*, but it might have been relatively dark (**ad-alesco* > *adolescere*). In the Romance languages, onset-*l*'s have been preserved as

‘clear’: C. surely reflects this better than the group of Servius, who seem to assume that single *l* was always velar. It is not really clear what Pliny’s *medius sonus* and Martianus’ *leniter* stand for, but the fact that they take all prevocalic *l*’s as non-velar (*pace* Belardi 1984: 87) might reflect a change from prehistoric Latin, namely that *l* before back vowels was not velar anymore, as is attested by C. and the Romance developments. Sen (2015: 16) has it that ‘Pliny’s *medius* variety concurs with the colouring evidence that /l/ was contextually darkened in onsets, conditioned by the following vowel (...) this onset /l/ was not as dark as coda /l/, as shown by the backing only to /o/ and not to /u/ in stressed initial syllables’.

16.20-1 ubi in eodem uerbo et prior syllaba in hac finitur et sequens ab ea incipit, ut ille: one point on which all testimonies agree is the *exilis* pronunciation of *ll*. According to Adams (2007: 268), both C. and Pliny ‘made it clear that it was not the double *l* as such that was *exilis*, but only the second member of the geminate’, but I am not sure this subtlety is entailed in the phrasing of either author: C. for one does not distinguish between the sound of the first and the second *l*. Moreover, that *ll* was ‘clear’ in prehistoric Latin is shown by the fact that it never caused the preceding short vowel to turn into a back vowel (cf. *uelle* vs. *uolo*). On geminate *l* in Romance, see note on *DBM* 11.14-15.

16.21 Allia: the river by which the Romans were defeated by the Gauls in the early fourth century BC. Among grammarians, it is mentioned by Priscian (*GL* II.202.5, 8).

C. does not talk about final *-l*, whose sound is described as *plenus* by Pliny and *medius* by Martianus. This must have been velar in prehistoric Latin, given *consul* < **kon-sel* vs. *consilium*. Final *-l* shows no sign of velarity in Romance: this might be reflected by the later Martianus’ *medius sonus*, which is perhaps a sign that something had changed since Pliny’s time.

C. does not inform us about the sound of postconsonantal *l* either, which is described as *plenus* by Pliny and Martianus. Most Romance varieties palatalise it or preserve it as *l*, as for example *clarus* > It. *chiaro*, Sp. *claro*, Fr. *clair* (see Meyer-Lübke 1890-1902: I.345-51, 410-

5). So either the neutralisation of the velarity of postconsonantal *l* is later than Martianus, or he is providing here an outdated report, perhaps based on the account of the much more ancient Pliny.

Other notable (if dated) discussions of our passage and of the relevant ones in grammarians are in Schuchardt (1866-8: II.486-7), Seelmann (1885: 326), Osthoff (1893: 65), Ettmayer (1906b: 648-53), and Kohlstedt (1917: 62-7).

17.1 et in aliis litteris: cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.11.4 (cited in the note on 14.20 – 15.2).

genitalia: in **MV** *Pauca*, while **B** has *generalia* (with an illegible correction). The former is found in **MV** again at 17.18 in the same context (*fortasse sint etiam alia genitalia... uitia*), where **B** has *gentilia*. Keil prints *generalia*, which has a striking parallel at 12.21ff. (*si uelimus aduertere per uitia non solum specialia hominum, sed generalia quarundam nationum*); Niedermann opts for *gentilia*, which means ‘of or belonging to one’s tribe or race, national’ (*OLD* s.v. 2), and is conveniently paralleled in Consultus Fortunatianus (*Ars rhet.* 3.4 *RLM* 123.7) *gentilia uerba quae sunt? quae propria sunt quarundam gentium* and in Jerome (*in Ezech.* 47D = *PL* 25) *gentili Italiae Pannoniaeque sermone*. I prefer *genitalia* in its meaning ‘hereditary, inborn, native’ (see *OLD* s.v. 4, *TLL* VI.1814.51ff.), for it is much better attested in the manuscript tradition while still making sense (and in a way it is parallel to 16.7 *insitum alterutrum uitium...*).

17.2 quorundam uitia: in **BV** (**V**’s *quorum dicit* is only a palaeographic mistake for *quorundam*); *Pauca* has *quorundam uitia hominum*, **M** *quarundam uitia nationum*. In the parallel passage at 17.18 (not in *Pauca*) both branches behave consistently, for **BV** have *quorundam* and **M** *quarundam nationum*. The latter is paralleled at 12.21, but *nationum* here could conversely be seen as a gloss imported from there, especially in light of *hominum* in *Pauca*, where *quorundam* may reveal that **M**’s *quarundam* has been tweaked for the sake of agreement with the feminine *nationum*. It is no easy decision, but perhaps *quorundam* can be

employed without further specification, especially since a reference to nations is implied in *genitalia* (or *gentilia*, if that should be superior).

ut ecce: the MSS. have *ecce ut*, but *ut ecce* is normal in C. (12 occurrences, none of *ecce ut*).

in t aliqui: the variants are *in t alii* (V), *itali* (B), *in tali uerbo* (M *Pauca*). As Vainio (1996: 248) points out, such an expression as *in t* is necessary, for C. has just written *et in aliis litteris*, and a mention of the letter in question introduces all of the following discussions (*item litteram c* at 17.6, *item s litteram* at 17.14, *u quoque litteram* at 17.16). *In t* works well even without Keil's supplement *littera*, and the entire tradition conspires towards it: probably the archetype had something like *intali*, which has been further corrupted in the MSS. How about the subject? V's *alii* cannot stay without an antecedent. B's *Itali*, which would provide interesting information on regional diversification of Latin, would do grammatically and palaeographically (*It-* could have been lost after *in t*), but no mention of the Italians is ever made by C., and where *Itali* is used by Isidore in a similar discussion (although not specifically on *ti*), the opposite feature seems to be ascribed to them (*Orig.* 9.1.8 *omnes Occidentis gentes uerba in dentibus frangunt, sicut Itali et Hispani*): so *Itali* is hardly the right word here. The indefinite *aliqui*, as emended by Keil, seems more likely, for the more general discussion features other indefinites such as *quidam* (17.7), *alii* (17.11), and *aliqui* itself (17.16).

17.2-4 ita pingue nescio ... infringant: it is commonly agreed that this passage is about palatalisation of *ti* + vowel. First, the verb *infringo* should be discussed. This is not a technical term, but an impressionistic one: in *TLL* VII.1494.14 the meaning of *infringo* in our passage is said to be the same as *demo*, but I would rather understand it as a variation on the original sense 'to break, shatter', so that the description would roughly point to an affricate rather than a stop ('breaking something off the middle syllable' is the translation of Lindsay 1894: 84). For *infringo*, Vainio (1996: 248-9) compares Isid. *Orig.* 9.1.8 (seen above), where *in dentibus frangunt... Itali*; in another passage, Isidore attributes to *Itali* the palatalisation of *di* + vowel

(*Orig.* 20.9.4 *solent Itali dicere ozie pro hodie*). Although it is by no means certain that Isidore hints at palatalisation in the first passage, the expression is compatible with such a phenomenon, and can help us figure out the sound C. refers to (see also Adams 2007: 203 n. 25).

The vice which C. blames on some people is that they do not pronounce the cluster *ti* + vowel with some sort of palatalisation: the faulty sound they utter in the middle syllable of *etiam* is vaguely described as *pingue nescio quid*. This should indicate a pronunciation of *t* as ‘intact’ or ‘not broken’, a stop rather than an affricate (the classical [‘etiam] or, with a glide, [‘etijam]): in a way, a spelling pronunciation. By contrast, we must assume that C. considered palatalised *ti* the rule. This is in keeping with the chronology of palatalisation and the statements of other grammarians about it. In view of the epigraphic evidence, palatalisation appears to have taken place from the second/third century AD (see Mraz 1948, Väänänen 1981: 54). Grammarians acknowledge it from the late fourth century (see Kramer 1976: 70-2). Servius handles this issue in his discussion of iotacism and writes (*GL* IV.445.9-10): *plerumque supra dictae syllabae in sibilum transeunt, tunc scilicet, quando medium locum tenent, ut meridies* (on the difficulties of this passage see Zago 2016: 296-8). Pompeius, in the fifth/sixth century, recommends the assibilated pronunciation in the cluster *ti/di* + vowel as correct (286.7-17 and 104.6-7, cf. Kaster 1988: 157 n. 4). Q. Papirius (probably Papirianus, variously dated between the late fourth and the early sixth century: see Kaster 1988: 421-2), explicitly mentions *z*, probably the fricative, as a sound present in the cluster *ti* + vowel (*GL* VII.216.8-9 *iustitia cum scribitur, tertia syllaba sic sonat, quasi constet ex tribus litteris t z et i*), and so does Isidore in the seventh century (*Orig.* 1.27.28 *cum iustitia sonum z litterae exprimat...*).

So who is blamed for the spelling pronunciation of *etiam*? According to those who accept Niedermann’s text, the ‘Italians’ are (cf. Adams 2003: 433 n. 62): however, since this would be conflicting with Isidore’s later remark (*Orig.* 20.9.4) and the evidence for palatalisation, Adams (2007: 204) suggests that ‘there were careful speakers who avoided yodisation and palatalisation in these environments, and that Consentius (...) had heard some of

them in Italy, presumably among the educated classes'. As the reading *Itali* is unlikely for the reasons seen above, I am inclined to believe that the spelling pronunciation was typical of some people (*aliqui*), perhaps educated, regardless of their place of origin: it would be difficult to locate geographically this sort of resistance to palatalisation, as it was to become common to all Romance languages. Otherwise, one may reckon that in some areas palatalisation had not developed yet, and C. might be referring to these. Adams' (2007: 204) alternative explanation, namely that 'it is only Greeks who are portrayed as having a vice, with Italian usage by contrast mentioned only as the correct standard', does not work, for even if *Itali* were correct, the statement would still be embedded in a pattern in which two opposite vices are always mentioned, and the non-palatalised pronunciation is introduced as a vice (*uitia, ut ecce...*).

Now the question arises as to which is the exact pronunciation that C. envisages as normal: is it *e[tj]am*, *e[tsj]am*, or *e[ts]am* (as for example one finds already in the second/third century *Vincentzus*, see Jeanneret 1918: 48)? While Vainio (1996: 249) and Adams (2007: 204) opt for *e[tj]am* with yodisation of /i/ (as a first stage of palatalisation), there are stronger indications pointing to *e[tsj]am*. An internal piece of evidence is that C. explicitly discusses the sound of /t/, not /i/: it is therefore more likely that in *etiam* he found fault with the pronunciation of [ts] as [t] than with the vocalisation as [i] of the semivowel [j]. Another internal clue is to be seen in the way the vice perpetrated by the Greeks is described next: the Greeks *infringunt* where they should not, pronouncing *optimus* with *tz* (for the untenable variant *y*, see below); conversely, the pronunciation with *tz* must be correct where the mistake is perpetrated by those who *nihil de media syllaba infringant*. An external element is the information of such grammarians as Papirianus, according to whom in *iustitia* one pronounces the third syllable (where the syllabic division is still the ancient one) as *tzi*, which points to *e[tsj]am* rather than *e[ts]am* in our case (although one has to be aware that grammarians do not necessarily explain the same phenomena in the same way, and that Papirianus might reflect a later stage of the language than C.; see Vainio 1996: 253).

17.4-6 Graeci ... admisceant: one has to establish the correct text first. At 17.6 the tradition points to *z Graecum* (**MV Pauca**), with only **B** having *y Graecum*. In principle, both *z* and *y* could do, for it was generally acknowledged that these letters were typically Greek (see e.g. Serv. *GL* IV.423.4 *y et z Graecae sunt litterae*). According to Vainio (1996: 251), *y* would not represent here /y/ but /j/, ‘for the Greek *ypsilon* as a close front rounded vowel, together with *i* and pronounced very closely, develops into a sound which is not very far from /j/’: the employment of <y> would be justified by the fact that ‘there was no written equivalent for /j/, so C.’s way of describing it is as good as any’. The underlying pronunciation would be ‘something like /opt̪imus/’, so that the mistake of the Greeks would consist in ‘the faint palatalization of *ti* in a wrong place, before a consonant (...) but not such a strong one as a *z* in the text would imply’. I find it much more sensible, however, to go with the majority of the tradition and choose *z*, which poses no problems as to the correspondence of grapheme and sound; that *z* is to be read here seems supported by a fragment of Sergius on iotacism in which he blames on the Greeks the improper palatalisation of *ti* followed by a consonant and mentions *sibilus* (*Pauca* 26 = *QSQ* 55 *iotacismus est quem ad modum Graeci dicunt Titius: priori syllabae sibilum tribuunt*). So two grammarians assert that Greeks used to pronounce Latin *ti* + consonant with assibilation: the closest phenomenon one can observe is some interchange in Greek papyri between δ and ζ especially before ι, which reveals that [d] had turned into a dental fricative [ð] by the fourth century AD (see Gignac 1976: 75-6 and Horrocks 2010: 170; by the same time, [t^h] should have become [θ]). There is no evidence, however, that anything of the like ever occurred to /t/ (which is preserved as such still in modern Greek): therefore, one could argue that ‘the Greeks in their anxiety to correct this fault [i.e. the non-assibilated pronunciation] were apt to go to the extreme of giving the new sound to *ti* even when not followed by a vowel’ (Lindsay 1894: 84).

17.6-10 litteram c ... ludere: here the issue is that of the pronunciation of single *c* as double

and double *c* as single across a word boundary, a fault which can create some ambiguity. First, C. reports that some people (it is impossible to figure out who) pronounce final *-c*, which is single, as too long. This can create confusion if the following word is one which the addition of initial *c-* will transform into another word with a different meaning, as is the case with *ludo*, which becomes *cludo* if *c-* is added (C. uses *cludo* instead of *claudio* also in non-metalinguistic context, e.g. at *DBM* 6.18). That the problem lies here, and not in ‘the tendency to detach a final consonant from its word, and join it to a following initial’ (Lindsay 1894: 122) is shown both by the adverb *crasse*, which makes it clear that the consonant is lengthened, and by the description of the opposite fault, which clearly points to simplification of *cc* (*cum duo c habeant... uno c utrumque explicent*).

17.7 in quibusdam dictionibus: C. does not seem to refer to the words to which *c* is added, i.e. he does not feel he should make it clear that ambiguity only occurs when certain words follow or precede (for example, there would be no problem if someone pronounced *sic laedit* or *se cludit* with double *c*): instead he focuses on the words ending or starting with *c*.

Perhaps this fault was more likely to arise in words of a certain type: one instantly thinks of the neuter nominative *hōc* (< **hocce* < **hod-ce*) as a word in which final *-c* was regularly long, whence also the masculine *hīc* had *c* doubled from Ennius onwards (see Allen 1978: 75-7). The fact that *sic* is also a monosyllable is interesting, but no proof whatsoever that final *-c* was especially susceptible to being lengthened in monosyllables. According to Kohlstedt (1917: 70), *c* is double in *sic* because the adverb ‘trägt oft den rhetorischen Akzent’, a view which I do not think we have sufficient reasons to accept.

17.8 crasse: cf. Mar. Victorin. 95.15-16 M. = Char. 12.30-2 B. and Char. 13.10-12 B., on the sound of *c* in *hic* and *hoc* (see note on *DBM* 25.1-3).

si <quis> dicat: Mariotti (1952: 197) speaks against the insertion of <*quis*>, taking this as a case of impersonal *dicit* (see Löfstedt 1936: 130ff.): but the fact that in the following consecutive clause there is a personal construction (*eum... dixisse*) makes <*quis*> quite a

necessary supplement.

17.10-11 si contra dicat illud, contrarium putabis: complementary to the case of *sic ludit* is the one in which one word begins with *c-* and the one preceding it would be transformed by the addition of final *-c*: in *si cludit*, for example, some people lengthen initial *c-* so that *si* could be misunderstood as *sic*.

One may be tempted to infer that C. is describing some kind of syntactic doubling (cf. It. *se chiude*, pronounced [se'k:ju:de]). Syntactic doubling, which is present in modern Italian but must have been common to other Romance varieties prior to the shortening of long consonants (see Loporcaro 1997: 73-82), consists of the doubling of an initial consonant following all oxytonous polysyllables, all stressed monosyllables, some unstressed monosyllables, some paroxytones (see Loporcaro 1997: 1ff.). Some scholars (e.g. Vincent 1988) have associated syntactic doubling with final syllable stress, the assumption being that in Late Latin all stressed syllables tended to have equal prosodic weight, so that the following consonant should be lengthened because final vowels tended to be short. The majority instead explain syntactic doubling by the assimilation of final consonants in Late Latin, taking the accentual condition as one which emerged only later due to reanalysis. Whatever interpretation is more likely, there is no evidence in Latin documents nor allusions by grammarians, so that C.'s testimony would prove extremely valuable if it really hinted at a syntactic doubling of some kind, whether or not directly connected to the doubling in Romance. Especially interesting is the fact that the word triggering syntactic doubling here would be *sī*, for also It. *se* determines doubling although it is an unstressed monosyllable which did not end with a consonant in Latin (in fact, a derivation of It. *se* from Lat. *si quid* has been proposed by Loporcaro 1997: 27).

17.11-13 alii ... uno c utrumque explicent: finally, C. reports that others perpetrate the opposite fault, i.e. they shorten double *c* across a word boundary. Many people, he states, pronounce *sic custodit* as *si[k]ustodit*, where it is implicit that one may misunderstand the first word as the conjunction *si*.

Lindsay (1894: 121) seems to have especially this in mind when he writes that one ‘may perhaps see the beginnings of the suppression of final consonants’, but the fact that double *c* is discussed here should point rather to a phenomenon affecting double consonants. According to Kohlstedt (1917: 70) this shortening is a ‘Reaktion gegen die übliche Dehnung des Konsonanten’; it cannot be excluded, however, that the simplification was of purely phonetic origin.

17.14 multi: probably one cannot stretch the information so far as to assume that this kind of fault was more frequent than the opposite (which C. attributes to *quidam*).

sic custodit: such a syntagm is fairly frequent in Christian authors of the fourth/fifth century (e.g. Peregr. *Aeth.* 37.13, 16, Aug. *epist.* 173.4, *serm.* 356 p. 132.4), so it is perhaps from contexts of this sort that C. has drawn his example.

17.14-15 s litteram Graeci ... iussit, per unum s: C. has stated at 16.8-10 that Greeks pronounced Latin *ll* as single. There I pointed out that geminates were lost in Greek by C.’s time, and this case is precisely in line with the general trend (for confusions of -σ- and -σσ- in Greek papyri see Gignac 1976: 158-60). As regards Latin names transliterated in Greek, however, σ rarely replaces *ss* (see Eckinger 1900: 117). According to Adams (2003: 434), ‘a Greek who simplified the geminate in this position might have sounded conspicuous’ because Latin had *ss* preserved after short vowels (as was the -*ss*- of *iussi* from at least the classical period onwards, see de Vaan 2008: 312), whilst it was reduced after a long vowel or diphthong (e.g. *caussa* > *causa*).

Interestingly enough, Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.7.21) reports that, while in his time they said *iussi*, more anciently the word had single *s* (*atqui paulum superiores etiam illud quod nos gemina dicimus iussi una dixerunt*). This matches the spelling *ioussit* etc. of the very earliest inscriptions (see *CIL* I¹ index p. 583), but if Quintilian’s statement is based only upon such evidence it is likely that he was led astray, for these inscriptions date from a time prior to the

introduction of geminate letters (see Leumann 1977: 69, 181).

17.16-17 *u quoque litteram ... trisyllabum incipere*: cf. *solūit* at *DBM* 13.2-4. Here too the question revolves around the semivowel /w/ being pronounced as vocalic [u]. To say that *aliqui* utter *ueni* as if it were trisyllabic clearly means that they pronounce vocalic [u] in the first place (cf. Pomp. 104.3-4 *numquid dicis u a nus?*). This has led several scholars to conclude that *aliqui* are Greeks speaking Latin, just as *Graeci* were referred to in the previous sentence (Schuchardt 1866-8: III.57, Abbott 1909: 246, Adams 2003: 434 and 2013: 185, Maltby 2012: 731). The Greeks' problem with the Latin semivowel [j], which they pronounced as vocalic, was raised at 15.17-19. The same may hold for /w/, for we know that Greek did not have this phoneme and the corresponding grapheme at this time, and that Greeks transliterated Latin [w] as *ou* (e.g. *Valerius* as Οὐαλεριος). Therefore, 'it is not unlikely that Greeks speaking Latin, whether influenced by the transcription or not, would have substituted a vocalic *u* for [w]', while it seems less likely that 'Consentius has confused transliteration with pronunciation and deduced a Greek pronunciation from the "Greek" spelling' (Adams 2003: 435): for C. makes the same point about the Greek pronunciation of Latin [j], which in contrast was transcribed in no peculiar way (ι, which would also account for the vocalic *i* just like in Latin).

According to others (Sturtevant 1940: 143, Allen 1978: 41), the pronunciation C. is stigmatising here is the truly semivocalic [w], for he must have been used to a pronunciation [β] or [v], so that [w] would have sounded to him more like [u]: the implication would be that 'as late as the fifth century the semivocalic [w] pronunciation evidently survived in some quarters' (Allen 1978: 41). The pronunciation of /w/ among cultivated people in C.'s times has been discussed in the note on 11.24 without definitive conclusions being achieved. However, even if C. pronounced a fricative of some sort like [β] or [v], this would not mean he was not referring to a really vocalic [u] in the case of *ueni*: for in his times one might have felt between [u] and [β]/[v] the same opposition that once was between [u] and [w], if only the fricative was

perceived as the non-syllabic equivalent of /u/.

17.16 exilius: while the matter is clear, the adverb describing the pronunciation of /w/ here is not certain. The entire tradition has *pinguius*, but Goetting (1899: 91 n. 4) tentatively suggested *exilius*, which has been accepted by Niedermann: in this view, *pinguius* would be a ‘polar’ mistake, i.e. a word of opposite meaning that substituted for the correct one (see Pasquali 1952: 483ff.). There are some reasons to support the emendation: the vocalic treatment of *i* in *ius* at 15.17-19 is described as *Graeci exilius hanc* (scil. *i litteram*) *proferunt*; also, some grammarians employ *pinguis* to describe the semivowel /w/ (Serv. *GL* IV.422.1-2, Serg. *GL* IV.476.14); even more pointedly, Pompeius says that while the semivowel sounds *pinguius*, vocalic *u* sounds *tenuiter* (103.35ff. *unus, ecce u uides quam tenuiter sonat. iunge illam ad aliam litteram, et uide quia non sic sonat, sed pinguius sonat, uulnus uanus* etc.). As a textual clue, *quoque* seems to entail that the same feature holds true here as in the previous case, in which the fault concerned an *s* pronounced *exiliter*.

17.17-21: C. is aware that there might be other regional vices, and entrusts the purists with the task of pinpointing and avoiding them.

17.18-19 genitalia quorundam: as at 17.1-2 (see note): Keil prints *generalia quarundam nationum*, Niedermann *gentilia quorundam*.

17.19-21 quae ... debent: after *uitia* I accept Niedermann’s text based on **BV**. Keil knew only **M**, where the syntax is confused, and had to rearrange it as *quae obseruare et animaduertere debent qui... custodire diligenter, ut euitare ipsi possint*. That *diligenter* should go with *et obseruare et animaduertere debent*, and not *custodire*, is proved by many a parallel where it modifies such verbs (*DNV* 353.3, 362.8 and 21, 367.24, 376.19, 380.32). The fact that it is separated from the infinitives by a final clause is not problematic.

17.21 – 18.7 tendunt ... traduntur: this is the only extralinguistic definition of barbarism that

we find in a grammarian, and the writers mentioned by C. remain obscure. The closest passage one can quote is Quintilian's discussion of the second kind of barbarism, which is dependent on one's violent character and consists of a 'barbaric' use of the language (*Inst.* 1.5.9 *alterum genus barbarismi accipimus, quod fit animi natura, ut is... barbare locutus existimatur*).

17.22 – 18.2 nam quicquid ... barbarismum dicunt: what appears to be at stake in C.'s discussion is the oratorical delivery in its extralinguistic dimension rather than the everyday etiquette of a cultivated man. Terms like *motus* and *gestus* feature recurrently in sections dedicated to the *actio* of rhetorical works such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3.15), Cicero's *De oratore* (3.216-20), and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (11.3.67 *decor quoque a gestu atque motu uenit* etc.); even the orator's *incessus* is regulated at times (Cic. *Orat.* 59 *idemque motu sic utetur, nihil ut supersit: in gestu status erectus et celsus; rarus incessus nec ita longus*).

18.1 peccat: before *peccat*, the *Pauca* alone have *quis*, which has been accepted by Keil and Niedermann: but here the subject of *peccat* meaning 'is wrong' must be *quicquid*, as in *DBM* 22.16-17 *quicquid enim salua... ratione peccat*, so there is no need to integrate *quis* against the direct tradition (cf. Mariotti 1952: 197).

18.4 ciuilem scientiam professi: the ideal addressees of this discussion are those engaged in politics.

18.5 uitium: there is no need to supply <in> before *uitium* as Keil does, because *incurro* can be used transitively, as seen at *DBM* 13.9 (cf. *TLL* VII.1087.69-73).

contra rationem decoris: the parameter against which this peculiar kind of barbarism is judged is the elegance of a cultivated man.

18.6 haec praecepta ... a rhetoribus: for an overview of the instructions C. may refer to, see for example Hall (2010: 224-7).

18.8-10 Inter barbarismum et soloecismum ... altius intellegere necesse est: barbarism and solecism were traditionally paired in ancient linguistics: for the Stoics, barbarism was a fault concerning λέξις, i.e. ‘l’articulation de la langue’ (Baratin 1989: 263), whereas solecism concerned λόγος, ‘le discours organisé, porteur d’une pensée’ (Holtz 1981: 139). It is believed that this opposition was developed by the Greek grammarians into a more practical one resting on the elements of speech, i.e. the words (see Baratin 1989: 265-8): thus barbarism was defined as a vice in one word, solecism in the connection of more words, as is attested by a scholion to Dionysius Thrax’s *Techne* reading τὸ γὰρ περὶ μίαν (sc. λέξιν) ἀμαρτάνειν βαρβαρισμός ἐστι, τὸ δὲ περὶ πλείονας σολοικισμός (*GG* I.3.170.22-3). The Latin grammarians inherited this opposition between singularity and plurality of the elements involved as the distinctive criterion separating barbarism and solecism. Too strict an observance of this, however, incurred some problems, for cases were found where isolated words appeared to violate syntactic rules, so that a controversy arose as to whether solecisms could take place in single words: such a controversy was traditional by C.’s times. In this regard, one may also mention the opinion, which was discussed and rejected by Quintilian, that all solecisms actually take place in single words, for it suffices to modify one to restore correct syntax (*Inst.* 1.5.34 *quia tamen unius emendatione uerbi corrigi possit, in uerbo esse uitium, non in sermone contendunt*).

The reflection on one-word solecisms has sometimes been seen as an exercise in pedantry (von Fritz 1949: 359). There is another view, however, that in this debate ‘grammarians, in attempting to tease apart levels of language structure, confronted substantial linguistic issues – ones that are still of interest in contemporary linguistics’ (Hyman 2003: 182). For C., examining the borderline cases between barbarisms and solecisms is a way to further explore the notion of barbarism and better define its boundaries. In this section, C. will touch upon three main questions: first, the case of a morphophonetically correct form in the wrong context, as for example when *fontis* is used as a nominative (18.10-21); second, the

singularisation of *pluralia tantum* and vice versa (18.21 – 19.18); finally, the question of the coexistence of barbarism and solecism in the same word (19.18 – 22.2).

18.9-10 barbarismus una ... soloecismus pluribus: C. introduces the discussion with a concise and clear-cut statement of the difference between barbarism and solecism (cf. Diom. 455.34-6). This formulation, which is analogous to the Greek one seen in the previous note, underlines the numerical opposition between one (*una*) and more words (*pluribus*) in which the vice takes place, while most definitions of solecism in itself are somewhat more sophisticated, for the expressions used (e.g. Don. 655.6 H. *uitium in contextu partium orationis*, Char. 352.32-4 B. *non conueniens rationi sermonis uerborum iunctura*) give at least the impression of a more profound syntactic reflection.

18.11-13 nominatiuo casu *fontis* ... hunc fecisse: this case, as well as that of *dentis* found below (DBM 19.1), has been classified as one of an imparisyllabic noun with consonantic theme (*fons fontis*), turned into a parisyllabic one (*fontis fontis*) by means of the analogic formation of a nominative in *-is* like *canis canis* (cf. Kohlstedt 1917: 87, Pisani 1950: 169). Such a process was always productive in Latin: it was mainly a substandard feature (see Väänänen 1981: 107), but its outcomes are well attested in literary language as well, e.g. *carnis* for *caro* in Livius Andronicus (*carm. fr.* 39 *carnis uinumque, quod libabant, anclabatur*, cf. Prisc. GL II.208.18-19 *uetustissimi... etiam nominatiuum haec carnis proferebant*). In later times, such formations were often chastised by purists, as one can see from some remarks in the *Appendix Probi* such as *pecten non pectinis* (21) and, possibly, *glis non gliris* (115). For other examples, see Leumann (1977: 344-5) and Gardani (2013: 217-22).

C.'s interpretation of this is different, for he does not acknowledge *fontis* as a new form of nominative, and in so doing does not understand the morphological issue at stake. He regards this instead as a genitive out of place, uttered as if not paying attention to the case (cf. 19.2-3

sine casus consideratione dici posse uideatur. nam in genitiuo rectum est): this confusion of cases would be a syntactic mistake, therefore a solecism.

The question arises now as to what context C. envisages for this allegedly misplaced genitive. Since the discussion revolves around borderline cases between barbarism and solecism, *fontis* must have been thought of in isolation (unlike the example *hic fontis* at 19.1, where I believe noun and pronoun are only matched in order to illustrate more clearly the disagreement of cases). Here we can imagine instead such a constellation as that presented by Quintilian and others, whereby a *qu*-question is answered with a single word in a case different from that implied by the interrogative pronoun (*Inst.* 1.5.36): *cum responsum ab interrogante dissentit, ut si dicenti quem uideo? ita occurras ego* (cf. Don. 655.9-10 H. *aut interrogati, quo pergamus, respondeamus Romae*). Perhaps influenced by examples of this sort, C. may have envisaged a communicative situation like *hoc quid est? fontis*.

C. holds that this case cannot be considered a barbarism because he sees no phonological modification here of the basic form *fons*, while a barbarism always entails a phonological modification, as is recalled at 18.19ff. (*ubi uero adiectiones detractioesue... ibi barbarismus est*). The form *fontis* is not understood as a corruption of *fons*, but as a genitive and correct in itself.

18.13-14 sic enim peccauit, quomodo si fontem feminino genere dixisset: C. brings up for the sake of comparison the case of *fons* treated as a feminine: this is obviously not a barbarism, for the noun is intact in its phonological aspect. This example is of course different from that of *fontis*, for one could never say that a noun in isolation is uttered in the wrong grammatical gender, so in C.'s mind *fons* should be accompanied by a modifier marked for gender: for example, *haec fons* would be called a solecism (for instances, all late, of feminine *fons* see *TLL* VI.1022.38-41; *fonte* is feminine in Italian).

18.14-15 contra regulam uel generis uel casus uel numeri: what the examples of *fontis* for *fons* and *fons* as a feminine have in common, in C.'s view, is that they both violate

the *accidentium regula*, that is the set of syntactic rules governing the *accidentia partibus orationis* (cf. Don. 655.15-16 H. *soloecismus fit... per accidentia partibus orationis*). Here C. includes only *genus*, *casus*, and *numerus*, while the *accidentia* whose incorrect treatment is said to cause solecisms are generally more numerous (as far as the noun and adjective are concerned, Donatus adds *qualitas* and *comparatio*). It is likely that C. refers here only to those directly relevant to the cases he deals with, without claiming his list to be complete.

According to Baratin (1989: 277), the idea that the difference between barbarism and solecism lies in the opposition between one and more words created a difficulty for grammarians. C. is trying to bypass this difficulty by constructing a new opposition, whereby barbarism violates the pronunciation of a word, while solecism violates the rules of grammar (*artis regula*). As Baratin goes on to explain, ‘il y a solécisme lorsque la faute porte sur une catégorie grammaticale comme le genre, le nombre, le cas. (...) Le solécisme concerne le fonctionnement systématique de la langue tel qu’il est décrit dans l’*Ars*, c’est-à-dire décomposé en catégories grammaticales’.

The use of *artis regula* (DBM 19.25-6) as a criterion to identify a solecism, however, is neither new nor peculiar to C., for we already see it at work for example in Donatus’ definition, *solecismus est uitium in contextu partium orationis contra regulam artis grammaticae factum* (655.4-5 H.). In fact, all of the grammarians apply it, whether explicitly or not, inasmuch as they all explain solecism as an incoherence between *partes orationis* and *accidentia partibus orationis*, that is, as a violation of the *artis regula*. What is new in C.’s discussion is not that he introduces this criterion, but that he extends it to cases involving a single word. But this extension, at least in the cases of *fontis* as a nominative and *fons* as a feminine, does not seem to be perfectly accomplished, for ‘the error is visible in one word but it does not occur in one word: it occurs in the relation between the word (*fontis*) and the case (nominative)’ (Vainio 2003: 197). In other words, here Quintilian seems to be right, when he writes: *id (soloecismum) fateor accidere uoce una, non tamen aliter quam si sit aliquid, quod uim alterius uocis optineat,*

ad quod uox illa referatur... atque ut omnem effugiam cauillationem, sit aliquando in uno uerbo, numquam in solo uerbo (Inst. 1.5.37).

18.19-20 adiectiones detractioesue ... metaplasmus est: cf. *DBM* 3.7-10.

18.21-2 de illo quaeritur ... proferantur: here C. turns to the traditional problem of how to classify the singularisation of *pluralia tantum*, to which he adds the issue of the pluralisation of *singularia tantum*. The latter had been considered by Quintilian alone (*Inst.* 1.5.16), while the former is also discussed by Donatus (655.12-14 H.), Diomedes (455.30-2), Servius (*GL* IV.446.15-17), and Pompeius (290.9-12). Varro's discussion of the nature of *tantum*-nouns (e.g. *L.* 9.63ff., 10.54, 73) has nothing to do with the concepts of barbarism and solecism. It may be helpful to anticipate here that C. alone regards these cases as solecisms, whilst the others classify them as barbarisms (for a detailed discussion, see Vainio 2003: 197-9 and Burghini and Meynet 2012).

As regards the nouns used to illustrate the phenomenon, Quintilian has *scala scopae*; Donatus adds *quadriga*, and so do Diomedes, Servius, and Pompeius. *Sordes* is added by C. alone, whose list of *pluralia tantum* in *DNV* 348.5ff. comprises all four of them. The pluralised *singularia tantum* that Quintilian quotes are *hordea* and *mulsa*.

On a more general note, the *pluralia tantum* nouns indicate entities perceived as made up of parts which form a unity; the *singularia tantum*, on the other hand, mainly denote entities which are uncountable. As will be seen below, this clearly can change over time, and the use of nouns which appeared only in the singular or plural can be extended (but the opposite can happen as well, as is the case of 'information' in English, which is uncountable and only singular nowadays but once used to have a plural).

18.23 scopam: *scopae* 'branches of sprigs of a plant, usu. tied together', therefore 'a broom' (*OLD* s.v. a-b), was a typical example of a *plurale tantum* (cf. Var. *L.* 10.24 *scopae, non dicitur una scopa*), but Charisius admits the singular too (36.16-17 B. *dicimus tamen et*

scopa). The singular was certainly used of the *scopa regia*, the butcher's broom (Larg. 153, Plin. *Nat.* 21.28; see *OLD* s.v. c). The Romance languages have the singular as well, as for example It. *scopa* and Sp. *escoba* 'broom'.

scalam: *scalae* 'ladder, stairways' (from *scando*), was also a classic example of *pluralia tantum* nouns (see Var. *L.* 9.63), and the exceptions are just a few (*OLD* s.v. lists Pompon. *com.* 9², Cels. 8.15.5, Hyg. *Fab.* 125.11, Gaius *dig.* 47.2.55 (54).4). In the Romance languages the singular is used, e.g. It. *scala* and Sp. *escala* 'ladder, stairway'.

quadrigam: the singular form *quadriga*, a 'chariot with its team of four horses' or 'a team of (four) chariot horses' (*OLD* s.v. 1-2) is comparatively more frequent than *scala* and *scopa*, yet *quadrigae* was more common, just like *bigae* (the latter being the result of a development **dwi-yugā* > **dwi-yigā* > **dwi-igā* > *bīgae*).

18.24 sordem: *sordes* –is 'dirt' is a third-declension *i*-stem, whose plural was used by preference, so much so that it was included by grammarians among the *pluralia tantum* (e.g. Diom. 328.5).

lucēs, paces: *lux* and *pax* were traditionally numbered among the *singularia tantum*, e.g. *DNV* 348.6, Don. 623.3 H. However, there are a few occurrences of both in the plural (cf. *TLL* VII.1905.12ff. and X.863.38ff.).

18.25 enim: Niedermann prints **B**'s *autem*. *Enim* and *autem* were abbreviated similarly so they were easily exchanged. With *enim* C. explains what he has just said: the reason why some wonder whether one commits a barbarism or a solecism by using a *plurale tantum* in the singular is that the case of *pluralia/singularia tantum* is different from that of *fontis*.

18.26 – 19.3 qui dicit nominatiuo ... dixisse: with *fontis* (18.11), the grammatical case is at stake: one utters a noun which is correct in itself and current in standard Latin, but in the wrong context, for a genitive is used where a nominative is expected.

19.4 hic autem ... potest: with the *pluralia/singularia tantum*, on the other hand, it is a matter of grammatical number. While there is a correct form of *fontis* in the nominative (*fons*), there is neither a correct form of *quadrigae* in the singular nor one of *lux* in the plural: both *quadriga* and *lucēs* simply do not exist in standard Latin.

19.5-6 nullo errore alterius intellectus accipi potest: what has been said entails that, while *fontis* in the wrong context is ambiguous, because one might be prone to take it as a genitive, in the case of *quadriga* or *lucēs* in contrast there cannot be any misinterpretation as to their meaning, because only one is admitted. Here I go for the interpretation of Burghini and Uría Varela (2010: 191) ‘no puede haber equivocación que dé lugar a entender la otra posibilidad’, rather than that of Vainio (2003: 198) ‘cannot be understood if there is an error’.

19.6-9 itaque dicunt ... litterae: here C. outlines the argument of some who regard *quadrigam* and *lucēs* as barbarisms, which he will subsequently reject. From their point of view, *quadrigam* and *lucēs* are merely corrupted at the morphophonological level through the replacement of the last letter. One might find this reasoning implied in the argument of such grammarians as Donatus, Diomedes, and Servius, who present the singularised *pluralia tantum* as barbarisms by vaguely referring to the definition of barbarism, or of Pompeius, who tackles the issue from the more original angle of the conformity to *natura* (290.5 *cum per naturam nemo dicat scalam, nemo dicat quadrigam, sine dubio barbarismi sunt*). Even Quintilian admitted that words like *scala scopā hordeā mulsā* have *litterarum mutationem detractiōnem adiectionem* (*Inst.* 1.5.16), although he then concluded that the singularised *pluralia tantum* (and vice versa) *non alio vitiosa sunt quam quod pluralia singulariter et singularia pluraliter efferuntur* (for a different take on Quintilian’s passage, see Ax 2011: 170, and Burghini and Meynet 2012: 44).

19.6-7 quia non secutura casuum dispectione statim repudietur: the reason allegedly underlying the stance of these scholars is not absolutely clear, as is shown by the contrasting ways Vainio (2003: 198) and Burghini and Uría Varela (2010: 191) translate the

quia-clause (I print *quia* as in the majority of the tradition against Niedermann's *quod*, which is in **B** alone): 'because the word is not considered erroneous right away by the examination of the context' and 'por el hecho de que se producirá un rechazo inmediato al no proceder la consideración de los casos' (glossing 'de los casos que no existen'), respectively.

I argue that the subject of *repudietur* is an implied 'word', as Vainio does; *repudio* here means 'to reject', therefore 'to consider erroneous' (it would not be impossible, however, to take *repudietur* as an impersonal passive, as Burghini and Uría Varela do). I take *casuum dispectio* as the consideration of the grammatical cases, of the sort that has been applied to *fontis* (for the extremely rare *dispectio* see *TLL* V.1394.34-7). Now one has to decide whether *non* negates the following *secutura*, as Burghini and Uría Varela do, or the distant *repudietur*, as Vainio does. The latter option seems to make more sense to me: what the unidentified scholars must mean is that a word like *quadriga* instead of *quadrigae* is not considered erroneous if the criterion of the grammatical case is applied as with *fontis*, because the issue here is not the grammatical case. If *quadriga* is not judged erroneous according to this criterion, which in the previous case has been used to define a solecism, then one might conclude that *quadriga* is not a solecism: therefore it must be a barbarism, more precisely one arising through the replacement of the last letter.

19.8-9 ultimae litterae: after this, **M** alone has *uel syllabae* (printed by Keil). As a matter of fact, in the case of *quadrigam* and *luces* only the last letter is replaced if we take the accusative as the basic form C. has in mind (plural and singular, respectively: *quadrigas* and *lucem*). *Vel syllabae* then looks like an interpolation (it is less likely that this is genuine and was dropped in the common ancestor of **BV Par.** by homeoteleuton after *litterae*).

19.9-18 sed hoc ... in numeris: here C. seems to categorise the case of *quadriga* and *luces* by a process of elimination. He rejects the opinion that these are instances of barbarism by showing that the definition of barbarism (and barbarolexis) does not match the fault underlying

quadrigam and *lucēs*. Therefore, they must be counted as solecisms, inasmuch as they violate a grammatical rule, namely that of number (cf. 18.14-19 *cum contra regulam uel generis uel casus uel numeri prolatum quid fuerit, ... soloecismus plurium rerum contemplatione dicetur*).

19.10-11 diuisum sit in barbarismum et barbarolexin: **M** *Pauca* have *inter*, while **B** *Par.* have *in*; **V** has a sort of *i longa* with a stroke through the shaft, which could stand for both *inter* and *in* (cf. Lindsay 1915: 111, 114), but the same symbol is used for *in* at 19.12, so it probably stands for *in* here as well. Both *inter* and *in* are grammatical with *diuido* (see *TLL* V.1604.2ff.), but while all editors print the former, nowhere else does *C.* write *diuido inter*, while having *diuido in* four times (*DNV* 339.1, 11 in the meaning ‘to be divided into’, *DBM* 6.14 and 20.14 ‘to split into’). Therefore, it seems safer to select *in*.

At this point *C.* presents barbarism as a macro-category comprehensive of barbarism proper and barbarolexis, a configuration which did not emerge in the pertaining discussion at *DBM* 2.2-3 (*admonere debemus aliud esse barbarismum, aliud barbarolexin*). Even the definition of barbarism does not match perfectly any of those propounded on p. 1, but rather focuses on barbarism being the corruption of an originally Latin word, as opposed to barbarolexis as a loanword from a different language. This recalls quite closely Diomedes’ definition (451.29-32).

19.13 <ex>: Keil’s supplement. Niedermann rejects it, but it does seem a sensible intervention: for *arcesso* normally takes *a/ex* + ablative (see *TLL* II.450.71ff.), and the only other case in *C.* when a ‘motion’ from another language is described has *ex aliena lingua* (*DBM* 2.7, again on barbarolexis). If it was not for the parallel with *ex*, one might think that <*ab*> should be preferred, as its loss before *alterius* would be easier to explain.

19.19 una dictio possit et barbarismum habere et soloecismum: opening remark of a long and articulate discussion on whether a barbarism and a solecism can occur at once in one word. *C.* seems to admit that this is possible, but his actual stance is blurred by the fact that he presents

someone else's views, both on the pro and con side: the former has much more weight, but in his final remarks C. grants some validity to the objections, so that his conclusion sounds much like a compromise. Elsewhere, nevertheless, he shows no doubt that in practice barbarism and solecism can occur simultaneously (cf. 11.14-16 with *socrum* for *socerum* in the locution *socrum meum*).

C. starts off with the example of a word corrupted in such a way that one may spot both a barbarism and a solecism in it (19.20 – 20.1). There follows a lengthy section in which he sets forth the observation that a single word can accommodate more than one fault: these can be of the same kind, such as two barbarisms or two metaplasms, but also different, such as one metaplasm and one solecism. Some take this as a proof that a barbarism and a solecism can occur simultaneously (20.1 – 21.14). At this point, C. introduces someone's objection that, in the presence of a *uitium maius* like a solecism, the word is already corrupt, so any other vice is not to be taken into account (21.14-20). As a closing remark, while partly accepting this point, C. concludes that for educational purposes one can anyway acknowledge both a barbarism and a solecism in the same word and illustrate them as such to learners (21.20 – 22.2).

19.20 hoc sic animaduertamus: MV read *si*, but B and Par.'s *sic* (already conjectured by Keil) works better with the exhortative *animaduertamus* (cf. 30.19 *ideo sic animaduertamus*).

ossua: such a by-form of *ossa* (from *os*, *ossis* 'bone') is found in inscriptions at an early date (*CIL* I².1219.3, *CIL* X.1935.6, *CLE* 973.2, 9 etc.), and is stigmatised in Ps. Palaemon (31.12-3 R. = *GL* V.538.40) (sc. *os*) *nec u exit* (sc. in the abl. sg.), *nec nominatiuus pluralis ossua facit*. A genitive plural *ossuum* is apparently attested as early as Pacuvius (*trag.* 102, quoted in Prisc. *GL* II.254.6-9), and occurs quite often in Christian writers from Tertullian onwards; it is also guaranteed by metre in Prud. *perist.* 2.532, 5.111 (for more occurrences see Neue and Wagener 1892-1905: I.532 and *TLL* IX.1094.47ff.). This all leads us to postulate,

besides *os* and the lower variant *ossum*, the existence of a fourth-declension neuter *ossu* (doubtful occurrences of the singular might be seen in Cels. 8.2.1, *Tab. defix.* 135 A7 and 135 B3 Audollent). In fact, this was acknowledged by Pliny the Elder (*dub. serm.* 92 D.C. = 31 *GRFM* *ossu quidam ut ueru, genu putarunt... posse censeri*), and grammarians such as Charisius (40.21 B. *ossu ὀστέον, et os ossis*) and Priscian (*GL* II.254.6 *quidam... ueterum et hoc ossu et hoc ossum proferebant*). It is not unlikely, however, that these grammarians simply inferred the singular *ossu*, and only the plural was actually in use (so that two forms were available in each number: *os ossum* in the singular, *ossa ossua* in the plural). *Ossua* might have been shaped after *artua* or *cornua*, then *ossu* (if it ever was in use) might have come about as a back-formation; less plausibly, one could have the singular *ossu* derived from *ossum* (Leumann 1977: 452). To take *ossua* as an inherited *u*-stem instead (as in Pellegrini 1909: 391) seems untenable, the only possible parallel being Arm. *oskr* < **ost-u* (see de Vaan 2008: 436). Gardani (2013: 225-8) provides a list of nouns shifting to the fourth declension, among which *ossu* is the only neuter. It is worth pointing out that *ossua* was quite productive in Late Latin, as from it derive *ossuarius* ‘for bones’ with the substantive *ossuarium* ‘ossuary’ (see *TLL* IX.1119.51ff. for the less common *ossarius/ossarium*), *ossuosus* ‘full of bones’, and the hapax *ossuatus* (= *confortatus*) in *Italia psalm.* 141.7 (cod. 136 Cas.; see *TLL* IX.1119.83ff.). On the other hand, the Romance languages show no trace of it, for all Romance forms for ‘bone’ go back to *ossum*. The view that in C.’s time *ossua* was ‘a literary archaism, preserved like many others in Vulgar Latin, which came to the surface in literature in the late period’ (Abbott 1909: 245) is quite seductive.

19.21-3 *strenuas ... strenuam*: in what follows, C. employs modifications of the word *strena* (an ‘auspicious sign’, hence a ‘lucky gift sent at the New Year’, cf. *OLD* s.v. 1-2) so as to illustrate both a barbarism (*strenuae*) and the concurrence of a barbarism and a solecism (*strenua*). It must be said in advance that C.’s claim that only the plural *strenae* exists, so that a singular *strena* would make a solecism, is groundless. *Strenua* is a variant of *strena* attested both in prose (Tert. *idol.* 40.5, Iord. *get.* 270) and inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* VI.10234.14,

33885.8). The epenthetic *u* must have come about as *strena* was perceived as etymologically related to *strenuus* (cf. Keller 1891: 42; indeed, *strenuus* seems a derivative of *strena*, cf. de Vaan 2008: 591). Some Romance reflexes (Prov. Sp. *estrena* etc.) surely go back to *strēna*. On the other hand, Pisani (1950: 167) has It. *strenna* deriving from *strenua* (like It. *tenni* < Lat. *tenui*), but a process Lat. *strēna* > *strēnna* > It. *strenna* seems more likely (cf. Lindsay 1894: 116; he assumes the same for Fr. *étrenne*). An occurrence of *strenna* from a later Merovingian inscription (500,¹³) is quoted by Pirson (1909: 930).

19.26 – 20.1 *strenae* singulari numero non dicantur: C. is the only grammarian to ever present *strenae* as a *plurale tantum* (in fact, there are only two other occurrences of *strena* in a grammarian and they are in the singular: Char. 443.15 and 455.17 B.). Interestingly, modern French uses almost exclusively the plural *étrennes* for New Year's gifts.

What *ossua* and *strenuae* have in common is obviously the epenthetic *u*. Since C. is most interested here in the concurrence of barbarism and solecism that he finds in *strenua*, *ossua* might have been chosen only as a match for it. This consideration might have a relevance for the evaluation of the example *ōssua* at DBM 20.4.

20.1 *scriptores*: BV omit it, and Niedermann leaves it out as an interpolation. I would tentatively accept it and explain its absence in BV as a *saut* by homoeoteleuton before *capaces* (although one would normally expect the following word to be omitted).

20.2 *uitia multiplicata*: a hint at the possibility of two barbarisms occurring in a single word is found in Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.12 *nam duos in uno nomine faciebat barbarismos Tinga Placentinus... preculam pro pergula dicens*), while the other grammarians are silent on this issue, so that it is impossible for us to grasp who the *scriptores* are to whom C. is referring for this seemingly theoretical remark.

20.5-6 *ossua producta priore syllaba*: it is not easy to assess the case of *ōssua*: this could be regarded as either a genuine phenomenon or an *exemplum fictum* which C. made up for argument's sake as he had *ossua* to hand (*DBM* 19.20). The latter option seems quite likely if one considers the case of *orator* as a parallel, for this word has been employed to illustrate *detractio temporis* on the one hand and *detractio inmutatio transmutatio accentus* on the other, with the last three cases having been probably made up for the sake of completeness (see note on *DBM* 11.9-11). Moreover, I have pointed out above that *ossua* might have been employed because it shares the same innovation as the more relevant *strenuae*.

There is no positive evidence that *ōssua* is a genuine example. However, if we admit it is, we need to consider it against the phenomenon of open syllable lengthening (OSL) that seems to underlie the cases of *pīper* (11.8), *ōrātor* (11.18), *pīcēs* (12.2-3), and *pīcēs* (12.12). The lengthened *o* in *ōssua* is the one under stress, but in a closed syllable, which is at odds with the OSL system, where a long vowel in an accented closed syllable gets shortened; one can add that superheavy syllables were never frequent in Latin, and tended to be eliminated in several environments already at an early time (e.g. by means of consonant degemination, as in *caussa* > *causa*). Anyway, one need not necessarily take *ōssua* to be embedded in a general and regular sound change: this might simply be some speaker's idiosyncrasy, and/or be somehow related to the inability to tell apart *ōs* 'bone' and *ōs* 'mouth' that Augustine (*Doctr. christ.* 4.10.24) blames on the Africans, perhaps as a secondary confusion (cf. Mancini 2001: 333 n. 20, who reckons an 'incertezza nella prosodia della voce per "osso"'); likewise Heraeus 1906: 458, who attributes this vice as well to the Africans). An analogous case with lengthening of stressed vowel in a closed syllable is seen in the third century grammarian Sacerdos (451.4-5 *per productionem, ac si dicas pernix <et> per producās, quae correpta est*).

20.7 *apse pro re ipsa*: what C. takes to be *apse* is actually an incorrect reanalysis of the form *eapse* that is found in the adverbial *reāpse* 'in reality' (from *rē* + *eāpse*). *Eapse* is an archaic

nominative/ablative feminine singular of *ipse* (< *is* + **pse*), where *is-* gets inflected (thus *ea*) instead of *-pse* (see Leumann 1977: 471 and Meiser 1998: 163, where one also finds evidence of the less successful internal inflection of *iste* as *is* + *te*, e.g. the doubtful *eas te* in Var. *L.* 7.8). This is frequent in comedy, as for example Pl. *Cas.* 162, 602 etc. (cf. Niemöller 1887: 17ff.). Plautus as well as other scenic poets like Caecilius Statius and Pacuvius also employed such other forms as *eumpse* (Pl. *Per.* 603), *eampse* (*Men.* 772) etc. (see *TLL* VII.294.9); according to some (e.g. Lindsay 1894: 441), there might also be cases where both elements are inflected, like *eumpsum* (Pl. *Truc.* 114 in Lindsay's own edition). In Terence, however, the exclusive employment of *eapse*, which appears only as an ablative in connection with *re*, foreshadows its future usage in the adverb *reapse* (e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 9.15.1). In later times there was some awareness among antiquarians that *eapse* was a word in its own right, as in Paul. *Fest.* p. 77M *eapse ea ipsa*. When *reapse* was considered, it was glossed as *re ipsa* (see Arus. 498 D.C. = *GL* VII.506.22 *reapse pro ipsa re*, *Fest.* p. 278M *reapse est reipsa*).

In finding *reapse* explained as *re ipsa*, C. must have incorrectly divided *re apse*, thus obtaining the isolated *apse*. This might have been eased by the fact that manuscripts occasionally separate *apse* from *re* (e.g. *reque apse*, corrected by Lindsay in *requeapse*, in MS. Neap. IV A 3 at *Fest.* p. 286M). The idea of Ribbeck (1871: cor. XXXVIII) that somewhere in Plautus one could read a nominative *apse* (cf. also Ribbeck 1874: 224, where he mentions C.) is rightly rejected by Niemöller (1887: 25).

As far as the text is concerned, a first question is whether *re* should appear before *apse*, as in *Par.*'s *reapse* (so *TLL* VII.294.68). The answer seems to be no if we judge from how C. describes the modification of the basic word: a, *quod erat ultimum, transmutauimus et e in postremum coniecimus pro i, quod fuerat primum*. The terms *postremum* and *primum* designate the word boundaries of *ipsa* and *apse*, with no space for *re*. Therefore, B^{pc}M's *apse* might be proved correct.

Connected to this question is the one as to whether *apse* should be followed by *pro re ipsa* (**BV Par.**), *pro ipsa* (**B^{pc}** and Niedermann), or no such expression at all (**M** and Keil). It is conceivable that C. thought *apse* obscure enough that it needed an explanatory note, and its omission in **M** can be explained as a *saut* (*apse* and *ipsa* looking similar enough). The problem remains with *re* before *ipsa*: this surely was in the common ancestor of **BV Par.**, and possibly in the archetype as well. So either *re* is an early interpolation (as Niedermann has it), or it too is genuine (as suggested by Leumann 1938: 441). The latter option would entail that C. did not content himself with reconstructing the normal phonology of the corrupt word, but also wanted to reconstruct the syntagmatic relationship underlying *reapse*, thus undermining the congruence of the phonological reconstruction itself. Given the parallel found in *Marcipor pro puer* (*DBM* 6.21-22), where *Marci* is left out, I find it reasonable to accept *re ipsa* as well.

20.9 παρέλκον: the mention of παρέλκον, however, might point to a partially different textual solution. This word literally means ‘redundant’ and is mainly used by Donatus in his commentary on Terence to indicate a superfluous element (see Jacobi 1996: 120-3). In particular, in his note on Ter. *An.* 29, Donatus uses it in the case of *adesdum* ‘come to me for a moment’, where *dum* is attached to the imperative of *adsum*: *ADES DVM ades imperatium est, dum παρέλκον...* *ADES DVM παρέλκον, ut ehodum ad me.* Enclitic *dum* (= *modo*, cf. *TLL* V.2201.8ff.) almost disappeared after Terence, so that it could well be deemed pleonastic by a late commentator: therefore, Donatus clearly uses παρέλκον to indicate *dum* rather than *adesdum*, which is confirmed by his notes on *An.* 184 (*EHODVM AD ME dum παρέλκον est hoc loco*) and *Eun.* 694.2 (*AGEDVM dum παρέλκον est*). On the contrary, from C.’s passage (*licet et παρέλκον sit haec dictio, ut est adesdum*) it would seem that he considers the whole compound *adesdum* as a παρέλκον. Consequently, if the ratio ‘*apse*-word : παρέλκον = *adesdum* : παρέλκον’ makes any sense, we would expect C. to define as a παρέλκον the compound *reapse*: therefore, we might prefer *item reapse pro re ipsa* (cf. Leumann 1938: 441). If things were so, one could explain the passage *nam a... transmutauimus et e in postremum*

coniecimus pro i... as just pinning down *apse* as a distinct element of the compound rather than a word per se. But C.'s calling *adesdum* a *παρέλκον* might be but an imprecise way of referring to *dum* in *adesdum* as does Donatus, so it seems still safer to print *apse*.

20.10 magis tropus: this is quite vague, and one could hardly find a matching species among the traditional categories of tropes (the trope is defined in Don. 667.2-3 H. as *dictio translata a propria significatione ad non propriam similitudinem ornatus necessitatisue causa*).

20.12 *Iacchum pro Baccho*: C.'s MSS. consistently have forms of the god's name with one *c* only (*Iachum*, *Bacho*, *Bach*, and *Iach*). This is a spelling acceptable and even common in medieval texts, but certainly alien to antiquity. Yet *Bachus* is found here and there in MSS. of classical authors (cf. *TLL* II.1664.73), obviously as a normalisation on the part of medieval scribes who were used to the spelling with one *c*. I suggest that the same applies here, the spelling with one *c* being the result of a thorough normalisation in the archetype, and that we adopt instead the spelling with *cc*, rather than take C. to be a striking exception in the ancient world, as he would appear in view of the text established in the current editions.

Iacchus was used in Latin poetry as early as Catullus (64.251), and mainly appeared at the end of a hexameter. C. takes it to be a metaplasm, obtained by means of modification of the normal form *Bacchus*. In fact, both forms of the name are Greek: Ἰακχος, an epithet by which Dionysus was invoked in Athens and Eleusis, in particular at the Lenaia, derives from ἰαχή 'shout' or ἰάχω 'to shout', with expressive gemination (see Chantraine 1968-80: 452), whilst the etymology of Βάκχος is still unclear, the only certainty being that its origin is not Greek (see Chantraine 1968-80: 159). I do not find the view of the supposed derivation of Ἰακχος from Βάκχος in Greek authors. Rather, lexicographers (at least the later ones) seem to conceive of different etymologies for the two names (e.g. *Etymologicum Genuinum* β 16.2 Βάκχος· μαινόμενος. παρὰ τὸ βάζω βάξω βάχος καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ κ βάκχος, ὡς ἰαχή ἰαχος καὶ ἰακχος).

It is difficult to tell whether C. did not know that Βάκχος and Ἰάκχος were distinct already in Greek, or assumed the metaplasm to have been committed by the Greeks and subsequently imported as such into Latin. In view of the way he describes the process by which *Iacchus* has come about, I think the first option more plausible.

I have pointed out before (note on *DBM* 6.14) that while C. states that diaeresis occurs *non nisi in diphthongis* (6.12), in his view it also applies to those clusters of semivowel + vowel that we define as rising diphthongs (e.g. [wi] in *soluit*), but were not traditionally included among diphthongs proper by the ancient grammarians. In the case of *Bacchus* > *Iacchus*, C. might be thinking that diaeresis applies to the rising diphthong [ja], a stage of the change from *Ba* to *Īa*, or he might be implying that *B* is replaced by vocalic *I* by antithesis and that the subsequent syllabic rearrangement is in itself a diaeresis.

20.15-19 aliud quiddam est ... facit: cf. *DBM* 4.9-10 for *Mauortis* as an epenthesis. C. is aware that this case differs from the previous one (*aliud quiddam est*), and doubtfully suggests that the alleged insertion of *uo*, which breaks the syllable *Mar*, might also engender a diaeresis: one syllable is split into two, with *r* being attached to the inserted *uo*. His (very sensible) hesitation is due to the fact that the syllable *Mar* is not split up *per se* – as though to produce two syllables, *Ma* and *r* – but is split by the insertion of an extraneous syllable.

20.19-20 duos metaplasmos habet: the manuscripts' *habet* was changed into *habes* by Buttmann and Keil because it has no subject. However, this would be the only instance of *habes* in C., which is not ideal. Niedermann defends the text taking *habet* as impersonal, like French 'il-y-a'. Examples of this late and very rare usage are collected in *TLL* VI.2461.78ff., with the subdivisions *in scriptis* (twice in Hieronymus), *in locis*, *de distantia locali* and *temporali* (mainly in *Itineraria*), none of which really applies to our case. The phenomenon is discussed among the others by Löfstedt (1936: 43), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 416), and Väänänen

(1981: 128). I retain the manuscripts' reading, with the reservation that, more simply, in our case a subject like 'word' may be implied.

20.20 *satias pro satietas*: *satiās*, *-ātis* 'sufficiency' is indeed the result of haplology from *satietas*, in particular from the accusative *sati(et)ātem* (Leumann 1977: 374). *Satias* is mainly poetic, occurring as early as Plautus (*Cist.* 502) and Terence (*Hec.* 594, *Eu.* 973): according to Maltby (1979: 137) this was 'probably an intentional archaism' already at this stage. The instances of its oblique cases are rare and occur from Lucretius onwards (Lucr. 2.1038 *satiare*, 5.39 *satiatem*). Therefore, some grammarians point out that only the nominative of *satias* exists, while for the oblique cases one resorts to *satietas* (Char. 60.13-16 B., *Exc. Bob.* 22.21-4 D.N. = *GL* I.546.12-15, Phoc. 54.15-16 C. = *GL* V.428.15): these do not appear to think *satias* a syncopated form of *satietas*. According to Eutyches (450.27), *satias* was used by the *antiqui* instead of *satietas*, whereas Nonius (172.5M) contents himself with the lemma *satias pro satietas*, before providing examples of the former.

20.20-1 <duae>: some modifier for *litterae* seems necessary, and Keil's <*duae*> works well.

20.22-3 *et duae syllabae in unam redactae, quod est episynaliphe*: while syncope is self-evident, it is not easy to grasp how C. envisions *satietas* > *satias* to involve an episynaloephe, for it does not actually entail the fusion of two syllables into one: as a matter of fact, after two letters are dropped (*et*) there clearly is one syllable less (*e*), but the syllable boundary is preserved after *ti* (*sa.ti.e.tas* > *sa.ti.as*). A fusion of two syllables into one is only conceivable if C. divides *sa.tsje.tas* and *sa.tsjas* (with palatalisation of *ti*). That C. pronounced *etiam* as *e[tsj]am* I have assumed at *DBM* 17.1-6, although he still talked about *media syllaba* as if dividing *e.ti.am*: the syllabification *sa.tsje.tas* would be in keeping with *e.tsjam*, and one would well understand the sentence *duae syllabae in unam redactae* as *tsje.tas* > *tsjas*.

A problem arises, however, when we consider that C. is discussing *satias* as a metaplasm, that is a licence in poetry: it is clear that in metre only *sa.ti.as* and *sa.ti.e.tas* are

admitted, and C. must have been well aware of it. So he apparently got confused and superimposed the syllabification current in speech to a poetic word, treating it as if it were a barbarism. Alternatively, in case he observed the syllabification normal in poetry, we have to conclude that he just applied improperly the idea of *conglutinatio duarum syllabarum* to the syllabic reduction involved in the process *ti.e.tas* > *ti.as*, but this seems less likely.

20.23 – 21.2 couaclam ... posuit: cf. the metathetic form *coacla* discussed at DBM 12.10-11. Here, besides metathesis, one observes the insertion of a glide /w/ between two vowels in hiatus. According to Adams (2013: 114), ‘glides in Latin had two clear functions. First, they were used between vowels of different positions of articulation to facilitate pronunciation (...). Second, they were inserted between vowels of the same quality to counter the tendency to contraction’. It is the first function that we observe here as well as in similar forms. In fact, we find the form *clouaca* in inscriptions (*Lex. Tarent.* 39 = *CIL* I².590.39, from the mid-first century BC; for other instances, see *TLL* III.1358.37-8). What the *TLL* quotes as *clouaca* in Varro (*Men.* 290) is in fact conjectural, where codd. F³G of Nonius (who quotes Varro’s line at p. 209M) have *clauaca*, accepted for example in Astbury’s recent edition (see also Woytek 1970: 25-6); *clauaca* is also attested in glossaries (see *TLL* III.1358.40), and in Paul the Deacon’s *Historia Romana* (*MGH Auct. Ant.* 2.383.28). On the other hand, it is difficult to establish with certainty the relevant lemma in the *Appendix Probi* (86): here the manuscript reads *cluaca n(on) clu[...]* (see Powell 2007: 697), which has been arranged in a number of ways. Also the form *cluaca* (*TLL* III.1358.41-5) seems to derive, via *chuuaca*, from *clouaca* (cf. Leumann 1977: 99).

It should be mentioned, however, that some have taken *clouaca* as the older form (cf. Sommer and Pfister 1977: 91), and a PIIt. root **klowa-* is posited by de Vaan (2008: 122), who reconstructs a PIE **k^leuH-o-*, from which derive Welsh *clir* ‘clean’, Gr. κλύζω ‘to wash’, and others. However, occurrences of *cloaca* are more ancient in attestation, being found as early as Plautus (*Cur.* 121b); moreover, that *cloaca* belongs to the PIE root **k^leuH-o-* is doubtful (see

Ernout and Meillet 1959: 128), and even if /w/ was inherited it is not inconceivable that it was lost prehistorically by regular sound change (thus yielding the normal *cloaca*) and then reinserted as a substandard feature in order to avoid hiatus (a parallel of some sort could be seen in *boarius*: this clearly derives from *bouarius*, whose late occurrences must have *u* reinserted, plausibly by etymological connection with *bouis*, rather than inherited). For the ancient etymologies of *cloaca* see Maltby (1991: 136).

When it comes to the Romance languages, while a form with a glide survives in It. *chiavica* ‘sewer’, there are no traces of a form with both glide and metathesis as C.’s *couacla*.

21.2-3 item qui dicit *forficem* pro *forcipe*: Latin had the terms *forceps* (with its metathetical form *forpex*) and *forfex* (mostly used in the plural). In the common usage of our sources, they designate both ‘tongs’ and ‘shears’, the latter being especially frequent with *forfex* (see *OLD* s.v. 1b, and Adams 1990: 267). This overlap must be the reason why most grammarians saw it fit to tell them apart, with *forceps* meaning ‘tongs’ and *forfex* ‘shears’: *quidam* in Charisius (120.23ff. B.), Papirianus (in Cassiod. *orth.* IV.38-42 S. = *GL* VII.160.19 – 161.3), and Isidore (*Orig.* 19.7.3, 20.13.3) distinguish by their meaning (and etymology) all three *forceps*, *forpex*, and *forfex*; a distinction between *forceps* and *forfex* is found in the fourth part of the *Appendix Probi* (46 in Stok 1997 = *GL* IV.202.14), Serv. *Aen.* 8.453, and Isid. *diff.* 1.262 (more details in Stok 1997: 152-5).

So most grammarians regard *forceps* and *forfex* as different in meaning; apparently, these are deemed as different in etymology too, or at least grammarians do not seem to think one as derived from the other. The etymological explanation of *forceps* by Festus (p. 91M *formucapes forcipes dictae, quod forma capiant, id est feruentia*, and likewise p. 84M) enjoys some favour still nowadays, regarding the first element of the compound as a ‘reduced form of *formus* “warm”’ (de Vaan 2008: 231, where other modern options are discussed); the connection with *formus* underlies most ancient reconstructions (e.g. Mar. Victorin. 90.9 M. and

Non. p. 531M, plus some of those reported above). On the other hand, not many ancient grammarians made an effort to reconstruct the etymology of *forfex*: an exception is Papirianus (in Cassiod. *orth.* IV.39 S. = *GL* VII.160.20), who takes the *f* as connected to *filum*, so as to explain why *forfices* are used by *sartores* (the same in Isid. *Orig.* 20.13.3). Also in modern scholarship there is a view that *forfex* is not etymologically connected to *forceps*: for example, some have *forfex* as a foreign word (Sabine?), because of the irregularly internal *f* (see Prosdocimi 1985: 58-61, de Vaan 2008: 232).

C., on the other hand, is the precursor of another stance in modern scholarship. He has *forceps* as the correct form, which is corrupted into *forfex* by means of metathesis and substitution of one letter. C.'s reconstruction might have been eased by the correct interpretation of *forpex* as a metathetical form of *forceps* (cf. Vel. Long. 71.12), whence it was but a short step to *forfex*. A similar narrative we find in several glossaries, as for example *CGL* IV.344.12 *forceps fabri quae corrupte forpices dicimus uel forfices* (likewise *CGL* V.23.9, 70.6, 599.32). C.'s interpretation lives through both *TLL* VI.1050.36-39 and *OLD* s.v. *forfex* (where, of course, *forfex* is not a barbarism but a legitimate form). For us moderns, *f* substituting for *p* becomes clear if we assume analogy with the compounds in *-fex* (from *facio*, see again de Vaan 2008: 232), which would also get rid of the problem of internal *f*. It is clear that for C. *forceps* and *forfex* were semantically interchangeable, or at least that he regarded differences in meaning (if any) as secondary. Likewise, we could deem as secondary the specialization of *forfex* in the meaning 'shears'.

In the Romance languages, *forfex* has survived as It. *forbici*, Fr. *forces*, Rum. *foarfece* etc., while *forceps* has left no traces but the learned 'forceps' in English (whence It. *forcipe*). I think that C.'s remark cannot be taken as a sign that *forfex* was ousting *forceps* at this stage. In fact, there is no evidence that the former actually replaced the latter, because the reflexes of *forfex* only indicate 'scissors' and do not cover the semantic field of 'tongs'.

21.3-14: here C. wraps up the argument of those who hold that barbarism and solecism can occur simultaneously in one word: just as two *uitia* or *uirtutes* of the same kind (two barbarisms or two metaplasms) can coexist, so can two deviations of a different kind, like solecism and metaplasm (of which C. provides one example), and therefore also solecism and barbarism.

21.5 cernuntur: the MSS. read *geruntur*, but *Par.*'s *cernuntur* sounds all the more idiomatic, and indeed *cerni* is used below at 21.13.

21.7-8 urbemque Fidenam: Verg. *A.* 6.773. I am not aware of any ancient scholar taking this expression as involving both a solecism and a metaplasm. In fact, this example is mostly used to illustrate systole, the shortening of a long syllable (see Char. 367.13-15 B., Diom. 442.5-8, *Ult. Syll.* 259.13, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.4), while Servius (*Aen.* 6.773) alone notes that the normal form is *Fidenae* (without calling this a solecism). *Fidenae*, like many names of cities, was only plural, but it occurs as a singular in a handful of cases (Sil. 15.91, Tac. *Ann.* 4.62).

21.8 fī syllabam: **MV** omit *fī*, which is instead in **B Par.:** when C. talks about a certain syllable in commenting on an example, the word *syllaba* is regularly accompanied by some modifier which helps identify the syllable in question, so it is sensible to accept *fī* here, in spite of the agreement of **M** and **V** (the independent loss of such a short element as *fī* is easily explicable).

21.11 plurali ... numero: I prefer to follow **M** and Keil, possibly supported by **V**'s abbreviated *pl(u)r(al)i... num(ero)*, than to go for the genitive with Niedermann, based on the abbreviated *plu(ralis?)... numeri* in **B**.

21.12 Cicero dixit urbem Syracusas: sometimes in the Verrine orations (e.g. 4.177, 5.26).

21.12 – 22.2 itaque et ... dicendas: here comes the objection to the previous point: a word that is flawed by a *uitium maius* like a solecism (which violates the *artis regula*, the grammatical rule) is not a Latin word. Indeed, it is to be taken as not even expressed (*non pro prolato haberi*),

and as a consequence not liable to accommodating minor faults such as barbarisms, which only affect phonology. Apparently, this is not to say that one cannot practically violate both the *artis regula* and phonology of a word, but only that any violation further than that of the *artis regula* is not to be taken into account. This clearly is a specious argument, but shows that at least for some there was a hierarchy of errors, corresponding to a hierarchy of linguistic levels, with syntax (*artis regulae*) coming on top and phonology (*prolatio*) being subordinate to it.

21.14 nihil aliud dicitur nisi hoc: Burghini and Uría Varela (2010: 192-3) take this to mean ‘it suffices to say this’ (Sp. ‘basta decir lo siguiente’), as if the following were a sufficient condition to reject the previous argument. I think this more likely means that what follows is the only objection one could raise: this would also be suggested by the fact that at 21.20-1 this objection is not presented as decisive (*habet quidem quod dicitur non nihilum rationis, sed tamen...*). It is not clear whether this is C.’s own objection or of some of his sources.

21.16 dispiciendi: Mariotti (1952: 197) defends the MSS.’ *dispiciendo* as a dative depending on *locum non esse*, against Keil’s conjecture *dispiciendi*: but it seems that with *locus* one preferentially uses the genitive of the gerund (cf. *TLL* VII.1596.34), while *dispiciendo* might have easily come about as if a gerundive agreeing with *soloecismo et barbarismo*.

barbarismum enim esse: what governs this infinitival clause? After *enim*, **B** has *dicunt* (accepted by Niedermann), **M** has *dicimus*. However, I prefer to follow **V** (and Keil) in leaving out the *uerbum dicendi* and having this infinitival clause (as well as that of 21.18-20) governed by *dicitur* at 21.14. The fact that the *uerba dicendi* in **B** and **M** are different points to their being interpolations, motivated by the need to have a main verb; it is also telling that **M** adds a *dicimus* at 21.19 out of a similar need.

21.16-17 qui corrumpat: this subjunctive and the following *superueniat* seem to have a generic/consecutive force.

21.17 integram dictionem: this description of barbarism is new to C., but the connection with *integritas* has parallels in several authors, the most ancient being Pliny the

Elder's opinion as reported in an extract from Sergius in *Pauca* 33 = *QSQ* 53 (note on Plin. *dub. serm.* 122 *GRFM*): *non dicitur barbarismus quod legitur integre* (cf. ps. Mar. Victorin. 35.21-2 N. *siquidem solecismus in integris quidem uerbis, sed inconsequentibus locutionem uitiat, barbarismus autem uerba corrumpit*, Pomp. 283.24-8, and Isid. *Orig.* 9.1.7). Of course, if one were to take C.'s definition literally, this might also imply a contradiction, inasmuch as to say that a barbarism does not occur in a word which is already corrupt could be taken as to mean that one cannot commit a barbarism in a word which already has one. So here C. must understand *corruptae* as violating the *artis regula*.

corruptae: the MSS. have *corrupta*, which becomes *corruptam* in **M^{pc}**. While the ablative (accepted by Niedermann) seems odd, an accusative works well as dependent on *superuenio*; yet I suggest that we read a dative *corruptae*, which is more idiomatic with *superuenio* (see *OLD* s.v. 1a), and whose *-e* could easily get dropped before *etiam* by haplography.

21.20 – 22.2 habet quidem ... dicendas: the conclusion sounds like a compromise: C. takes the point just raised in the counterargument, yet admits that for pedagogical purposes one can well point out and stigmatise both the major and the minor vice, when they occur simultaneously in a word. In practice, one should note the more important one first (solecism) and subsequently add the other (barbarism).

22.1 strenuas: cf. note on 19.21-3.

22.2-6 eueniunt ... sensu: in his aim at completeness, C. gives here an account of those innovations which do not fit into the standard categories of barbarism (or solecism), for they take place neither on the morphosyntactic level (*in regula*) nor on the phonological level (*in prolatione*), yet can be rightfully called barbarisms (as he points out at 22.16).

22.3 ex inperitia: cf. *DBM* 3.6 and 18.20, where this is the condition that makes barbarisms possible.

22.4 *tyrannicidas*: we lack any textual evidence that *tyrannicida* ‘tyrant-killer’ was ever used for *tyrannus* ‘tyrant’. The remark of Keller (1891: 153) that ‘*Tyrannicida* bedeutet spätlateinisch statt (...) Tyrannenmörder vielmehr den Tyrannen selbst’ seems to be based only on C., inasmuch as he refers to Rönsch (1887-89: 73) who cites our passage. Keller’s further idea that *tyrannicida* might have been taken for a patronymic of *tyrannicus* (= *tyrannic-ida*), whence used as a synonym of *tyrannus*, seems odd (especially given that a patronymic would have had a short *i*), and ultimately unprovable. One cannot exclude that *tyrannicida* ‘tyrant-killer’ might have been taken as ‘tyrannical killer’, hence ‘tyrant’. But it may simply be that both *tyrannus* and *tyrannicida* were learned words rare enough among the less educated that they got confused.

22.5-6 in sensu: the present mistake concerns the semantic level of the language, as it consists of a confusion between words of related meaning.

22.6 *Sanguintinos*: there is a certain fluctuation in the manuscript tradition as to the spelling of the demonym in question, but *Sanguintinos* (**M** *Pauca*) is superior and pointed to by the kind of variation observed in the others (*sangiuntinos* **V**, *sanguinitos* **B**, *sanguntinos* Ursus).

pro *Saguntinis*: *Pauca*’s *pro sanguineis*, omitted by all MSS., reveals the need of a *pro*-locution that clarifies the original form, for it is doubtful that the mention of *Sanguintini* alone would have been self-explanatory to a reader, and C. always indicates the modified form or explains what the change consists of. The basic word must be *Saguntini*, the inhabitants of Saguntum in Roman Spain, and the expression we are looking for is most likely *pro Saguntinis*, which could easily be dropped by a scribe after *Sanguintinos*.

Again, this is the only evidence we have that the demonym *Saguntini* was ever modified. The connection clearly is with *sanguis*, but it is not completely clear how this works. One would readily think that this refers to the *Saguntina clades* in 219 BC, where so much Roman blood was shed (cf. Schuchardt 1866-8: III.257 and Keller 1891: 18, who also assumes that

Sanguintum was used as a toponym): anyway, it is doubtful how this episode could have provided a reason for *uituperatio* rather than national pride, unless Saguntum was rival with another town whose inhabitants dramatically lacked in political correctness. Should one want to exclude the Punic War as the cause for the distorted *Sanguintini*, the alleged mockery could simply lie in the similarity between the actual demonym and words like *sanguinolentus* or *sanguisuga*. Yet C.'s remark that *peccant hi... in historia* seems to point to the *Saguntina clades*.

22.8-14 item plerique ... non usque ad summum fidelis: this quite bizarre remark concerning the semantics of superlatives seems unparalleled in other grammarians. *Inuictus* and *infidelis* being composed of the negative *in-* and a participle (*uictus*) or adjective (*fidelis*), C. treats them as though *in-* were to modify the superlative of the simplex, e.g. *in- + uictissimus* = 'not (most conquered)' instead of the actual 'most (not conquered)'. So, according to our author, those who form the superlative of such adjectives believe they are expressing the highest degree of the quality predicated, as with normal adjectives, but in fact they are denying that the quality predicated is to the highest degree.

It is hard to trace the roots of this view (if any). Kohlstedt (1917: 16) thinks of the school of rhetoric, while I would rather investigate grammatical doctrines. C. deals with compounds in *DNV* (349.21 – 350.14): the only possible (yet not really plausible) basis of his view here lies in the observation that compounds with the first element not flexive are inflected as though they were simple, that is to say the second element only is inflected (350.6-7 *cetera uero quae sine specie cuiusquam casus priore parte conposita sunt ut simplicia declinabuntur, ut biceps municeps*). Perhaps the idea could arise that in like compounds the superlative suffix similarly modified the meaning of the inflectional element alone.

When discussing grades of comparison, many grammarians (including C. at *DNV* 342.6ff.) observe that some adjectives have no superlative (as *senex senior*) and others have neither a comparative nor a superlative (as *mediocris*): I do not believe, however, that this is

relevant to our issue, because C. does not deny that *infidelis* and *inuictus* have a superlative, but rather points out that said superlative actually has a different value from that which is normally believed.

A similar remark on the unexpected semantics of some comparatives (not superlatives), in which the quality predicated is reduced instead of being increased, is found at *DNV* 342.28ff., where C. states that *comparatiuus... saepe minus a positiuo significat, ut est mare Ponticum dulcius quam cetera, id est minus amarum: minus enim est quod dixit dulcius, quam si dixisset dulce*. But this is obviously different, in that the semantics of the adjective here depend on the noun which is modified, and the discrepancy lies in the inappropriateness of the *iunctura*: *dulcius* qualifying something sweet (i.e. *dulcius mel*) would unequivocally mean ‘sweeter’.

If we now turn to the superlatives in question, obviously authors never considered them problematic (so they might have been included by C. among the *plerique*). *Inuictissimus*, rare though it may be, is found as early as Plautus (*Mil.* 55), sometimes in Cicero (*Rep.* 6.9 etc.), then very often in Augustine (*C.D.* 1.10 etc.). *Infidelissimus* occurs in Cicero (*Fam.* 9.1.2, 15.4.14) and, with its Christian value, very frequently in Salvian (e.g. *gub.* 5.1).

22.14-18 haec atque ... iure dicetur: as already pointed out, C. aims at completeness by labelling all kinds of mistakes. Therefore, any unnamed error that is made outside the poetic domain, but involves neither *regula* nor *prolatio*, must be included among barbarisms.

22.15 ea de quibus post dicturi sumus: it is not clear which vices C. refers to by this, for in the next section (*De scandendis uersibus*) he discusses issues of scansion and metaplasms, both related to scansion (systole, ectasis, synaloephe, and ecthlipsis) and not (antithesis and metathesis). These are not *uitia* but *uirtutes*, they are not quite comparable to barbarisms, and surely are not new to a reader, for they have been already discussed in the section on metaplasms (*DBM* 5.14 – 8.18). So either C. is hinting at a section of the work which is now lost or was never written (cf. Introduction, chapter 2), or is just being somewhat inaccurate as to what will

follow.

22.16-17 quicquid... peccat: there is no need to add, with Keil, <quis> before *peccat*, for *pecco* can mean altogether ‘to be wrong’ and be used of inanimate subjects (see note on 18.1).

22.20 – 23.1 nunc quoniam ... atque consistit: this section had been announced at *DBM* 8.10-12, and functions as an appendix to the discussion of metaplasms, very much as the prosodic treatise *De ultimis syllabis ad Caelestinum* (219-64) ends with an account of metaplasms as poetic licences – note the affinity of the introduction (262.19-23): *quamuis supra dixerim esse poetis licentiam metaplasmodum rationibus naturas siue litteras inuertere syllabarum, tamen superfluum esse non iudico specialiter de ipsis metaplasmodis, qui necessarii huic arti ualde sunt, disputare, sine quibus exitus faciles, cum in artem uenerint poemata, inueniri non possunt* (see De Nonno 1990: 464-6).

22.23 diiudicemus: despite **MV**’s agreement on the verb *iudico* and its use elsewhere in C. (*DBM* 23.5, *DNV* 363.27, 35), I prefer **B**’s *diiudico*, which is rarer and apparently *difficilior*. But **MV**’s subjunctive seems *difficilior*, too, so I print *diiudicemus*.

23.1 constet: Niedermann has **B**’s *constetne*. For another indirect interrogative without the clitic *–ne*, see *DBM* 29.2 *similiter incertum, sit synalipha an ecthlipsis*.

pendet atque consistit: this is superior to **M**’s *pendetne an non pendet* (clearly influenced by the previous *an non constet*) and also produces the clausula trochaeus + molossus that C. said to be *optima* at 13.24.

23.2-5 scire igitur ... iudicetur: the whole discussion rests on the distinction between those lines which scan without altering the regular phonology of the words involved (cf. 23.11 *iuxta communis linguae enuntiationem*), and those which only scan by making exceptions to the regular phonology. In the latter case, lines which would not seem to scan are ‘defended’ by

appealing to alleged prosodic peculiarities (those corresponding to the *syllabae communes* in the grammatical tradition) and metaplasms.

23.3 sine excusatione: for *excusatio* meaning ‘licence’ see *TLL* V.1298.83 – 1299.3. The term occurs in more or less the same context, but with more a common meaning, in the *Ars* of ps. Sergius (110.33-5 Munzi): *his* (sc. *communibus syllabis*) *parcius est utendum, dumtaxat in poemate longiore: non enim laudes uersibus pariunt, sed impetrant excusationem*.

23.4 consistere: in the sense ‘to be valid’ and used of *uersus*, this is peculiar to C. among ancient authors.

artificialibus: the MSS. read *artificialibus*. This extremely rare spelling (cf. *TLL* II.702.83ff.) is consistent in C.’s manuscripts and has been adopted by Keil and Niedermann (not Buttman) throughout C.’s work (*DBM* 23.15, 17; *DNV* 343.27, 344.15, 377.22). Nevertheless, it is no doubt to be regarded as a corruption that was generalised in an Irish stage of the textual transmission, for it is normally found in medieval works of Irish origin (e.g. *Anonymus ad Cuimnannum* and *Ars Ambrosiana*), and the idea that C. was the only ancient author to spell *artificialis* instead of *artificialis* is untenable. Therefore, I print *artificial-* here and elsewhere.

defendi: *defendo* and its cognate *defensio* are frequent in this section (*defendo* at 23.10, 23.21, 24.4 etc.; *defensio* at 25.12, 28.8). Buffa Giolito (2003: 51) moves from this, alongside the frequency of *iudico* and *excuso*, to claim that C. was particularly familiar with judicial oratory.

23.6-8 conditus in nubem... et tu quoque...: it is hard to think of any specific reason why C. chose Verg. *G.* 1.442 and *A.* 7.1 as examples of lines which scan without any licence, for these enjoy no particular fortune in the grammatical tradition, and surely not one related to the integrity of metre. The former is quoted as a case of *in* + accusative where *in* + ablative would be expected by Servius (*Aen.* 1.176, 2.401) and Pompeius (275.28); the latter is mainly used to

illustrate the meaning or prosody of *quoque* (Audax 350.28-30, *Ult. Syll.* 251.18, Prob. *inst.* 145.26, Prisc. *GL* III.103.16-18 etc.), and is also analysed in Priscian's *Partitiones* (*GL* III.490.29ff.) inasmuch as it is the initial verse of a book of the *Aeneid*.

23.6 refugerit: this genuinely Vergilian verb was not preserved as such by C.'s tradition, but the different readings in the manuscripts (*refugit* **B**, *reffugit* **V**, *refulserit* **M**) all seem to point in its direction as the original reading of our author.

23.9 non auctoritate aliqua, non praerogatiua aliqua: **MV** read *non auctoritate aliqua praerogatiua* (accepted by Keil); **B** omits *praerogatiua* in the text but supplies *non praerogatiua aliqua* in the lower margin, with a sign before it that corresponds to a similar one written in the text after *aliqua*, showing that *non praerogatiua aliqua* was dropped by *saut* and is to be inserted after *non auctoritate aliqua* (this solution, which I adopt, is already in Niedermann). *Praerogatiua* can function as either an adjective or a noun: as an adjective, it is normally said of the *centuria* that votes first, which surely is not the case here, and more rarely means 'privileged' (see *TLL* X.794.47-60): this makes the reading of **MV** not so likely. As a noun, *praerogatiua* can well mean 'prerogative': I think this option more plausible, therefore I accept Niedermann's text. An alternative would be to exclude *praerogatiua* altogether, but I do not think it likely that a word which is after all quite rare was interpolated. What C. is saying here is that such lines as those expounded above need not be defended by appealing to the literary authority nor to the exceptions that are considered acceptable in view of grammar (presumably the *syllabae communes* set forth at 23.16 – 25.13) and usage (for a similar expression, see at *DBM* 3.9 the definition of metaplasm as guaranteed *ex ueterum scriptorum auctoritate* <uel> *praeiudicatae consuetudinis ratione*).

23.11 iuxta communis linguae enuntiationem: the regular phonology of the words which make up the line is preserved, i.e. the words suffer none of the modifications of the *quadripertita ratio* in order to scan: when scanning, no letter or syllable or quantity is added or removed or changed, just as one would do if reading out a prose passage. Some scholars have

pushed this statement too far by arguing that it shows that word-stress was respected in scanning hexameters, as for example *conditus in núbem* and *tu quoque litóribus* (cf. Schöll 1875: 28 and Vandvik 1937: 143): this is not relevant to C.'s argument, for his discussion is on the segmental level and does not concern accents.

23.13-16 cum excusatione ... contingit: here C. sets forth the two kinds of licence by which those lines not matching the *communis linguae enuntiatio* are made to scan: one consists of metaplasms, the other of a number of prosodic features affecting the syllable. As has been announced, these ten *rationes* correspond more or less to the types of *syllabae communes* (or *mediae*) set forth by the other grammarians, i.e. syllables that in poetry can count either as long or short. The originality of C.'s present discussion is that he does not refer to these as *syllabae communes*, but presents such cases more explicitly as licences, whereby originally short syllables are artificially made to scan as long, and vice versa. For a general overview of the *syllabae communes* according to grammarians, in particular of how many and which types different grammarians list, see Corazza (2011: 145-7). Brief presentations of each type of *syllaba communis* with references to the relevant discussions in all grammarians are in Corazza (2011: 148-50).

23.17 cum de syllabis tractarem: C.'s claim that he discussed *syllabae communes* in full when dealing more generically with the syllable clashes with his extant work, so scholars have argued that a section *De syllabis* existed which has not come down to us (see Chapter 2 of the Introduction).

23.21 sunt huius modi: **M** reads *sub* instead of **BV**'s *sunt*. This caused Keil to take *sub huius modi* in hyperbaton with *ratione* (cf. *DNV* 343.20-1 *principalia sub huius modi nominibus*), and to delete *haec exempla*. **BV** provide a convenient text, although the suspicion might remain that *sunt* has come about as the adjustment of an original *sub*.

23.23 *emicat Euryalus et...*: Verg. *A.* 5.337 is also quoted by Diomedes (429.19-21) to illustrate the lengthening of a short vowel in an open syllable at word-end. For us long *-lus* is a case of lengthening in arsis before caesura, quite a common phenomenon in Latin hexametric poetry and already in Homer. Neither C. nor the grammarians who treat such case among the *syllabae communes* seem aware of the conditions under which such lengthening takes place: whilst acknowledging that this happens in a final open syllable, they do not stress the influence of the metrical ictus and of the caesura on the lengthening. So C. can think of *Iuppiter annos* as a valid counterexample inasmuch as *-ter* is a short open syllable at word-end, but of course this is neither in arsis nor before caesura. Clearly the example is not very well chosen in terms of clarity, for the names involved are different (*Euryalus* and *Iuppiter*), but on the other hand it was not possible for C. to find a hexametric instance of *Euryalus* with short *-lus* (more conveniently, other grammarians focus on the word *caput*, quoting Verg. *A.* 10.394 where *-put* is lengthened in arsis, and *A.* 12.572 where it is normally short).

For a list of the parallel discussions of such cases in the grammarians, see Corazza (2011: 149). This type tops the list of the *syllabae communes* in Marius Victorinus, too (91.12 M.).

24.3 *Iuppiter annos*: Verg. *A.* 8.560, which **M** gives in full (see note on DBM 5.5 for this phenomenon). The first part of the same line is cited at 25.7 for the prosody of *mihi*.

24.4 *insulae Ionio...*: this is the well-known case of final diphthong being shortened in hiatus, which was common in Homer (e.g. *Od.* 1.1 ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε) and sometimes employed by Latin dactylic poets after the Greek use. The line commencing *insulae Ionio* (Verg. *A.* 3.211) was typically quoted by grammarians to illustrate this type of *syllaba communis*, or more generally the phenomenon of abbreviation in hiatus: *Ad Bas.* 242.12-13, *Aphthon.* 36.14-15, 63.2-4, *Char.* 11.5, 12.9-10 B., *Cledon.* 29.28-30, *Diom.* 429.14, *Mall. Theod.* 13.2-3 R. (= *GL* VI.587-18-20), *Mar. Victorin.* 91.13-14, 95.4 M., *Mart. Cap.* 3.278, *Max. Victorin.* 34.18 C. (=

GL VI.230.18-19), *Pomp.* 118.32, *Ps. Prisc.* *GL* II.192.14, *Sacerd.* 454.19-21, *Serg.* *GL* IV.479.14-16, *Serv.* *GL* IV.424.29-32, *Ult. Syll.* 258.11.

cur: in **M**, *quod* in **BV**. *Defendo* seldom governs *cur* (*TLL* V.298.61-2 quotes only *Cic. fin.* 2.117 *quae (turpitudines) ... cur non cadant in sapientem, non est facile defendere*), but *cur* is employed quite consistently in the following sentences (e.g. 24.6-7 *item defenditur ... cur pro breui...*), therefore it is best to accept it here as well.

24.5 diphthongos: the manuscripts are divided on the word for diphthong, as are the editors: **B** reads *dyptongos* and **MV** *diptongus*, Keil prints *diphthongus* and Niedermann *diphthongos*. The spelling of this word of Greek origin was quite flexible in Latin (cf. *TLL* V.1227.9ff.), but as Greek φθ is normally rendered as *pth* (Leumann 1977: 161), so *diphthong-* is more frequent. When it comes to the ending, both *-os* and *-us* are contemplated. At 28.1 all manuscripts available have the Greek accusative in *-on* (*diptongon* **M**, *dyptongon* **B**), while at 28.18 **B** and **V** have *diptongos* and *diptongus*, respectively. Although here the agreement of **M** and **V** would suggest that the Latin ending is archetypal, I think it was easier for *-os* to become *-us*, so we may accept Niedermann's *diphthongos*.

24.6 Aeole: the counterexample with the diphthong keeping its long quantity could have been chosen more carefully, for there are indeed cases which would have made for a minimal pair with *insulae Ionio*, that is to say where a final diphthong is not shortened in hiatus: so other grammarians quote for instance *Musae Aonides* (*inc.* 70 Blänsdorf = *inc.* 45 Morel) or *Aoniae Aganippe* (Verg. *Ecl.* 10.12). *C.*'s *Aeole namque tibi* (Verg. *A.* 1.65) was used by grammarians for purposes not related to the quantity of the diphthong: namely, by Diomedes (496.24) as an example of the hexameter type named *pentescematistus*; by Priscian (*GL* III.96.25) on the value of *nam*; by the author of the *De ultimis syllabis* on the prosody of the vocative ending *-e* (229.25) and of the pronoun *tibi* (232.24).

24.7 o Alexi: just like a diphthong, a long vowel too can get shortened at word-end before another vowel in hiatus (so some grammarians treat these two types jointly, e.g. Mar. Victorin. 91.19-23 M.). As an interjection, *o* is long (cf. Gr. ὦ), and gets shortened in hiatus (e.g. Prop. 2.33.31; for other cases, see *TLL* IX.3.49).

The present line (Verg. *Ecl.* 2.65) was traditionally cited to illustrate this phenomenon: we find it in Charisius (11.33 B.), Diomedes (429.12), Dositheus (23.13-14 T. = *GL* VII.388.3-4), Mallius Theodorus (13.1 R. = *GL* VI.587.17-18), Marius Victorinus (91.20, 94.30 M.), *De ultimis syllabis* (258.7), Pompeius (119.10).

24.8 o ubi campi: Verg. *G.* 2.486, used by C. alone of all grammarians.

24.8-9 et uolucrum linguas: Verg. *A.* 3.361, cited by C. alone in order to illustrate this *syllaba communis*. Our author seems to hold that the cluster *muta cum liquida* normally makes position and causes the preceding syllable to be long, just like any cluster of two consonants. Indeed, he does not even bother to specify that the two consonants in question in *uolucrum* are a stop and a liquid, as if this made no difference at all. So, the treatment of the *muta cum liquida* cluster as tautosyllabic, in other words the treatment of the short vowel preceding it as a short syllable, appears to be regarded as an exception to the ‘rule’, which has it heterosyllabic as if it were a cluster of any random two consonants. In fact, C. is not alone among the grammarians to see things this way, as appears for example from passages in Charisius (9.17-25 B. *syllabae positione longae fiunt his modis... aut si excipitur a duabus consonantibus, ut Acrisioneis Danae*; 12.11-13 B.), Diomedes (428.1-5; 428.31 – 429.3 *communium syllabarum modi sunt septem. primus est, cum correpta uocalis excipitur a duabus consonantibus quarum prior sit muta, sequens liquida. brevis enim in hoc est, uastosque ab rupe Cyclopa et Albanique patres. syllaba enim quae sine hac obseruatione poterat esse positione longa brevis efficitur*), Mallius Theodorus (11.9-11 R. = *GL* VI.587.8-10 *quod si praecedentem breuem syllabam, quam una*

uocalis facit, sequentur duae consonantes, fit syllaba positione longa, ut Acrisioneis). For others, see Vineis (1990: 145-8, 171).

The syllabification of the cluster *muta cum liquida* underwent a continuous fluctuation in time (cf. Sen 2015: 79ff.). It must have been heterosyllabic prehistorically (cf. *obsecro* from *ob* + *sacro*); it clearly was tautosyllabic in early Latin, for it never makes position in Plautus and Terence (except in compounds across an intervening morpheme boundary, e.g. *ob.loqui*); even in classical poetry heterosyllabism is rather the exception than the norm. In Vergil, for example, most forms of *uolucer* containing the cluster *cr* have the second syllable short (20 out of 30), and those which have it long are confined to the end of the hexameter.

24.9-10 pro breui posita sit: Niedermann transposes it to follow *duabus consonis sequentibus*, in compliance with the regular pattern of the following five cases, where the ablative absolute precedes the finite verb. I do not find a variation problematic, and prefer to keep the text as it appears in the manuscripts.

24.10-11 pecudes pictaeque uolucres: in both *A.* 4.525 and *G.* 3.243, employed by Quintilian to show how the verse stress can sometimes change the word accent, when a word like *uolucres* occupies the end of a hexameter (*Inst.* 1.5.28): *euenit ut metri quoque condicio mutet accentum: pecudes pictaeque uolucres. nam uolucres media acuta legam, quia, etsi natura brevis, tamen positione longa est, ne faciat iambum, quem non recipit uersus herous.*

24.11-12 auroque effulgere fluctus: Verg. *A.* 8.677. Some grammarians discussed the type *f*+liquid jointly with *muta cum liquida* (e.g. Don. 606.8-9 H. *prior aut muta quaequam est aut f semiuocalis et sequens liquida*, Char. 12.19-22 B., Diom. 429.3-8, Serv. *GL* IV.424.10-12, Pomp. 116.26-32,). The status of the consonant *f* was quite special, as it was both a *semiuocalis*, like *l m n r s x*, and capable of preceding a liquid (see e.g. Diom. 424.15-16 *f consonans semiuocalis praepositua, quae sola ex semiuocalibus praepositur liquidis, quem ad modum*

muta quaelibet). The *f* + liquid cluster appears as a type in its own right in the discussion of *communes syllabae* by Ps. Sergius (*GL* IV.478.26-9) and Cledonius (29.18-21).

The issue of *spirans cum liquida* has received little scholarly attention. While Raven (1965: 25) equates this type with *muta cum liquida*, according to Allen (1973: 137) there is no ground to hold as a general rule that a syllable may be light before *f* + liquid. Latin grammarians considered *f* + liquid as a special type of *muta cum liquida* in that they ‘equated *f* with the Greek φ, losing sight of the fact that the classical Greek φ was a plosive and not, like the Latin *f*, a fricative’ (Allen 1978: 90 n. 1). But the grammarians may well be excused, I think, when we consider that in a few environments the cluster *f* + liquid is tautosyllabic, i.e. in compounds where the second element begins with *f* + liquid (e.g. *rēflexi* in Verg. *A.* 2.741), and after word boundary as well (with a few exceptions like Catul. 4.18 *impotentia freta*). In fact, initial *f* + liquid is the case in all of the examples provided by the grammarians for a preceding syllable remaining light, as in *effulgere fluctus*. As a rule, in the case of complex onsets, grammarians do not distinguish between word-internal syllables and syllables at word boundary: what matters to them is the onset itself (see Leonhardt 1989: 147).

24.14 *Gela fluuii*: C. is honest in citing a counterexample which makes a minimal pair with the previous case: however, in *Gela fluuii* (Verg. *A.* 3.702) the lengthened *-a* is more often explained in modern times as Vergil following the Greek Γέλᾱ, although Williams (1962: 208) does not exclude that ‘the lengthening may be helped by (or even entirely due to) the following *fl-*’.

24.15 *hic erit unus honos*: Verg. *A.* 5.308, also quoted by Charisius (12.25 B.) and Marius Victorinus (95.9-12 M.), but in order to illustrate the *communis syllaba* deriving from the ambivalent prosody of *hic*.

The view that *h* could actually work as a consonant and make position in early metre (cf. especially Birt 1901) is now generally discarded. The aspirate did not make position in

classical poetry either, but most grammarians thought it did (with the exception of a few unnamed ones in Diom. 430.23-4, and later Bede, *De arte metrica* 3.21 K.). Resting on an erroneous interpretation of such cases as *fatigamus hasta* (Verg. *A.* 9.610), in which we now understand the same lengthening in arsis before caesura as in the aforementioned *Euryalus et* (Verg. *A.* 5.337), grammarians assumed that *h* was capable of causing the previous syllable to be heavy. Lindsay (1916: 98-9) imagines that this interpretation is due to some ‘*Graeculus esuriens*’ transplanting the rules of Homeric prosody into Latin, and thereby making a case for the lengthening of a syllable before an aspirate (representing an original digamma); in fact, a connection in this sense between Homer and Vergil is established by Velius Longus (52.11-19 *unde et apud Homerum non uidentur uitiosi uersus qui hac adspiratione supplentur, ἢ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα εἰκότα γείνατο Τυδεύς* etc.). Timpanaro (*EV* I.373 s.v. ‘aspirazione’) believes that ‘questo parallelismo tra prosodia greca e latina (...) può aver costituito già per Catullo e V. un impulso aggiuntivo, anche se non unico e determinante, a ricorrere talvolta all’allungamento in arsi’. As a matter of fact, in the versification of several late and especially medieval Latin poets, *h* can actually make position (see Ceccarelli 2006 on Venantius Fortunatus) – whether some purists attached to it a phonetic reality (as late grammarians prescribe, cf. *DBM* 11.12-13, 22) or it was only a poetic licence.

I have already mentioned (note on 1.15) that it was controversial among grammarians whether *h* was a *littera* or merely a *nota adspirationis* (see discussion in Biddau 2006: 177-8): the criterion sometimes employed to determine its value was whether it made position in metre. In its limited function as a consonant, *h* was numbered among the *mutae* (see Don. 604., Char. 5.22-4 B. etc.; according to Mar. Victorin. 70.7 M., it was a *muta infirma*). C. implicitly refers to *h* as a *consona* again at 31.22-3, and the aspirate might have consonantal value in the bizarre scansion of *extremum hunc* as *extrehunc* at 31.5.

us: in view of the expression *duabus consonis sequentibus*, perhaps one would find *u* or *nu* more accurate than *us* so as to indicate the element which is not lengthened, but a similar

imprecision occurs again at *DBM* 25.1, where *una consona sequente* is said of the pronoun *hoc* in *hoc erat alma parens*, so there should be no need to correct this.

24.17-18 *terga fatigamus hasta*: the traditional example in the grammarians, who selected this out of fourteen such cases in Vergil (for a list, see Kent 1948: 303-4).

24.18-20 *item defenditur ... spissa coma*: neither C. nor the other grammarians differentiate between the *s* + consonant cluster being word-internal or word-initial. When word-internal, it always makes the preceding syllable heavy. As for the word-initial position, one has to mention first that in Greek poetry this normally makes position (except when the word beginning with σ + consonant is such that it would not fit the metre unless preceded by a short, e.g. Σκάμανδρος). In Latin scenic poetry, on the other hand, it does not make position. When it comes to classical poetry, it is just not very common to have word-initial *s* + consonant after a short vowel (see Hoenigswald 1949, who speaks of a ‘rule of avoidance’): in the few cases where this occurs, it can make position or not, and generally no poet employs both the long and short scansion (see Hoenigswald 1949: 276-9 with a list of relevant passages). According to Allen (1973: 139-40), the short scansion is the ‘native Latin treatment’, and the cases in which the preceding syllable is made heavy are due to the Greek models.

24.18 *ponite spes sibi quisque*: Vergil’s example (*A.* 11.309), which is common to the whole grammatical tradition, is not particularly well chosen, for here grammarians seem to mispunctuate: they apparently have *ponite* to govern *spes*, while in modern editions after *ponite* is a strong pause (e.g. 308-9 Conte: *spem si quam ascitis Aetolum habuistis in armis, / ponite: spes sibi quisque, sed haec quam angusta uidetis.*), which ‘annuls the effect of following *sp-*’ (Horsfall 2003: 203).

Interestingly enough, some grammarians did not envisage any other way for this line to scan than by dropping the *s* in pronunciation (e.g. Serv. *GL* IV.422.22-4 *s littera hanc habet naturam, ut, ubi opus est, excludatur de metro, ut in hoc uersu ponite spes sibi quisque; Pomp.*

117.23-8), as if the initial *s*– were as weak as the final –*s* of, say, *infantibus paruis* (Lucr. 1.186). In fact, it is exactly this phenomenon that is referred to as the *quintus communium syllabarum modus* in Mar. Victorin. 92.7 M. (see Leonhardt 1989: 148-9).

24.19-20 [cum s et p longam te fecerunt duae consonae] cum alibi longam ecferant, ut unde spissa coma: here the text of the manuscripts is problematic. First of all, the part from the second *cum* to *coma* is only in **M**: an omission of the counterexample, as in **BV**, is unparalleled in this section, and at least *unde spissa coma* must be genuine. Secondly, two *cum*-clauses in a row sound cumbersome: Niedermann leaves out the second, but I suggest that the interpolation is rather the first one (*cum... duae consonae*, with variants in the MSS.), for it does not make sense if referred to what precedes it (in fact, Niedermann has to conjecture *efficere debuerint*). This might have well been drawn from a similar passage in Pompeius (117.24 *s et p duae consonantes fecerunt longam*) and noted in the margin, whence the copyist of **M** simply integrated it into the text, whereas the copyist of **BV**'s model took it to replace *cum alibi... coma*. In this light, it is still doubtful whether *duae consonae* should be included in the interpolated sentence or not, for it could be the subject of the second *cum*-clause (indeed this is what Keil prints: *duae consonae cum alibi longam ecferant*). However, there are several reasons why I think it more likely that *duae consonae* should be left out: first, an anastrophe like *duae consonae cum* is difficult and unparalleled in C.; second, *duae consonae* is suspect in that it occurs in Pompeius' passage as well; third, the verb *ecfero* in C. normally means 'to utter', not 'to make' (*TLL* V.144.79-81 cites this passage as the only occurrence of *ecfero* meaning *fere i. q. efficere*), and clearly consonants cannot be the subject of an active verb of utterance (*pace* Keil). As a possible solution, one might want to change **M**'s *ecferunt* (sc. *ecferant*) to *efficiant*, but this would obviously solve only one of three problems, which is probably not enough. If the second *cum*-clause is to stay without *duae consonae*, the subject of *ecferant* would be a generic 'they'. Nevertheless, not even this version is completely satisfactory, for *ecfero* is normally used in C. with an adverb or adverbial expression (see e.g.

DBM 12.4-5 *si quis* Traciam dicens primam subtiliter ecferat, 16.6, 16.8 etc.), never with a double accusative. But against the possibility of emending away *longam* to *longe* one has to consider that C. never uses *longe* for prosodic matters nor does he ever write *producte*, so *longam* was perhaps the best choice with *ecferant*.

24.20 unde spissa coma: also quoted in Cledon. 29.26, Mart. Cap. 3.278, *Ad Bas. GL* VI.242.8, *Fin. metr.* 34.6 C. (= *GL* VI.230.13), Serv. *GL* IV.424.18, Pomp. 117.23. It is significant that no instance of long final syllable before *s* + consonant was to be found in Vergil. The present example seems to have been crafted on purpose by Terentianus Maurus (1102), where however *spissa* is said of *corona*, and *coma* is *scissa*: *unde scissa coma est aut unde spissa corona* (the whole line is quoted by Serg. *GL* IV.479.5).

25.1-3 hoc erat alma parens ... solus hic inflexit sensus: Verg. *A.* 2.664 and *A.* 4.22, respectively. As usual in this section, C. does not make the problem quite clear. In particular, here the pronoun *hic haec hoc* is at stake, although grammarians talk more generally of *pronomen* or even specify *pronomen c littera terminatum* (e.g. Don. 607.1 H.).

The neuter nominative/accusative *hōc* normally counts as a long syllable in metre (for the exceptions, see *TLL* VI.2697.23ff.). The common explanation is that it derives from *hocc* < **hod-ce* (cf. *hoccine* < **hocce-ne*): so the vowel is short, but the syllable is long ‘by position’ (Vineis 1990: 156 invokes instead the effect of strong pause, unconvincingly). In fact, the spelling *hocc* was sometimes suggested as more accurate, as for example by Velius Longus (54.6ff.): *cum dicimus hic est ille, unum c scribimus et duo audimus, quod apparet in metro. nam hoc erat alma parens ... si unum c hanc syllabam exciperet, acephalus esset ... ergo scribendum per duo c hoc erat alma parens aut confitendum quaedam aliter scribi, aliter enuntiari* (see *TLL* VI.2695.49-84 for other examples). By means of analogy with *hoc*, *hīc* too can sometimes count as a long syllable, although never in early Latin (see *TLL* VI.2696.65-72). Some grammarians explicitly describe the geminate sound of *c* in both *hic* and *hoc* (e.g. Mar.

Victorin. 95.15-16 M. = Char. 12.31-3 B. *crassum quodammodo et quasi geminum sonum reddat hic et hoc*, Char. 13.10-12 B.).

Both lines are commonly employed in the grammatical tradition to illustrate the ambiguous prosody of *hic/hoc*.

25.1 *hoc una consona sequente*: one would expect *ho*, but a similar imprecision is in 24.15-16 us *duabus consonis sequentibus* (said of *unus honos*).

25.3-5 *nemorosa Zacynthus ... exultat Amazon*: Verg. *A.* 3.270 and 11.648, respectively. The problem here is that *z* is supposed to make position as it is said by grammarians to be a double consonant (*duplex*), but does not always do so, as seen in *nemorosa Zacynthus*. In fact, if we look at hexametric poetry, the scenario is similar to that already seen in the case of the *s* + consonant cluster: while word-internal *z* always makes position, word-initial *z* is very seldom employed after a short vowel – even avoided, as Raven (1965: 25) and Allen (1973: 46) put it. When this happens, however, the preceding syllable counts as long (e.g. Verg. *G.* 1.371 *Eurique Zephyrique*..., although this could be lengthening *in arsi*), unless the word beginning with *z*- is such that it would only fit the metre if preceded by a short syllable: this is of course the case of *Zacynthos* (cf. Ov. *Ep.* 1.87, Sil. 1.275, 290, 2.603, Juv. 15.114), whose treatment is modelled upon that observed in Homer (cf. *Od.* 9.24 ὤλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος).

For a better understanding of this issue, especially what the grammarians thought, it is helpful to outline a short history of *z* in Greek and Latin (see Allen 1968: 53-4 and 1973: 45-6; Lindsay 1894: 104-5 discusses them jointly). The grapheme ζ was used in early and classical Greek to represent the sequence [zd], as is clearly seen in Ἀθήναζε = Ἀθήνας + δε; quite often [zd] was a metathetical development of an affricate [dz] (from *dy*), a single phoneme which ζ was probably employed to represent in the first place (e.g. πεζός < **ped-yos*). Therefore [zd] must have been the sound of ζ in Homer, so it was genuinely a double consonant. There is evidence that in the fourth century BC [zd] came to be pronounced as a voiced alveolar fricative

[z]: such must have been the Latin sound in loanwords from Greek, although it was first represented with some approximation by <s>, as for example in the plautine *sona* for ζώνη; in word-internal position it appears as a double <ss> (e.g. *massa* for μάζα), which suggests that it was pronounced as a geminate [zz]. The grapheme <z> came into use in the first century BC. It is a common opinion that some Latin grammarians simply draw from the Greek grammarians' account of classical Greek ζ when they state that *z* is a double consonant representing *sd* (e.g. Prisc. *GL* II.36.17-19 *in multis ueteres haec quoque mutasse inueniantur... pro ζ uero, quod pro sd coniunctis accipitur, s uel ss uel d posuisse*, Audax 327.5-8 Mezentius, *siquidem me breuis syllaba est, uerum excipitur a duplici littera z, quae si adsumpta non esset, per s et d Mesdentiusscriberetur*) or *ds* (e.g. Mar. Victorin. 68.13-14 M. *sic et z, si modo Latino sermoni necessaria esset, per d et s litteras faceremus*). That the sound of <z> is [z] in Latin speech is explicitly, if somewhat polemically, stated in the second century by Velius Longus (51.11-18): *non idem est z et sd, sic quo modo non idem est σίγμα καὶ δ et z. denique si quis secundum naturam uult excutere hanc litteram [id est z], inueniet duplicem non esse, si modo illam aure sinceriore explorauerit. nam et simpliciter scripta aliter sonare potest, aliter geminata, quod omnino duplici litterae non accidit [ne geminetur]. scribe enim per unum z et consule aurem: non erit ἀζήχης quo modo ἀδσηχής, sed geminata eadem ἀζζήχης quo modo ἀσσηχής*. Whatever the sound of *z* was in Latin speech, it is quite likely that a Latin poet employing a Greek word containing *z* would have conceived of it in Greek terms and stuck to its Homeric treatment – and a Latin grammarian discussing prosody would have done very much the same.

Nemorosa Zacynthus (–os is actually the correct ending), as the only Vergilian case of *z* which does not make the preceding syllable heavy, is common to the whole grammatical tradition. *Exultat Amazon*, on the other hand, is not cited by others as an example of *syllaba communis* (*A.* 11.7 *Mezenti ducis* was far more popular in this respect).

25.6 o mihi praeteritos: Verg. *A.* 8.560, already cited at *DBM* 24.3. **B** completes the line with *referat si Iuppiter annos*: I side with **MV** and leave it out, but there is a chance that this is genuine and was independently dropped by *saut* in **MV**.

25.8 cur hi breuem ... longa sit: the ambiguous prosody of the last syllable of *mihi* is not discussed among the *syllabae communes* by grammarians, but is sometimes included in the section on final syllables (Serv. *GL* IV.453.28ff., *Ult. Syll.* 232.23ff., Max. Victorin. 49.13-14 C. = *GL* VI.236.6-8). The original form of the dative of *ego* was *mihī* with long final *-ī*, for this goes back to a Plt. **mexei*: this is shown also by Umbr. *mehe* (see de Vaan 2008: 368), and a spelling *mihei* is attested in inscriptions (*CIL* I².1401, IV.1846, *CLE* 181.2). The form *mihī* with short final *-i* is due to iambic shortening (like *tibī*, *sibī*). Both forms were in use in archaic poetry: for details of their distribution in the scenic poets, see *TLL* V.255.30-76. In non-scenic poets, the pyrrhic variant is much more frequent than the iambic one: in Vergil, for example, *mihi* has final *-ī* in 141 cases against 38 of final *-i* (see figures of other authors in *TLL* V.255.77 – 256.9). The discussion of the issue in C., with *mihī* presented as the form that needs justification, is correct from the point of view of historical grammar, but not from that of usage. The aforementioned authors who write on final syllables present the two forms as basically indifferent (likewise Serv. auct. *Aen.* 1.8; in the note on *A.* 1.77 *mihī* is presented instead as the regular form).

25.9 fata mihi...: Verg. *A.* 9.137.

25.18-21 metaplasmos hos uel a poetis ipsis ... uel nobis ... faciendos relinqui: the issue of metaplasms altering the spelling or not is particularly important to C., as has already been seen at *DBM* 7.15-21 (on synaloephe and ecthipsis), and as will be seen again at 29.24 – 30.16 (again on synaloephe and ecthipsis). In the section 25.18 – 26.24 C. deals with the issue in greater detail, discussing the effects on spelling of other metaplasms, too.

As C. will more or less explicitly point out below (26.5-10), the metaplasms that involve the addition or removal of a letter (or syllable, for that matter) cause an alteration of the spelling and are the prerogative of the poets themselves; on the other hand, those metaplasms that involve prosody (ectasis, systole) and syllabification (diaeresis, episynaloephe) do not concern the spelling and are down to every reader to carry out when reading out lines (although they were of course conceived and performed by the poets in the first place: see 26.10-11 *poeta corrupte quidem legit ipse*).

25.22 *relliquias*: this case (Verg. *A.* 1.30) has been discussed in the note on DBM 4.6, where C. cited this as an instance of epenthesis.

25.23 *tanton*: Verg. *A.* 10.668. This is an apocopated form of *tantōne* (*tantō* + interrogative enclitic *-ne*) that is used by Vergil at *A.* 12.503 as well and commented on by Servius for both passages (e.g. Serv. *Aen.* 10.668: TANTON *pro tantone et constat mutilatas partes orationis accentum in eodem loco habere, in quo etiam integrae habuerunt*; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 12.503). Servius is interested in those words originally accented on the penultimate syllable which lose the final one, thereby becoming oxytone (see Leumann 1977: 239 and Allen 1978: 87). Others quote *tanton* as an apocopated word which needs the apostrophe (Don. 611.6-8 H., Diom. 435.17-19, Prisc. *part.* 56.3-5 P. = *GL* III.466.5-7). C. cites *tanton* once again at DBM 29.14, reporting that this is considered an example of episynaloephe by the grammarian Asper. One might expect that here he classifies this metaplasm as an apocope.

25.24 *:** in the manuscripts, *item contra* is followed by *sicut Lucilius* (with variants), which clearly does not make sense: a portion of text has surely gone missing, where C. must have described at least the metaplasm in *tanton*. Lachmann (1850: 416) suggested the supplement *dempsit litteram per metaplasum e*, which Keil took a little further as *dempsit unam litteram per metaplasum e*. However, although this section is almost formulaic, I think there is no way to establish exactly the text that is lost (especially if there was something more

to it), so while keeping in mind the suggestions of Lachmann and Keil as very likely to represent the missing content, I rather indicate a lacuna as Niedermann does.

26.1 Lucilius: C. cites Lucilius two more times: at *DBM* 9.12 *conque tubernalem* (Lucil. 1137), for which he is the only source, and at *DNV* 345.19-21 *uertitur oenoforis fundus, sententia nobis* (Lucil. 139), that is cited by several other authors. The fact that the only two quotations supplied by C. alone (the present *atque ore corrupto* and *conque tubernalem*) are only two/three words long may sound suspect, but this is in the end no proof that C. is not reliable in this matter. Goetting (1899: 96) suggests that the ultimate source for all quotes from ancient authors in this section is Remmius Palaemon, ‘*per quoscumque riuulos eas in artem perlatas esse iudicas*’, but it is no easy task to determine C.’s sources for Lucilian lines.

***atque ore corrupto*:** Lucil. 1242-3. **BV** read *atque* before *ore corrupto*, which Niedermann dismisses but I think genuine: this has good parallels in other hexametric clausulae, such as Enn. *Ann.* 82 Skutsch (*atque ore timebat*), Tib. 1.5.49 (*atque ore cruento*), and Man. *poet.* 5.15 (*atque ore tremendo*), while I hardly see a reason why anyone should have wanted to interpolate *atque* (in fact, *atque* appears in C.’s passage as printed by Skutsch 1985: 719).

The exceptional *cōrupto* has not been accepted by everybody. Heraeus (1915: 41) was quite radical in suggesting that *corrupto* should read as Greek κορύπτω ‘I butt with the head’, in a line like *inque uicem duro qui me petit ore, κορύπτω* (this seems to be approved of by Leumann 1977: 184). For Lachmann (1850: 416), who wanted to change the line-end *cōrumpum* that one reads in the older MSS. at Lucr. 6.1135, Lucilius’ *cōrupto* must have been a parallel to get rid of: so he accepted the reading but dismissed it as something that Lucilius ‘*non potuit dicere nisi irridendi causa aut forte in recte loquendi legibus demonstrandi*’ (likewise Petersmann 1999: 309). Marx (1904-5: II.394) only conceived of *corrupto* as a spelling peculiarity without admitting a short first syllable, and accordingly displaced *ore corrupto* in enjambement across two consecutive lines. But as *atque* seems genuine and *atque ore* cannot possibly be the clausula of a hexameter, the line-end must really be *atque ore cōrupto*. On the

other hand, some have accepted *cōrupto* as an actual form, affected by a shortening like that in *ōmitto* < **ommitto* < **ob-mitto* (Klotz 1890: 96-7, Lindsay 1894: 114, Stowasser 1905: 224-5; the Plautine *quid āccēpit* invoked by some is not really relevant here), while Charpin (1978-91: III.267) connects this form to the model of *cānālis* as derived from *canna* (or *cūrūlis* from *currus*). Diels (1922: 56-8) qualifies this consonant shortening, which he thinks due to the stress on the second syllable, as ‘vulgar’, the geminate being preserved in standard Latin because of the awareness of the composition. It may be interesting to notice that the spelling of *corruptus* with geminate *r* must not have been taken for granted at the time when and in the place where the so-called *Orthographia Einsidlensis* was composed (*terminus ad quem*: ninth century), in which the author feels the urge to specify that *corruptus* was spelt *per duas r* (*GL suppl.* 297.22-3).

The locution *os corruptum* reappears in Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.1.13) *hoc enim accidunt et oris plurima uitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti...* (transl. Russell: ‘this gives rise to many faults both of pronunciation (owing to the distortion of the mouth produced by forming foreign sounds)...’).

26.2-4 et Ennius: *huic statuam statui maiorum et obatus athenis*: the text of this Ennian fragment (*Ann.* 579 Skutsch = 567 Vahlen), for which C. is our only source, is puzzling. While the first three words (*huic statuam statui*) seem unquestionable, there is great uncertainty about what follows, with the manuscript tradition being quite wobbly. So, after *statui*, **M** reads *maiorum obatu athenis*; a corrector has added the symbol & for *et* (not *eius*, as suggests Lindsay 1909: 20) in the space above the line between *maiorum* and *obatu*. **B** reads instead *maiorum orbatur athenis*, with *morbo* added in the margin by a corrector and clearly referred to *orbatur*, since *morbo* is enclosed by dots and three others are written above *orbatur* (according to Lindsay, *morbo* is rather a conjecture than a variant in the original). A form of *morbo* must have made it into **V**’s text, for this reads *maiore morbu athenis* (with *maiore* clearly made to

agree with *morbu*). None of these makes sense (*pace* Keil, who accepted **M**'s version) and the conjectures have piled up.

It goes without saying that any attempt to amend the text will need to match the following description of what the metaplasm consists of, so whatever word one chooses, a letter must be dropped. But the description is not exempt from textual problems either, for the letter dropped is *r* according to **B¹M**, *s* according to **B²V**. It seems more reasonable to me, however, that the expression *et hic quoque* points to *r* as in the preceding case of *corupto*. This already rules out the reconstruction *maiorum orbatus ahenis* of Kraggerud (2015: 56), who suggests that C. found the spelling mistake *obatu* in an older manuscript and thought this had been committed by the poet himself – but this is not likely, as we reasonably expect C. to interpret the metaplasm as perpetrated *metri causa* (which is the point of the whole section *De scandendis uersibus*), and he could hardly think that *maiorum obatu* would scan. To be ruled out is also Niedermann's *malo remouatur Athenis* (proposed by Stowasser 1886: 282), where *remouatur* stands for *remoueatur* and *litteram r* has to be changed to *litteram e* for the sake of consistency. As for those who focused on the *r*, too far from the paradosis and paleographically unlikely are the reconstructions of both Ilberg (1852, which I could not consult directly), *magis mansura auguro* (i.e. *auguror*) *ahenis*, and Lachmann (1850: 416), *maiolem horto* (i.e. *hortor*) *auream ahenis*. Mariotti (1951: 102) propounds *maiolem etiam, arbitro* (i.e. *arbitror*), *ahenis*, which Skutsch (1985: 719) dismisses in that this would involve three elisions, which he thinks impossible in the *Annals*. Skutsch himself resorts to the *obeloi* for a passage he thinks cannot be restored (so Müller 1884: 67 and Baehrens 1886: 122).

A possibility seems to me that we read the line as *huic statuum statui maiorum et obatus ahenis* ('to him of my forefathers I have erected a statue, although I was deprived of bronze ones'), with the *et* found as an addition in **M**, Ilberg's *ahenis* 'of bronze', and *obatus* from *orbatus* with *r* dropped so that the line can scan. This is of course not conclusive, but I think it

accounts better for the textual situation in the manuscripts. For more on this fragment, see Skutsch (1985: 719-20).

26.5-10 haec cum eueniunt ... possumus: cf. note on *DBM* 25.18-21.

26.11-12 Italiam fato profugus: cf. note on *DBM* 5.20.

26.12 aquosus Orion: cf. note on *DBM* 6.7-9.

26.13 labitur infelix studiorum: Verg. *G.* 3.498, used to illustrate the normal prosody of the verb *lābor*, with long *a*.

26.13-14 qua summa labentes: Verg. *A.* 2.463, which is supposed to illustrate a systole: in the MSS. of Vergil this actually reads *qua summa labantes*, where *lā-* is from *lābo* –*as*, not *lābor* –*ēris*. Therefore, in Vergil *labitur* and *labantes* simply are two different verbs, each of them scanning correctly. In C.’s MSS., however, things are more complicated: for we read both the Vergilian *labantes* (**B**) and *labentes* (**M**), besides the corrupt *laborantes* (**V**). Niedermann prints *labantes*, but C.’s point only makes sense if we read *labentes* from *lābor*: in order to show how the latter form is an exception, he had to read the same verb in both instances, and could not have thought *lābantes* a form of *lābor*, since he surely was aware of the difference between the two verbs (as shown at *DNV* 382.5-8). So we have to assume that C. read *labentes* in his copy of Vergil and so wrote *labentes* in his work. In fact, this reading is found in the Vergilian codd. M, g, and y, the first of which dates as far back as our author (fifth century).

26.16 dirigemur: this is in **V** and fits well in a passage where all the verbs are in the future (*poterunt... apparebit... erit*), although it is contrary to the stemma (*dirigimur* **M**, *diregimur* **B**, which might however be the result of a metathesis) and could reveal a scribe’s normalisation.

26.18-19 *feraeque suetae*: Hor. *S.* 1.8.17. Since this is the only occurrence of *suetus* in Horace, one might say that the poet from Venusia always had it trisyllabic. But as a rule *u* is consonantal in *suetus*, as inherited *w* is normally preserved between *s* and *a/e* (see Leumann 1977: 131). Exceptions are found since Lucretius (2.903 *sentire suetis*), but never in Vergil.

26.19-20 *dixisse Phoebos*: see note on DBM 6.17-19 (*dixisse Phoebum*).

26.20-1 *adsuesce uocari*: Verg. *G.* 1.42. It is surprising that C. considers this an episynaloephe, for consonantal *u* is just as regular here as it usually is in the aforementioned *suetae*, which is in fact the past participle of *suesco*. No form of *adsuesco* with vocalic *u* is ever found in poetry, nor could it fit the hexameter, for it would produce a cretic (whereas one can have vocalic *u* in *suesco*, see Cic. *Arat.* 178, Lucr. 1.60, 5.53 etc.). If we look at words with the same onset, *suavis* in Vulgar Latin was trisyllabic according to Lindsay (1894: 267), who inferred this from It. *soave*, and Servius (*Aen.* 1.357) pointed out that *suadet* was disyllabic, but *multi trisyllabum putant*: C. might have been one of the *multi*.

26.21 *aeripedem ceruam*: Verg. *A.* 6.802, a classic example of episynaloephe among the grammarians (cf. Sacerd. 449.5, Don. 662.5-6 H., Char. 367.21-2 B., Diom. 442.22, Pomp. 298.5-6, *Ult. syll.* 263.26, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.5, Iul. Tol. 193.64 M.Y.; cf. also Serv. *Aen.* 6.802 and Prisc. *GL* III.113.3-5). However, this clearly is a misconception, for *aeripes* (which means ‘having feet of bronze’) is a compound from the monosyllabic *aes aeris* ‘bronze’, not *āēr āeris* ‘air’, so there is no fusion of two syllables into one here.

27.1 – 29.23: at 8.10 C. stated that synaloephe and ecthlipsis would need *longiora praecepta*. In fact, the discussion that we find here about these two metaplasms is long and complicated, with the arguments being scattered over several pages, at times in quite a contradictory manner. This is why I find it profitable to outline the main points of C.’s discussion here, only later commenting in detail on the specific bits.

Synaloephe and ecthlipsis are presented as very similar to each other (DBM 27.3-4 *cum*

quibusdam modis in scandendo conuenire consuerint), so much so that several of the examples given of the one and the other coincide (for instance, *interea medium Aeneas* is said to scan with synaloephe at 27.8, ecthlipsis at 28.3), and one can decide between synaloephe and ecthlipsis depending upon the different way in which the clash of vowels is resolved: this allows us to conclude that C. presents quite an artificial way of scansion. Unlike *DBM* 8, it is not the phonetic context that marks the difference here between synaloephe and ecthlipsis: both can involve a vowel, a diphthong, and a vowel + *-m* (27.4-7 and 27.17 - 28.4).

The first thing which is explicitly said to differentiate synaloephe and ecthlipsis is the way in which the superfluous element is treated in order for it to be made irrelevant to the scansion (27.4 – 28.4): with synaloephe, the vowel *citra damnum uocis transilitur* (27.7), whereas ecthlipsis *non solum praeterit syllabas, sed excludit et uelut expressas strangulatasque displodit* (27.10-11). Unfortunately, although C. strives to explain these different processes by means of etymology and metaphors (*quasi exprimens et eiciens* is said of ecthlipsis at 27.12; *uelut lenior... quasi transiliat quae possunt transiliri... quasi quodam saltu praetermittens* about synaloephe at 27.14-16), it is not quite clear what they actually involve: Burghini (2012: 187) understands the process indicated by *transilio* as partial elision – the kind of reduced pronunciation of the final vowel which is imagined for vowel clash in early and classical poetry – and that indicated by *excludo* as total elision. This is an intriguing interpretation, but one which is difficult to match with the sort of phonetic transcription that C. makes of the verses which present synaloephe, where a letter (or more) is regularly left out, such as in *coniugio Anchisae > coniugianchi* (28.14-15), *femineae ardentem > femineardentem* (28.21-2), *Ilium et > Iliet* (29.2-3) and so on.

One could rightly argue that our author could indicate this sort of reduction graphically only by leaving out the vowel; it could be added that this is a transcription of how verses were scanned, not pronounced (indeed, in all these cases C. uses the verb *scando*, not *dico* or the like), so that a syllable which is left out merely indicates that this syllable does not count in the

scansion; but an expression like *nobis <in> scandendo potestas remanet non enuntiandi ea quae nihilominus scripturae series continet* (DBM 30.10-12), seems to validate the thesis that C. was thinking of total elision, although this is not explicitly said to concern synaloephe.

As for the objection that only scansion was implied in these transcriptions, one could reply that if it were so, C. would not have actually needed to differentiate between synaloephe and ecthlipsis as to the vowel which did not count: if he did so, there must have been a difference in pronunciation, too.

Another criterion which is employed to distinguish the two metaplasms is whether the vowel elided makes up a syllable by itself or is only a letter (28.4 – 29.5). First, it should be observed that, according to C., either the preceding or the following vowel can be elided (see esp. DBM 32.1-16): therefore, in a piece of verse like *atque ea*, C. can say that *si priorem e excludas, litteram exclusisti, si posteriorem, syllabam exclusisti* (28.7-8). Now, when a vowel is elided as a simple letter, this is always an ecthlipsis (*uocalis cum quasi littera excluditur, semper ad ecthlipsin pertinet*, 28.12-13); when it is elided as a syllable, one can have either synaloephe or ecthlipsis (28.11-12). Based on the examples provided at DBM 28.14 – 29.5 (*coniugi(o) Anchi* = synaloephe vs. *coniugio (A)nchi* = ecthlipsis; *accipi(o) agno* = synaloephe vs. *accipio (a)gno* = ecthlipsis; *femine(ae) ardentem* = synaloephe vs. *femineae (a)rdentem* = ecthlipsis; *Ili(um) et* = synaloephe vs. *Iliu(m e)t* = ecthlipsis; *egregi(um) Anto* = synaloephe vs. *egregiu(m A)nto* = ecthlipsis), some have concluded that synaloephe is the elision of the preceding vowel, ecthlipsis is the elision of the following (Holtz 1981: 180 n. 49, Lausberg 1998: 230-1). This certainly holds true for these cases, but it appears to me to be a coincidence, because in all these examples the preceding word ends with a vowel (or vowel plus *-m*) which is a syllable in itself, while the following begins with a closed syllable, hence a vowel that is not a syllable in itself but merely a letter: this is just in keeping with the statement of DBM 28.11-13. On the contrary, there are cases in which the preceding vowel is elided and this is called an ecthlipsis: *regina e speculis* at 27.18, where the final *a* is elided (this is made sure by

the fact that *a*, unlike *e*, is not a syllable in itself, and ecthlipsis elides a vowel *quasi littera*); *fluctusque atros* at 27.21, where *–e* is elided on the same ground; and *femineae ardentem* at 28.1, where the diphthong is elided (*ut interdum diphthongon excludat*). So it seems that an ecthlipsis can be the elision of a vowel either final or initial, which makes up a syllable or not; a synaloephe, on a more limited scale, is only the elision of a final vowel (there are no examples of an elided initial vowel called synaloephe) which makes up a syllable.

The problem here is how to distinguish the two metaplasms when we have a final vowel which makes up a syllable, as this case theoretically fits them both synaloephe and ecthlipsis. But after a closer look at the examples one realises that the only missing case among those of ecthlipsis is that of a single final vowel making up a syllable (there is instead the case of a single initial vowel making up a syllable, *atque ea* at 27.22, and that of a final diphthong, *femineae ardentem* at 28.1): this, then, could be regarded as the exclusive realm of synaloephe.

This complicated reconstruction, though, is undermined by C.'s inconsistencies in his examples: while at 28.1 he calls the elision of the diphthong in *femineae ardentem* an ecthlipsis, at 28.21 – 29.1 he calls it a synaloephe, the ecthlipsis being the elision of the initial *a* of *ardentem*. Thus it seems contradictory to quote *medium Aeneas* at 28.2-3 as an ecthlipsis involving elision of vowel plus *–m* and at 29.17-19 not as an ecthlipsis (*nam non uelut transilitur tamquam unius uocis extrema, ut illic est interea medium Aeneas*), unless in the first case it is to be scanned as *mediu(m Ae)neas* > *mediuneas* (theoretically possible if we consider 29.3 *Iliu(m e)t* and 29.5 *egregiu(m A)nto*, but quite monstrous from the point of view of euphony).

Now that we have considered the two criteria separately (the opposition *transilio/excludo* and vowel as a letter/syllable), it is worth pointing out that they are explicitly paired in the example provided at *DBM* 28.14-17 and in that at 29.16-19 (and implicitly, I believe, in the others). It seems that *transilio* applies to a vowel *tamquam unius uocis extrema* (29.18), while *exprimo*, at least in the case of *multum ille* = *multul*, to a vowel plus *–m* that

exprimitur de medio uocum (29.17): this could indicate that the process of *transilio*, whatever it implies, only occurs in the phonetic context of final vowels making up a syllable (not in such a case as *regin(a) e speculis* and *fluctusqu(e) atros* at 27.18-21 nor in *femine(ae) ardentem* at 28.1 if the latter is to be regarded as an ecthlipsis), whereas that of *excludo* occurs in all the remaining contexts; but this could also indicate that C. is trying to combine different criteria he found in different sources without fully understanding them or quite managing to make them work together.

The doctrine exposed here is quite different from that of *DBM* 8 and definitely original; it is also quite diverse and complicated, and presents some internal contradictions. I think it is most likely that C. is drawing on several sources and trying to put them together in order to build up an exhaustive discussion. It is not to be excluded, for example, that in one of C.'s ancient sources the verb *transilio* really indicated partial elision, just as in the ancient Celsus we seem to find that partial elision was implied, but it is implausible that C. fully understood this, since the practice of scansion in his times had changed and total elision was the rule, at least among the grammarians (cf. note on 7.16-18): hence he tries to fit these terms to a different doctrine, making up unsatisfying explanations and contradictory examples.

At 29.19-23, in a pragmatic twist, C. concludes by stating that it does not matter much what name one puts on each form of scansion, provided that one knows how to scan. In fact, at 32.1-16 he gives practical (and much less complicated) instructions as to which sound one should suppress in a clash of vowels, based on *scandendi ratio*, euphony, and *necessitas*.

27.2-3 de his hoc ordine praecipiemus: this way of structuring the discussion recalls that used for barbarisms and metaplasms at *DBM* 1.2-9. C. appears to believe that explaining the differences between two items is a necessary preliminary to understanding them.

27.4-6 synaliphe ... siue cum *m* littera consistens: the difference immediately apparent

between this definition and that found at *DBM* 7.17-19 is that here not only vowels can be involved, but also vowel + *m*, which according to the tradition (as well as the definition at 8.8-10) was the phonetic context in which the ecthlipsis happened: it is worth remembering, on the other hand, that Celsus (*DBM* 8.1-6) considered the elision of vowel + *m* to be a case of synaloephe (as did Audax 339.26-8 = Ps. Mar. Victorin. *GL* VI.212.24 - 213.2).

27.6 superflua: that is, from a metrical point of view: if the syllable in question counted as a syllable, the verse would not scan.

27.7 citra damnum uocis transilitur: the key-concept for understanding this definition. *Transilio* ‘jump over’ is a verb scarcely used by grammarians, in fact only by C. (*DBM* 27.15, 28.16, 29.18) and the medieval Bede referring to synaloephe (*Beda metr.* 91.72 Kendall = *GL* VII.232.12): it is to be understood as equivalent in meaning to *praetereo* and different from *exprimo* and *excludo*, which characterise the process of ecthlipsis; in C., *damnum* is elsewhere used of syllabic reduction (*DBM* 10.5 *damnum syllabarum*, about a word losing a syllable after syncope; 32.1-2 *in hoc damno syllabarum quae excluduntur*, about clash of vowels), and here could mean that there was no loss of phonetic material. So it would be tempting to conclude, with Burghini (2012: 187), that the talk here is about partial elision. As we have seen, though, given the inconsistencies with the phonetic transcriptions at *DBM* 28.14 – 29.5 and the statement *potestas remanet non enuntiandi* at 30.10-12, it is likely that C.’s source was originally referring to partial elision, which he did not understand and passively reported.

huius exempla haec sunt: in keeping with the consideration that synaloephe and ecthlipsis overlap in scanning, C. gives here three cases of synaloephe that he will later ascribe to ecthlipsis as well, thereby specifying under which circumstances one can decide between the one and the other.

27.8 coniugio Anchisae: Verg. *A.* 3.475, quoted at 28.13-18 as an ambiguous case between synaloephe or ecthlipsis, depending on how it is scanned.

Vergil actually had the vocative *Anchisa* (*coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo*), which is confirmed by several grammarians (Gell. 15.13.10, Non. 281.3); *Anchisae* is found in some ancient Vergilian manuscripts, but a genitive does not fit in here: this is why Niedermann emends it into *Anchise*, another form of vocative attested by Char. 18.15 B., Arus. 129.12 D.C. (= *GL* VII.463.27), and Prisc. *GL* II.288.1-4. But the fact that the form *Anchisae* is found in all of C.'s MSS. at *DBM* 28.15, 28.17, and 31.10 as well, makes it implausible that this was only a scribal error: it is more likely that C. was quoting this piece of verse from memory and wrongly interpreted the name as a genitive, for the syntagm consisting of a noun with its possessor in the genitive was more to be expected than that consisting of a noun with a vocative.

interea medium Aeneas: Verg. *A.* 5.1; an example of ecthlipsis at *DBM* 28.3, whereas at 29.17-19 it seems to be presented as a case of synaloephe. We would expect to find this verse at 28.14 – 29.5 among those cases that can be interpreted as either synaloephe or ecthlipsis according to which element is removed, but there it is replaced by *egregium Antorem*: the reason for this change, I believe, is that *medium Aeneas* does not fit in the pattern which is at work there, where the final vowel (or vowel + *-m*) of the preceding word always makes up a syllable and the initial vowel of the following word is only a letter, because *Aeneas* begins with a diphthong, which is a syllable in itself.

27.9 *femineae ardentem*: Verg. *A.* 7.345, an example of ecthlipsis at 28.1 and of either synaloephe or ecthlipsis at 28.22 – 29.1.

27.9-10 ecthlipsis ... non solum praeterit syllabas, sed excludit: the difference between synaloephe and ecthlipsis lies here in the difference between *praetereo* – a synonym of *transilio* – and *excludo*. The latter is a common verb in the grammatical terminology and indicates the complete removal of an element from a word (cf. Var. *L.* 10.57 *ex his uerbis trabes duces de extrema syllaba e litteram exclusam et ideo in singulari factum esse trabs dux*): interestingly, it is used to characterise ecthlipsis by Martianus Capella as opposed to the sort of fusion of

syllables of which synaloephe consists (3.267 *item duae iuncturae sunt cum sociamus syllabas propter pedem uel uersum, ut duae in una repente depereant ut in synaliphe, uel cum litterae excluduntur e uerbo, ut in ecthlipsi*). In the more traditional account of those authors who present synaloephe as total elision, *excludo* is used (e.g. Char. 367.23-6 B. *synaliphe est... elisio... ut atque ea diuersa penitus. e litteram hinc necesse est excludi*, Diom. 442.15-18). C. employs *excludo* in a consistent way about ecthlipsis at DBM 27.18, 28.1, 28.7-9, 28.12, 28.16-17, 29.17; later on, he employs it in talking about metaplasms of elision without specifying if that applies to synaloephe or ecthlipsis (e.g. 30.20 *metaplasmus, sicut diximus, aut litteram uocalem excludit aut syllabam...*, 31.14, 32.2).

27.11 uelut expressas strangulatasque displodit: a more daring metaphor than that used for synaloephe. For if *exprimo* is not unexpected in this context (see Aphthon. 66.13-15 *ἐκθλιψις... fit cum duae inter se dictiones dure concurrentes aliquam pluresue uocalium cum consonanti dumtaxat exprimunt*), *strangulo* and *displodo* are quite unusual: the former is used of utterances (Quint. Inst. 11.3.20 *fauces tumentes strangulant uocem*), while the latter is usually said of physical entities bursting apart (Lucr. 6.131 *uesicula*, 6.285 *templa*; see TLL V.1420.47ff.).

27.12 ecthlipsis dicitur quasi exprimens et eiciens: elsewhere etymology is a means to defend the correctness of two variants (cf. DBM 10.14-15 on *lapidicinae* and *lapicidinae*). Here C. resorts to it in order to clarify how ecthlipsis works, and rightly translates ἐκθλίβω (whence ἐκθλιψις) as *exprimo*.

27.13 uocibus altrinsecus positis: the phonetic context which is outlined is one of sounds which obstruct those sounds surrounding them. It is not stated that this clash of vowels should be on the periphery of words: this allows C. to include such cases as *scio* and *duodena* (27.19-20), where he has internal vowels suppressed (*i* and *u*).

27.14 lenior: this is the reading of **M**, superior to **BV**'s *leuior*, for it marks more effectively the opposition to ecthlipsis, whose action is characterised as harsh and almost violent (cf. Don. 662.11-12 H. *difficilis ac dura conlisio*). Moreover, it echoes Don. 662.7 H. *lubrica lenisque conlisio* (and Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.36 *nam et coeuntes litterae, quae συναλοιφαί dicuntur, etiam leniorem faciunt orationem*).

27.14 secundum suam uim etiam nomine: *uis* and *nomen* are associated at *DBM* 29.21-3, too. The etymological correlation between the function and name of the metaplasm is more explicit here than in the case of ecthlipsis.

27.15 quae possunt transiliri: the same as *superflua* at *DBM* 27.6, 13.

27.16 quasi quodam saltu: a derivation of synaloephe from a word meaning 'to jump' is also found in Bede *metr.* 119.4-5 Kendall (= *GL VII.246.29-30 unde synalipha Graece dicitur quasi quodam saltu transmittens*): Bede's ultimate source for this must be C. himself or a source of C. (for C. in Bede, see Introduction §3.3.1). We know instead that synaloephe comes from συναλείφω, a compound of ἀλείφω 'to anoint' (see Chantraine 1968-1980: 57) which has nothing to do with the meaning 'to jump'. It has been suggested (Uría Varela and Pérez Alonso in Burghini 2012: 187 n. 17) that C. may have understood it as συν- + ἄλλομαι/ἄλμα (*saltu*) + λείπω (*praetermittens*): this is quite possible, although συνάλλομαι itself 'to leap together' may explain the misunderstanding without resorting to λείπω.

27.17-18 ecthlipseos ... interdum uocalem solam excludat eamque nunc ut litteram: we have already seen that in this section of the work ecthlipsis, as well as synaloephe, does not have any limit as to the phonetic context in which it works: so the elided element can be a single vowel (*uocalem solam*), a diphthong, or a vowel plus *-m*. The question whether a vowel is only a letter or coincides with a syllable is a frequent concern in C. (cf. *DBM* 9.24 – 10.8) and determines the distinction between synaloephe and ecthlipsis (28.4ff.).

27.18-19 *regina e speculis*: Verg. *A.* 4.586. The elided vowel must be the final *-a* of *regina*, as it is only a letter (*ut litteram*), whereas the following *e* is a syllable in itself. Therefore, I cannot agree with Burghini (2012: 191), who suggests that *C.* had *e* elided as forming a syllable with the following *s*. That *-a* is elided should be confirmed by the scansion at *DBM* 32.2-5 *ubi una uocalis perit, maxime prior perit ... quis enim non sic scandit reginespecu?*; however, at 31.14-15 *C.* has *e* suppressed (*tale est regina e speculis, inter uocalem a et consonantem s perit e*).

27.19-20 *scio me Danais, per duodena regit*: Verg. *A.* 3.602 and 1.232, respectively. *C.* strangely presents the suppression of an internal vowel, thus not limiting the ecthlipsis to the periphery of words: that the vowels suppressed are *i* in *scio* and *u* in *duodena* is confirmed by the passage at *DBM* 31.15-17 (*quicquid illud perit... positum sit*) *inter consonam et uocalem, ut nunc scio quid sit amor et per duodena regit*.

From the point of view of an ancient grammarian, we would rather see this removal of a letter in internal position as a syncope: however, a case of ecthlipsis applied to word-internal dropping is in Diom. 453.1-2 (*fit barbarismus*) *per ecthlipsin quoque, id est per unius litterae elisionem, ut repositum pro repositum* (cf. Dammer 2001: 245), which seems to match the Greek concept of ecthlipsis as the ejection of a letter from the middle of a word (see note on *DBM* 8.8-10). Similarly, Audax (339.24-5) reports the case of *protinus omnia* (Verg. *A.* 6.33), which some *per synalifan excludunt, ut fiat in scandendo omnia* (= Ps. Mar. Victorin. *GL* VI.212.23-4).

27.19 *scio*: from our perspective, the situation is obviously different from that outlined by *C.*: originally the primary ending of the first person singular of verbs was *-ō*, like Greek *-ω* (this is also *C.*'s stance), but already in Early Latin a long vowel in the second syllable of a disyllabic word was often shortened if the first one was short (iambic shortening, see Leumann 1977: 108-9, Sihler 1995: 79, Meiser 1998: 76, Weiss 2009: 126-7). This must have been a feature of the spoken language and is best attested in comedy, but is not unknown to higher

genres: in Vergil, *sciō* and *nesciō* are the only forms scanned with *–ō* instead of *–ō̄* (*nescio* is not an iambic word, but a cretic, whose *–o* is first shortened in dactylic poetry in Catul. 53.1, 80.5, 85.2; *nesciōquis* already in Plautus, see Lindsay 1922: 40); in later poets, this use became more common as it was metrically convenient (see Williams 1962: 185, Austin 1964: 268-9). So Vergil scanned this piece of verse in *A.* 3.602 as *sciō mē*, which was rightly interpreted by Charisius (13.32 – 14.3 B. = Diom. 435.26-30 (the letter *o*) *inuenitur tamen apud Vergilium in uerbo brevis posita, ut nunc scio... <et> hoc sat erit, scio me...*), Marius Victorinus (92.21-4 M. (the letter *o*) *nam pro breui noui tantum posuerunt ... Et apud Vergilium inuenitur, ut est nunc scio, quid sit amor; also Serv. Aen. 6.104, Pomp. 232.34-5, Anon. bob. 27.13-15 P. = GL V.638.12-14*). Both Charisius and Marius Victorinus, who regarded *–ō* as normal in their time, were aware that some purists preferred to conform to the prosody of the *ueteres* in scanning *scio* with *–ō̄*, and in doing so that they had to count *scio* as a monosyllable (Char. 14.4-8 B. *quod quia in uno uerbo uidetur, episynaliphe contrahunt qui seruandam uetustatis consuetudinem putant. spondeum ergo pro dactylo faciunt, et cum sit nunc scio, uolunt fieri nunc sco, quod quam absurdum sit perspicuum omnibus puto*, and cf. Diom. 435.31 – 436.1; but in fact it did not seem absurd to C., who indeed scanned *sco*; cf. also Mar. Victorin. 92.24-5 M. *sed qui hanc syllabam longam esse semper uoluerunt elidunt inde I litteram, ut sit nunc sco*). C. considered the final *–o* of verbs always short, except in monosyllables like *sto do flo* (cf. Char. 14.18-24 B.); on the other hand, he knew that Vergil used *–ō̄*, but was not aware of the exceptions (DNV 370.14-18): *scilicet ut contra rationem ceterorum in fine producta sit o littera, ut sto do flo. sed haec tamquam monosyllaba contra regulam producuntur, quamquam Virgilio sic obseruatum sit, ut omne uerbum o terminatum, quotcumque syllabarum esset, produceretur potius quam corriperetur*. Therefore, one can easily understand why he scanned *scio* with long *–ō̄*.

As for Charisius and Diomedes interpreting the puristic scansion which they blamed, they regarded this contraction not as *ecthlipsis* but as *episynaloephe*, which makes more sense

from the point of view of a grammarian (indeed it is to synaloephe and episynaloephe that some grammarians resorted when they did not understand iambic shortening, see Bettini 1990: 382-5 and Prisc. *min.* 23.6ff. P. = *GL* III.421.9ff.): in fact, this could testify that they did not consider *i* as elided but turned into a glide ([skjo]), where <sco> would merely be the attempt to represent the long syllable of a spondee; but Marius Victorinus points to elision and to a genuine pronunciation as [sko].

A new perspective on our passage is opened by Burghini and Uría Varela (2015), who suggest that in scanning *scio* as *sco* and *duodena* as *dodena* C. was influenced by the ‘glide suppression’ that was current in Vulgar Latin in his time: for in substandard varieties there existed a tendency to avoid hiatus, which could lead to prevocalic *i* and *e* turning into the glide *j* ([‘fi:lius] > [‘fi:ljus]), while *u* and *o* turn into the glide *w* ([pu‘el:a] > [pwel:a]); where a consonant group, a geminate or complex sounds such as *qu-* preceded them, *i* and *u* could even disappear, as in *quietus* > *quetus* (cf. It. *cheto*), and *quattuor* > *quattor* (cf. It. *quattro*, or *quattordici* < *quattuordecim*; see Svennung 1936: 9-29, Lausberg 1956-1962: I.141, Kramer 2007: 30).

If we consider *scio*, there is no evidence of glide suppression in it, but Burghini and Uría Varela (2015: 23) infer that ‘*scio* underwent hiatus avoidance in Vulgar Latin, but the complexity of the word head prevented a change from *sci.o* to ***scjo*, [skj] being a structure which would have violated the so-called ‘head law’’: therefore, glide suppression may have occurred (on glide loss as an alternative to resyllabification in Vulgar Latin see Pensado 1989: 138-9). However, in Vulgar Latin there seems to be scarce and insecure evidence of the dropping of stressed *i* in hiatus in disyllables, as the case would be with *scio*: *dies* is sometimes found in inscriptions and tablets as *des* or *de*, and *tria* as *tra*, but we cannot be sure that this spelling mirrored the actual pronunciation, especially since the Romance outcomes of these words do not imply glide suppression (see Kiss 1972: 53-4, Leumann 1977: 130, Adams 2013: 108-10). Therefore, I believe that Burghini and Uría Varela’s suggestion is worthy of

consideration, but it is perhaps safer to assume that in adopting the pronunciation *sco* for *scio* C. was following the solution of those ancient scholars who wanted to keep final $-\bar{o}$.

***duodena*:** the situation here is different, as remarks on the scansion of this word are missing in the grammarians. The standard prosody was $d\ddot{u}\bar{o}d\bar{e}n\check{a}$ and so was it to be scanned in Vergil's line, whereas C.'s scansion implies $d\bar{o}d\bar{e}n\check{a}$ with loss of $\ddot{u}$ and a long $\bar{o}$ which is hard to explain if one only contemplates classical poetry. But long $\bar{o}$ is to be assumed in the late *CLE* 735.4 *bis duodenos necdum conple[uerat annos* (from Rome, end of the fourth century) and *CLE* 1100.1 *cum bis duodenos aetas [c]o[n]pleuerat annos* (from Mainz-Kastel in Germany): in the latter, *duo-* is tautosyllabic as in C.'s scansion. Burghini and Uría Varela (2015) suggest that this scansion of *duodena* too is influenced by substandard glide suppression: the loss of $-\ddot{u}-$ is documented for instance in *dodeci* (Diehl, *Inscr. Lat. Chr.* 2687), *dodecimu* (*CIL* V.1741), and from such forms come the Romance reflexes (It. *dodici*, Sp. *doce*, Port. *doze*, Fr. *douze*). Therefore, C. may have been influenced by the current pronunciation of *duodena* as reflected in this evidence. It may be worth pointing out that Lat. $d\ddot{u}\bar{o}$ was the result of iambic shortening of an original $*du\bar{o}$ (which some see in Pl. *Mil.* 1384), where the PIE was $*du(w)\bar{o}$ (Sihler 1995: 79, 407-8) or $*duwo-H_1$ (Meiser 1998: 170), from which the epic $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ besides $\delta\acute{\upsilon}ο$ in Greek (for the $-ο$, see Frisk 1960: I.425 and Beekes 2010: 359); as 'twelve', from $*\delta F\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, one finds in Ion. and Dor. $\delta\upsilon\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, in Att. $\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$. Perhaps this notion might have confirmed C. in his scansion of *duodena* with long $\bar{o}$ and suppression of $\ddot{u}$.

27.21 *fluctusque atros*: Verg. *A.* 5.2. The vowel elided must be $-e$, as this is only a letter (*uocalem solam*) while $a-$ is a syllable (unless C. divides $\bar{a}t.r\bar{o}s$). This is another case, together with *regina e speculis* (and *scio* and *duodena*, if one considers also the instances of the internal part of a word), where the vowel elided in ecthipsis is the preceding, not the following one: this contradicts the assumption that according to C. ecthipsis is the elision of the initial vowel of the second word (Holtz 1981: 180 n. 49, Lausberg 1998: 230-1).

27.21 interdum tamquam syllabam: for the view of the grammarians on the equivalence of letter and syllable, see note on *DBM* 10.1.

27.22 atque ea diuersa: Verg. *A.* 9.1. As seen at *DBM* 7.23, this was the classic example of synaloephe, but here it is an ecthlipsis. The syllable in question is obviously *e-* of *ea*, as pointed out at 31.9-10 (*quicquid illud perit... positum sit*) *inter duas uocales, ut... atque ea diuersa*. At 28.5-8, however, both the possibilities are contemplated of suppressing the preceding *-e* (as a letter) or the following (as a syllable).

28.1 diphthongon excludat, ut femineae ardentem: once again we see a contradiction in that *femineae ardentem* (Verg. *A.* 7.345) is an example of synaloephe at *DBM* 27.9, where the diphthong is said to be ‘jumped over’ (*transilitur*). At 28.21 – 29.1 it can be either a synaloephe or an ecthlipsis, depending on which element is excluded: if the diphthong is elided, it is said to be a synaloephe, while one has ecthlipsis eliding *a-* of *ardentem*.

28.2-3 uocalem cum *m* expellat: as seen at *DBM* 8.8-10, the elision of vowel + *-m* was the traditional field of ecthlipsis.

28.3 interea medium Aeneas: cf. note on 27.8.

28.3-4 fuit Ilium et ingens: Verg. *A.* 2.325, reappearing at *DBM* 29.1-3. In both cases **M** has *ruit* instead of the Vergilian *fuit*.

It is not easy to tell how C. imagines here that these clashes should be scanned: if he is consistent with *DBM* 29.1-3, *Ilium et* as an ecthlipsis should be scanned *Iliut* with suppression of *-m e-*. As for *medium Aeneas*, at 29.17-19 the suppression of *-um* is not considered an ecthlipsis: therefore, in order to have ecthlipsis one could scan *mediuneas* (but how would this scan, given that *u* is short?) or, suppressing only the first vowel of the diphthong, *mediueneas* (with an awkward syllable *ue*).

Otherwise, we might just maintain that C. is inconsistent here as he proved to be with *femineae ardentem* immediately above, and implying that in both cases *-um* was suppressed: the difference between synaloephe and ecthlipsis would consist perhaps of the different process which led to the suppression (i.e. the opposition *transilio/excludo*).

28.5-6 nescias utrum litteram an syllabam exclusam esse dicas: after an apparently straightforward presentation of how the two metaplasms work, C. singles out their ambiguities. Whereas at *DBM* 27.17-22 the elision of a letter or a syllable seemed a natural necessity and no choice was given, here C. introduces the possibility that one might arbitrarily suppress the letter or the syllable depending on which vowel one elides, whether the preceding or the following, thus making it clear that this kind of scansion is nothing but artificial. It is interesting to compare a passage in Maximus Victorinus (10.9-17 C. = *GL* VI.219.1-7), where the author states that normally synaloephe elides the preceding vowel, but when this is in itself a syllable it cannot be elided, so one has to elide the following, non-syllabic vowel (e.g. he scans *praeunte carina* as *praeente carina*, excluding the non-syllabic *u*).

28.6-7 atque ea diuersa: see notes on *DBM* 7.21-3 and 27.21-2: this was a good passage to illustrate the ambiguity as the vowels in contact are the same. Moreover, it was the classic example of synaloephe, which made the ambiguity even more remarkable.

28.8 exclusisti: interestingly, although C. is not distinguishing between synaloephe and ecthlipsis here, he consistently uses the verb *excludo* which theoretically applies to ecthlipsis only (see *DBM* 27.10): this is to be seen again at 30.20.

28.8-9 ad defensionis autem rationem nihil refert quam excluderis: *BV*'s *quam* makes better sense than *M*'s *quo modo*, for C. is discussing the elision of the preceding or following letter, and in this respect it is reasonable to state that for the sake of proper scansion (*defensionis ratio*, cf. 25.12) it does not matter which vowel you exclude so long as you exclude one, so as to have

the right number of syllables. Whether you suppress the preceding or following vowel only matters as regards the name of the metaplasm. There would be less coherence if one accepted *quo modo*, because the way in which the elision is made (i.e. *transilio/excludo*) is not in question here.

28.9-13 euenit ea dubitatio ... ad ecthlipsin pertinet: the second dilemma is directly dependent on the previous one: once one has ascertained whether the vowel suppressed is a syllable or simply a letter, one can decide between synaloephe and ecthlipsis. The new criterion is that the elision of a vowel which is simply a letter always constitutes ecthlipsis, while the decision is controversial about a vowel which also has syllabic value. How one should decide in this case, however, is not explicitly stated, but left to us to infer from the following examples.

28.10 per omnes modos: cf. the various possibilities listed at *DBM* 27.17 – 28.4 (and cf. 31.6-7 *hi quattuor modi sic eueniunt*).

28.11 syllaba sit: after this **M** reads *euenit dubitatio*, which looks like an interpolation.

28.13-14 dubium ... facias: all of the following examples basically present the same pattern, the preceding word ending with a vowel (or diphthong, or vowel + *-m*) with syllabic value, the following beginning with a vowel in closed syllable: in such cases, we can infer that one has synaloephe by suppressing the syllabic vowel and ecthlipsis by suppressing the non-syllabic one, but as this is quite a limited case study we are not allowed to infer a rule for other cases such as the clashes of two syllabic vowels.

28.14-17 coniugio Anchisae ... coniugianchi ... coniugionchisae: what is interesting about this case is that **M** and **BV** consistently present two different examples throughout the passage, for **BV** read *coniugio Aeacidæ Pyrrhi* (Verg. *A.* 3.296) instead of **M**'s *coniugio Anchisæ* which was quoted already at 27.8. Consequently, when it comes to the elision of *-o*, instead of **M**'s *coniugianchi* they read what could be reconstructed as *coniugiaeaci* (*coniugi*

eaci **B**, *coniugia facis* **V**). Then, since at 28.17-18 **BV** read *exclusa est enim diphthongos*, we reconstruct the second phonetic transcription at 28.17 as *coniugioaci* with suppression of *Ae-* (*coniugio ci* **B**, *coniugio ea* **V**). There would be no problem in having a different example from the one provided at *DBM* 27.8 (the same happens with *scio* at 27.19 and 31.16), but if the diphthong *Ae-* of *Aeacidae* were to be excluded as we read in **BV**, then this would not fit in the pattern which C. is building up, because this diphthong has syllabic value, and so the opposition *syllaba/littera* would be undermined. **BV**'s version could be saved by suppressing only the *A-* of *Ae-* as a simple letter in a closed syllable, but this would hardly agree with *exclusa est enim diphthongos*. It is safer to accept **M**'s version as the previous editors did, although not everyone would so readily acknowledge that a simple scribe (the one who copied **BV**'s model) could replace the already mentioned *coniugio Anchisae* with *coniugio Aeacidae* and consistently adjust this verse to the needs of the case.

28.16-17 transilitur ... exclusa est: the oppositions *syllaba/littera* and *transilio/excludo* overlap, in this case, so that *transilio* applies to *o syllaba* and *excludo* to the letter *a*. The question here is whether there is any rationale in this overlapping or it is just a coincidence: one might argue, for example, that *transilio* only applies to syllables or rather final syllables (cf. 29.17-19 *nam non uelut transilitur tamquam unius uocis extrema, ut illic est interea medium Aeneas*) and *excludo* to all other contexts. If Burghini (2012) is right in interpreting *transilio* as partial elision and *excludo* as total elision (at least in C.'s sources), one might think that partial elision applied to final vowels while complete loss was the case with the initial *e-* of prodelided *es/est*. But a more plausible explanation could be that this is C.'s artificial attempt to match the two criteria *a posteriori*.

28.18 a: Keil's supplement, where **BV** have variants of *diphthongos* and **M** omits the subject altogether. As a subject is necessary and I have established that the phrase is *coniugio Anchisae*, then *a* is the best choice.

28.18-19 *accipio agnoscoque libens*: Verg. *A.* 8.155, which works exactly as *coniugio Anchisae*.

28.21 – 29.1 *femineae ardentem ... femineardentem ... femineaardentem*: we have already seen *femineae ardentem* (Verg. *A.* 7.345) at DBM 27.9 as an example of synaloephe and at 28.1 of ecthipsis: this passage contradicts 28.1 in that the suppression of the diphthong here entails synaloephe, not ecthipsis.

As noted on DBM 7.16-18, it has been suggested that in classical scansion the final diphthongs ‘contracted with the initial vowels and diphthongs to form single... diphthongs, though the details of this process can only be conjectured’ (Allen 1978: 81).

29.2-3 *fuit Ilium et ingens ... Iliet ... Iliut*: Verg. *A.* 2.325, already quoted at 28.3. C. treats initial *e-* as a non-syllabic vowel in that it is the nucleus of the syllable *et*, which is considered as a closed syllable although it is followed by a vowel, contrary to the natural syllabification.

As for the actual pronunciation of this kind of clash in the classical times, ‘a nasalized contraction presumably resulted’ (Allen 1978: 81).

29.4-5 *egregium Antorem ... egregianto et egregiunto*: Verg. *A.* 10.778. *Antorem* was the common reading in antiquity, attested by Vergil’s codd. MPR, Serv. *Aen.* 10.778, Prob. *cath.* 12.24, Agroec. 75 P. (= *GL* VII.120.6), and Claud. Don. 387.29. The moderns prefer *Antoren*, like the Greek names of the first declension with nominative in *-es* (e.g. *Anchisen*) or those of the third still in *-es* (e.g. *Hippomenen*): but as this character’s name is unknown outside this passage in Vergil (see Harrison 1991: 259) and does not fit in the classes established by Housman (1910: 257-9), the names in *-mēdes* with accusative in *-em* and those in *-mēnes* and *-gēnes* with accusative in *-en*, it is hard to decide what the poet wrote (Housman himself admits that there is nothing to guide us in this).

29.9 apud scriptores: the manuscripts read *a scriptoribus*, but *a* + ablative in the sense of *apud* is unparalleled, nor does *praeualeo* ever govern *a* + ablative, so it is sensible to accept Keil's emendation *apud scriptores*, especially since *apud*, being frequently abbreviated as *ap'*, could easily slip into *a*, whence the accusative could easily be turned into an ablative.

synaliphae nomen praeualuisse: here C. confronts the contemporary theory of metaplasms and shows his own originality in stressing the limits of the traditional view of ecthipsis, which was considered only a subspecies of synaloephe (see note on *DBM* 8.8-10 and the exception of Diom. 453.1-2). In fact, *multum ille et terris* (Verg. *A.* 1.3) is the only example of ecthipsis provided by almost all of our sources (Don. 662.13 H., Char. 368.3 B., Serv. *Aen.* 11.243, Diom. 442.25-7, *Ult. Syll.* 264.12, Isid. *Orig.* 1.35.6, Iul. Tol. 194.73 M.Y.), while Aphthon. 66.17 also quotes *nequiquam umeris* (Verg. *A.* 2.510).

C. seems here to establish an opposition between *nostra aetas* and *scriptores*, as if these belonged in an indefinite past: he refers to *ueterum scriptorum auctoritas* at *DBM* 3.9, but in all other cases in which he mentions *scriptores* there seems to be no temporal connotation.

29.11 multum ille et terris: as C. dismantles the traditional boundaries of synaloephe and ecthipsis, so he tries to dismantle the only example that the tradition unanimously classified as ecthipsis, by categorising it in a different way depending on whether the preceding or following element is excluded, as he did with the previous examples.

29.13 multil ... Asperum: implied at *DBM* 30.10-16 and traditionally recognised as ecthipsis (see Pomp. 298.27 *multille*). Our author first resorts to the doctrine of an ancient source that he cites by name (this is the second and last time in this work): Aemilius Asper was one of the most eminent grammarians of the second century AD and authoritative until Late Antiquity. He wrote works on such authors as Terence, Sallust, and Vergil, focusing on textual criticism and historical-linguistic phenomena (see Wessner 1905, *NPI* 1.185, Law 1996). As this

extract deals with *multum ille*, it must come from Asper's commentary on the *Aeneid* (see Wessner 1905: 46, where this passage appears as fr. XVIII).

29.14 *tanton ex tantone*: the comparison with *tanton/tantone* seems to be attributed to Asper himself rather than C., who does not present *tanton* as an instance of episynaloephe when he discusses it elsewhere, although something is lost in a lacuna (see note on *DBM* 25.24). This view is quite odd, for episynaloephe normally entails the blending of two syllables into one (e.g. *Phaethon* for *Phaëthon*), not the suppression of one of them (or part of it) as the case would be here where *-um* of *multum* is suppressed like *-e* of *tantone*. So it is true that the number of syllables changes, but in the same way as was noted in the case of *omitte* or *repostum* at *DBM* 9.24 – 10.8, just as a secondary effect of the mere removal of one letter or more. Tomsin (1952: 70) suggests that Asper intended to stress, through the scansion *multil / et*, the anaphora *et terris... et alto*, but this does not pinpoint the problem.

This doctrine must have seemed strange to some medieval readers of C., as the Irish Murethach 228.22-5 treats this case as a synaloephe, not episynaloephe (*et, ut Consentius dicit, in uno eodemque exemplo potest inueniri synaliphe et ectlipsis, ut in eo quod est multum, si prima uocalis abstrahitur cum consonante, erit synaliphe; si autem sequens uocalis, erit ectlipsis*): one could think that this piece of indirect tradition suggests we emend C.'s text as *synaliphe erit* (as did Buttmann), but the expression *ex duabus syllabis unam fieri*, which is typical of episynaloephe (see *DBM* 6.19-20 *episynaliphe est conglutinatio duarum syllabarum in unam facta*) is a strong reason to preserve the text as it is. However, the different view that C. has of episynaloephe urges him to distinguish his position from that of Asper.

29.15 *secundum me*: rare and typically late, the first occurrence being in Gaius *inst.* 4.166a (second century).

***autem apocope est, ut magi pro magis*:** the agreement of **BM** guarantees that the archetype read *paragoge est, ut magis pro magi* (mage, as corrected by the editors). But how

mult ille could be perceived as a paragoge, that is the addition of an element to the end of a word (see *DBM* 4.11-15), is hard to figure out, unless C. imagined *multil* (or *multille*) as a word in its own right obtained through the addition of *il* (or *ille*) to *mult* (but how was the elision of *–um* to be explained then?). We have a much more fitting description if we accept V's reading *apocope est ut magi pro magis*, for *mult* would more plausibly be considered an apocopated form of *multum* (just as *tanton* an apocopated form of *tantone*). Of course, given the stemmatic position of V, it is most likely that this is only the intervention of a scribe or reader who spotted this oddity, unless V has preserved some correction that **BM** have missed. As at *DBM* 4.11 and 5.10, here the MSS. read *magi*, whose spelling must be consistent with that of the relevant parallel: so if *magi* is acceptable at 5.10 (*apocope... ut magi pro magis*), then it is acceptable here too.

A reason why C. does not contemplate here the possibility that *mult(um) ille* is a synaloephe might be that *–um* is not a syllable in itself but just a part of the syllable *–tum* (a *semisyllaba*, as defined at *DBM* 30.22-4), and as is implied at *DBM* 28.11-13 and in the following examples, one can have synaloephe only when the whole syllable is elided.

29.16-17 *multul*, erit ecthlipsis, quia uocalis cum *m* excluditur: again ecthlipsis entails the suppression of the word-initial vowel without syllabic value (*i-* of the syllable *il-*) plus the preceding *–m*. For the opposition *transilio/excludo*, see note on 28.16-17.

29.17 *de medio uocum*: it is not so easy to grasp the precise value of this as compared to *unius uocis extrema*: one might think that this refers to the fact that two letters are suppressed (*–m* and *i-*) that belong to different words in contact, so are in a way in the middle of the phonetic sequence *multumille*, whereas in *medium Aeneas* the element jumped over (*–um*, surely) belongs entirely to the preceding word, of which it occupies the extreme position.

29.22 res quaeque quo nomine: the MSS. all diverge on this point (*res quoque quo nomine* **M**, *quae res quo nomine* **B**, *res quo nomine* **V**), none of their readings being completely satisfactory. Niedermann's attempt to restore the text, *quae res quoque nomine* (*quoque* = *et quo*) seems to be inferior to Keil's *res quaeque quo nomine* ('by which name each object'). From the latter it would also be easier to explain how the variants have come about, if we assume that *quaeque* slipped into *quoque* in the archetype (thus explaining **M**'s reading), then in the model of **BV** *quoque* fell out because of the following *quo* but was recovered in margin (possibly only a part of it, *que*), whence it worked its way into the text of **B**, but in the wrong position and form (*quae*), while it was neglected in **V**.

30.3 esse aliquam potestatem poetis...: for the sake of completeness, C. tends to be quite repetitive here, as he has already touched upon this issue at *DBM* 7.15-23.

30.4 dictionem: on *dictio* = 'word', see note on *DBM* 1.14: in this case, it indicates the word in its spelling, as shown by the parallel expression *ut scripturam corrumpant* at 30.8-9.

30.4-5 nec non aurumque animusque Latinost: the example of an elision already made in writing is again Verg. *A.* 12.23, which seems to tell us that C. did not have many examples to hand.

30.5-8 quod cum euenit ... Iuno est: see note on *DBM* 7.18-20.

30.10-15 nobis <in> scandendo ... mult pro multis: here we find the criterion of intelligibility that has been one of the main points of those who denied total elision in synaloephe, the argument being that the complete loss of endings would have made the text obscure (see e.g. Cartault 1911: 181, Steele 1929: 59, Brunner 1956: 189, and the refutation of this criterion by Soubiran 1966: 72-5).

C. is clearly concerned about this, but only so long as the ending is suppressed in writing, while he regards total loss in scansion as a real possibility (*potestas remanet non enuntiandi*), if not a necessity: the importance of the written dimension in the grammarians' world is all the more evident here. If the poet had written *mult*, a reader could possibly take it for *multis* in agreement with *terris* (I do not take *pro multis* as a use meaning 'in place of many things' because C. normally uses *pro* with the normal form of the word corrupted by the metaplasm). In view of this, one might wonder whether C. thought it possible for *-is* of *multis* to be elided in scansion: such an aberrant doctrine, which contemplated the elision of vowel (even long) + *s* before vowel, we do find in other grammarians such as Sacerdos (448.10-13 *cum uocali uero praecedente et iuncta perit s, si in eam finiatur pars orationis et sequens pars orationis incipiat a uocali, ut Vergilius rursus in secessu longo sub rupe cauata*) and Ps. Priscian (*GL II.192.22-5 et s similiter uim uocalis habere dicunt. et hoc ex Latina lingua maxime intellegere possumus, cum s littera in metro et amittitur et synaloepham facit, ut... aut ouium fetus aut urentes culta capellas*). In both cases we observe the vain attempt to resolve a fault of the textual tradition which made the line unmetrical by resorting to prosodic peculiarities (see De Nonno 1990: 470-1), for the correct reading is *rursum* in the former case (Verg. *A.* 3.229) and *fetum* in the latter (Verg. *G.* 2.196, where however *fetus* is in Vergil's MS. *Mediceus* and some Carolingian manuscripts).

30.15 quorsum haec?: this lofty start (cf. Cic. *Amic.* 42) slipped into *quorum haec sunt exempla* in **M** (*exempla* having been added for the sake of clarity), which caused Keil to establish before this passage a lacuna in which he assumed that other examples were provided.

30.17-9 in his ... inducere: the structure of the remaining part of the treatise regarding synaloephe and ecthlipsis comprises an overview of what element of the phonetic chain can be suppressed (a letter, a syllable etc.: *DBM* 30.20 – 31.6), the phonetic context in which this can

happen (between vowels, consonants etc.: 31.6-23), and whether the preceding or former vowel in the clash is more likely to go (32.1-16).

30.20-2 litteram uocalem ... una uocali et m: other lists of which elements of the phonetic chain can be suppressed are at 27.5-7 (synaloephe) and 27.17 – 28.4 (ecthlipsis).

30.22 semisyllabam: not mentioned before, a hapax in Latin and, as far as I am aware, an unparalleled concept in the grammatical tradition: as will appear in the examples, this consists of the rhyme (nucleus and coda) of a closed syllable with an onset (e.g. *–um* in *–rum* and *–mum*).

30.22-4 puerum Astyanacta trahebant ... rastya ... rum: Verg. *A.* 2.457, cited again at 31.19-20. In fact, this case is no different from that of *multum ille*.

31.1-6 interdum duae m pereunt ... extremum hunc ... extrehunc Are: Verg. *Ecl.* 10.1. C. proposes two different scansions, the former of which is definitely bizarre and unique in the grammatical tradition: apparently, once *–um* has been regularly elided, the final *–m* of *extrem-* is so weak that it can go as well, and thus the whole syllable perishes. Here *h* might have consonantal value for C., as it avoids hiatus (cf. Encuentra Ortega 2004: 15 n. 2, and my note on 24.15).

31.5-6 quodsi quis maluerit mhunc Are: once again, C. shows how discretionary the scansion is, as the same verse can be scanned with the normal elision of *–um* as well.

31.9-10 inter duas uocales, ut coniugio Anchisae, atque ea diuersa: only one of the two opportunities of elision discussed at *DBM* 28.5-8 and 28.14-18 is presented, but this does not entail that the scansion implied here is more likely than the other (see the different scansion of *regina e speculis* at 31.14-15 and 32.4-5).

31.11-4 inter uocalem et consonam, ut ... *longa est* ...: *gast* enim dicendo *e* excludimus:

Verg. *A.* 8.86. Alongside *Latinost* (and possibly *Iuno est*), the scansion *gast* witnesses that C. contemplated prodelision of *est*.

31.14-15 *regina e speculis*: see note on DBM 27.18-19.

31.15-17 inter consonam et uocalem, ut *nunc scio quid sit amor et per duodena regit*: see note on DBM 27.19-20 (*nunc scio* is from Verg. *Ecl.* 8.43).

31.17-22 inter duas consonas, ut est *ad soceros atque auo* ...: *scandimus enim sic, rostquea, ex quo apparet inter duas consonas a uocalem perisse*: Verg. *A.* 2.457. This caused Lindsay (1922: 129) to write that ‘grammarians of the Empire will scan “through a brick wall”’: here C. just read the incorrect *atque auo* instead of *et auo* and tried to make it scan by absurdely dropping initial *a-*. This might have seemed to him like a case of –VM#VC- where the word-initial vowel was suppressed like *multul* at DBM 29.16, although in that case final –*m* too would go (other grammarians would without remorse elide –*os*, cf. note on 30.10-15).

31.22-3 *per ego has lacrimas ... ghaslacri*: Verg. *A.* 4.314. For the value of *h* in the grammatical tradition, see note on 24.15. Here it is called a *consona* although it neither makes position nor hinders elision.

32.1-3 in hoc damno ... maxime prior perit: after the exceedingly complicated discussion on whether the first or the second element in a clash of vowels should be suppressed (27.1 – 29.23), it may come as a surprise that C. provides so plain instructions here. This might be the result of a juxtaposition of sources. In fact, it seems to be the rule among grammarians that the preceding vowel gets elided, see e.g. Sacerd. 453.4-5 *synaliphe est cum de conuenientibus inter se litteris*

priorum fit elisio, Aphthon. 66.11-13 *nec tamen putaueris quamlibet <de> duabus eximi posse: illa enim quae superuenit priorem semper excludet, non prior sequentem*, Diom. 442.17-18; see also Max. Victorin. *GL* VI.219.1 *cum in synalipha haec sit consuetudo, ut anterior uocalis excludatur* (where Corazza 2011: 10 reads *interior*).

32.3 scandendi ratio habet ... uox scandentium: our author presents this as the more natural way of scanning, based on the *scandendi ratio* and the expression of the voice itself, metaphorically represented as running downwards.

32.4-5 regina e speculis ... reginespecu: Verg. *A.* 4.586, which C. himself scanned differently at *DBM* 31.14-15 (*inter uocalem a et consonantem s perit e*).

32.6-8 ... uiolo aut tua ... lauttua?: Verg. *A.* 4.27, usually cited to illustrate the construction of *ante quam* (Char. 296.4-6 B., Diom. 395.2-4, Dosith. 81.17-18 T. = *GL* VII.421.27-8).

32.9 aut sono gratius aut necessitate adstrictius, ut posterior pereat: the elision of the word-initial vowel is presented as an exception based on issues of euphony or phonotactic constraint, the assumption being that no elision can produce a syllable that does not exist on its own elsewhere.

32.10-12 isque ubi... isquubi ... isquebi: Verg. *A.* 3.596, allegedly a case of phonotactic constraint, for according to C. one cannot have *quu* in one syllable. This seems true from a phonological viewpoint, for although the spelling of which allows *quu* in such words as *aequus* or *equus*, in fact the preceding *u* was probably dropped by means of dissimilation and a cluster [ku] was pronounced (see Allen 1978: 19-20). This is attested by Vel. Long. 59.3-4 *auribus quidem sufficiebat ut equus per unum u scriberetur, ratio tamen duo exigit*.

32.13 pluuiasque Yadas: here the manuscript tradition is divided: if one judges from **BV** alongside the *florilegium* of **V** (which have *pluiasque hyadas, plus uiasque aquam addas*,

pluiasque yadas respectively) the line quoted is *pluiiasque Hyadas* (Verg. *A.* 1.744 = 3.516). If one judges from **M**, this should rather be *Pleiadasque Hyadas* (Verg. *G.* 1.138, which is referred to by the editors). The actual reading of **M** (*pliadasque yadasque*), with *-que* attached to *yadas*, is reminiscent of Ovid's *Pleiadasque Hyadasque* (*Met.* 13.293), but this cannot be the source of C. because in this section the only source is Vergil. As to whether the *Aeneid* or the *Georgics* should be indicated as C.'s source, one might observe that both **BV Flor.** and **M** are consistent with themselves in the syllabification of the following phonetic transcriptions (**B**: *pluiiasque Hya > asquea / asquhya*; **M**: *pliadasque ya > dasquea / dasquya*), so that one cannot conclude from it which branch has deviated. However, it seems more likely that C. is quoting from the *Aeneid*, as this is far more frequent than the *Georgics* in the section *De scandendis uersibus* (53 vs. 7 quotations).

Both passages have *Hyadas* in Vergil, so *H-* should theoretically stay, but this does not match the explanation *post qu et y* and *quy*, where *h* does not appear. Therefore, either we assume that C. read *Hyadas* in his copy of Vergil and then did not consider *h* when he discussed a possible syllable *quy* (yet he did consider *h* at 31.23 *ghaslacri*), or that he read *Hyadas* and we have to emend accordingly the explanation to *post qu et hy* and *quhy*, or that he actually read *Yadas* in his copy of Vergil and *H-* was added by **B** only. To this option, which I find more plausible, one might object that C. should know that any word-initial *y-* in Greek is aspirated. Yet some were of the opinion that *h-* need not be written before *y* (see Scaur. 37.3-9 B. = *GL* VII.22.17 – 23.2, Cornutus in Cassiod. *orth.* I.92-4 S. = *GL* VII.153.14-18, Vel. Long. 81.3-8).

32.14-15 *e melius sonat, et item inusitatum est...*: in this case, both euphony and phonotactic constraint are at work.

32.15 *post qu et y subiungi*: Mariotti (1952) follows **B** and reads *post q et u y subiungi* 'dopo q ed u si aggiunga y', instead of taking *et* as adverbial (*etiam*). But *qu* works well here (see Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.5 and 27, Prob. *inst.* 145.6, Cledon. 27.18), and we can follow the majority of the tradition.

32.16 *quy*: from Classical Latin onwards, Greek υ was rendered by <y> in spelling and by the high front rounded [y] in pronunciation, which apparently did not sound well after [kw]. A syllable *quy* does not exist in Latin.

32.16-17 antithesis ... metathesis: see *DBM* 8.12-18. One has to consider metaplasms according to what their property is and what they are used for: as antithesis and metathesis are not used in scansion, they are not relevant to this discussion. C. adds this out of a need for completeness, as he has previously discussed the effects on scansion of most other metaplasms. Not quite the most impressive conclusion for a treatise (if indeed this was the end of the treatise), but certainly an honest one.

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

- ALC* G. Lacombe *et al.* (eds.), *Aristoteles Latinus. Codices. Pars Posterior*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1955).
- CB* M. Gibson *et al.* (eds.), *Codices Boethiani. A Conspectus of manuscripts of the Works of Boethius*, vol. III: *Italy and the Vatican City* (London, 2001).
- CGL* G. Goetz *et al.* (eds.), *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, 7 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1888-1923).
- CIL* *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–).
- CLA* E. A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores: a Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1934-71).
- CLE* F. Bücheler *et al.* (eds.), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1897-1926).
- CSEL* *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–).
- DIL* *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1913-76).
- Du Cange C. Du Fresne sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, rev. by L. Favre, 10 vols. (Niort, 1884-7).
- EO* *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1996-8).
- EV* *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1984-91).
- Forcellini E. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis lexicon*, rev. by V. De Vit, 6 vols. (Prato, 1858-75).
- GG* G. Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1867-1910).
- GL* H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1855-80).
- GRFF* G. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1907).

<i>GRFM</i>	A. Mazzarino, <i>Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta aetatis Caesareae</i> (Turin, 1955).
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
<i>NP</i>	<i>Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (Stuttgart, 1996-2002).
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1968-82).
<i>PLAC</i>	E. Dümmler <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini</i> , 4 vols. (Berlin, 1881-1923).
<i>PLRE II</i>	J. R. Martindale, <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , II: A.D. 395-527 (Cambridge, 1980).
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1893-1972).
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig, 1900–).
<i>TrRF</i>	M. Schauer, <i>Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta</i> , I: <i>Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Tragicci Minores, Fragmenta adespota</i> (Göttingen, 2012); Manuwald, G., <i>Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta</i> , II: <i>Ennius</i> (Göttingen, 2012).

REFERENCES OF LATIN GRAMMATICAL WORKS

- Ad Bas.* *De finalibus ad Basilium amicum Sergii*, in *GL* VI.240-2.
- Agroec.* Agroecius, *De orthographia*, ed. Pugliarello (1978) (= *GL* VII.113-25).
- Anon. bob.* Anonymus bobiensis, *De uerbo*, ed. Passalacqua (1984), 21-60 (= *GL* V.634-54).
- Aphthon.* Aphthonius (Ps. Marius Victorinus), *De metris omnibus*, in *GL* VI.31-173.
- Arus.* Arusianus Messius, *Exempla elocutionum*, ed. Della Casa (1977) (*GL* VII 449-514).
- Audax* Audax, *Excerpta de Scauro et Palladio*, in *GL* VII.320-61.
- Aug. gramm.* Augustine (?), *Ars grammatica breuiata*, ed. Weber (1861) (part. in *GL* V.494-6).
- Aug. reg.* Ps. Augustine, *Regulae*, ed. Martorelli (2011) (= *GL* V.496-524).
- Caper* Caper, *De ortographia*, in *GL* VII.92-107.
- Cassiod. orth.* Cassiodorus, *De orthographia*, ed. Stoppacci (2010) (= *GL* VII.143-210).
- Char.* Charisius, *Ars*, ed. Barwick (1925) (= *GL* I.1-296).
- Cledon.* Cledonius, *Ars*, in *GL* V.9-79.
- DBM* Consentius, *Ars de barbarismis et metaplasmis*, ed. Niedermann (1937) (= *GL* V.386-404).
- Diff. Suet.* *Differentiae sermonum Remmi Palaemonis ex libro Suetoni Tranquilli*, ed. Roth (1858: 306-20).
- Diom.* Diomedes, *Ars*, in *GL* I.299-529.
- DNV* Consentius, *Ars de nomine et uerbo*, in *GL* V.338-85.
- Don.* Aelius Donatus, *Ars*, ed. Holtz (1981: 585-674) (= *GL* IV.355-402).
- Dosith.* Dositheus, *Ars*, ed. Tolkiehn (1913) (= *GL* VII.376-436).
- Eutyches* Eutyches, *De uerbo*, in *GL* V.447-88.

- Exc. bob.* *Ars bobiensis*, ed. De Nonno (1982) (= *GL* I.533-65).
- Frg. bob.* *Fragmentum bobiense de finalibus syllabis*, in *GL* VI.625-6.
- Isid. Iun.* 'Isidorus iunior', ed. Schindel (1975: 205-41).
- Iul. Tol.* Julian of Toledo, *Ars grammatica, poetica, rhetorica*, ed. Maestre Yenes (1973) (= *GL* V.317-24).
- Mall. Theod.* Mallius Theodorus, *De metris*, ed. Romanini (2007) (= *GL* VI.585-601).
- Mar. Victorin.* Marius Victorinus, *Ars grammatica*, ed. Mariotti (1967) (= *GL* VI.3-31).
- Ps. Mar. Victorin.* Ps. Marius Victorinus, *Ars*, in *GL* VI.187-215; *De soloecismo et barbarismo*, ed. Niedermann (1937), 32-7.
- Max. Victorin.* Ps. Maximus Victorinus, *De ratione metrorum + De finalibus*, ed. Corazza (2011) (= *GL* VI.216-28 + 229-39).
- Ps. Palaemon* Ps. Remmius Palaemon, *Regulae*, ed. Rosellini (2001) (= *GL* V.533-47).
- Phoc.* Phocas, *De nomine et uerbo*, ed. Casaceli (1974) (= *GL* V.410-39).
- Plin. dub. serm.* Pliny the Elder, *Dubius sermo*, ed. Della Casa (1969) (= *GRFM* 219-331).
- Pomp.* Pompeius Maurus, *Commentum artis Donati*, in *GL* V.95-312 (Anna Zago has prepared a new edition of *GL* V.283-312, not yet published).
- Prisc.* Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae*, in *GL* II.1 – III.377.
- Prisc. min.* Priscian, *Libri minores*, ed. Passalacqua (1987) (= *GL* III.405-40).
- Prisc. part.* Priscian, *Partitiones duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium*, ed. Passalacqua (1999: 45-129) (= *GL* III 459-515).
- Prob. cath.* Ps. Probus, *De catholicis*, in *GL* IV.3-43.
- Prob. inst.* Ps. Probus, *Instituta artium*, in *GL* IV.47-192.
- Prob. nom.* Ps. Probus, *De nomine*, ed. Passalacqua (1984: 61-75) (= *GL* IV.207-16).
- QSQ* *Quae sunt quae*, ed. Munzi (2004: 17-38).
- Sacerd.* Sacerdos, *Artes*, in *GL* VI.427-546.
- Scaur.* Scaurus, *De orthographia*, ed. Biddau (2006) (= *GL* VII.11-33).

- Serg. Ps. Sergius, *Explanationes in artes Donati*, in *GL* IV.486-565 + Schindel (1975: 258-79).
- Sergius Ps. Sergius, *De arte grammatica*, in *GL* VII.537-9 + Munzi (1993: 110-15).
- Serv. Servius, *In Donati artem* (*GL* IV.405-48), *De finalibus* (*GL* IV.449-55).
- Serv. *Aen...* Servius' commentaries on Vergil, ed. Thilo (1882-91).
- Ter. Maur. Terentianus Maurus, *De litteris, de syllabis, de metris*, ed. Cignolo (2002) (= *GL* VI.325-413).
- Ult. Syll. *De ultimis syllabis ad Caelestinum*, in *GL* IV.219-64.
- Vel. Long. Velius Longus, *De orthographia*, in *GL* VII.46-81.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, F.F. (1909), 'Vulgar Latin in the *Ars Consentii de Barbarismis*', *Classical Philology* 4, 233-47.
- Abbott, K.M. (1943), 'The grammarians and the Latin accent', in *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather* (Urbana), 1-19.
- Acquati, A. (1971), 'Il vocalismo latino-volgare nelle iscrizioni africane', *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Milano* 24, 155-84.
- Adamik, B. (2014), '*Barbarismus nostri temporis*: Interpretation einer umstritten gewordenen Wendung in der Grammatik des Sacerdos', *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 19, 3-12.
- Adams, J.N. (1977), *The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus* (Manchester).
- Adams, J.N. (1990), 'The *Forfex* of the *Veterinarius Virilis* (Vindolanda Inv. No. 86/470) and ancient methods of castrating horses', *Britannia* 21, 267-71.
- Adams, J.N. (1995), *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire* (Leiden).
- Adams, J.N. (1999), 'The poets of Bu Njem: language, culture and the centurionate', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 89, 109-34.
- Adams, J.N. (2003), *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge).
- Adams, J.N. (2007), *The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC-AD 600* (Cambridge).
- Adams, J.N. (2013), *Social Variation and the Latin Language* (Cambridge).
- Allen, W.S. (1968), *Vox Graeca: a Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Greek* (Cambridge).
- Allen, W.S. (1973), *Accent and Rhythm. Prosodic Features of Latin and Greek: a Study in Theory and Reconstruction* (Cambridge).
- Allen, W.S. (1978), *Vox Latina. A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Latin*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge).

- Ammirati, S. (2007), 'Intorno al Festo Farnesiano (Neap. IV A 3) e ad alcuni manoscritti di contenuto profano conservati presso la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 14, 7-93.
- Austin, R.G. (1964), *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus* (Oxford).
- Austin, R.G. (1971), *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Oxford).
- Ax, W. (1986), 'Quadripertita ratio: Bemerkungen zur Geschichte eines aktuellen Kategoriensystems (*Adiectio* – *Detractio* – *Transmutatio* – *Immutatio*)', *Historiographia linguistica* 13, 191-214.
- Ax, W. (2011), *Quintilians Grammatik (Inst. orat. 1, 4-8): Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Berlin).
- Axelson, B. (1945), *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund).
- Baehrens, E. (1886), *Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum* (Leipzig).
- Baehrens, W.A. (1922), *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur vulgärlateinischen Appendix Probi* (Halle).
- Banniard, M. (1992), *Viva voce. Communication écrite et communication orale du IV^e au IX^e siècle en occident latin* (Paris).
- Baratin, M. (1989), *La naissance de la syntaxe à Rome* (Paris).
- Baratin, M. and Desbordes, F. (1986), 'La troisième partie de l'*ars grammatica*', in D. J. Taylor (ed.), *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period* (Amsterdam), 215-40.
- Barbarino, J.L. (1978), *The Evolution of the Latin /b/-/u/ Merger: A Quantitative and Comparative Analysis of the B-V Alternation in Latin Inscriptions* (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 182) (Chapel Hill).
- Bartoli, M. (1906), *Das dalmatische, altromanische Sprachreste von Veglia bis Ragusa und ihre Stellung in der apennino-balkanischen Romania*, 2 vols. (Vienna).

- Barwick, K. (1922), *Remmius Palaemon und die römische ars grammatica* (Leipzig).
- Barwick, K. (1925), *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii artis grammaticae libri V* (Leipzig).
- Battisti, C. (1912), *Le dentali esplosive intervocaliche nei dialetti italiani* (Halle).
- Battisti, C. (1949), *Avviamento allo studio del latino volgare* (Bari).
- Beekes, R.S.P. (2010), *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (Leiden).
- Beeson, C.H. (1927), 'Paris. Lat. 7530. A study in Insular symptoms', in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino* (Milano), 199-211.
- Beguilot, F. (1931), *Proposition en vue d'éditer un Dictionnaire comparé des Dialectes de la langue berbère* (Paris).
- Belardi, W. (1979), *Dal latino alle lingue romanze, I: Il vocalismo* (Rome).
- Belardi, W. (1984), 'Gli allofoni di *l* latino dalla protostoria alla fase romanza', in W. Belardi, P. Cipriano, P. Di Giovine and M. Mancini (eds.), *Studi latini e romanzi in memoria di Antonino Pagliaro* (Rome), 62-110.
- Bennett, C. (1910-4), *Syntax of Early Latin*, 2 vols. (Boston).
- Bernard, E. (1960), *Die Tmesis der Präposition in lateinischen Verbalkomposita* (Winterthur).
- Bertocchi, A., Maraldi, M. and Orlandini, A. (2010), 'Quantification', in P. Baldi and P. Cuzzolin, (eds.), *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax, III: Constituent Syntax: Quantification, Numerals, Possession, Anaphora* (Berlin and New York).
- Bertoldi, V. (1947), 'Sardo-Punica', *La parola del passato* 2, 5-38.
- Bettini, M. (1990), 'La "correptio iambica"', in R. M. Danese, F. Gori and C. Questa (eds.), *Metrica classica e linguistica: atti del colloquio (Urbino 3-6 ottobre 1988)* (Urbino), 263-409.
- Bickel, E. (1937), 'De moetacismo', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* (=Mélanges Émile Boisacq) 5, 69-76.
- Biddau, F. (2006), *Q. Terentii Scauri De orthographia* (Hildesheim).

- Birt, T. (1879), 'Ueber die Vocalverbindung eu im Lateinischen', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 34, 1-37.
- Birt, T. (1897), 'Sprach man *avrum* oder *aurum*?', (Frankfurt am Main).
- Birt, T. (1901), *Der Hiat bei Plautus und die lateinische Aspiration bis zum X. Jhd. nach Chr.* (Marburg).
- Bischoff, B. (1960), *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, I: Die Bayrischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden).
- Bischoff, B. (1977), 'Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich', in R. Roques (ed.), *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie* (Paris), 47-58.
- Biville, F. (1986), 'Achille, Ulysse, Pélée... et les autres: les metamorphoses de quelques noms des héros grecs', *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 60, 205-13.
- Biville, F. (1988), 'La pertinence du critère apophonique dans la datation des emprunts au grec et des faits phonétiques latins', *Glotta* 66, 190-210.
- Biville, F. (2007), 'Noms propres en usage, noms propres en mention', in C. Bodelot (ed.), *Eléments "asyntaxiques" ou hors structure dans l'énoncé latin: actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, Université Blaise-Pascal, 16 et 17 septembre 2005* (Clermont-Ferrand), 107-21.
- Blänsdorf, J. (2004), "'Guter, heiliger Atthis" Eine Fluchtafel aus dem Mainzer Isis- und Mater-Magna-Heiligtum (Inv.-Nr. 201 B 36)', in K. Brodersen and A. Kropp (eds.), *Fluchtafeln: neue Funde und neue Deutungen zum antiken Schadenzauber* (Frankfurt am Main), 51-8.
- Blänsdorf, J. (2010), 'The *defixiones* from the sanctuary of Isis and Mater Magna in Mainz', in R. L. Gordon and F. Marco Simón (eds.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference Held at the University of Zaragoza* (Leiden and Boston), 141-89.

- Blänsdorf, J. (2011), *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum*, 4th rev. edn. (Berlin and New York).
- Bloch, H. (1972), 'Monte Cassino's teachers and library in the High Middle Ages', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'Alto Medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 19) (Spoleto), 563-605.
- Bonfante, G. (1956), 'Il sardo *kenápura* e la quantità latina', *La parola del passato* 11, 347-58.
- Bonnet, M. (1890), *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris).
- Bornecque, H. (1907), *Les clausules métriques latines* (Lille).
- Bourciez, J. (1949), 'Note sur vieux-français "tuit"', in E. Hoepffner (ed.), *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à Ernest Hoepffner par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris), 41-3.
- Brown, V. (2000), "'Where have all the grammars gone?' The survival of grammatical texts in Beneventan script', in M. De Nonno, L. Holtz and P. De Paolis (eds.), *Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Proceedings of a Conference held at Erice, 16-23 October 1997* (Cassino), II, 389-414.
- Brunner, L. (1956), 'Zur Elision langer Vokale im lateinischen Vers', *Museum Helveticum* 13, 185-92.
- Buck, C.D. (1904), *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian: with a Collection of Inscriptions and a Glossary* (Boston and London).
- Buffa Giolito, M.F. (2003), 'L'"ars grammatica" del "sophista" Consenzio', *FuturAntico* 1, 47-78.
- Burghini, J. and Uría Varela, J. (2010), "'Sobre barbarismos y metaplasmos" de Consencio', *Circe* 14, 177-95.
- Burghini, J. and Uría Varela, J. (2015), 'Some neglected evidence on Vulgar Latin *o* from *io* and *uo*', *Glotta* 91, 15-26.

- Burghini, J. (2012), 'Sinalefa y eclipsis en Consencio: problemas de interpretación', *Myrtia* 27, 177-96.
- Burghini, J. and Meynet, B.C. (2012), 'Casos equívocos entre barbarismos y solecismos: *scala*, *scopa*, *quadriga* en Quintiliano, Donato, Diomedes, Pompeyo y Consencio', *Argos* 35, 40-59.
- Butterfield, D. (2013), *The Early Textual History of Lucretius' De rerum natura* (Cambridge).
- Buttmann, P.C. (1817), *Ars Consentii V.C. de barbarismis et metaplasmis* (Berlin).
- Camodeca, G. (1999), *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum (TPSulp.): edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii*, 2 vols. (Rome).
- Cartault, A. (1911), *Le distique élégiaque chez Tibulle, Sulpicia, Lygdamus* (Paris).
- Casaceli, F. (1974), *Foca, De nomine et verbo* (Naples).
- Castellani, A. (1991), 'Sulla scomparsa dell'opposizione di quantità vocalica in latino volgare', in D. Kremer (ed.), *Actes du XVIII^e Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes, Université de Trèves (Trier) 1986, Tome III, section V. Grammaire diachronique et histoire de la langue* (Tübingen), 10-21.
- Cavallo, G. (1975), 'La trasmissione dei testi nell'area beneventano-cassinense', in *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo* (Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 22) (Spoleto), 357-424.
- Cavallo, G. (1994), 'Libri e cultura a Montecassino in età teobaldiana', in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Rabano Mauro, De rerum naturis. Cod. Casin. 132 / Archivio dell'Abbazia di Montecassino* (Pavone Canavese), 83-8.
- Cavenaile, R. (1958), *Corpus papyrorum Latinarum* (Wiesbaden).
- Ceccarelli, L. (2006), 'Note sull'h iniziale in Venanzio Fortunato', in C. Arias Abellán (ed.), *Latin Vulgaire – Latin Tardif VII: Actes du VIIe Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif. Séville, 2–6 septembre 2003* (Seville), 203-18.

- Celentano, M.S. (2003), *Ars-Techne: il manuale tecnico nelle civiltà greca e romana* (Alessandria).
- Cervani, R. (1984), 'Considerazioni sulla diffusione dei testi grammaticali. La tradizione di Donato, Prisciano, Papias nei secoli XII-XV', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratorio* 91, 397-421.
- Chantraine, P. (1968-80), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*, 4 vols. (Paris).
- Charpin, F. (1978-91), *Lucilius Satires*, 3 vols. (Paris).
- Cheesman, C. (2009), 'Names in *-por* and slave naming in republican Rome', *The Classical Quarterly* 59, 511-31.
- Chittenden, J. (1982), *Donatus Ortigraphus, Ars grammatica* (Turnhout).
- Cicco, G.G. (2006), 'La scuola cattedrale di Benevento e il vescovo Urso (secolo IX)', *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 60, 341-73.
- Cignolo, C. (2002), *Terentiani Mauri De litteris, de syllabis, de metris* (Hildesheim and New York).
- Clackson, J. and Horrocks, G. (2007), *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language* (Malden, Mass. and Oxford).
- Colson, F.H. (1916), 'Some problems in the grammatical chapters of Quintilian', *The Classical Quarterly* 10, 17-31.
- Corazza, D. (2011), *[Maximi Victorini] Commentarium de ratione metrorum, con cinque trattati inediti sulla prosodia delle sillabe finali* (Hildesheim).
- Corssen, W.P. (1868-70), *Über Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Leipzig).
- Courtney, E. (2003), *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, 2nd edn. (Oxford).
- Craig, J.D. 'Ferrifodinae and similar compounds', *The Classical Quarterly* 21 (1927), 199-201.

- Crevatin, F. (1992), 'Intorno al vocalismo "protoromanzo"', in *Etymologie und Wortgeschichte des Italienischen, LEI: Genesi e dimensioni di un vocabolario etimologico* (Wiesbaden), 26-31.
- Cupaiuolo, F. (1995), *Bibliografia della metrica latina* (Naples).
- Dammer, R. (2001), *Diomedes grammaticus* (Trier).
- Damsté, P.H. (1910), 'De telo quodam', *Mnemosyne* 38, 225-33.
- Daremberg, C. and Saglio, E. (1877-1919), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, 6 vols. (Paris).
- Degni, P. and Peri, A. (2000), *Per un catalogo dei codici grammaticali altomedievali*, in M. De Nonno, L. Holtz and P. De Paolis (eds.), *Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Proceedings of a Conference held at Erice, 16-23 October 1997* (Cassino), II, 719-745.
- Della Casa, A. (1969), *Il dubius sermo di Plinio* (Genoa).
- Della Casa, A. (1977), *Arusianus Messius. Exempla elocutionum* (Milan).
- Dell'Omo, M. (1996), *Virgilio e il chiostro. Manoscritti di autori classici e civiltà monastica, Catalogo della mostra tenuta presso l'Abbazia di Montecassino, 8 luglio – 8 dicembre 1996* (Rome).
- de Melo, W.D.C. (2012), 'Kuriłowicz's first "law of analogy" and the development of passive periphrases in Latin', in P. Probert and A. Willi (eds.), *Laws and Rules in Indo-European* (Oxford), 83-101.
- de Melo, W.D.C. (2015), 'Two textual problems in book 7 of Varro's *De lingua latina*', *The Classical Quarterly* 65, 397-401.
- De Nonno, M. (1982), *La Grammatica dell'Anonymus Bobiensis (GL I 533-563 Keil)* (Rome).
- De Nonno, M. (1990), 'Ruolo e funzione della metrica nei grammatici latini', in R. M. Danese, F. Gori and C. Questa (eds.), *Metrica classica e linguistica: atti del colloquio (Urbino 3-6 ottobre 1988)* (Urbino), 453-94.

- De Simone, C. (1968-70), *Die Griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden).
- de Vaan, M. (2008), *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages* (Leiden and Boston).
- Deufert, M. (2002), *Textgeschichte und Rezeption der plautischen Komödien im Altertum* (Berlin and New York).
- di Capua, F. (1937), *Il ritmo prosaico nelle lettere dei papi e nei documenti della cancelleria Romana dal IV al XIV secolo* (Rome).
- Diehl, E. (1899), *De m finali epigraphica* (Leipzig).
- Diels, H. (1922), 'Lukrezstudien v', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 46-59.
- Divjak, J. (1981), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera. Epistolae ex duobus codicibus nuper in lucem prolatae* (Vienna).
- Dottin, G. (1920), *La langue gauloise* (Paris).
- D'Ovidio, F. (1884), 'I riflessi romanzi di *viginti, triginta*', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 8, 82-105.
- Dubois, A. (1903), *La latinité d'Ennodius* (Paris).
- Dupraz, E. (2012), *Sabellian Demonstratives: Forms and Functions* (Leiden and Boston).
- Eckinger, T. (1900), *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften* (Munich).
- Eckstein, F.A. (1852), *Anecdota Parisina rhetorica* (Halle).
- Edel, D. (1995), *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (Dublin).
- Encuentra Ortega, A. (2004), 'Mitacismo, eclipsis, aféresis: sobre la pronunciación de "m" final latina en la Antigüedad Tardía y su reflejo en la literatura', *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 39, 1-19.

- Erdmann, O.H.T. (1882), *Otfrids Evangelienbuch* (Halle).
- Ernout, A. and Meillet, A. (1979), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la lingua latine*, 4th edn. (Paris).
- Ettmayer, K. (1906a), 'Intervokalisches *l* für lat. *ll* im Romanischen', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 30, 522-31.
- Ettmayer, K. (1906b), 'Zur Aussprache des lateinischen *l*', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 30, 648-59.
- Fanciullo, F. (1992), 'Un capitolo della *Romania submersa*: il latino africano', in D. Kremer (ed.), *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes, I: Romania submersa – Romania nova* (Tübingen), 162-87.
- Ferri, R. and Probert, P. (2010), *Roman Authors on Colloquial Language*, in E. Dickey and A. Chahoud (eds.), *Colloquial and Literary Latin* (Cambridge), 15-41.
- Ferri, R. (2011), 'The Language of the Higher Literary Genres', in J. Clackson (ed.), *A Companion to the Latin Language* (Oxford), 159-75.
- Fioretti, P. (2010), 'L'eredità di un maestro', in L. Del Corso and O. Pecere (eds.), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche. Dall'Antichità al Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Cassino, 7-10 maggio 2008)*, Cassino, 293-330.
- Fioretti, P. (2012), *La produzione scritta tecnica e scientifica nel medioevo: libro e documento tra scuole e professioni*, in G. De Gregorio and M. Galante (eds.), *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Fisciano – Salerno (28-30 settembre 2009)* (Spoleto), 30-61.
- Fögen, T. (1997-8), 'Der Grammatiker Consentius', *Glotta* 74, 164-92.
- Ford, J.D.M. (1911), *Old Spanish Readings: selected on the basis of critically edited texts* (Boston).
- Frisk, H. (1960-72), *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg).

- Fritz, K. von (1949), 'Ancient instruction in "Grammar" according to Quintilian', *The American Journal of Philology* 70, 337-66.
- Funaioli, G. (1911), 'Su Giuliano Toletano', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 39, 42-79.
- Funaioli, G. (1930), *Esegesi virgiliana antica* (Milano).
- Gaggiotti, M. (1990), 'Macellum e magalia: ricezione di elementi "culturali" di origine punica', in A. Mastino (ed.), *L'Africa romana: Atti del VII convegno di studio, Sassari, 15-17 dicembre 1989* (Sassari), 773-82.
- Gallo, A. (1962), 'La musica e le Artes in Italia attorno al Mille: l'insegnamento di Lorenzo da Amalfi nel codice Marciano Z. Lat. 497', *Quadrivium* 5, 101-7.
- García-Ramón, J. L. (1993), 'Zur Morphosyntax der passivischen Infinitive im Oskisch-Umbrischen', in H. Rix (ed.), *Oskisch-Umbrisch – Texte und Grammatik* (Wiesbaden), 106-24.
- Gardani, F. (2013), *Dynamics of Morphological Productivity: the Evolution of Noun Classes from Latin to Italian* (Leiden).
- Gatti, P. (1997), 'Consentius', in *NP* III, 130-1.
- Georges, K.E. (1890), *Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen* (Leipzig).
- Gignac, F.T. (1970), 'The pronunciation of Greek stops in the papyri', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 101, 185-202.
- Gignac, F.T. (1976), *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I: *Phonology* (Milano).
- Goetting, F. (1899), *De Flavio Capro Consentii fonte* (Königsberg).
- Goetz, G. (1900), 'Consentius n. 3', in *RE* IV.1, 911-12.
- Goidanich, P. G. (1906), 'Note di esegesi e critica di testi grammaticali latini', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 34, 35-56.
- Goullet, M. (2008), *Ermenrich d'Ellwangen, Lettre à Grimald* (Paris).

- Grandgent, C.H. (1962), *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (New York).
- Green, R.P.H. (1986), 'Conubium in the Aeneid', *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 4, 393-430.
- Gröber, G. (1889), 'Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 6, 117-49.
- Gsell, S. (1913-1928), *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, 8 vols. (Paris).
- Hall, J. (2010), 'Oratorical delivery and the emotions: theory and practice', in W. Dominik and J. Hall (eds.), *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric* (Malden, Mass. and Oxford), 218-34.
- Halm, C.F. (1876), *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis - Tomi IV Pars II. Codices Latinos (Clm) 11001-15028 complectens* (Munich).
- Harrison, S.J. (1991), *A Commentary on Vergil, Aeneid 10* (Oxford).
- Heinimann, S. (1985), 'Panem nostrum cotidianum. Zur sprachlichen Wirkung des Paternoster', *Vox Romanica* 44, 6-15.
- Heraeus, W. (1906), 'Beiträge zur Bestimmung der Quantität in positionslanges Silben', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 14, 393-422, 449-77.
- Heraeus, W. (1915), 'Προπεῖν', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 70, 1-41.
- Herman, J. (1965), 'Aspects de la différenciation territoriale du latin sous l'Empire', *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 60, 53-70 = Herman (1990), 10-28.
- Herman, J. (1978), 'Évolution a > e en latin tardif? Essai sur les liens entre la phonétique historique et la phonologie diachronique', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 26, 37-48 = Herman (1990), 204-16.
- Herman, J. (1982), 'Un vieux dossier réouvert: les transformations du système latin des quantités vocaliques', *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 77, 285-302 = Herman (1990), 217-31.

- Herman, J. (1990), *Du latin aux langues romanes. Études de linguistique historique* (Tübingen).
- Herman, J. (1991), 'Spoken and written Latin in the last centuries of the Roman Empire', in R. Wright (ed.), *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London and New York), 29-43 = Hermann (2006), 169-82.
- Herman, J. (2000), *Vulgar Latin*, translated by R. Wright (University Park, Penn.).
- Herman, J. (2006), *Du latin aux langues romanes II: Nouvelles études de linguistique historique* (Tübingen).
- Hertz, M. (1845), 'Zum Anecdoton Parisinum', *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 3, 393-8.
- Hilka, A. (1924), 'On the use of the expression *Lingua Romana* from the first to the ninth century', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 43, 9-19.
- Hoenigswald, H.M. (1949), 'A note on Latin prosody: initial S impure after short vowel', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 80, 271-80.
- Hofmann, J.B. and Szantyr, A. (1965), *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich).
- Holtz, L. (1972), 'Sur trois commentaires irlandais de l'*Art majeur* de Donat au IX^e siècle', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 2, 45-72.
- Holtz, L. (1975), 'Le Parisinus latinus 7530, synthèse cassinienne des arts libéraux', *Studi Medievali* 16 (1975), 97-152.
- Holtz, L. (1977a), *Ars Laureshamensis, Expositio in Donatum maiorem* (Turnhout).
- Holtz, L. (1977b), *Murethach, In Donati artem maiorem* (Turnhout).
- Holtz, L. (1981), *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe–IXe siècle)* (Paris).
- Holtz, L. (1998), 'Vers la création des bibliothèques médiévales en occident', in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto Medioevo* (Settimane

- di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 45) (Spoleto), II, 1059-1106.
- Holtzmann, W. (1947), 'Laurentius von Amalfi ein Lehrer Hildebrands', *Studi gregoriani*, 1, 207-36.
- Horrocks, G.C. (2010), *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, 2nd edn. (Malden, Mass., Oxford and Chichester).
- Horsfall, N. (1969), 'Aclys and Cateia', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 30, 297-9.
- Horsfall, N. (2000), *Virgil, Aeneid 7: a Commentary* (Mnemosyne Supplement 198) (Leiden).
- Horsfall, N. (2003), *Virgil, Aeneid 11: a Commentary* (Mnemosyne Supplement 244) (Leiden).
- Housman, A. (1910), 'Greek nouns in Latin poetry from Lucretius to Juvenal', *Journal of Philology* 31, 236-66.
- Huemer, J. (1883), *Cruindmeli sive Fulcharii Ars metrica, Beitrag zur Geschichte der karolingischen Gelehrsamkeit* (Vienna).
- Hyman, M.D. (2003), 'One word solecisms and the limits of syntax', in P. Swiggers and A. Wouters (eds.), *Syntax in Antiquity* (Leuven), 179-92.
- Ilberg, H. (1852), *Q. Ennii Annalium Libri primi fragmenta emendata disposita illustrata* (Bonn).
- Jacobi, R. (1996), *Die Kunst der Exegese im Terenzkommentar des Donat* (Berlin and New York).
- Jeanneret, M. (1918), *La langue des tablettes d'exécration latines* (Paris and Neuchâtel).
- Jeep, L. (1893), *Zur Geschichte der Lehre von der Redetheilen bei den lateinischen Grammatikern* (Leipzig).
- Jud, J. (1905), *Die Zehnerzahlen in den romanischen Sprachen* (Halle).
- Kamptz, H. von (1982), *Homerische Personennamen* (Göttingen).
- Kaspers, W. (1942), 'Die Waffenbezeichnung cateia', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 67, 218-9.

- Kaster, R.A. (1986), 'Islands in the stream: the grammarians of Late Antiquity', *Historiographia Linguistica* 13, 323-42.
- Kaster, R.A. (1988), *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley).
- Keller, O. (1891), *Lateinische Volksetymologie und Verwandtes* (Leipzig).
- Kendall, C.B. (1975), *Bedae Venerabilis opera*. Pars I: *Opera didascalica* (Turnhout).
- Kent, R.G. (1945), *The Sounds of Latin: a Descriptive and Historical Phonology*, 3rd edn. (Baltimore).
- Kent, R.G. (1948), 'A problem of Latin prosody', in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à J. Marouzeau par ses collègues et élèves étrangers* (Paris), 303-8.
- Kiss, S. (1972), *Les transformations de la structure syllabique en latin tardif* (Debrecen).
- Klotz, R. (1890), *Grundzüge altrömischer Metrik* (Leipzig).
- Kohlstedt, H. (1917), *Das Römische in den Artes des Consentius* (Erlangen).
- Körting, G. (1907), *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch* (Paderborn).
- Kramer, J. (1976), *Literarische Quellen zur Aussprache des Vulgärlateins* (Meisenheim am Glan).
- Kramer, J. (2007), *Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften* (Berlin and New York).
- Kühner, R. and Holzweissig, F. (1912), *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Erster Teil: Elementar-, Formen- und Wortlehre*, 2nd edn. (Hannover).
- Kühner, R. and Stegmann, C. (1914), *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Zweiter Band: Satzlehre*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Hannover).
- Kummrow, H. (1880), *Symbola critica ad grammaticos latinos* (Greifswald).
- Lachmann, K. (1836), *Terentiani Mauri de litteris syllabis et metris liber* (Berlin).
- Lachmann, K. (1850), *Lucretii de rerum natura libri VI* (Berlin).

- Lancel, S. (1981), 'La fin et la survie de la latinité en Afrique du Nord: état des questions', *Revue des études latines* 59, 269-97.
- Lancel, S. (1984), 'Remarques sur la topographie urbaine de Carthage punique', in *Actes du I^{er} colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord* (= *BCTH* 17B) (Paris), 35-53.
- Lapidge, M. (2006), *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford).
- Lausberg, H. (1956-62), *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft*, 4 vols. (Berlin).
- Lausberg, H. (1976), *Linguistica romanza*, I: *Fonetica*, 2nd edn. (Milano).
- Lausberg, H. (1998), *Handbook of Literary Rethoric: a Foundation for Literary Study*, translated by M.T. Bliss, A. Jansen and D.E. Orton (Leiden).
- Law, V. (1996), 'Asper', in H. Stammerjohann, S. Auroux and J. Kerr (eds.), *Lexicon Grammaticorum: Who's Who in the History of World Linguistics* (Tübingen), 50.
- Lebek, W.D. (1970), *Verba Prisca. Die Anfänge des Archaisierens in der lateinischen Beredsamkeit und Geschichtsschreibung* (Göttingen).
- Lenchantin De Gubernatis, M. (1923a) 'Studi sull'accento greco e latino. XIV: Ossitoni e perispomeni latini?', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 3, 9-20.
- Lenchantin De Gubernatis, M. (1923b), 'Studi sull'accento greco e latino. XV: L'accento come discriminante delle omofonie latine', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 3, 21-34.
- Lentini, A. (1975), 'Ilderico e la sua *Ars grammatica*' (Monte Cassino).
- Leo, F. (1912), *Plautinische Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Komödie*, 2nd edn. (Berlin).
- Leonhardt, J. (1989), *Dimensio syllabarum: Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie- und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance, mit einem ausführlichen Quellenverzeichnis bis zum Jahr 1600* (Göttingen).

- Leumann, M. (1938), Review of Niedermann (1937), *Gnomon* 14, 438-42.
- Leumann, M. (1945), 'Der lateinische Genetiv Achilli', *Museum Helveticum* 2, 237-58 =
Leumann (1959), 108-30.
- Leumann, M. (1947), 'Die lateinische Dichtersprache', *Museum Helveticum* 4, 116-39 =
Leumann (1959), 131-56.
- Leumann, M. (1959), *Kleine Schriften* (Zürich).
- Leumann, M. (1977), *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, 6th edn. (Munich).
- Lewy, H. (1932), 'Etymologien', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 59, 179-92.
- Lieberg, G. (1967), 'Structura. Di nuovo sulla storia di un termine', *Lingua e Stile* 2, 199-211.
- Lindsay, W.M. (1894), *The Latin Language: an Historical Account of Latin Sounds, Stems, and
Flections* (Oxford).
- Lindsay, W.M. (1904), 'A new ms. of Consentius', *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 24,
283.
- Lindsay, W.M. (1909), 'Ennius *Annales* 567 (Vahlen)', *The Classical Quarterly* 3, 20-1.
- Lindsay, W.M. (1915), *Notae Latinae: an Account of Abbreviation in Latin MSS. of the Early
Minuscule Period (c. 700-850)* (Cambridge).
- Lindsay, W.M. (1916), 'Terga fatigamus hasta', *The Classical Quarterly* 10, 97-9.
- Lindsay, W.M. (1922), *Early Latin Verse* (Oxford).
- Löfstedt, B. (1961), *Studien über die Sprache der langobardischen Gesetze: Beiträge zur
frühmittelalterlichen Latinität* (Uppsala).
- Löfstedt, B. (1977), *Sedulius Scottus in Donati artem maiorem* (Brepols).
- Löfstedt, B. (1983), 'Rückschau und Ausblick auf die vulgärlateinische Forschung: Quellen
und Methoden', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und
Niedergang der römischen Welt, II: Principat* (Berlin), 453-79.
- Löfstedt, B. (1984), 'Zu Sedulius Scottus' Kommentar zu Donatus Maior', *Sacris Erudiri* 27,
433-42.

- Löfstedt, E. (1928-33), *Syntactica: Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*, 2 vols. (Lund).
- Löfstedt, E. (1936), *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Egeriae: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* (Oxford and Uppsala).
- Löfstedt, E. (1959), *Late Latin* (Oslo and London).
- Loporcaro, M. (1997), *L'origine del raddoppiamento fonosintattico. Saggio di fonologia diacronica romanza* (Basel and Tübingen).
- Loporcaro, M. (2009), *Profilo linguistico dei dialetti italiani* (Bari).
- Loporcaro, M. (2011a), 'Syllable, segment and prosody', in M. Maiden, J. C. Smith and A. Ledgeway (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, I: *Structures* (Cambridge), 50-108.
- Loporcaro, M. (2011a), 'Phonological processes', in M. Maiden, J. C. Smith and A. Ledgeway (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, I: *Structures* (Cambridge), 109-54.
- Loporcaro, M. (2015), *Vowel Length from Latin to Romance* (Oxford).
- Löwe, G. (1876), *Prodromus corporis glossariorum latinorum: quaestiones de glossariorum latinorum fontibus* (Leipzig).
- Loyen, A. (1943), *Sidoine Apollinaire et l'esprit précieux en Gaule aux derniers jours de l'empire* (Paris).
- Lucchesi, E. and Magni, E. (2002), *Vecchie e nuove (in)certezze sul Lapis Satricanus* (Pisa).
- Lyne, R.O.A.M. (1978), *Ciris: a Poem Attributed to Vergil* (Cambridge).
- Maas, P. (1904) 'Prosodisches zu *conubium*', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 13, 433-5.
- Maestre Yenes, M.A.H. (1973), *Ars Iuliani Toletani episcopi. Una gramática latina de la España visigoda* (Toledo).
- Maltby, R. (1979), 'Linguistic characterization of old men in Terence', *CPh* 74, 136-47.

- Maltby, R. (1991), *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (Leeds).
- Maltby, R. (2012), 'The *De barbarismis et metaplasms* of Consentius as evidence for Late and Vulgar Latin', in F. Biville, M.-K. Lhommé and D. Vallat (eds.), *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif IX; Actes du IXe Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, Lyon, 2-6 septembre 2009* (Lyons), 727-37.
- Mancini, M. (1994), 'Un passo del grammatico Pompeo e la dittongazione protoromanza', in P. Cipriano, P. Di Giovine and W. Belardi (eds.), *Miscellanea di studi linguistici in onore di Walter Belardi* (Rome), II, 609-28.
- Mancini, M. (2001), 'Agostino, i grammatici e il vocalismo del latino d'Africa', *Italian Journal of Linguistics/Rivista di linguistica* 13, 309-38.
- Manitius, M. (1911-31), *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (München).
- Mari, T. (2016), 'A new manuscript of Consentius' *De barbarismis et metaplasms*', *The Classical Quarterly* 66, 370-5.
- Mariotti, I. (1967), *Marii Victorini Ars grammatica* (Florence).
- Mariotti, S. (1951), *Lezioni su Ennio* (Pesaro).
- Mariotti, S. (1952), 'Note al testo di Consenzio, *Ars de barbarismis et metaplasms*', *Studi Urbinati* 26, 196-8.
- Marotta, G. (2016), 'Syllabae, syllabarum divisio et communes syllabae: ambiguità prosodica tra fonologia e metrica nei grammatici latini', in R. Ferri and A. Zago (eds.), *The Latin of the Grammarians. Reflections about Language in the Roman World* (Turnhout), 87-122.
- Martorelli, L. (2011), *Ps. Aurelii Augustini Regulae* (Hildesheim).
- Marx, F. (1904-5), *C. Lucilii carminum reliquiae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig).
- Matasović, R. (2009), *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden).

- Meier, H. (1969), 'Le soleil et les grenouilles', in *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune, professeur à l'Université de Liège* (Gembloux), 1637-50.
- Menge, H. (2009), *Lehrbuch der lateinischen Syntax und Semantik*, 3rd edn. revised by T. Burkard and M. Schauer (Darmstadt).
- Meyer-Lübke, W. (1890-1902), *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, 4 vols. (Leipzig).
- Meyer-Lübke, W. (1911-20), *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg).
- Moorey, P.R.S. (1985), 'The Iranian contribution to Achaemenid material culture', *Iran: journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 23, 21-37.
- Morel, W. (1927), *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig).
- Morelli, C. (1910), 'I trattati di grammatica e retorica del codice Casanatense 1086', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 5, 19, 287-328.
- Morf, H. (1905), Review of *Aus romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen. Festschrift Heinrich Morf zur Feier seiner fünfundzwanzigjährigen Lehrtätigkeit von seinen Schülern dargebracht* (Halle, 1905), *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 115, 430-62.
- Mørland, H. (1957), 'Nisus, Euryalus und andere Namen in der Aeneis', *Symbolae Osloenses* 33, 87-109.
- Mras, K. (1948), 'Assibilierung und Palatalisierung im späteren Latein', *Wiener Studien* 63, 86-101.
- Müller, L. (1861), *De re metrica poetarum latinorum praeter Plautum et Terentium libri septem. Accedunt eiusdem auctoris opuscula* (Leipzig).
- Müller, L. (1884), *Q. Enni carminum reliquiae. Accedunt Cn. Naevi Belli Poenici quae supersunt* (St. Petersburg).
- Müller-Graupa, E. (1914), 'Mapalia', *Philologus* 73, 301-17.
- Müller-Graupa, E. (1930), 'Zu Senecas Apokolokyntosis', *Philologus* 85, 303-21.

- Müller-Marquardt, F. (1912), *Die Sprache der alten Vita Wandregiseli* (Halle).
- Munk Olsen, B. (2007), 'Chronique des manuscrits classiques latins (IXe-XIIe siècles)', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 2, 49-106.
- Munro, H.A.J. (1886), *T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex*, 4th edn. (Cambridge).
- Munzi, L. (1993), 'Spigolature grammaticali in una silloge scolastica carolingia', *Bollettino dei Classici* 14, 103-32.
- Munzi, L. (2004), *Multiplex latinitas. Testi grammaticali latini dell'alto Medioevo* (Naples).
- Nencioni, G. (1939), 'Innovazioni africane nel lessico latino', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 16, 3-50.
- Neue, F. and Wagener, C. (1892-1905), *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 3rd edn., 4 vols. (Leipzig).
- Newton, F.L. (1962), 'Tibullus in two grammatical *Florilegia* of the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 93, 253-86.
- Newton, F.L. (1965), 'Lawrence of Amalfi's mathematical teaching', *Traditio* 21, 445-9.
- Newton, F.L. (1999), *The Scriptorium and Library at Montecassino. 1058-1105* (Cambridge).
- Newton, F.L. (2003), "'Expolitio" per l'Umanesimo: la formazione dei monaci cassinesi nell'XI secolo', in O. Pecere (ed.), *Il monaco, il libro, la biblioteca. Atti del Convegno, Cassino-Montecassino, 5-8 settembre 2000* (Cassino), 169-79.
- Niedermann, M. (1937), *Consentii Ars de barbarismis et metaplasms. Victorini fragmentum de soloecismo et barbarismo* (Neuchâtel).
- Niedermann, M. (1948), '*Iotacismus, labdacismus, mytacismus*', *Revue de Philologie* 74, 5-15.
- Niedermann, M. (1953), *Précis de phonétique historique du Latin* (Paris).
- Niemöller, G. (1887), *De pronomibus ipse et idem apud Plautum et Terentium* (Halle).
- Nishimura, K. (2011), 'A Phonological Factor in *Mārs*' Lexical Genealogy', in G. Rocca (ed.), *Atti del Convegno Internazionale "Le lingue dell'Italia antica: iscrizioni,*

- testi, grammatica*". In *memoriam Helmut Rix (Milano 7-8 marzo 2011)* (Milan), 233-45.
- Norberg, D. (1985), *L'accentuation des mots dans le vers latin du Moyen Age* (Stockholm).
- Norden, E. (1957), *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*, 4th edn. (Leipzig).
- Oberhelman, S.M. (2003), *Prose Rhythm in Latin Literature of the Roman Empire – First Century B.C. to Fourth Century A.D.* (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter).
- Osann, F. (1835-9), *Beiträge zur griechischen und römischen Litteraturgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt).
- Osthoff, H. (1893), 'Dunkles und helles *l* im lateinischen', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 24, 50-65.
- Pasquali, G. (1952), *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 2nd edn. (Florence).
- Passalacqua, M. (1978), *I codici di Prisciano* (Rome).
- Passalacqua, M. (1984), *Tre testi grammaticali bobbiesi (GL V 555-566; 634-654; IV 207-216 Keil)* (Rome).
- Passalacqua, M. (1987), *Prisciani Caesariensis Opuscula I. De figuris numerorum. De metris Terentii. Praeexercitamina* (Rome).
- Passalacqua, M. (1999), *Prisciani Caesariensis Opuscula II. Institutio de nomine et pronomine et uerbo. Partitiones duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium* (Rome).
- Patzlaff, R. (1975), *Otfrid von Weissenburg und die mittelalterliche versus-Tradition: Untersuchungen zur formgeschichtlichen Stellung der Otfridstrophe* (Tübingen).
- Pellegrini, M. (1909), 'Raddoppiamento anormale di consonanti in vocaboli latini', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 17, 353-422.
- Pensado, C. (1989), 'How do unnatural syllabifications arise? The case of consonant + glide in Vulgar Latin', *Folia Linguistica Historica* 8, 115-42.
- Perrot, J. (1961), *Les dérivés latins en –men et –mentum* (Paris).

- Petersmann, H. (1999), 'The language of early Roman satire: its function and characteristics', in J. N. Adams and R. G. Mayer (eds.), *Aspects of the Language of Latin Poetry* (Proceedings of the British Academy 93) (Oxford), 289-310.
- Pezzini, G. (2011), 'Contraction of *est* in Latin', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 109, 327-43.
- Pezzini, G. (2015), *Terence and the Verb 'To Be' in Latin* (Oxford).
- Pianezzola, E. (1968), 'La tmesi della preposizione nei composti verbali latini: aspetti e limiti di un problema', *Convivium* 36, 339-50.
- Pinto, P.M. (2010), 'Monumenti d'autore e storie di testi (Isocrate, Ennio, Orazio)', *Philologus* 154, 25-39.
- Pirson, J. (1909), 'Le latin des formules mérovingiennes et carolingiennes', *Romanische Forschungen* 26, 837-944.
- Pisani, V. (1950), *Testi latini arcaici e volgari con commento glottologico* (Turin).
- Pokorny, J. (1936), 'Gallo-Lateinisch *Cateia* 'Wurfholz, Bumerang'', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 20, 428.
- Posner, R.R. (1961), *Consonantal Dissimilation in the Romance Languages* (Oxford).
- Prosdocimi, L. (1985), 'Umbro *furfa-* ~ Lat. *forfex*: $-eH_2 > -\bar{a} \sim -eH_2s > -eks$ ', *Archivio glottologico italiano* 70, 51-61.
- Pugliarello, M. (1978), *Agroecius, Ars de orthographia* (Milan).
- Questa, C. (2007), *La metrica di Plauto e Terenzio* (Urbino).
- Raven, D. S. (1965), *Latin Metre: an Introduction* (London).
- Ribbeck, O. (1866), *Prolegomena critica ad P. Vergili Maronis opera maiora* (Leipzig).
- Ribbeck, O. (1871), *Tragicorum romanorum fragmenta*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig).
- Ribbeck, O. (1874), 'Ueber 'unabhängige' Kritik mit einem Anhang über 'gewissenhafte' Exegese', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 29, 209-51.
- Ribbeck, O. (1875), *Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik* (Leipzig).

- Ritschl, F. (1845), *Parerga zu Plautus und Terenz* (Leipzig).
- Ritter, F. (1843), 'Paldamus: De Cornelio Celso', *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* 38, 52-66.
- Roger, M. (1905), *L'enseignement des lettres d'Ausone à Alcuine* (Paris).
- Rohlf, G. (1966), *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, I: *Fonetica* (Turin).
- Romanini, F. (2007), *Malli Theodori De metris* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York).
- Rönsch, H. (1887-89), *Semasiologische Beiträge zum lateinischen Wörterbuch* (Leipzig).
- Rosellini, M. (2001), *Ps. Remmii Palaemonis Regulae* (Hildesheim).
- Rossi, L.E. (1969), 'La "pronuntiatio plena": sinalefe in luogo d'elisione', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 97, 433-47.
- Roversi Monaco, F. (2006), 'Lorenzo di Amalfi', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 66, 52-5.
- Rydberg, G. (1897), 'Viginti, triginta, ou viginti, triginta?', in *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à Carl Wahlund* (Macon), 337-51.
- Saunders, C. (1930), *Vergil's Primitive Italy* (New York).
- Scaffai, M. (1980), 'Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*', in P. Serra Zanetti (ed.), *In verbis verum amare. Miscellanea dell'Istituto di Filologia Latina e Medioevale, Università di Bologna* (Florence), 205-77.
- Scappaticcio, M.C. (2012), *Accentus, distinctio, apex. L'accentazione grafica tra Grammatici Latini e papiri virgiliani* (Turnhout).
- Schad, S. (2007), *A Lexicon of Latin Grammatical Terminology* (Pisa and Rome).
- Schanz, M. (1914), *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian, IV: Die römische Litteratur von Constantin bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk Justinians. Erste Hälfte: Die Litteratur des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Munich).

- Schanz, M., Hosius, C. and Krüger, G. (1920), *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, IV, *Die römische Litteratur von Constantin bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk Justinians. Zweite Hälfte: Die Litteratur des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts* (Munich).
- Schindel, U. (1975), *Die lateinischen Figurenlehren des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts und Donats Vergilkommentar* (Göttingen).
- Schöll, F. (1875), *De accentu linguae latinae commentationum capita I-III* (Leipzig).
- Schröder, P. (1869), *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle).
- Schuchardt, H. (1866-8), *Der Vokalismus der Vulgärlateins*, 3 vols. (Leipzig).
- Schulze, W. (1892), *Quaestiones epicae* (Gütersloh).
- Schulze, W. (1904), *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen* (Berlin).
- Schürr, F. (1956), 'La diphthongaison romane', *Revue de linguistique romane* 20, 107-44, 161-248.
- Schürr, F. (1970), *La Diphthongaison romane* (Tübingen).
- Seelmann, E.P. (1885), *Die Aussprache des Latein nach physiologisch-historischen Grundsätzen* (Heilbronn).
- Sen, R. (2015), *Syllable and Segment in Latin* (Oxford).
- Sihler, A.L. (1995), *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (New York and Oxford).
- Skutsch, F. (1892), *Plautinisches und Romanisches: Studien zur plautinischen Prosodie* (Stuttgart).
- Skutsch, O. (1985), *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford).
- Solmsen, F. (1894), *Studien zur lateinischen Lautgeschichte* (Strasbourg).
- Sommer, F. (1914), *Kritische Erläuterungen zur lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg).
- Sommer, F. (1948), *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, 2nd edn. (Heidelberg).
- Sommer, F. and Pfister, R. (1977), *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, 4th edn.

(Heidelberg).

Soubiran, J. (1966), *L'élision dans la poésie latine* (Paris).

Steele, R. (1929), 'Elision in Latin dactylic hexameters', *Philological Quarterly* 8, 43-60.

Steinmann, M. (1998), *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Register zu den Abteilungen C I – C VI, D – F sowie zu weiteren mittelalterlichen Handschriften und Fragmenten* (Basel).

Stok, F. (1994), 'Celso e Virgilio', *Orpheus* 15, 280-301.

Stok, F. (1997), *Appendix Probi IV* (Naples).

Stolze, F. (1882), *Persepolis: die achaemenidischen und sasanidischen Denkmäler und Inschriften von Persepolis, Istakhr, Pasargadae, Shâpûr* (Berlin).

Stoppacci, P. (2010), *Cassiodoro, De orthographia. Tradizione manoscritta, fortuna, edizione critica* (Florence).

Stowasser, J.M. (1886), 'Ennius bei Consent. V. 400 K. (ann. 588 M.)', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 3, 282-3.

Stowasser, J.M. (1905), 'Vulgärmetrisches aus Lucilius', *Wiener Studien* 27, 211-30.

Stroheker, K.F. (1948), *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Tübingen).

Sturtevant, E.H. (1940), *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (Philadelphia).

Sturtevant, E.H. and Kent, G. (1915), 'Elision and Hiatus in Latin Prose and Verse', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 46, 129-55.

Supino Martini, P. (1987), *Roma e l'area grafica Romanesca (secoli X-XII)* (Alessandria).

Suringar, W.H.D. (1834-5), *Historia critica scholiastarum Latinorum*, 3 vols. (Leiden).

Svennung, J. (1936), *Kleine Beiträge zur lateinischen Lautlehre* (Uppsala).

Svennung, J. (1941), *Compositiones Lucenses. Studien zum Inhalt, zur Textkritik und Sprache* (Uppsala).

Svennung, J. (1955), *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache* (Uppsala).

- Sznycer, M. (1978), 'Carthage et la civilisation punique', in C. Nicolet (ed.), *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen. 264-27 avant J.C., II: Genèse d'un empire* (Paris), 545-93.
- Sznycer, M. (1986), 'Le problème de la "Mégara" de Carthage', in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord: actes du III^e colloque international réuni dans le cadre du 110^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Montpellier, 1-15 avril 1985* (Paris), 119-32.
- Taeger, B. (1991), "'Multiplex enim ut lex Dei etiam Latinitas". Zu den Quellen des Anonymus ad Cuimnanum', *Studi Medievali* 32, 1-92.
- Tarquini, B.M. (2002), *I codici grammaticali in scrittura beneventana* (Monte Cassino).
- Terracini, B. (1936), 'Gli studi linguistici sulla Sardegna preromana', *Sardegna Romana* 1, 51-80.
- Teuffel, W.S. (1913), *W. S. Teuffels Geschichte der römischen Literatur. Sechste Auflage unter Mitwirkung von E. Klostermann, R. Leonhard und P. Wessner, neu bearbeitet v. W. Kroll und F. Skutsch, Dritter Band: Die Literatur von 96 nach Chr. bis zum Ausgange des Altertums* (Leipzig and Berlin).
- Thilo, G. (1881-1902), *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica commentarii*, 3 vols. (Leipzig).
- Thomas, F. (1938), Review of Niedermann (1937), *Revue des études anciennes* 40, 465-6.
- Thurneysen, R. (1879), *Über Herkunft und Bildung der lateinischen Verba auf -io der dritten und vierten Conjugation und über ihr gegenseitiges Verhältniss* (Leipzig) = P. de Bernardo Stempel and R. Ködderitzsch (eds.) (1991), *Rudolf Thurneysen: Gesammelte Schriften, I: Indogermanisches – Italisches – Romanisches* (Tübingen), 101-67.
- Timpanaro, S. (1948), 'Per una nuova edizione critica di Ennio. VI', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 22, 179-207.

- Timpanaro, S. (1978), *Contributi di filologia e storia della lingua latina* (Rome).
- Timpanaro, S. (1986), *Per la storia della filologia virgiliana antica* (Rome).
- Tolkiehn, J. (1913), *Dosithei ars grammatica* (Leipzig).
- Tolkiehn, J. (1928), *Clementis Ars grammatica* (Leipzig).
- Tomsin, A. (1952), *Étude sur le Commentaire Virgilien d'Aemilius Asper* (Paris).
- Torzi, I. (1991), 'Volup e volupe nella tradizione manoscritta di autori latini arcaici e tardoantichi', *Maia* 43, 89-102.
- Torzi, I. (2000), *Ratio et usus: dibattiti antichi sulla dottrina delle figure* (Milano).
- Traube, L. (1911), *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters* (Munich).
- Troncarelli, F. (1987), *Boethiana aetas. Modelli grafici e fortuna manoscritta della "Consolatio Philosophiae" tra IX e XII secolo* (Alessandria).
- Unger, R. (1858), *Quaestio de Lucani Heliacis* (Brandenburg).
- Untermann, J. (2000), *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen* (Heidelberg).
- Uría Varela, J. (2005), 'What can we learn from place-names in Charisius' *Ars grammatica?*', in I. Taifacos (ed.), *The Origins of European Scholarship: the Cyprus Millennium International Conference* (Stuttgart), 99-107.
- Väänänen, V. (1966), *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, 3rd edn. (Berlin).
- Väänänen, V. (1981), *Introduction au Latin vulgaire*, 3rd edn. (Paris).
- Vainio, R. (1994), 'On the concept of barbarolexis in the Roman grammarians', *Arctos* 28, 129-40 = Vainio (1999), 83-96.
- Vainio, R. (1996), 'A reading in Consentius reconsidered. A case of palatalization', *Arctos* 30, 247-55 = Vainio (1999), 97-107.
- Vainio, R. (1999), *Latinitas and Barbarisms according to the Roman Grammarians: Attitudes towards Language in the Light of Grammatical Examples* (Turku).
- Vainio, R. (2000), 'Use and function of grammatical examples in Roman grammarians', *Mnemosyne* 53, 30-48 = Vainio (1999), 62-82.

- Vainio, R. (2003), 'Borderline cases between barbarism and solecism', in P. Swiggers and A. Wouters (eds.), *Syntax in Antiquity* (Leuven), 193-201.
- Vandvik, E. (1937), *Rhythmus und Metrum: Akzent und Iktus* (Oslo).
- Vincent, N. (1988), 'Non-linear phonology in diachronic perspective: stress and word-structure in Latin and Italian', in P. M. Bertinetto and M. Loporcaro (eds.), *Certamen phonologicum, Papers from the 1987 Cortona Phonology Meeting* (Turin), 421-32.
- Vineis, E. (1990), 'Ancora sul problema di *muta cum liquida*', in R. M. Danese, F. Gori and C. Questa (eds.), *Metrica classica e linguistica: atti del colloquio (Urbino 3-6 ottobre 1988)* (Urbino), 143-94.
- Wachter, R. (1993), 'Lateinisch "Steinbruch": Bekanntes und Verkanntes', *Historische Sprachforschung* 106, 82-92.
- Wackernagel, J. (1926), 'Conubium', in *Festschrift für Paul Kretschmer* (Vienna and Leipzig), 289-306 = Wackernagel, J. (1955-79), *Kleine Schriften*, 3 vols. (Göttingen), II, 1280-97.
- Wahlgren, E.G. (1930), *Un problème de phonétique romane: le développement d > r* (Uppsala).
- Walde, A. and Hofmann, J.B. (1938-54), *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd edn., 2 vols. (Heidelberg).
- Wartburg, W. von (1950), *Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume* (Bern).
- Weber, C.F. (1861), *Aurelii Augustini ars grammatica breviata* (Marburg).
- Weinrich, H. (1958), *Phonologische Studien zur romanischen Sprachgeschichte* (Münster Westfalen).
- Weisgerber, L. (1937), 'Vergil Aen. VII 741 und die Frühgeschichte des Namens Deutsch', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 86, 97-126.
- Weiss, M. (2009), *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin* (Ann Arbor).

- Welsh, J.T. (2010), 'The grammarian C. Iulius Romanus and the *Fabula Togata*', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 105, 255-85.
- Wessner, P. (1905), *Aemilius Asper. Ein Beitrag zur römischen Literaturgeschichte* (Halle).
- Wessner, P. (1929), 'Lucan, Statius und Juvenal bei den römischen Grammatikern', *Philologische Wochenschrift* 49, 296-303, 328-35.
- Whatmough, J. (1937), *The Foundations of Roman Italy* (London).
- Williams, R.D. (1960), *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quintus* (Oxford).
- Williams, R.D. (1962), *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius* (Oxford).
- Winstedt, E.O. (1905), 'A Bâle MS of Consentius', *American Journal of Philology* 26, 22-31.
- Wissemann, M. (1982), *Die Parther in der augusteischen Dichtung* (Frankfurt and Bern).
- Woestijne, P. van de (1938), Review Niedermann (1937), *L'antiquité classique* 7, 486.
- Wright, R. (1982), *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool).
- Woytek, E. (1970), *Sprachliche Studien zur Saturia Menippea Varros* (Vienna, Cologne and Graz).
- Zago, A. (2013), 'Pompeo grammatico e le vocali "barbare"', *Eruditio Antiqua* 5, 3-19.
- Zago, A. (2016), 'Iotacism in the Latin grammarians', R. Ferri and A. Zago (eds.), *The Latin of the Grammarians. Reflections about Language in the Roman World* (Turnhout), 291-308.
- Zanatta, C. (2004), 'Astronomia e astrologia medievale latina nella Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Fondo', *Atti della classe di scienze fisiche, matematiche e naturali. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 162, 887-949.
- Zanetti, A.M. (1741), *Latina et Italica d. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manoscriptorum* (Venezia).
- Zelzer, M. (1970), 'Zur Sprache des Ambrosiaster', *Wiener Studien* 83, 196-213.

Zorzanello, P. (1980-5), *Catalogo dei codici latini della Biblioteca nazionale marciana di Venezia non compresi nel catalogo di G. Valentinelli*, 3 vols. (Trezzano).