Stylisation in Ennius

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homo qui erranti comiter monstrat uiam
quasi lumen de suo lumine accendat facit.
nihilo minus ipsi lucet cum illi accenderit.
(Enn. *trag.* 313-5 Jocelyn)

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Abstract

This thesis examines stylised lexicon and semantics (with a brief consideration of selected morphological features) in Ennius' *Annals*, tragedies in Greek dress, and *Euhemerus*, understood as a set of linguistic techniques employed to differentiate his diction from the standard Early Latin language of his time – that is, the Latin as reconstructed from literary and epigraphic texts produced in 240-81 BC. These corpora, which together constitute approximately 92% of Ennius' extant word count, preserve numerous and relatively extended fragments, allowing for an outline of their linguistic profiles, although caution remains necessary in view of their fragmentary nature.

Following an initial screening of the evidence by means of a series of quantitative tests (described in the Introduction), stylised lexical items and semantic usages are identified through complex and individual analysis. The results are classified according to patterns and categories of stylisation (e.g. archaic, poetic, technical) across three chapters, each devoted to one corpus (Chapter 1: the *Annals*; Chapter 2: the tragedies in Greek dress; Chapter 3: the *Euhemerus*).

The analysis reveals three distinct linguistic profiles. While the register of the *Euhemerus* is clearly characterised by simplicity and immediacy, the linguistic differences between the *Annals* and the tragedies are subtler, owing to their shared broadly high-poetic register. However, the diction of the *Annals* proves to be more varied and creative, incorporating a range of distinctive borrowings, technicisms, and neologisms, whereas the tragedies display a more standardised high register, albeit with numerous elements associated with performative genres, such as drama and oratory, and direct speech. Moreover, the tragedies exhibit a higher frequency of phonetic effects, particularly alliteration, organised into a refined system of correspondences in highly emotive passages. I tentatively attribute these differences to the distinct modes of performance and reception of the two corpora (read versus performative), rather than to a diachronic development in Ennius' style.

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List of Abbreviations

The abbreviations of ancient authors and titles follow those of ThLL for Latin and LSJ for Greek. The abbreviations adopted in the tables are explained in the relevant footnotes. Other abbreviations adopted in the thesis are as follows.

CIL: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

CL: Classical Latin

EL: Early Latin

esp.: especially

LL: Late Latin

LSJ: Liddell, H.G. Scott, R. *Greek-English Lexicon* (New York) 1883

OLD: Glare, P.G.W. (ed.) (2012^{2}), *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*. 2nd edn. (Oxford)

ThLL: Thesaurus Linguae Latinae

VOL: Very Old Latin

Introduction

1. The Definition of "Stylisation" and the Scope of the Thesis

This thesis aims to identify and analyse patterns of "stylisation" in the lexicon and semantics of Ennius' *Annals*, tragedies in Greek dress (*cothurnatae*, hereafter sometimes simply referred to as "tragedies"), and the "original" fragments of the *Euhemerus* (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11 Vahlen; cf. p. 255).[1] These works not only account for approximately 92% of the total word count attributed to Ennius but are also the only ones to survive in fragments that are sufficiently extensive and in sufficiently good condition for the outlining of general linguistic profiles specific to each of the corpora. Moreover, an analysis of these texts will demonstrate how these display three particularly distinctive linguistic approaches on the part of Ennius. The language of the *Annals*, despite its generally high poetic patina, is markedly inclusive and varied; that of the tragedies is predominantly high-register; and that of the *Euhemerus* is comparatively simple, direct, and unadorned. In contrast, a comparable examination of Ennius' other works remains problematic, as they are preserved largely in isolated and very brief fragments, often of difficult attribution and contextualisation.

As indicated above, the scope of this thesis centres on the concept of "stylisation". Stylisation refers to authorial techniques deviating from the neutral language[2] of the author's period, geographical setting, and social class (Adams and Mayer (1999) 3, Coleman (1999) 22, Chahoud (2018) 133, and Pezzini and Chahoud (2023) 5). It is therefore not an absolute but a relative property, varying according to the broader linguistic context in which a text is produced; for this reason, a brief section on the periodisation of Latin language and literature is included (cf. pp. 4-5). For example, in Classical Latin (henceforth CL), the standard form of the singular genitive ending

[1] Unless otherwise stated, the ecdotic variants, spelling conventions, and line or passage numbering adopted in this thesis follow the editions of Skutsch (1985) for the *Annals*, Jocelyn (1967) for the tragedies in Greek dress, and Vahlen (1903[2]) for the *Euhemerus*.

[2] Adams and Mayer (1999) 3-4 define the neutral language as "the common parlance (rather than colloquial)". For more specific discussion of the neutral register, see Powell (1999) 324-325.

of *a*- stem nouns is *-ae*. Other forms may represent different degrees of stylisation: monosyllabic *-ai* may amount to little more than an orthographic variant; disyllabic *-āī* stands out as an archaism; and *-as,* when it is not surviving relic of fixed phrases (cf. *pater familias*), is clearly a stylised form reflecting archaising tendency.

Such stylisation may be achieved through the use of items or usages that are *per se* stylised by some linguistic properties, through an increased frequency (i.e. stylised incidence) of otherwise neutral items and usages when compared with other passages within the same text or other texts, or through the use of semantic tropes or sound patterning.[3]

The present thesis, however, focuses exclusively on stylised items and usages. First, assessing the actual incidence of a specific item or usage within a text that survives only in fragments is ultimately impossible, particularly given that many of these fragments are short excerpts preserved precisely on account of their linguistic peculiarities.[4] Secondly, although all tropes involve semantic shifts for expressive effect (cf. Rowe (2001) 124-5; and p. 127), not all such shifts may be regarded as equally stylised. Indeed, the stylistic force of semantic usages in which words are employed in a secondary, yet widely attested (i.e. non-stylised), sense (such as the metonymic use of *ferrum* for "weapon") is relatively limited. Accordingly, the present study does not discuss all tropes attested in the examined texts, but only those involving markedly stylised semantic usages, such as the metonymic use of *trabs* for "tree trunk" in *trag.* 209 (from the *Medea*) *utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus* / *caesa accidisset abiegna ad terram trabes*, which involves a semantic shift primarily attested in poetic texts. Similarly, since a comprehensive analysis of sound patterning in Ennius' corpus would be excessively lengthy, given its high frequency, only those instances involving

[3] Although these features are also present in ordinary language (cf. Adams and Mayer (1999) 14-18, Coleman (1999) 67-68, and Chahoud (2023) 368-369), they are particularly frequent in literary texts. In Early Latin (henceforth, EL) literature, alliteration is frequently attested both in poetry (cf. e.g. Catone (1964) 127-30, Grilli (1965) *passim*, esp. 191, Jocelyn (1967) 42, Lennartz (1995-6) 168-207, esp. 170-1) and in prose (cf. Gray (2023) 327-50 for figures of sound in oratory). Alliteration is not, however, a phenomenon exclusive to Latin, as it is attested across a wide range of languages and cultures (cf. Mariotti (1951) 58-59, and Fortson (2010^2) 36).

[4] This holds true particularly for the corpora of the *Annals* and the tragedies, and less for the *Euhemerus*, which is largely preserved in eight extended fragments quoted by a single source on account of their subject matters (cf. p. 255). Accordingly, the linguistic profile of the *Euhemerus* outlined in this thesis draws also on analyses conducted on instances of the stylised incidence of otherwise neutral items (cf. esp. p. 256-7).

stylised items or usages are considered here.[5] Nevertheless, a broader discussion of Ennius' different use of sound patterning in the *Annals* and the tragedies is provided (cf. pp. 143-5). An example of the type of sound patterning examined in this thesis is the alliterative pair *dia dearum* (*ann.* 19), which features the poetic adjective *dius*. Accordingly, instances of stylisation are discussed in this thesis only insofar as they involve stylised items or usages.

Such items and usages may involve phonology, morphology, lexicon, semantics, or syntax. For example, in a literary text from CL the rendering of Greek aspirated consonants as plain voiceless stops involves phonology; the use of the *-as* singular genitive ending of first-declension nouns constitutes a morphological pattern of stylisation; the use of technical vocabulary pertains to lexicon; the employment of a phrase with an uncommon meaning concerns semantics; and the use of a plural form in place of a singular relates to syntax.

However, in this thesis, I systematically discuss only Ennius' stylised lexicon and semantics, since analysis on these linguistic layers is most likely to yield reliable and original contributions. On the one hand, in fact, phonological examination ultimately remains unreliable, inasmuch as it inevitably depends on the spelling adopted in the manuscripts and on the vicissitudes of textual transmission. Furthermore, the very notion of a standardised spelling system for EL texts appears unattainable, given the diversity of spelling conventions attested even in inscriptions of this period (cf. Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)), which renders the identification of stylised phonetic features impossible. On the other hand, systematic investigations on Ennius' morphology and syntax have already been undertaken (cf. Frobenius (1907) and (1910), Catone (1964), Untermann (1972), and, in part, Risicato (1950)); in contrast, no comparable comprehensive study exists of Ennius' lexicon and semantics, apart from some observations in Risicato (1950), which have at times been rendered obsolete by new suggestions in the study of the transmission of Ennius' texts and in Latin linguistics more generally (cf. p. 19), and some extremely brief notes in Pisani (1962).

[5] A detailed analysis of alliteration in the *Annals* and the tragedies is provided by Grilli (1965) 103-264.

Nevertheless, occasional morphological and syntactic observations may determine the stylisation of the linguistic context in which lexical and semantic features are embedded, thus contributing to the assessment of their degree of stylisation. In particular, the analysis of morphological elements is especially helpful for this purpose, and in fragmentary texts is relatively more straightforward than syntactic analysis. Accordingly, a brief overview of morphological stylisation is provided in the introduction (cf. pp. 5-19). As will be shown, the results of this overview offer a slightly different picture from that emerging from lexical and semantic analysis, especially regarding the adoption of certain high-register features in the *Annals* and the tragedies.

Before turning to the analysis of stylisation in Ennius, I shall first provide a brief methodological note on the chronology of Latin language and literature adopted as the reference framework for this thesis.

2. Chronological Note

Framing Ennius within a clear periodisation of Latin language and literature is essential for the identification of his stylised language, since what counts as stylised necessarily varies over time (cf. the example of *uinum* at p. 27). In this analysis, I do not adopt a diachronic perspective that characterises Ennius' language in opposition to authors from other periods – even those one or two generations earlier or later. Rather, while acknowledging variations across space, genre, and social class (cf. Pezzini and Chahoud (2023) 3-5), I treat EL as a diachronic linguistic unity, serving as a touchstone for determining which features of Ennius' language may be regarded as neutral and which as stylised. Admittedly, any periodisation of Latin is, to some extent, a generalisation,[6] and EL itself displays internal diachronic variations (cf. Pezzini and Chahoud (2023) 2-3). Nevertheless, a coherent set of linguistic features distinguishes EL from CL (cf. Pezzini and Chahoud (2023) 8-9).

[6] Penney (2011) 220 discusses the distinction between VOL and EL; Pezzini and Chahoud (2023) 1-2 that between EL and CL; Adams (2011) 257-58 the beginning of LL; Fredouille (1996) 5-7 (especially n. 4) and Pezzini (2023) 240 the inherent arbitrariness of any periodisation of the Latin language and literature; and Vincent (2016) 1-10 on the methodological problems with periodisation and the study of the language.

It is therefore essential to define clearly the (inevitably somewhat arbitrary) chronological limits of EL as adopted in this thesis.

My periodisation of Latin language and literature relies primarily on the quadripartition proposed by Weiss (2009) 23,[7] combined with the more detailed classification outlined by Meiser (1998) 2.[8] Accordingly, Latin language and literature are divided into four periods: Very Old Latin (VOL), from the earliest attestations of Latin to the emergence of Latin literature in 240 BC; Early Latin (EL), extending to the earliest works of Cicero (c. 81 BC);[9] Classical Latin (CL), lasting until the end of the second century AD;[10] and Late Latin (LL), continuing to the seventh century AD. Meiser's subdivision of CL into the categories of "Klassisches Latein", "Silberne Latinität", and "Archisierende Periode" primarily reflects changes in literature styles and genres rather than in linguistic features (cf. Fredouille (1996) 6). Accordingly, in my analysis, which focuses on linguistic variation, these three categories are subsumed under the broader label "Classical Latin".

That said, I shall now begin my analysis on Ennius' stylised language with a morphological overview.

3. Morphological Overview

The main body of this thesis focuses on Ennius' lexicon and semantics, since these linguistic layers have been less extensively explored than morphology and syntax and yield more reliable results than phonology (cf. pp. 7-8). In addition, as it will be demonstrated throughout the thesis, the

[7] Very Old Latin: sixth-third centuries BC; Old Latin: third-second centuries BC; Classical Latin from first century BC-third/fourth century AD; Late Latin third/fourth-seventh centuries AD.
[8] "Frühlatein": from the earliest attestations of Latin to the emergence of Latin literature in 240 BC; "Altlatein": up to the earliest works of Cicero (c. 81 BC); "Klassisches Latein": up to the death of Augustus in 14 AD; "Silberne Latinität": up to the death of Trajan death in 117; "Archaisierende Periode": up to the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180; "Spätlatein": until the seventh century.
[9] Pezzini (2023) 221 assigns the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to EL and Cicero's *De Inuentione* to CL, despite the fact that both works are dated to the mid-to-late 80s BC.
[10] In comparison with Meiser (1998) 2, the beginning of LL is postponed from the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 AD to 200 AD, following Fredouille (1996) 22-23. This adjustment does not substantially alter the structure of Meiser's periodisation, but facilitates the present analysis insofar as it aligns with the chronological limits adopted in the OLD.

analysis of lexical and semantic features most effectively showcases the variety of Ennius' Latinity across his distinct fragmentary corpora.

Nevertheless, morphological and syntactic observations may prove helpful in introducing the linguistic context of the lexical and semantic features under analysis. In a fragmentary corpus such as that of Ennius, however, a comprehensive syntactic analysis remains both challenging and inherently uncertain, owing to the difficulties involved in reconstructing the syntax of certain phrases, which may give rise to generate divergent interpretations. Indeed, it is not always clear whether the quotations preserved by our sources – especially those transmitted by grammarians primarily interested in specific linguistic peculiarities – represent complete syntactic units. Such excerpts may contain unusual constructions or may instead consist of sequences drawn from different, incomplete, but otherwise regular clauses. For example, *ann.* 98 †*uirgines nam sibi quisque domi Romanus habet sas*, preserved by Fest. 325 L (a source who tends to quote metrical rather than syntactic units; cf. pp. 122 and 171) for the use of the pronoun *sas*, may contain the earliest attestation of second-position *nam* (a usage otherwise unattested before Catullus) or reflect standard usage, if *uirgines* is assigned to a different clause (the form *uirgines* is itself problematic for prosodic reasons; cf. Skutsch (1985) 244-5). By contrast, morphological analysis is less affected by the fragmentary state of the corpus, since it typically concerns shorter textual elements, such as word endings, which are less susceptible to lacunae, although more vulnerable to corruption (see below). For this reason, syntactic observations are confined to occasional remarks throughout the thesis, whereas a morphological overview, summarising the most significant instances of morphological stylisation, is provided in this section.

The systematic studies already conducted on Ennius' morphology (cf. p. 3) were often aimed at presenting a coherent account of his morphosyntax. As a result, they offer little more than catalogues of morphological and syntactic features found in Ennius' fragments (Catone (1964)), or treat Ennius' output as a homogeneous and undifferentiated whole, rather than as a multifaceted

corpus encompassing different genres, styles, and registers (cf. esp. Frobenius (1910) 2, who even construed Ennius' entire production as a formal EL counterpart to Plautus' *Volksprache*, classifying the *Euhemerus* as an instance of high-register *Kunstprosa*, and Untermann (1972) 212-3). As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, such approach proves overly simplistic and ultimately inadequate for the comparative purposes pursued here. Nevertheless, the existing scholarship on Ennius' morphology provides a rich and detailed body of dataset on morphologically stylised features, which will be here reorganised and reassessed according to the three distinct corpora of fragments analysed in this study.

Before turning to the analysis of Ennius' morphology, however, two methodological provisos must be introduced. The first concerns the heavy influence of the so-called CL bias on the morphophonology of any EL text – that is, the mistaken assumption that the language of all periods of Latin literature should conform to the linguistic norms of CL (cf. Pezzini and Chahoud (2023) 2). This bias affects both the ancient transmission of EL texts and their modern interpretation.

On the one hand, in the course of transmission scribes often subjected texts to a form of "normalisation", disregarding synchronic and diachronic variation within Latin. This process primarily affects morphophonology. For a scribe, indeed, the "normalisation" of morphophonological feature often constitutes a less radical intervention than the replacement of entire words or phrases and requires only minimal alteration of the text, typically without disturbing its prosody (e.g. the substitution of *optumus* with *optimus*, or the accusative *omnis* with *omnes*). It may, therefore, be argued that morphophonological features are more likely susceptible to such normalisation than lexical items, semantic usages, or syntactic constructions, and that once normalised they readily blend into the surrounding text, making the identification of the alteration of the text more difficult for the modern reader to detect.

On the other hand, the CL bias also affects modern readers of Latin, who are typically more familiar with CL than EL and may therefore be inclined to interpret forms diverging from CL norms

as “stylised” or “archaic”, even when this is not warranted. Consequently, any attempt to analyse Ennius’ Latinity – especially in the domain of morphophonology – must take into account the double filter imposed by the CL bias.

The second proviso concerns the state of the EL corpus, which raises a further methodological problem: what should be regarded as neutral language in EL? The reconstruction of such a neutral baseline is particularly difficult.[11] EL is attested by a relatively limited corpus of texts: the surviving EL literary corpus amounts to approximately 300,000 words, whereas the works of Cicero alone exceed 1,100,000 words (cf. n. 36). Moreover, this corpus is dominated by the – still, linguistically heterogeneous – works of just two authors, Plautus and Terence, whose comedies account for roughly 72% of the word count of EL literary texts (cf. again n. 36). In addition, no EL source is linguistically fully reliable. The language of inscriptions tends to be conservative and often preserves fossilised formulae, while the manuscript transmission of literary texts is affected by the CL bias discussed above (cf. also Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)). Finally, EL lacks a “Grammatik” in the sense of an explicit normative framework of linguistic rules and tendencies against which individual usages of the language can be measured.[12] Instead, multiple variants of the same form are frequently attested. Such variation is not necessarily linked to stylistic differentiation and can be observed even within the corpus of a single author, including Ennius (cf. Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)), as in the case of the fluctuation in gender, declension, conjugation, and verbal voice (cf. Catone (1964) 58-71 and 75-94).

With this in mind, I now provide a brief overview of the principal instances of morphological stylisation[13] in the *Annals*, the tragedies, and the *Euhemerus*, with a view to determining whether they reflect three distinct morphological profiles. Unsurprisingly, the stylised morphology of the

[11] Untermann (1972) 213 argues that the greatest problem in determining how far Ennius’ language departs from the neutral language of his time – that is, how stylised – lies precisely in establishing what constituted the norm of the EL.
[12] This definition of “Grammatik” is taken from Untermann (1972) 211.
[13] Morphological variants which, although non-standard even in EL, were presumably adopted for metrical convenience (e.g. the *-ere* ending for the third plural person of the perfect indicative, cf. Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)) are not included in this overview.

epic and tragic fragments is predominantly high-register, whereas low-register morphological features are attested only in the *Euhemerus* – a distinction that broadly corresponds to the findings of lexical and semantic analysis. However, the lexical and semantic contrast between the particularly inclusive language of the *Annals* and the uniformly high-register language of the tragedies does not appear to be mirrored at the morphological level. Rather, the morphology of the *Annals* displays scarcely any instances of clearly low-register stylisation. In contrast, while certain high-register features are shared by the *Annals* and the tragedies, others tend to be attested predominantly in only one of the two corpora. This asymmetry remains to some extent unexplained, but in several cases it appears unlikely to be accidental.

Among the high-register forms attested in both the *Annals* and the tragedies in similar frequencies is the **subjunctive of the *siet* type**. The three Ennian occurrences of the *siet* subjunctive (including compounds) – a form already obsolete in the ordinary language of the second century BC (cf. e.g. de Melo (2023) 101-2) – all appear in clearly stylised contexts: *ann.* 235, within Hannibal's formal pledge to grant Carthaginian citizenship to anyone who wounds a Roman enemy (where the form appears alongside the archaism *cuiatis*); *trag.* 248, in Hellenus' utterance reflecting the technical language of augury (cf. Maltby (2023) 264); and *sat.* 58 (*possies*), in a gnomic line on friendship. Notably, all three instances occur at line end, a metrical position frequently favoured for stylised forms. By contrast, the eleven occurrences of the *sit* subjunctive (and its compounds) are distributed across a wider range of contexts and metrical positions in the *Annals* (six instances) and the tragedies (five instances).

Similarly, the **-*iet* form of the future tense of fourth-conjugation verbs** appears to be restricted to high-register contexts in both the *Annals* and the tragedies. By contrast, the -*ibit* form – despite being a short-lived experiment in EL, developing later than -*iet* and being abandoned at an early stage (cf. de Melo (2023) 107-8) – is attested with a significantly higher frequency in Ennius than Plautus and Terence (40% of the fourth-conjugation futures in Ennius are of the -*ibit* type, as

against 20% in Plautus and 13% in Terence), and occurs across both high- and low-register contexts.

Nevertheless, in the case of a a fragmentary author such as Ennius, occurrences of the *-ibit* future may be overrepresented, since grammarians, primarily interested in linguistic peculiarities, were less likely to preserve passages containing the *-iet* ending, which was not unusual in their time (CL and LL). Moreover, instances of low-register contexts requiring future forms are relatively rare in epic and tragedy, as formal settings such as oaths and prophecies typically necessitates their use.[14] Accordingly, in the *Annals* and the tragedies, both forms of fourth-conjugation futures (*-iet* and *-ibit*) occur in formal settings: *feriet* (*ann.* 235), in Hannibal's promise of the Carthaginian citizenship (see above; cf. Skutsch (1985) 416); *adueniet* (*trag.* 45 and 49), in Cassandra's prophecies in the *Alexander*; and *expedibo* (*trag.* 148), in Orestes' defence in the *Eumenides*, within a sentence of elevated register that may echo a judicial formula (*id aecum ac iustum fecisse expedibo atque eloquar*; note the paired synonyms *aecum ac iustum* and *expedibo atque eloquar*).[15] In contrast, the only preserved instance of a fourth-conjugation future occurring in an informal context in Ennius' corpus is *audibis* in *pall.* 4, cited by Nonius precisely to illustrate a form perceived as unusual in the fifth century. It is therefore difficult to determine whether Ennius deliberately exploited this morphological duality for stylistic purposes. Nevertheless, if the distribution of the two forms in the extant corpus is not merely coincidental, one might infer that Ennius adopted a consistent approach across his works, employing both the *-iet* and the *-ibit* forms in high-register contexts, but restricting the *-ibit* form to low-register contexts. In any case, this distinction does not appear to differentiate the *Annals* from the tragedies.

Likewise, in both the *Annals* and the tragedies the ***-ier* ending of the present passive infinitive** is restricted to the first conjugation and attested with the same relative frequency (17% limited to

[14] This is not, however, the case for all future forms in Ennius' tragic and epic corpus (cf. *trag.* 131 *sin est inprobus, / diuortio te liberabo incommodis*, where the future *liberabo* occurs in a markedly prosaic argument reminiscent of the direct language of a syllogism).
[15] The regular future form of *expedio* appears to be *expediam*, at least in dramatic contexts (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 289).

the first-conjugation: one instance out of six in the *Annals*, two out of twelve in the tragedies), and is entirely absent from the *Euhemerus*. It is, however, difficult to determine whether this feature should be interpreted as a mere metrically convenient variant, as it frequently – if not exclusively – happens in Plautus and Terence (cf. Skutsch (1985) 714-5 and de Melo (2023) 103-5) or as a marker of high stylisation, as it most probably happens in two legal prose inscriptions, where prosody is not a factor at play (CIL 10.104, the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, dating from 186, where *figier* and *gnoscier* occur, and CIL 1.583, the *lex Acilia repetundarum*, dating from 123, featuring *aduocarier* and *abducier*; in addition, *utier* is attested in CIL 6.1288, the funerary inscription for Publius Cornelius Scipio, *flamen Dialis*, in Saturnian verses, dating from 170-146). First, Ennius employs this ending exclusively with first-conjugation verbs (*argutarier*, *raptarier*, *laudarier*), which constitute the most productive conjugation for *-ier* infinitives (cf. de Melo (2023) 104). Two of these verbs (*rapto* and *arguto*) are in fact first-conjugation derivatives of third-conjugation verbs (*rapio* and *arguo*), the conjugation least productive for *-ier* infinitives (cf. again de Melo (2023) 104). Secondly, passive infinitives occurring in clearly stylised contexts do not consistently take the *-ier* ending (cf. the homoeoteleuton *inflammari*, *euitari*, *turpari* in *trag.* 92-4, from Cassandra's vision of Troy's destruction; cf. pp. 192-4). Thirdly, in Ennius this ending is markedly underrepresented when compared with its frequency in Plautus and Terence: even when only first-conjugation verbs are considered, it accounts for approximately 13% of present passive infinitives, as against roughly 40% in Plautus and Terence combined (cf. de Melo (2023) 104).

Nevertheless, although Ennius does not appear to adopt the *-ier* as a preferred marker of stylisation – restricting it to first-conjugation verbs, alternating it with the *-ari* form in high-register contexts, and employing it relatively sparingly – he nonetheless seems to have perceived it as such and to have confined it to clearly stylised contexts: a gnome on the human desire for praise (*laudarier* at *ann.* 574); Andromache's highly pathetic lament over Hector's death (*raptarier* at *trag.*34); and a passage featuring the recherché verb *argutor* (*argutarier* at *trag.* 260). In any case, this feature does not appear to be preferentially associated with either the *Annals* or the tragedies.

By contrast, a clear example of a highly stylised feature predominantly associated with the *Annals* is the **singular genitive ending of the *-a* stem nouns**. In the combined corpus of fragments from the *Annals*, the tragedies, and the *Euhemerus*, the twenty-three[16] attested instances of singular genitive of *-a* stem nouns are distributed as follows: in the *Annals*, one instance of *-as*,[17] eight of disyllabic *-āī*, and five of monosyllabic *-ae*;[18] in the tragedies, one instance of *-āī* and six of *-ae*; and in the *Euhemerus*, only two instances *-ae*.[19] In Ennius' time, *-as* was clearly archaic, disyllabic *-āī* was already falling out of use, and monosyllabic *-ae* constituted the current form – a distribution that Ennius appears to respect by restricting *-as* to a single fossilised expression (*dux ipse uias* in *ann.* 430, possibly the remnant of a prayer formula, cf. Untermann (1972) 218 and Skutsch (1985) 591) and *-āī* to highly stylised contexts and metrical positions.

In the *Annals*, they appear at the end of non-dialogic lines (although the position and the context of *terrai frugiferai* in *ann.* 510[20] remain uncertain),[21] often in rhyming pairs (*Albai Longai* in *ann.* 31, *siluai frondosai* in *ann.* 179, and *terrai frugiferai* in *ann.* 510), and twice in formulaic-sounding

[16] *Militiae* in *ann.* 436 is one of the two tentatively reconstructed forms (alongside *militiam*) for the transmitted *militia*, which occurs in a largely corrupted fragment. Moreover, *militiae* may also represent a locative form (cf. Skutsch (1985) 61 and 596, n. 1). It is therefore excluded from this count as an uncertain instance.

[17] This form may be paralleled by the singular genitive of the *e-* stem nouns, *-es* (cf. Ernout (1953) 68-9), attested in the magniloquent line *ann.* 406 *postremo longinqua dies confecerit aetas*, possibly reflecting an observation on the foolish assumption of kings that they may leave an everlasting legacy (cf. Skutsch (1985) 568-9). By contrast, the non-stylised *-ei* form is attested four times in Ennius' corpus (exclusively in the *Annals*) in less formal contexts, including in *diei* in *ann.* 270 *consilium partit, magnam quom lassus diei*, part of the portrayal of Servilius' companion.

[18] Ennius may have spelled this ending as *-ai* (cf. Mariotti (1951) 118). In any case, I adopt the spelling *-ae* in accordance with the conventions of Jocelyn (1967) and Skutsch (1985), and to distinguish this ending more clearly from *-āī*.

[19] The *-āī* ending is also reconstructed in *Ambraciai*, a likely correction of the corrupt *Ambraciae finis* in *var.* 36, from the mock-epic *Hedyphagetica* (cf. Courtney (1993) 24-5), where is placed at line end, and is attested in *Lunai* at the beginning of the line classified as *op. inc.* 1 in Skutsch (1985) *Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite, ciues*. Notably, this line also contains the genitive *operae* in the conversational phrase *est operae* (*pretium*). The fragment has been assigned by several scholars to the *Satires*: among them, Skutsch (1968) 25-7 suggests that it may reproduce an archaising utterance of a herald. Alternatively, it may belong to the proem of the *Annals*, possibly in an apostrophe by the poet urging his audience to consider Pythagorean doctrine (cf. Kißel (1990) 776-87), and may reproduce the formal diction of an aristocrat addressing the people in an in official context (cf. Gildenhard (2007) 77-9).

[20] The ending is certainly not a dative, as suggested by Charis. 1. 19, who quotes the fragment (cf. Timpanaro (1947b) 209-11).

[21] Unless *Lunai* in *op. inc.* 1 *Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite ciues* belongs to the *Annals*. In that case, the occurrence of *-ai* at the end of non-dialogic lines in the *Annals* would be purely coincidental (cf. Kißel (1990) 779-80, n. 51). Nevertheless, *op. inc.* 1 appears to belong to a formal context regardless of the work to which it is assigned (cf. n. 19). By contrast, the *-ai* in *Ambraciai* (*var.* 36, from the *Hedyphagetica*) is unequivocally confined to line-end position.

verses (*olli respondit rex Albai Longai* in *ann.* 31, and *olli respondit suauis sonus Egeriai* in *ann.* 113).

In the tragedies, the sole instance of *-āī* occurs in a highly stylised couplet spoken by a character noted for her extremely formal diction – Medea's nurse (cf. Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)): *trag.* 222-3 *cupido cepit miseram nunc me proloqui* / *caelo atque terrae Medeai miserias*.[22] This passage belongs to the prologue of the play (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 363-4), a section in which formal and archaic language is frequently employed. By contrast, in other passages characterised by elevated language but lacking these specific stylistic features, the ending *-ae* is used instead. Examples include *qualem te patriae custodem di genuerunt* (*ann.* 107), from the Romans' lament over Romulus' death – followed by the triple tragic apostrophe *o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum!* (*ann.* 108) – and *o lux Troiae, germane Hector* (*trag.* 69) within Cassandra's vision of Hector's corpse (cf. pp. 249-50).

Taken together, this distribution suggests that *-as* was perceived as extremely archaic and therefore suitable only for fossilised expressions, while *-āī* was restricted to highly specific positions in the *Annals* traditionally associated with formal diction, and to the speech of an exceptionally formal character in the tragedies.[23]

The forms ***olli*** and ***ollis*** of the pronoun *olle* (built on the archaic stem *oll-*, also found in the adverb *olim*, cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 460) appear to be likewise associated with the *Annals*, in which they are exclusively attested (six instances), whereas the tragedies contain eight occurrences of *illi* or *illis*, and the *Euhemerus* one. *Illi* and *illis* are unattested in the *Annals*; consequently, a contextual comparison with *olli* and *ollis* within this work is impossible.

[22] Note the alliterations *cupido cepit* and *Medeai miserias*, the formula *caelo atque terrae*, and the figura etymologica *miseram miserias*.

[23] By contrast, Untermann (1972) 216-7 argues that, although stylised in EL, *-āī* represents the normal genitive ending in Ennius. On this view, some instances of genitive *-ae* are to be interpreted as datives or locatives, while others are explained as non-stylistic variants. See Skutsch (1975) 121-3 for compelling counterarguments to Untermann's interpretations of individual instances of the *-ae* ending. Skutsch further observes that Ennius frequently employs *-āī* with proper names (a practice later adopted by Cicero in the *Aratea*), which may provide additional evidence that Ennius restricted the *-āī* ending to specific contexts.

Nevertheless, *olli* and *ollis* – which are clearly not preferred over the metrically equivalent forms based on *ill-* for prosodic reasons – occur exclusively in archaising contexts, often occupying emphatic positions such as the beginning or end of a verse. This pattern seems to be followed in Lucretius and in the *Aeneid* – though, exclusively for *olli*, as *ollis* remains unattested – (cf. Skutsch (1985) 64-6, and n. 50). Unlike the *Annals*, however, both Lucretius and Virgil also employ *illi* alongside *olli*. By contrast, in the tragedies Ennius does not restrain from using *illi* and *illis* in high-register contexts and also in emphatic metrical positions (see *trag.* 121 *illis Lyaeus inuentor uitis sacrae*). This genre-distribution, which does not appear to be coincidental, does not, however, seem to reflect an established EL pattern, as Livius Andronicus attests one instance of *olli* in his tragedies and one of *illis* in his *Odusia*. These conclusions must, however, be treated with caution, since the attestations of *ill-* and *oll-* forms ultimately depend on manuscript transmission, given that the *oll-* and *ill-* forms are prosodically equivalent. This pattern may therefore not reflect their actual usage.

Finally, the *Annals* display a number of archaising – or at least markedly formal – morphological variants that occur only once in Ennius' corpus. This is the case, for instance, with the possible **genitive ending *-oeo*** (paralleled in EL and CL only by Lucil. 25 *alochoeo* and Ov. *apud* Quint. 8.6.33 *uinoeo bonoeo*, the latter probably imitating the Ennian line; cf. Skutsch (1985) 272), attested in *ann*. 120 *Mettoeo Fufetoeo*. This form is clearly a stylistic variant suited to poetic diction and was likely coined by Ennius himself (cf. Quintil. 1.5.12 *dicens Ennius poetico iure defenditur*).[24] Another instance is the pronoun ***sapsa***[25] (= *ipsa*)[26] at *ann.* 432 *quo res sapsa loco sese*

[24] Skutsch (1985) 272 proposes that the form is reminiscent of the Homeric ending -οιο. Manzoni (1988) 272, reporting a tentative interpretation from Pisani (1962) 254, suggests considering *-oeo* and intermediate form between *-osio* (attested in Faliscan) and *-iio* (perhaps attested in CIL 11.3162a4), which ultimately produced the ending *-i*. By contrast, Mariotti (1951) 118 suggests reading *Mettoi Fufettoi* and interprets the *-oi* ending as an archaic form of dative reflected in Greek -φ. In any case, the ending attested in *ann.* 120 must be regarded as an extremely recherché and highly stylised form.

[25] By contrast, the use of the pronominal stem *so-* for the oblique cases of *is, ea, id* in the *Annals* is not stylised *per se*, but rather reflects the avoidance in epic poetry of forms such as *eum, eam, eos,* and *eas*, which are instead attested in Ennius' tragedies and – extremely frequently – in the *Euhemerus*. This feature was inherited by later epic poets, who, however, avoid the *so-* stem as well (cf. Mikalson (1976) 171-3).

[26] In EL, *ipse* normally declines the second element as in CL (e.g. *ipsum*). In Plautus, however, forms such as *eumpse*, *eapse*, and *eampse* occur thirty-three times (against fifty-nine occurrences of *ipsum*, *ipsa*, and *ipsam*). *Eumpse* is also attested once in Caecilius Statius and once in Pacuvius, and *eapse* once in Scipio Africanus. By contrast, the older forms *sapsa* and related variants occur only three times in EL: Enn. *ann.* 432; Plaut. *Truc*. 160 *rationem dicam: / quia*

ostentatque iubetque, which may belong to a formulaic expression (note the paired verbs *ostentatque iubetque* linked by the repeated *–que*). It should be noted, however, that Ennius also employs *ipsa* twice (*ann.* 7 and 10), including once in a clearly stylised line: *ann*. 10 *quae dedit ipsa capit neque dispendi facit hilum* (note the use of *hilum*, cf. Skutsch (1985) 161-2).[27]

Conversely, other high-register morphological features occur in the tragedies but not, or only sparingly, in the *Annals*, such as the **ending *-um*** for the **plural genitive of *-o* nouns** (and one *-a* noun) and the *-ā* subjunctive. If fossilised forms like *diuum* for *diuorum* (the latter never attested in Ennius) and *uirum* for *uirorum* (the latter attested only once in Ennius' corpus, perhaps as a metrical alternative, as against four instances of the former in a range of contexts)[28] are excluded, the tragedies still exhibit fourteen instances of the genitive in *-um*. The majority of these, however, occur in formulaic expressions or with recurring lexical items: *deum* in *trag.* 3, 270, 275, and 289; *exitium* in *trag.* 44; *quaesendum* in trag. 132; *inferum* in *trag.* 152; and *liberum* in *trag.* 363, as well as the collocations *meum factum* in *trag.* 37, *liberum quaesendum* in *trag.* 112, and *superum atque inferum* in *trag.* 309. By contrast, the *Annals* contain only a single instance of this ending – *caelicolum* in the formal apostrophe to Juno in *ann*. 445, the only Ennian example of this ending for *-a* nouns, possibly favoured by the masculine gender of *caelicola* – while the *Euhemerus* likewise shows only one occurrence, *liberum* in *fr.* 3 within the formula *quid liberum uirile secus*.

The ***-ā-* type of subjunctive** is clearly a stylised morphological feature in EL (cf. de Melo (2007) 277-79) and, in Ennius' corpus, is attested exclusively in the tragedies (twice). In *trag.* 150-1 *at ego omnipotens / ted exposco ut hoc consilium Achiuis auxilio fuat*, *fuat* appears at line end in a fragment from the *Hectoris lutra*, whose context and prosody are obscure (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 292),

qui alterum incusat probri, sumpse enitere ipsi (if not a proverb, the line is at least presented as such, cf. *rationem dicam*, see also Lindsay (1922) 177 and Enk (1953) 1.49-50); and Pacuv. *trag.* 324 *nam Teucrum regi sapsa res restabiliet* (a sentence without clear indicators of stylisation).

[27] Skutsch (1985) 585 observes that *sapsa* is used with *res* both in Ennius and Pacuvius. However, in EL there are at least nine instances of *res ipsa* or *ipsa res*, only considering the nominative. This therefore can hardly account for Ennius' and Pacuvius' use of *sapsa*.

[28] I did not consider *liberum* as a similarly fossilised occurrence, since *liberum* and *liberorum* are equally represented in Ennius' corpus (three tokens each). Moreover, *liberorum* appears in the formula *liberorum* […] *quaesendum gratia* in *trag.* 132, slightly varied as *liberum quaesendum causa* in *trag.* 112. This distribution suggests that *liberum* was perceived as a stylised alternative to *liberorum* rather than as a fossilised morphological form.

yet which nevertheless displays features of elevated diction, such as *omnipotens*, as well as archaisms such as *ted*.[29] The formality of the language in this passage may reflect either the speaker's attempt to ingratiate himself with the addressee, if *omnipotens* is taken as a vocative (as proposed by Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 2.67), or an assertion of the speaker's own grandeur, if *omnipotens* is read as a nominative. The second instance occurs in *trag.* 183 *senex sum: utinam mortem obpetam prius quam euenat* / *quod in pauperie mea senex grauiter gemam!*, where *euenat*[30] likewise stands at line end within the magniloquent and extended formulation of Talthybius' wish to die before enduring the hardships of poverty (note the repetition of *senex* and the alliteration *grauiter gemam*). The rationale underlying the distribution of all these high-register morphological variants between the *Annals* and the tragedies remains unclear, but, especially for some phenomena, it can scarcely be regarded as coincidental.

By contrast, the precise distribution of **sigmatic futures and subjunctives** – a clearly formal feature – in Ennius' corpus is difficult to establish. In many cases, it is challenging to determine whether a given sigmatic form should be interpreted as a perfect, a future, or a subjunctive: *capsit* at *ann.* 300 may be either a future or a subjunctive, and *insexit* at *op. inc.* 31 may be either a perfect or a subjunctive (cf. Skutsch (1985) 478 and 764, respectively), while *perpetuassint* in *ann.* 317 is a reconstructed form (cf. Skutsch (1985) 495). What can be stated with greater confidence is that sigmatic futures and sigmatic subjunctives in Ennius' corpus occur in formal or fossilised contexts, in line with EL practice (cf. de Melo (2007) 176-7 and 195-8), with the possible exception of *faxim* at *trag.* 261.[31] However, *facio* is a high-frequency verb, and *faxim* may still have been relatively common in Ennius' times (cf. de Melo (2007) 194). More specifically, *leuasso* and *adiuero* (the latter a sigmatic future with rhoticism) at *ann.* 337 occur within the shepherd's offer of assistance to Flamininus, a passage characterised by pronounced – perhaps parodic – linguistic and stylistic

[29] It is, however, possible that the *-d* ending was employed merely as a convenient device to avoid hiatus (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 292-3).
[30] On the formality of the type *euenat*, see Jocelyn (1967) 318.
[31] *Faxit* also occurs in *var.* 18 from the epigrams, in a line that likewise features two refined alliterations (*funera fletu faxit* and *uolito uiuos* […] *uirum*): *nemo me lacrimis <decoret nec funera fletu* / *faxit>. cur? uolito uiuos per ora uirum.*

variety (cf. p. 50 and Oddi (forthcoming)). The form *prohibessis* at *trag.* 236 belongs to Medea's grandiloquent apostrophe to Jupiter preceding her plea to kill her own children, while *mactassint* at *trag.* 285 appears to form part of a (possibly fixed) curse formula. If the aforementioned doubtful cases (*capsit*, *insexit*, and *perpetuassint*) are excluded, sigmatic futures appear to be confined to the *Annals*, whereas sigmatic subjunctives are restricted to the tragedies. Accordingly, while the stylised force of sigmatic verbal forms in Ennius' corpus is clear, the rationale underlying the distribution of sigmatic futures and subjunctives remains uncertain and may ultimately be coincidental.

Finally, the *Euhemerus* likewise exhibits morphologically stylised features that are absent from both the *Annals* and the tragedies, though in this case they belong to a lower register. This is illustrated by the **imperfect indicative of fourth-conjugation verbs**. It appears that the older *-ibat* form represents the neutral variant, whereas the newer *-iebat* form is restricted to low-register contexts (cf. de Melo (2023) 106-7). Accordingly, *-ibat* forms occur in the *Annals* and the tragedies (*stabilibat* in *ann.* 42, *pinsibant* in *ann.* 354, and *scibas* in *trag.* 272), while *-iebat* is attested only in the *Euhemerus* (*ueniebant* twice in *fr.* 8). However, the *-ibat* forms are not constantly embedded in markedly formal contexts,[32] which weakens a strict bipartite distinction between high and low register. Moreover, the form *scibas* at *trag.* 272 appears to be the standard imperfect of *scire* in EL (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 401) and should not be regarded as stylised. It is therefore plausible that Ennius perceived the imperfect in *-ibat* as stylistically neutral, while the imperfect in *-iebat* reflected a lower register, making it appropriate only for the plain prose of the *Euhemerus*. In this respect, Ennius' usage aligns with the practice observed in Plautus and Terence (de Melo (2023) 107). However, it should be noted that the specific *-ibat* forms attested in the *Annals* (*stabilibat* and *pinsibant*) could have not been replaced by their *-iebat* counterparts *stăbĭlĭebat* and *pīnsĭēbant* on prosodic grounds. This consideration led Skutsch (1985) 199 to reject the view that *-ibat*

[32] Even *stabilibat* in *ann.* 42, which occurs within Ilia's dream, is not embedded in a consistently formal context, since this passage combines elevated and more immediate linguistic elements, thereby reflecting both Ilia's social status as a Vestalis and her inner turmoil (cf. Oddi (2026) (forthcoming)).

represented the neutral form in Ennius, interpreting *stabilibat* as a metrical variant and accepting Bergk's emendation of *pinsibant* to *pinsebant* (Bergk (1884) 360).

In conclusion, Ennius' corpus displays a wide range of morphological features, encompassing both diachronic and synchronic variation. The analysis of the most salient morphological characteristics across the three corpora examined reveals a clear distinction between the high-genre texts (the *Annals* and the tragedies in Greek dress) and the lower-genre prose of the *Euhemerus*. Archaic or otherwise rare features, as well as elements predominantly associated with elevated diction, are chiefly attested in the epic and tragic corpora. These include various types of subjunctive (notably, the *siet* type, the *-ā-* and sigmatic forms) and future formations (including the sigmatic type and the fourth-conjugation *-iet* type), the *-ier* infinitive (a stylistic marker not especially favoured by Ennius in comparison with contemporary comedy), gentive endings, such as the first-declension *-as*/*-ai* and the first- and second-declension *-um*, as well as, possibly, particular pronominal stems such as *oll-*. By contrast, a more limited range of stylistically marked morphological features appears to be confined to the *Euhemerus*, most notably the innovative, possibly low-register, fourth-conjugation imperfect in *-iebat*.

Conversely, both the *Annals* and the tragedies exhibit archaic and formal morphological features, and it is not possible to determine which of the two corpora displays the more marked moprhology. The two share certain features, such as the *siet* subjunctive, the *-iet* future, and the *-ier* infinitive, whereas others appear to be predominantly associated with the tragedies (the *-um* genitive and the *-ā-* subjunctive) and others with the *Annals*, including the *-ai* and *-as* genitive endings and the pronominal stem *oll-*. The case of sigmatic subjunctives and futures is particularly difficult to define. First, across Ennius' corpus there are at least two sigmatic verbs whose mood and tense remain unclear (*capsit* at *ann.* 300 and *insexit* at *op. inc.* 31), as well as one reconstructed sigmatic form (*perpetuassint* in *ann.* 317). Secondly, although neither form appears to function as a more marked indicator of stylisation, the former appears to be confined to the tragedies and the latter to

the *Annals* (which also include the rhotacised form *adiuuero*), for no apparent reason. Finally, the *Annals* also feature isolated examples of highly unusual forms not attested elsewhere in Ennius' corpus, in keeping with the greater linguistic spectacularity of the poem, which is likewise evident in lexicon and semantics, as it will be shown in this thesis. These include the pronominal stem *saps-* and the ending *-oeo*, possibly representing a second-declension singular genitive.

4. Ennius' Lexicon and Semantics: a Brief Literary Review

Writing a literary review on Ennius' lexicon and semantics is not a straightforward task, since in many cases, observations on lexicon and semantics are embedded in larger linguistic analyses that include considerations on morphophonology and syntax. Moreover, the scholarship on the topic consists primarily of scattered observations published in a variety of formats and lacking a systematic approach.

The only significant exceptions are Risicato (1950) 87-103, which represents an attempt to analyse and classify certain features of Ennius' stylised lexicon and semantics in a more orderly fashion, and Pisani (1962) 225-96, which focuses on Ennius' role within the development of the language of Latin poetry (at least until Lucretius), offering brief but nonetheless valuable linguistic observations. Risicato's study, however, is largely confined to archaisms, borrowings, and generally marked vocabulary, especially poetic terms (referred to as "sinonimi espressivi", cf. Risicato (1950) 99). While it remains a solid contribution and contains a number of valuable insights – particularly in its comparison with the vocabulary of other EL authors – it is nevertheless incomplete and in places rests on assumptions that are now outdated, both in Latin linguistics more broadly and in our understanding of the transmission of Ennius' texts in particular (cf., for example, *postilla* treated as an archaism at p. 89, for which cf. p. 27 in this thesis, or the reading *euax* at *ann.* 455, which is now generally rejected, at p. 97; cf. Skutsch (1985) 612). By contrast, beyond the merits of its concise individual analyses, Pisani's study deserves particular credit for its methodological distinction

between Ennius' tragic language (225-233) and his epic language (242-66), and for its explicit claim that the language of the *Annals* is more varied and inclusive (cf. esp. 229-32 and 261-6). Similar observations on the *Annals* are in Mariotti (1951) 116-42, who famously compared their linguistic and stylistic variety to that of the *Satires*, and in a more recent contribute by Hill (2025) 110, n. 97.

Within the broader body of scholarship on Ennius' language, commentaries on his works often provide useful starting points for analysis, as they summarise earlier scholarship and offer original insights. For the most part, however, they consist of a series of isolated discussions and lack a sustained intertextual or comparative perspective. The only commentary to Ennius' entire corpus remains Vahlen (1903^2), which, despite its extensive introduction on the history of the text, Ennius' sources, and the contextualisation of the fragments, contains little by way of linguistic analysis.

The commentaries richest in linguistic discussion are Skutsch (1985) and Flores et al. (2000-09) on the *Annals*, the former also including a general linguistic introduction addressing certain (primarily morphophonological) aspects of the language of the *Annals*; Jocelyn (1967) on the tragedies; and the extremely concise commentary by Courtney (1999) 27-40 on the *Euhemerus*. A more detailed linguistic commentary on the *Euhemerus* is provided by Adams (2016) 7-26, although this is limited to *fr*. 3. Among other commentaries on the *Annals* that contain more sporadic linguistic observations, one may note Valmaggi (1900) and Steuart (1925), as well as Bandiera (1978) on book one in particular; and among those on the tragedies, Ribbeck (1875) 77-205 deserves mention. Finally, the Loeb translations of Ennius also occasionally provide brief notes on individual lexical items or semantic usages, both in the earlier edition by Warmington (1935) and in the more recent volumes by Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) for the *Annals*, the tragedies, and the *Euhemerus*.

Linguistic analyses on the tragedies also include commentaries and studies devoted to individual plays, often drawing explicit parallels with Ennius' Greek tragic models. These include, for

example, Morelli (1992) on the *Achilles*; Timpanaro (1996) on the *Alexander*; Auhagen (2000b) on the *Andromacha*, Fedde (1860), Bücheler (1965[3]) 637-42, and Klimek-Winter (1993) on the *Andromeda*; Della Casa (1962) and Scafoglio (2007) on the *Hecuba*; Arcellaschi (1990), Loewenstein Drabkin (1937), Paduano (2000) and Rosato (2005) on the *Medea*.[33] By contrast, scholarship on the *Euhemerus* has tended to focus more narrowly on the question of Ennian originality within Lactantius' transmission of the text, thereby indirectly engaging with linguistic features. Contributions of this kind include Krug (1948), Laughton (1951), and Fraenkel (1964) 53-8.

Further dispersed linguistic observations can be found in more general studies on Ennius' oeuvre, such as Müller (1884), Mariotti (1951), Skutsch (1953), and Heurgon (1958) on the *Annals*; Gualandri (1965) and Brooks (1981) on the tragedies; and Winiarczyk (1994) and (2013) 109-22 on the *Euhemerus*. The latter, however, focus primarily on Euhemerism and on the place of Ennius' work within that intellectual framework, rather than on linguistic analysis as such.

Comparable in scope are broader contributions addressing specific themes recurring in one or more of Ennius' works, not necessarily from a linguistic perspective. These include Grilli (1965) on various aspects of Ennius' production, with particular emphasis on the use of alliteration; Suerbaum (1968) 43-295 on fragments relating to the poet's self-representation; Traina (1970) 113-66 on artistic translations from Greek; Elliott (2005) and (2013) on the structure of the *Annals*, especially on the role of Latin sources in shaping modern readers' understanding of Ennius' work; and Fisher (2014) on the influence of the Italian tradition on the *Annals*. A further subset of such studies focuses on Ennius' relationship with his literary models and later imitators. Notable examples include Froebel (1888) on Lucretius and (1910) on Catullus, Norden (1966[2]) on Virgil, Kameke (1926) on Homer, Bignone (1929) on Ennius and Empedocles, and Röser (1939) on Euripides and Homer.

[33] Particularly useful for identifying such bibliography are the introductions to the translations of the tragic fragments in the second volume of Goldberg and Manuwald (2018).

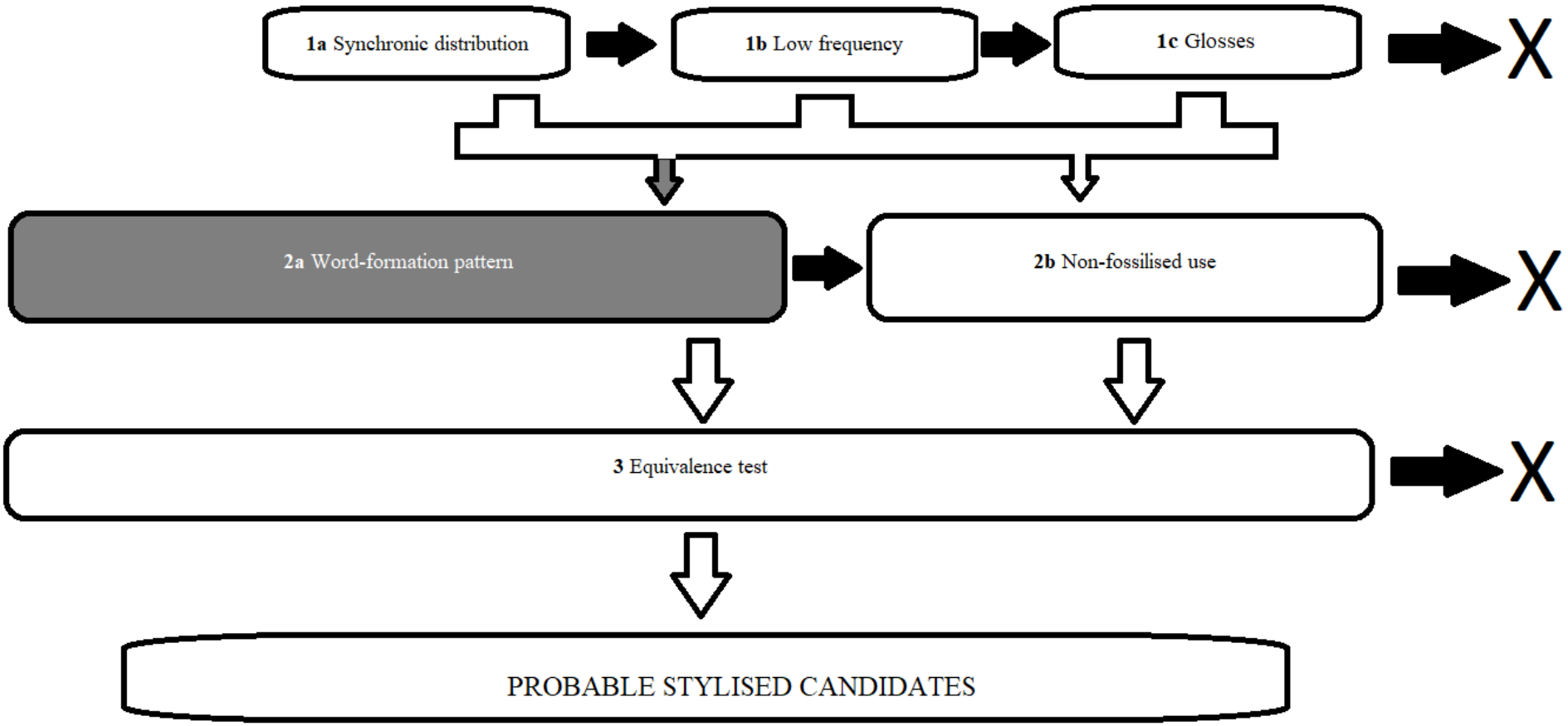
Furthermore, the largest body of scholarship on Ennius' lexicon and semantics consists of individual notes and articles commenting on specific passages. Within this category, the numerous contributions by Timpanaro are of particular relevance.[34] Finally, two very recent linguistic studies adopting a broader comparative perspective and including Ennius deserve mention: Goldberg (2023) on EL epic language and Maltby (2023) on the distinction between comic and tragic language in EL.

5. Methodology and Limitations of this Study

Although the present study engages closely with existing scholarship, it is grounded in an original examination of the surviving corpus of EL texts and advances interpretations that arise from this scrutiny. The methodology begins with an analysis of all lexical items and semantic usages in the Ennian fragments under consideration, conducted through a series of six quantitative tests organised into three distinct stages. These tests are designed to reduce the full set of items and usages to a core group of probable stylised candidates. The items and usages identified through this process are then examined individually in order to determine the degree and nature of their stylisation. Accordingly, despite the application of quantitative criteria at certain stages, the study ultimately rests on interpretative judgement. As such, it may invite alternative readings and leave some questions unresolved. With this caveat in mind, I now turn to an outline of the tests employed in the earliest phase of this research.

[34] A non-exhaustive chronological list of relevant articles, notes, and collections includes: Bergk (1884), Bierma (1907), Havet (1907), Vahlen (1907-8) *passim*, von der Mühll (1928), Debrunner (1930), Timpanaro (1946), (1947a), (1948) and (1954), Leeman (1958), Mazzoli (1964), Skutsch (1968), Jocelyn (1972a) and (1972b), Grilli (1974), Lunelli (1975), Rocca (1977), Skutsch (1977), Bettini (1979), Cornell (1986), Kessisoglu (1990), Lennartz (1994), Lunelli (1997), Timapanaro (1998), Auhagen (2000a), Fantham (2006), Elliott (2009), and Russo (2017). Manzoni (1988) does not focus on a specific passage but rather discusses the language of the *Annals* from a CL perspective. In doing so, he subsumes under the umbrella term "arcaismi" morphophonological, lexical, and semantic features that are typical of EL (and archaic only from a CL perspective; cf. pp. 7-8 for the concept of CL bias), genuine EL archaisms, and pseudo-archaisms coined by Ennius, confining this distinction to a brief note at the end of his article (pp. 297-300). Multi-authored volumes discussing several aspects of Ennius, including but not limited to his language, include EFH (1972) and Fitzgerald and Gowers (2007).

Figure 1. Scheme of the Algorithm.



Black arrows: fail the test.

White arrows: pass the test.

Grey arrows and boxes: restricted to lexical items.

Crosses: exclusion from the test

The algorithm (figure 1) I have used for an initial systematic screening of the evidence consists consists of six quantitative tests organised into three stages. The first stage identifies lexical items and semantic usages that are atypical of neutral language. The second and third stages then determine whether their occurrence is better explained by linguistic factors, or by subject matter or metre respectively, rather than by stylistic choice. Items and usages that fail a test proceed to the next test within the same stage; failure at the final test of a stage results in exclusion from further consideration. By contrast, passing a test allows vertical progression to the next stage. Items that pass the final stage are included in a corpus of probable stylised items. Test 2a (word-formation pattern) is the only test that applies to lexical items but not to semantic usages. Subsequently, individual analyses assess whether a given item or the usage is indeed stylised and, if so, the nature of its stylisation (e.g. technical, archaic, exotic…). In addition, items and usages that fail the algorithmic tests of the algorithm by a narrow margin are likewise subjected to individual qualitative analysis. The algorithm does not claim to provide an exhaustive or infallible means of identifying every instance of stylisation in the text under consideration; rather, it is designed to filter out from items and usages that are clearly neutral.

5.1. First Stage: Tests 1a, 1b, and 1c

Test **1a (synchronic distribution)** aims to identify lexical items and semantic usages that display a significant synchronic distribution within a particular genre, context,[35] author, or text in the epigraphic and literary corpus of VOL and EL. Occurrences in metalinguistic contexts (i.e. passages in which the item or usage itself is discussed) are excluded, as they do not reflect actual language use. An item or usage is classified as displaying a significant synchronic distribution if it

[35] Even within the same work, different contexts may require different registers. Consequently, in assessing the stylisation of a lexical item or semantic usage, consideration of the genre in which it predominantly occurs may not, in itself, be sufficient. Cf. Ernout (1947) 69-70, who observes that the diminutives in *Aen.* 3.343 (*auunculus*) and 4.328-9 (*paruulus*) suit the speaking character and the immediate context rather than the epic genre itself – respectively, Andromache's question to Aeneas about whether his sons have followed in the noble footsteps of their uncle Hector, and Dido's maternal regret at not having had a child with Aeneas.

occurs within the same genre, context, work, or author in at least 80% of its attestations; this threshold is adopted for methodological convenience. For example, in EL the lexical item *strido* (*ann.* 355 and 356) occurs exclusively in poetic texts (four out of four attestations), thereby exhibiting a significant synchronic distribution. It therefore passes test 1a (synchronic distribution) and proceeds vertically to test 2a (word-formation pattern).

Scrutinising the corpus of VOL and EL texts nevertheless presents significant challenges owing to its particular nature: it is limited in size,[36] often consists of short fragments preserved without contextual information, and is dominated by a small number of authors. Consequently, certain methodological adjustments are required. First, if an item or usage occurs fewer than four times in the VOL+EL corpus, the sample is considered too limited for its synchronic distribution to be assessed reliably, and evidence from CL texts is therefore also taken into account. While this extension is methodologically necessary, it inevitably reduces the reliability of the assessment of the item's or usage's stylisation. Such cases are therefore explicitly flagged throughout the thesis. For example, the lexical item *eleuo* is attested in EL only once, in *Euh. fr.* 5; therefore occurrences of the item in CL texts are also examined. Across EL and CL, *eleuo* occurs sixty-nine times, sixty-two of which are in prose texts, resulting in a significant prose distribution of 89.86%.

Secondly, occurrences for which even the broader context cannot be reconstructed are excluded from the analysis. For instance, *inseco* is attested four times in Latin (excluding glosses): Liv. Andr. *carm.* 1,[37] Enn. *ann.* 322[38] and *op. inc.* 31,[39] and Cato *or. frg.* 10.1.[40] In Enn. *op. inc.* 31 and Cato *or. frg*. 10.1, the word is preserved without contextual information, whereas in Liv. Andr. *carm.* 1 and in Enn. *ann.* 322, it occurs in stylised proems – positions typically associated with formal, and

[36] The corpus comprises approximately 300,000 words, whereas Cicero's works alone exceed 1,100,000 words. Of the EL corpus, 165,000 (55%) words belong to Plautus, 50,000 (16.67%) to Terence, 30,000 (10%) to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 20,000 (6.67%) to Cato, 8,000 (2.67%) to Lucilius, 7,600 (2.53%) to Ennius, 4,600 (1.53%) to Accius, 2,500 (0.83%) to Pacuvius, 2,400 (0.8%) to Afranius, 1,500 (0.5%) to Naevius, 1,300 (0.43%) to Turpilius, 1,300 (0.43%) to Sisenna, 1,300 (0.43%) to Quadrigarius, 1,000 (0.3%) to Titinius, and 500 (0.17%) to Livius Andronicus.
[37] *Virum mihi, Camena, insece uersutum*. Note the hyperbaton and the alliteration *uirum… uersutum.*
[38] *Insece Musa manu Romanorum induperator / quod quisque in bello gessit cum rege Philippo*. Note the alliteration *Musa manu* and the archaism *induperator*.
[39] *Insexit*, quoted by Paulus Festus with the remark *inseque apud Ennium dic. insexit dixerit.*
[40] *Insecenda*, quoted by Gellius with no context.

potentially archaising, diction.[41] Once the occurrences of *inseco* in Enn. *op. inc.* 31 and Cato *or. frg.* 10.1 are excluded, the remaining attestations of *inseco* display a 100% incidence in formal (and potentially archaising) contexts.

Thirdly, given the considerable linguistic variability of comedy (cf., for example, Hine (2005) 215-216), lexical items and semantic usages that display significant synchronic distributions in comedies are not regarded as particularly informative in themselves, unless they recur systematically in specific contexts or the same authors. These items and usages are flagged throughout the thesis (e.g. *extemplo*, which is particularly frequent in Plautus). At the same time, the overwhelming predominance of comedy within the EL corpus – approximately 73% of the total word count derives from comedies – risks distorting the perceived poetic or prosaic profile of a given item or usage: for every word attested in non-comedic texts, roughly 2.7 words derive from comedies. To mitigate this imbalance, a specific comedy parameter is introduced. Under this adjustment, the number of occurrences of each item or usage in comedies is divided by the comedy parameter (2.7). Only once this correction has been applied is the incidence of lexical items and semantic usages in poetic or prose texts are calculated. In addition, the immediate contexts of occurrences in comedies are examined individually.[42] For example, in EL the noun *hasta* (*ann.* 144, 173, 266, 356, 395, 410, 528, and *trag.* 149 and 165) occurs sixteen times out of twenty-three in poetic texts, yielding a poetic incidence of 69.57%, which does not meet the threshold for a significant synchronic distribution. However, since *hasta* appears six times in comedy, applying the comedy parameter reduces these occurrences to 6/2.7=2.22. On this adjusted basis, the poetic incidence of *hasta* rises to 87.8%, thereby exceeding the threshold for significance. No other genre

[41] It is true that certain contexts and metrical positions were perceived as particularly suitable to stylised items and usages, but this does not imply that every item or usage occurring in such contexts or positions should *ipso facto* be regarded as stylised.

[42] Items and usages that recur frequently in comedies tend not to be confined to a single type of context and may therefore be treated as reflecting a broadly neutral register. In such cases, detailed assessment of individual immediate contexts is not required. The comedy parameter is not applied when the scrutiny of occurrences is extended to CL as the predominance of comedies in the modern corpus of texts pertains exclusively to EL.

exhibits a comparable quantitative disproportion within the EL corpus; accordingly, no additional corrective parameters are introduced.

This test does not take diachronic distribution into account, since, as noted above (p. 4), what counts as standard – and consequently as stylised – language varies over time. For example, across VOL, EL, and CL, the lexical item *uinum* (*ann*. 288, 367, and 549) occurs approximately 83.33% of the time in prose. This figure, however, is skewed by the extensive use of the term in specialised prose texts by CL authors such as Columella and Pliny. When only VOL and EL are considered, the proportion of prose attestation falls to 67.18%. Consequently, in the *Annals* the lexical item *uinum* cannot be regarded as exhibiting prose stylisation.

The limitations of relying on diachronic distribution tests are even more striking in the identification of archaisms. An item or usage that is predominantly attested in EL and is for this reason deemed archaic from a CL perspective is not necessarily archaic within EL itself.[43] For example, *postilla* (*ann.* 40) is attested mainly in EL (twenty-one out of twenty-five occurrences overall, with one in Catullus and three in Fronto), yet it appears to have been neutral in that period (cf. Skutsch (1985) 198), despite being less frequent than its synonym *postea*.[44] By contrast, EL archaisms are more reliably identified through synchronic distribution tests, since archaisms function as stylising features and tend to occur in marked contexts. Thus *quianam* (*ann.* 121, and 246) appears exclusively in formal or elevated settings, such as speeches addressed to or involving deities (Naev. *carm. frg.* 15: Acc. *trag.* 583; and probably Enn. *ann.* 246, cf. Skutsch (1985) 429-430), the appeal to halt the battle between the Roman and Alban armies in the episode of the Horatii and Curiatii (Enn. *ann.* 121), and a highly stylised passage of uncertain context in Naevius, possibly

[43] Cf. e.g. Chahoud (2018) 133, Maltby (2023) 270-71.
[44] Ennius attests *postilla* twice (once in the *Annals* and once in tragedies) and *postea* twice (once in tragedies and once in the *Epicharmus*), Plautus has eleven occurrences *postilla*, and forty-five of *postea*; while Terence attests six instances of *postilla* and eleven of *postea*. Only in Cato's *de Agri Cultura* does *postea* clearly predominate (sixty-eight occurrences of *postea* and one uncertain instance of *postilla*).

from his *Satires*[45] (Naev. *carm. frg.* 61 *quianam Saturnium populum pepulisti*; note the high-register adjective *Saturnium* and the alliterative pairing *populum pepulisti*).[46]

Lexical items and semantic usages that fall below the 80% threshold for significant distribution fail test 1a and are subsequently subjected to test 1b (low frequency). By contrast, items and usages that pass test 1a proceed to test 2a (word-formation pattern) if they are lexical items, to test 2b (non-fossilised use) if they are semantic usages.

Test **1b (low frequency)** assesses overall rarity of lexical items and semantic usages in inscriptions and literary texts from VOL, EL, and CL, again excluding metalinguistic contexts. LL is excluded, owing to substantial changes in lexicon, syntax, and semantics that became widespread in this period (cf. OLD v-vi and Fredouille (1996) 22-23).[47] An item or usage is classified as having "low frequency", and thus passes the test, if it occurs ten times or fewer in the extant texts – a threshold, which, once again, is adopted for practical reasons and acknowledged as arbitrary. For example, the adverb *concorditer* (*ann.* 101) is attested only seven times within the aforementioned corpus and therefore passes test 1b. Lexical items and semantic usages that fail this test proceed to test 1c (glosses), whereas lexical items that pass advance to test 2a (word-formation patterns) and semantical usages that pass proceed to test 2b (non-fossilised use).

Test **1c (glosses)** draws on linguistic discussions of the item or usage in later Latin sources from any period. In this case, texts from LL and metalinguistic contexts, such as glosses, are included in the scrutiny, regardless of whether they contain an explicit quotation or allusion to the specific occurrence in question or not. If such sources identify the item or usage as stylised, it passes the test; otherwise, it fails. This test has proved to be of limited effectiveness, as it has identified only

[45] Cf. Maltby and Slater (2022) 312-3.
[46] Skutsch (1985) 274 argues that the word was already archaic in Plautus. Indeed, *quianam* does not occur in Plautus' comedies, whereas *quidnam* appears sixteen times. *Quianam* is also used in formal contexts in CL (Verg. *Aen.* 5.13 and 10.6).
[47] An interesting aspect of LL linguistic change is the occurrence in EL and LL of certain linguistic features that are absent from, or rare in, CL, whatever the underlying cause may be (either a "karstic" layer of the language attested in EL, subsequently suppressed in the more refined Latin of the Classical period and re-emerging in LL, or a revival/recoinage in LL of forms that were attested in EL and had fallen out of use in CL). On this topic, cf. Adams and Vincent (2016).

one clearly stylised lexical item (*genitalis* at *ann.* 110) and one clearly stylised semantic usage (*faueo* in the sense of "keep silent" in *ann.* 426). The former is explicitly described as a word coined by Ennius in Cic. *de orat*. 3.155,[48] while the latter is traced to the technical language of religion in Sen. *dial.* 7.26.7.[49]

Indeed, ancient and late-antique commentators are not always reliable or informative for our purposes.[50] For example, the remark in SD *Aen.* 1.6 concerning the adjective *cascus* (*ann*. 22 *quam Prisci, casci populi, tenuere Latini*) is of limited reliability.[51] Servius reports that Safeius believed the *casci* to have been the earliest inhabitants of Latium and derived their name either from their caution (*cauentes*) or from dwelling in caves (*in cauis*).[52] Instead, as Varro (*ling*. 7.28-29) more plausibly argues, *cascus* is a synonym of *uetus* with the same etymology as Oscan *casnar*.[53] Similarly, a note such as […] *'campso, campsas' solebant uetustissimi dicere. Ennius in X 'Leucatan campsit'* (Prisc. *GL* 2.541.12-17) offers limited insight into the state of the word *campso* in EL, since it merely indicates that the word was perceived as very old-fashioned in Priscian's own time. Indeed, the use of the verb *solebant* suggests that Priscian regarded the term as standard Latin among earlier writers, rather than as a marked archaism in Ennius himself. Moreover, the absence of explicit marking as stylised in ancient or late-antique sources does not necessarily imply that an item or usage was not perceived as such. For instance, the word *aethra* (*ann*. 416), attested exclusively in poetry in EL and CL, may reasonably be regarded as a case of poetic stylisation, even though no ancient source explicitly labels it as such.[54]

For these reasons, test 1c constitutes the final test of the first stage. Lexical items and semantic usages that fail this test are excluded from further consideration, whereas lexical items that pass

[48] *Sed saepe uel sine coniunctione uerba nouantur ut "ille senius desertus", ut "di genitales"*. However, Skutsch (1985) 262 argues that confirming or rejecting Cicero's claim is ultimately impossible.
[49] *Hoc uerbum* [scil. *faueo*] *non, ut plerique existimant, a fauore trahitur, sed imperat silentium, ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla uoce mala obstrepente*.
[50] Cf. e.g. Coleman (1999) 26, and Chahoud (2023) 353.
[51] Skutsch (1985) 182 defines it as an 'autoschediasma'.
[52] […] *quoniam in cauis montium uel occultis cauentes sibi a feris beluis uel a ualentioribus uel a tempestatibus habitauerint Cascei uocati sunt.*
[53] Cf. ThLL *s.u.* 3.512.39-40; Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 183-184, and *s.u. canus* 168-169; Negri (1993) 204.
[54] Serv. *Aen.* 3.585 explains its meaning, and Gloss. 5.3.11 provides both its meaning and grammatical gender.

proceed to test 2a (word-formation patterns) and semantical usage that pass advance to test 2b (non-fossilised use).

5.2. Second Stage: Tests 2a and 2b

Test **2a (word-formation pattern)** applies exclusively to lexical items and examines those displaying particular word-formation patterns. If an item displays a somewhat peculiar formation pattern, it passes the test and proceeds to test 3; otherwise, it fails and is subjected to test 2b (non-fossilised use).

This test also provides an initial assessment of the degree of stylisation exhibited by the lexical item under consideration. Lexical items displaying peculiar formation patterns – which are consistently treated here as stylised – may nevertheless differ in the extent of their stylisation, ranging from standard to uncommon or high-register formation patterns. Items formed according to widely attested patterns exhibit a lower degree of stylisation. For example, the English term "metrosexual", coined by analogy with the neutral "heterosexual", is less stylised than the verb "to grok", used in computer-programming jargon to mean "fully understand", coined by R.A. Henlein in his novel *Stranger in a Strange Land* and denoting a concept from a fictional Martian language. The degree of stylisation associated with word-formation patterns may also vary over time. Patterns that originate in a different language may initially highly marked, but may become progressively less stylised through widespread use (e.g. the suffix "-ise/-ize" in modern English).

Two of the most frequent macro-categories of word-formation patterns in Latin are derivation and compounding. Latin exhibits a wide range of derivational patterns, a comprehensive survey of which lies beyond the scope of the present introduction.[55] By contrast, the creation of new words

[55] Cf. Leumann (1977) 286-382, Fruyt (2011) 157-166, and Adams (2013) 528-581, for nouns and adjectives; Leumann (1977) 539-566, and Fruyt (2011) 166-175, for verbs; Leumann (1977) 499-502, Fruyt (2011) 166, and Maltby (2023) 268-269, for adverbs.

through compounding (especially nominal compounds)[56] is a feature particularly characteristic of EL poetry.[57] Oniga (1988) 87-136 identifies nine main categories of nominal compounding patterns. As every artificially coined term, Latin compounds may likewise display varying degrees of stylisation depending on the productivity and frequency of the underlying pattern.

For example, although *doctiloquus* is attested in EL and CL only at Enn. *ann.* 593 and CIL 6.7946 (a poetic funerary inscription from the first half of the second century AD, exhibiting a substandard variety of Latin), it displays a relatively low degree of stylisation. This is because it is formed according to a common word-formation pattern (Oniga's category 1B): an adjective consisting of a noun combined with a deverbative morpheme and the suffix *-o*/*-a* (Oniga (1988) 88). In EL, compounds of this type occur approximately 48.66% of the time in comedy, 45.3% in poetic texts, and 6.04% in prose,[58] thus showing no significant synchronic distribution. Compounds in *-loqu-* (corresponding to the Greek -λογ-) in particular are frequent in Plautus[59] and later Christian authors.[60] They are not, however, confined to comic language, as they also appear in tragedy: Acc. 694 (*fallaciloquae malitiae*) and *trag. inc.* 114 (*num non uis huius me uersutiloquas malitias*).[61] Rather, such compounds seem to be typically employed in contexts of reprimand, insult, ironic praise, or enumerations of conventionally negative qualities, although the context of *ann.* 593 *oratores doctiloqui* is unknown. Nevertheless, the context of *ann.* 593 remains unclear and no intention to disparage or ridicule the orators' persuasive abilities can be safely inferred. Accordingly, *doctiloquus* does not clearly exhibit a context-specific or uncommon word-formation

[56] Cf. Puccioni (1944) 375 and 430 and Oniga (1988) 41.
[57] Cf. Grenier (1912) 16-17, Puccioni (1944) 377, Oniga (1988), 11, and Fruyt (2002) 259-287.
[58] For all these data, the comedy parameter is applied.
[59] *Amph.* 379, *Bacch.* 1173, *Capt.* 264, *Cist*. 122 and 149, *Mil*. 191 and 318, *Persa* 514, *Pseud.* 794, *Trin.* 200, 201 and 769, and *Truc*. 864. Puccioni (1944) 414 suggests that such compounds are used exclusively by characters speaking in a quasi-tragic style; closer inspection, however, does not support this claim. Moreover, at p. 717, he specifies that *confidentiloquus* (*Trin.* 200) does not belong to the mock-tragic register, while offering no comment on *mendaciloquus* (*Trin.* 201). This distinction remains unclear to me, especially since both compounds occur in the same passage and are used by the same character.
[60] Cf. Burton (2000) 131 and n. 6, and Pezzini (2016) 20.
[61] After application of the comedy parameter, the item occurs in comedy only 57.59% of the time.

pattern and should therefore not be regarded as a lexical item displaying a high degree of stylisation.

By contrast, *imbricitor* (in *ann.* 433 referring to the wind Auster, cf. Skutsch (1985) 594) follows an unusual word-formation pattern (Oniga's type 1F), which yields unnecessarily long and morphologically complex compounds.[62] Normally, compounds formed from a nominal or adjectival stem combined with a verbal stem express the meaning of a *nomen agentis* without requiring an additional *-tor* suffix (e.g. *agricola* means *qui colit agrum*).[63] Given the rarity of this word-formation pattern, the degree of stylisation exhibited by *imbricitor* is therefore higher than that of *doctiloquus*.

Similarly, nominal compounds consisting of a nominal or adjectival stem as the first element and a present participle as the second – attested seven times in the *Annals* and four times in the tragedies – follow a context-specific word-formation pattern (Oniga's type 1D, Oniga (1988) 93) and therefore represent lexical items exhibiting a high degree of stylisation. Such compounds are characteristic of elevated poetic genres, and their formal colouring is generally attributed to the adjectival present participle.[64] Although compounds of this type first appear in Naevius, Ennius made extensive use of them,[65] while authors of comedies adopted them largely for mock-tragic effect.[66] Ennius' use of these compounds is clearly stylised: all eleven attestations in the *Annals* and the tragedies occur in formal passages and/or occupy emphatic metrical positions, with seven appearing at line end.[67] In the *Annals*, *bipatens* (*ann.* 52) qualifies the sky, a domain often associated with divinities; *altiuolans* (*ann.* 76) refers to the augural birds involved in the auspices for Rome's foundation; *bellipotens* and *sapientipotens* (*ann.* 198) create a striking antithesis within

[62] Cf. Oniga (1988) 96. At p. 252, he lists only twelve compounds of this type in his entire corpus.
[63] Skutsch (1985) 594) suggests that *imbricitor* may be based on the Greek words ὀμβροτόκος or ὀμβροφόρος, which would imply that the word-formation pattern is foreign and not naturalised into Latin.
[64] Cf. Puccioni (1944) 412 and 424, Barchiesi (1962) 381-382, Wackernagel (2009[3]), 366, and Maltby (2023) 259. Fraenkel (2007[3]) 139-141 focuses on their parodic use by Plautus. Oniga (1988) 299 provides a quantitative overview of their distribution.
[65] Cf. Puccioni (1944) 423, Barchiesi (1962) 381-382, and Oniga (1988) 93.
[66] Cf. Oniga (1988) 299 and Fraenkel (2007[3]) 139-141.
[67] Puccioni (1944) 424 observes that the oblique cases of such compounds are metrically well suited to the clausula of a hexameter.

the line (*bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes*); *suauiloquens* (*ann.* 304) describes a distinguished orator in complimentary terms;[68] and *omnipotens*[69] (*ann.* 447) and *altitonans* (*ann.* 554) are applied to Jupiter. In the tragedies, *ueliuolans* (*trag.* 45) occurs in Cassandra's prophecy of the arrival of the destructive Greek fleet at Troy; *signitenens* (*trag.* 97) forms part of Andromache's elaborate address to Night (*quae caua caeli / signitenentibus conficis bigis*), a stereotypical tragic scene (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 254); *omnipotens* (*trag.* 150) appears in a fragment of obscure context that nonetheless contains other stylised elements (*ted* and *fuat*; cf. pp. 15-6); and *quadrupedans* (*trag.* 169) is used in the formal description of the Chariot of the Sun, in a passage that also includes poeticisms such as *sublime* and, most probably, *halitantes*. Taken together, these examples confirm that this type of compound exhibits consistently a high degree of stylisation.

Unlike test 2a, test **2b (non-fossilised use)** applies to both lexical items and semantic usages. This test examines items and usages that have been identified as significant for their synchronic distribution or low frequency, or that have been flagged by ancient and late-antique commentators, within their immediate linguistic context in Ennius' corpus. Its purpose is to determine whether such items and usages are embedded in a fossilised pattern (such as fixed phrases or conceptual metaphors) or whether they occur in non-fossilised contexts. Items and usages that belong to fossilised patterns are excluded from further analysis, as they do not reflect any specific stylisation.

For example, in EL the adverb *undique* is attested predominantly in poetic texts (87.1% of the occurrences, after application of the comedy parameter). However, expressions such as *undique conueniunt* (*ann.* 144) and *undique concurrunt* (*ann.* 391) recur across different genres and contexts. Consequently, the use of *undique* at *ann.* 144 and 391 does not reflect poetic stylisation, and these occurrences are excluded from further analysis. By contrast, in *ann.* 394 *undique nitendo*

[68] Skutsch (1985) 482 argues that *suauiloquens* was selected instead of *suauiloquus* for purely metrical reasons. However, *suauiloquens* follows a high-register word-formation pattern, whereas *suauiloquus* reflects a standard one; the former may therefore have been chosen to lend dignity to a distinguished orator such as Marcus Cornelius Cethegus.
[69] However, *omnipotens* is not considered as stylised in my thesis because it exhibits neither a significant synchronic distribution nor a low frequency.

corpus discerpere ferro and *trag.* 252 *teneor consaepta, undique uenor, undique* is not embedded in similar fixed phrases. These occurrences therefore pass test 2b.

The use of a fixed phrase that occurs predominantly within the same type of context, however, reflects some degree of stylisation. Such fixed phrases are treated as a stylised lexical unit. For example, although neither the word *uirile* nor *secus* (as attested in *Euh. fr.* 3) displays any significant synchronic distribution or low-frequency when considered in isolation, nor is either item glossed as stylised in ancient sources, nevertheless, the fixed expressions *uirile secus* and *muliebre secus* recur exclusively in prose texts, specifically in contexts characterised by a bureaucratic register. When treated as a single lexical unit, therefore, the expression *uirile secus* passes test 2b.

Variations of fixed phrases are likewise treated as stylised. For example, the phrase *cruciatu perbitere* at *trag.* 178, which features the high-register *perbito* and recurs only in high-register contexts in Plautus and Ennius, is a stylised variation of the common formula *cruciatu perire* (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 314). Similarly, the expressions *liberum quaesendum causa* at *trag.* 112 and *liberorum quaesendum gratia* at *trag.* 132 constitute otherwise unattested (hence, stylised) variations of the more common formula *liberorum quaerendorum causa* (and slightly more stylised variants featuring *liberum, quaerundorum, quaerundum,* and *gratia*) which employ the high-poetic *quaeso*. A further example is *noctu concubia* of *ann.* 227-8, a variation of the more usual phrase *nox concubia*. Such modifications of fixed phrases are interpreted as stylised attempts to convey the meaning of otherwise commonplace expressions while elevating the register. Accordingly, they pass test 2b.

Similarly to items and usages embedded in fixed expression, those occurring within conceptual metaphors – that is, metaphors consistently entrenched in everyday language and associated with commonplace concepts (e.g. the sentence "wasting time" in modern English[70] or *caput* used for the extremity of an object, as in *ann.* 511 *capitibus nutantis pinos rectosque cupressos*, cf. ThLL *s.u.*

[70] Cf. Prandi and Rossi (2022) 3.

408.39 and ff.) – are treated as instances of fossilised usage. Lexical items, and especially semantic usages, occurring within such metaphors are therefore excluded from further analysis.

5.3. Third Stage: Test 3

The third stage of the algorithm consists solely of test **3 (equivalence test)**, which determines whether a specific item or usage reflects a deliberate choice over a neutral alternative and therefore constitutes stylisation. By neutral alternative I mean a term or phrase – already attested in EL – that conveys a similar meaning to the potentially stylised item or usage while exhibiting neither a significant synchronic distribution nor low frequency and is not considered as stylised by ancient and late-antique commentators. In the case of poetic texts, a valid neutral alternative must be metrically compatible with the verse form in question, even if its use requires some degree of rephrasing. Finally, a neutral alternative is not considered valid if it already occurs in the same passage, or if a cognate form occurs there. If an item or usage admits at least one such alternative, it passes the test; otherwise, it fails.

The equivalence test adopted here is based on Hine's synonym test (2005) 221, which has since been widely applied.[71] For a word to pass Hine's test, it must have a clear synonym in Latin; if no such synonym exists, the item fails the test. Passing the synonym test suggests an intentional choice motivated by stylistic considerations, whereas failure points to a constrained use resulting from the absence of viable alternatives. Hine's original analysis focuses on poetic vocabulary in Seneca's works, comparing the language of his tragedies with earlier poetic and prose texts. For instance, the word *adamas*, which occurs fifteen times in pre-Senecan poetry but never in pre-Senecan prose, is not regarded as inherently poetic, since it lacks a clear synonym: prose writers simply had no occasion to refer to diamonds. Therefore, its use in Sen. *dial.* 2.3.5 is not deemed as an instance of poetic stylisation.

[71] Cf. e.g. de Melo (2010a) 86, Gaertner and Hausburg (2013) 55, and Pezzini (2016) 34-35.

However, whereas Hine's test asks whether a particular item in Seneca's prose had a non-poetic alternative in earlier prose, the equivalence test proposed here askss whether Ennius could have expressed the same semantic concept by means of different phrasing that avoids stylised lexical items or semantic usages. This difference implies two adjustments. First, the corpus of pre-Ennian literature is too limited to permit a systematic search for neutral alternatives. Accordingly, the corpus considered by the equivalence test is extended to the entirety of the EL literary and epigraphic record. For example, a neutral alternative to *circumsaepio* (*Euh. fr*. 5), which is attested exclusively in prose, is *cingo*. The verb *cingo* is attested in EL, exhibits nether a significant synchronic distribution nor low frequency, and is not characterised as stylised by later sources. By contrast, a word that is either unattested[72] in EL or not unmarked during this period is not regarded as a valid alternative. Thus, *lucifer* cannot be considered a valid alternative to the poetic word *iubar* attested in *ann*. 571 *interea fugit albus iubar Hyperionum cursum*, since it is not attested before Cicero and, in any case, is likewise predominantly associated with poetry.

Secondly, unlike Hine's synonym test, which seeks previously attested prose synonyms in order to determine whether a lexical item is intrinsically poetic, the equivalence test proposed here aims to assess the stylistic markedness of Ennius' lexical choices within their immediate contexts. Rather than requiring an exact synonym that semantically overlaps with the selected word or phrase in every context, it asks whether the concept expressed by a potentially stylised item could instead have been conveyed by a lexically unmarked alternative available in EL. Accordingly, the test admits not only strict synonyms but also contextually appropriate near-synonyms (e.g. *telum* for *hasta* at *ann*. 173, 266, 356, 395, 410, 528), hypernyms (e.g. *sacerdos* for *fictor* at *ann.* 115), and the tenours of tropes (e.g. *auriga* for *gubernator* at *ann*. 465), provided that they adequately convey the intended meaning in the passage.[73] The question, therefore, is not whether two words are interchangeable in all contexts, but whether Ennius could plausibly have chosen a stylistically

[72] In some cases, the alternative may not be attested in EL, but its circulation can be reasonably inferred from the attestation of a derivative form.
[73] Hine himself (2005) 221 and n. 32 expresses reservations about a strict application of his own test.

neutral alternative in the context under consideration. This modification reflects the different purpose of the equivalence test and allows it to be applied more broadly, particularly to phrases and longer linguistic units, for which synonymy necessarily decreases, as well as to certain specific categories of lexical items and semantic usages.

First, lexical items and semantic usages belonging to specialised languages (i.e. technicisms) are treated as stylised.[74] Such items often lack direct synonyms owing to their semantic precision, but may admit less precise alternatives, such as near-synonyms or hypernyms (Grygiel (2017) 4). Moreover, technicisms in literary texts frequently acquire broader or less technical meanings. For example, *ratis* is often employed more loosely than its strict sense of "raft" (De Meo (2005[3]) 18-9). Even when used with their precise technical meaning, such terms may be unnecessary for comprehension in a literary context, and thus constitute stylisation. For instance, in *ann.* 512 *multa foro ponet et agea. longa repletur*, the description of a ship being loaded to such an extent that even the central gangway – normally kept clear to facilitate the sailors' movements (*agea*, cf. De Meo (2005[3]) 257) – is filled does not require the technical term *agea* for the passage to be intelligible. The line would remain comprehensible if *agea* were replaced by a less specific alternative denoting another part of the ship, such as *transtrum* or *forus* (De Meo (2005[3]) 257), or even by a more general and stylistically neutral reference to the ship itself.

Secondly, calques and borrowings that have not become fully standardised in the target language – namely, those still confined to specific genres or contexts, or characterised by low frequency – are consistently treated as stylised. Ancient authors frequently employed such stylised calques and loanwords to evoke exotic or foreign worlds (Maltby (1985) 113-117; Adams (2003) 303). This applies both to calques and loanwords for which an indigenous equivalent exists (*Luxuslehnwörter*) and to those for which no such alternative is available (*Bedürfnislehnwörter*). In the former case, the corresponding native term constitutes the neutral alternative; in the latter, a

[74] Their use outside specialised technical languages possesses an evocative force that implies a degree of stylisation (cf. Beccaria (1973) 17-18 and De Meo (2005[3]) 13-15).

periphrastic reformulation of the sentence fulfils this function.[75] In other words, any calque or borrowing that has not been fully integrated into the target language passes test 3, since its use implies a deliberate lexical choice motivated by stylistic considerations. For example, as Sedley (1999) 237 observes, replacing the Greek loanword *scymni* with the Latin *catuli* – as proposed by Bailey (1947) 139 – to denote the cubs of lions and panthers in Lucr. 5.1036 would have diminished the evocative force of the passage.

Among Ennius' works, the *Annals* display this type of this stylistic technique most prominently, especially in relation to foreign warfare, political institutions, and social structures. One such example is the word *meddix* (cf. p. 83), which is attested three times in Livy, once in Ennius (*ann.* 289 s*ummus ibi capitur meddix, occiditur alter*), and three times in *tituli operum* from Samnium (CIL 1.3208 and 1.3259, and SE 42.365).[76] Ennius employs *meddix* in conjunction with the adjectives *summus* and *alter*, which correspond to *tuticus* (i.e. *publicus*) and *minor* respectively – Latin renderings of the Oscan titles **meddi^{e}s tu^{o}vti^{e}ks**[77] and **minive**.[78] These terms designate the two highest office-holders in Oscan society (Weinstock (1931) 26-29; Skutsch (1985) 467-468). Although Samnium was not perceived as an particularly exotic region, the term *meddix* was probably unfamiliar to most Romans and thus carried a certain degree of stylisation.[79]

Furthermore, in certain cases, the omission of a stylised item or usage may itself constitute its neutral alternative, provided that the omitted element is not necessary for the comprehension of the passage. This applies to ornamental adjectives and interjections, whose use is best explained by stylistic or pragamatic motivation despite the absence of clear neutral alternatives. For example, the adjective *canus* applied to waves (*ann.* 505 *labitur uncta carina per aequora cana celocis*) is attested predominantly in poetic texts (87.5% of the times). Although EL lacks a fully neutral

[75] Cf. Sedley (1999) 237 on borrowings and Adams (2003) 404 on code-switching.
[76] For a possible interpretation of SE 42.365, see Crawford et al. (2011) 1.261-2.
[77] Cf. Conway (1897) 82.
[78] Cf. Conway (1897) 120. The interpretation of the inscription discussed there is, however, not entirely secure (cf. Weinstock (1931) 28.47-56).
[79] In two of his three attestations of *med*(*d*)*ix* (23.35.13 and 26.6.13), Livy – who spells it with a single ⟨d⟩ – provides an explanation of the term, which suggests that it was unfamiliar at least to his readership.

adjective meaning "white", the description of the waves as *cana* is semantically superfluous in this context and instead serves to elevate the register of the line, thereby contributing to its poetic stylisation. However, determining whether an adjective is purely ornamental is not always straightforward and must therefore be assessed on a case-by-case basis. Accordingly, some adjectives may admit divergent interpretations. By contrast, interjections are more readily identifiable. As in the case of ornamental adjectives, their presence is semantically unnecessary (cf. *eho* in *trag*. 309-10 *eho tu: di quibus est potestas motus superum atque inferum / pacem inter sese conciliant, conferunt concordiam*). Rather, their function inherently pragmatic, and their use contributes to stylisation by importing features of conversational language into the text. For these reasons, ornamental adjectives and interjections are treated as stylised in general, and their omission may be regarded as a valid neutral alternative.

In contrast, "unique words" lack neutral equivalents and cannot be omitted from the text without compromising intelligibility. They therefore fail the equivalence test. For example, *proletarius*[80] at *ann.* 170-1 *proletarius publicitus scutisque feroque / ornatur ferro* can neither be omitted nor replaced with a viable equivalent without altering the sense of the passage. Consequently, it fails test 3 as a "unique word".

In poetic texts, valid equivalents must be metrically compatible with the verse form in question.[81] For instance, the expression *ter quattuor*, attested only at *ann*. 88, appears to be employed because Ennius needed to express the number twelve – the number of vultures seen by Romulus – but could not use the standard numeral *dŭŏdĕcim* for metrical reasons. Consequently, *ter quattuor* fails test 3. For the purpose of this test, metrically valid alternatives are understood as those that can be accommodated within the verse, even if this requires some degree of rephrasing. This constraint applies in particular to the hexameters of the *Annals*, whereas the greater prosodic

[80] The word passes test 1b as a low-frequency item. Apart from its occurrence in *ann.* 170 and in metalinguistic contexts, *proletarius* appears only seven additional times in Latin. All nine occurrences of *proletarius* in Gell. 16. 10 are not considered because they occur within either quotations from previous authors or metalinguistic discussion (Gellius devotes extensive attention to this social class and its conduct).

[81] Cf. e.g. Goldberg (2023) 279 on the relationship between metrical constraints and stylistic choices in saturnian verse.

flexibility of tragic metres allows for a wider range of metrical adaptations, such as quantity substitutions and resolutions.

Finally, a neutral alternative cannot be considered valid if it (or a cognate form) occurs within the same passage as the stylised item or usage. This proviso follows from the rationale underlying the equivalence test: Ennius could not have expressed the same concept in a stylistically neutral manner without repeating the same item or usage within a short stretch of text. For example, *pater* cannot serve as a valid neutral alternative for the lexical item *genitor*, which is attested exclusively in poetic texts in EL, in *ann.* 108 *o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum!*, since its substitution would result in an undesired repetition. Similarly at *ann.* 177, *consterno* is used in the extremely rare sense of "chop down" (attested only three times across EL and CL; cf. ThLL *s.u.* 509.16-24). Although *subuorto* might constitute a neutral semantic equivalent, it cannot function as such in this context, as the cognate verb *peruorto* occurs in the immediately following line.[82]

Lexical items and semantic usages for which an alternative satisfying all these criteria can be identified – namely, broad semantic equivalence, subject to the provisos outlined above; neutrality in EL; and metrical compatibility – pass test 3 and are subjected to individual analysis. These analyses determine whether the potentially stylised items and usages are indeed stylised and, if so, identify the specific type of stylisation involved. All other items and usages fail test 3 and are excluded from further investigation.

[82] *Ann.* 175-9 displays an extended accumulation of verbs meaning "chop down" (*caedo*, *percello*, *excido*, *frango*, *consterno*, and *peruorto*), alongside a series of different tree species that would normally do not coexist in the same environment (oak, holm-oak, ash, fir, and pine), and the repetition of velars, sibliants, and rhotic phonemes. The piling up of near-synonymous verbs and of sound effects evoking the act of felling and the crashing of trees contribute to an impressionistic representation of the destruction of the forest, at the expense of semantic precision and botanical accuracy.

5.4. Final Stage: Individual Analyses

Items and usages that pass this series of tests are subsequently subjected to **individual analyses**. The purpose of these analyses is to determine whether the item or usage is indeed stylised and, if so, to identify the specific type of stylisation involved.

For example, *credo*, attested at *ann.* 372 *ne bellum faciam, quem credidit esse meum cor / suasorem summum et studiosum robore belli*, passes test 1a as a lexical item predominantly attested in conversational contexts, test 2b insofar as it is not embedded in a fixed phrase or conceptual metaphor, and test 3 because it admits a neutral alternative, such as *puto*. Nevertheless, it does not reflect conversational stylisation, since its high conversational incidence is instead largely attributable to its frequent occurrence in spoken incidental formulae such as *credo* and *crede mihi*, a usage that is not attested in *ann.* 372. The non-stylised character of *credo* in this passage can therefore be identified only through individual analysis.

These analyses also assess whether the stylisation is "in-text" (i.e. consistent with the stylistic register of the text) or "out-of-text" (i.e. it not aligned with the stylistic register of the text). For example, the language of the *Euhemerus* is generally simple and immediate: the lexical item *clanculum* (*fr.* 3), which is attested exclusively in low-register texts, therefore constitutes a case of in-text stylisation. By contrast, although the *Annals* employ a language that blends various registers, they nevertheless remain an epic poem; the lexical item *deinde* (*ann.* 488), which occurs in prose 87.75% of the time, represents an instance of out-of-text stylisation. This distinction is not applied systematically throughout the thesis, but is noted only where it is relevant to broader interpretative considerations.

In addition, individual analyses take into account the immediate context of specific lexical items and semantic usages within Ennius' corpus. In some cases, stylised lexical items and semantic usages occur as part of broader stylised clusters. In such instances, it is ultimately impossible to determine whether these items and usages were selected for their stylistic value or because their

phonetic or prosodic properties contribute to a larger stylised unit. Such clusters may involve figures of sounds – for example, the alliteration *saeuo saucia* in *trag.* 216 *Medea animo aegro amore saeuo saucia*, which includes the lexical item *saucius*, used in the context of love suffering, a semantic usage associated with poetry – or refined syntactic configurations, such as the paralleled structure in *ann.* 183 *nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis*, which contains the lexical item *posco* predominantly found in comedies, where it is associated with pedestrian demands (cf. pp. 94-5). In these cases, it is difficult to establish whether *saucius* reflects poetic stylisation *per se* or primarily because it is embedded in an alliterative pairing, and whether *posco* represents a low-register usage or rather a metrically convenient choice adopted to sustain the paralleled syntactic arrangement.

Finally, this stage of analysis also provides an opportunity to reassess items and usages that narrowly failed the purely quantitative tests of the first stage (synchronic distribution and low frequency) by a small margin (1% and one occurrence, respectively), thereby mitigating the inherent arbitrariness of the selected thresholds and for potential measurement errors.

5.5. Methodological Conclusions

The methodology adopted in this thesis does not claim to identify and categorise stylised lexical items and semantic usages in a definitive manner and is subject to certain limitations. In particular, the quantitative tests employed are intended primarily as a tool for the systematic screening of the evidence, and their results must be always interpreted through qualitative analysis. First, as already noted (cf. pp. 25 and 28), the thresholds adopted in the quantitative tests – the minimum of 80% of occurrences for test 1a, ten occurrences for test 1b, and four EL attestations for a reliable sample – are necessary but ultimately arbitrary. A more comprehensive and statistically rigorous investigation, which lies beyond the scope of the present thesis, would be required to determine significance on a less arbitrary basis. Secondly, despite the introduction of limited corrective measures (such as the “comedy parameter”; cf. pp, 26-7), the tests do not fully compensate for the

fact that the extant corpus of EL texts is both small and unevenly distributed across genres, with comedy in particular being disproportionately represented.

Furthermore, at the stage of individual analysis, a less mechanistic approach is adopted, drawing on existing scholarship as well as my own interpretative judgement. As a result, these analyses may admit alternative readings and remain open to debate. Finally, even where certain items or usages are clearly stylised, it is not always possible to determine the precise type of stylisation involved. In such cases, a residual category of items and usages is classified as exhibiting "doubtful stylisation".

With these provisos in mind, I now turn to the presentation of my findings on stylised lexicon and semantics across three distinct and internally coherent sets of fragments within Ennius' corpus. The *Annals*, despite an overarching high-poetic patina, display an inclusive lexicon and semantics, incorporating items and usages drawn from niche registers and specialised jargons. The tragedies in Greek dress, by contrast, serve as a showcase for a consistently high-register, "Romanised" language, largely devoid of borrowings, calques, technicisms, and items and usages associated with similarly varied registers. Finally, the *Euhemerus* is characterised by a simple prose style, marked by elements of low-register and largely lacking items and usages reflecting complex varieties of the language, including poetic and high-register stylisations as well as borrowings, calques, and technicisms.

The *Annals*

Lexicon

General Overview

This section aims to collect and analyse stylised lexical items in Ennius' *Annals*; these are words that have been identified as stylised on the grounds that they are infrequently attested in EL and CL, confined to specific genres or contexts, or glossed as stylised in some way. On this basis, I have identified 183 stylised lexical items in the *Annals*.[83] These items are organised according to two broad patterns of stylisation. The first pattern (1), "context of use", relates to the context in which items predominantly occur and comprises the categories of poetic, prose, archaic, and technical stylisation. The second pattern (2), "morphology and derivation", concerns items that exhibit peculiar or foreign word-formation patterns and is further subdivided into the categories of foreign (including calques and borrowings), uncommon, high-register, and standard word-formation patterns. Finally, stylised items that resist classification within these frameworks are grouped under the heading of "other and doubtful stylisation" (3).

Within the pattern "context of use", primary attention is given to the distribution of the occurrences of individual items, namely whether an item appears in poetry or prose, or in archaising

[83] Certain lexical items display a high frequency in specific contexts because they occur in embedded phrases, cliché situations, or with specialised meanings that are not reflected in their usage in the *Annals*. They are not therefore treated as stylised in this thesis. The high incidence of *aio*, *credo*, and *fateor* in conversational contexts is related to their occurrence in formulaic expressions of the spoken language like *quid ais, ain, aio, credo, crede mihi*, and *fateor*; that of *decet* to its use as a polite form of command; and that of *haud* to its use in litotes (cf. Ernout and Meillet 1959[4] *s.u.* 290), which occur in the extreme varieties of the sociolinguistic spectrum (Hofmann (1985[2]) 308), such as the registers of comedy and epic (cf. Axelson (1945) 91-92). This stands contra Risicato (1950) 99 and 101, who argues that the greater intensity of *haud* renders it more suitable for poetry than the more common *non*. The high frequency of *facesso* in conversational contexts is significantly influenced by seven occurrences of the verb in the legal sense of "depart", which is not the meaning in which *facesso* is used in *ann.* 57 (see also pp. 221-2); that of *hinc* and *intus* is connected with the prominence of deictics in dramatic genres (esp. comedies); that of *iam/iamne* reflects Plautus' extensive use of these forms in deliberative questions with indicative tenses (Karakasis (2005) 139 and 173-174); that of *miser* and *pereo* is attributable to their frequent use in dramatic (esp. comic) exaggerations of self-pity. The euphemistic use *miser* "sadly dead" in *ann.* 125 is less poetic than the data ThLL *s.u.* 1103.81-1104.12 might suggest, since they provide only a partial view of this semantic development (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4.20 and Isid. *orig.* 10.173 on its use in Cic. *Tusc.*). Similarly, although *amo* and *maledictum* may be regarded as the standard terms for "love" and "insult" respectively, they are predominantly attested in comedy because they denote themes primarily associated with that genre. The high prosaic incidence of *casus* is due to its frequent technical grammatical usage in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium.*

or technical contexts, in 80% or more of its attestations. However, additional considerations relating to an item's immediate context in the *Annals* or to its morphology are also taken into account. In some cases, the sheer distribution of the occurrences suggests a type of stylisation that is not borne out by the specific context under examination. For example, *hastatus* exhibits a significant prosaic synchronic distribution (92.86%), yet its occurrence at *ann.* 266 *hastati spargunt hastas. Fit ferreus imber* does not reflect prosaic stylisation. Rather, the term is likely employed to create an etymological figure with *hastas*, a device that is primarily poetic.[84] Accordingly, *hastatus*, despite its predmonintly prosaic distribution, is treated here as an instance of poetic stylisation.

The categories of poetic and prose stylisation are broadly intended and subsume items associated with a range of registers and genres. Nevertheless, a wider distinction between poetic and prose registers in Latin remains generally recognisable (cf. e.g. Adams and Mayer (1999) 2). The systematic introduction of further subdivisions according to individual poetic or prose genres and registers prose would result in a highly detailed but ultimately fragmented classificatory scheme which – although potentially useful for more narrowly focused analysis – would unduly burden the presentation of the findings of the present study. That said, occasional observations on the specific type of poetic or prose stylisation reflected by particular items or usages are provided where relevant. For instance, the use of *for* in the sense of "prophesy" at *ann.* 16 is described as high-poetic (cf. pp. 105-6), whereas the lexical items *societas* and *ciuitas*, attested at *trag.* 288 and 320 respectively, display an association with a bureaucratic register linked to the suffix *-i*(*e*)*tas* (cf. pp. 166-8).

By contrast, considerations on frequency and morphology are useful parameters in determining whether an item displays archaic stylisation. First, archaisms are lexical items that have fallen out of use in the standard contemporary language and are therefore, *ipso facto*, of low frequency. Secondly, outdated morphology may indicate that an item has been fossilised in an archaic form, as

[84] Untermann (1972) 235 includes *ann.* 266 among those lines that add no substantive information but function mere as displays of interlinguistic relationships ("innersprächlice Zusammenhängen").

in the case of the verb *indotueor* in *ann.* 66 *indotuetur ibi lupus femina, conspicit omnis* (but cf. n. 152 on this item). In addition, some archaisms are not employed to evoke an explicitly archaising atmosphere, but rather to "poeticise" the register through their rarity.

Finally, considerations of contextual distribution alone are insufficient for identifying items of technical stylisation, since – especially in EL – specialised texts exhibiting technical registers are extremely scarce, even though individual passages in literary works may contain expressions belonging to specific technical domains. In such cases, considerations on an item's semantics may assist in identifying technical stylisation, as with *portisculus* in *ann.* 295, which denotes the specific hammer used by the coxswain to regulate the rhythm of the oar strokes. In other instances, however, what appears technical to the modern reader may in fact have constituted standard language in EL, as is often the case with terms drawn from the language of warfare, which was far more pervasive in Roman society than in modern contexts (cf. De Meo (2005[3]) 197-8). Nevertheless, additional considerations relating to an item's semantics and frequency may still prove useful. First, technicisms tend to be items of obscure meaning and were therefore more likely to be glossed in Latin; secondly, they are typically of low frequency, especially given the paucity of technical texts in the EL corpus. In any case, no single diagnostic test allows for the unequivocal identification of technical stylisation, and alternative interpretations often remain possible.

The register of an item's context of use is not examined systematically, since a rigid final distinction between high and low register is problematic, and a more nuanced analysis would yield fragmentary results (cf. n. 35). Accordingly, the limited observations on register offered in the analysis of certain lexical items should be understood as *en passant* remarks rather than as the result of a systematic investigation. Nevertheless, some stylised items would risk being overlooked, if considerations of register were entirely disregarded.

For example, *diuus* and *prognatus*[85] are high-register items that do not display a specific significant distribution in poetry or prose or in one genre or context. They occur predominantly in poetry and in mock-formal contexts in comedy; in addition, *diuus* unsurprisingly also appears in dedicatory prose inscriptions.

By contrast, *puellus* in *ann.* 214, represents a case of intimate register. It is true that not all diminutives necessarily signal intimacy or colloquiality, especially when a diminutive has replaced its simplex form in common usage (e.g. *masculus* replacing *mas*) or has specialised semantically (e.g. *gemini* "twins" versus *gemelli* "newborn couplets") (cf. Ernout (1947) 67-70). However, *puellus* was still perceived as diminutive of *puer* (cf. Fest. 249 L), coined on the model of *puella* (cf. Priscian. GL 2.231.13), and never displaced *puer*. In all four EL attestations of *puellus* (Enn. *ann.* 214, *Poeni soliti suos sacrificare puellos*, Plaut. *Gem. len. frg.* 1, *dolet huic puello sese uenum ducier* Lucil. 4.173, *cumque hic tam formosus homo ac te dignus puellus*, and 11.425, *inde uenit Romam tener ipse etiam atque puellus*), the context is tender or intimate, in keeping with diminutive usage. In particular, at *ann.* 214, Ennius clearly aims to arouse pity for the Carthaginians' barbarian practice of sacrificing their own children.

Finally, at *ann.* 186, *era* – a term which, like its masculine counterpart *erus*, appears in EL almost exclusively in the speech of slaves in comedy and tragedy (cf. Pezzini (forthcoming)), as opposed to *dominus*, predominatly employed by freeborn speakers[86] – is used by Pyrrhus in reference to the goddess Fors. By doing so, Pyrrhus presents himself as a slave of Fortune, an act of humility and piety that contributes to his portrayal as an honourable enemy.[87]

[85] After considering historiography, oratory, prayers, laws, epic, and tragedy as representatives of high-register, and satires, comedy, Ennius' *Euhemerus*, and inscriptions as reflecting lower sociolinguistic varieties of the language, with particular attention paid to instances of mockery and imitation, *diuus* displays a high-register incidence of 87.5%, and *prognatus* of 95.45%.

[86] When used by slaves, *dominus* either denotes a "landlord" or serves phonetic purposes (cf. Köhm (1905) 162-167). In assessing the distribution and usage of *dominus* and *erus*, the rarity of the referential usage of *domine* and *domina* outside amatory or affectionate contexts should also be considred. This may have been related to the dehumanising effect that *domine* "owner" would have had when used to address the speaker's interlocutor, as opposed to *ere* "master" (cf. Dickey (2023) 77-109, esp. 78-81);"

[87] Cf. e.g. Fantham (2006) 559-60, Elliott (2007) 53, Fisher (2014) 90.

The second pattern, "morphology and derivation", involves the analysis of the structure, form, and variation in form of a word. Accordingly, this pattern focuses on lexical items that exhibit foreign roots or word-formation patterns, as well as on items displaying peculiar word-formation patterns. The former group includes borrowings and calques formed according to word-formation patterns typical of other languages (e.g. *gau, cael* and *do* mutuating a word-formation pattern found in Homer; cf. Bettini (1979) 21-25). Within this category, certain Graecisms that contribute to a poetic register rather than serving to evoke an exotic setting are classified as "poetic Graecisms (PG)". By contrast, technical loanwords are treated separately and classified as technicisms.

The latter group comprises items exhibiting uncommon, high-register, or standard word-formation patterns. Uncommon word-formation patterns are those that are only weakly productive; high-register word-formation patterns are those largely associated with high-poetic diction; and standard word-formation patterns are productive patterns attested across a range of texts and contexts. Accordingly, items displaying uncommon or high-register word-formation patterns are regarded as more highly stylised than those formed according to standard word-formation patterns. In assessing the productivity and distribution of a given word-formation pattern – namely, whether it should be classified as uncommon, high-register, or standard – I combine evidence from previous scholarship with frequency-based observations. Although extremely useful in principle, Pezzini's test, which evaluates word-formation patterns on the basis of their incidence among low-frequency words in the corpus of Terence,[88] cannot be applied to the specific case of the *Annals*. Terence's corpus is both larger in the sheer word count and composed of texts extant in their entirety, whereas the fragments of the *Annals* are relatively few and are often preserved because of their linguistic peculiarity. As a result, they do not provide a reliable sample of the poem's unmarked language, and peculiar word-formation patterns may be overrepresented. Consequently, even within the

[88] Cf. Pezzini (2023) 224-34. Pezzini seeks to identify word-formation patterns characteristic of EL. To this end, he compares his findings on the productivity of word-formation patterns in Terence with their incidence among low-frequency words in a corpus of Cicero's writings of comparable length.

stylisation pattern of morphology and derivation, no universally applicable sorting test is available, and individual items must ultimately be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

These categories, although broad and comprehensive, do not account for every type of stylisation exhibited by the items under consideration. Some lexical items, while clearly stylised, resist classification within these patterns. Such cases are therefore grouped under a residual category of "other and doubtful stylisation".

One final methodological note concerning the stylised lexicon and semantics of the *Annals* relates to direct speech, which contributes substantially to the variety and inclusivity of the poem's language. The language adopted in direct speech often reflects the speaker's role, profession, or social status, as well as individual character traits, emotional states, intentions, and the communicative context. Some features align with a character's social position rather than with the specific situation of utterance. This is the case, for example, with Ilia's adoption of an elevated register and religious technicisms in *ann.* 36-50, when she recounts her dream in a state of profound distress.[89]

By contrast, other stylised lexical items and semantic usages are more distinctively imitative and serve to characterise individual speakers. This applies, for instance, to Pyrrhus' aforementioned use of *era* at *ann.* 186 to refer to the goddess Fortune, a choice that contributes to portraying him as pious and honourable (cf. pp. 48 and 95). Still other features are primarily pragmatic and reflect the speaker's ability to adapt their language to the immediate context, such as the use of the straightforward pronoun *ecquis* in the shepherd's blunt request for a reward to Flamininus in exchange for his assistance (*ann.* 339) part of what may be regareded as a masterpiece of pragmatic and mimetic speech in the *Annals* (cf. Oddi (forthcoming)).

[89] These features may be regarded as instances of "linguistic characterisation". However, a full and systematic application of the categories of linguistic characterisation developed for Roman comedy (cf. Barrios-Lech (2016) *passim*) is not feasible, primarily because the *Annals* survive only in fragments and make less extensive use of stock characters.

Finally, some stylised features appear to reflect both stereotyped characterisation and contextual appropriateness. This is the case with the consistently high-register elements in the speech of the gods, which convey both the formality associated with divine utterance and the elevated nature of the contexts in which such speech occurs, such as *concilia deorum* or epiphanies.

Nevertheless, not all stylised features occurring in direct speech can be attributed to the speaker's idiolect or to the immediate context of the utterance; some are more plausibly understood as characteristic features of epic diction. For example, the poetic use of *cerno* in the sense of "fight" at *ann.* 185 is better interpreted as a high-poetic element typical of the epic genre rather than as a feature of Pyrrhus' speech. Interpreting it as character-specific would in fact conflict with Pyrrhus' portrayal in the *Annals* as a coarse yet honourable enemy.

The stylised lexical items and semantic usages that most clearly reflect the specific characterisation of a speaker or the immediate context of a speech are flagged throughout the thesis. However, the compilation of a systematic appendix listing all such items and usages would ultimately be impracticable. In a fragmentary work such as the *Annals*, it is not always possible to determine whether a given line originally belonged to direct speech or to narrative, and even where attribution to direct speech is secure, reconstructing the speaker's identity and the precise context of the utterance often presents a further, and sometimes insurmountable, difficulty.[90]

As with any classificatory framework of this kind, the distinctions adopted here should not be applied to rigidly. Certain items may plausibly fall into more than one stylisation category. Although I endeavour to flag cases with blurred boundaries as explicitly as possible, a certain degree of imprecision should be borne in mind throughout the analysis.

[90] For a more detailed discussion of the mimetic language of direct speech in the *Annals*, cf. Oddi (forthcoming).

1. Context of Use

As mentioned earlier (pp. 45-6), items in the first pattern of stylisation "context of use" are primarily identified through the scrutiny of the contexts of the occurrences of the items in EL (in EL and CL, whenever the item recurs less than four times in EL, which makes the sample of EL occurrences too limited). Items that are found in one specific context or genre for 80% of the times or more are likely to reflect a certain type of stylisation. For example, in EL, the lexical item *caelicola* (*ann.* 445 *optima caelicolum, Saturnia, magna dearum*) is found in poetic texts fifty-eight out of sixty times (96.67%). Accordingly, it may reflect poetic stylisation in *ann.* 445 too.

Some further case-by-case consideration on the immediate context of the fragment of the *Annals* can increase the accuracy of the analysis of the type of stylisation reflected by the item. This applies especially to items recurring in elaborate stylised structures reflecting an overall poetic stylisation, as in the aforementioned case of *hastatus* (cf. p. 46 and n. 108). Finally, considerations of morphology and semantics are also taken into account in the categories of archaic and technical stylisation, respectively.

1.1. Poetic Stylisation (Category AL 1.1)

In the *Annals*, the category of poetic stylisation is the most richly represented, comprising 63 items, reflecting a range of poetic registers. This accords with the expected stylising patina of the epic poem and thus constitutes a clear case of "in-text" stylisation. At the same time, the use of high-poetic elements in direct speech may serve to characterise the speaker's utterance (e.g. *genetrix* at *ann.* 58, cf. pp. 61-2) or mark particularly formal contexts (e.g. *aequipero* at *ann.* 133, cf. pp. 59-60). As noted above (cf. p. 34), altered fixed phrases are regarded as markers of "poetic stylisation" not in a strict sense as confined to poetic diction but rather as devices to distance the language from neutral register. They represent an attempt to elevate the register by avoiding the

commonplace wording of highly recurring formulae while preserving their meaning. This is the case with *noctu concubia* at *ann.* 227-8, in place of the more conventional expression *nox concubia*, used to denote the middle of the night, when all are asleep.

Table AL 1.1. Lexical Items of Poetic Stylisation in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in the *Annals*	First stage results[91]	Neutral alternative
aequipero	133	1a: poetry 4/6 (84.38%)	*adaequo*
aequor	124, 505	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*campus* (124), *mare* (505)
aeuum	307[92]	1a: poetry 4/5 (91.53%)	*uita*
aeuum dego	110-1	1a: poetry 8/10 (80%) CL	*uiuo*
aplustrum	608	1a: poetry 14/14 (100%)	*ornamentum*
aptus	27, 145, 333, 348	1a: poetry 12/15 (91.53%)	*iunctus*
auratus[93]	621	1a: poetry 5/8 (81.81%)	*ex auro*
caelicola	445	1a: poetry 58/60 (96.67%)	*diuus*
caerul(e)us	530[94]	1a: poetry 9/11	ornamental adjective[95]

[91] In all my tables, the "comedy parameter" is considered.
[92] *Aeuum* at *ann.* 110-1 is analysed as part of the stylised phrase *aeuum dego*.
[93] It is possible that in *ann.* 621 *olli creterri ex auratis hauserunt*, the poetic adjective *auratus* was chosen instead of the form *ex auro* in order to avoid repetition of the preposition *ex*.

		(92.4%)	
cano	207	1a: poetry 4/6 (84.38%)	*canto*[96]
carino[97]	458, 576	1b: 5 occurrences	*obtrecto*
celsus	408, 538	1a: poetry 10/12 (83.33%)	*altus*
clareo	365	1a: poetry 4/5 (80%) CL	*splendeo*
cohum[98]	558	1b: 1 occurrence	*caelum*
coma	349	1a: poetry 5/6 (93.1%)	*crines*
concutio	578[99]	1a: poetry 3/4 (89.01%)	*agito*
dius	19, 60, 106[100]	1a: poetry 36/41	*clarissimus*

[94] I have excluded *ann*. 48, 54, 127 and 378 because the combinations of *caerul*(*e*)*us* with sky, sea or meadows constitute fixed phrases (cf. André (1949) 334 and 358).

[95] When used of objects that are not intrinsically blue, *caerul*(*e*)*us* may be regarded as an ornamental adjective; its omission, therefore, may be interpreted as a neutral alternative.

[96] Although *cano* and *canto* are not always interchangeable, and *canto* may also carry frequentative nuances, in EL the latter is also attested in the sense of cano *across* a variety of contexts (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 287.69-75). It may therefore be regarded as a suitable neutral alternative for *cano* in *ann*. 207. Cf. also pp. 35-40.

[97] Both in *ann.* 458 *neque me decet hanc carinantibus edere cartis* and in *ann.* 576 *contra carinantes uerba atque oscena profatus*, *carino* occurs in alliterative phrases (*carinantibus … cartis* and *contra carinantes*, respectively). On a possible Greek derivation of the use of *carino* in *ann.* 576, see pp. 135-6.

[98] In *ann.* 558 the phrase *cohum caeli* conveys the same meaning as *caelum.* When referring to the natural element of the sky, Ennius frequently employs such periphrases – often alliterative (cf. Grilli (1965) 202) – as noted by Timpanaro (1998) 29-59. See also *caeli uasta* in *ann.* 264; *caua caeli* in *trag.* 96 and 250; *caeli plagae* in *trag.* 187; *caeli clipeus* in *trag.* 189; *caeli fornices* in *trag.* 319; *in corpore caua caerulo caeli cortina* in *trag*. 365-6; and *mundus caeli uastus* in *var*. 9. Of these expressions, only *caeli plagae* and *caeli uastum* lack clearly stylised lexicon items or semantic usages. The most neutral alternative to such periphrases is the simple term *caelum,* a solution which in any case is often adopted by Ennius (*ann.* 59, 88, 428, 545, 559, 572, *trag.* 13, 67, 185, 243, 387); in other instances *caelum* is mentioned, in enumerations together with earth and/or sea or in formulae such as *caelum stellis ardentibus/fulgentibus aptum* and *caelum cum ingentibus signis*). Accordingly, whenever these periphrases are analysed, the proposed neutral alternative is the simple word *caelum*.

[99] I have excluded *ann.* 431 because the only possible alternative to *concutio* in this line is *quatio*, which is likewise poetic.

[100] In *ann.* 19, *dius* is embedded in the alliterative pair *dia dearum*; in *ann.* 60 it may reflect the high-register utterance expected of a divine speaker, namely Venus; and in *ann.* 106 it may convey the formality of the prayer-homage addressed to the recently deified Romulus.

		(89.17%)	
effor	204[101]	1a: poetry 5/5 (100%)	*eloquor*
famul	148, 313	1a: poetry 6/10 (80.2%)	*seruus*
flamen	433	1a: poetry 64/67 (95.52%) CL[102]	*flatus*
flecto	200, 246	1a: poetry 8/10 (91.53%)	*auerto* (200), *muto* (246)
flumen	26, 163, 453	1a: poetry 6/7 (85.71%)	*amnis*[103]
fremitus[104]	179	1a: poetry 6/7 (94.19%)	*clamor*
fremo	515, 595	1a: poetry 4/5 (80%)	*murmuro*
fulgeo	27, 145	1a: poetry 7/8 (87.5%)	*niteo*
gena	546	1a: poetry 5/5 (100%)	*oculus*
genetrix	58	1a: poetry 168/181 (92.82%) CL	*mater*
genitor	444[105]	1a: poetry 6/6	*pater*

[101] I have excluded *ann.* 46 and 57 because the alternative formula *haec* (*e*)*locutus* does not fit the prosody of a hexameter.
[102] Occurrences of the item in Classical Latin are included (cf. p. 25).
[103] *Amnis* is not an exact equivalent of *flumen*; however, it is suitable for the purposes of this thesis (cf. pp. 36-7).
[104] In *ann.* 179, *fremitus* contributes to the onomatopoeic and alliterative phrase *fremitu siluai frondosai*, which reproduces the sound of trees being cut and fallng to the ground. The entire passage (*ann.* 175-9) is structured around similar alliterative and onomatopoeic expressions.
[105] For *genitor* in *ann.* 108, see p. 40. The use of *genitor* in *ann.* 444 *o genitor noster, Saturnie, maxime diuom* instead of *pater* (the standard term for "father" and the direct equivalent of πατερ in the corresponding Homeric formula ὦ

		(100%)	
hasta	173, 266, 356, 395, 410, 528[106]	1a: poetry 16/23 (87.8%)	*telum*[107]
hastatus[108]	266	1a: prose 78/84 (92.86%) CL	*miles*[109]
hilum	7	1a: poetry 5/7 (87.1%)	*quicquam*
horridus	249[110]	1a: poetry 6/8 (89.01%)	*horrendus*
inclutus	123, 146, 155	1a: poetry 10/13 (85.17%)	*clarus*
ingens	133,[111] 164, 205, 358, 466	1a: poetry 18/24 (89.01%)	*magnus*
inuictus	181, 547	1a: poetry 7/10 (80.08%)	*indomitus*
lābor	376, 505	1a: poetry 7/8 (95.58%)	*fluo*
lama	370, 580[112]	1a: poetry 3/3	*lacuna*

πάτερ ἠμέτερε Κρονίδη, ὕπατε κρειόντων, cf. Hom. *Il.* 8. 31) may reflect the elevated register appropriate to a divine speaker (i.e. Venus or Mars; cf. Skutsch (1985) 602).

[106] I have excluded *ann.* 144 because *hastis ansatis* is probably a fixed phrase.

[107] *Telum* is not an exact equivalent of *hasta*; however, it is suitable for the purposes of this thesis (cf. pp. 36-7).

[108] In *ann.* 266 *hastati spargunt hastas. Fit ferreus imber, hasta* and *hastatus* recur in a figura etymologica. Accordingly, *hastatus*, despite being primarily attested in prose texts, is included in the pattern of "poetic stylisation".

[109] *Miles* is not an exact equivalent of *hastatus*; however, it is suitable for the purposes of this thesis (cf. pp. 36-7).

[110] I have excluded *ann.* 158 *quom nihil horridius umquam lex ulla iuberet* because *horridus* occurs there in the comparative and no suitable synonymous comparatives were available to Ennius: *trepidius* is unmetrical in the hexameter; *horrendus* is attested only in the positive degree; and *horrificus* is first attested in Cicero (although *horrificabilis* occurs in Accius). I have likewised excluded *ann.* 309 *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu* since *horridus* in the sense of "trembling" may stand in place of *tremens*, thereby avoiding polyptoton with *tremit* while still contributing to the phonetic effect of the onomatopoeic line. Finally, in *ann.* 249 *spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur, horridus* contributes to a mirrored construction organised around a weak caesure.

[111] A brief discussion of the use of *ingens* in *ann.* 133 is included in the analysis of the lexical item *aequipero* in the same line (cf. pp. 59-60).

		(100%) CL	
letum	389	1a: poetry 8/11 (87.8%)	*mors*
lumen	33, 34, 137, 148, 265, 311, 427[113]	1a: poetry 20/28 (80.48%)	*lux* (33, 265), *fax* (34, 148, 311, 427)
mando	125	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*dilanio*
mico	484	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*moueo*
musso	168, 327, 435	1a: poetry 4/6 (84.38%)	*murmuro* (168), *dubito* (327), *sileo* (435)
noctu … concubia	227-8	1b: 1 occurrence	*nox concubia*
nox[114]	423	1b: 4 occurrences	*nocte*
obstipus[115]	265, 419[116]	1b: 11 occurrences[117]	*obliquus*
obscenus	576	1a: poetry 4/5 (91.53%)	*turpis*
occendo[118]	387	1b: 1 occurrence	*accendo*

[112] In *ann.* 580 *siluarum saltus latebras lamasque lutosas*, *lama* occurs within the alliterative sequence *latebras lamasque lutosas*.

[113] I have excluded *ann.* 109 and 135, as *lumen* occurs in the fixed phrase *in luminis oras*, which has no clear neutral alternative in Latin.

[114] The use of *nox* instead of *nocte* in *ann.* 423 *si luci si nox si mox si iam data sit frux* appears to be direclty motivated by the rhytmic and phonetic effect of the line.

[115] Skutsch (1985) 445 suggests a possible retrograde formation from *obstipare* for this word, in accordance with a common word-formation pattern (cf. Leumann (1977) 266-267). However, *obstipare* is even rarer than *obstipus* (attested only at Marcell. *med.* 1.71). Therefore, I follow the ThLL *s.u.* 244.37 in regarding *obstipus* as formed from the preverb *ob-* and the root of *stipare*. Accordingly, I do not include it within the second pattern of stylisation ("morphology and derivation").

[116] In *ann.* 419 *montibus obstipis obstantibus*, *obstipus* is embedded in the alliterative phrase *obstipis obstantibus*.

[117] This figure lies too close to the threshold of ten occurrences to be safely disregarded.

[118] In *ann.* 387 *omnes occisi occensique in nocte serena*, *occendo* recurs in the alliterative phrase *omnes occisi occensique*.

quaeso	129	1a: poetry 3/4 (89.01%)[119]	*quaero*
quatio	169, 242, 263, 395	1a: poetry 5/7 (87,1%)	*agito* (169), *pello* (242, 263), *iacio* (395)
resono	355	1a: poetry 7/8 (94.97%)	*strepo*
saxum	69	1a: poetry 35/50 (85,75%)	*lapis*
specus	429	1a: poetry 5/6 (93.1%)	*spelunca*
spiramen	222	1a: poetry 9/9 (100%)	*spiramentum*
stabilio	42, 91	1a: poetry 3/4 (89.01%)	*fulcio* (42), *approbo* (91)
stella	27, 145, 348	1a: poetry 6/9 (84.38%)	*sidus*[120]
strido	355, 356	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*sibilo*
surus[121]	540	1b: 1 occurrence	*palus*
turbo	578	1a: poetry 5/8	*procella*

[119] Occurrences of the first-person singular present indicative are excluded on the grounds that they form part of fixed phrases. In EL this form had already become fossilised with the meaning "please", and the usage was later perceived as old-fashioned (Cic. *Att.* 243.2 *Caesar autem mihi irridere uisus est 'quaeso' illud tuum, quod erat et εὐπινὲς et urbanum*; cf. also Hofmann (1985[2]) 282). Its use is particularly frequent in comedies (111 instances in Plautus, 40 in Terence, 3 in Turpilius, 3 in Afranius, 2 in Caecilius Statius, and 1 in Titinius), but it also occurs in speeches and prayers (Cato *agr.* 141.2, reporting a prayer to Mars; P. C. Scipio Nasica *ap.* Val. Max. 3.7.3.8, requesting silence from the crowd; *Rhet. Her.* 4.13.11 and 4.65.60, in two speeches).

[120] *Sidus* is not an exact equivalent of *stella*; however, it is suitable for the purposes of this thesis (cf. pp. 36-7).

[121] In *ann.* 540 *unus surum Surus ferre, tamen defendere possent*, *surus* is embedded in a wordplay on the homographic ethnonym.

		(81.81%)	
uegeo[122]	509	1a: poetry 5/6 (83.33%) CL	*animo*
unda	222, 302, 376	1a: poetry 15/20 (89.01%)	*fluctus*
undique	394[123]	1a: poetry 5/7 (87.1%)	*circum*[124]
undo	316	1a: poetry 3/4 (89.1%)	*abundo*
uoluo	545	1a: poetry 6/7 (94.19%)	*tendo*

At *ann.* 133 *ingens cura †mis cum† concordibus aequiperare*, ***aequipero*** may be regarded as a lexical item of high-poetic stylisation, embedded in a line that appears to display an elevated poetic register and may belong to a pivotal moment in Roman history. Although the issue remains open (cf. Skutsch (1985) 288), the fragment is traditionally assigned to the speech in which the last surviving Horatius refuses to flee and declares his intention to confront the three Curiatii, thereby emulating the valour of his fallen brothers. If this attribution is correct, *ann.* 133 would constitute a formal declaration of heroism uttered at a crucial historical juncture, a context in which an elevated register would be particularly apporpriate. Accordingly, the poetic adjective *ingens* is employed, even though *ingens cura* may itself constitute a fixed expression (cf. Skutsch (1988) 288; see also Verg. *Aen.* 1.208; Liv. 28. 26.13 and 45. 33. 6; Sen. *Phaedr.* 607; Stat. *Theb.* 3.

[122] In *ann.* 509 *cum magno strepitu Volcanum uentum uegebat*, *uegeo* occurs within the alliterative phrase *Volcanum uentum uegebat*.
[123] I have excluded *ann.* 144 and 391because *undique concurrunt* (144) and *undique conueniunt* (391) are fixed phrases.
[124] *Circum* is not an exact equivalent of *undique*; however, it is suitable for the purposes of this thesis (cf. pp. 36-7).

721 for comparable occurrences). Moreover, if the reading *mis* were somehow retained – though this seems highly unlikely[125] – it would represent an extremely archaic and formal element.

In any case, *aequipero* is used predominantly in poetry (84.38%) and exclusively in high-register contexts: Enn. *ann.* 133 and *epigr.* 4; Pacuv. *trag.* 153 and 407; and Plaut. *Mil.* 12 and *Trin.* 1126 (the latter two in mock-tragic passages). More specifically, in EL this verb appears to emphasise the disparity between two compared entitites and the impossibility of equalling another's deeds or qualities. Thus, in Enn. *epigr.* 4 *a sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes / nemo est qui factis aequiperare queat*, *aequipero* is used to celebrate Scipio's achievements as unparalleled in the known world, grandly evoked through its eastern limit with the formula *a sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes*. A comparable formal assertion of unmatched qualities occurs in Plaut. *Trin.* 1126 *neque fuit neque erit neque esse quemquam hominem in terra arbitror, / quoi fides fidelitasque amicum erga aequiperet tuam*, Charmides' expression of gratitude towards his friend Callicles for his loyalty. The elevated register of the passage is evident in the threefold anaphora and polyptoton of the verb *sum*, as well as in the etymologically related pair *fides fidelitasque*. Similarly, Mars is said to be incapable of matching Pyrgopolinices' military prowess in Plaut. *Mil.* 12 *tam bellatorem Mars haud ausit dicere / neque aequiperare suas uirtutes ad tuas*, a passage of overtly mock-heroic high-register (note the compound *bellatorem* and the sigmatic subjunctive *ausit*). Finally, despite the absence of overt markers of elevated style, Pacuv. *trag.* 153 *at si tanta sunt promerita uestra, aequiperare ut queam / uereor, nisi numquam fatiscar facere quod quibo boni* and 407 *nam si quae euentúra sunt prouídeant, aequiperent Ioui* likewise involve, respectively, an unmatched action and a comparison with Jupiter.[126] Taken together, this evidence suggests that *aequipero* functions as a lexical item of high-poetic stylisation. Its use in *ann.* 133 may therefore be understood as consistent with both the register of the surrounding fragment and its presumed heroic context.

[125] The sequence *mis cum* must be corrupt on both metrical and linguistic grounds. *Mi*(s) scans as a short syllable, whereas the corresponding form *tis*, attested four times in Plautus, is always scanned long. Moreover, *aequipero cum* is only rarely attested, and then exclusively as a transitive construction (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1012.14-17). *Mis* may ultimately be a form invented by grammarians as an analogical counterpart to *tis*, as first suggested in an unpublished note by Hearaeus, reported in Hofmann (1940) 27. *Pseud.* 6 *mei te rogandi et tis respondendi mihi*, where *tis* is paralleled by *mei* rather than *mis*, constitutes fairly strong evidence for the artificiality of *mis*, notwithstanding Prisc. 3.3.4 who quotes *ann.* 133 specifically on account of *mis*.

[126] Similarly, in *Curc.* 168, *aequiparabile* occurs in a comparison with the gods, and in *Trin.* 466, *aequiperabilis* is used by the honourable Philto to emphasise the unequal disparity between his own status and that of Lesbonicus.

Although ***flumen*** (*ann.* 26, 164, 453) is variously used in a variety of contexts throughout the history of Latin, in EL it appears to be confined to poetry. As ThLL *s.u.* 957.43-958.10 illustrates through a representative survey of authorial usage, Latin terms meaning "river" display considerable variation over time; the only clear diachronic tendency is the decline of *amnis* in LL (a development reflected in the Romance languages, none of which continue it: cf. It. *fiume*, Fr. *fleuve*, Sp. *río*). In EL, however, *flumen* is almost entirely unattested in prose. The sole occurrence in EL prose is in Cato *ap*. Paul. Fest. 59 M *cloacale flumen*, explicitly glossed as *dixit Cato pro cloacarum omnium conluuie*. This use appears to function as a euphemistic designation for sewage water employing a poetic term. Notably, *flumen* does not occur in EL inscriptions (by contrast with 36 inscriptions containing the word *flumen* from the period 36 BC-200 AD),[127] nor is it used by Plautus, who instead employs *amnis* and *fluuius* five times each.[128] By contrast, *flumen* is attested six times in EL poetry. Moreover, *flumen* frequently appears in highly stylised contexts and within sound-based figures. At *ann.* 26 *teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*, it forms part of an allocution to the god Tiber; at *ann.* 163 *quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen* and 453 *Tiberis flumen flauom*, as well as at Acc. *trag.* 461-2 *frigít fricantem corpus saxum occulte abstruso in flumine*, it occurs within etymological plays or alliterative clusters. The two passages in which *flumen* occurs in Lucilius' *Satires* do not exhibit clear high-register features, even though some degree of stylisation can be argued from the formal connective *-que* (cf. Adams (2016) 11) at 126 *quattuor hinc Silari ad flumen portumque Alburnum* and in the elaborate simile at 315 *uerum flumen uti atque ipso diuortio aquae uis / propellit pedibus cercurum currat ut aequis*, which, however, constitutes an ecdotically problematic passage. This distribution of *flumen* in EL may reflect a general tendency affecting nouns in *-men*, as observed by Fruyt (2011) 161 for *carmen*, *lumen*, *numen*, *limen*, and *fulmen*. In any case, it is possible that in EL, the word *flumen* was perceived as the most markedly poetic – perhaps, high-poetic – term among those denoting "river".

At *ann.* 58-9 *te †saneneta precor, Venus, te genetrix patris nostri,* / *ut me de caelo uisas, cognata, parumper*, ***genetrix*** may be regarded as an instance of high-poetic stylisation, reflecting the formal mode of utterance consistently attributed to Ilia throughout the *Annals*. This choice likely serves to emphasise Ilia's respectability as a Vestalis and as the future mother of the Roman people (cf. Oddi (forthcoming)), albeit at

[127] See n. 144 for *riuus*.
[128] No terms for "river" occur in Terence's comedies.

the expenses of contextual credibility. Indeed, Ilia employs the highly poetical *genetrix* – a term attested only once in EL (*ann.* 58), yet consistently associated with high-poetic diction across EL and CL, much like its masculine counterpart *genitor* – within a desperate prayer to Venus uttered as she is about to be cast into the river Anio (cf. Skutsch (1985) 208-9) or the Tiber (cf. Heurgon (1958) 72-73) at Amulius' command. The urgency and emotional strain of this situation are otherwise reflected in the language of the fragment. First, Ilia reduces her prayer to a brief appeal for assistance, omitting several conventional elements of ancient prayer, such as an extended invocation of the deity's names,[129] a catalogue of divine attributes,[130] reference to genealogy,[131] or the recollection of prior benefactions.[132] Secondly, she seeks to move Venus by invoking their kinship (*genetrix patris nostri, cognata*).[133] Thirdly, through the adverb *parumper*, Ilia either highlights the urgency of the request – if the term is understood as *cito et uelociter* (Non. 378.16 M) – or minimises the extent of the divine intervention sought, if *parumper* is taken to mean *paullisper* (Skutsch (1985) 210). In this context, the use of the formal *genetrix* in place of the more neutral *mater* stands in marked contrast to the otherwise urgent and emotionally charged language intended to convey the desperation of a facing imminent death. Accordingly, the high-poetic term *genetrix* is best interpreted as a feature of Ilia's linguistic characterisation as a Vestalis.

At *ann.* 129 *munda facit, nautisque mari quaesentibus uitam,* ***quaeso*** forms part of a poetic alternative to an otherwise prosaic construction. Inflected forms of *quaeso* are already exceedingly rare in EL: *quaesere* in *Bacch.* 178 *mirumst me ut redeam te opera tanto quaesere, / qui abire hinc nullo pacto possim, si uelim*; *quaesentibus* in Enn. *ann.* 129 *Ostia munita est. Idem loca nauibus pulcris / munda facit, nautisque mari quaesentibus uitam*; and *quaesendum*[134] in *trag.* 112 (from the *Andromeda*) *liberum quaesendum causa familiae matrem tuae* and 132 (from the *Cresiphon*) *duxit me uxorem liberorum sibi quaesendum gratia*.[135] In these passages, *quaeso* appears to be used in two distinct senses: "implore"

[129] Cf. Norden (2002[8]) 262-5 and *carm. deuot.* Macr. *Sat.* 3.9.10 *Dis pater Veiouis Manes, siue uos quo alio nomine fas est nominare* for an EL example.
[130] Cf. Norden (2002[8]) 268-73 and *ann,* 619 *Vosque Lares tectum nostrum qui funditus currant* for an EL example.
[131] Cf. Norden (2002[8]) 266-7, and Liu. Andr. *carm.* 15 *sancta puer, Saturnia filia, regina* for an EL example. This remains valid for *ann.* 58-9 unless *sale nata* is read in the *uox nihili †saneneta* (cf. Vahlen (1964[4]) 9), a conjecture rejected by Skutsch (1985) 209, on the grounds that it conflicts with the context of Ilia's "agonized prayer".
[132] Cf. Appel (1909) 154 and Plaut. *Pseud.* 396 *<si> cui in re tali iam subvenisti antidhac* for an EL example.
[133] If *ted Aeneia* is read in the *uox nihilis †saneneta* (cf. Skutsch (1968) 87-8), the adjective *Aeneia* would serve the same function.
[134] Ennius most probably wrote *quaessentibus* and *quaessundum* (cf. Catone (1964) 47-48).
[135] Cf. Neue and Wagener (1897[3]) 391-2, for other doubtful or post-classical occurrences.

(perhaps functioning as an intensive of *quaero*) and "seek". Although both uses may reflect a high-register choice, the stylistic markedness appears more pronounced in the latter sense ("seek"; cf. Skutsch (1985) 285). In Plaut. *Bacch.* 178, *quaeso* means "implore", where the young Pistoclerus refers to his old-fashioned tutor Lydus' repeated attempts to dissuade him from visiting brothels, as emphasised by *mirumst* and *opera tanto*. In this context, *quaeso* is better understood as conveying insistence rather than as mocking Lydus' antiquated habits; indeed, Lydus' speech does not otherwise display a markedly formal or archaising register suggesting mockery.[136]

By contrast, Ennius uses *quaeso* in the sense of "seek" on two occasions within a formula referring to the begetting of children (*trag.* 112 and 132) – a formula for which more recent variants employing *quaero* are already attested from Plautus onwards –[137] and once in *ann.* 129. In these instances, *quaeso* more plausibly reflects a high-register, if not archaising, usage rather than conveying an intensive meaning. Indeed, when expressing the notion of "seeking intensively", Ennius elsewhere employs *quaero*, as at *ann.* 41, where Ilia describes her frantic search for her sister in her dream: *errare uidebar / tardaque uestigare et quaerere te neque posse / corde capessere*. At *ann.* 129, *quaesentibus* occurs in the phrase *quaesentibus uitam* within the description of the construction of the harbour of Ostia, which facilitated easier access to the sea for sailors. The expression *quaesentibus uitam* may be understood as "seeking a livelihood" and, as noted by Skutsch (1985) 285, constitutes an otherwise unattested[138] poetic substitute for the more common phrase *uictum quaerere* (Ter. *Eun.* 261 and *Haut.* 447, Apul. *met.* 9.31.17, Gell. 3.3.14 and 5.3.1, Suet. *Nero* 36.2).[139] By contrast, it remains uncertain whether *quaesentibus* in this passage also carries an archaising value. The immediate context does not suggest the use of an explicitly archaic register, nor does the fragment contain other unambiguous linguistic archaisms. Accordingly, while *quaesentibus* is likely ro reflect a (high-)poetic register, it remains unclear whether it was also perceived as an archaism.

[136] Similarly, in Lucr. 5.1229 *non diuom pacem uotis adit ac prece quaesit*, which describes the desperate and futile prayers of a general caught in violent winds together with his army, *quaesit* may simply reflect the depthe of the general's despair rather than constitute a high-register or archaising variant. Indeed, the only archaism in the entire passage (5.1226-1235), *induperatorem* (1227), is in fact a merely convenient alternative to the unmetrical *imperatorem.*

[137] Plaut. *Capt*. 889 *liberorum quaerundorum causa*; Gell. 4.3.2 *liberum quaerundum gratia*, and 17.21.44 *liberum quaerundorum causa*.

[138] In Cic. *fin.* 5.8.17 *quid quaerens aliud nisi uitam beatam*?, in Calp. decl. 24 *mori iussus adulescens* […] *non quaero uitam*, and in in Porph. *Hor. Carm.* 3.5.37 *cum deberet, inquit, uitam uirtute atque armis quaerere, uita* denotes "existence" rather than "livelihood".

[139] See also Ter. *Andr.* 75 *uictum quaeritans*. In Colum. 12.6.2, Phaedr. 3.16.4 and Fronto 219.5 van den Hout, the phrase refers to primitive people or animals and retains the literal sense "seeking for food" rather than "seeking a livelihood".

1.2. Prose Stylisation (Category AL 1.2)

The *Annals* comprise 21 items with a probable prose stylisation, which constitutes a clear instance of "out-of-text stylisation", that is, a type of stylisation that does not align with the dominant register of the text (cf. p. 41). Some of these items may point to a poetic diction that had not yet fully stabilised – particularly those whose prose stylisation is inferred from their distribution occurrences in EL and CL, since they are too sparsely attested in EL to allow for secure conclusions about their status (cf. p. 25). A case in point may be *petra*, which in EL occurs in Enn. *ann.* 358, Plaut. *Bacch. fr.* 8, and Laev. *carm. fr.* 10. *Petra* may have been perceived as suitable for poetic diction by Ennius on account of its status as a Graecism, yet it is frequently attested in CL prose (especially in Seneca's *Naturalis Quaestiones* and Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*), while poets tend largely to avoid it: it occurs only three times in Seneca's tragedies, twice in Statius' *Thebaid* and once in Phaedrus. By contrast, other items are more plausibly interpreted as deliberate stylistic choices (cf. *aedifico*, pp. 66-7). These cases exemplify the remarkable linguistic variety of the *Annals*, a characteristic that will become even more apparent in the analysis of technicisms, calques and borrowings, and lexical items exhibiting peculiar word-formation patterns.

Table AL 1.2. Lexical Items of Prose Stylisation in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Alternative
aedifico	405	1a: prose 31/40 (88.67%)	*condo*
ager	468[140]	1a: prose 373/418[141] (94.2%)	*seges*
confercio	378	1a: prose 72/79 (92.14%) CL	*stipo*

[140] I have excluded *ann.* 301 because *agri* may be corrupt (cf. Skutsch (1985) 478).
[141] *Ager* occurs approximately 300 times in inscriptions.

dare in conspectum[142]	47	1a: prose 10/12 (83.33%) CL	*ostendo*
deinde	488	1a: prose 121/153 (87.75%)	*postea*
diuido	302	1a: prose 49/65 (85.3%)	*secerno*
haudquaquam	260	1a: prose 93/103 (90.29%) CL	*nequaquam*
humanitus esse	119	1a: prose 7/8 (87.5%) CL	*morior*
lex	284[143]	1a: prose 206/304 (82.87%)	*ius*
pertundo	410	1a: prose 15/20 (82.82%)	*penetro*
petra	358	1a: prose 56/66 (84.85%) CL	*lapis*
pratum	127, 537	1a: prose 16/19 (87.1%)	*aruum* (127), *pascuum* (537)
probo	615	1a: prose 59/75 (87.48%)	*adprobo*
refringo	226	1a: prose 44/53 (83.02%) CL	*rumpo*
riuus[144]	5	1a: prose 16/17	*amnis*

[142] In *ann.* 47 *nec sese dedit in conspectum, corde cupitus*, the expression *dare in conspectum* contributes to the alliterative sequence *conspectum corde cupitus.*

[143] I have excluded *ann.* 158 *quom nihil horridius umquam lex ulla iuberet* because, in that context, there is no neutral alternative for *lex.*

		(94.44%)	
scamnum	91	1a: prose 6/7 (85.71%)	*solium*
scribo	206	1a: prose 145/215 (81.81%)	*fingo*
sica[145]	526	1a: prose 30/32 (93.75%) CL	*gladium*
suasor[146]	373	1a: prose 34/38 (89.47%) CL	*fautor*
uas	549	1a: prose 50/78 (80.31%)	*patera*
ultra	617	1a: prose 8/9 (88.89%)	*trans*

Aedifico at *ann.* 405 *reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt, / aedificant nomen, summa nitutntur opum ui* may be regarded as an example of prose stylisation. The verb occurs in a problematic distich of the *Annals*. The striking trope *aedificant nomen* (cf. Suerbaum (1968) 162 and Bettini (1979) 165-166) long fuelled suspicions of textual corruption,[147] until Timpanaro (1946) 55-56, n. 2, argued convincingly for the retention of the transmitted reading. Timpanaro adduced a close parallel from Greg. M. *moral.* 11.30.42 *istanter elaborant sibique memoriae nomen aedificant*, where *nomen aedificant* appears to reprise Ennius directly, probably in the form quoted by Macrobius, while *istanter elaborant* may echo *summa nituntur opum ui*.[148] If *ann.* 404-5 is retained as transmitted, its precise sense remains open and

[144] *Riuus* is the term for "river" preferred in inscriptions. In EL, *riuus* occurs only once in the *Annals*, and eight times each in CIL 1.2951a and 5.7749 (both legal texts). In CL, *riuus* appears in 95 inscriptions and *flumen* in 36. In literary texts, however, *flumen* is more frequent than *riuus* in both prose and poetry: Cicero uses *riuus* four times (once in the *Arati Phenomena*) *flumen* sixty-one times (four in the *Arati Phenomena*); Caesar, five instances of *riuus* as against 164 of *flumen*; and Virgil, eighteen of *riuus* compared with eighty-three of *flumen*.

[145] The use of *sica* in *ann.* 526 *Illyri restant sicis sybinisque fodentes* may denote an ordinary dagger or be facilitated by the alliteration with *sybinisque*.

[146] In *ann.* 373 *suasorem summum et studiosum robore belli*, *suasor* occurs within the alliterative phrase *suasorem summum et studiosum*, in Antiochus' expression of his disappointed expectations of Hannibal's character.

[147] A list of the emendations is provided by Mazzoli (1964) 326, n. 39.

[148] Greg. M. *moral.* 11.30.42 was already mentioned by von der Mühll (1928) 221-222, who, however, did not consider it to have been influenced by *ann.* 405, and insead proposed the reading *adfectant nomen*. According to von der Mühll,

requires the assumption of a trope. The passage may be interpreted either as "throughout their kingdom, kings build statues and tombs, seek fame", involving a double hypallage between *statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt* and *nomen aedificant* (cf. Skutsch (1975) 339) or as "throughout their kingdom, kings build names engraved on statues and tombs, seek fame", involving a syllepsis of *nomen* (cf. Vahlen (1907-08) 1.351, n. 10, Mazzoli (1964) 327, n. 40).

In either case, *ann.* 404-5 likely belonged to a book proem concerned with poetry's power to confer immortality (cf. Mazzoli (1964) 322-33). Although the metaphor of materially "constructing" one's fame is widespread in EL and CL poetry,[149] the verb *aedifico* itself is extremely rare in poetic diction (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 923.49-53), and in metaphorical usage (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 926.4 ff.). In the context of this refined distich on the value of poetry, *aedifico* therefore stands out as a markedly non-poetic term. This stylistic dissonance may be deliberate, reflecting a contrast between two competing paths to eternal glory: the permanence conferred by poetry and the more material commemoration sought through statues and mausolea.

Bettini (1979) 165-6 proposes an echo, if not a translation, of the phrase *aedificant nomen* in Suid. E 1348 Adler κλέος ἀνδρὸς πυργῶσαί τε καὶ ἆραι, in the context of Ennius' claim that Homer would have written about Scipio had he known him. I do not, however, find the case for a direct influence convincing. First, in Suid. E 1348 Adler Scipio's glory is conceptualised through the construction of a lofty, towered building (πυργόω and αἴρω), whereas in *ann.* 404-5, *aedifico* refers specifically to the construction of statues and mausolea. Secondly, the metaphorical use of πυργόω in the sense of "exalt" is well attested in Greek literature, including poetry (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 1348, entry II), whereas *aedifico* is only rarely employed metaphorically and is largely confined to prose usage. For these reasons, I believe that no direct connection is evident between κλέος ἀνδρὸς πυργῶσαί τε καὶ ἆραι in Suid. E 1348 Adler and *aedificant nomen* in *ann.* 404-5, nor does it seem likely that Ennius employed *aedifico* as a calque of the Greek πυργόω.

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a more plauisble Ennian echo is to be found in Amm. 14.6.8 *ex his quidam aeternitati se commendari posse per statuas aestimantes, eas ardenter adfectant*.

[149] Cf. e.g. Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 365.

1.3. Archaic Stylisation (Category AL 1.3)

The third category within the first pattern of stylisation is "archaic stylisation". As with the previous categories, the identification of archaically stylised items relies primarily on the synchronic distribution test with particular attention paid to low-frequency items, since archaisms are by definition items fallen out of regular use. However, not every low-frequency item constitutes an archaism. For this reason, the context of use is a crucial criterion. Archaisms tend to occur in specific passages of a text (e.g. proems) or metrical positions (line-end), or to cluster within archaising contexts, rather than appear as isolated forms.

The application of the synchronic distribution test to items archaic stylisation is, however, less mechanical than in the case of poetic and prose stylisation and requires a certain degree of critical judgement. Determining whether the contexts in which an item recurs are genuinely archaising is not as straigtfroward as establishing whether an item occurs within a poetic or prose text. Contexts that display multiple features of archaic register may reasonably be described as archaising, yet identifying what was already perceived as archaic in EL can be problematic (cf. the example of *postilla*, p. 27). Moreover, certain textual or metrical positions – such as proems or line-final positions – are often favoured for archaic forms. However, not every item occurring in an archaising context or in a position typically associated with archaism should itself be regarded as archaic. For this reason, careful case-by-case analysis is required.

Additional morphological considerations may assist in determining whether a lexical item should be regarded as archaic. In particular, some archaic items preserve an outdated morphological form (e.g. *indotueor* exhibiting the archaic *indu-* prefix, as opposed to the standard form *intueor*; but cf. n. 152 on this item). While such criteria are therefore useful in identifying archaisms, they are not in themselves decisive. Rather, only a balanced assessment that takes into account the item's context of use in the *Annals* and in other texts, together with its frequency and morphological

features, can lead to a sufficiently reliable evaluation of its archaicity – though contested or doubtful cases inevitably remain.

In the *Annals*, some lexical items clearly reflect archaising stylisation (e.g. *cascus*, *endo*, *indu*, *indotueor*), especially those that throughout the poem occur alongside more recent forms (e.g. *endo* vs. *indu* vs. *in*). Other archaisms, however, may not be primarily intended to evoke an archaic stylisation but are instead employed because their rarity contributes to a broadly poetic register (e.g. *superesco* in *ann.* 514 *dum quidem unus homo Romanus toga superescit*, where, perhaps, *superesco* reflects the formal register of the statement).[150] The use of archaisms thus represents a deliberate strategy for marking specific passages and exemplifies the linguistic variety of the *Annals*, which integrates multiple types of stylisation.

Table AL 1.3. Lexical Items of Archaic Stylisation in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
cascus	22	1a: poetry 3/3 (100%) CL	*uetus*
cracens	527	1b: 1 occurrence	*gracilis*[151]
endo	587	1a: archaic contexts 11/11 (100%)	*in*
horitor	347	1b: 1 occurrence	*hortor*
indotueor[152]	66	1b: 1 occurrence	*insipicio*
indu	272, 434	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*in*
induperans	412	1b: 4 occurrences	*imperitans*

[150] Cf. Mariotti (1951) 117. For pertinent methodological observations, see Penney (1999) 249-268.
[151] Although the first attestation of *gracilis* occurs at Hor. *sat*. 1.5.69, the adjective appears to have existed already in EL, as suggested by the *-i-* vocalism in *gracilus* and *gracilentus* (Skutsch (1985) 423).
[152] The items *indotueor*, *induperans*, *induperator*, and *induuolo* are probably reconstructed rather than inherited archaisms, i.e. Ennius might have formed them replacing the prefix *in-* with its forerunner *indu-*, but most likely he had never encountered similar forms.

induperator	78, 322, 347, 577	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*rex* (78), *dux* (322, 347, 577)
induuolo	173	1b: 1 occurrence	*qui inuolat*
insece	322	1a: archaic contexts 2/2 (100%)[153]	*incipe*
noenus	435	1b: 7 occurrences	*non*
quamde	92, 122	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%) (100%) CL	*quam*
quianam	121, 246	1a: poetry 5/5 (100%) (100%)	*cur*
superesco	514	1a: poetry 2/2 (100%) (100%) CL	*supersum*

The adjective ***cascus*** ("old")[154] at *ann.* 22 *quam Prisci, casci populi, tenuere Latini* may be interpreted either as a calque from Sabine (cf. pp. 124-5 for the definition of Sabine language) or, more probably, as an archaism. Varro *ling.* 7.28 quotes the Ennian fragment in the course of a discussion of *cascus*, which he explains as a term meaning "old" deriving from Sabine and ultimately from Oscan. A Sabine derivation is indeed possible (cf. de Melo (2019) 933), and a parallel with Oscan *casnar* has also been proposed (cf. p. 29). In the *Annals*, however, Ennius' use of calques and borrowings generally reflects the language of the people being described (cf. p. 80). This pattern makes it unlikely that *cascus* should be understood as a Sabine or Oscan calque in this context, since the Sabines – or even less plausibly the Oscans – can hardly be identified as the earliest inhabitants of Latium (cf. Philipp (1920) 1570).

Rather, in *ann.* 22 *cascus* was most likely employed simply as an archaism. Indeed, in *ann.* 22, the term refers to an early phase of Roman history, whereas the standard form *uetus* is used in the depiction of the

[153] Enn. *op. inc.* 31 and Cato *or*. *frg.* 10.1, where the word is preserved with no context, have not been taken into consideration (cf. pp. 25-6).
[154] Cic. *Tusc*. 1.27 and Hieron. *Epist*. 8.1 state that Ennius referred to the earliest inhabitants of Latium as *casci*, whence perhaps SD *Aen.* 1.6 mistakenly inferred that *cascus* was an ethnonym (cf. p. 29).

more recent figure of Cn. Seruilius Geminus, consul in 217 BC at *ann.* 283-4.[155] This contrast may suggest a deliberate differentiation according to historical depth. Moreover, *cascus* also recurs in *Carmen Priami ap.* Varro *ling.* 7.28[156] *ueteres Casmenas cascam rem uolo profarier*[157] as a probable archaism. In this passage, no reference to Sabine or Oscan peoples or languages is likely intended (cf. de Melo (2019) 933 on the rejection of the interpretation of *Casmenas* as a nominative-vocative of Oscan-Umbrian derivation suggested by Timpanaro (1947b) 196), whereas an archaising language is clearly used (cf. *Casmenas, profarier*), possibly signposted through the adjective *ueteres* (if it is to be retained, cf. again de Melo (2019) 932-3).[158] Accordingly, although *cascus* may ultimately derive from Oscan via a Sabine variety, its use in *ann.* 22 may be better understood as an instance of archaic stylisation rather than as a calque intended to evoke a specific – and in any case uncertain – Sabine context.[159]

By Ennius' time, both ***endo*** (*ann.* 587 *endo suam do*) and ***indu*** (*ann.* 275 *consilio indu foro lato sanctoque senatu* and 434 *indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant*) had largely been both superseded by *in*. Their occurrence in the *Annals* may therefore be interpreted as reflecting archaic stylisation. That said, the possibility that their use was occasionally motivated by metrical convenience cannot be excluded (cf. Skutsch (1985) 454). Moreover, *endo* occurs in the wordplay *endo suam do*, where the archaic flavour of the preposition is likely to have been of secondary importance as opposed to the homoeoteleuton. In any case, both forms were clearly perceived as old-fashioned in the second century BC, and are therefore classified here as archaisms.

The primary distinction between *endo* and *indu* is diachronic, *endo* being the older form.[160] However, their distribution in EL and CL also suggests a synchronic differentiation. *Indu* is attested exclusively in poetic texts (*ann.* 275 and 434, Lucil. 970 and 1230, and Lucr. 2.1096 and 5.102), whereas *endo* occurs both

[155] The peculiar form *ueter* (perhaps an analogical formation on *pauper*; cf. Skutsch (1985) 170) occurs in *ann.* 14 *quom ueter occubuit Priamus sub Marte Pelasgo*.
[156] This is the only surviving line of the EL poem *Carmen Priami*. Its traditional attribution to the the earliest stage of the Latin literature was challenged by Timpanaro (1947b) 194-200, who proposed instead a date of composition in the times of Ennius or even later.
[157] The emended form *profarier* in place of the transmitted *profari et* is preferable (cf. de Melo (2019) 438, and n. 174, and 932-3).
[158] *Cascus* is also employed in wordplay on the name *Cascus* in Manil. *carm. frg.*1 and Pompil. *epigr*. 1-4, both quoted in Varro, *ling.* 7.28. In Gell. 1.10 *quibus uerbis compellauerit Fauorinus philosophus adulescentem casce nimis et prisce loquentem*, the adverb *casce* occurs alongside *prisce*, possibly alluding to *ann.* 22.
[159] It is also worth noting the homoeoteleuton *Prisci casci* in *ann.* 22. This phonetic pattern, however, may be coincdental, since homoeoteleuton is not a phonetic device frequently employed in the *Annals*.
[160] Cf. Lunelli (1997) 225-6, who also proposes reading *endo* in *ann.* 434.

in poetry (CIL 1.4,[161] Enn. *ann.* 587 and *var*. 23, Lucil. 1075, Lucr. 6.890), and in legal prose (*lex* XII *tab*. 1.2, twice 3.3, 8.13, Cic. *leg.* 2.19, Gaius, *inst.* 2.104, and Gell. 5.19.9).[162] It is therefore plausible that *endo* was perceived by Roman speakers as the more archaic of the two, not lastly because *indu* is more similar to the standard form *in*. As a result, while *endo* and *indu* overlap in poetic usage, legal discourse appears to favour the more archaic and austere *endo*.[163]

1.4. Technical Stylisation (Category AL 1.4)

The final category within the first pattern of stylisation is "technical stylisation". This category comprises lexical items drawn from specialised languages, that is, used and developed in a specific field or domain and characterised by specific terminology and semantics (for the stylised status of technicisms in poetic texts, see p. 37 and n. 74). As noted above (p. 47), the identification of technically stylised items in EL remains challenging owing to the scarcity of genuinely technical texts from this period. In the present analysis, items of technical stylisation are identified through a combination of tests relating to context of use and frequency, together with considerations of semantic specificity. Despite the near-total absence of EL technical texts, technicisms may nonetheless appear in technical or mock-technical passages within literary texts; they are also more likely to be glossed in later sources, to occur infrequently, and to denote highly specific objects or concepts. There is, however, no universally applicable test for identifying technicisms in EL, and each item must therefore be assessed individually. As a result, alternative interpretations and doubtful cases inevitably remain.

In any case, the use of technical language appears particularly characteristic of the *Annals*. Unlike the tragedies and the *Euhemerus*, the *Annals* contain a relatively large number of

[161] The well-known Duenos vase, which may be composed in saturnians (cf. Gordon (1975) 64-65).
[162] Varro, *rust.* 3.17.10 is excluded, as it constitutes a clear imitation of *ann.* 587.
[163] Skutsch (1985) 454 proposes a possible syntactic distinction – *endo* with the accusative and *indu* with the ablative – arbitrarily introduced by Ennius (cf. also *var.* 23 *endo plagas*). It is, however, ultimately impossible to determine whether this distribution is merely coincidental.

technicisms, including terms drawn from a range of specialised domains – not only religion and law, but also warfare, seafare, agronomy, and hunting. This feature may be understood as reflecting the inclusive linguistic character of the *Annals*, a poem that narrates the origins and expansion of Roman power with a broad, quasi-universal scope.

Specifically, the *Annals* make extensive use of specific vocabulary associated with seafaring and warfare, as they narrate the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean – accordingly, two examples drawn from these technical domains will be discussed in this section. Particularly, identifying warfare technicisms in a text produced within the historic context of Republican Rome may not be straightforward, as in Roman society, military experience was widespread among adult male citizens, albeit to varying degrees. As a consequence, the language of warfare was more broadly diffused in everyday usage, and certain terms that might now be regarded as military technicisms – such as "army" or "shield" – were not necessarily perceived as specialised vocabulary in Latin literary texts (cf. De Meo 2005³, 197–8). A clear illustration of this can be found in the *Annals* themselves, where a range of weapons is listed at *ann*. 391–8 (*galea*, *hasta*, *hastilis*, *parma*, *telum*, and *umbo*). Despite their specificity, none of these terms can be strictly classified as technicisms, as suggested by their frequency and synchronic distribution in EL and CL.

Similarly, the audience of literary works in the Roman Republic was often involved in politics and may therefore have not regarded certain terms as specialised vocabulary, thus complicating the identification of political technicisms. Accordingly, words denoting political concepts were evaluated on a case-by-case basis. Some lexical items and semantic usages were not considered stylised because they failed tests 1a-c (synchronic distribution, low frequency, and glosses), such as *ciuis* and *res publica* (cf. p. 230) or Test 3 (equivalence test), for which no valid neutral alternatives could be identified (e.g. *consul*, *proletarius*, cf. p. 39). By contrast, among the items and usages that were considered stylised, some were classified as legal technicisms (*fides* in the sense of "fiduciary duty", cf. p. 107), others as instances of "prose stylisation" (*ciuitas* and *societas*, cf. pp. 166-8), and

still others as Romanising calques (i.e. terms in Latin denoting concepts belonging to foreign societies, such as *optimates* for the Trojan noblewomen and *ordo* for the assembly of Greek kings at the Trojan camp, cf. pp. 232-4).

Table AL 1.4. Lexical Items of Technical Stylisation in the *Annals.* Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results. Specialised language.[164]	Neutral alternative
agea	512	1b: 1 occurrence. SF	*nauis*[165]
ansatus	161[166]	1b: 6 occurrences. WF	*telum*
defindo	388	1b: 1 occurrence. CA	*dedolo*
degrumo	441	1b: 2 occurrences. AG	*derigo*
ex iure manu[167] *consertum*	252	1b: 4 occurrences. LA	*iure*[168]
fala	388	1b: 3 occurrences. CA	*turris*
licitor	70	1b: 4 occurrences. EC	*contendo*
nictio	334	1b: 1 occurrence. HU	*latro*
portisculus	295	1b: 5 occurrences. SF	*malleus*

[164] Legend. AG: agronomy; AU: augural arts; CA: carpentry; EC: economics; HU: hunting; LI: literature; PH: philosophy; SF: seafaring; WF: warfare.

[165] *Agea* denotes a specific type of ship deck. The reference to so precise a feature is not, however, semantically necessary (cf. p. 37); a neutral alternative would therefore be *nauis.*

[166] *Ansatis* in *ann.* 144 is probably part of the idiomatic expression *hastis ansatis* (cf. Skutsch (1985) 299).

[167] On the variants *manu* and *manum*, cf. Santoro (1971) 575-81.

[168] *Ann.* 248-53 (esp. 252-3 *non ex iure manum consertum, sed magis ferro* / *rem repetunt regnumque petunt, uadunt solida ui*) oppose legal disputes to military violence, including two (most likely, purposedly) ambiguous expressions that may fit both legal and military contexts: *manum conserere* and *rem repetere*. However, the technical legal value of *manu*(*m*) *consertum* is more prominent, as the expression immediately follows *ex iure*, thus forming a legal formula (*ex iure manu*(*m*) *consertum*) attested also twice in Cic. *Mur.* 26.30 and once in *de orat.* 1.41, as well as in metalinguistic context, such as Varro, *ling.* 6.64 and in Gell. 20.10.1, the main source of our passage. In contrast, *repeto* in the sense of "claim" is a high-frequency semantical usage, and determining whether every occurrence of this lexeme alludes to technical legal or military usage is complex, if not impossible. Therefore, the expression *ex iure manu consertum* is included in my analysis, whereas the usage of *repeto* in the sense of "claim" is excluded. Although the legal formula *ex iure manu* (or *manum*) *consertum* identifies a specific legal institution, in *ann.* 252, it is used in the more general sense of "by means of law" (as opposed to military violence, *sed magis ferro*); therefore, *iure* alone is proposed as its neutral alternative.

runatus	597	1b: 1 occurrence. WF	*cum hastis*[169]
sicilis	479	1b: 3 occurrences. WF	*telum*
sophia	211	1b: 10 occurrences. PH	*sapientia*
specio	408	1b: 8 occurrences. AU	*specto*
stlataria	462	1b: 1 occurrence. SF	*merx*[170]
textrinum	504	1b: 7 occurrences. SF	*nauale*
tonsa	218, 219, 294	1a: Ennius 4/4 (100%). SF	*remus*
tonsilla	517	1b: 3 occurrences. SF	*uncus*
trabalis	607	1b: 7 occurrences. CA	*fortis*
trifax	548	1b: 2 occurrences. WF	*telum*

Agea at *ann.* 512 *multa foro ponet et agea. Longa repletur* is a technical loanword from Greek (cf. Walde (1938[3]) *s.u.* 22),[171] denoting the aisle of a ship through which the boatswain could reach the rowers (De Meo (2005[3]) 257). The semantic specificity of *agea*, as well as that of *forus* – here referring to a narrow gangway on a ship and constituting an instance of technically stylised semantics (cf. n. 261) – is unnecessary in the immediate context of the line, which describes the loading of such a large cargo onto a vessel that even the areas normally occupied by rowers were filled (cf. Bettini (1979) 139). Ennius could easily have rephrased the sentence using more general terms (e.g. *ubique*, *tota naue*), without recourse to such highly specific technical terms. Their presence is therefore best explained as a stylistic choice rather than a communicative necessity.

The stylisation exhibited in *ann.* 512 is thus best characterised as technical. Accordingly, despite its Greek etymology, *agea* should be understood as a seafaring technicism of Greek origin rather than as an

[169] Paul. Fest. 263 M, quoting *ann.* 597, explains *runa* as a type of spear and translates *runata* as *proeliata*. The meaning of *runatus* is, therefore, uncertain: it may denote either "equipped with *runae*" or "having fought". In the former case, the specification *runatus* may have been semantically unnecessary and a more generic *cum hastis* could function as a neutral alternative; in the latter, a phrase such as *post pugnam* would suffice. In either case, *runatus* qualifies as a technical term and, although it occurs in the alliterating pair *runata recedit*, reflects technical stylisation.
[170] *Merx* is not an exact equivalent of *stlataria*; however, it is suitable for the purposes of this thesis (cf. pp. 36-7).
[171] Jackson (2009) 247 suggests that the term probably originated in the technical vocabulary of a Mediterranean language.

exotic loanword. First, *ann.* 512 contains no other items of Greek origin but features the purely Latin technicism *forus* (ship deck). Secondly, the term *agea* itself appears to have been perceived primarily as a technicism rather than as a borrowing: glosses on *agea* discuss its semantics, and its Greek etymology is never mentioned (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1278.12-25). On this basis, even in the absence of a broader contextual framework for *ann.* 512, *agea* may reasonably be interpreted as a technicism intended to evoke the seafaring environment.

Despite certain features that might suggest classification as an Oscan loanword, the term ***trifax*** – denoting a very powerful and heavy javelin launched by a catapult (cf. Walde (1954[3]) *s.u.* 705), and attested at *ann.* 548 *aut permarceret paries percussus trifaci* – may more plausibly be interpreted as an instance of technical stylisation drawn from specialised military vocabulary. One argument in favour of identifying *trifax* as an Oscan loanword is its possible Oscan etymology (cf. Conway (1897) 221 and Pisani (1953) 44), although other scholars have instead argued for its status as an indigenous Latin compound (cf. Skutsch (1985) 696-7). Moreover, the reconstructed context of *ann.* 548 may point to an Oscan milieu, insofar as Skutsch (1985) 696 suggests that the image of a wall collapsing after being struck by a *trifax* described here may metaphorically allude to the weakening of Hannibal's army at Capua, a city of Oscan origin. Nevertheless, neither the proposed etymology of *trifax* nor the conjectural reconstruction of the passage's context is sufficiently secure to support a definitive classification of the term as an Oscan loanword.

Rather than an Oscan exotic-evoking borrowing, *trifax* is better understood as a military technicism selected for the destructive power of the weapon it denotes and adopted metaphorically. The context of the destruction of a metaphorical wall – possibly alluding to the moral weakening of Hannibal's army at Capua, as proposed by Skutsch (see above) – is suggested by the use of *paries*, which properly denotes the wall of a building rather than that of the city (according to ThLL *s.u.* 389.70-390.3, *paries* is attested in the latter sense only four times in EL and CL, a count that in fact includes also the present passage). It is implausible that Ennius – who elsewhere shows great lexical precision – would employ *paries* for a city wall, even though its use favoured the triple alliteration *permarceret paries percussus*. At the same time, it is improbable that the projectiles of a catapult were directed against private houses. Taken together, these interpretations make it unlikely that *ann.* 548 describes an actual military manoeuvre. Further support for a metaphorical

interpretation comes from the verb *permarceo,* a hapax legomenon formed on *marceo,* a verb typically applied to living beings. This semantic feature suggests that the *paries* of *ann.* 548 metaphorically represents a group of people rather than a physical structure.[172] The sense of total collapse conveyed by the prefix *per-* in *permarceo* – though admittedly reinforced by the alliterative sequence with *paries* and *percussus* (cf. Grilli (1965) 239-40) – is effectively realised through the image of an exceptionally powerful javelin (such as a *trifax*) striking the comparatively fragile wall of a house. On this reading, *permarceo*, *paries*, and *trifax* are all carefully chosen to construct an image of complete collapse: a weak, metaphorical wall destroyed by an overwhelmingly powerful, metaphorical weapon, perhaps standing for the corrosive force of vice. In this context, *trifax* is unlikely to have been chosen for its alleged Oscan origin, but rather because it denotes, with technical precision, an exceptionally destructive weapon.

2. Morphology and Derivation

This pattern focuses on lexical items that have passed the first stage of tests and exhibit foreign or peculiar word-formation patterns, that is, calques and borrowings, as well as items that have passed test 2a by displaying a distinctive or otherwise unusual morphology. Items within this pattern are further divided into four categories: "non-Latin derivation", comprising non-technical calques and borrowings (cf. pp. 79-84); "uncommon morphology", including items that display word-formation patterns of limited productivity in Latin (cf. pp. 84-6); "high-register morphology", consisting of items whose word-formation patterns are primarily associated with high-poetic diction (cf. pp. 86-8); and "standard morphology", which encompasses items formed according to productive patterns attested across a range of genres and contexts (cf. pp. 89-91). Items belonging to the latter category are the least linguistically and stylistically marked. In assigning items to these categories, I take into account the etymology, frequency, and distribution of their word-formation

[172] Thewrewk von Ponor (1882) 87, followed by Vahlen (1903[2]) 97 and Skutsch (1985) 696, suggests a comparison with Petron. 55.6 *luxuriae rictu Martis marcent moenia.*

patterns. This classification draws primarily on previous scholarship, whch is in some cases supplemented by original tests and interpretative considerations.

Arguably, this pattern of stylisation provides the clearest evidence in support of a distinction between Ennius' epic and tragic vocabulary.[173] The language of the *Annals* stands out for its variety and inclusivity, whereas that of the tragedies is more uniform and consistently high-register. In the *Annals*, there are 16 distinct items exhibiting foreign derivation (approximately one in every 75 items), whereas in the tragedies there are 7 such items (one in every 147 items). This contrast becomes even more pronounced when one considers the category of non-technical calques and borrowings. The *Annals* include loanwords drawn from a wide range of languages (Celtic, Etruscan, Oscan, Thracian, and possibly Illyrian), whereas the tragedies feature exclusively Graecisms.[174] Moreover, most of the Graecisms attested in the tragedies are best understood as "poetic Graecisms" (marked as PG in the tables), that is, borrowings not employed to evoke exotic settings but rather to signal a specifically poetic register (cf. pp. 49 and 80). Although poetic Graecisms also occur in the *Annals*, they are less frequent than in the tragedies. By contrast, six calques and borrowings evoking exoticism are attested in the *Annals*, but no such items occur in the tragedies.

The distribution of items exhibiting peculiar Latin morphology is likewise significant. While the *Annals* contain 7 items of uncommon morphology (including the well-known onomatopoeia *taratantara* of *ann.* 451), no items of clearly uncommon morphology are attested in the tragedies. By contrast, the category of "standard morphology" is relatively better represented in the tragedies than in the *Annals* (one item in every 64 in the tragedies, as against one in every 100 in the *Annals*). Items belonging to this category display the lowest degree of stylisation (cf. p. 89). This distinction therefore supports the view that the language of the tragedies is less varied than that of the *Annals*. The category of "high-register morphology" also reveals a noteworthy divergence between the two

[173] A similar distinction is also observable in the semantics of the two corpora (cf. pp. 207-8), though it is less evident in their morphology (cf. p. 15-9).
[174] See also pp. 222-3 and 230-2 on the differing approaches to the "Romanisation" of foreign concepts in the tragedies and the *Annals*.

corpora. Most items in this group exhibit word-formation patterns characteristic of elevated poetic genres. Accordingly, the higher incidence of such items in the tragedies (one in every 69 items) than in the *Annals* (one every 134 items) suggests that, although both corpora maintain an overall high register, the tragedies are particularly rich in the higher variants of Latin poetic diction. While individual figures may admit alternative interpretations, taken together they provide a reasonably clear picture of the distinction between Ennius' epic and tragic lexicon: despite a shared high-register patina, the lexicon of the *Annals* is more varied and inclusive than that of the tragedies.

2.1. Non-Latin Derivation (Category AL 2.1)

This category comprises stylised items exhibiting non-Latin derivation, including two different classes of items: borrowings from other languages with indigenous endings or suffixes (e.g. *pontus* at *ann.* 217) and derivatives and compounds – not necessarily coined by Ennius – formed from Latin roots but according to foreign word-formation patterns (such as *gau* at *ann.* 585, modelled on an elisional word-formation pattern attested in the Homeric poems; see below). In contrast, foreign inflectional morphology (i.e., non-Latin endings) is not considered in this analysis, as its examination depends too heavily on textual transmission, making the results insufficiently reliable.

As in all the categories examined in this thesis, items in both classes within this category must either be attested fewer than ten times across EL and CL or be predominantly confined to a specific genre or context, except for specialised languages. Loanwords predominantly attested in specialised languages, such as *agea* (denoting a specific ship deck) at *ann.* 512, are instead assigned to the category of "technical stylisation". As noted above (cf. pp. 37-8), both *Luxuslehnwörter* (i.e. borrwings that replace an existing native equivalent, such as *lychnus* at *ann.* 311, replacing Latin *lucerna*) and *Bedürfnislehnwörter* (i.e. borrowings that fill a lexical gap in the target language, such as *aer* at *ann.* 440 meaning "air" and lacking an indigenous equivalent) are treated as stylised and included in this category.

Within this category, three subgroups of items can be distinguished. First, there are items that genuinely evoke exotic atmospheres. These include borrowings from a range of languages (Celtic, Etruscan, Greek, Oscan, Thracian, and possibly Illyrian) and encompass vocabulary denoting social roles (*ambactus*, *meddix*), warfare (*falarica*, *rumpia*, *sybina*; see also the semantic usage of *spira*, cf. pp. 126-7), and perhaps seafaring (*campso*). Although these items often survive in short fragments with little or no context, it is highly plausible that they were originally employed in passages depicting foreign peoples. Such usage may have served to represent the diversity of populations conquered by Rome, thereby emphasising the city's emerging international status as a superpower. In the following table, these items are marked with the letter E (exotic-evoking).

Secondly, a number of items are Graecisms that contribute to a poetic register rather than to the evocation of exotic settings. These include *aer*, *aether*, *aethra*, *lychnus*, *melos*, *pontus*, and possibly *bouo* (cf. n. 175). Such items are marked with the acronym PG (poetic Graecism; cf. Mariotti (1951) 117 for poetic calques of Greek expressions in Ennius, and Mayer (1999) 161 for the concept of Graecisms as "a feature of style in […] poetry" more generally).

Thirdly, there is a small group of neo-formations that, while composed of Latin lexical material, are formed according to non-Latin – probably Homeric – word-formation patterns and may originate from the same source passage, (*gau*, *cael* and *do*, cf. Bettini (1979) 21-25). These items, marked with the letter N (neo-formation), may be regarded as exercises in stylistic imitation limited to three consecutive lines. In the following section, I focus on the loanwords belonging to the first group (E), since they constitute a distinctive feature of the language of the *Annals*, scarcely paralleled elsewhere in Latin, and offer particularly clear evidence of the poem's inclusive and varied lexicon.

Table AL 2.1. Stylised Lexical Items of Non-Latin Derivation in the *Annals.* Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
aer PG	140, 440	1a: poetry 4/5 (91.53%)	*uentus* (140), *Bedürfnislehnwört* (440)
aether PG	545	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*caelum*
aethra PG	416	1a: poetry 13/13 (100%) CL	*caelum*
***ambactus* E**	610	1b: 2 occurrences	*seruos*
bouo[175] PG	594	1b: 9 occurrences	*clamo*
***campso* E**	346	1b: 1 occurrence	*supero*
cael N	586	1b: 1 occurrence	*caelum*
do N[176]	587	1b: 1 occurrence	*domus*
gau N	585	1b: 1 occurrence	*gaudium*
***falarica* E**	557	1a: poetry 7/8 (87.5%) CL	*pilum*
lychnus PG	311	1b: 9 occurrences	*lucerna*
***meddix* E**	289	1b: 7 occurrences	*ductor*
melos PG	293	1a: poetry 5/6 (83.33%)	*cantus*
pontus PG	217	1a: poetry 423/429 (98.6%) CL	*mare*
***rumpia* E**	381	1b: 4 occurrences	*telum*

[175] *Boo* should be a loanword from Greek βόω (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 2127.71), notwithstanding Varro's claim (*ling.* 7.104) that it derives from *bos* and portrays the oxen's bellows.

[176] According to Bettini (1979) 22, Ennius did not intend to reproduce the Homeric δῶ (e.g. *Il.* 1.426), but rather conceived *do* as an apocope of *domum*, as suggested by the discrepancy in grammatical gender (δῶ is neuter whereas *do* is feminine).

***sybina* E**	526	1b: 1 occurrence	*telum*

Despite the absence of a broader context, ***ambactus*** (*ann*. 610) was most likely employed to evoke an exotic atmosphere. Aside from glosses, the only other attested occurrence of the term[177] appears in Caes. *Gall*. 6.15.2, where it is used in a description of the Gallic society.[178] It is therefore probable that *ambactus* occurred in a fragment relating to Gaul (cf. Skutsch (1985) 739) and served to reinforce a sense of foreignness.

The term ***campso***, occurring at *ann.* 346 *Leucatan campsant*, is an extremely rare[179] Graecism denoting a technical action of seafaring. It is therefore difficult to determine whether its use should be interpreted as exotic-evoking or as genuinely technical. Nevertheless, in *ann.* 346 *campso* is more plausibly understood as a loanword rather than a technicism, not so much because of the mention of the Greek headland of Leucatas or the Greek ending *-an* of *Leucatan*, but rather because it is employed in place of the Latin alternative *supero*. Indeed, neither the reference of Leucatas nor the ending *-an* is in itself particularly significant: rounding the headland of Leucatas formed part of a well-established route from Corcyra to the Peloponnese (cf. e.g. Cic. *Att.* 5.9.1, Liv. 26.26.1)[180] – and thus would not necessarily have been perceived as especially exotic, while the ending *-an* is ecdotically uncertain (cf. Skutsch (1985) 516). By contrast, the choice of *campso* in place of the Latin *supero* is more telling, since *supero* appears to hve been the standard verb for denoting the rounding of a headland, even within nautical language (cf. OLD *s.u.* 1877, entry 1c, and De Meo (2005[3]) 256, n. 81).[181] Accordingly, while a definitive conclusion remains elusive, it seems more likely that the use of *campso* in *ann.* 346 is not motivated by technical precision – since Ennius could readily have employed *supero* – but rather may serve to evoke a Greek atmosphere, plausibly connected with the historical setting of the fragment. According to Skutsch (1985) 516, *ann.* 346 may refer to Laevinus' expedition against Philip V in 211 BC during the First Macedonian War.

[177] Cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 26, for cognate forms attested in Frankish laws.
[178] In his excursus on Gallic society (6.11-19), Caesar uses the word *seruus* three times.
[179] Notwithstanding Priscian's gloss (2.541) on *ann.* 347 *campsas solebant uetustissimi dicere, campso* remains otherwise unattested before LL, when it acquires the meaning "turn off the road" (cf. *Itin. Silu.* 10.8), whence, possibly, Italian *cansare* (e.g. Dante, *Inf.* 12.99) and the modern *scansare*.
[180] The route is still in use today, according to Google Maps.
[181] In CL, *flecto*, a calque on *campso* (ThLL *s.u.* 895.31) is also employed.

Falarica at *ann.* 557 *quae ualide ueniunt … falarica missa* is a clear example of a borrowing employed to evoke a foreign environment and reflects Ennius' tendency to mention weapons of non-Roman origin (cf. also *rumpia* and *sybina*). The *falarica* was a long, heavy javelin fitted with an iron head, originally designed to be hurled from the walls of besieged cities, and was introduced into Roman warfare from Spain (Liv. 21.8.10 and Schulten (1911) 573-584).[182] Although *ann.* 557 survives without a broader context or book attributions from its source, the fragment was assigned to the battle of Saguntum by Schulten (1911) 577, precisely on the basis of later accounts attesting the use of *falaricae* among Spanish warriors at the outset of the Second Punic War (Liv. 21.8.10 and Sil. 1. 345-355) and his reconstruction of the Spanish provenance of the weapon. The etymology of the term, however, appears to be Etruscan. Ancient etymologists took the word to be deriving from Etruscan *fala*, a high wooden tower (cf. Paul. Fest. 88 M, Non. 555.19 M and Serv. *Aen.* 9.705),[183] whereas Bertoldi (1933) 279-91suggested it derived from Etruscan **falar* "reed bed" possibly connected to **fal-* "high".[184] In any case, regardless of its precise etymology, the *falarica* would have been perceived by a Roman audience as a distinctly foreign – whether Spanish or Etruscan – weapon, and its mention would have contributed to the characterisation of a non-Roman army.

Another highly illustrative example of a loanword employed to evoke an exotic atmosphere is ***meddix*** at *ann.* 289: *summus ibi capitur meddix, occiditur alter*. The *summus meddix* and the *meddix alter* were the two highest officeholders in Oscan society (cf. p. 38). In Latin, the word *meddix* is attested only in Enn. *ann.* 289; Liv. 23.35.13, 26.6.13 (the latter with an explicit explanation of the term) and 24.19.2; CIL 1.3208 and 1.3259; and SE 42.365.[185] Ennius could easily have replaced *meddix* with a Latin term, as Silius Italicus did in Sil. 8.525-6 *ductorum aduentum uicinis sedibus Osci / seruabant*, where the Oscan generals are referred to as *ductores* instead. By contrast, Ennius' choice of *meddix* unmistakably foregrounds the Oscan political context and serves to evoke Oscan society with particular vividness for the reader.

Despite the absence of a broader context, ***rumpia*** (*ann.* 381) is best understood as a loanword employed to evoke a foreign – specifically Thracian – military setting. Although the term entered Latin via

[182] For the history of the weapon in literary sources, see also Sieglin (1883) 356-359, n. 1, and Schulten (1950) 1341-4.
[183] By contrast, Skutsch (1985) 702-3 argues that the derivative (*hasta*) *falarica* cannot have derived directly from *fala*, but rather from an unattested **falaris*. Accordingly, he is sceptical whether *fala* and *falarica* were in fact related forms.
[184] In contrast to Livy's description of the weapon as a heavy *pilum* , Bertoldi (1933) 279-91, interprets the *falarica* as a reed-based (and presumably light) missile, akin to a *sagitta*. If Bertoldi's etymology is correct, it is conceivable that the *falarica* took its name from the word for "reed", on account of its resemblance in shape.
[185] Three *tituli operum* from Samnium. For a possible interpretation of SE 42.365, see Crawford et al. (2011) 1.261-2.

the Greek ῥομφαία, its Thracian origin appears to have been widely recognised in antiquity (cf. Plut. *Aem.* 18.5, Arrian *fr*. 103J, and Gell. 10.25.4).[186] It is therefore likely that Ennius used *rumpia* in a passage describing the equipment of Thracian soldiers, possibly in connection with the recruitment of Thracian auxiliaries into the Roman army prior to the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC (cf. Liv. 37.39.12; Vahlen (1903[2]) CXCVIII-CXCIX; Skutsch (1985) 545).

Finally, the context of ***sybina*** at *ann.* 526 *Illyri restant sicis sybinisque foedentes* offers perhaps the clearest example of Ennius' practice of characterising foreign peoples through the inclusion of loanwords drawn from their presumed languages, since the fragment explicitly attributes the use of this weapon to the Illyrians. Excluding glosses, *ann.* 526 constitutes the sole attestation of *sybina* in Latin. Paul. Fest. 346 M likewise associates the term (or even the weapon) with the Illyrians, though his testimony may ultimately depend on Ennius' passage, and the precise origin of the word remains disputed. The inconsistent spelling of the term in Greek sources (cf. LSJ *s.u.* σιβύνη 1385) points to a non-Greek origin (cf. Skustch (1985) 677-678 and n. 30), yet a number of etymological hypotheses have been proposed regarding *sybina* and the provenance of the weapon: Illyrian (Jacobsohn (1910) 214), Thracian-Phrygian (Walde (1954[3]) *s.u.* 532), Minoan (Marinatos (1936-7) 191, and Ligurian (Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933) 2.159), among others. Regardless of its ultimate etymology, Ennius evidently regarded the *sybina* as an Illyrian weapon, since he explicitly attributes its use to the Illyrians in this passage. In this way, *sybina* immediately marks the description of Illyrian armament as exotic and exemplifies a recurrent stylistic strategy in the *Annals*.[187]

2.2. Uncommon Morphology (Category AL 2.2)

Lexical items with peculiar morphologies that are not borrowings may display either uncommon or productive word-formation patterns, the latter being further subdivided into high-register and standard types. The distinction between uncommon and productive patterns is based on their degree

[186] It was probably a lance rather than a large sword as in later sources (e.g. *Lc*. 2.35); cf. Harmon (1907) 160, Skutsch (1985) 545-546, and Tomaschek (2009[4]) 148.
[187] In *ann.* 526, the *sicae* were probably mentioned to denote an ordinary dagger or for the sake of alliteration.

of productivity, as determined through individual analysis drawing primarily on existing scholarship. Items belonging to this category highlight Ennius' linguistic creativity.

Table AL 2.2. Stylised Lexical Items with Uncommon Morphology in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
dulcifer	448	1b: 2 occurrences	*dulcis*
erugo	482	1b: 2 occurrences	*emano*
imbricitor	433	1b: 2 occurrences	*ciens imbrem*
taratantara[188]	451	1b: 1 occurrence	*sonum*
tartarinus	220	1b: 1 occurrence	*tartareus*[189]
tudito[190]	136	1b: 3 occurrences	*tundo*
uagor	409	1b: 3 occurrences	*gemitus*

Dulcifer at *ann.* 448 *fici dulciferae lactantes ubere toto*, also attested at Pl. *Pseud.* 1262, exhibits a less productive word-formation pattern than might appear at a first glance. Compounds in *-fer* are in themselves extremely common in Latin (Deipser (1886) 5-10 lists 164 such formations), nevertheless they may still appear as recherché and convey a degree of poetic stylisation in a language such as Latin, which is comparatively poor in compounds (cf. p. 88 and n. 498). Compounds of this type formed from adjectival bases, however, are relatively rare. Deipser records only ten examples: *bifer, caducifer, dulcifer, frugifer* (also attested in the highly marked phrase at *ann.* 510 *terrai frugiferai*, though without a significant synchronic distribution *per se*), *grandifer, multifer, omnifer, sanifer, sacrifer*, and *serenifer* (cf. also Skutsch (1985) 605-6). On this basis, *dulcifer* may be regarded as a derivative formed according to an uncommon, or weakly productive, morphological pattern, even if it remains difficult to determine whether Ennius and his

[188] Some observations on this form are included in the discussion of the personification of the tuba through the use of *dixit* in *ann.* 451 (see pp. 137-8).
[189] The form *tartareus* is first attested in Cicero and may have not existed in EL. However, neutral alternatives to *tartarinus* may also be represented by the phrases *a Tartaro* or *e Tartaro*, depending on its precise meaning in *ann.* 220 (cf. n. 191).
[190] *Tudito* appears to be a frequentative of *tundo* (cf. Wölfflin (1887) 201), rather than a denominative derived from *tudes, -itis* (cf. ThLL *s.u. tundo* 1250). Since frequentatives are normally formed from the supine or present stem rather than directly from the verbal root (cf. Leumann (1977) 547-549), I have regarded its morphology as uncommon.

audience perceived it as such. In any case, the rare compound *dulcifer* unmistakably lends poetic elevation to the description of the *ficus ruminalis*, beneath which Romulus and Remus were suckled by the she-wolf (cf. Skutsch (1985) 605).

Tartarinus, occurring in a fragment of obscure meaning[191] at *ann.* 220-1 *corpore tartarino prognata Paluda uirago* / *cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et grauis terra*, is usually translated as "hellish" (cf. Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 1.225) and displays an irregular word-formation pattern.[192] The Latin suffix *-inus* – corresponding to Greek *-ινος* and occasionally subject to the syncope of *-i-* – is primarily used to form adjectives of material and is therefore commonly attached to bases denoting substances (e.g. *adamantinus*; cf. Leumann (1977) 321).[193] By contrast, *tartarinus* is derived from the name of a place, namely *Tartarus*. It is nevertheless possible that *tartarinus* in *ann.* 220 denotes the substance of the virago's body ("made of hellish matter") rather than her place of origin ("coming from Tartarus").[194] On this reading, Ennius appears to extend a productive suffix to a base that is semantically atypical for it.[195] The resulting adjective follows a unique word-formation pattern and stands out as markedly stylised, insofar as it compresses into a single word a meaning that would otherwise require a periphrastic expression (such as *e Tartari natura*).

2.3. High-Register Morphology (Category AL 2.3)

The category "high-register morphology" comprises items that display productive word-formation patterns and are regarded as characteristic of a particular diction for different reasons. In the *Annals*, items in this category reflect exclusively high-poetic stylisation. Accordingly, these items may also be understood as low-frequency compounds or derivatives forming a distinct

[191] In particular, the interpretation of *corpore tartarino* remains uncertain: should it be understood as an ablative of origin depending on *prognata* ("born from a hellish body"), or as an ablative of quality qualifying *uirago* ("a virago of hellish body")? Cf. Norden (1966[2]) 11 and Skutsch (1985) 395.
[192] On retaining the transmitted form *tartarinus*, cf. Norden (1966[2]) 10-11.
[193] To my knowledge, the only comparable exception in Greek and Latin is ἐσπερῖνός (attested at Xen. *Lac.* 12.6, referring to the Spartans' evening exercises).
[194] Varro, *ling.* 7.37 and Paul. Fest. 359 M gloss *tartarinus* merely as a derivative of *Tartarus*, but do not clarify whether it should be intended as "composed of hellish substance" or "coming from hell".
[195] Timpanaro (1948) 58 argues that *corpore Tartarino* should be interpreted as a periphrasis for *Tartarus* (comparable to *corpora sancta auium* for "augural birds" in *ann.* 88-9), functioning as an ablative of origin, and translates *corpore Tartarino prognata* as "born from Tartarus". In this case, *tartarinus* may simply denote a general relation between *corpus* and *Tartarus*.

subgroup within the broader pattern of poetic stylisation. This category includes two types of items that exhibit word-formation patterns associated with (high-)poetic diction: six nominal compounds with a present participle as the second member, formed on a model first attested in Naevius – the *arquitenens* type (cf. Barchiesi (1962) 381-382); and one unprefixed verb with an inchoative suffix not derived from adjectives denoting colour (*longisco*).

Furthermore, the compounds *altisonus* and *ueliuolus* are assigned to this category on the basis of their synchronic distribution rather than that of their word-formation pattern (i.e. compounds formed from an adjective and a noun with the suffix *-o/-a*), which is not restricted to any specific genre or context.[196] Since the "Naevian" class of compounds has been extrensively analysed by Barchiesi, the discussion that follows is limited to the three items that do not conform to this word-formation pattern: the adjectives *altisonus* and *ueliuolus*, and the verb *longisco*.

Table AL 2.3. Stylised Lexical Items with High-Register Morphology in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
altisonus	586	1a: poetry 8/8 (100%) CL	*qui in alto sonat*
altitonans	554	1b: 3 occurrences	*qui ex alto tonat*
altiuolans	76	1b: 2 occurrences	*auis*
bellipotens	198	1a: poetry 13/13 (100%)	*ualent in bello*
bipatens	52	1b: 3 occurrences	*apertis/portis… duabus*
longisco	438, 439	1b: 2 occurrences	*extendo*
sapientipotens	198	1b: 1 occurrence	*sapiens*
suauiloquens	304	1b: 3 occurrences	*qui loquitur suauiter*
ueliuolus	380	1a: poetry 8/8 (100%) CL	*uolantes ueloces*

[196] Ennius' extensive use of nominal compounding was inherited from Greek epics and tragedy (cf. Manzoni (1988) 295) and possibly favoured by their metrical convenience in the hexameter (cf. Jocelyn (1972) 1019, n. 328).

Despite exhibiting a word-formation pattern that is not conifined to a single genre or context in EL – namely adjective + noun + *-o/-a* (Oniga's type 1B; Oniga (1988) 88) – ***altisonus*** (*ann.* 586) and ***ueliuolus*** (*ann.* 380) should nevertheless be regarded as high-poetic formations. Both compounds occur exclusively in high-register poetic contexts, with eight attestations each.[197] This stylistic value is further reinforced by the linguistic context of the passages of the *Annals* in which they appear. At *ann.* 379-380 *quom procul aspiciunt hostes accedere uentis / nauibus ueliuolis*, *ueliuolus* occurs alongside the rare and characteristically poetic construction of *aspicio* with the AcInf (cf. Skutsch (1985) 544). Similarly, at *ann.* 586 *diuom domus altisonum cael*, where Olympus is described, *altisonus* appears in a context marked by elevated diction, including the formal adjective *diuus* and the bold formation *cael*. This evidence confirms Arens' observation (1950) *passim* (cf. also n. 498) that in Latin even compounds formed according to otherwise standard patterns may carry a degree of poetic stylisation, since compounding itself is not a fully naturalised process in the language. Accordingly, despite their standard morphology, both *altisonus* and *ueliuolus* are best classified as high-poetic compounds.

Likewise, the word-formation pattern exhibited by ***longisco*** (in EL and CL attested exclusively at *ann.* 437-8 *neque corpora firma / longiscunt quaedam*[198] and 439 *quom soles eadem facient longiscere longe*),[199] namely that of an unprefixed inchoative verb not derived from an adjective of colour,[200] appears to reflect high-poetic stylisation. Haverling (2000) 428-441 lists only five such verbs attested before 100BC: *certisco*, *flaccesco*, *longisco*, *mitesco*, and *uastesco*.[201] All five are extremely rare and occur only in high-style poetic contexts and in texts characterised by linguistic experimentation (Ennius' *Annals*, and Pacuvius' and Accius' tragedies). Accordingly, although *longisco* follows a word-formation pattern of limited productivity and could therefore also be classified under "uncommon morphology", I have chosen to include it among items exhibting high-register morphology.

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[197] *Altisonus*: Enn. *ann.* 586, *trag.* 88 (*Andromache*) and 188 (*Iphigenia*); Cic. *carm. frg.* 20.1; Sen. *Phaedr.* 1134, *Ag.* 582, *Herc. O.* 530; Iuv. 11.181 (mocking Virgil). *Veliuolus*: Enn. *ann.* 380, *trag.* 111 (*Andromache*); Laev. *carm. frg.* 11; Lucr. 5.1442; Verg. *Aen.* 1.224; Ov. *Pont.* 4.5.42 and 4.16.21; CIL 9.60 (a *carmen epigraphicum*).

[198] Rocca (1977) 197-9 argues that the fragment should be intended as "nor do the bodies continue to grow once they reach maturity", deriving *longiscere* from *longus* in the sense of "tall" (cf. *longique cupressi* in *ann.* 223).

[199] In *ann.* 439, it should be noted that *longiscere* occurs within a figura etymologica with *longe*, which may have facilitated its adoption.

[200] This is a productive class throughout the history of Latin (cf. André (1949) 243-244).

[201] On this evidence, Skutsch (1985) 598 appears to be mistaken in asserting that, in EL, inchoative verbs derived from *-is* adjectives outnumber those formed from *-us* adjectives.

2.4. Standard Morphology (Category AL 2.4)

The final category within the second pattern of stylisation, "standard morphology", comprises peculiar lexical items formed according to productive word-formation patterns attested across multiple genres and contexts. Items in this category display a lower degree of stylistic markedness than those with uncommon or high-register morphologies, but a higher degree than their neutral alternatives. A case in point is the adjective *genitalis* at *ann.* 110-1 *Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aeuom / degit*, referring to the gods who begot Romulus and, according to Cic. *de orat.* 3.155, coined by Ennius (cf. n. 48). While *genitalis* conveys a higher level of stylisation than a relative periphrasis such as *qui* (*eum*) *genuerunt*, it is less marked than a more elaborate compound expressing the same notion, such as **Romuloparens*.

Table AL 2.4. Stylised Lexical Items with Standard Morphology in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
condecoro	8	1b: 7 occurrences	*decoro*
consilesco	473	1b: 4 occurrences	*conticesco*
crebrisurus	623	1b: 1 occurrence	*suris plenus*
doctiloquus	593	1b: 2 occurrences	*doctus ad dicendum*
genitalis	110	1c: Cic. *de orat*. 3.155	*qui genuerunt*
laetificus	585	1b: 7 occurrences	*qui laetum facit*
operto	529	1b: 1 occurrence	*operio*
permarceo	548	1b: 1 occurrence	*cado*
russesco	245	1b: 1 occurrence	*fio russus*
toruiter	93	1b: 2 occurrences	*acriter*
tractim	416	1b: 9 occurrences	*lente*
uero	374	1b: 1 occurrence	*dico uera*

Operto at *ann.* 529 *tergus †igitur sagus pinguis opertat* is a hapax legomenon, coined according to a standard word-formation pattern that is not restricted to any particular genre or context. Frequentative and intensive verbs – originally formed to reinforce the meaning of their simplex bases – often came to assume the same meaning as those bases and, in many cases, replaced them in everyday Latin usage. This development is reflected both in the outcomes of the Romance languages (e.g. Fr. *jéter*, It. *gettare*) and in their more frequent use in Plautus than in Terence (cf. Palmer (1954) 77, 90, 169).[202] At the same time, such formations also occur in elevated literary genres, where the pattern remains productive as a means of providing a more recherché alternative to a frequent simplex verb (Sjoestedt (1925) 135).

The immediate context of *ann.* 529 does not contain any clear indicators of either low or high register. It is therefore possible that *operto* in this passage simply retains an intensive value ("cover thoroughly" or "repeatedly"), especially given that the cloak in question (*sagus*) is described as *pinguis*. Nevertheless, the broader context of the fragment may point towards a degree of low-register colouring. According to Suet. *Prata* 292.7 Reifferscheid, *tergus* is used with reference to animals, as opposed to *tergum* which is applied to humans; on this basis, *ann.* 529 may originally have described a rural or agricultural scene.[203] This reconstruction, however, remains tentative – both because it is unclear whether Suetionus' observation applies straightforwardly to Ennian usage and because, even if accepted, it does not necessarily entail that *operto* itself reflects a low register. In conclusion, *operto* exemplifies a standard word-formation pattern attested both in low- and high-register contexts, and its use at *ann.* 529 may either be motivated by semantic considerations (the expression of intensity) or involve a degree of low-register stylisation.

Tractim, occurring at *ann.* 415-6 *interea fax* / *occidit Oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra*, is a low-frequency adverb (nine attestations across EL and CL) formed according to a standard word-formation pattern not confined to any particular genre or context. In EL, *tractim* appears both in a vivid depiction of a sunset on the sea – possibly influenced by Hom. *Il.* 8.485 (cf. p. 120) – and in Plaut. *Amph.* 313 *quid si ego illum tractim tangam, ut dormiat*?, a line spoken by Mercurius that displays no evident stylistic colouring. On this basis, *tractim* does not appear to reflect any specific type of stylisation.

[202] Wölfflin (1887) 205-206 and 219 suggests that frequentative and intensive verbs were probably popular because their endings were perceived as fuller and more emphatic.
[203] The setting of *ann.* 529 was probably Gallc, since the term *sagus*, although common in Latin, is a Celtic loanword, and the production of thick cloaks was a Gaulish tradition (Skutsch (1985) 679-80).

Likewise, the morphology of *tractim* – that of deverbative adverbs in *-tim* – does not seem to be restricted to a particular genre or type of context. Maltby (2023) 268-9 argues that adverbs in *-tim* are more frequent in comedy than in tragedy, perhaps because they are more widely used in the technical language of manual activities.[204] However, although Maltby's analysis acknowledges the existence of three different classes of *-tim* adverbs – old accusatives of the *partim* type, deverbatives of the *tractim* type, and denominatives in *-atim* of the *guttatim* type (following Leumann (1977) 501-2) – it does not systematically distinguish between them. Moreover, the focus of Maltby's study lies not on neologisms or rare formations, but on adverbial morphology more generally. As a result, he does not differentiate between highly recurrent and low-frequency forms – the examination of the latter may better illustrate the productivity of the word-formation pattern and be more likely to isolate other factors motivating the use of forms with such morphology, such as semantic nuance or register variation. By contrast, a closer examination of low-frequency deverbative adverbs in *-tim*[205] indicates that in EL this word-formation pattern is not genre-specific: such adverbs occur in low-register genres (satire and comedy) in 55.37% of the cases, in high-register poetry (tragedy and epic) in 37.19%, and in high-register prose (historiography) in 7.44%.[206] Accordingly, *tractim* should be regarded as a low-frequency item formed according to a standard morphological pattern (deverbatives in *-tim*), without any strong association with a particular type of stylisation.

3. Other and Doubtful Stylisation (Category AL 3)

Finally, the category of "other and doubtful stylisation" encompasses items that display forms of stylisation which either elude the preceding patterns (such as interjections and other elements that imitate conversational language, the analysis of which pertains more to pragmatics rather than to stylistics) or whose type of stylisation is difficult to determine with confidence.

[204] In particular, denominative adverbs in *-atim* may have been employed in the technical languages of manual workers (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 266).
[205] *Cautim*, *cossim* (from *conquinisco*; cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 146), *disertim*, *ductim*, *perplexim*, *recessim*, *restrictim*, *tractim*, *tolutim* (from *tollo*; cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 641).
[206] The comedy parameter has been applied.

Table AL 3.1. Lexical Items with Other and Doubtful Stylisation in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
apio	517	1b: 1 occurrence	*necto*
carino	458, 576[207]	1b: 5 occurrences	*obtrecto*
concorditer	101	1b: 5 occurrences	*concordes*
cordatus	329	1b: 4 occurrences	*prudens*
ecquis[208]	339	1a: conversational contexts 135/139 (94.71%)	*quis*
ei mihi	442	1a: conversational contexts 32/33 (92.58%)	interjection[209]
exaugeo	265	1b: 7 occurrences	*extendo*
extemplo	377	1a: Plautus 74/83 (80.88%)[210]	*repente*
foras	85	1a: conversational contexts 183/189 (92.2%)	*coram*
gracilentus	239	1b: 3 occurrences	*gracilis*[211]
heia	603	1a: conversational contexts 32/32 (100%)	interjection
horior	424	1b: 1 occurrence	*hortor*
nox[212]	423	1b: 4 occurrences	*nocte*
ningulus	131	1b: 2 occurrences	*nullus*

[207] In *ann.* 576 *contra carinantes uerba atque oscena profatus, carino* occurs in the alliterative phrase *contra carinantes.* On a possible Greek derivation of the use of *carino* in *ann.* 576, see pp. 135-6.
[208] On the use of *ecquis* in EL, see Bodelot (2023) 138-56.
[209] Interjections reflect the deliberate imitation of conversational language; their omission constitutes a neutral alternative (cf. pp. 38-9).
[210] Occurrences of *extempulo* are also included.
[211] Cf. n. 151.
[212] The use of *nox* instead of *nocte* in *ann.* 423 *si luci si nox si mox si iam data sit frux* appears to be direclty motivated by the rhytmic and phonetic effect of the line.

pigreo	401	1b: 2 occurrences	*piger sum*
pol	94	1a: conversational contexts 323/323 (100%)	interjection
posco	183	1a: comedy 67/72 (83.15%)	*peto*
remano	5	1b: 3 occurrences	*repleo*
surus[213]	540	1b: 1 occurrence	*palus*
tamenetsi	560	1b: 5 occurrences	*etsi*
termo	466, 467	1b: 3 occurrences	*terminus*
uolup	276	1b: 3 occurrences[214]	*uoluptas*

Although ***extemplo*** occurs abundantly in Plautus (seventy-four attestations, as against nine in the rest of the EL corpus combined), its use at *ann.* 377 *uerrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flauo / caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum* does not appear to correlate with Plautine or comic usage. The passage depicts a maritime scene that is seemingly devoid of features characeristic of comedy. By contrast, it displays several markers of high-register poetic stylisation, including the alliteration *mare marmore*, the threefold variation in the designation of the sea through ornamental modifiers (*placidum mare, marmore flauo* and *caeruleum sale*), and the metaphor *marmore flauo*.

Extemplo originated in the technical *sermo auguralis* as a derivative of *templum* (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u. templum* 681). By Plautus' times, it appears to have become established in everyday language but, according to Hofmann (1985[2]) 212-213, was rapidly abandoned – a development he treats as typical of expressions denoting swift actions. Hofmann's reconstruction, however, seems unconvincing, and the peculiar distribution of *extemplo* in EL seems more plausibly attributable to Plautus' personal preference for the term. First, the word is used with comparable frequency by Plautus' and Terence's contemporaries (four attestations versus three). Secondly, *extemplo* occurs in Plautus' early and late comedies alike, and none of

[213] In *ann.* 540 *unus surum Surus ferre, tamen defendere possent*, *surus* is embedded in a wordplay on the homographic ethnonym.
[214] The fixed phrases *uolup est* and *uolup facere sibi* (*animo suo*) are excluded from the count.

its later attestations appear in a clearly archaising contexts, indicating no discernible diachronic shift in its usage over the course of his career. For these reasons, the uneven distribution of *extemplo* in EL is unlikely to reflect a broader diachronic sociolinguistic change in everyday language.

Nevertheless, Plautus' frequent use of *extemplo* also remains difficult to explain from a synchronic perspective, since the term occurs in his comedies without any consistent association with particular speaking characters, linguistic contexts, or specific plot situations. Moreover, the disproportionately high frequency of *extemplo* in Plautus is not mirrored by other adverbs meaning "suddenly". Taken together, *confestim*, *extemplo*, *ilico*, *repente*, and *statim* occur with a comparable frequency in Plautus and Terence (Plautus: 159 occurrences, approximately one per 1,038 words; Terence: 40 occurrences, approximately one per 1,250 words), and among these adverbs *extemplo* alone exhibits such a marked discrepancy between the two authors.[215] For these reasons, the stylistic value of *extemplo* cannot be determined with certainty.

The high incidence of ***foras*** (*ann.* 85) in conversational contexts – namely drama, oratory, and direct speeches, (92.2%) – may be related to the need to convey spatial orientation or movement in spoken language, often in connection with the performative convention of describing actions taking place off stage, indoors, or outdoors. In addition, *foras* is predominantly associated with *sermo uulgaris* (ThLL *s.u.* 1034.72-76). In *ann.* 85 *interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis.* / *Exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux*, however, *foras* does not appear to serve either a conversational or dramatic function, nor does it reflect the everyday usage. First, it is employed in the sense of *coram*, rather than to indicate a specific direction or location. Secondly, it occurs within a highly formal narrative context, namely the description of the vulture omen preceding to the foundation of Rome, and thus cannot be attributed to low-register diction. Consequently, it remains unclear why Ennius chose *foras* in this passage and whether its use was intended to convey any particular type of stylisation.

The use of ***posco*** in *ann.* 183 *nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis* may reflect a feature of low conversational language while simultaneously contributing to a larger refined syntactic unit. In EL, *posco* appears to retain a more forceful and concrete meaning than *peto*, in keeping with its inchoative suffix.

[215] *Confestim* occurs twice in Plautus (1 per 82,500 words) and does not occur in Terence. *Ilico* appears eighty-two times in Plautus (1 per 2,013 words) and thirty-two times in Terence (1 per 1,563 words). *Repente* occurs eight times in Plautus (1 per 20,625) and five times in Terence (1 per 10,000 words). *Statim* appears twice in Plautus (1 per 82,500 words) and once in Terence (1 per 50,000 words).

This may help to explain its high frequency in comedy (83.15%), where insistent or importunate requests often serve comic purposes. The EL examples collected in ThLL *s.u.* 70.19-83.11 show a tendency for *posco* to be used in rather mundane demands – for objects, money, food, women, or sexual gratification – with the notable exception of *Rhet. Her.* 4.23.2 *ratiocinatio est per quam ipsi a nobis rationem poscimus quare quidque dicamus*, the latest text within the period considered. In *ann.* 183, *posco* occurs in Pyrrhus' honourable refusal to accept a ransom for the exchange of prisoners, and may therefore carry a faintly disparaging nuance. At the same time, however, expressions such as *petere aurum* also occur in contexts of unacceptable or improper requests for money (cf. Lucil. 684; Plaut. *Bacch.* 631a), suggesting that semantic colouring alone cannot fully account for Ennius' choice of verb. Prosodic considerations are likewise relevant: *posco* contributes to the balanced structure of the line, which is articulated into two hemistichs (*nec mi* + object + verb) organised around a strong caesura – a symmetry that could not easily be preserved if *pĕto* were substituted for *posco*. It is therefore plausible that *posco* was selected both for its association with mundane or insistent demands, familiar from comic usage, and for its suitability in shaping a formally refined syntactic pattern.

Semantics

General Overview

This section aims to identify and analyse stylised semantic usages of lexical items in Ennius' *Annals*, that is, cases in which words or expressions are employed with a non-standard meaning. Such usages are identified on the basis of low frequency (fewer than ten attestations in EL and CL) or significant synchronic distribution (occurring in the same type of context in at least 80% of attestations). By way of illustration, the semantic usage of *pulso* in the sense of "leap" at *ann.* 1 *Musae, quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olumpum* may be regarded as stylised, since this meaninig is attested exclusively in poetic texts in EL (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 2605.62 and ff.). If the same lexical item conveys different meanings in different passages of the *Annals*, each usage is analysed separately, as it may reflect distinct types of stylisation. Thus, *ora* functions as a synecdoche meaning "doorstep" at *ann.* 80; constitutes a possible literary calque from Greek when used in the sense of "[initial] phases" at *ann.* 164; and is not stylised when attested with the meaning of "region" in *ann.* 109 and 135, where it forms part of a well-established and frequently attested synecdoche.

I have identified 65 stylised semantic usages of lexical items in the *Annals*, which are classified into five different patterns according to the type of stylisation they reflect. The first pattern "archaic stylisation" comprises usages of lexical items whose meanings were already obsolete by Ennius' time. The second pattern "poetic stylisation" includes semantic usages characteristic of poetic diction, as indicated by their restriction to poetic texts. The third pattern "technical stylisation" encompasses usages in which words are employed with meanings likely derived from specialised technical jargons. The fourth pattern "semantic calques" consists of semantic usages plausibly influenced by foreign languages. This pattern is further subdivided into "literary calques", which are paralleled in Greek literary sources, and "non-literary calques", which are not attested in literary

texts but may reflect the influence of foreign languages in non-literaty contexts. The fifth pattern "stylised usages featuring tropes" includes stylised semantic usages achieved thorugh the adoption of tropes.

From this final group, I exclude lexical items used in similes or in well-established conceptual metaphors, that is, metaphors that have become part of the neutral language (e.g. *caput* for the extremity of an object, as in *ann.* 511 *capitibus nutantis pinos rectosque cupressos*, cf. ThLL *s.u.* 408.39 an ff.). Semantic usages within such conceptual metaphors may be compared to those found in fixed phrases, since they no longer carry a marked stylistic value.[216] Likewise, terms employed in similes are excluded from the analysis, as they retain their inherent meaning and thus do not involve semantic reconfiguration. For instance, *imber* in the simile *undique conueniunt uelut imber tela tribuno* (*ann.* 391) preserves its basic sense of "rain", whereas in the metaphor *hastati spargunt hastas. Fit ferreus imber* (*ann.* 266), *imber* acquires the stylised meaning of "a multitude [falling from above]".[217] Accordingly, the analysis of similes pertains to rhetorics rather than semantics.

Even more so than in the case of stylised lexicon, the analysis presented here may admit alternative interpretations. In the *Annals*, the sense in which a word is used is not always clear owing to the fragmentary state of the text. Where the meaning of a word is disputed, I generally exclude it from the analysis, unless one interpretation appears clearly preferable. Moreover, the data collection in this section necessarily relies on dictionaries and thesauri and is therefore influenced by the incomplete state of the ThLL. Finally, the division into patterns should be regarded as an artificial heuristic, intended solely to facilitate a general understanding of the stylised semantics of

[216] Cf. Strik Lievers (2022) 94. The distinction between conceptual (or consistent) and conflictual (or living) metaphors broadly corresponds to the fourfold classification of tropes identified by Lausberg (1998[3]) 248-9, in ancient grammatical theory. In Lausberg's scheme, "partial inventions by the poet" and the "tropes […] become current in certain literary genres" align with conflictual or living metaphors, in that they involve a stylised use of lexical items. By contrast, "tropes […] become current in colloquial language" and the "necessary tropes, not primarily intended for *ornatus*, but to meet the need for designation" correspond to conceptual or consistent metaphors and not entail stylised usage of lexical items.
[217] Cf. Lausberg (1998[3]) 200.

the *Annals* and inevitably subject to overlap. For these reasons, this section in particular should be approached with caution.

1. Archaic Stylisation (Category AS 1)

The first pattern "archaic stylisation" comprises usages of words with obsolete or archaic meanings, namely meanings which were no longer standard at the time of composition but had presumably been current in the earlier stages of the language (or were at least perceived as such by the author). Such usages are identified primarily through etymological analysis, comparison with morphologically related forms or cognates in other languages, and the recognition of fossilised uses in contexts that are themselves clearly stylised.

Table AS 1. Semantic Usages of Archaic Stylisation in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning[218]	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative[219]
arceo	contain	556	1a: prose 13/16 (81.25%) CL	*coerceo*
faueo	wish	418	1b: 2 occurrences	*uolo* (*uelle*)

The use of ***arceo*** with the meaning of "contain" (i.e. *coerceo*) at *ann.* 555-6[220] *qui fulmine claro / omnia per sonitus arcet, terram mare caelum* provides an example of the archaic practice of substituting a compound verb with a simplex. Excluding cases motivated primarily by phonetic or metrical considerations,[221] the employment of simplex verbs in place of compounds may represent an archaic

[218] The meanings provided are not always literal, but rather contribute to an understanding of the fragment indipendently of the stylised usage adopted by the author.
[219] In this section, neutral alternatives are defined as words that conventionally convey a very similar meaning and are metrically appropriate, including morphological variants, synonyms, or the tenour of a trope (i.e. the underlying term exemplified by the vehicle; cf. Richards (1965[2]) 96-7; e.g. *auriga* for *gubernator* in *ann.* 465).
[220] On a papyrus from Herculaneum, published in 1990, this fragment is assigned to the sixth book of the *Annals* (cf. Kleve (1990) 9; and Suerbaum (1995) 43-5).
[221] Cf. Wilson (1900) 209-10.

residue,[222] a poeticism[223] (*for* for *profor* at *ann.* 16, *undo* for *abundo* at *ann.* 316; cf pp. 102-3), or a feature associated with colloquial or technical registers.[224] In addition, a simplex verb may be used with the same meaning as its compound counterpart within the same passage in order to avoid repetition;[225] such alternation may occur in both simplex-compound and compound-simplex sequences,[226] even across a relatively wide span of lines.[227] This phenomenon is characteristic of colloquial registers in many Indo-European languages.[228] Determining the specific function served by the use of a simplex verb for a compound – whether archaising, poetic, technical or colloquial, or motivated by stylistic variation – often proves difficut, and multiple factors may operate simultaneously.[229]

Arceo likely belongs to the category of archaic simplex verbs, its original sense being "contain", as suggested by related terms such as *arca* and possibly *arcifinus.* When *arceo* came to specialise in the sense "forbid, keep off", *coerceo* appears to have taken over its earlier meaning of "contain".[230] The prohibitive sense of *arceo* may have developed at a very early stage, perhaps already in PIE, as suggested by cognate forms in other Indo-European languages (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 43-4). In Latin, this sense is already attested in Pacuv. *trag.* 304-5 *quamquam aetas senet, satis habeam uirium ut te* / *ara arceam*.

By Ennius' time, *arceo* in the sense "contain" was therefore probably already archaic. Its archaising semantic use in *ann.* 555-6 – further highlighted by both its prosodic and syntactic prominence, as *arceo* precedes the caesura and introduces the formulaic tricolon *terram mare caelum*[231] – accords well with the likely context of the fragment, namely the evocation of Jupiter's unique and all-encompassing power. At the

[222] Cf. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965) 298. As Wilson (1900) 204 observes, simplex verbs chronologically preceded their compounds and left traces in legal and religious formulae.
[223] Cf. Schmalz and Stolz (1900) 452-3; Wilson (1900) 209-10; and Hofmann and Szantyr (1965) 298.
[224] In these varieties of Latin, simplex verbs must have persisted long after their disappearance from the literary language (cf. Wilson (1900) 245; Hofmann and Szantyr (1965) 298).
[225] Cf. Enn. *trag.* 10-12 *famam extolles* […] *famam tollunt*; Fraenkel (1964a) 441.
[226] Cf. Renehan (1977) 246.
[227] Cf. Clausen (1955) 51.
[228] Cf. Watkins (1967) 117.
[229] Cf. Wilson (1902) 50. Conversely, the substitution of compound verbs for simplex verbs is predominantly colloquial, reflecting the progressive weakening of the semantic force of the preverb, as suggested by their development in the Romance languages and the emergence of compounds with two or more preverbs (cf. Schmalz and Stolz (1900) 453–454; Hofmann and Szantyr (1965) 300). The two instances of compound verbs used in place of simplex verbs in the *Annals* do not reflect colloquial stylisation: the use of *configo* in the sense of *figo* (*ann.* 517) is technical (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 211.67-212.48), whereas *profor* for *for* in *ann.* 576 is poetic (cf. ThLL *s.u.*1733.6-59).
[230] Although the technical meaning of *arceo* as "channel waters" (Cic. *nat. deor.* 2.136, 152, *Muren.* 22, *top.* 38, 29, 43 – whence it was adopted by late-antique authors; cf. ThLL *s.u.* 442.63-4) must be related to the concept of "contain" seen in *ann.* 555-6, the context of *ann.* 555-6 – probably referring to Jupiter's omnipotence – does not appear to evoke a technical water-engeneering setting.
[231] Cf. Skutsch (1985) 702.

same time, unless a contrast were drawn with a lesser (perhaps human) power, it is unlikely that a closely adjacent passage would have employed *coerceo* in the same sense. Accordingly, *arceo* here most plausibly reflects archaic, and possibly poetic, stylisation, rather than serving merely as a device to avoid repetition of *coerceo*.

Similarly, the use of ***fauentes*** in the sense "wish" at *ann.* 418 *matronae*[232] *moeros complent spectare fauentes* – as suggested in SD *Georg.* 1.18 *fauens pro uolens* [...] *fauere enim ueteres etiam uelle dixerunt. Ennius 'matronae* […]*'* and 4.230 *ponitur eadem uox et pro 'uelle': apud eundem Ennium in XVI. 'Matronae* [...]*'*[233] – may reflect an instance of archaic stylisation. This interpretation, while supported by the context of the fragment, remains tentative, since two principal difficulties argue against it. First, both the syntactic structure of *ann.* 418 and, consequently, the interpretation of *faueo* in this passage are disputed. The use of *faueo* in the sense "wish" is extremely rare before LL, with the only secure attestation occurring in CIL 6.10969 (*Clotho et fauit rupisse suas quoque fila sorores*).[234] On this basis, Bierma (1907) 350-1 proposed that *fauentes* in *ann.* 418 should instead be understood as "watch with favour", with *spectare* depending syntactically on a now-lost governing verb.[235] This reading, however, requires assuming that SD misinterpreted the passage and that his source transmitted a mutilated version of the original text, perhaps excerpted by a grammarian primarily interested in the form *moeros*. Although such a reconstruction is not impossible, it appears more complex than interpreting *faueo* directly as "wish". Secondly, even if *faueo* is taken to mean "wish", this does not necessarily qualify the usage as a semantic archaism,[236] but rather as a case of stylised semantic extension. Given the close semantic proximity between the standard sense of *faueo*

[232] In view of its placement in the sixteenth book of the *Annals* and its evocation of Homeric τειχοσκοπίαι, *ann.* 418 is unlikely to describe a war scene in Italy (cf. Elliott (2007) 51). On the use of *matronae* for non-Roman women, see n. 573.
[233] In Verg. *Georg.* 1.17-8, however, *faueo* means "look upon with favour", and at 4.230 – where *faue* is not the only variant – "be silent".
[234] CIL 6.10969 is a hexametric funerary inscription from Rome, dated to 117-138 AD, which exhibits several syntactic irregularities (e.g. *nec* […] *uel{l}is cognoscere*, singular *tenetur* with multiple subjects). In Ov. *fast*. 100 *fauet* is attested in only one manuscript (the principal variant being the meaningless *facit*) and has been variously emended (cf. Dörrie (1971) 98). Similarly, in Plin. *nat.* 37.205 *Salue, parens rerum omnium Natura, teque nobis Quiritum solis celebratam esse numeris omnibus tuis faue*, the infinitive may be syntactically indeprendent of *faue*: "Hail, Nature, parent of all things, and since you have been celebrated in all your aspects only by us among the Quirites, be favourable" (cf. e.g. Saint-Denis (1972) 125-6; Eichholz (1989) 332-3).
[235] He nevertheless concludes that it is impossible to decide between the two interpretations.
[236] SD's claim that *fauere enim ueteres etiam uelle dixerunt* indicates only that authors regarded *faueo* used in the sense of *uolo* as ancient in his time; it does not imply that Ennius himself perceived the usage as archaic.

("favour") and that used in *ann.* 418 ("wish"), it is also conceivable that such shift arose naturally, without any deliberate intention to invoke archaic diction.

Nevertheless, the context of *ann.* 418 lends some support to an interpretation in terms of archaising stylisation, since the fragment appears to describe an epic topos – the τειχοσκοπία[237] – from the perspective of a social group whose speech was conventionally represented in archaic terms, namely the *matronae*.[238] In addition, *ann.* 418 also displays the archaic spelling *moeros*.[239] For these reasons, although the case cannot be demonstrated conclusively, interpreting the usage *faueo* in this passage as a semantic archaism remains a plausible possibility.

2. Poetic Stylisation (Category AS 2)

The second pattern of stylised semantics, "poetic stylisation", comprises usages of lexical items in secondary meanings specifically associated with poetic diction or embedded in refined phonetic or syntactic structures. Such identification is based both on the immediate context within the *Annals* and the synchronic distribution of the usage. As in the case of lexical stylisation (cf. pp. 52-3), this pattern encompasses a range of semantic usages associated with different poetic genres and registers. This pattern must be distinguished from the first category of the fourth pattern "literary semantic calques", since the usages grouped here are not paralleled in the extant corpus of Greek literature. At the same time, it would be misleading to characterise them as uniquely Latin, as analoguous semantic developments may have recurred in now-lost Greek literary texts.

[237] The τειχοσκοπία scenes in the *Iliad* (3.121-244 and 22.460-5) do not exhibit any linguistic usage comparable to *faueo* in the sense of "wish".
[238] Cf. Adams (1984) 44.
[239] The *-oe-* or *-oi-* spellings for *-ū-* appear to have been obsolete by Ennius' time, as suggested by the epigraphic evidence. Indeed, in EL inscriptions, these spellings are commonly attested only in the fossilised forms *coirauit*/*coerauit* and the similarly inflected forms of *curare*. Elsewhere, they occur only sporadically: in forms of *oetilis*/*oitilis* and *oetor* in three legal inscriptions (the *lex Acilia repetundarum*, the *lex agraria* of 111, and the *Senatus Consultum de Tiburtis*); in *loidus*/*loedus* in five dedicatory inscriptions from Capua and one from Falerii; in *ploirume* in one of the *Sepulcra Scipionum* inscriptions, and in *Poenicio*, *oina*, and *moinicipium* in the aforementioned *lex agraria* of 111.

Similarly, the absence of clear Latin precedents for the stylised semantics of the *Annals* may in some cases be attributed not to their actual non-existence, but rather to the extremely limited state of the surviving pre-Ennian corpus. Indeed, despite Ennius' apparent disdain for the Latin literature that preceded him (cf. *ann.* 206-7 *scripsere alii rem* / *uorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant*), certain stylistic, morphological, and lexical influences from Naevius can nonetheless be detected.[240]

Most semantic usages in this pattern involve simplex verbs employed in the sense of their compound counterparts: *for* in the sense of *profor* (notably, the use of *profor* in place of *for* likewise reflects poetic stylisation, see below), *uerso* in the sense of *euerto* (with the addition of an intensive suffix), and *undo* in the sense of *abundo*. The substitution of simplex verbs for compounds may constitute one of the most significant Latin poetic influence discernible in the stylised semantics of the *Annals*. The preference for simplex verbs over compounds frequently aligns with the poetic register and cannot always be explained by metrical or phonetic constraints (cf. Wilson (1900) 209-10; pp. 98-9). Several factors may account for this tendency. First, the omission of the preverb produces a semantically broader or less determinate meaning, inviting the reader to infer the precise nuance intended.[241] Secondly, in some cases the meanings of simplex verbs were gradually displaced by newly formed compounds, prompting poets to revive the simplex as a semantic archaism (cf. *arceo* in *ann.* 556; pp. 98-100). Thirdly, even when no diachronic semantic devolpment is involved, the use of a simplex verb where the neutral register would normally prefer a compound may be perceived as recherché, thereby conferring a distinctively stylised quality to the diction.

This practice appears to be specifically Latin. Although instances of simplex verbs used in place of compound verbs – sometimes with slight semantic modifications – are attested in Attic tragedy

[240] Cf. Skutsch (1985) 8 and 369-70 (with the significant testimonium in Cic. *Brut.* 75 on Ennius' debt to Naevius' depiction of war scenes: *qui a Naeuio sumpsisti multa si fateris, uel si negas sur*[*ri*]*puisti*). Additionally, Ennius' relatively extensive use of nominal compounds ending in *-ns* appears to have been influenced by Naevius (cf. Barchiesi (1962) 381-2, cf. also pp. 86-7).
[241] Cf. Schmalz and Stolz (1900) 452-3.

and in Herodotus (cf. Meillet (1930) 209-10), the interaction between simplex and compound verbs in Greek texts seems to follow different principles. First, compound verbs with μετά or ἔξ may be employed to intensify or reinforce the meaning of a clause, even where the simplex verb would suffice (e.g. Eur. *IA* 343 μεταβαλὼν ἄλλους τρόπους).[242] Secondly, a preverb may appear only once when it logically governs two coordinated verbs (e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 537 καὶ ξυμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω τῆς αἰτίας).[243] Thirdly, simplex verbs may be used to avoid repeating a compound (e.g. Eur. *HF* 487-9 πῶς ἂν ὡς ξουθόπτερος / μέλισσα **συνενέγκαιμ**᾽ἂν ἐκ πάντων γόους, / ἐς ἓν δ᾽**ἐνεγκοῦσ**᾽ἀθρόον ἀποδοίην δάκρυ;),[244] a practice likewise attested in other Indo-European languages.[245] Greek authors, however, do not seem to employ simplex verbs in place of compounds as a stylistic device.

Likewise, the almost exclusively poetic synchronic distribution in EL and CL (the sole exception being Apul. *met.* 2.29.2) indicates that use of the compound *profor* in the sense of the simplex *for* conforms this pattern of stylisation, perhaps functioning as a recherché alternative to a standard form. The case of *cerno* used in the sense of *certo* may be comparable. Simplex verbs can at times be preferred to their iterative counterparts as a means of achieving high-poetic stylisation, since iteratives were often perceived as less elevated (cf. p. 217 and Sjoestedt (1925) 137).

Finally, two lexical items appear to be employed with otherwise unattested meanings primarily because they form part of refined rhetoric or phonetic structures, at the expenses of strict semantic precision. Such usages are treated here as instances of poetic stylisation in a broad sense – not in opposition to prose stylisation (similar constructions may occur in examples of *Kunstprosa*) – but as features embedded in elaborate structures characteristic of literary discourse rather than of ordinary syntax. First, the use of *sese expleo* in the sense of "abandon a place" (lit. "empty oneself from somewhere")[246] at *ann.* 518 *nauibus explebant sese terrasque replebant* appears to be influenced by

[242] Cf. Kühner and Gerth (1904) 563.
[243] Cf. Kühner and Gerth (1904) 568.
[244] Cf. Renehan (1969) 77-85.
[245] Cf. p. 99 and n. 228.
[246] This usage is otherwise unattested, notwithstanding certain grammarians' interpretations of Ter. *Hec.* 755 and Verg. *Aen.* 6.545 (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1720.81-1.4).

the figura etymologica with *replebant*. This pairing reflects the fondness for wordplay characteristic of the *Annals* and may ultimately derive by Hellenistic poetic models (cf. Wülfling von Martitz (1972) 263-4; cf. also n. 341 for the personified use of *rideo* in the atanaclasis of *ann.* 446-7).[247] Second, the usage of *frux* in the sense of *homo frugi* at *ann.* 314 *sed quid ego haec memoro? dictum factumque facit frux* is otherwise unattested and difficult to account for; indeed, Skutsch (1985) 494 even suggests that *frux* might belong to the now-lost continuation of the following line. In any case, the monosyllabic form *frux* contributes to the brisk rhythm of the hemistich *dictum factumque facit frux*,[248] reinforcing the portrayal of the upright man's readiness for action alongside the proverbial formula *dictum factumque* (cf. e.g. Greek ἅμ᾽ἔ́πος ἅμ᾽ἔ́ργον and modern parallels such as Italian "detto, fatto" and German "gesagt, getan"; cf. Otto (1890) 112; Skutsch (1985) 493-4). Moreover, *frux* is integrated into the alliterative sequence *factumque facit frux*, further strengthening its rhetorical effect.

Table AS 2. Semantic Usages of Poetic Stylisation in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word(s)	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
cerno[249]	fight	185, 569[250]	1a: poetry 6/6	*certo*

[247] Neither example, however, is classified under the category of "literary semantic calques" as they reproduce a general feature also found in Greek literature without constituting a translation or adaptation of a specific Greek image.

[248] A comparable usage of *frux* may be observed in *ann.* 423 *si luci si nox si mox si iam data sit frux*. Here, although employed in the common sense of "result", *frux* occurs alongside other eight monosyllables; replacing it with the semantic equivalent *bonum* would disrupt this emphatic sequence of monosyllables. On this line, see also the discussion of adverbial *nox* at n. 114.

[249] For a full discussion of this usage see pp. 216-20.

[250] I disagree with Skutsch (1985) 710, who interprets cerno in *ann.* 569 *olli cernebant magnis de rebus agentes* as "dispute" rather than "fight". He maintains that the meaning "fight" in *cerno* at *Aen*. 12.709 *inter se coiise uiros et cernere ferro*, which Servius parallels with *ann*. 569, should be set aside, since Servius would have cited *ann*. 569 merely to illustrate the use of *cernere* in the sense of *decernere*, irrespective of any similarity between the two passages. Skutsch further argues that *agentes* in *ann*. 569 suggests the meaning "dispute" and had that meant "fight", Servius' quotation would have included a specification such as *ferro* or (*sub*) *armis*, as is customary when *cerno* carries that sense (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 864.81-865.6, with the exception of Pacuv. *trag.* 24 and the fossilised phrase *nunc specimen specitur, nunc certamen cernitur* at Plaut. *Bacch.* 399 and *Cas.* 516), thereby making Ennius' line more closely resemble Virgil's. Finally, Skutsch concludes that a true parallel to *ann*. 569 in the Aeneid is rather to be found at *Aen.* 11.445-6 *illi haec inter se dubiis de rebus agebant / certantes*, where a debate is described and *certo* – not *cerno* – means "dispute". However, *cerno* is nowhere securely attested in the sense of "dispute". Nor it is clear why *agentes* should not be compatible with a martial context (cf. ThLL *s.u.* for the wide range of military uses of *ago*). Skutsch's argument concerning Servius' mode of quotation also fails to take into account that Servius did not have access to the complete text of the *Annales* (cf. Thilo and Hagen (1881) XXX) and may have relied on intermediary sources; words such as *ferro* or *armis*, which are not in any case not indispensable to convey the sense "fight", may have stood in a

			(100%)[251]	
for	prophesy	16	1a: poetry 5/5 (100%)	*profor*
frux[252]	honest man	314	1b: 1 occurrence	*homo frugi*
profor	utter	576	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*for*
sese expleo[253]	abandon a place	518	1b: 1 occurrence	*exeo*
uerso[254]	overturn	343	1b: 1 occurrence	*euerto*
undo	have plenty	316	1a: poetry 3/3 (100%) CL	*abundo*

The use of ***for*** in place of *profor*, in the sense of "prophesy", at *ann.* 15-6 *doctus†que Anchisesque Venus quem pulcra dearum / fari donauit, diuinum pectus habere*[255] may represent a substitution of a compound verb with its simplex, a feature often associated with elevated poetic diction, as suggested by the synchronic distribution of its occurrence. Although this usage has sometimes been described as archaic,[256] its value as a genuine semantic archaism remains uncertain.[257]

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now-lost line. Finally, even if a comparison between *ann.* 569 and *Aen.* 11.445-6 is justified, it does not follow that both passages describe the same situation, and *cernebant agentes* in *ann.* 569 may well differ in meaning from *agebant certantes* in *Aen.* 11. 445-6.

[251] Plaut. *Bacch*. 399 and *Cas.* 516 are excluded, since *cerno* occurs within the fixed phrase *nunc specimen specitur, nunc certamen cernitur*.

[252] In *ann*. 314, *frux* is embedded in the alliteration *factumque facit frux*. The use of the monosyllabic *frux* instead of *homo frugi* may also represent the honest man's readiness to action.

[253] In *ann.* 518 *nauibus explebant sese terrasque replebant*, *sese expleo* is embedded in a figura etymologica with *repleo*.

[254] For a brief discussion on the use of *uerso* in *ann.* 343, see the analysis of *columna* in the same line (pp. 115-6).

[255] The text of *ann.* 15-6 is uncertain, with variants involving the phrases *doctus†que Anchisesque* and *pulcra dearum*, and the entirety of line 16. The lectio *fari*, however, appears sound, although *fati* (genitive of *fatum*) is also possible. Cf. Skutsch (1985) 170-4 for a summary of the ecdotic problems of the passage.

[256] ThLL *s.u.* 1029.76-8 states that the original meaning of the verb was "speak with gravity" (*loqui cum grauitate*) or "prophesy" (*prophetari*). Similarly, Ernout and Meillet *s.u.* 245 regard all meanings of *fari* other than "speak" as poetic and archaic, citing *ann.* 16 as an example.

[257] From Varro's text (*ling.* 7.36 *hos uersibus quos uocant Saturnios in siluestribus locis traditum est solitos fari <futura, a> quo fando Faunos dictos*), which is itself textually problematic (cf. Skutsch (1985) 174), it cannot be inferred that *for* in the sense of "prophesy" was perceived as archaic in EL.

In EL, rhe use of *for* in the sense of "prophesy" is relatively common (in five out of fifteen total instances, *for* means "prophesy") and exclusively attested in passages marked by high-poetic features (Enn. *ann.* 16 and *trag.* 36 (twice), *trag. inc.* 49, *Carm. Marc. ap.* Liv. 25.12.7), such as the dense sound play and figurae etymologicae in Enn. *trag.* 32-40, and the compounds *Troiugena*, *alienigenae*, *frugifera* in *Carm. Marc. ap.* Liv. 25.12.7. Yet these passages display few clear archaisms. The sole potential exception is the *-ier* infinitive in *adiudicarier* at the end of *trag. inc.* 53; however, such an isolated archaising feature may be better interpreted as a "poetic archaism", that is, an archaic form employed for its recherché character rather than to evoke an authentically archaic register.

In *ann.* 15-6, despite the problematic state of the text, two stylistically marked features may be noted: the syntactic Graecism *pulcra dearum* and the construction of *dono* with the accusative of the recepient and an AcInf clause denoting the gift (cf. Skutsch (1985) 173-4). The broader context of the fragment – probably, the Trojans' departure from Troy, as suggested by Vahlen (1903[2]) CXLIX, on the basis of *Aen.* 3.1-12 – would indeed be compatible with an archaic diction. Yet this contextual stability does not necessarily entail that the *for* in the sense "prophesy" should be regarded as a semantic archaism. Accordingly, although an archaic nuance cannot be entirely excluded, the use of *for* in place of *profor* in *ann.* 15-6 (and in EL more generally) is best interpreted as a feature of poetic stylisation rather than as a deliberate semantic archaism.

3. Technical Stylisation (Category AS 3)

The third pattern of stylisation "technical stylisation" consists in the usage of a word with a "technical" meaning, that is, a meaning which, at Ennius' time, was likely perceived as specific to a specialised register. As in the case of lexical technicisms (cf. p. 47), the identification of semantic usages reflecting technical stylisation is complicated by the near-total absence of specialised Latin texts, particularly from the pre-Ennian period. Accordingly, usages in this category are identified through individual analysis, based on a combination of case-by-case considerations of context and frequency, glosses in later sources, and semantic specificity, rather than through any universally

applicable test. As a result, alternative interpretations remain possible, and doubtful cases are inevitable.

Although the *Annals* display a marked interest in linguistic variety, usages of technical semantic stylisation are less frequent and less recherché than lexical technicisms. This difference may be explained by the fact that specialised lexical items are more readily recognisable by the audience, even when their precise meanings are obscure, whereas specialised semantic extensions of common words risk creating excessive ambiguity for the reader.

Table AS 3. Semantic Usages of Technical Stylisation in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results. Specialised language.[258]	Neutral alternative
configo	pierce	517	1a: 14/16 prose (87.5%) CL. CA	*figo*[259]
faueo	be silent	426	1c: Sen. *dial.* 7.26.7. RE	*sileo*
fictor	(sacral) shaper	115	1b: 6 occurrences. RE	*sacerdos*[260]
fides	fiduciary duty	102	1a: prose 44/49 (89.8%) CL. LA	*honor*
forus	deck	512	1b: 9 occurrences. SF	*nauis*[261]
malus	pole	388	1b: 11 occurrences.[262] CA	*palus*
polio	harrow	300	1b: 4 occurrences. AG	*leuigo*

[258] Legend. AG: agronomy; AU: augural arts; CA: carpentry; LA: law RE: religion; SF: seafaring.
[259] For simplex verbs used in place of compound verbs, and vice versa, see pp. 98-9 and 102-3.
[260] *Sacerdos* is a hypernym of *fictor*.
[261] *Forus* denotes a specific type of ship deck. The reference to so precise a feature is not necessary for the understanding of *ann.* 512 (cf. p. 37); a more neutral alternative would be *nauis*.
[262] The data lie too close to the threshold for the item to be dismissed with confidence.

praepes	hospitable	457	1b: 1 occurrence. AU	*secundus*

At *ann.* 425-6 *hic insidiantes uigilant, partim requiescunt* / *succincti gladiis, sub scutis, ore fauentes,* the use of ***faueo*** in the sense of "be silent" may derive from the religious register, as suggested by Sen. *dial.* 7.26.7 *hoc uerbum* [scil. *faueo*] *non, ut plerique existimant, a fauore trahitur, sed imperat silentium, ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla uoce mala obstrepente*.[263] Seneca's claim that this meaning arose in a religious context is supported by the extant evidence, since *faueo* conveys the sense "be silent" exclusively in occurrences from religious or para-religious contexts (ThLL *s.u.* 376.78-377.21). In *ann.* 425-6, however, silence serves the practical purpose of an ambush and is not explicitly linked to ritual practice. Nevertheless, it is plausible that Ennius deliberately evokes a metaphor drawn from religious experience: the soldiers are depicted as still and silent as worshippers observing a sacred ceremony. On this reading, *faueo* in *ann.* 425-6 represents a semantic use derived from, and likely alluding to, the religious register.

At *ann.* 388 *malos defindunt, fiunt tabulata falaeque*, the use of the word ***malus*** in the sense of "pole" may reflect technical stylisation. This meaning is relatively rare and is often attested in passages displaying technical language associated with carpentry (cf. e.g. Vitr. 10.13.2 *malo statuto ex eo alterum transuersum* [...] *suspendit* and Plin. *nat.* 18. 317 *mali rugis per cocleam ambulantibus*, ThLL *s.u.* 211.74-84), as opposed to the more common naval sense of "mast" (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 212.1-66), attested as early as Plaut. *Trin.* 836. Although "pole" was probably the original meaning of *malus*, later specialised in "mast" as pole par excellence (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 5. 487),[264] it is unlikely that its use at *ann.* 388 constitutes archaic stylisation. Indeed, this less frequent meaning of *malus* occurs alongside other elements belonging to the same technical register: the carpentry term *defindo* "trim", and *fala* "tower", a likely borrowing from Etruscan (cf. p. 83). It is therefore plausible that *malus* in the sense of "pole", together with *defindo* and *fala*, derives from the specialised vocabulary of military carpentry.[265] At the same time, the passage contains no

[263] Cf. also Paul. Fest. 88 M *praecones clamantes populum sacrificiis fauere iubebant. Fauere enim est bona fari, at ueteres poetae pro silere usi sunt fauere*.
[264] Cf. Skutsch (1985) 554. This accords with the early development of Latin as *langue des paysans* rather than *langue des navigateurs*. Cognates in other Indo-European languages, however, point to both meanings (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 381).
[265] Given its broad semantic range, however, the meaning "pole" of *malus* is employed in passages concerning various types of carpentry, for example in theatres (Lucr. 4.77) and grape harvesting (Plin. *nat.* 18.317; cf. also Blümner (1912) 348).

clear markers of an archaising context that might suggest semantic archaism. Accordingly, although "pole" was probably the original meaning of *malus*, it is more likely that in this instance it was perceived not as an archaism but as a technical usage.

4. Semantic Calques

This pattern of stylisation encompasses stylised semantic usages influenced by, or derived from, foreign languages and literary traditions – especially, though not exclusively, Greek. It comprises two categories. The first category "literary calques" includes readaptations of specific stylised semantic usages attested in Greek literary texts. The second "non-literary calques" comprises usages in which words assume non-standard meanings plausibly modelled on corresponding foreign terms, yet not direcly attested in, or traceable to, literary sources prior to Ennius (cf. p. 124). Such influences – drawn not only from Greek but also from "Sabine" (cf. pp. 124-6) linguistic traditions – emphasise Ennius' engagement with a plurality of linguistic and literary models in the *Annals*.

4.1. Literary Calques (Category AS 4.1)

This category comprises stylised semantic usages that are attested in, or plausibly reconstructed from, earlier non-Latin literary sources. Several types of calques may be distinguished within it. First, in some cases Ennius appears to adopt a specific usage from a particular model (e.g. *imber* for the element of water at *ann.* 221, cf. pp. 120-1). Secondly, he may combine two distinct stylised semantic usages (e.g. *oras euoluere belli* at *ann.* 164, cf. pp. 116-7) or further develop a stylised usage previously attested (e.g. *exsicco* for "waking up", elaborating the Homeric metaphor of sleep as a liquid, cf. n. 274), a characteristic feature of Ennius' mode of literary appropriation (cf. Gualandri (1965) 116-7). Finally, Ennius may employ a well-established literary motif without clear reference to a specific model (e.g. *sale* for "sea" in *ann.* 378). All the usages included in this

category reflect poetic stylisation. It differs from the pattern of "poetic stylisation", however, insofar as it comprises usages that are already attested, or can reasonably be reconstructed, in Greek literary tradition.

Homer is undoubtedly Ennius' principal literary model, providing him with a rich "database" of metaphors, formulae, and stylistic techniques that he exploits throughout the *Annals*.[266] Ennius himself did not conceal this affiliation, presenting himself as the Roman Homer (cf. *ann.* 3; Lucr. 1.120-126), nor was the parallel rejected by later authors (cf. Hor. *epist.* 2.1.50-2). The analogy between Ennius and Homer as the respective founders of their "national" literatures was further reinforced by their shared genre and metre. Over time, however, this Homeric parallel came to eclipse Ennius' connections with other literary predecessors, particularly after the composition of Virgil's *Aeneid*. As Elliott (2013) 75-134, esp. 75-82, observes, many of the surviving fragments of the *Annals* derive from what she terms "Vergiliocentric sources", namely commentators on Virgil who cited Ennius in order to elucidate the *Aeneid*. In doing so, they inevitably privileged the most overtly epic (i.e. Homerising) passages of the *Annals*. Fragments reflecting influence from other authors were of lesser interest to such commentators and, in some cases, were not preserved.

Among these influences, Ennius' familiarity with Greek tragedy may have generated conscious or unconscious reminiscences[267] (a possible example of stylised semantic usage reflecting such influence is *rota* meaning "sun" in *ann.* 572, perhaps influenced by a lost Euripidean passage; cf. n. 276). Ennius was also likely influenced by Hellenistic poetry,[268] above all by Apollonius of Rhodes (e.g. *uomo* in the sense of "flow" in *ann.* 453), and possibly by Callimachus (e.g. *euoluo* in the sense of "narrate" and perhaps *euomo* meaning "vent").[269]

[266] A list of Homeric references in the *Annals* is provided by Skutsch (1985) 833-836; cf. also Elliott (2013) 75, n. 3, for further bibliography on the subject.
[267] Cf. Skutsch (1985) 7-8.
[268] Cf. e.g. Wülfing-von Martitz (1972) 273-5.
[269] Cf. Suerbaum's question and Wülfing-von Martitz's response in Wülfing-von Martitz (1972) 284.

The nature and extent of Ennius' relationship with Callimachus have long been debated,[270] especially in light of Callimachus' alleged disdain for Homeric imitation (*Aet.* 1.1-40; *AP* 12.43). Ziegler (1966[2]) *passim*, esp. 28-9 and 61, argued that Callimachus' influence on pre-Sullan Latin poetry was minimal, and that Ennius was shaped instead by Homer and by now-lost Hellenistic epic traditions. By contrast, Skutsch in Wülfing-von Martitz (1972) 285, accepted the simultaneous influence of Callimachus and Homer and suggested that Ennius resolved the apparent inconsistency between epic composition and Callimachean poetics through the doctrine of metempsychosis proclaimed in the proem of the *Annals*: Ennius was not an imitator of Homer, but Homer reborn. Therefore, Callimachus' "ban" cannot apply to him. Cameron (1995) *passim*, esp. 361, n. 89, however, has argued that this supposed tension rests on a misunderstanding. He mantains that Callimachus never rejected epic poetry as such. In *Aet.* 1.1-40, Callimachus criticises bad-written and excessively long and bombastic compositions, not necessarily epic poems *per se* (cf. Cameron (1995) 340-61, esp. 357-8). Likewise, *AP* 12.43 should be read as an erotic epigram rather than as a literary manifesto; and, insofar as the famous incipit ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν contains a literary polemic, it is directed at the "sub-Homeric Cycle poetry" rather than at the epic genre as a whole (cf. Cameron (1995) 387-402, esp. 396). Moreover, Cameron (1995) 263-302, esp. 287-8, challenges the very notion of a now-lost Hellenistic historical epic that might have influenced Roman poets such as Naevius and Ennius. Instead, he suggests that Hellenistic poets composed panegyrics of a different character, rather than historical epics comparable to those of the Roman Republic.

Philosophical texts likewise appear to have provided Ennius with linguistic models. The *Annals* may indeed be described as a "multidisciplinary" poem, as suggested by its incorporation of diverse technical registers and occasional philosophical exposition. In particular, Empedocles' verses on the

[270] Callimachean motifs have been identified particularly in the proem of the first book (cf. Wülfing-von Martitz (1972) 273-5), alongside Hesiodic influences (cf. Leo (1913) 166; Suerbaum (1968) 68-73) and elements of the Pythagorean doctrine (cf. Skutsch (1968) 8-9; (1985) 147-50), as well as in the proem to the seventh book (cf. e.g. Leo (1913) 164, n. 1; Wülfing-von Martitz (1972) 270-1; Skutsch (1985) 371).

theory of the elements seem to be echoed at *ann.* 220-1 and possibly 225-6 (cf. Bignone (1929) 20-1).[271] Finally, it is worth considering whether additional (para)literary models may have derived from Ennius' "third heart", Oscan, or more generally from the tradition of the central Italian *koine* (cf. Fisher (2014) *passim*, esp. 24-6).

The presentation that follows is not intended to offer an exhaustive account of the literary models underlying the *Annals*. Rather, it provides an overview of stylised semantic usages attested across a range of Greek literary texts. At the same time, the usages examined in detail exemplify different categories of calques which, as noted above, do not necessarily imply direct imitation of a specific model by Ennius. Accordingly, the recurrence among the proposed Greek sources of authors traditionally identified as potential models for the *Annals* (e.g. Homer, Euripides, Empedocles, Callimachus) should be regarded as largely coincidental. No firm conclusions about Ennius' techniques of imitation should be drawn solely on the basis of the parallels proposed in this section.

Table AS 4.1. Literary Semantic Calques in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative	Similar passage[272]
canus	white	505	1a: poetry 14/16 (87.5%) CL	ornamental adjective referring to waves	Hom. *Od.* 12.172
cenaculum	abode	51	1b: 2 occurrences	*sedes*	Hom. *Il.* 1.575[273]

[271] Although not in a linguistic sense, Pythagoras' doctrine of reincarnation also influenced the *Annals*, particularly the first book (cf. Burkert (1961) 245).
[272] Only one passage is cited, owing to space constraints, priority being given to the closest parallel.
[273] As suggested by Ter. *adu. Valent.* 7, which quotes the passage, the synecdochic reference to dining halls (*cenacula*) as the gods' abodes in *ann.* 51 *cenacula maxuma caeli* was most probably influenced by the frequent scenes of

columna	king	343	1b: 2 occurrences	*rex*	Pind. *Ol.* 2.81-2
euoluo	recount	164	1a: poetry 8/8 (100%) CL	*explico*	Callim. *Aet.* 1.5
euomo	utter	275	1b: 6 occurrences	*profero*	Callim. *frg.* 714.4
exsicco	wake up	499	1b: 1 occurrence	*excieo*	Hom. *Il.* 2.19[274]
fax	sun	415	1a: poetry 9/9 (100%) CL	*sol*	Hom. *Il.* 8. 485
horrens	bristling	267	1a: poetry 14/15 (93.33%) CL	*asper*	Hom. *Il.* 13.339
horresco	bristle	384	1a: poetry 8/9 (88.89%) CL	*erigo*	Hom. *Il.* 13.339
imber	element of water	221	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%) CL	*aqua*	Emped. 98.1-2
imber	water	516	1a: poetry 20/20 (100%) CL	*aqua*	Emped. 98.1-2
luceo	light	148	1b: 3 occurrences	*accendo*	Eur. *Hel.* 1131

Olympian feasting in the Homeric poems. In *ann.* 51, however, *cenaculum* also contributes to the alliterative phrase *cenacula maxuma caeli*. Both factors may therefore have prompted Ennius to employ *cenaculum maxuma caeli* in reference to Olympus.

[274] The use of *exsiccare* in the sense "wake up" (*quom sese exsiccat somno Romana iuuentus*) is unprecedented, but relates to the conception of sleep as a liquid poured out over someone to induce slumber (e.g. Hom. *Il*. 2.19 περὶ δ᾽ἀμβρόσιος κέχυθ᾽ὕπνος; cf. Gualandri (1965) 116-7 and Skutsch (1985) 654-5). My colleague Ms Melina McClure, to whom I am most grateful, has suggested that *exsiccat somno* might mean "sober up through sleep", since *siccus* in the sense "sober" is attested as early as Plaut. *Curc*. 115. The expression *exterrita somno* ("frightened out of her sleep"; cf. Skutsch (1985) 196-7) in *ann.* 35, however, indicates that in *ann.* 499 *somno* is likewise to be taken as an ablative of separation rather than an instrumental ablative; accordingly, *exsiccat somno* would mean "wake up from sleep" rather than "sober up through sleep". A double-entendre cannot nevertheless be excluded, since comparable wordplay seems to occur elsewehere in the *Annals* (e.g. *spiras legionibus nexit* in *ann.* 531; cf. pp. 126-7).

medulla[275]	essence	308	1b: 1 occurrence	*uis*	Theocr. *Idyll.* 8.18
ora	initial phase	164	1b: 4 occurrences	*primordium*	Hom. *Il.* 23. 350
praepes	flying	397	1a: poetry 5/6 (83.33%) CL	*uolans*	Hom. *Il.* 21.169
rota	sun	572	1a: poetry 11/13 (84.62%) CL	*sol*	Lost fragment of Euripides, cf. Aristoph, *Thesm.* 17[276]
pulso	leap	1	1a: poetry 14/14 (100%) CL[277]	*salto*	Hom. *Od.* 8.264
pulcer[278]	heroic	38,[279] 75	1a: poetry 14/16 (87.5%) CL.[280]	ornamental adjective	Plato, *Alc. 1* 113b[281]

[275] The lexical item *medulla* shows a prose incidence of 82.13% (comedy parameter applied), since it occurs eight times at Cato 41.2-3 with the quasi-technical meaning of "pith of a vine" (the strictly technical sense being "marrow"), and at Plaut. *Stich.* 340, 341 in two pedestrian lines concerning people's vitals. It is, however, too frequent in EL and CL (more than 250 occurrences before 200 AD) to qualify as a technicism. Its use in *ann.* 308 with the metaphorical sense "quintessence" is rather an instance of stylised semantics.

[276] In *ann.* 572, *rota* conveys the meaning "sun", echoing a lost fragment of Euripides parodied in Aristophanes' *Thesm.* 17 in the words of his character Euripides (cf. Lunelli (1975) 201-16, esp. 205-8).

[277] Data calculated from the representative, though incomplete, sample of occurrences listed at ThLL *s.u.* 2605.62-75.

[278] I follow Skutsch (1985) 68, in adopting this spelling.

[279] At *ann.* 38, *pulcer* is used to characterise Mars in the narration of the rape of Ilia. In this instance, Connors (1994) 105 suggests that the adjective may denote Mars' phyisical beauty and thus reflect Ennius' framing of the episode within a discourse of victim-blaming. On Ilia's narration of her dream, see also Oddi (forthcoming) and the bibliography cited there.

[280] Data calculated from the representative, though incomplete, sample of occurrences listed at ThLL *s.u.* 2562.51-71.

[281] In Homer, the use of καλός in a moral sense is restricted to the neuter (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 737, entry III) and is therefore not directly comparable to the use of *pulcer* for gods and heroes in the *Annals.* Although this usage is very frequent in the

sale	sea	378	1a: poetry 9/9 (100%) CL	*mare*	Hom. *Il.* 1.141
uomo	pour out	453	1a: poetry 14/16 (87.5%) CL	*fluo*	Ap. Rh. 2.744

The phrasing of *ann.* 343 *regni uersatum summam uenere columnam*, uttered most likely by a king emphasising that without him the entire realm would collapse (cf. Skutsch (1985) 514), may reflect the speaker's self-aggrandising stance through the metaphor of the community's foremost representative as its highest pillar (*summa* ***columna***) and perhaps through the use of *uerso* in the sense of "overturn".[282] The metaphor of the ruler as a pillar is well attested in Greek literature, for example at Pind. *Ol.* 2.81-2 ὃς Ἕκτορα σφᾶλε, Τροίας / ἄμαχον ἀστραβῆ κίονα (cf. again Skutsch (1985) 514). As Donatus observes (*Ter. Phorm.* 287), citing *ann.* 343, EL and CL authors more commonly employed the cognate *columen* "peak" in such figurative expressions, whereas *columna* in this sense is predominantly attested only in LL (cf. ThLL *s.u. columen* 1736.65-7.25; *s.u. columna* 1741.68-2.17). Indeed, Enn. *ann.* 343 and Cic. *Phil.* 1.5 *talisque euersio illius exsecratae columnae*, possibly influenced by Ennius (note *euersio*, cognate with *uerso*), constitute the only attestations of this metaphorical usage of *columna* in EL or CL. It is plausible that Ennius' rendering of the Greek image with *columna* was facilitated by its formal and semantic proximity to *columen*, already in use in that sense (the earliest attestations are in Plautus; cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1736.35-6). In any case, the metaphor unmistakably serves a self-exalting function.

The use of *uerso* in place of *euerto*[283] in the otherwise unattested sense of "overturn" may serve a similar function. As noted above (cf. pp. 102-3), the substitution of a simplex for a compound lends a heightened poetic quality to the line, in keeping with the speaker's magniloquent claim. At the same time, the intensive suffix reinforces the notion of complete destruction following the king's downfall, thereby

Latin specialised domain of religion, where it functions as an ornamental adjective not associated with physical beauty (cf. Carter (1902) 143), it is nevertheless already attested in post-Homeric Greek.

[282] By contrast, the *-ere* ending in *uenere* most likely serves a metrical rather than a stylistic purpose, since it forms a trochee suitable for the dactyl of the fifth foot (cf. Skutsch (1985) 62).

[283] Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 1.5 *talisque euersio illius exsecratae columnae*, where *euersio*, rather than *uersatio*, is employed.

emphasising the self-aggrading character of his assertion.[284] Accordingly, both the adoption of the Greek-derived metaphoric of the pillar (*columna*) and the replacement of the standard *euerto* with the intensive simplex *uerso* contribute to the portrayal of the speaker as a hubristic ruler.

At *ann.* 164 *quis potis ingentis oras euoluere belli*, the expression ***oras euoluere*** conveys the sense "recount the [initial] phases", combining two stylised semantic usages: *ora* in the sense of "[initial] phase" and *euoluo* in the sense of "recount". Although rare in Latin, both usages appear to have parallels in earlier Greek literature. First, the metonymic use of *ora* to denote the parts contained within boundaries – well attested in Latin (cf. also *ann.* 109 and 135; cf. ThLL *s.u.* 866.70-877.11) – is here employed figuratively, in a manner comparable to Hom. *Il.* 23.350 ἑκάστου πείρατ᾽ἔειπε, where Nestor "told the limits of each thing", that is, explained their nature or workings. Secondly, the metaphorical use of *euoluo* in the sense of "narrate" recalls the image in Callim. *Aet.* 1.5 ἔπος δ᾽ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἑλ[ίσσω,[285] where the act of poetic composition is conceptualised as the unwinding of a scroll.[286] Skutsch (1985) 330 suggests that the combination of these two images, separately attested in *Il.* 23.350 and *Aet.* 1.5, may have already been fused in a now-lost Hellenistic poem, from which Ennius could have drawn at *ann.* 164. The same unusual phrase *oras euoluere* may have played a significant role in the later reception of *ann.* 164 in Latin (cf. Elliott (2013) 129),[287] alongside the rhetorical posture of false modesty (*quis potis…*) and Cicero's witty engagement with the line (cf. n. 287), independently of any specific Greek antecedents.

Onians (1951) 388-9 proposes an alternative interpretation of *ann.* 164. He suggests understanding *oras* as "coil", drawing on the meaning of *ora* as "rope",[288] the seemingly problematic collocation *oras ingentis*,

[284] It should be noted that the verb *euerso* is attested only in two glosses (Prisc. *gramm.* 3.477.26 and Gloss. 2.241.6).
[285] A widely accepted conjecture by Hunt – perhaps preferable to ἐλαύνω, suggested by Friedlander, and ἔλεξα, proposed by Acosta-Hughes and Stephens – may be adopted (cf. Pretagostini (2006) 19-20; Harder (2012) 2.26-7).
[286] Cf. Pretagostini (2006) 19-20 and 26. By contrast, Harder (2012) 2.26-7, while acknowledging the possibility that both Callim. *Aet.* 1.5 and Enn. *ann.* 164 may refer to the act of unrolling a papyrus, suggests that ἔπος ἑλίσσω should instead be understood as "turn words in one's mind".
[287] First, Quint. 6.3.83 quotes this line, referring to Cicero's well-known delaying wit concerning his client Sextus Annalis, thereby indirectly indicating that this line functioned as the proem of the sixth book. Secondly, it is alluded to in Lucr. 5.1-2 *quis potis est dignum pollenti pectore carmen* / *condere pro rerum maiestate hisque repertis?*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.528 *et mecum ingentis oras euoluite belli*, and Sil. 5.420-1 *quis deus, o Musae, paribus tot funera uerbis* / *euoluat?*. Finally, in late antiquity, *ann.* 164 was cited by Virgil's commentators (SD *Aen.* 9.528 and Macr. *Sat.* 6.1.18) in their discussion of *Aen.* 9.528, and by the grammarian Diom. 1.385, who focused on the use of *potis* (*est*) instead of *potest*.
[288] Professor Heyworth, to whom I am most grateful, has drawn my attention to the fact that *ann.* 164 *quis potis ingentis oras euoluere belli* marks the beginning of the narrative of the Pyrrhic war, as the incipit of the sixth book (cf. Vahlen (1903^2) CLXXIV). On this interpretation, the first act of war is Pyrrhus' fleet untying the ropes (*oras euoluere*) and setting sail for Italy. The line would thus bear a more literal meaning and assume a less markedly proemial character, with *ora* in fact carriying the nautical technical sense of "rope".

and a parallel with the proem of the Finnish *Kalevala*, where the narration of a story is represented as the unravelling of a tangle.

This interpretation, however, encounters several difficulties. First, although a formal connection between the homonyms *ora* "limit" and *ora* "rope" is conceivable,[289] the latter is confined to nautical terminology and is attested only four times in Latin (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 868.75-82). It seems unlikely that Ennius would employ a specialised nautical term within a metaphor rooted in weaving. Secondly, the collocation *oras ingentis* is entirely admissable in poetic diction, with *ingentis* logically modifying *bellis* through enallage. Finally, the parallel with the *Kalevala* represents an attempt to establish broad cross-cultural analogies that ultimately carry less weight than linguistic and literary evidence specific to Latin and Greek. It is therefore more prudent to interpret *oras euoluere* as "unwind the extremities [of a scroll]", a metonymy linking the narrated events to the physical medium upon which they were conceived as being written.

At *ann.* 275, ***euomo*** carries the meaning of "prate", a stylised usage that finds a parallel in Callim. 714.4. The verb occurs within the debated description of the man-in-power's "good companion":

> Haece locutus uocat quocum bene saepe libenter
> mensam sermonesque suos rerumque suarum
> consilium partit, magnam quom lassus diei
> partem fuisset de summis rebus regundis
> consilio indu foro lato sanctoque senatu;
> quoi res audacter magnas paruasque iocumque
> eloqueretur †et cuncta† malaque et bona dictu
> euomeret si qui uellet tutoque locaret;
> quocum multa uolup […]
> […] gaudia clamque palamque;
> ingenium quoi nulla malum sententia suadet
> ut faceret facinus leuis aut mala: doctus, fidelis,
> suauis homo, iucundus, suo contentus, beatus,
> scitus, secunda loquens in tempore, commodus, uerbum
> paucum, multa tenens antiqua, sepulta uetustas

[289] The proximity between the terms for "boundary" and "rope" (e.g. Latin *finis* and *funis*) is attested across several Indo-European languages, including Greek πεῖραρ used in both senses (cf. Niedermann (1930) 5-8).

quae facit, et mores ueteresque nouosque †tenentem
multorum ueterum leges diuomque hominumque
prudentem qui dicta loquiue tacereue posset: 285
hunc inter pugnas conpellat Seruilius sic.

Enn. *ann.* 268-286

Among the various poblems raised by this extended fragment,[290] the question of its literary model is of particular relevance here. Leo (1913) 178 first observed that the portrayal of the relationship between a powerful man and his trusted companion – both political adviser and intimate confidant – is uncommon in the Roman Republic. On this basis, Ziegler (1966[2]) 63-5 connected this passage to the bond between Hellenistic kings and their protégés, drawing a parallel with Plutarch's account of Pyrrhus and Cineas (*Pyrrh.* 14 and 20), and proposed that *ann.* 268-86 ultimately derives from a lost Hellenistic panegyric on Pyrrhus.[291] Similarly, Skutsch (1968) 93-4 and (1985) 451 adduced a parallel from an anonymous papyrus describing the accumulation of an official's virtues at the Alexandrian court, where a comparable catalogue of qualities is presented:[292]

ἀγαπᾶτε ταῦτα πάντες ὅσ᾽ἔχει· ταὐγαθὰ ia[6]
ἅπαντ᾽ἐν αὐτῶι· χρηστός, εὐγενής, ἁπλοῦς,
φιλοβασιλεύς, ἀνδρεῖος, ἐν πίστει μέγας,
σώφρων, φιλέλλην, πραύς, εὐπροσήγορος,
τὰ πανοῦργα μισῶν, τὴ[ν δ᾽α]λήθειαν σέβων. 5

Select Papyri 3.111 (ed. Page 1970)

Wölfing-von Martitz (1972) 265-7 likewise accepts a Hellenistic socio-political background, though he argues that the accumulation of virtues also reflects an Italic stylistic tendency visible in EL literature (e.g. Plaut. *Persa* 417-20). By contrast, Mariotti (1951) 127-30 suggests that the quasi-conversational ring of the vignette of everyday life articulated in cumulative list of qualities lacking syntactic or metrical patterns –

[290] Other debated issues include the placement of the fragment in the seventh or eighth book, the identification of the Seruilius mentioned, Ennius' implicit self-representation, and the structure of the passage. For discussion, see e.g. Leo (1913) 161 and 178; Mariotti (1951) 127-30; Leeman (1958) 318-21; Norden (1966[2]) 131-42; Vahlen (1903[2]) XXVII, Ziegler (1966[2]) 61-5; Skutsch (1968) 92-4 and (1985) 447-50; Suerbaum (1968) 142-3, n. 455; Badian (1972) 173-83 and 204-6; Wülfing-von Martitz (1972) 265-7.

[291] One may nevertheless ask why a passage from the lost panegyric on Pyrrhus should have served as a model for the portrayal of Servilius' friend rather than of Cineas. It is possible that Pyrrhus' two eulogies (*ann.* 165-6 and 183-90) left no room for a further encomium of an Epirote figure, or that the Epirotes' failure to interpret the oracle (*ann.* 167) and their lack of discernment (*ann.* 198-9) would have conflicted with the depiction of Cineas as a wise counsellor.

[292] Cf. Page (1970) 467.

strikingly different from the surrounding epic narrative – are instead similar to the style of Ennius' *Satires*. It is difficult, however, to identify a single, determinate model for this passage.

By contrast, the use of *euomo* in the sense of "prate" shows a parallel with Callim. 714.3-4 ἢ φίλον ἢ ὅτ' ἐς ἄνδρα συνέμπορον ἢ ὅτε κωφαῖς / ἄλγεα μαψαύραις ἔσχατον ἐξερύγῃ. In Latin, this figurative use of *euomo* in Latin is rare, with only six attestations: *ann.* 275, *Ter. Ad.* 312 and 510, *Hec.* 515, *Cic. Mil.* 78, and *Phil.* 5.20 (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1072.58–1073.19). In the remaining five instances, the verb typically conveys an aggressive or hostile attitude towards the interlocutor – a nuance notably absent from the portrayal of the man-in-power at *ann.* 275–276.[293] In Greek, the metaphor of "vomiting out" (*euomo*) speech is more commonly expressed through verbs such as ἐξερυγγάνω or ἐξερεύγομαι ("belch out").[294] Yet, as in the case of Latin *euomo*, this figurative usage is itself rare. Before Ennius, only three occurrences are attested, each with a slightly different nuance: in Diphil. 43.21 (ed. Kock 1884) λαλῶν τὰ ναῦλα καὶ δάνει᾽ἐρυγγάνων, it suggests "yap"; in Callim. *Aet.* 75.7 ἐξ ἂν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἤρυγες ἱστορίην, ἐξερεύγομαι conveys the idea of "spilling out a secret"; and in 714.3-4 ἢ φίλον ἢ ὅτ' ἐς ἄνδρα συνέμπορον ἢ ὅτε κωφαῖς / ἄλγεα μαψαύραις ἔσχατον ἐξερύγῃ, it carries the sense of "vent". Although the broader narrative context differs, Callim. 714.3-4 presents a striking parallel to *ann.* 274-5 in its figurative deployment of a verb of expulsion to describe verbal expression among friends.

Alternatively, Skutsch (1968) 92-3 draws a parallel between Ennius' figurative use of euomo and Ter. *Eun.* 407 *quasi ubi illam exspueret miseriam ex animo*, which occurs within a portrayal of a good companion (401-7) comparable to *ann.* 274-5,[295] where the words are metaphorically "spat out" (*exspuo*). Skutsch suggests that Terence, who elsewhere uses *euomo* three times for "disgorge with rage" (cf. above), may have elaborated an image derived from a lost passage of Menander. Menander, in turn, may have borrowed it from a depiction of a king's confidant in a now-lost Hellenistic work that also served as a model for Ennius. Although Terence may instead have been inspired directly by Ennius' description of Servilius' companion – a celebrated passage of the *Annals* (cf. Skutsch (1985) 451) – either reconstruction remains

[293] Cf. Skutsch (1968) 101, n. 18.
[294] Cf. Skutsch (1968) 93 and 101, n. 19, and (1985) 456.
[295] GNA *rex te ergo in oculis*— THR *scilicet.* / GNA —*gestare.* THR *uero. credere omnem exercitum,* / *consilia.* GNA *mirum!* THR *tum sicubi eum satietas* / *hominum aut negoti si quando odium ceperat,* / *requiescere ubi volebat, quasi*— *nostin?* GNA *scio:* / *quasi ubi illam exspueret miseriam ex animo.* THR *tenes.* / *tum me conuiuam solum abducebat sibi.*

plausible, and neither the hypothesis of Callimachus nor that of the lost Hellenistic work as Ennius' direct model can be accepted with certainty. Consequently, the proposed parallel between *euomo* in *ann.* 274-5 and ἐξερεύγομαι in Callim. 714.3-4 should not be regarded as conclusive evidence of Ennian reuse of Callimachean material in the Annals, but rather as indicating the presence of similar figurative expressions in both authors. It is therefore possible that Ennius did not coin this usage independently but instead adapted an image already present in Greek literary tradition.

As suggested by Skutsch (1985) 580,[296] *ann.* 415-6 *interea fax* / *occidit Oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra* appears to be a Latin rendering of Hom. *Il.* 8.485-6 ἔν δ᾽ἔπεσ᾽Ὠκεανῷ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο, / ἕλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν. In particular, the metaphorical use of ***fax*** for "sun" may reflect an adaptation of the Greek metaphor torch:sun, commonly expressed with λαμπάς (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 874, entry I.2). This choice may have been encouraged by the phonetic resemblance between *fax* and the Homeric φάος, even though φ was probably realiseded as [p^{h}] and would have been perceived as closer to [p] than to [f] (cf. Catone (1964) 12-3).[297] The parallels between *ann.* 415-6 and Hom. *Il.* 8.485-6 are indeed striking. Both passages describe the sun setting into the Ocean and share a comparable syntactic pattern, in which the sun's descent initiates a colour transformation in the surrounding environment: in Homer, the earth blackens, whereas in Ennius the sky reddens. Moreover, the sequence ἔν δ᾽ἔπεσ(α) may find an echo in *interea* [...] *occidit*, and the semantic force of ἕλκον ("drew") may be reflected in the adverb *tractim*, derived from *traho*. It is therefore plausible that Hom. *Il.* 8.465-6 provided the model for Ennius' depiction of the Sun sinking into the Ocean. The metaphorical use of *fax* for "sun", comparable to Greek λαμπάς, may have been reinforced – though perhaps not determined – by the phonetic proximity between φάος and *fax*.

The use of ***imber*** to denote the element of water at *ann.* 220-1 *corpore tartarino prognata Paluda uirago* / *cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et grauis terra* may evoke a reminiscence of ὄμβρος in Emped. 98.1-2 (ed. Diels 1903) ἡ δὲ Χθὼν τούτοισιν ἴση συνέκυρσε μάλιστα, / Ἡφαίστωι τ'ὄμβρωι τε καὶ αἰθέρι παμφανόντι. In this fragment, Empedocles describes Earth's first interaction with the other elements within the framework of the four-element doctrine, a philosophical system that Ennius also appears to have adopted and explored in his *Epicharmus* (cf. Norden (1966^{2}) 13, and n. 1). Moreover, *corpore tartarino prognata*

[296] Many of the following observations derive from Skutsch (1985) 580.
[297] Cf. also Enn. *trag.* 243 *sol qui candentem in caelo sublimat facem*.

Paluda uirago (*ann.* 220), identified by Norden with the *Discordia* mentioned at *ann.* 225-6, corresponds conceptually to Empedocles' Νεῖκος, one of the two primordial forces opposed to Φιλότης.[298] It is therefore plausible that the enumeration of water, fire, air,[299] and earth in *ann.* 221 reflects the same cosmological framework.

The characterisation of the element of water as ὄμβρος was recognised as a distinctive feature of Empedocles, as attested by Sympl. *Phys.* 32.13 καλεῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ καὶ Ἥφαιστον καὶ ἥλιον καὶ φλόγα, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ὄμβρον, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα αἰθέρα.[300] Empedocles' stylised terminology is further corroborated by Lucretius, who shifts from *liquor* to *imber* when referring explicitly to Empedocles' elemental system

> adde etiam qui conduplicant primordia rerum,
> aera iungentes igni terramque liquori,
> et qui quattuor ex rebus posse omnia rentur
> ex igni terra atque anima procrescere et imbri. 715
> Quorum Agragantinus cum primis Empedocles est[301]
>
> Lucr. 1.712-6

Although Empedocles may have employed ὄμβρος for the element of water in multiple now-lost passages of both his Περί φύσεως and his Καθάρμοι,[302] it is particularly plausible that *ann.* 221 reflects Emped. 98.1-2. The close correspondence in the enumerations of the elements and the parallel use of the adjectives ἴση and *par* lend additional support to this interpretation.

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[298] See esp. Emped. 17. This identification was first proposed by Norden (1966[2]) 10-8. He maintained, however, that *ann.* 221 *cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et grauis terra* implied that Νεῖκος-*Discordia* comprised all the elements in equal measure ((1966[2]) 14). By contrast, Bignone (1929) 10-30, esp. 18, argued that *cui par imber et ignis, spritus et grauis terra* does not mean "possessing water and fire, air, and heavy earth in equal measure", but rather "being on a par with water and fire, air and heavy earth", since Νεῖκος, Φιλοτής, and the elements are distinct yet equal and co-eternal forces.

[299] This is most probably the meaning of *spiritus*, as suggested Prob. *Verg. ecl.* 6.31 quoting *ann.* 220-1.

[300] Cf. Emped. 98.2; and 100.12, and 18. The occurrence of ὄμβρος in this sense in Soph. *O.T.* 1428 appears to be coincidental.

[301] Lucretius also uses *imber* for the element of water at 1.744, 784,5 in his exposition of Empedocles' theory of the elements. In the same passage (1.714-802), the element of water is likewise referred to as *ros liquoris* (770) and *ros* (777).

[302] The former work was addressed to an educated audience, in which anthropomorphism was avoided; the latter to a broader public, in which anthropomorphic imagery may have been admitted. From the latter tradition, Ennius may have derived his image of *Discordia* (cf. Bignone (1929) 23).

The precise meaning of ***luceo*** in *ann.* 148 *prodinunt. Famuli tum candida lumina lucent* remains disputed.[303] The prevailing interpretation among editors takes *luceo* as a transitive verb ("light"),[304] reflecting a stylised usage[305] perhaps paralleled by the mainly poetic Greek usage of λάμπω (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 875, entry II; possibly also present in the parlance of Greek slaves in Rome or reproducing an inherited outcome (see below), rather than as an intransitive verb ("shine").[306] The interpretation of *ann.* 148 is complicated by the nature of its transmission: Festus, our source, typically quotes complete lines rather than complete syntactic units (cf. Vahlen (1903[2]) LXVII-I; Skutsch (1985) 35-8). The fragment may therefore be semantically incomplete. If the line is punctuated as *prodinunt. Tum famuli candida lumina lucent*, *famuli* would function as the subject of the transitive *lucent*, and *prodinunt* would imply the masters' walk ("[the masters] go. Then, the servants light the bright[307] torches"). Alternatively, if the text is construed as *prodinunt famuli. Tum candida lumina lucent*, either interpretation of *lucent* remains possible: transitive ("the servants go. Then, they light the bright torches") or, albeit with a sudden shift of subject, intransitive ("the servants go. Then, the bright torches shine").[308] Although certainty is unattainable, it seems more plausible that Ennius intended to present the *famuli* as active agents within the scene lighting the torches rather than merely walking, thereby favouring a transitive reading of *luceo*.

[303] The setting of the scene is likewised disputed. Vahlen (1903[2]) CLXIX connecred *ann.* 148 with the funeral of Tarquinius Priscus, on the basis of Serv. *Aen*. 5.1 and 6.224, and SD. *Aen.* 11.143, which state the custom of preceding the corpse with torches in daytime funerals originated in the older tradition of nocturnal funerals. The existence of night funerals for prominent figures in early Rome has, however, been called into question (cf. e.g. Rose (1923) 191-4). This does not necessarily exclude a reference to Tarquinius Priscus' obsequies (cf. Skutsch (1985) 304), since the torches may have been served an honorific rather than purely practical function. By contrast, Bergk (1884) 313 proposed that *ann.* 148 formed part of the description of servants lighting the way home for their masters after a banquet during the siege of Ardea, on the basis of Liv. 1.57. In any case, *candida lumina* may denote illuminating rather than honorific torches, since *candidus* in the *Annals* consistently refers to the bright light of the sun (*ann.* 85 and 572). A nocturnal setting therefore appears more plausible.

[304] Cf. e.g. Valmaggi (1900) 155; Warmington (1935) 56-7; Skutsch (1985) 304 (though with some reservations); Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 1.182-3, following Bergk (1884) 312-3, who in turn refers to an unspecified emendation by Colonna (cf. Valmaggi (1900) 155).

[305] In EL and CL, the expresssion is securely attested only at *ann.* 148, and Plaut. *Cas*. 118 and *Curc.* 9 (ThLL *s.u.* 1696.40-50). In Enn. *trag.* 313-5 *homo qui erranti comiter monstrat uiam* / *quasi lumen de suo lumine accendat facit.* / *nihilo minus ipsi lucet cum illi accenderit*, Bergk (1884) 313 proposed emending *facit* to *faces*, thereby shifting the sense of *luceo* from "shine" to "light". This conjecture is not mentioned by Jocelyn (1967) 140.

[306] Cf. Bergk (1884) 312 and Skutsch (1985) 304.

[307] The word order of *candida lumina lucent* implies that *candida* is used attributively (and will accordingly be translated as such in this paragraph). A more stylised arrangement, however, with predicative *candida* ("the torches shine bright" or "the servants light the torches bright") would be semantically more pointed.

[308] Cf. Warmington (1935) 56-7. Alternatively, Valmaggi (1900) 155 suggests that in *ann.* 148, *tum* means *atque* (cf. OLD *s.u. tum* 1986 entry 9). By contrast, Skutsch (1985) 304 argues that a transitive interpretation of *lucent* in *prodinunt famuli. Tum candida lumina lucent* is unlikely, on grounds of the use of *tum*.

Notably, transitive *luceo* is primarily attested in contexts involving slaves (Plaut. *Cas.* 118 and *Curc.* 9 and Enn. *ann.* 148), a register in which Graecisms are not uncommon. In both *Cas.* 118 and *Curc.* 9, the causative form is used by slaves (Olympio and Palinurus respectively), and at *ann.* 148 it likewise describes an action performed by *famuli*. It is therefore also possible that, if the transitive/causative use of *luceo* reflects a semantic calque on Greek λάμπω, a verb predominatly attested in poetry, it may be drawn on a possible current usage in the linguistic milieu of Greek slaves in Rome. However, these occurrences do not necessarily imply that this usage of *luceo* is borrowed from Greek. Alternatively, Watkins (1971) 68-9 proposed that EL preserved two formations from the stem **leuk*-: a more common stative form **leuk-ē* "to shine", and a rarer causative-iterative form **louk-eje/o* "to light", attested at Plaut. *Cas.* 118 and *Curc.* 9, and Enn. *ann.* 148, with attested cognate formations in Vedic, Avestan, and Hittite. In this case, the causative use of *luceo* would reflect a development independent from Greek parallels of any origin. Even in this case, however, a definitive conclusion remains elusive. The classification of this usage as a "stylised calque" is necessarily tentative, as it privileges one of several possible interpretations. More generally, this case illustrates the inherently approximate nature of the categories adopted in this thesis, which should be regarded solely as a convenient classificatory framework rather than as definitive or mutually exclusive categories.

Finally, the metonymic use of ***sale*** – a rarely attested alternative form of the nominative *sal*, cf. Skutsch (1985) 543 – in the sense of "sea" as seen in *ann.* 377-8 *uerrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flauo / caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum*, is well attested in both Latin and Greek poetry (cf. OLD *s.u.* 1680, entry 4; LSJ *s.u.* ἅλς (B) 68).[309] Given its early and widespread occurrence in Latin, together with the natural metonymic association between salt and the sea, it is difficul to determine whether this usage developed independently in Latin and Greek or whether its usage in Latin poetry reflects Greek literary influence. In any case, the usage is not treated here as evidence of direct borrowing or imitation from a specific source, but rather as the adoption of a well-established poetic convention.

[309] This usage is not regarded as a conceptual metaphor, since it is predominantly confined to poetic texts.

4.2. Non-Literary Calques (Category AS 4.2)

This category comprises stylised semantic usages of lexical items that correspond to meanings found in other languages but are not directly attested in, or reconstructable from, literary texts prior to Ennius. Such usages may reflect either non-literary contacts between Ennius and foreign linguistic traditions or literary developments that are no longer preserved in the extant corpus of ancient literature and not attributable to specific lost texts. In the *Annals*, two examples may be classified as "non-literary calques": *catus*, which at *ann.* 450 appears to mean "high-pitched", possibly reflecting usage in a Sabine linguistic tradition; and *spira*, which at *ann.* 531 denotes a "maniple", corresponding to Greek σπεῖρα, though this sense is not attested in Greek prior to Ennius.

Table AS 4.2. Non-Literary Semantic Calques in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
catus	high-pitched	450	1b: 1 occurrence	*acutus*
spira	maniple	531	1b: 1 occurrence	*maniplus*[310]

The use of ***catus*** at *ann.* 450 *iam cata signa ferae sonitum dare uoce parabant* in the otherwise unattested sense of "high-pitched" may reflect a usage derived from a Sabine linguistic tradition. By Sabine language, I refer to the various and evolving speech forms associated with the Sabine people(s) as imperfectly attested in glosses to Latin texts and, possibly, in a small number of disputed inscriptions. The linguistic status of "Sabine" remains controversial. It has been interpreted either as an otherwise unattested Italic language – belonging to the Osco-Umbrian/Sabellic or the Latino-Faliscan group – or as a dialect of Latin.[311] Negri (1993) 196 has further distinguished between Sabine reflected in glosses ("Sabino di Roma"), conceived as a relic of a language once spoken in Rome during the regal period, and the Sabine attested in inscriptions from towns outside Rome ("Sabino *extra moenia*"). The complexities of this question lie beyond

[310] Cf. Skutsch (1985) 681, on Ennius' use of the syncopated form *manip*(*u*)*lus.*
[311] Cf. Burman (2017) 21-7, esp. 24-5.

the scope of the present study. For the sake of convenience, the term "Sabine" will therefore be employed here as a neutral descriptive label.[312]

Besides *ann.* 450, the word *catus* also occurs in the *Annals* at *ann.* 329 *egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus* and 543 *tunc coepit memorare simul cata dicta,* in both instances meaning "shrewd". Neither of these usages, however, appears to derive from Sabine influence. All three instances of *catus* in Ennius are cited in Varro *ling.* 7.46:

> Apud Ennium:
>
> Iam cata signa ferae sonitum dare uoce parabant.
>
> Cata acuta: hoc enim uerbo dicunt Sabini: quare
>
> Catus Aelius Sextus[313]
>
> non, ut aiunt, sapiens, sed acutus, et quod est:
>
> Tunc c<o>epit memorare simul cata dicta,
>
> accipienda acuta dicta.

From this passage it is not entirely clear whether Varro regarded *catus* itself as a lexical borrowing from Sabine, or whether he understood only its meaning *acutus* to reflect Sabine usage (cf. Valmaggi (1900) 96). It is, however, more plausible – as Skutsch (1985) 607 argues – that Varro attributed to Sabine specifically the sense "high-pitched", irrespective of whether the lexical form itself was of Sabine origin.[314] Indeed, *catus* in the sense of "shrewd" or "wise" was already well established in Latin (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 623.41-68), appearing, for example, in the cognomen of Sextus Aelius Paetus [315] and possibly contributing to the origin of the cognomen Cato (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 106). Moreover, Varro's corrective remark *non, ut aiunt, sapiens* suggests that the word had come to be used loosely in the sense of "wise", thereby attesting a widespread usage.

Likewise, it appears unlikely that Ennius himself regarded either the lexical item *catus* or its meaning "shrewd" as specifically Sabine. In *ann.* 329, where *catus* functions as the cognomen of Sextus Aelius Paetus

[312] Cf. de Melo (2019) *passim*, in his discussion of the Sabine glosses in Varro.
[313] *Ann.* 329 is also transmitted in other sources, including Cic. *rep.* 1.30, which provides the complete line.
[314] Walde (1938[3]) *s.u.* 183-4, though noting some cognate words in other IE languages, does not suggest any etymology for the Latin word *catus*, whereas Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 106 propose an "origine dialectale". Both Walde and Ernout and Meillet ignore Servius' note at *Aen.* 1.423 *a graeco uenit catus i.e. ingeniosus* ἀπὸ τοῦ καίεσθαι. The semantic development of *catus* from "shrewd" to "high-pitched" may have paralleled the dual semantic range of Latin *acutus.*
[315] Cf. Fasti Capitolini (CIL 1, p. 340) and Skutsch (1985) 505. On S. A. Paetus, see Klebs (1894) 527.

– or perhaps as a play on that cognomen – the context contains no discernible Sabine associations, and Sextus Aelius Paetus is not known to have had any particular connection with the Sabines. As for *ann.* 543 *tunc coepit memorare simul cata dicta,* the broader context is irrecoverable; yet in the only other EL passage where *catus* refers to shrewd counsel, namely Plaut. *Epid*. 257-8 *si aequom siet me plus sapere quam uos, dederim uobis consilium catum*, there are again no clear Sabine references. It is therefore plausible that Varro's characterisation of *catus* as a Sabinism was intended to apply specifically specifically to the sense "high-pitched" attested at *ann.* 450. Skutsch (1977) 1-2 proposed a Sabine context for that fragment, suggesting that it may refer to the signal of war preceding the confrontation between Romans and Sabines – ultimately averted by the intervention of the Sabine women. Although Skutsch's arguments for this reconstruction are not wholly persuasive,[316] the possibility of such a context cannot be excluded. Indeed, a Sabine setting for *ann.* 450 remains conceivable, especially in light of Ennius' generally learned handling of borrowings and calques – particularly from languages other than Greek – which are typically embedded in passages concerning the peoples from whose language the terms are derived.

In employing ***spira*** in the sense of "maniple"[317] at *ann.* 531 *spiras legionibus nexit*, Ennius most likely adapted the Greek term σπεῖρα, which was in use within Greek military contexts but is first attested in extant Greek literature only shortly after Ennius' death. The earliest literary occurrences of σπεῖρα in a military sense appear in Polybius' *Histories* (twenty-eight instances),[318] where it refers specifically to the Roman *manipulus*.[319] It is nevertheless plausible that σπεῖρα had already been used in spoken Greek by soldiers. The term may either have been borrowed from a Macedonian designation for a military unit (cf. Magie (1905) 18), or have arisen as a translation of the original Latin sense of *manipulus* – a bundle of hay

[316] In proposing this scenario (while not excluding alternative settings in Rome's regal period), Skutsch relies on the intertextual connections with Ov. *fast.* 3.216 and on the existence of other fragments of the *Annals* concerning the rape of the Sabine women, arguing that Ennius may have devoted a substantial portion of his narrative to this episode. These arguments appear unconvincing. In particular, the methodological risks of excessive reliance on intertextuality in contextualising Ennius' fragments have been highlighted by Wigodsky (1972) 40-66; Elliott (2005) iii-iv and 98-99; and Spielberg (2020) 147-168. By contrast, his rejection of the contextualisation of *ann.* 450 as the battle of Asculum – where the pigs on the Romans' standards allegedly began to squeal miraculously, thereby frightening Pyrrhus' elephants (or where Roman soldiers imitated this sound for the same purpose) – is persuasive.

[317] Cf. Paul. Fest. 330 M SPIRA […] *Ennius quidem hominum multitudinem ita appellat cum ait spiras legionibus nexit*.

[318] For Polybius' deportation to Rome in 167 BC, see Ziegler (1952) 1450; for the commencement of the *Histories* after his arrival in Rome, *ibid.* 1475. On Ennius' death in 169 BC, see Skutsch (1905) 2592.

[319] Polybius likewise employs the synecdoche σημαῖα (lit. "standard"), cf. LSJ *s.u.* 1382; Hahn (1906) 46. Later, σπεῖρα is also used to denote the *cohors* (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 1413, entry II; Magie (1905) 18), possibly because Polybius did not provide a distinct Greek equivalent for the term, apart from the transliteration κοόρς (cf. 11.23.21; Hahn (1906) 46).

used as a standard (cf. Ovid, *Fast*. 3.115-9) – through the Greek word for "bundle" (cf. Debrunner (1930) 244).

Ennius thus employs the Latinised form of a Greek term denoting a specific Roman (or Macedonian) military unit, juxtaposed with the distinctly Roman *legionibus*. This line likely refers to a scenario in which Roman *legiones* and Graeco-Roman *spirae* were brought into contact.[320] Grilli (1974) 282-3 suggests that, although the verb most commonly used to denote the joining of troops is *adiungo* and not *nexo*, the passage may describe the incorporation of foreign auxiliaries into Roman forces – perhaps during the battle of Magnesia, where Pergamene troops supported the Romans. By contrast, Skutsch (1985) 681-2, interprets *nexit* – playing on *spiras* in its primary sense of "coil" – as referring to an encirclement of the Roman army by Macedonian forces in an unspecified context. In either case, the wordplay between *spira* and *nexo* indicates that Ennius perceived that the military usage of *spira* was not standard in EL. Possibly, it reflects a semantic calque from a current, though non-literary, Greek usage.

5. Stylised Usages featuring Tropes

The final pattern of stylisation "stylised usages featuring tropes" comprises stylised semantic usages that involve tropes, that is, shifts from a word's primary meaning to another meaning for expressive effect (cf. Rowe (2001) 124-5), such as amphibolia, hyperbole, metaphor, metonymy, personification, and synecdoche. Similes, by contrast, do not entail a semantic shift and are therefore excluded from this pattern (cf. p. 97). This pattern differs from "poetic stylisation", in that it specifically concerns stylised semantic usages realised through identifiable tropes, and from "literary semantic calques", in that the particular tropes under consideration are first attested in the *Annals*. This does not imply that the types of trope themselves originate with Ennius but rather that the specific configuartions in question are not documented prior to the *Annals*. Thus, while metaphors are abundantly attested before Ennius, the particular image rain:projectiles appears first

[320] The presence of the Roman term *legionibus* – translated by Polyibius with τάγμα or στρατόπεδον (cf. Hahn (1906) 47) – in the same line excludes a purely Greek or Macedonian setting.

at *ann.* 266 *hastati spargunt hastas. Fit ferreus imber*. Such distinctions, however, inevitably admit alternative interpretations. The present analysis, based on consultation of dictionaries and thesauri, is necessarily conditioned by the incomplete state of the surviving Latin and Greek corpora. Usages unattested before Ennius are therefore not to be assumed original solely on that basis.

Assessing whether Ennius adopted a theoretical or merely pragmatic approach to the use of tropes is inherently difficult. First, the question of whether the initial, rudimentary capacity to recognise and reproduce tropes and figures is innate or acquired through the observation and imitation of texts and speech belongs to the domains of philosophy of language and developmental psychology and lies beyond the scope of the present study.[321] In any case, Ennius must have refined his command of such devices through engagement with Greek and Latin literary texts, as well as with forms of Italic and Latin oral para-literature (e.g. magic formulae, street performance, oral legends…). Secondly, it remains uncertain whether Ennius had access to any rhetorical treatises addressing the classification of tropes. The study and systematisation of tropes was initiated by the Peripatetics or the Stoics – probably, the former rather than the latter (cf. Sandri (2023) 3-4). In the third and second centuries BC, Hellenistic commentators on Homer, such as Aristarchus of Samothrace, possessed "a variety of individual notions and terms in order to explain the texts they comment upon", yet showed little interest in systematic codification (Schenkeveld (1991) 153). A fully developed and detailed system of tropes emerges only in the first century BC.[322] For these reasons, any attempt to determine Ennius' precise theoretical or pragmatic stance towards the use of tropes remain speculative.

In this section, stylised semantic usages are organised according to the trope involved: amphibolia, hyperbole, metaphor, metonymy, personification, and synecdoche. This additional classificatory layer inevitably introduces further scope for alternative interpretations and areas of overlaps.

[321] Cf. e.g. Gibbs (1994) 399-433.
[322] Trypho II's *De Tropis* lists and defines forty-one types of tropes (cf. e.g. Rowe (2001) 125 and n. 3).

5.1. Amphibolia (Category AS 5.1)

This category comprises instances in which lexical items are deliberately employed with ambiguous meanings within the context of oracular prophecy. In the *Annals*, two principal prophecies display such ambiguity: Aeneas' epiphany in the episode of Ilia's dream (*ann.* 44-5 *o gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae / aerumnae, post ex fluuio fortuna resistet*) and the oracle addressed to Pyrrhus concerning the outcome of his war against the Romans (*ann.* 167 *aio te Aeacida Romanos uincere posse*). In the latter case, ambiguity arises from the standard Latin construction of AcInf, in which both subject and object appear in the accusative, thereby permitting alternative interpretations. In the former, however, ambiguity is achieved through two stylised semantic usages: *gero* in the sense of *fero* and *resisto* in its etymological sense of *re-sisto*. The present section offers a detailed analysis of *gero* and *resisto* in this context.

Table AS 5.1. Stylised Amphibolic Usages in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
gero	endure	45	1b: 4 occurrences	*fero*
resisto	rise again	45	1b: 2 occurrences	*resurgo*

At *ann.* 44-5 *o gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae* / *aerumnae, post ex fluuio fortuna resistet*, ***gero*** bears the uncommon meaning of "endure", while *resisto* is employed in the even rarer sense of "rise again". Both stylised semantic usages contribute to the obscurity of Aeneas' prophecy to Ilia following her rape by Mars within the dream (cf. Skutsch (1985) 200). The unusual use of *gero* in the sense of *fero* may be reinforced by the phonetic affinity between the two verbs and perhaps by its alliteration with *gnata*. Ilia's endurance is later described with the standard verb *fero* at *ann.* 60 *Ilia, dia nepos, quas aerumnas tetulisti*, where her suffering is again defined by *aerumnae*, as at *ann.* 45. This shared lexeme strongly suggests a degree of intratextual coherence. The discrepancy between *gero* at *ann.* 45 and *fero* at *ann*. 60 may reflect the differing temporal perspectives of the fragments: *ann.* 45 peresents an obscure prophecy concerning the future,

whereas *ann.* 60 recounts past events, in which ambiguity is no longer required and the conventional expression for "enduring suffering" can be employed. In this sense, *ann.* 60 may be read as the clarification of Aenea's earlier riddling prophecy.

More striking still is ***resisto***, used in its etymological sense of *re-sisto*, "rise again", which provides Ilia with a veiled interpretative key to Aeneas' enigmatic words. After enduring great great hardship, her fortune will rise again: she will ultimately be united to the river-god Tiber or Anio.[323] The prefix *re-* may further imply a reversal of Ilia's relationship with the river – from a source of despair (the river where she was cast)[324] to a locus of future protection. Notably, a few passages after recounting Ilia's dream (*diu.* 1.40-1), Cicero employs *exsisto* rather than *resisto* to describe the act of rising again from a river in a similar dream context of a dream (*diu.* 1.58; cf. Skutsch (1985) 200). This variation may suggest that Ennius' choice of *resisto* was deliberate and semantically pointed, or at least perceived as such by Cicero. A less persuasive interpretation was advanced by Heurgon (1958) 83-4, who proposed that *resistet* should be taken in its standard meaning of "resist", emphasising Ilia's fortune resisting the flow of the river. This reading is based on Cic. *Mur.* 84 *in discrimen extremum uenimus; nihil est iam unde nos reficiamus aut ubi lapsi resistamus.* In that passage, however, *resistamus* more plausibly conveys the idea of "standing again" after a fall,[325] rather than "resisting" the fall – an interpretation supported by the use of the perfect participle *lapsi* rather than the present participle *labentes*. Accordingly, both *gero* in the sense of *fero* and *resisto* in its etymological sense appear to function as amphibolic usages, enhancing the prophetic obscurity of Aeneas' speech and reinforcing his role as enigmatic revealer of Ilia's destiny.[326]

[323] Cf. Heurgon (1958) 72-73, on the identification of the river-god as the Tiber and Skutsch (1985) 184, n. 24, and 212-213, on that as the Anio.
[324] If the river in question is the Tiber, Ilia's despair would also stem from the abandonment of Romulus and Remus.
[325] Cf. e.g. Macdonald (1982[2]) 136.
[326] In *ann.* 44-5, Aeneas' speech characterises him not only as a mysterious prophet, but also as a deified hero and as a concerned father. This dual function is epitomised by the use of *gnata*, which, on the one hand, constitutes a high-register alternative to the more usual *filia* or *puella* (cf. Köhm (1905) 126; Adams (2016) 26) and is associated with the elevated diction of godlike speakers; on the other hand, it reflects a father's (ultimately unsuccessful) attempt to console her daughter in distress by invoking their familial bond (cf. Oddi (forthcoming)). The use of *gnata* may also be interpreted within the framework of Aeneas' adoption of what Elliott (2007) 49 describes as a "male and imperialistic perspective" ultimately pointless for Ilia. On the interpretation of Aeneas' words as unsuccessful attempt to comfort Ilia, see also Krevans (1993) *passim.*

5.2. Hyperbole (Category AS 5.2)

In the *Annals*, only one clear instance of hyperbole is attested that has no documented precedent prior to Ennius.

Table AS 5.2. Stylised Hyperbolic Usages in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
pinso	beat	350	1b: 5 occurrences	*contundo*

The use of ***pinso*** at *ann.* 350 *pinsunt terram genibus* in the sense of "beat" likely involves hyperbole, since the primary meaning of *pinso* is "grind" (cf. ThLL, *s.u.* 2178.10 and ff.). A comparable expression recurs at Enn. *trag.* 354 *cubitis pinsibant humum* (from an unassigned fragment), interpretd by Varro *ling.* 5.23 as describing a fall.[327] The iterative force inherent in *pinso* may convey either a multitude of individuals falling simultaneously or a repeated action, such as crawling. In the former case, the hyperbolic usage of *pinso* would emphasise the number of combatants collapsing, and both *ann.* 350 and *trag.* 354 might refer to particularly slaghterous moments in battle. In the latter case, the lines could depict an improvised *proskynesis*, with *pinso* intensifying the suppliants' desperation and perhaps even ironising such an act of self-abasement, which might have appeared despicable to a Roman audience (cf. Skutsch (1985) 519). It is also possible that Ennius employed the same image in different contexts in the *Annals* and in the tragedies. In any case, the usage of *pinso* appears distinctly hyperbolic: the impact of knees and elbows upon the ground is imagined as so sustained and forceful that the earth is metaphorically "ground" like grain beneath a millstone.

[327] Other comparable occurrences of *pinso* are found in Vitr. 7.1.3 and 6, where the verb means "pound". *Pinsatio* is likewise attested with the same meaning in Vitr. 7.1.3 and in certain manuscripts of Sen. *epist.* 86.18.

5.3. Metaphor (Category AS 5.3)

Beside other metaphoric usages more narrowly intended, this category also comprises the zoomorphism *perna-crus* at *ann.* 287 *his pernas succidit iniqua superbia Poeni*. In this line, the dehumanising designation of the prisoners' legs as paws aptly reinforces the brutaliy of the Carthaginians' punishment of captives or deserters (cf. Skutsch (1985) 463). Skutsch (1985) 463, however, suggests that this usage of *perna* may derive from military terminology.

Table AS 5.3. Stylised Metaphoric Usages in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
coquo	sear	338	1b: 9 occurrences	*uexo*
gubernator	charioteer	465	1b: 1 occurrence	*auriga*
imber	multitude [falling from above]	266	1a: poetry 6/7 (85.71%) CL	*multum*
perna	leg	287	1b: 2 occurrences	*crus*
transno	fly	18	1a: poetry 10/10 (100%) CL	*uolo* (*-are*)
uerro	sail	377	1a: poetry 17/17 (100%) CL	*transeo*
uolo (*-are*)	sail	376	1a: poetry 10/10 (100%) CL	*nauigo*

The use of ***imber*** to denote a multitude of projectiles falling from above, as in the metaphor at *ann.* 266 *hastati spargunt hastas. Fit ferreus imber* and in the simile at *ann.* 391 *undique conueniunt uelut imber*

tela tribuno,[328] appears to be first attested in Ennius. In EL or CL, this figurative usage and occurs only six times (ThLL *s.u.* 423.46-55), and refers specifically to spears only in *ann.* 266, 391, and Homerus Latinus 359. By contrast, Greek authors frequently compare volleys of stones to snowstorms (cf. LSJ *s.u.* νίφας 1006, entry II; and the extended simile in Hom. *Il*. 12.277-289). Kameke (1926) 20-21 proposes that Ennius derived his association from the Homeric expression (Διὸς) ὄμβρος at *Il*. 12.286, where ὄμβρος denotes snowfall within a metaphor describing the throwing of arrows. The application of *imber* would have not been driven by semantics – *imber* in Latin is associated with snowstorms only in Val. Fl. 6.612 – but by the phonetic proximity with ὄμβρος, much as in the case of *fax* for "sun" in *ann.* 415 (cf. p. 120).

This reconstruction is conceivable; however, the choice of *imber* rather than *nix* may instead reflect differing socio-geographical and military realities. In Greek literature, the snowfall metaphor appears to function as a conventional literary topos,[329] perhaps ultimately deriving from Anatolian imagery. By contrast, violent snowstorms were unlikely to have formed part of everyday experience in Rome – though by the second century BC Roman soldiers may have encountered such conditions in the Appennines, the Alpes or the Balkans. Indeed, in EL references to actual or metaphorical snowstorms are scarce: Enn. *inc.* 11 *hae niues* (without context), Pacuv. *praet.* 4 *niuit sagittis, plumbo et saxis grandinat*, and Bibac. *carm.* 15.1 *Iuppiter hibernas cana niue conspuit Alpes*.[330] If snow was not widely perceived in Rome as a violent or forceful form of precipitation, Ennius[331] may have found the image less apt for describing volleys of iron spears. A comparable distinction is visible in Pacuv. *praet.* 4 *niuit sagittis, plumbo et saxis grandinat*, where, as Schierl (2006) 525 observes, Pacuvius differentiates between the light fall of arrows, likened to snowflakes, and the heavier impact of lead and stones, compared to hail. Moreover, the elongated form of spears arguably resembles raindrops more closely than snowflakes, which are rounder and thus more akin to the stones evoked in Greek images. The association between rain and hurled spears – first attested at *ann.* 266 and 391 – may therefore represent an adaptation of the Greek snowfall:stone imagery, shaped by

[328] Only the metaphor in *ann.* 266 constitutes a case of stylised semantic usage (cf. pp. 97 and 127).
[329] Cf. *Il.* 3.222, where Odysseus' words are described as νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν. Quint. 12.10.64 *sed summam expressurus in Ulixe facundiam et magnitudinem illi uocis et uim orationis niuibus* ⟨*hibernis*⟩ *copia* [*uerborum*] *atque impetu parem tribuit* explicitly interprets this comparison as referring to the density and force of a snowstorm (cf. Greene (1915) 55-6).
[330] Snow is also mentioned at Pl. *Stich.* 648 in *quasi nix tabescit dies*, and in Acc. *trag*. 567 *Aquiloni stridor gelidas molitur niues*.
[331] As noted above (cf. pp. 127-8), the absence of attestations of a stylised usage prior to Ennius does not necessarily imply that it originated with him. For the sake of brevity and simplicity, however, I shall refer in this section to Ennius as the creator of this metaphor.

metheorological experience and by the physical characteristics of the weapons involved. In the Romans' imaginative framework, the flight of iron spears may have appeared more analogous to a rainstorm than to a snowfall.

5.4. Metonymy (Category AS 5.4)

The metonymies presented in this section reflecy different types of semantic interactions, including effect for cause (*altus-sublatus* and *celsus-sublatus*), content for container (*carta-poema* and *nato-fluo*), abstract for concrete (*incutio-suscito*), and subject for object (*uagio-tollo*, see n. 334).

Table AS 5.4. Stylised Metonymic Usages in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
altus	raised	538	1a: poetry 21/25 (84%) CL	*sublatus*
carta	poem	458	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)[332]	*poema*
celsus	raised	538	1a: poetry 18/20 (90%) CL	*sublatus*
incutio	arouse	533	1a: prose 44/53 (83.02%) CL[333]	*suscito*
nato	flow	602	1a: poetry 8/8 (100%) CL	*fluo*
uagio[334]	raise [a cry]	545	1b: 1 occurrence	*tollo*

[332] *Cartus* at Lucil. 709 *ubi nunc Socratici carti*? is included.
[333] Data calculated from the representative, though incomplete, sample of occurrences listed at ThLL *s.u.* 1101.36-2.4.
[334] In *ann.* 545 *clamor ad caelum uoluendus per aethera uagit*, *uagit* denotes the rising of a battle-cry (hence *tollo* as a possible neutral alternative). In addition, *uagitus* in the sense "battle-cry" occurs four times in poetry and once in prose.

The well-known CL poetic metonymy ***carta*** for poem (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 998.46-999.54) appears to be first attested at *ann.* 458 *neque me decet hanc carinantibus edere cartis* and may plausibly have been coined by Ennius (cf. Froebel (1910) 33).[335] The corresponding Greek term χάρτης (or less frequently χάρτη) is comparatively rare and is not attested in the metonymic sense "text" (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 1716; Skutsch (1985) 616).[336] At the same time, Latin *c*(*h*)*arta* is itself a borrowing from Greek (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 118), and may have retained a degree of Greek colouring at *ann.* 458. Owing to its polemical force, *ann.* 458 is commonly assigned either to the proem of Book 7 of the *Annals* or to the *Satires.*[337] The proem of the Book 7 famously contains Ennius' refusal to recount the First Punic War, since it had already been narrated in Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* (*ann.* 206 *uorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant*), and has often been connected with Callimachus' polemical proem against the Telchines (see p. 111 and n. 270). In this context, *carta* may signal Ennius' programmatic distancing from earlier Latin poetic traditions and his effort to inaugurate a new, self-consciously Hellenising form of Latin literature.

Similarly, Grilli (1965) 14-5 proposes a Greek model for the extremely rare term *carinantibus*,[338] specifically, τιλεῦσιν in Herodas 71-2 τὰ μέλεα πολλοὶ κάρτα, τοὺς ἐμοὺς μόχθους, / τιλεῦσιν ἐν Μούσηισιν. The literal meaning of τίλλω is "pluck", though its metaphorical sense such as "vex" is also attested (e.g. Anacr. 13B; cf. LSJ *s.u.* 1554). Grilli notes the phonetic resemblance between *carinare* and *carĕre* "card" and suggests that Ennius may have adapted the Greek stylisation of τίλλω into Latin. However, Ennius also employs *carinantes* at *ann.* 576 *contra carinantes uerba atque obscena profatus*, in a context that cannot plausibly be connected with Herodas 71-2. As Grilli himself acknowledges, it is impossible to determine whether Ennius could have read Herodas. The hypothesis of direct influence must therefore remain speculative. Nevertheless, Grilli's proposal of a Greek model for *carinare* would fit mmore broadly within a

[335] In EL, *carta* occurs only five times: four times in the sense "text", and only at Rhet. Her. 3.17.30 in the sense "paper". At Lucil. 709-10 †*nec sic ubi Graeci? ubi nunc Socratici carti? / quidquid quaeritis, per*<*i*>*imus*, the masculine form *cartus* is used (as in Greek χάρτης), in a clearly Greek context. *Ann.* 458, Lucil. 1084 and 1085 attest the form *cartis*, where it is impossible to determine the gender. In Rhet. Her. 3.17.30, *carta* is unequivocally feminine.

[336] Cf. similarly παπύρος (LSJ *s.u.* 1122).

[337] For the assignment of the fragment to the proem of the seventh book of the *Annals*, see Vahlen (1854) 36 (though in subsequent editions he placed *ann.* 458 among the fragments of uncertain book); Müller (1884) 30; Baehrens (1886) 82; Skutsch (1985) 616; Flores (2000-2009) 1.74 and 2.186-8; and Valmaggi (1900) 127 on Spangenberg (1825). For the attribution to the *Satires*, see Warmington (1935) 436 (though *ibid.*, n. c., he advances the alternative hypothesis that the fragment may belong to the *Annals*). Valmaggi (1900) 127 and Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 1.359, n. 1, place *ann.* 458 among the unassigned fragments of the *Annals*, while suggesting that it may belong to the *Satires*. The fragment is not included in Ennius' *Satires* (nor elsewhere) by Russo (2007).

[338] *Ann.* 458 and 576 are the only two attestations of the verb in Latin (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 458.48-56). In *ann.* 458, *carĭnantibus* has probably undergone iambic shortening; cf. *carīnantes* in *ann.* 576 (cf. Skutsch (1985) 60).

reconstruction of Ennius' programme of signposted Hellenising innovation: the conscious incorporation of Greek vocabulary and literary allusion in his declaration of a new form of Latin poetry, inspired by Greek models and in set in deliberate contrast to the *Fauni* and *Vates* of earlier tradition (cf. *carta* above and the opposition between *carmen* and *melos*, n. 339).

5.5. Personification (Category AS 5.5)

In ancient rhetorical theory (e.g. Trypho II and Quintilian), the attribution of human qualities to non-human entities was classified as a type of metaphor (Lausberg (1998[3]) 253), distinct from *fictio personae*, that is, "the introduction of non-personal things as persons capable of speech and other forms of personified behaviour", which was instead regarded as an emotive figure (Lausberg (1998[3]) 369-70). For the sake of convenience, however, both phenomena are treated here under the broader category of personification.

Table AS 5.5. Stylised Semantic usages by Personification in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
carmen[339]	[trumpet] call	485	1a: poetry 34/37 (91.9%) CL	*sonus*
dico	make a sound	451	1a: poetry 6/6 (100%) CL	*cano*
furens[340]	violent	601	1a: poetry 14/15	*uehemens*

[339] Although the use of words denoting human song for instrument music is attested in Greek (cf. LSJ *s.u.* μέλος (B) 938, entry 3), the application of *carmen* to the sound of a trumpet is more appropriately classified as an Ennian trope. Ennius designates the harsh martial call of the trumpet in *ann.* 485 as *carmen*, in contrast to the soothing melody of the flute, described as *melos* in *ann.* 293. This contrast aligns with his broader poetic programme of distinguishing his new, refined, Greek-inspired poetry from the earlier, less polished verse of the *Fauni* and *Vates*, associated with the *Ca*(*r*)*menae* (cf. Skutsch (1985) 648). Even in the sphere of instrument music, what is crude is linked to the *Camenae* and thus termed *carmen*, whereas what is refined and smooth is connected with Greek poetry and designated by the Greek loanword *melos*. The use of *carmen* for the trumpet call in *ann.* 485 is therefore classified under the pattern of tropes rather than that of stylised calques.

[340] The formula *furentibus uentis* (*ann.* 601) produces a marked phonetic effect, namely the repetition of the cluster *-ent.* A similar phonetic sequence would arise even if *furentibus* were replaced by *uehemens*. The choice of the poetic *furens* therefore does not primarily serve sound-play, but rather functions as a form of stylisation through semantic trope.

			(93.33%) CL	
rapax	barrelling	302	1a: poetry 23/26 (88.46%) CL	*torrens*
recumbo	fade	259	1b: 1 occurrence	*deficio*
rideo[341]	clear	447	1a: poetry 2/2 (100%) CL	*fio*
uber	fruit	448	1b: 1 occurrence	*fructus*

At a*nn.* 451 *at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit*, the verb ***dico*** acquires the unprecedented meaning "play [music]" through the personification of the tuba. The usual verb for an instrument producing sound is *cano* (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 266.16-46), and expressions such as *sono tubae/tubarum* are likewise common (e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 7.47.2; Cic. *Marcell.* 9). By contrast, only six occurrences of *dico* in this sense are attested in EL and CL, all in later poetic texts and not demonstrably dependent on *ann.* 451 (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 989.21-7). No comparable usage of verbs of speaking to denote the sounding of a musical instrument appears to be attested in Greek. The instance at *ann.* 451 seems to represent the earliest occurrence of this particular semantic extension in either Greek or Latin.

It is possible that the personification of the tuba is not merely ornamental, but forms part of a broader ideological design. In the military context suggested by *ann*. 451, where an army stands ready to attack, the use of *dixit* and the attribution of agency to the tuba may serve to displace responsibility for the assault from the soldiers themselves. This interpretation gains plausibility, if *ann.* 451 belonged to the episode of the destruction of Alba, as suggested by the notes in Serv. *Aen.* 2.313 and 486, which emphasise the sounding of a trumpet in connection with Alba's fall (cf. Steuart (1925) 128-9; Vahlen (1903[2]) 24; Warmington (1935) 50-51; Skutsch (1985) 279-80 and 608). The destruction of Alba was traditionally portrayed as an event that elicited sympathy for the defeated Albans (cf. Liv. 1.29.1). On this reading, Ennius may have sought to mitigate Roman culpability by depicting the soldiers as mere executors of a command issued by the

[341] The personified use of *rideo* with reference to the weather forms part of a broader antanaclasis of *rideo* in *ann.* 446-7 *Iuppiter hic risit tempestatesque serenae / riserunt omnes risu Iouis omnipotentis* (see also pp. 103-4 for Ennius' fondness for wordplays in the *Annals*).

personified tuba, which itself "speaks" the onomatopoeic *taratantara*. The use of *dico* and the emphatic sound-patterning *taratantara* would thus represent a deliberate stylistic strategy, consistent with a broader effort to attenuate the moral burden of a Roman act of aggression – possibly the destruction of Alba.

5.6. Synecdoche (Category AS 5.6)

The synecdoches presented in this section reflect different types of semantic relations, including genus for species (*moueo*-*incipio*), species for genus (*plausus*-*ictus*), and whole for part (*ora*-*carcer*).

Table AS 5.6. Stylised Synecdochic Usages in the *Annals*. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position in Skutsch (1985)	First-stage results	Neutral alternative
moueo	start to narrate	403	1a: poetry 7/7 (100%) CL	*incipio*
ora	gate	80	1b: 1 occurrence	*carcer*
plausus	beat	431	1a: poetry 9/11 (81.82%) CL	*ictus*

At *ann.* 403 *quippe uetusta uirum non est satis bella moueri*, ***moueri*** appears to carry the poetic meaning "start to narrate", a usage attested in a number of post-Ennian authors (Verg. *Aen.* 1.262, 7.45, Hor. *carm.* 3.7.20, Ov. *am.* 3.16, *Fast.* 3.11, Colum. 10.218 – in some cases, more generally "narrate"),[342] and seemingly restricted to poetic contexts. The employment of *moueo* in this sense may be classified as a metonymy of genus for species, insofar as *incipio* represents the specific initial movement of speech subsumed under the broader notion of "moving". Assigned by its source (Fest. 257 L) to Book 16 of the *Annals*, *ann.* 403 likely formed part of a book proem concerning the poet's relationship to his material (cf.

[342] Bentley (in Skutsch (1985) 567) and Müller (in Valmaggi (1900) 113) likewise proposed a parallel with Verg. *Aen.* 7.641 *pandite nunc Helicona, deae, cantusque mouete*. In that passage, however, *mouete* means "raise a song" rather than "[start to] narrate" (cf. Valmaggi (1900) 113 and ThLL *s.u.* 1545.22).

Skutsch (1985) 565-6) – a context in which elevated poetic diction would be appropriate, and such a synecdoche entirely fitting. Warmington's proposal (1935) 146-7 to interpret *bella moueri* as "undertake wars", on the basis of the conventional expression *bellum mouere*, is therefore unconvincing, although the possibility of deliberate wordplay with the common idiom cannot be excluded (cf. *exsiccat somno* in *ann.* 499, n. 274, and *spiras nexit* in *ann.* 531, pp. 126-7). Nor does it seem necessary to emend the transmitted reading on the assumption that *moueri* represents a scribal trivialisation influenced by the familiar phrase *bellum moueri* (e.g. *moneri*, as proposed in Bergk (1884) 257, n. 17).

Valmaggi (1900) 113 reports an unspecified suggestion by Müller – one which I have been unable to trace elsewhere – drawing a parallel between *bella moueri* at *ann.* 403 and ἃ δ'ἐξάγιστα μηδὲ κινεῖται λόγῳ at Soph. *O.C.* 1526. The Sophoclean passage, however, conveys the specific sense of "disturbing taboo matters" (cf. LSJ *s.u.* κινέω 808, entry II), a nuance that is not evidently present in *ann.* 403. For this reason, the proposed influence of Soph. *O.C:* 1526 on the wording of *ann.* 403 does not appear persuasive.

Unlike the use of ***ora*** at *ann.* 109 and 135, which reflects the common synecdoche whereby *ora* (lit. "boundary") denotes the territory enclosed within said boundary, the instance at *ann.* 80-1 […] *omnes spectant auidi ad carceris oras* / *quam mox emittat pictos e faucibus currus* may represent a more unusual synecdochic usage. The passage forms part of the simile comparing the spectators of Romulus' and Remus' vulture-spotting to the crowd at a chariot race. Here, *oras* appears to denote the threshold of the gates that confine the chariots within their caves (*faucibus*) before the race begins. Strictly speaking, however, spectators would be looking at the gates themselves rather than at their thresholds, awaiting their opening and the release of the chariots. On this reading, *oras* may function as a synecdoche for the gates as a whole, so that *ad carceris oras* would constitute a semantically hypertrophic expression, where *ad carceres* would have sufficed.

Alternatively, if *spectant auidi ad carceris oras* is taken more literally, with the spectators focusing precisely on the threshold of the gates, *oras* may be understood as synecdochic for *limina*: *ora* "boundary" serving as a more generic term for the specific boundary denoted by *limen*, that is, "threshold". Only three comparable uses of *ora* in the sense of "threshold of an enclosed space" are attested in EL and CL, all in poetic texts: Verg. *georg.* 4.39 and 118 (referring to the entrances to the hive-cells), and Sen. *Herc. f.* 813

(denoting the threshold of the cave at Taenarus). In either interpretation *ad carceris oras* at *ann.* 80 appears to involve a stylised and possibly unprecedented synecdochic extension of *ora*.

The Tragedies in Greek Dress

Lexicon

General overview

I have identified 166[343] stylised lexical items in Ennius' tragedies in Greek dress.[344] These are organised according to the same typology of stylisation employed in the chapter on the *Annals* (context of use, morphology and derivation, and other and doubtful stylisation cf. p. 45). The first pattern of stylisation "context of use" displays one principal feature already observed in the corresponding pattern of the *Annals*, while also diverging from it in certain respects. The primary similarity between the two corpora concerns lexical items of poetic and prose stylisation: items of poetic stylisation are by far the most numerous in both the *Annals* and the tragedies, whereas items of prose stylisation, though fewer in numbers, are nonetheless represented (cf. pp. 150-1 and pp. 163-4). This evidence suggests that both corpora share a predominantly (high-)poetic lexical basis, albeit with the inclusion of some items more frequently attested in prose texts. At the same time, some of the latter items latter may not reflect deliberate stylistic choices, but rather low-frequency terms whose association with prose becomes clearly established only at a later stage of Latin literary development.

By contrast, as noted above (cf. p. 78), the stylised lexicon of the *Annals* appears more varied than that of the tragedies. The epic exhibits a greater number of lexical archaisms and technicisms, whereas the tragedies display no clear lexical archaisms[345] and only a limited range of technicisms.

[343] As in the case of the *Annals* (cf. n. 83), certain lexical items exhibit a high frequency in specific contexts owing to their occurrence in fixed phrases, clichéd situations, or specialised meanings. They are not, however, employed in the tragedies within these patterns and are therefore not regarded as stylised in this thesis. I have already discussed the cases of *credo* (for which, however, cf. n. 366), *haud*, *iam*, *miser*, *perdo*, *pereo*, and *scribo*, which were excluded from the analysis of stylised lexicon in the *Annals* for the same reason. In addition, *puella* (*trag.* 371) occurs in conversational context 88.03% of instances, but in *trag.* 371, it carries the specific, non-stylised meaning "daughter".

[344] The fragments from the *praetextae* are not discussed in this thesis, owing to their Roman setting, which distinguishes them from the tragedies in Greek dress, and their ultimate limited number and extension.

[345] Two potential instances of lexical archaism may be identified: *perduellis* in *trag.* 367 *quin inde inuitis sumpserint perduellibus* and *topper* in *trag.* 378 *topper quam nemo melius scit*. Both display archaic morphological forms (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u. bellum* 58, and Livingston (2004) 20-1, respectively) and were regarded as archaisms in

The absence of clear lexical archaisms in the tragedies can hardly be interpreted as coincidental, as this pattern seems to be paralleled in the domain of semantics – though not in the domain of morphology (cf. pp. 18-9). Furthermore, in EL lexical archaisms are apparently attested in smaller numbers in drama than in epics (cf. Elliott (2022) 34, n. 139). Accordingly, lexical archaisms may have been avoided in Ennius' tragedies because they were perceived as excessive linguistic ornamentation rather than as refined markers of elevated poetic diction. Their exclusion would thus form part of the adoption of a lexicon that is generally less diverse than that of the *Annals* – a tendency that becomes especially evident in the analysis of technicisms and loanwords.

Whereas the *Annals* incorporate vocabulary drawn from niche specialised domains – such as hunting and carpentry – the tragedies confine their technicisms largely to the better-known spheres of law and religion. The discrepancy in both the range and density of technical vocabulary between the two corpora may reflect not only the more standardised lexical profile of the tragedies, but also the multi-thematic scope of the *Annals*. In addition to numerous technicisms associated with warfare and seafaring – the thematic core of the poem's account of Roman expansion – the *Annals* also include philosophical terminology, further emphasising the epic's broader thematic range.

The tragedies, however, are not devoid of linguistic experimentation either. On the contrary, they display a more elaborated engagement with phonetic effects – most notably alliteration, a para-literary and characteristically Roman[346] stylistic device. Originally developed as a means of emphasising specific words, alliteration came to function in EL as a marker of elevated style (cf.

CL (cf. Quint. *inst.* 1.6.40). Ancient morphology alone, however, does not suffice to establish a word's archaicity in a given period. Moreover, although both forms occur predominantly in poetic or high-register contexts, neither *perduellis* nor *topper* appears in explicitly archaising contexts, with the possible exception of the genitive plural ending *-um* in *perduellum* (from *perduellus*; cf. Bader (1962) 170) at Acc. *praet.* 12. Besides, Varro and Cicero's claims (*ling.* 5.3 and Cic. *off.* 1.37, respectively) that in earlier usage *perduellis* meant "enemy" in contrast to *hostis* meaning "foreigner" seem unreliable. The earliest attestations of *hostis* in the sense "enemy" are found in the Twelve Tables (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 3056.9-11). In the same text, *hostis* also coneys the meaning "foreigner", but only in two passages quoted in Cic. *off.* 1.37 in support of this archaic usage. It is therefore plausible that *perduellis* and *topper* originated in VOL, were perceived as poetic or high-register in EL, subsequently fell out of use, and were thus regarded as archaic in CL. Accordingly, they are classified here on the basis of their synchronic distribution: *perduellis* under "high-register" (cf. p. 147) and *topper* under "poetic stylisation" (cf. p. 157).

[346] Grilli (1965) 126 observes that some Greek proverbs exhibit apparent alliteration, but argues that these are more appropriately understood as instances of parechesis (the repetition of the same sound within different parts of a word) that happen to involve word-initial sounds.

Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming), and the bibliography cited therein) and gradually declined after the *poetae noui*. In the *Annals*, alliteration occurs sporadically and tends to reinforce onomatopoeic passages or to underline particularly significant narrative moments (cf. Grilli (1965) 233-61). In the tragedies, by contrast, alliteration becomes a pervasive artistic resource, governed by recognisable patterns – if not formalised rules – and often employed to intensify moments of emotional pathos (cf. Grilli (1965) 160-91).[347] Grilli attributes this divergence primarily to stylistic factors: tragedy centres on character, whereas epics privileges action; as a result, epic offers fewer opportunities for sustained emotional exploration and overtly pathetic expression. Yet the more frequent deployment of alliteration as a "phono-pathetic" device in tragedy may also be related to differences in mode of reception. The immediate character of tragic performance would have amplified both sound effects and the affective force of delivery, rendering such phonetic figures particularly effective.

This tendency is relevant to the scope of the present analysis insofar as, in the tragedies, stylised lexical items (and semantic usages) embedded within phonetic clusters are more frequent than in the *Annals*, in line with previous scholarship: Frobenius (1910) 126 observed that, for every alliterative line in the *Annals*, there are 1.5 alliterating lines in the tragedies; similarly, Grilli (1965) 211 and 261 suggested a ratio of 1:1.42 between alliterative line in the *Annals* and those in the tragedies. Furthermore, since soundplay in tragedy is systematically employed as a stylising device, all items occurring within clear and elaborate phonetic clusters are treated as instances of "poetic stylisation" in a broad sense, that is, as part of a network of literary techniques marking the text as distinct from standard diction. For items occurring within phonetic clusters that also exhibit distinctive word-formation patterns, cf. p. 190. At the same time, items embedded in such clusters are always flagged with specific footnotes, as it is difficult to determine with certainty whether the stylisation of a passage arises primarily from phonetic patterning, from the lexical choice itself, or from the interaction of both. For example, at *trag.* 381 *is habet coronam uitulans uictoria*, the stylised effect

[347] Figurae etymologicae also appear to constitute an Ennian distinctive feature, as they occur rarely elsewhere in tragedy in EL (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 173).

may derive not only from the alliterative pairing *uitulans uictoria*, but also from the low-frequency verb *uitulo*.

A further distinction between the epic and the tragic vocabularies within the pattern "context of use" concerns items exhibiting a significant synchronic distribution in conversational texts and contexts (i.e. direct speech, oratory, and drama). As noted above (cf. p. 91), the identification of items drawn from the conversational varieties of Latin pertains more properly to pragmatics than to stylistics. Nevertheless, whereas the *Annals* contain only seven items displaying a significant synchronic distribution in conversational contexts – and most of of these do not clearly reflect spoken varieties of Latin (cf. e.g. *extemplo* and *foras* at pp. 93-4) – the tragedies include 43 such items (excluding those primarily attested in tragedy, see below). This discrepancy most likely reflects the performative mode of reception of tragedy, in contrast to the predominantly reading-based reception of the epic poem (cf. Vahlen (1903[2]) XXI).

Accordingly, in the chapter on the *Annals*, such items do not constitute a clearly distinguishable or significant category of stylisation and are therefore subsumed under the residual category of "other and doubtful stylisation" (cf. pp. 91-5). By contrast, in the tragedies, items predominantly attested in conversational texts and contexts are sufficiently numerous and, in several cases, reflect features of spoken language or expressions characteristic of dramatic discourse, such as "stage directions". In the analysis of the tragic lexicon, these items are therefore treated as a distinct category, labelled "conversational distribution"[348] (cf. pp. 172-4), with the exception of items occurring primarily or exclusively in tragedy or in direct speech within poetic texts. The latter may plausibly be classified both as instances of "poetic stylisation" and of "conversational distribution", since tragedies and direct speech in poetry partake of both conversational distribution and poetic register. Nevertheless, their status as poetic items appears more compelling than their association with spoken language (cf. p. 151), and they are accordingly classified under "poetic stylisation". As

[348] As such items reflect pragmatic usage more than stylised variation, the term "distribution" is preferred to "stylisation".

this additional layer of classification inevitably involves a degree of arbitrariness and may give rise to alternative interpretations, the synchronic distribution of these items is explicitly indicated in the coloumn "first-stage result" in the relevant table.

The second pattern "morphology and derivation" – subdivided into non-Latin derivation, high-register morphology, and standard morphology – reveals a similar tendency. The category of non-Latin derivation comprises only seven items, all derived from Greek lexemes or formed according to Greek word-formation patterns: *aer*, *astrologus*, *barbaricus*, *exanclo*, *exsacrifico*,[349] *philosophor*, and *stola*.[350] The contrast with the more numerous and diverse corpus of comparable forms in the *Annals* is striking, particularly given that the majority of loanwords in the tragedies (six out of seven) may be regarded as poetic Graecisms – that is, borrowings contributing to deliver a poetic register rather than to evoke a foreign or exotic setting, and in some cases embedded within stylised "phono-pathetic" clusters (cf. pp. 143-5).[351] The relative scarcity of Greek loanwords in tragedy may reflect a contemporary perception of Graecisms as elements of colloquial usage, and therefore more appropriate to comedy than to tragedy (cf. Maltby (2023) 269-70). By contrast, the *Annals* incorporate loanwords drawn from linguistic traditions scarcely represented elsewhere in Latin literature, such as Celtic, Etruscan, and Thracian. These borrowings may reflect the more overtly "international" horizon of the epic and contribute to the broader lexical diversity of its language.

The greater "spectacularity" of the lexicon of the *Annals*, as compared with that of the tragedies, is likewise reflected in the distribution of Latin word-formation patterns. The tragedies contain no items exhibiting clearly irregular morphology, whereas the *Annals* include nine such forms (among them the well-known onomatopoeic *taratantara*). By contrast, items formed according to standard word-formation patterns are slightly more numerous in the tragedies than in the *Annals*, a

[349] For the possible Greek influence on the use of verbs formed with the semantically pleonastic prefix *ex-* in tragedy, see n. 470.
[350] For the possible Etruscan etymology of *tullius*, cf. n. 402.
[351] In the tragedies, many Greek concepts are rendered by means of corresponding terms drawn from Roman society and culture. This phenomenon is discussed under the category of "Romanising calques" in the section of semantics (cf. pp. 230-2).

distribution consistent with the tragedies' comparatively less experimental linguistic profile. At the same time, lexical items displaying stylised (high-poetic) morphology – including those which, although formed according to standard word-formation patterns, occur within marked "phono-pathetic" clusters (cf. p. 190) – are marginally more numerous in the tragedies than in the *Annals*. This tendency reflects the tragedies' preference for a more standardised and consistently elevated poetic vocabulary.

As in the case of the *Annals* (cf. pp. 47-8), register has not been systematically incorporated as a variable within the pattern-based typology adopted in this study. However, one item that appears to be associated with high-register contexts, yet does not fit neatly into any other typological category adopted here, is *perduellis* at *trag.* 367 (for *perduellis* as a possible instance of "archaic stylisation", cf. n. 345). The term occurs six times in passages of elevated register in Plautus (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1292.61, 1293.4-7 and 14-8), who by contrast employs the more neutral *hostis* forty-eight times, and once each in Ennius and Accius (*praetext.* 12). In Livy's prose, *perduellis* appears in the quotations of two formal ancient texts: a prophecy attributed to the vates Marcius following the defeat at Canne (25.12.10) and a prayer by Scipio (29.27.3). The form of both texts is, however, likely a Livian invention (cf. Briscoe (2023) 472-5 and 483, respectively). This distribution, in any case, suggests that *perduellis* retained an elevated colouring in EL.

Finally, a residual category of "other and doubtful stylisation" has been included. As throughout this study, a degree of arbitrariness in the categorisation of certain items is inevitable, and overlaps between different categories may occur. Alternative interpretations likewise remain possible. Nevertheless, a discernible discrepancy emerges between Ennius' epic and tragic vocabularies, which may be related to differences of genre and mode of reception. On the one hand, the *Annals* present themselves as a multi-thematic work, requiring a correspondingly varied amd, at times, "spectacular" lexicon. By contrast, the tragedies focus predominantly on the deeds of aristocratic figures and thus favour a more standardised high register. On the other hand, the performative

nature of tragedy may have necessitated a lexicon that was clear and immediately intelligible to an audience, whereas the *Annals*, conceived primarily for reading (cf. Vahlen (1903[2]) XXI), allowed greater scope for lexical experimentation. At the same time, the stage performance of tragedy facilitated an innovative quasi-systematic use of "phono-pathetic" devices, while phonetic effects in the *Annals* – whether in the form of expressive "phono-pathetic" soundplay or onomatopoeia – remain comparatively isolated. Finally, although unlikely, it cannot be excluded that some of these discrepancies reflect a stylistic evolution in Ennius' literary career (cf. p. 302).

1. Context of use

Items exhibiting a synchronic distribution of 80% or more within a specific work, author, context, genre, or literary form are assigned to the first pattern of stylisation, namely "context of use". Nevertheless, further contextual analysis is undertaken to assess the validity of the results yielded by the synchronic distribution test, particularly when an item occurs within a phonetic cluster. As noted above (cf. pp. 143-5), soundplay in the tragedies is more frequent and more systematically elaborated than in the *Annals*. Consequently, whereas in the stylistic analysis of the *Annals* it often remains uncertain whether soundplay, conceived as a deliberate stylistic device, should override the synchronic distribution of an individual lexical item or semantic usage, in the tragedies phonetic patterning generally takes precedence.

Accordingly, irrespective of their synchronic distribution, items and usages embedded in conspicuous and extended phonetic clusters are classified under "poetic stylisation", understood here not in opposition to "prose stylisation" – since soundplay is attested across multiple genres in EL – but rather in contrast to the standard register. This is the case, for example, with *aduersarius*, which occurs in the figura etymologica *aduersum aduersarios* at *trag.* 255; with *inflammo*, embedded in the disyllabic end-of-the-line homeoteleuton *inflammari*, *euitari*, *turpari* at *trag.* 92-94; and with *caementa*, situated within the phonetically elaborate line *labat, labuntur saxa,*

caementae cadunt at *trag.* 385, where the initial *lab-* alliteration is echoed by the closing *ca-* sequence. All these items, despite exhibiting predominatly prose synchronic distribution, are nonetheless classified under "poetic stylisation".

Items embedded in less extensive phonetic clusters – such as simple one-letter two-words alliterations – are also included under "poetic stylisation" if they are associated with poetic diction by synchronic distribution (e.g. *aptus* in the sequence *alma apta* at *trag.* 350) or low-frequency items regarded as generically stylised without clear association with a particular type of context or genre (cf. the item *tullius* at *trag.* 14 in the sequence *tepido tullii*). Conversely, *almus* at *trag.* 350 (*alma apta*) and *profiteor* at *trag.* 285 (*profiteri et proloqui*, in which the repetition of *pro-* does not serve a "phono-pathetic" but a pragmatic effect) are not included under "poetic stylisation" (cf. n. 509 and p. 164, respectively).

This approach – prioritising immediate phonetic context over synchronic distribution – entails the possibility that the same lexical item may be assigned to different categories depending on its contextual embedding. Thus, a given item may be classified under "poetic stylisation" when it occurs within a marked phonetic cluster, but under the category corresponding to its synchronic distribution when it does not. This applies to three items displaying significant distribution in conversational texts and contexts: *aduenio*, *malefactum*, and *opino*. The occurrence of *aduenio* at *trag.* 322 is classified as "poetic stylisation", since it forms part of the alliterative sequence *ad uos adueniens auxilium*; by contrast, its occurrences at *trag.* 45 and 49 fall under "conversational distribution", as they are not embedded in comparable phonetic patterns. Similarly, *malefactum* at *trag*. 349 is assigned to "poetic stylisation" owing to its inclusion in the figura etymologica *benefacta male locata maleafacta*, whereas its occurrence at *trag*. 205 is treated as "conversational distribution". Finally, *opino* in the alliterative sequence *opino* […] *optimum* at trag. 146 is classified as "poetic stylisation", while its use at *trag*. 271, lacking comparable soundplay, is included under "conversational distribution". The situation differs slightly, however, in the case of items exhibting

distinctive word-formation patterns and classified under the second pattern of stylisation; for their categorisation, see p. 190. Nevertheless, this phono-stylistic classification should not be regarded as deifinitive, since alternative interpretations of the function and significance of soundplay in individual passages remain possible. For this reason, all such items and usages are explicitly flagged.

As noted above (cf. pp. 145-6), items associated with conversational texts and contexts are treated differently in the tragedies than in the *Annals*. In the tragedies, such items are relatively numerous (42) and, in several cases, their conversational distribution is accompanied by features characteristic of spoken language (e.g. interjections) or dramatic texts (e.g. "stage directions"). This discrepancy may reflect the performative nature of the tragedy. These items are therefore grouped under the category "conversational distribution", a label that acknowledges the primacy of pragmatic considerations over purely stylistic ones in analysing items that reproduce conversational variants of the language (cf. n. 348 and p. 173), even though some of these items may also convey low-register stylisation. Certain items exhibit a significant synchronic distribution in tragedy or, more broadly, in poetic or high-poetic conversational contexts, and could theoretically be classified under both "poetic stylisation" and "conversational distribution" (cf. pp. 145-6 and 151). In such cases, however, the evidence points more strongly towards alignment with poetic or high-poetic diction rather than with conversational language. These items are therefore assigned to "poetic stylisation", while their specific synchronic distribution is recorded in the coloumn "first-stage result" in the relevant table.

1.1. Poetic Stylisation (Category TL 1.1)

Poetic stylisation constitutes the largest category of stylised items in the tragedies, comprising 62 items. The proportion of poetic lexicon within the overall inventory of lexical items is comparable in the tragedies and in the *Annals*: in the tragedies, approximately one item in every

seventeen is classified as poetic, in the *Annals* one in every nineteen. This distribution is consistent with the genre and primary register of both corpora as compositions of elevated poetry. It should be noted, however, that the category of "poetic stylisation" is defined broadly and does not include only lexemes that reflect a specifically poetic register in a narrow sense. It also encompasses items that may be described as generically stylised, such as those embedded in marked phonetic clusters (cf. pp. 143-5) or occurring in elaborated variants of standard formulae (cf. pp. 34 and 52-3). Examples of the latter include *cruciatu perbito* in place of the more conventional *cruciatu pereo,* or *liberum quaesendum causa* instead of *liberum* (or *liberorum*) *quaerundorum causa*. In such instances, Ennius conveys the same meaning as the common expression while adopting a more recherché and stylistically heightened formulation.

Seven items (*auide*, *caeles*, *cruciatu perbito*, *pauor*, *porceo*, *prospectus*, and *sublimis/sublimus*) display a significant synchronic distribution in tragedy or in formal, high-register conversational contexts. As noted above (cf. pp. 145-6 and 150), such items are more appropriately classified under "poetic stylisation" than under "conversational distribution", since they do not show clear affiliation with spoken varieties of the language (with the partial exception of *cruciatu perbito*, a variant of *cruciatu pereo*, which is characteristic of comedies). The restriction of these items to tragedy may ultimately be coincidental; it is therefore preferable to describe them more broadly as instances of "(high-)poetic stylisation". Nevertheless, their significant tragic distribution is explicitly indicated in the column "first-stage result" in the table that follows.

Table TL 1.1. Lexical Items of Poetic Stylisation in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1965)[352]	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
aduenio[353]	322 IN	1a: conversational contexts	(*huc*) *uenio*

[352] Legend. AC: *Achilles*; AD: *Andromeda*; AI: *Aiax*; AL: *Alexander*; AM: *Alcmeo*; AN: *Andromacha*; AT: *Athamas*; CR: *Cresphontes*; ER: *Erechteus*; EU: *Eumenides*; HE: *Hecuba*; HL: *Hectoris Lytra*; IP: *Iphigenia*; ME: *Medea*; ML: *Melanippa*; NE: *Nemea*; PH: *Phoenix*; TM: *Telamo*; TP: *Telephus*; TH: *Thyestes*; IN: *incerta*.

		235/244 (93.03%)	
aduersarius[354]	255 PH	1a: prose 46/54 (91.59%)	*inimicus*[355]
aeuum	401 IN	1a: poetry 4/5 (91.53%)	*aetas*
aptus[356]	350 IN	1a: poetry 12/15 (91.53%)	*cum*
auide[357]	63 AL	1a: tragedy 116/139 (83.45%) CL	*cupide*
auro[358]	29 AM	1a: poetry 5/8 (81.81%)	(*auratus*) *aureus*
caeles	171 HE[359]	1a: tragedy 6/7 (94.19%)	*deus*
caementa[360]	385 IN	1a: prose 8/9 (85.71%)	*lapis*
caerul(e)us	26 AM[361]	1a: poetry 9/11 (92.4%)	*obscurus*
cieo	36 AL	1a: poetry 5/7 (87.1%)	*impello*
clareo[362]	274 TM	1a: poetry 4/5 (80%) CL	*spledeo*
compos[363]	317 IN	1a: conversational contexts	*habens*

[353] In *ann.* 322, *aduenio* occurs within the alliterative sequence *ad uos adueniens auxilium*. For *aduenio* in *trag.* 45 and 49, see p. 173.

[354] Despite its significant incidence in prose, the use of *aduersarius* in *trag.* 255 *fortiterque †innoxium† uocaret aduersum aduersarios* may reflect poetic stylisation, as it is embedded in the figura etymologica *aduersum aduersarios*. Moreover, the entire fragment (*trag.* 254-7), which is gnomic in character, exhibits several instances of alliteration (*uirum uera uirtute uiuere*; *pectus purum*; *obnoxiosae* […] *obscura*). It is therefore possible that Ennius deliberately employed alliterative diction to elevate the register of the maxim and emphasise its significance (namely, that for a brave man freedom lies in resisting enemies and disregarding easy courses of action) within the broader context of the tragedy. For these reasons, *aduersarius* is here regarded as reflecting poetic rather than prose stylisation.

[355] Jocelyn (1967) 391 maintains that *aduersarius* conveys a more general sense than *inimicus*. In the overall sense of the passage, however, *aduersarius* and *inimicus* may be treated as functionally equivalent.

[356] In *trag.* 350, *aptus* occurs within the alliterative pair *alma apta*.

[357] *Auide* occurs within an extended sequence of alliteration across *trag.*62 and 63 *iam dudum ab ludis animus atque aures auent* / *auide exspectantens nuntium.*

[358] In *trag.* 29, *auratus* occurs in the alliterative phrase *arcum auratum*. Its proposed neutral alternative, *aureus*, would, however, produce the same phonetic effect. Jocelyn (1967) 201 suggests that *auratus* in the sense "gilded" may reflect Ennius' rationalising tendency.

[359] I have excluded *caeles* at *ann.* 270 *ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum*, since it functions as an adjective of *deus* and cannot be replaced either by it nor by other alternatives (*caelestis* and *caelicola* are themselves stylistically marked as poetic).

[360] Although *caementa* is primarily associated with prose texts in EL (attested five times in Cato's *de agri cultura*, twice in a *titulus operum*, CIL 10.1781, once in Sisenna, and only once in poetry, at Enn. *trag* 385), its occurrence in *trag.* 385 *labat, labuntur saxa, caementa cadunt* is treated as poetic, as it contributes to alliteration within a phonetically refined line, which also features the poetic term *lābor*. The feminine gender of *caementa* may not constitute a stylistic marker, as it is also found in CIL 10.1781, whereas the neuter (the norm in CL) occurs in Cato and Sisenna.

[361] I have excluded *trag.* 250 and 365, since combinations of *caerul*(*e*)*us* with sky, sea or meadows constitute fixed expressions (cf. André (1949) 334 and 358).

[362] In *trag.* 274, *clareo* occurs in the alliterative sequence *candidum claret*.

		15/15 (100%)	
corporo[364]	115 AD	1b: 6 occurrences[365]	*interficio*
credo[366]	159 HL	1a: conversational contexts 22/22 (100%)[367]	*fortasse*
crinitus	28 AM	1a: poetry 19/23[368] (82.61%) CL	*longis crinibus*
cruciatu perbito	178 HE	1a: high-register contexts 3/3 (100%)	*cruciatu pereo*[369]
ducto[370]	303 TH	1a: conversational contexts 17/17 (100%)	*traho*
era[371]	215 ME	1a: comedy 66/69 (89.07%)	*domina*
examen[372]	44 AL	1a: conversational contexts 4/4 (100%)	*agmen*
exanimo[373]	16 AM, 238 ME	1a: conversational contexts 22/22 (100%)	*perturbo*
flacceo	304 TH	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*langueo*

[363] In *trag.* 317, *compos* is embedded in the alliterative sequence *certos compotesque consili*.
[364] In *trag.* 115, *corporo* occurs within the alliterative sequence *corpus contemplatur* […] *corporaret* and participates in the figura etymologica *corpus* […] *corporaret*.
[365] Occurrences of *corporatus* in the phrase *collegium corporatorum* are excluded.
[366] *Credo* exhibits a significant synchronic distribution in conversational contexts only when used parenthetically in the first-person (cf. n. 83). Accordingly, the instance of *credo* at *trag.* 289, which does not belong to this fixed parenthetical usage, is excluded. Although *credo* at *trag.* 159 occurs in this specific construction, it is nevertheless included under the category "poetic stylisation", as it is embedded in a clear and elaborate phoentic cluster (*constitit credo Scamander*). The parenthetical use of *credo* may be regarded as a pragmatic weakener, a feature of spoken language semantically akin to modalising sentential adverbs such as *fortasse* (cf. Bolkestein (1998) 12).
[367] Only the occurrences of parenthetical first-person *credo* included in the sample at ThLL *s.u.* 1137.20-9 have been counted.
[368] Occurrences of *stella crinita* or *sidus crinitum*, meaning "comet", are excluded as fixed phrases.
[369] See p. 34.
[370] In *trag.* 303, *ducto* is embedded in the alliterative sequence *delectat ductat Delphicus.*
[371] Although *era* is typically associated with slaves' speech (cf. p. 48) and is here uttered by a slave (Medea's nurse), it is included under the category of "poetic stylisation", as it is embedded in the clear alliteration *era errans.*
[372] In *trag.* 44, *examen* occurs within the phonetic cluster *texitur. examen exitium*.
[373] In *trag.* 16, *exanimo* forms part of a series of compounds formed with the prefix *ex-*, emphasising Alcmaeon's segregation from civil life in the *Alcmeo* (cf. pp. 194-5); in trag. 238, *exanimo* occurs in the alliterative line *quid sic te extra aedis exanimatam eliminat.*

flecto	172 HE	1a: poetry 8/10 (91.53%)	*moueo*
fretum	387 IN	1a: poetry 9/10 (90%)	*spatium*
gena	400 (bis) IN	1a: poetry 5/5 (100%)	*oculus*[374]
hasta	149 HL, 165 HL	1a: poetry 16/23 (87.8%)	*telum*
ilico[375]	293 TH	1a: conversational contexts 129/133 (92.72%)	*repente*
inclutus	352 IN	1a: poetry 10/13 (85.17%)	*clarus*
inflammo[376]	92 AN	1a: prose 67/75 (89.33%) CL	*incendo*
ingens	319 IN	1a: poetry 18/24 (89.01%)	*magnus*
lābor	340 IN, 385 IN[377]	1a: poetry 7/8 (95.58%)	*deficio*
letum	134 CR, 283 TP	1a: poetry 8/11 (87.8%)	*mors*
liberum quaesendum causa / liberorum … quaesendum gratia	112 AD, 132 CR	1b: 2 occurrences	*liberorum quaerundorum causa*[378]
lumen	13 AI, 235 ME, 250 ML, 274 TM, 314 (bis) IN	1a: poetry 20/28 (80.48%)	*lux* (13, 235, 250), *splendor* (274)[379], *fax* (314 bis)
malefactum[380]	349 IN	1a: conversational contexts	*delictum*

[374] Although *gena* cannot be semantically replaced with *oculus* in *trag.* 400 (*imprimitque genae genam*), the clause as a whole is poetic and could be reformulated in a more neutral register as *clauditque oculos*.
[375] In *trag.* 293, *ilico* occurs in the alliterative sequence *ilico istic*.
[376] *Inflammo* occurs within a threefold homoeoteleuton *inflammari, euitari, turpari* at *trag.* 92-4. For further discussion of this item, cf. pp. 192-4 and n. 489.
[377] In *trag.* 385, *lābor* is embedded in the alliterative phrase *labat, labuntur*.
[378] See p. 34.
[379] The general meaning of the fragment remains unclear, and *lumen* may denote either "sunlight" or, metaphorically, "fame" (or possibly both).

		15/15 (100%)	
naucum[381]	375 IN	1a: conversational contexts 8/8 (100%)	*paulum*
nemus	208 ME	1a: poetry 7/8 (87.5%)	*lucus*
nequiquam[382]	221 ME	1a: conversational contexts 29/29 (100%)	*frustra*
nugator[383]	375 IN	1a: conversational contexts 11/11 (100%)	*stolidus*
obduco[384]	376 IN	1a: poetry 3/4 (89.01%)	*duco contra*
obiaceo[385]	192 IP	1a: poetry 21/25 (84%) CL	*iaceo*
obsequor[386]	40 AL	1a: conversational contexts 47/50 (85.74%)	*pareo*
opino[387]	146 EU	1a: conversational contexts 32/32 (100%)	*puto*
pauor	17 AM	1a: high-register poetry 7/7 (100%), high-poetic	*timor*

[380] In *trag.* 349, *malefactum* occurs in the figura etymologica *benefacta male locata maleafacta* and is accordingly treated as poetic. For *malefactum* in *trag.* 205 see under "conversational distribution".
[381] In *trag.* 375 *naucum* occurs within the alliterative sequence *nugator nihili non nauci* and is accordingly treated as poetic.
[382] In *trag.* 221, *nequiquam* occurs within the phonetic cluster *non quit nequiquam* and is accordingly treated as poetic.
[383] In *trag.* 375 *nugator* occurs within the alliterative sequence *nugator nihili non nauci* and is accordingly treated as poetic.
[384] In *trag.* 376, *obduco* occurs in the alliterative sequence *obsidionem obducere.*
[385] In *trag.* 192 *Acherontem obibo ubi Mortis thesauri obiacent, obiaceo* occurs within the alliterative pair *obibo* […] *obiacent*.
[386] In *trag.* 40, *obsequor* occurs in the alliterative sentence *men obesse, illos prodesse, me obstare, illos obsequi* and is accordingly treated as poetic.
[387] Occurrences of *opino* are also considered; fixed uses as incidental or holophrastic (*ut*) *opinor* are excluded. In *trag.* 146, *opino* is embedded in the alliteration *opino* […] *optimum* and is accordingly treated as poetic. For *opino* in *trag.* 271, see p. 149.

		conversational contexts 6/7 (82.58%)[388]	
porceo[389]	275 TM	1a: poetic conversational contexts 4/4 (100%)	*prohibeo*
progenies[390]	39 AL	1a: poetry 5/6 (93.1%)	*pueri*
prospectus	167 HL	1a: tragedy 3/4 (89.01%)	*conspectus*
reciproco[391]	116 AD	1a: prose 20/24 (83.33%) CL	*fero*
regredior[392]	7 AC	1a: conversational contexts 4/4 (100%)[393]	*recedo*
restito[394]	203 IP	1b: 9 occurrences	*resisto*
scrupeus[395]	113 AD	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*durus*
sospito[396]	246 ML	1a: poetry 3/5 (80.2%)	*tueor*
specus	152 HL	1a: poetry 5/6 (93.1%)	*spelunca*
stella[397]	171 HE, 190 IP	1a: poetry 6/9 (84.38%)	*sidus*[398]

[388] The occurrences of *pauor* at Plaut. *Epid.* 530 and *Rud.* 215 are found in two "tragic-sounding" cantica (cf. Maltby (2023) 256) and may therefore be regarded as istances of high-poetic usage.
[389] In *trag.* 275, *porceo* appears in the alliterative phrase *porcet pudor*. Its proposed neutral alternative, *prohibeo*, would, however, preserve the alliteration.
[390] *Progenies* occurs within the alliterating phrase *progeniem Priamo peperisti*.
[391] In *trag.* 116, *reciproco* may echo the phonemes of the preceding phrase *rursus prorsus*. The fragment *rursus prorsus reciprocat fluctus †feram†* may describe a phase of the battle between Perseus and Cetus (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 265; Brooks (1981) 259), or the movement of Cetus' corpse upon the waves, if *feram* is retained (cf. Ribbeck (1875) 169, n. 191, who, however, argues for the emendation of *feram* to *fera* proposed in un unspecified note by Bergk and interprets the fragment as describing the monster's breath akin to that of a whale). The recurrence of the same phonetic elements (vibrants, sibilants, and voiceless labials) may reflect the back-and-forth movement of the monster (whether alive or dead) on the waves. *Reciproco* is therefore regarded as poetic, owing to this phonetic construction.
[392] In *trag.* 6-7 *quo nunc incerta re atque inorata gradum / regredere conare*, *regredior* is used in the figura etymologica *gradum regredere* and is accordingly treated as poetic.
[393] *Regredi gressum* in Enn. *inc.* 37 has not been included, as neither the text nor the context or work from which it derives is known.
[394] *Restito* occurs in the alliterative phrase *rebus regimen restitat* and is accordingly treated as poetic.
[395] At *trag.* 113, *scrupeus* is embedded in a sequence of consonantally patterned words repeating sibilants, voiceless velars, and vibrants, possibly emphasising Cetus' hard and rough skin: *scrupeo inuestita saxo atque ostreis †quam excrabrent†*.
[396] In *trag.*246, *sospito* occurs in the alliterative phrase *sospitent supersitentque*. This phrase may also represent a verbalised variant of the fixed expression *sospes et supersites* ("safe and sound"; cf. *Asin.* 17). On the classification of modified forms of fixed expressions within this thesis, cf p. 34.
[397] In both fragments, *stella* appears in alliterative phrases (*stellis splendidis* and *stellas sublimum*, respectively).
[398] *Sidus* is not an exact equivalent of *stella*; however, it is suitable for the purposes of this thesis (cf. pp. 36-7).

sublimis and *sublimus*[399]	3 AL, 169 HL, 190 IP, 301 TH	1a: tragedy 9/11 (92.4%)	*altus*
superstito[400]	246 ML	1b: 2 occurrences	*seruo*
texo[401]	44 AL	1a: conversational contexts 9/9 (100%)	*facio*
topper	378 IN	1a: poetry 8/9 (88.89%)	*fortasse*
tullius[402]	14 AI	1b: 2 occurrences	*fluuius*
turpo[403]	94 AN	1a: poetry 15/17 (88.24%) CL	*contamino*
uitulor[404]	381 IN	1b: 5 occurrences	*exsulto*
undique[405]	252 NE	1a: poetry 5/7 (87.1%)	*circum*[406]
undo	179 HE	1a: poetry 3/4 (89.1%)	*fluctuo*

Progenies at *trag.* 39 *optumam progeniem Priamo peperisti extra me. hoc dolet:* (from Cassandra's well-known lament in the *Alexander*) reflects poetic stylisation on three distinct levels. First, the synchronic distribution of the lexeme *progenies* – which may denote either "offspring" or "ancestry" – shows a clear association with elevated poetry in EL. It is attested once each in the *Elogium Scipionis*, and once each in the

[399] In *trag.* 3, *sublimus* is embedded in the alliterative pair *sublimas subices*; similarly, in *trag.* 190, it occurs in the alliterative sequence *stellas sublimum*.
[400] See n. 396.
[401] In *trag.* 44, *texitur* is embedded in the phonetic cluster *texitur. examen exitium*.
[402] *Tullius* denotes a "gush" or "waterfall" and, in *trag.* 14, refers to violent bleeding. Outside metalinguistic contexts, in EL and CL, *tullius* occurs only here and at Plin. *nat.* 17.120, where, as at Suet. *Prata* 244.9 Reifferscheid, a gloss on its meaning, is associated with the waterfalls of Tibur, perhaps because they were regarded as the waterfalls par excellence in the Roman collecitive imagination. Despite its doubtful etymology and status, *tullius* is here classified under "poetic stylisation" (in a broad sense), since it is used metaphorically and embedded in the alliterative sequence *tepido tullii*. As for its etymology, Walde (1954[3]) *s.u.* .714 proposes a Latin derivation from the same root as *tumeo*, associating the gushing of a stream or waterfall with bodily swelling and suggesting that the cognomen Tullius originally referred to a stout person. By contrast, Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 706 propose an Etruscan origin, possibly connected with the name *Tullius* and the noun *tolenno*, denoting a water-engeneering device. Finally, Jocelyn (1967) 182, probably influenced by the association of *tullius* with the waterfalls of Tibur in Pliny and Suetonius, suggests that *tullius* may be one of the few words in Roman drama derived from non-Roman varieties of Latin. Since *trag.* 14 describes Ajax's death, however, it is unlikely that Ennius deliberately employed an Etruscan loanword or a dialectal form in such a solemn passage, devoid of specifically Etruscan or non-Roman Latin references.
[403] *Turpo* occurs in the threefold homoeoteleuton *inflammari, euitari, turpari* (*trag.* 92-4). The proposed neutral alternative *contaminari* would, however, preserve the same phonetic effect. For further discussion of this item, cf pp. 192-4.
[404] In *trag.* 381, *uitulor* occurs in the alliterative sequence *uitulans uictoria* and is accordingly treated as poetic.
[405] In *trag.* 252, *undique* occurs in the alliterative phrase *undique uenor*.
[406] *Circum* is not an exact equivalent of *undique*; however, it is suitable for the purposes of this thesis (cf. pp. 36-7).

tragedies of Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius, as well as in two formal passages in Terence and Lucilius (*Phorm.* 395; Lucil. 800), where it refers specifically to noble lineage. Secondly, *progenies* is embedded in a carefully structured phonetic and rhytmic configuration: three alliterative words arranged around a caesura, with the first and the third members corresponding in syllable count and the first and second sharing two initial sounds. This pattern, which intensifies Cassandra's emotional turmoil and her anguished sense of exclusion from her family's honour (cf. Grilli (1965) 165), exemplifies the "phono-pathetic" effects treated in this study as instances of poetic stylisation (cf. p. 143-5). Finally, the phrase *progeniem parere* constitutes a variation on the more conventional expression *pueros parere*, commonly attested in Republican drama. As in the case of *cruciatu perbitere* in place of the standard formula *cruciatu perire* at *trag.* 178, this substitution reflects poetic stylisation, since it conveys an equivalent meaning through a more marked and elevated lexical choice (cf. pp. 34 and 52-3).

The characterisation of *progenies* as a high-poetic term is consistent with the stylisation of the passage as a whole. *Trag.* 39 forms part of Cassandra's lament (*trag.* 34-40) on her fate as a deranged prophetess, a speech famously admired by Cicero (*diu.* 1.66). The passage is carefully structured both syntactically (cf. e.g. the balanced opposition of line 40 *men obesse, illos prodesse, me obstare, illos obsequi*) and phonetically (see above). It also includes elements of elevated register, such as the plural genitive *meum factum* (*trag.* 37), and (presumably) poetic diction, such as the lexical item *cieo* (*trag.* 36). In this context, *progenies* at *trag.* 39 should be regarded as an instance of poetic stylisation on three grounds: its synchronic distribution, its embedding within a marked "phono-pathetic" cluster, and its function as a stylised variation on a conventional expression.

Prospectus at *trag.* 167 *ecce autem caligo oborta est, omnem prospectum abstulit derepente; contulit sese in pedes* is likely a high-poetic term, predominantly attested in tragedy and frequently associated with military contexts. Despite a different prefix, the choice of *prospectus* over the more common *conspectus* appears to be motivated stylistically rather than semantically. The semantic distinction sometimes drawn between *conspectus* (close or immediate sight) and *prospectus* (distant sight), based on Liv. 4.10.36.2 *nebula erat ad multum diei densa adeo ut lucis usum eriperet non prospectu modo extra vallum adempto sed propinquo etiam congredientium inter se conspectus*, does not apply convincibly to *trag.* 167. If, as Jocelyn

(1967) 302 suggests, the line forms part of the narration of the offstage duel between Achilles and Hector, *omnem prospectum abstulit* could not describe the impairment of Achilles' long-range vision, as it would not necessarily facilitated Hector's escape.

Prospectus does not carry its primary sense "look downwards" either (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 2219.19-23), as suggested both by Ennius' use of *prospicio* to denote looking towards the sky in *ann.* 145 *caelum prospexit stellis fulgentibus aptum* (cf. Skutsch (1985) 301) and the spatial reconstruction of *trag.* 167. In the context of Achilles and Hector's duel (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 302), *prospectus* describes Achilles'loss of upward sight, enabling Hector's escape. Achilles, approaching from the Greek camp situated below the citadel of Troy, would naturally direct his gaze upwards towards Hector descending from the heights. A reversal of spatial orientation in the narrative would have risked confusing the audience. Therefore, as *prospectus* in *trag.* 167 is not used in its proper sense, its preference over the more common *conspectus* as term for "sight" is best explained as a stylistic elevation, rather than as a semantic differentiation.

The synchronic distribution of *prospectus* supports its characterisation as a high-poetic term, predominantly attested in tragedy and frequently associated with military or quasi-military contexts – unlike *prospicio*, which does not display any significant synchronic distribution. The noun *prospectus* occurs in Enn. *trag.* 167, Plaut. *Mil.* 609, Pacuv. *trag.* 96, and Acc. *trag.* 407. As discussed above, Enn. *trag.* 167 likely formed part of a narrative recounting a duel, probably between Achilles and Hector. In Plaut. *Mil.* 596-610, Palaestrio parodies a military sentry scanning for enemies before one of Pleusicles and Periplectomenus' many covert movements, eventually declaring the coast clear (*sterilis … prospectus*). In Pacuv. *trag.* 95-6 (from the *Chryses*) *incipio saxum temptans scandere / uorticem in summum inde in omnes partes prospectum aucupo*, Pylades describes climbing a rock to gain a vantage point from which to detect Thoas' pursuing ship during his escape with Orestes and Iphigenia from Taurica (cf. Ribbeck (1875) 252). Similarly, Acc. *trag.* 407 (from the *Medea*) *ego me extollo in abietem, alte ex tuto prospectum aucupo* likely belongs to a choral passage in which shepherds at the mouth of the Ister scan the horizon as the Argo approaches (cf. Ribbeck (1875) 532). Although this latter instance is not strictly military, it appears to imitate Pacuvius (or a common unknown source) closely, not least in the shared line-ending *prospectum aucupo* and the common motif of ascending to a higher vantage point to sight an approaching ship.

The absence of *prospectus* from the *Annals*, whether in direct speech or in narrated scenes from a soldier's perspective, may be merely coincidental, as the epic poem includes several similar settings. One might imagine, for example, that a line such as *ann.* 603 *heia machaeras*, exhorting comrades to seize their swords, could have been preceded by a scene in which a sentry took a *prospectus* of the approaching enemy. Such conjecture, however, remains speculative.

In any case, *prospectus* was unlikely to have been perceived as a technicism, particularly by Ennius. The term appears to convey different nuances in different occurrences – "upwards sight" in Ennius, "long-range sight" in Plautus, Pacuvius and Accius, alongside the more general sense "looking down" associated with *prospicio* – and therefore lacks the semantic precision characteristic of technical vocabulary. Moreover, *prospectus* is relatively well attested (occurring more than ten times over EL and CL) and is never glossed as a specialised military term, suggesting that its meaning was broadly known and not confined to specialised frameworks. It is thus more plausibly regarded as one of those military expressions that may appear technical to modern eyes but were likely familiar in the militarised context of Roman society (cf. De Meo (2005[3]) 197-8). The morphology of *prospectus* further supports its preferential association with tragic diction in EL drama. As Ploen (1882) 38 observes, nouns in *-tus* occur sixty-three times in tragedy (approximately one every thirty-one lines) and 125 in comedy (roughly one every 240 lines).

The use of a high-register term such as *prospectus* at *trag.* 167 may function to preserve an elevated diction appropriate to the tragic genre in a fragment that include some low-register elements conveying the rapid pace of the duel narrated at *trag.* 167-8. These include the asyndeton of three simple clauses with no subordination, as well as expressions such as *ecce autem* and *derepente* (both frequently associated with conversational usage; cf. Adams (2013) 471 and 583, respectively). These elements, however, risk lowering the stylistic register of the passage. The deployment of the high-poetic *prospectus*, together with the variation of the more prosaic idiom *pedibus se dare* in the form *contulit sese in pedes* (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 302), may therefore serve to restore and reinforce the elevated register of the passage.

In conclusion, *prospectus* was likely a high-poetic term predominantly attested in tragedy and frequently associated with military contexts, yet not sufficiently specialised to qualify as a technicism. This assessment is supported by its lack of semantic specificity, as well as its relatively broad attestation and intelligibility,

suggested by the absence of glosses. In *trag.* 167, its use may have contributed to counterbalance the otherwise colloquial register and syntax of the passage, which convey the rapid and chaotic dynamics of a duel.

Despite their significant synchronic distribution in conversational texts and contexts, ***examen*** and ***texo*** may both be classified as instances of "poetic stylisation", since they are embedded within a conspicuous and elaborated phonetic cluster in *trag.* 43-4 *iamque mari magno classis cita* / *texitur. exitium examen rapit* (for the relationship between soundplay and the broader notion of "poetic stylisation" adopted in this chapter, see pp. 143-5). *Trag.* 43-6 form part of one of Cassandra's prophecies in the *Alexander*, specifically her vision of the construction of the Greek fleet preparing to attack Troy:

> iamque mari magno classis cita
> texitur. exitium examen rapit.
> adueniet. fera ueliuolantibus
> nauibus compleuit litora.
>
> Enn. *trag.* 43-6

These lines exhibit clear elements of poetic diction, including the alliterative sequences *mari magno*, *classis cita*, and *exitium examen* (*trag.* 43-4), which foreground the central motif of Cassandra's unheeded warning – the Greek fleet setting sail for Troy (cf. Grilli (1965) 167) – as well as the compound *ueliuolantibus* (*trag.* 45). In *trag.* 43-4, the clause *mari magno classis cita* / *texitur* may be understood to mean either that a swift fleet is constructed for the open sea (less plausibly "on the open sea"; cf. Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 2.159) or that a swift fleet is being metaphorically "woven" with the waves of the sea[407] (cf. Brooks (1981) 255). On the former reading, *texo* – literally "weave", but attested nine times across EL and CL in the sense "build a ship" (and in this double meaning paralleled by the Greek ὑφαίνω[408] – may represent either a metaphorical extension of an ordinary verb to denote a technical action (the planks of a ship being "woven" like threads), or a semantic technicism belonging to the specialised vocabulary of naval carpentry (cf. also *textrinum* "dockyard").

[407] The simple ablative of place where is frequently found in Ennius (cf. Catone (1964) 116-8), including with the expression *mari magno* (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 215).
[408] Brooks (1981) 255 suggests that Ennius may have found the Greek ὑφαίνω in his (unspecified) source, which he would then have rendered as *texo*. In any case, the soundplay is evident, and can hardly be regarded as a coincidental by-product of translation.

In either interpretation, the phonetic prominence of *texitur* seems apparent, as it participates in the parechesis *texitur exitium*. The verb is further embedded within a broader and carefully structured sound pattern, comprising three paired alliterations, each formed by a determiner and a substantive: *mari magno*, *classis cita*, and *exitium examen*. The last of these pairs includes *examen*, which likewise displays a significant conversational distribution. Within this framework, *texitur* may function as a point of phonetic continuity, sustaining the texture of the passage at the moment when the syntactically parallel sequence of determiner-substantive alliterative pairs is necessarily interrupted by a verb. Thus, both *texitur* and *examen*, notwithstanding their significant conversational distribution, may appropriately be classified under "poetic stylisation", since they contribute to an evident and elaborate system of "phono-pathetic" correspondences, designed to intensify the tragic irony and futility of Cassandra's unheeded prophecy.

The verb ***uitulor*** at *trag.* 381 *is habet coronam uitulans uictoria* provides an illustrative example of an item of doubtful stylisation, classified as an instance of "poetic stylisation" primarily because of its contribution to a marked phonetic cluster. The precise type of stylisation involved in *uitulor* remains uncertain. Although the term occurs only five times in EL and CL outside metalinguistic contexts, all five attestations belong to EL and span different genres and contexts. The attestations include Fab. Pict. *fr*. 5 Peter (on the possible Latin writings of Fabius Pictor, cf. Momigliano (1990) 91-2); Naev. *praet.* 1 and *trag.* 29; Enn. *trag.* 381; and Plaut. *Persa* 254. In Fab. Pict. *fr*. 5 Peter, *uitulor* was presumably employed as a religious term, since the text likely concerned religious law and practice, though the fragment itself survives without context. Similarly, in Plaut. *Persa* 284, the verb appears within a hymn to Jupiter, perhaps reflecting a religious background. The term may derive from ritual cries in honour of the goddess Vitula, an archaic deity associated with joy or victory (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) 742 *s.u.*, who also suggest a possible Sabine origin). By contrast, at Naev. *trag.* 29, *uitulor* appears to denote to a specific cry used in hunting (cf. Huschke (1859) 301). At Naev. *praet.* 1 (from the *Clastidium*), however, the fragment is too lacunose to allow any firm conclusion about the usage of *uitulor*. Finally, at Enn. *trag.* 381, *uitulor* appears in the phrase *uitulans uictoria* within an unassigned fragment that may describe Paris' celebration in the *Alexander* (cf. Godlberg and Manuwald (2018) 203, n. 1), a passage that does not suggest any overtly religious or technical connotation. This distribution may suggest that the word was not perceived as stylistically marked in EL.

It is possible that *uitulor* was originally an onomatopoeic term associated with cries of joy (cf. Walde (1954[3]) 807 *s.u.*, though this is not the only etymology proposed), and this expressive force may underlie the alliterative sequences *uenatu uitulantis* at Naev. *trag.* 29 and *uitulans uictoria* at Enn. *trag.* 381. In the latter case, the verb may intensify Paris' jubilant celebration following his victory at the games in Troy. One might further speculate whether Paris' possibly exaggerated celebration carries un ironic undertone, foreshadowing the disastrous chain of events triggered – or sustained – by his return to Troy; however, such an interpretation cannot be substantiated. It is therefore preferable to conclude that the precise type of stylisation involved in *uitulor* at Enn. *trag.* 381 remains indeterminate. Its usage, however, appears to be motivated primarily by onomatopoeic or "phono-pathetic" considerations. Since such features are treated here treated as broadly poetic, the item is classified under "poetic stylisation".

1.2. Prose Stylisation (Category TL 1.2)

Unsurprisingly, items of prose stylisation are less numerous than those of poetic stylisation in both the *Annals* and the tragedies. In the *Annals*, 21 prose items are classified as prose (approximately one in every 57 lexical items), as compared with 63 poetic items (approximately one in every 19). In the tragedies, 14 items fall under "prose stylisation" (approximately one in every 74 lexical items), as opposed to 62 poetic items (approximately one in every 17). Furthermore, the data concerning prose stylisation in the tragedies are not entirely secure. None of the 14 items displaying a high prose incidence (and not embedded in stylised phonetic clusters) represent clear instances of genuine prose stylisation.

First, seven items (*consaepio*, *contagio*, *deflagro*, *exsecror*, *obscuro*, *obseruatio*, and *uulnero*) are attested fewer than four times in EL. Such a limited number of occurrences in EL necessitates caution in employing synchronic distribution as the primary criterion for evaluating an item's stylisation, particularly within the EL corpus of texts, which is both restricted and fragmentary. Extending the analysis to CL may help to clarify an item's stylistic profile; however, this broader

perspective inevitably produces less conclusive results than the stylistic evaluation of a lexeme extensively attested in EL.[409] Accordingly, although these seven items cannot be excluded outright, their apparent prose distribution may present a distorted picture of their usage in EL.

Secondly, the apparent prose distribution of a further four items is significantly shaped by their frequent occurrence within a specific context (*ager* and *plebes* in legal or honorary inscriptions) or within a particular work (*crassus* in Cato's *de agri cultura*, and *exordium in* the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*). Consequently, although certainty is unattainable, it cannot be excluded that such items were not perceived as markers of prose stylisation in EL or by Ennius himself, but were instead favoured by individual authors or in particular genres and contexts. In these cases, the observed prose distribution may therefore be misleading and does not necessarily imply that Ennius employed these items in order to lend his text a prose-like colouring.

Thirdly, *ciuitas* and *societas* reflect a political-bureaucratic register and might therefore be regarded as political technicisms. However, this thesis does not classify linguistic elements occurring in political contexts as technicisms because of their broad circulation (cf. pp. 73-4). Instead, *ciuitas* and *societas* are classified as instances of "prose stylisation", despite representing only a particular prose register. Nevertheless, these two lexical items are discussed in detail in this section, as they come closest to functioning as clear elements of "prose stylisation" in EL.

Finally, *profiteor* at *trag.* 285 *te ipsum hoc oportet profiteri et proloqui* / *aduorsum †illam mihi†* may have been selected not as a specifically prosaic item, but because its preverb *pro-* reinforces the necessity of speaking openly in the presence of a particular interlocutor (*illam*, perhaps Clytemnestra; cf. Jocelyn (1967) 409-10). This pragmatic emphasis is further emphasised by the accompanying *proloqui* and *aduorsum*. Although *profiteri et proloqui* forms an alliterative pair, the sequence appears to serve a functional, contextual purpose rather than to produce a "phono-pathetic" stylistic effect. For this reason, *profiteor* is not classified under "poetic stylisation".

[409] This adjustment was made only one time for items of poetic stylisation (excluding items selected because involved in soundplay).

Table TL 1.2. Lexical Items of Prose Stylisation in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1965)	First-stage result	Alternative
ager	394 IN	1a: prose 373/418 (94.2%)[410]	*seges*
ciuitas	288 TP	1a: prose 44/59 (79.89%)[411]	*populus*[412]
consaepio	252 NE	1a: prose 33/39 (84.61%) CL	*cingo*
contagio	294 TH	1a: prose 64/67 (95.52%) CL	*tactus*
crassus	387 IN	1a: prose 36/51 (79.55%)[413]	*densus*
deflagro	85 AN	1a: prose 20/22 (90.91%) CL	*flagro*
exsecror	342 IN	1a: prose 34/42 (80.95%) CL	*deuoueo*
exordium	210 ME	1a: prose 15/18 (83.33%)	*initium*
obscuro	68 AL	1a: prose 100/113 (88.5%) CL	*occulto*
obseruatio[414]	185 IP	1a: prose 216/218	*quae obseruetur*

[410] *Ager* occurs approximately 300 times of *ager* in inscriptions.
[411] The data lie too close to the 80% threshold to be dismissed with confidence.
[412] *Populus* may be considered a near-synonym of *ciuitas* (cf. pp. 36-7 and 166-7).
[413] The data lie too close to the 80% threshold to be dismissed with confidence.
[414] *Obseruatio* meaning "(astronomical) observation" originally belongs to the specialised language of the augurs but was widely used and never glossed with this sense. It is therefore unlikely to have been perceived as a stylised technicism, but rather a term of prose stylisation.

		(99.08%) CL	
plebes	388 IN, 389 IN	1a: prose 62/69 (92.38%)	*uulgus*
profiteor[415]	285 TP	1a: prose 12/15 (79.41%)[416]	*edico*
societas	320 IN	1a: prose 6/7 (85.71%)	*amicitia*[417]
uulnero	12 IN	1a: prose 293/310 (94.52%) CL	*percutio*

Although ***ciuitas*** (*trag.* 288 *sed ciuitatem uideo Argiuum incendere*) and ***societas*** (*trag.* 320 *nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est*) originated in political contexts and exhibit the productive *-i*(*e*)*tas* suffix characteristic of legal, social, and political technicisms and "unique words", especially when attached to nominal bases (cf. Leumann (1977) 373-4), they may be better classified as instances of prose stylisation, specifically associated with bureaucratic register. Indeed, both terms are widely attested, and occur across a variety of prose genres, including oratory, honorary and legal inscriptions, and rhetorical treatises. As such, they lack the context-specificity and semantic obscurity commonly associated with specialised vocabulary. Nevertheless, this classification necessarily remains somewhat tentative.

Although the widespread circulation of *ciuitas* militates against classifying it as a technicism, its use in the sense of "assembly" in *trag.* 288 admits no close synonym, a feature consistent with the semantic specificity of technicisms. Only a very broad semantic equivalent may be suggested, namely *populus*, pace ThLL *s.u. ciuitas* 1232.79-80, which glosses this occurrence of *ciuitas* as *oppidum* or *urbs*. The fragment (from the *Telephus*) likely forms part of a description of offstage action (*uideo*), referring to the failure of Telephus' beggar disguise and his abduction of the young Orestes – an act which presumably provoked the

[415] In *trag.* 285, *profiteor* occurs in the pairing *profiteri et proloqui*, which, although alliterative, may have served a pragmatic rather than a phonetic stylistic purpose (cf. p. 164).
[416] The data lie too close to the 80% threshold to be dismissed with confidence.
[417] *Amicitia* may be considered a hypernym of *societas* (cf. pp. 36-7 and 167-8).

wrath of the Argives[418] (*incendere*, whether interpreted reflexively/passively with *ciuitatem* as subject,[419] or actively with *ciuitatem* as object).[420] Drawing on the parodic treatments of Telephus' abduction of Orestes in Aristoph. *Ach.* 326 and *Thesm.* 689, Jocelyn (1967) 405-6 and n. 1 reconstructs the Ennian scene as follows: Telephus is first recognised by a Greek prince, then seizes Orestes and seeks refuge at an altar.[421] If this reconstruction is accepted, it is plausible that the disguised Telephus initially addressed the Argive assembly in the hope of securing their favour and obtaining treatment for his wound – an appeal that proved unsuccessful. His subsequent kidnapping of Orestes would thus have affected the Argive community as a political body (*ciuitas*). In this context, *ciuitas* denotes the formal, institutional embodiment of the people (cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.41 *ciuitas quae est constitutio populi*). Replacing it with *oppidum* would be highly imprecise and would render the sentence *sed ciuitatem uideo Argiuum incendere* ambiguous, since the audience might instead understand the city itself to be in flames. By contrast, the use of *populus* ("people"), although not fully corresponding to the sense "assembly" conveyed by *ciuitas*, would nevertheless have preserved the intelligibility of the passage. The choice of *ciuitas* over *populus* may therefore have been motivated not only by semantics but also by stylistic considerations, reflecting bureaucratic usage that is frequently attested in prose, but not sufficiently restricted to qualify as technical vocabulary. Jocelyn (1967) 411 further suggests that Ennius may have modelled *ciuitatem Argiuum* on Eur. *Or.* 612 Ἀργείων ὄχλον and 846 Ἀργεῖον λεών, both referring to the Argive assembly in official contexts. Even if such Euripidean influence is granted, the choice of *ciuitas* rather than *populus* may still reflect a deliberate recourse to Roman official terminology.

By contrast, the context of *trag.* 320 *nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est*[422] remains unknown, since the fragment has not been assigned to any specific tragedy.[423] Nevertheless, both the vocabulary of the line

[418] Alternatively, Jocelyn (1967) 411 refers to a suggestion by Vahlen (which I have been unable to locate) that *trag.* 288 was spoken by a Greek prince following the beggar Telephus' pro-Mysian argument. Vahlen apparently draws a parallel between this line and Eur. *fr.* 712 (ἅπασαν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν κακορροθεῖ) and its parody in Aristoph. *Ach.* 576-7. As Jocelyn (ibid.) observes, however, *incendo* does not mean "speak ill of" and cannot serve as a translation of κακορροθεῖ.

[419] Cf. Geel (1830) 29.

[420] Cf. Vahlen (1903[2]) 182.

[421] By contrast, Hyg. *Fab.* 101.2 relates that Telephus, acting on Clytemnestra's advice, immediately abducted Orestes in order to gain leverage for his demands.

[422] This reading derives from Cicero's quotation in *off.* 1.26; the reading *nulla <regni> sancta societas nec fides* is instead based on Cic. *Rep.* 1.49, with *regni* supplied by Mai (cf. Vahlen (1903[2]) 197, Jocelyn (1967) 141, Keyes (2000[12]) 74).

[423] The line is attributed to Ennius in Cic. *Rep.* 1.49 and *off.* 1.26 without further specification. The style and subject matter of *trag.* 320 suggest it belongs to one of Ennius' "serious" works, while the metre excludes its presence in the *Annals*, making the tragedies (whether in Greek and Roman dress) the most plausible source.

itself (*sanctus*, *fides* and *regnum*) and the contexts in which it is cited (discussions of the necessity of laws at Cic. *Rep.* 1.49 and of ambition in the pursuit of office at *off.* 1.26)[424] are overtly political. It is therefore plausible that *trag.* 320 formed part of a passage dealing with political themes. Even so, the widespread use of *societas* in the sense of "alliance" and "political friendship" (for which *amicitia* may be regarded as a hypernym) argue against treating it as a technicism. Like *ciuitas*, *societas* may therefore be better understood as an element of the bureaucratic language: a term that originated in political contexts but became too widely disseminated to retain the contextual restriction expected of technical vocabulary. Finally, neither *ciuitas* nor *societas* should be considered as a "unique word", since each possesses a semantic equivalent, albeit an extremely broad one: the near-synonym *populus* and the hypernym *amicitia*, respectively.

1.3. Technical Stylisation (Category TL 1.3)

The final category within the first pattern of stylisation comprises items of "technical stylisation". Owing to the near-total absence of EL technical treatises, items within this category cannot be identified solely on the basis of synchronic distribution. Instead, their classification relies on considerations of contextual usage, low frequency, semantic specificity, and evidence from glosses. Nevertheless, no universally applicable diagnostic test exists for identifying technicisms within this historical and literary framework. Each item must therefore be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, and alternative interpretations remain possible. Indeed, only one of the items included in this category – *piaculum* – can defined as a technicism with certainty.[425]

[424] The reconstruction of the contexts of Ennian passages on the basis of Cicero's quotations, however, is not always reliable (cf. p. 300).

[425] *Hariolatio* (*trag.* 35) carries a clear and strong technical (religious) connotation; however, *hariolus* occurs once in Cato, ten times in Plautus, and once in Terence, while *hariolo*(*r*) appears eight time in Plautus and twice in Terence. Accordingly, *hariolatio* may be an Ennian formation based on a well-established root. The meaning of *tescum* in *trag.* 379 *aspera saxa tesca tuor* is uncertain: it may denote either a "holy place" in a technical sense, or a "desolate place" (cf. Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 2.195, n. 1). Its use may be motivated by alliteration with *tuor*, although the proposed neutral alternative *templum* would produce a similar phonetic effect. As regards *uisceratim* (*trag.* 118), a technical meaning – derived from butchery – is only tentatively proposed by Jocelyn (1967) 266, on the basis of analogous adverbs in *-atim* found in comedy and of its possible meaning "piece by piece", appropriate to a butcher's activity. By contrast, Klimek-Winter (1993) 345 implicitly treats *uisceratim* as an Ennian coinage, modelled on adverbs such as *guttatim*. For *uruo* (*trag.* 114), see pp. 171-2. For the possible case of *obseruatio* (*trag.* 185) treated here as an item of prose stylisation, cf. n. 414.

As noted above (p. 143), the analysis of technicisms highlights the comparatively limited linguistic "spectacularity" of the tragic fragments. This category comprises five potential technicsims (approximately one in every 206 items) in contrast to the nineteen identified in the *Annals* (approximately one in every 63). Moreover, the technicisms attested in the tragedies are drawn predominantly from religious vocabulary, a specialised register that frequently features in EL formal diction (cf. Fraenkel (2007[3]) 242) and is therefore less readily perceived as technical in a narrow sense. The discrepancy with the lexicon of the *Annals* may reflect not only the narrower thematic scope of the tragedies – whose plots engage with more circumscribed social and occupational environments – but also a deliberate stylistic orientation. Although certain tragedies include references to warfare (e.g. the *Hectoris Lytra*, cf. Jocelyn (1967) 290), navigation (e.g. the *Medea* and the *Telephus*, cf. Jocelyn (1967) 346 and 404, respectively), or even pastoral settings (the *Alexander*, cf. Jocelyn (1967) 202-3), no unequivocal technicisms from these specialised domains have survived in the extant fragments. This divergence may stem from the different thematic approaches of the two corpora: although they cover similar topics, the *Annals* concentrate on specific events and achievements, whereas the tragedies focus on the general human condition (cf. p. 301).

Furthermore, although Ennius generally employs technicisms in passages directly concerned with their respective domains, specialised lexical items may also appear in metaphorical contexts. A case in point is the religious verb *faueo*, which properly denotes the reverential silence of worshippers, but at *ann.* 426 refers to the silence required for an ambush (cf. p. 108). In the tragedies, a comparable phenomenon may be observed in the case of the unusual *uisceratim*, perhaps drawn from the specialised vocabulary of butchery (cf. n. 425), which at *trag.* 118 (from the *Andromeda*) evokes the image of Cetus' limbs as though dismembered like meat. Similarly, *uruo*, likely derived from the technical lexicon of law or agronomy, appears in a corrupt passage (*trag.* 114, again from the *Andromeda*), possibly describing the struggle between Perseus and the

sea monster Cetus. Notably, the only non-religious technicisms are both probably employed metaphorically, within the same tragedy and perhaps even within the same narrative context.

It is possible that technicisms – particularly those not drawn from the domains of law and religion – were perceived as belonging to the language of lower classes and were therefore considered unsuitable for the elevated diction of tragedy, which typically portrays noble characters and actions. Moreover, the near-total absence of technicisms – paralleled by the absence of lexical archaisms and the restricted use of borrowings in the tragedies (cf. p. 146) – may be related to their performed mode of reception, which would have discouraged the use of vocabulary not immediately intelligible to an audience.

Table TL 1.3. Lexical Items of Technical Stylisation in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result. Specialised language.[426]	Neutral alternative
hariolatio	35 AL	1b: 2 occurrences. RE	*oraculum*
piaculum	280 TP	1a: sacral contexts 17/18 (94.44%). RE	*scelus*
tescum	379 IN	1b: 11 occurrences.[427] RE	*templum*
uisceratim	118 AD	1b: 1 occurrence. BU	*frusta* (*membra uisceratim*: *frusta membrorum*)
uruo	114 AD	1b: 1 occurrence. AG/LA?	*aro*

[426] Legend. AG: agronomy; BU: butchery; LA: law; RE: religion.
[427] The data lie too close to the ten-occurrence threshold to be dismissed with confidence.

Uruo (*trag.* 114 *circum sese uruat ad pedes a terra quadringentos* †*caput*†) may represent a technicism drawn from agronomy and/or legal terminology. The verb, attested only in this passage,[428] is glossed by Fest. 375 L as a denominative form derived from *uruum* (the beam of a plough)[429] and interpreted as *circumdare*, on the grounds that the founder of a city marked out its sacred boundary by encircling it with a plough.

The transmitted text of *trag.* 114 is metrically defective and requires emendation. Vossius proposed *circum sese uruat ad pedes terrā occulit*[430] / *caput*, which restores an iambic senarius (cf. Klimek-Winter (1993) 341) but divides the quotation into two lines thus contradicting Festus' usual practice of quoting (cf. Skutsch (1985) 35 on Festus' quotations of the *Annals*). On the basis of this emendation, some scholars (cf. e.g. Ribbeck (1875) 169, Bücheler (1965[3]) 638 and Klimek-Winter (1993) 341-2) have interpreted the line as describing Perseus digging into the ground in order to bury Medusa's fatal head before confronting the sea monster Cetus. Others (cf. e.g. Fedde (1860) 31) have understood it as part of the battle scene itself.[431] The notion that Perseus would dig a trench around himself (*circum sese*) merely to conceal Medusa's head, however, seems implausible. Such an action would neither require self-encirclement nor justify the use of the rare and evocative verb *uruat*. Moreover, the emphatic opposition of *pedes-terra-caput* would lose much of its force if distributed across two separate clauses. It appears more likely that Ennius intended to emphasise the monstrous proportions of Cetus – perhaps, imagined as a serpentine creature with leonine limbs[432] – by stating that its head was four hundred feet (*quadringentos pedes*, with a possible play on the dual sense of *pedes*) above the ground (*a terra*). On this reading, the transmitted text may preserve an image of vertical vastness rather than an act of burial. Accordingly, Vossius' emendation does not seem persuasive.

By contrast, where Vossius' emendation has not been accepted, it has been suggested that *trag.* 114 may describe either the death of the monster Cetus (cf. e.g. Vahlen (1903[2]) 137) or, again, the battle between Cetus and Perseus (cf. Warmington (1935) 257).[433] The image of Cetus' writhing in pain and collapsing to

[428] Pompon. *dig.* 50.16.239 has *urbo from urbum* (*aratro definire*).
[429] This is the etymology given by Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 755); by contrast, Walde (1954[3]) *s.u.* 843 suggests that *uruo* derives from *uruus* "city boundary".
[430] *Quadringentos* would be the solution of the abbreviation *cccc*, misread from *occ* (Klimek-Winter (1993) 341).
[431] Cf. Klimek-Winter (1993) 341-2 for a comprehensive overview of the various proposals.
[432] Cf. Gundel (1921) 370.
[433] Klotz (1953) 59 and Jocelyn (1967) 264 reject Vossius' emendation but offer no alternative interpretation. Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 2.45-7 reject Vossius' emendation and translate the passage as "it surrounds itself <with…> up

the ground – thereby carving a circular trench around itself (or around its head) – appears considerably more plausible than that of Perseus digging a circular pit in order to bury Medea's head. Nonetheless, the interpretation of the passage as part of the combat between Perseus and Cetus seems more convincing, as it better accommodates the presence of the technical term *uruo*. Warmington (1935) 257, retaining the transmitted text (*circum sese uruat ad pedes a terra quadringentos caput*), translates the line as "ploughs the head around itself a line well nigh four hundred feet from earth". On this reading, *uruat* functions metaphorically – unless one were to detect a subtle allusion to Perseus' future role as founder of Mycenae. It is likely that Ennius intended *caput* (nominative), perhaps with the monster's teeth recalling the share of a plough, to serve as the subject of *uruat*. Cetus' head would thus be imagined as "ploughing" the air around itself (*circum sese*) rather than the ground, being at a height of four hundred feet above it ([*ad*][434] *pedes a terra quadringentos*). This striking image would emphasise the menace of the creature's gaping maw, as though it were marking out a defensive perimeter – an image evocative of the ritual ploughing associated with city foundations. In this metaphorical context, *uruo* may therefore retain both its agronomic and legal resonances.

1.4. Conversational Distribution (Category TL 1.4)

This category comprises items that display a significant synchronic distribution in conversational texts and contexts, namely direct speech, oratory, and drama.[435] As noted above (cf. pp. 145-6 and 150-1), items attested primarily or exclusively in tragedy – or more broadly in (high-)poetic conversational contexts – are instead classified under "poetic stylisation". The marked discrepancy between the *Annals* (seven such items) and the tragedies (42) in the number of items

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to four hundred feet from the ground, the head…". This translation, however, accepts Festus' gloss uncritically, thereby diminishing the etymologic and semantic significance of *uruo*.

[434] *Circum sese uruat pedes a terra quadringentos caput* involves a minor emendation (namely, the deletion of *ad*), which preserves a trochaic rhythm. The mid-line caesura does not fall after the eighth or the ninth syllable, as is customary in EL (cf. Deufert (2014) 486 for analogous cases in Plautus and Terence), but this is not unparalleled in Ennius' trochaic tetrameters (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 169 and n. 3). The insertion of *ad* may readily be explained as the result of a misinterpretation of *pedes* as the monsters' feet rather than the unit of measurement.

[435] As in the other categories of the analysis of the tragedies, items that exhibit a significant synchronic distribution in conversational texts and contexts but are embedded in clear and elaborate phonetic clusters are included under the category "poetic stylisation".

exhibiting a significant conversational distribution – which has led to a differentiated methodological treatment in the analysis of these items in the two corpora – may be directly related to their respective modes of reception. The tragedies were composed for performance, whereas the epic was primarily intended for reading (cf. Vahlen (1903^2) XXI) and consists predominantly of narrative passages interspersed with episodes of direct speech (for the alternation between narrative and speech in the *Annals*, cf Oddi (forthcoming)).

The category of "conversational distribution" is presented last within the first pattern of stylisation and is designated as "distribution" rather than "stylisation" because certain items in this category involve pragmatic interpretation rather than strictly stylistic considerations. This applies specifically to interjections (*ecce*, *eheu*, *eho*, *em*, *hehae*, and *pol*)[436] and "stage directions" (*adsto*,[437] *aduenio*, and *aduento*).

By contrast, other groups of items appear to reflect lower variants of the language from a diastratic or diaphasic perspective.[438] These include morphological variants of otherwise neutral lexemes made more expressive through semantically redundant preverbs[439] (*commiseresco*, *inspicio*, possibly *derepente*,[440] *oborior*, and *exsequor*) or frequentative suffixes[441] (*gestito*, *recepto*,

[436] Cf. Hofmann (1985^2) 103-8. On *ecce* in particular, see Adams (2013) 471-80.
[437] The occurrences of *adsto* in *trag.* 2 and 89 are not considered, as they do not function as stage directions.
[438] Items in these groups may frequently occur in comedy; however, they do not necessarily constitute a distinct "comedic lexicon", a category that is itself difficult to define, especially in opposition to a "tragic lexicon" (cf. Maltby (2023) 251-71, esp. 251-5), given the wide range of registers displayed by comedy.
[439] Cf. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965) 300.
[440] Cf. Norberg (1944) 77, and Adams (2007) 375-6 and (2013) 582-3. Jocelyn (1967) 210 argues that *derepente* carried a high-register colouring in EL, since its occurrences in Plaut. *Men.* 874 and *Most.* 488, Ter. *Hec.* 518, 554, Turpil. 3, and *com. inc.* 22 appear in "high-falutin" passages. Plautus and Terence, however, employ many synonyms of *derepente* (cf. p. 94), and, to my knowledge, no comprehensive study has yet clarified their possible sociolinguistic distribution. By contrast, Daviault (1981) 192, n. 7, describes *derepente* more generically as a common adverb in EL, commenting on Afranius (*com.* 199 and 223), where it appears devoid of high-register marking; *com.* 199, indeed, includes the eschatological allusion *facias lutum*. Finally, Bonfante (1967) XVI regards it as an early and substandard variant of *repente*, owing to its prepositional formation, discussing on Nov. 44 *scalpes dentes derepente, in scaena si peccaueris* (though the manuscripts read *scalpis* and *scena*; cf. Frassineti (1967) 80 and 110) and Pompil. 132 *uis facere ut nouerca uetulum derepente deserat*), two fragments belonging to the low-register genre of the *Atellanae*, in which *derepente* does not stand out as a marker of mock high register. It remains uncertain whether *derepente* underwent a diachronic shift in register – from high-register in the early and middle phases of EL (Cato, Ennius, Plautus, Terence) to neutral or low-register in the later phase (Afranius, Pomponius and Novius) – or whether its apparent variation is simply the result of coincidental attestations. In any case, in EL *derepente* occurs exclusively (fifteen times) in conversational texts (oratory, tragedy, and comedy, including *Atellanae*), and is therefore classified under the general pattern of "conversational stylisation".
[441] Cf. Risicato (1950) 56-58.

and possibly *expeto*); synonyms conveying more immediate or affective nuances[442] (*ausculto, scelestis, usurpo,* and perhaps *adeo, fabulor, impetro, libet, nescio, peruerse,*[443] *taceo, turbidus,* and *uoluptas*); and items associated with character types emblematic of comedy (*erilis* and *muttio*).[444] Finally, a further group of items appears to be restricted to conversational texts and contexts for reasons that remain uncertain (*abigo, aedis, extemplo, festiuus, malefactum, obsidio, opinor, pergo, quidem, superstitiosus,* and *ultro*). Since the primary focus of this thesis lies in stylistics rather than pragmatics, the present section examines only one item of "conversational distribution" likely to reflect a low register (*ausculto*) and one item whose restriction to conversational texts and contexts remains unexplained for unclear reasons (*superstitiosus*).

Table TL 1.4. Lexical Items with Conversational Distribution in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
abigo	24 AM	1a: conversational contexts 14/14 (82.80%)	*auerto*
adeo	234 ME	1a: conversational contexts 192/210 (80.62%)	*maxime*
adsto	239 ME[445]	1a: conversational contexts 92/93 (98.24%)	*maneo*
aduenio	45 AL, 49 AL[446]	1a: conversational contexts	(*huc*) *uenio*

[442] Cf. Hofmann (1985[2]) *passim*, esp. 91. Within this group, *ausculto* and *fabulor* may represent instances of "submerged Latin" (cf. n. 460; Pezzini (2016) 32 and 38).
[443] Cf. Adams (2016) 554-5.
[444] For *era*, from which *erilis* is derived, as a typical feature of slaves' speech, see Köhm (1905) 162-167 and Pezzini (forthcoming); cf. also p. 48. In *trag.* 237 *erilis fida custos, erilis* precedes its noun. This construction may be compared with the word order *erilis filius*, consistently attested in Plautus and possibly reflecting a sociolect associated with slaves (cf. Adams (2016) 16-7). *Muttio* often denotes the kind of speaking out of turn reproved in the behaviour of slaves in comedy (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 407; Brooks (1981) 268); it is also regarded by Pezzini (2016) 38 as an instance of low-register "submerged Latin" (cf. n. 460).
[445] *Adsto* in *trag.* 89 is excluded, as it does not function as a stage direction.
[446] For *aduenio* at *trag.* 322 see n. 353.

		235/244 (93.03%)	
aduento	68 AL	1a: conversational contexts 6/6 (100%)	*uenio*
aedis	238 ME	1a: conversational contexts 316/341 (82.41%)[447]	*domus*
ausculto	247 ML	1a: conversational contexts 98/99 (97.49%)	*pareo*
commiseresco	162 HL	1a: conversational contexts 6/6 (100%)	*misereo*
derepente	32 AL, 168 HL, 264 PH	1a: conversational contexts 15/15 (100%)	*repente*
ecce	167 HL	1a: conversational contexts 41/43 (88.77%)	interjection[448]
eheu	47 AL, 302 TH	1a: conversational contexts 23/23 (100%)	interjection
eho	309 IN	1a: conversational contexts 96/96 (100%)	interjection
em	200 IP	1a: conversational contexts 174/174 (100%)	interjection
erilis	237 ME	1a: conversational contexts 48/48 (100%)	*dominae*
expeto	348 IN[449]	1a: conversational contexts 73/73 (100%)	*peto*

[447] Instances in which *aedis* denotes *templum*, *fanum*, or any other religious building are excluded.
[448] Interjections are characteristic of conversational language; their omission constitutes a neutral alternative.
[449] For *expeto* at *trag.* 23, cf. n. 535.

exsequor	81 AN	1a: conversational contexts 24/24 (100%)	*consequor*
extemplo[450]	362 IN	1a: conversational contexts 81/83 (93.92%)[451]	*repente*
fabulor	147 EU	1a: conversational contexts 63/63 (100%)	*loquor*
festiuus[452]	395 IN	1a: conversational contexts 15/15 (100%)	*festus*
gestito	256 PH	1a: conversational contexts 9/9 (100%)	*habeo*
hehae[453]	370 IN	1a: conversational contexts 3/3 (100%) CL	interjection
impetro	306 TH	1a: conversational contexts 79/80 (96.95%)	*perficio*
inspicio	234, 236 ME	1a: conversational contexts 34/36 (87.87%)	*specto*
libet	201 IP	1a: conversational contexts 233/246 (87.39%)	*placet*
malefactum	205 IP[454]	1a: conversational contexts 15/15 (100%)	*delictum*

[450] For a discussion of *extemplo*, cf. pp. 93-4.
[451] Occurrences of *extempulo* are also included.
[452] *Festiuum* in *trag.* 338 *festiuum festinant diem* is Merula's emendation of the transmitted *festinum*. The line, preserved in SD *Aen.* 9.401 and partially in SD *Georg.* 4-170-1 (*festinant diem*), without further attribution than Ennius' name, is traditionally assigned to his tragedies for reasons that remain unclear (cf. Ribbeck (1871[2]) 60). Vahlen (1903[2]) CIX, however, more cautiously places it among the fragments *ex fabulis incertis* (without distinguishing between tragedies and comedies) and even suggests that *trag.* 338 may belong to a hexametric work. *Festiuus* occurs in the alliterative phrase *festiuum festinant*; its neutral alternative *festus*, however, would preserve the alliteration. Accordingly, *festiuus* is not included under the category of "poetic stylisation".
[453] Occurrences of *hahae* are also included.
[454] For *malefactum* in *trag.* 349 see n. 380.

muttio	280 TP	1a: conversational contexts 15/15 (100%)	*loquor*
nescio	199 IP[455]	1a: conversational contexts 289/300 (91.15%)	*ignoro*
oborior	167 HL	1a: conversational contexts 5/5 (100%)	*orior*
obsidio	272 TM, 376 IN[456]	1a: conversational contexts 5/5 (100%)	*obsidium*
opinor[457]	271 TM	1a: conversational contexts 32/32 (100%)	*puto*
pergo	180 HE	1a: conversational contexts 121/122 (97.96%)[458]	*non desino*
peruerse	172 HE	1a: conversational contexts 9/9 (100%)	*falso*
pol	338 IN	1a: conversational contexts 323/323 (100%)	interjection
quidem	371 IN	1a: conversational contexts 661/693 (88.65%)	*uero*
recepto	366 IN	1a: conversational contexts 4/4 (100%)	(*rursus*) *recipio*

[455] *Nescio* in *trag.* 195 is excluded, as it means "be unable" and has no neutral alternative.
[456] In *trag.* 376, *obsidio* occurs in an alliterative phrase (*obsidionem obducere*; see *obduco* under "poetic stylisation", cf n. 384). Its neutral alternative, *obsidium*, however, would preserve the alliteration. Accordingly, *obsidio* is not included in the category of "poetic stylisation".
[457] Occurrences of *opino* are also considered; fixed incidental or holophrastic uses (*ut*) *opinor* are excluded. For *opino* at *trag.* 146, see n. 387.
[458] *Pergo* is frequently used in direct speech (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1428.22). Although frequently in CL it often functions as a common substitute for *eo* (especially in its monosyllabic forms), it is not extensively attested in EL the sense "go". Its conversational character must therefore be attributed to other factors, which, however, remain unclear (cf. Adams (2016) 800-4).

scelestis	261 PH	1a: conversational contexts 99/99 (100%)	*infamis*
superstitiosus	35 AL	1a: conversational contexts 6/6 (100%)	*presagiens*
taceo	146 EU	1a: conversational contexts 311/322 (91.74%)	*sileo*
turbidus[459]	318 IN	1a: conversational contexts 7/7 (100%)	*turbatus* (enallage)
ultro	154 HL	1a: conversational contexts 74/80 (83.29%)	*sponte*
uoluptas	382 IN	1a: conversational contexts 91/93 (94.85%)	*gaudium*
usurpo	163 HL	1a: conversational contexts 8/9 (82.12%)	*utor*

The verb ***ausculto*** at *trag.* 247 *mi ausculta nate: pueros cremari iube* provides an example of low-register vocabulary, likely embedded in a conversational formula (*ausculta mihi*), perhaps fixed in a stylised word order. Although the verb displays a significant synchronic distribution in comedy, it may not yet have been consistently perceived in EL as a low-register variant of *audio*, as it later came to be in CL.[460] Indeed, passages such as Cato *ap.* Gell. 1.15.9 *itaque non auditis, non auscultates* and Pacuv. *trag.* 84-5 *nam isti qui*

[459] The stylised lexical item *turbidus* occurs in the alliterative phrase *temere tractent turbidas*. The alliteration would, however, be preserved even if *turbidus* were replaced by its proposed neutral alternative *turbatus*. Accordingly, *turbidus* is not included in the category of "poetic stylisation".

[460] The low-register status of *ausculto* in CL is suggested by its restriction to colloquial contexts (Catull. 67.39 Cic. *S. Rosc.*104, and Hor. Sat. 2.7.1; cf. e.g. Wölfflin (1934) 143 and Adams (2013) 294), as well as by its morphological variants attested, for example, in a graffito from Pompeii (*opscultat*, CIL 4.2630), in the grammarian Caper (GL 7.108.6 *ausculta non asculta*), and later in the Romance languages (e.g. It. "ascoltare" and Fr. "écouter"). These forms reflect either a dissimilation of the diphthong *au-* before the following *-u-* (in Caper and the Italian outcome) or its early monophthongisation, processes typically associated with colloquial register, with a subsequent occasional reinterpretation involving the reconstruction of the prefix *ob-* (in the form attested at Pompeii), replaced by *ex-* in the French outcome (cf. Adams (2013) 81-7 and (2016) 223). *Ausculto* may also represent a case of "submerged Latin", that is, an element of low register attested in EL comedy (esp. Plautus), rare in the standardised form CL, and re-emerging in LL, where normative control over the language was less strict (cf. Pezzini (2016) 32 and 38).

linguam auium intellegunt / plusque ex alieno iecore sapiunt ex suo / magis audiendum quam auscultandum censeo suggest that a semantic distinction between the two verbs was recognised, roughly corresponding to "hearing" versus "listening" (cf. Adams (2016) 223).

At Enn. *trag.* 247, however, *ausculto* appears to convey the more specific sense "obey", as indicated by the quoting source, Non. 246.9-12 M. This meaning may represent a distinctly low-register development. In EL, the imperatives *ausculta/auscultate* occur only once in Enn. *trag.* 247 and thirty-nine times in comedy, whereas the imperative *pare* is significantly rarer and attested in formal injunctions (in EL only at *trag. inc.* 156-7 *animum aduorte ac dicto pare* and *Rhet. Her.* 4.41.9 *gere morem parenti, pare cognatis, obsequere amicis, obtempera legibus*). A comparable semantic development of verbs of hearing may also be observed in informal variants of modern languages (cf. Eng. "listen!", Ger. "hör zu!", It. "ascolta!"). The colloquial colouring of *ausculto* may further derive from elements of "popular morphology" and from a perceived etymological transparency. The verb may have mistakenly been interpreted as intensive – hence more suitable to conversational contexts (cf. p. 217) – because of the *-t-*, reminiscent of the frequentative-intensive suffix (cf. ThLL *s.u.*1534.64-6), while its phonetic resemblance to, or possible derivation from, *auris* (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 60) may have reinforced the perception of a concrete, sensory verb of perception.

In any case, the expression *mi ausculta*, or more properly *ausculta mi*(*hi*), appears to be characteristic of lower registers (cf. Adams (2016) 224). The traditional word order of the phrase, however, places the verb first (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 384-5). Across EL and CL, the sequenece *ausculta mi*(*hi*) is attested only five times in Plautus (three times in the speech of slaves, and once each in that of a pimp and an old man). By contrast, the variant *mi ausculta* is attested at Enn. *trag.* 247, Plaut. *Cas.* 204-5 (in the speech of the matrona Myrrhina), and in Cic. *S. Rosc.* 104, before a revival in Apuleius. This distribution might reflect a register-variation and may be paralleled by that's of similar imperative formulae (cf. Landgraf (1914) 187 and Cugusi (1973) 681-2 on *mihi crede* and *crede mihi*), although, as Adams (2016) 204 observes, the fronting of the personal pronoun in such formulae may emphasise the authority of the speaker.[461]

[461] Personal pronouns, which are normally clitics and as such cannot occur in initial position, can become non-clitic and be fronted when contrastive (Wackernagel's law). Accordingly, in *trag.* 247 *mi ausculta* should be interpreted as "listen to me, [not someone else]". Through a process of syntactic reanalysis, this tendency eventually influenced the word

However, it is possible that the word order of *trag.* 247 may instead have been chosen to distance the utterance of the speaker (perhaps Hellen, cf. Jocelyn (1967) 385) or, more broadly, the tragic diction itself, from the colloquial register. The same tendency may be reflected in the deviation from the expected word order in the following clause, where *iube* would normally precede the infinitive, as well as in the absence of the possessive modifier in the vocative formula *nate*. The use of *nate* itself likely carries no particular stylistic significance, since the vocative *fili* is not attested in EL drama (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 384-5). Although in Ennius' corpus low-registers formulae are sometimes slightly altered in order to preserve an elevated diction while expressing the same meaning (cf. pp. 34 and 52-3), nevertheless, the stylistic significance of the peculiar word order of both formulae *mi ausculta* and *cremari iube* in *trag.* 247 remains uncertain.

In conclusion, *ausculto*, particularly in the imperative form combined with the pronoun *mi*, is very likely drawn from colloquial language. The low-conversational colouring of this phrase at *trag.* 247 remains evident, even though it appears in a somewhat unusual word order, perhaps intended to prevent the diction from sounding excessively colloquial. A similar motivation may underlie both the absence of *mi* alongside *nate* and the non-standard word order in the following clause (*pueros cremari iube*). This stylistic interpretation, however, remains uncertain. Unlike the modified fixed expressions *progeniem parere* at *trag.* 39 and *cruciatu perbitere* at *trag.* 178, which display clear elements of elevated diction (*progenies* and *perbitere*, respectively), the inversion of word order in *mi ausculta* does not convey a clear sociolinguistic stylisation. Accordingly, *ausculto* is not classified under "poetic stylisation".

In EL, ***superstitiosus*** (*trag.* 35 *missa sum superstitiosis hariolationibus*) displays a 100% conversational incidence, with six occurrences[462] evenly distributed between comedy (Plaut. *Amph.* 323, *Curc.* 397, *Rud.* 1139) and tragedy (Enn. *trag.* 35, Pacuv. *trag.* 216, *trag. inc.* 19). In all these attestations, the term appears to convey a trivialising or pejorative nuance. In Plautus, *superstitiosus* characterises individuals with supposed clairvoyant abilities rather than legitimate religious prohets (cf. Gulick (1896) 238). In tragedy, by contrast, the adjective is used in contexts involving genuine prophetic activity, yet with a

order of certain types of sentences (esp. imperatives) in the old Romance languages, which forbid the placement of personal pronouns in initial positions – the so-called Tobler-Mussafia rule, which can sometimes also be observed in current Romance languages (cf. de Melo (2024) 155 and 162-4).

[462] Jocelyn (1967) 396-8 – followed by and Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 2.120-1 – argues that the phrase *sed superstitiosi uates impudentesque harioli* in Cic. *diu.* 1.132, preceding the quotation of Enn. *trag.* 266-70, belongs to Cicero rather than Ennius. These lines had traditionally been regarded as part of Ennius' quotation (cf. Ribbeck (1871^2) 55 and (1875) 134, and Vahlen (1903^2) 179).

negative connotation. In Enn. *trag.* 35 and Pacuv. *trag.* 216, it refers to Cassandra's disreputable prophetic gifts; in *trag. inc.* 19, it is one of the adjectives applied to Apollo's voice, alongside *saeua* and possibly *fera* (if the manuscript reading is retained rather than emended to *foras*; cf. Pease (1973) 537), in what appears to be a curse against Apollo and soothsayers.[463]

In EL, *superstitiosus* may have been confined to conversational contest, perhaps because it denoted a non-canonical aspect of Roman religion (the noun *superstitio* is first attested in Cicero). However, the status of *superstitio* in Rome, especially when associated with prophetic practice, is difficult to determine and may have evolved over time (cf. e.g. Pease (1973) 580-1 for a summary of differing interpretations). It would therefore be hazardous to conclude that *superstitiosus* in EL is restricted to conversational contexts simply because it refers to an unofficial dimension of Roman cult. A linguistic explanation may instead be considered. The conversational colouring of *superstitiosus* cannot plausibly be attributed to the suffix *-osus*, whose allegedly substandard character has been convincingly refuted,[464] notwithstanding its high productivity in Plautus (cf. Pezzini (2023) 244). Rather, it may derive from the verbal root *-stit-* (from *stare*), which conveys a more concrete or corrporeal nuance than *esse* (cf. Linkomies (1931) 78-82), and thus may have contributed to its pragmatic colouring.

2. Morphology and Derivation

As in the case of the *Annals* (cf. pp. 77-9), this pattern comprises lexical items characterised by distinctive or peculiar morphology and derivation. It is further subdivided into the categories of "non-Latin derivation" and "Latin morphology". The former includes loanwords, calques, and neologisms exhibiting non-Latin roots or formation patterns. The latter is divided into two subcategories: "high-register morphology", encompassing items whose word-formation patterns are associated with high-poetic diction; and "standard morphology", including lexical items formed

[463] Moreover, the source for the latter passage is Cic. *diu.* 2.115, a work that expresses a markedly negative view of *superstitio* (cf. 2.148), although this does not in itself demonstrate that the word carries the same negative connotation in *trag. inc.* 19.

[464] The suffix *-osus* is highly productive owing to its broad semantic range, most commonly denoting "abounding in". Accordingly, adjectives in *-osus* are frequently found in low-register, technical, or rustic contexts, since their semantics, conveyed by the stem, are particularly suited to such texts and contexts (cf. e.g. Knox (1986) *passim*, esp. 100-1, Adams (2013) 571-8, Maltby (2023) 269-70).

according to patterns productive across a range of genres and contexts. Items belonging to the last subcategory are considered less marked than those exhibiting non-Latin derivation or high-register morphology, though still more marked than their proposed neutral alternatives (cf. p. 89). Unlike the *Annals*, the tragedies do not attest any items displaying clearly irregular or highly unconvetional word-formation patterns.

Despite an inevitable degree of arbitrariness inherent in any classificatory scheme, the lexical items included in this pattern – characterised not only by distinctive synchronic distribution but also by idiosyncratic morphological features – arguably provide the clearest indication of the comparatively limited linguistic creativity of the tragedies in relation to the *Annals*. Although the overall proportion of items in this pattern relative to the total number of lexical items does not differ (44 items in the *Annals*, approximately one in every 27, as opposed to 38 items in the tragedies, approximately one in every 27), a closer analysis of the individual subcategories reveals significant disparities.

In the *Annals*, sixteen lexemes exhibit non-Latin derivation (approximately one in every 75 items; or nine – one in every 134 items – if poetic Graecisms are excluded), compared with only seven instances in the tragedies (approximately one in every 147 items; or merely one instance – one in every 1029 – excluding poetic Graecisms). As noted above (cf. p. 146), this discrepancy – together with with the broader range of source languages represented among the borrowings in the *Annals*, and the comparatively more frequent tendency towards "Romanising calques" in the tragedies (cf. pp. 230-2) – highlights the differing degrees of linguistic inclusivity in the two corpora. A similar contrast may be observed in the distribution of technicisms and archaisms.

Likewise, the analysis of items exhibiting Latin morphological patterns points to a comparatively lower degree of linguistic innovation in the tragedies than in the *Annals*. In addition to the absence of items displaying clearly uncommon word-formation patterns, the tragedies show markedly higher proportions of items belonging to the subcategory of "high-register morphology"

(fifteen items in the tragedies, approximately one in every 69, as opposed to the nine items in the *Annals*, one in every 134) and under "standard morphology" (sixteen items in the tragedies, approximately one in every 64, compared with twelve items in the *Annals*, one in every 100). Notably, in both corpora, word-formation patterns specifically associated with non-poetic diction are not attested.

Furthermore, certain items exhibiting distinctive word-formation patterns are embedded within phonetic clusters. The principle adopted in the analysis of the first pattern of stylisation – namely that items occurring in clear and elaborate phonetic clusters may be subsumed under a broad conception of poetic stylisation (cf. pp. 143-5) – is here maintained, albeit in conjunction with specific morphological and etymological considerations. In particular, items displaying non-Latin word-formation patterns that occur within concpicuous phonetic clusters are classified under "non-Latin derivation", since they are almost exclusively "Poetic Graecisms", that is, Greek-derived forms consciously employed to poeticise the register (and accordingly flagged as "PG"). The presence of such overtly poetic markers within elaborate sound-patterning simply reinforces their stylistic function. Among these items, *stola* (*trag.* 281, 282, 386, and 396) does not exhibit a clear poetic status; nevertheless, the term repeatedly appears within phonetic clusters (cf. pp. 187-9), and is therefore marked as a "Poetic Graecism".

By contrast, items of Latin morphology embedded within clear and elaborate phonetic clusters are always assigned to the subcategory of "high-register morphology", even where their word-formation patterns are in themselves standard.[465] The creation or selection of such items for the purpose of achieving phonetic effects is consistent with the broad conception of poetic diction adopted in this study. In some instances, the same word-formation patterns of items included within the subcategory actively contribute to the construction of elaborate sound effects. This is the case,

[465] Mannheimer (1975) 29 observes that in tragedy certain word-formation patterns function as markers of high register through their (sometimes phonetic) relationship with their immediate linguistic context. Among her examples is *euito* at *trag.* 93.

for example, with the cluster of forms built on the prefix *ex-* in *trag.* 16-27, which appear designed to emphasise Alcmaeon's exclusion from civil life (cf. pp. 194-5).

Finally, items exhibiting standard word-formation patterns that occur within less conspicuous phonetic clusters (for example, one-sound alliterative pairs, particularly where the proposed neutral alternative would share similar phonetic features) are assigned to the subcategory of "standard morphology", since it remains uncertain whether the resulting sound pattern is deliberate. In such cases, no specifically poetic dimension is inferred from the morphological formation involved in the cluster – not even the broader association between soundplay and poetic stylisation adopted in this section of the thesis. Admittedly, the distinction between phonetic clusters that are "conspicuous and elaborate" or those that are not may itself involve a degree of arbitrariness. For this reason, all items occurring within any type of phonetic clusters are explicitly flagged in the footnotes.

Overall, the tragedies appear to make extensive use of items with distinctive word-formation patterns in order to produce some phonetic correspondences (eleven clusters involving such items, as opposed to the single instance of *longe longiscere* at *ann.* 439 in the *Annals*). This tendency confirms the differing approaches to phonetics and lexicon in the two corpora: in the tragedies, even neologisms – or, more broadly, lexemes exhibiting unusual morphological formations – are predominantly limited to high-poetic formations or tend to foreground the phonetic dimension of poetic expression, whereas the *Annals* favour a higher degree of linguistic creativity and do not exhibit a similar attention for sound-patterning.

2.1. Non-Latin Derivation (Category TL 2.1)

This subcategory comprises stylised loanwords, calques, and neo-formations derived from non-Latin roots or exhibiting non-Latin word-formation patterns.[466] As noted above (cf. p. 146), only seven such items occur in the tragedies, excluding those found in titles – such as *lytra* or *aechmalotis* – which are unlikely to be original (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 59-60). In contrast to the *Annals*, which include borrowings from a wide range of languages (Celtic, Etruscan, Oscan, Thracian, and possibly Illyrian), the items attested in the tragedies derive exclusively from Greek (with the possible exception of *tullius*; cf. n. 402). These include *aer* (*trag.* 357 and 358), *astrologus* (*trag.* 185), *barbaricus* (*trag.* 89), *exanclo* (*trag.* 103 and 144), *exsacrifico* (*trag*. 54), and *stola* (*trag.* 281, 282, 386, 396), all of which likely function as Poetic Graecisms "PG" marking the lines as stylistically elevated rather than as evoking exotic setting (cf. p. 80). Also included is *philosophor*, a neo-formation derived from a Greek ("N"). Moreover, unlike the *Annals*, which generally avoid Latinised adaptations of foreign terms (cf. n. 573; Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)), the tragedies display no such reluctance (e.g. *hic ordo* in *trag.* 5, *optumatum* in *trag.* 34), despite their Greek setting.

Table TL 2.1. Lexical Items with Non-Latin Derivation in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
aer PG	357 IN, 358 IN	1a: poetry 4/5 (91.53%)	*Bedürfnislehnwört*
astrologus PG?[467]	185 IP	1a: prose 33/38 (86.84%) CL	*sidera* (*astrologorum signa*)

[466] For a list of various types of loanwords, calques, translations, and neo-formations involving foreign word-formation patterns or elements, see Biville (1989) 29-40. Non-Latin endings are not analysed in this thesis.
[467] At *trag.* 185, *astrologus* is used in the periphrasis *astrologorum signa* for "stars". Such a designation may be intended to produce poetic effect.

barbaricus PG	89 AN	1a: formal contexts 5/5 (100%)[468]	*barbarorum*
exanclo PG	103 AN, 144 EU	1a: poetry 6/7 (94.63%)	*tolero* (103), *effundo* (144)[469]
exsacrifico[470] PG	54 AL	1b: 1 occurrence	*sacrifico*
philosophor N	95 AN	1a: conversational contexts 5/5 (100%)	*cogito*
stola PG?[471]	281 TP, 282 TP, 386 IN, 396 IN	1a: poetry 4/4 (100%)	*uestis*

Although both the text and even the dramatic context of *trag.* 95 *philosophandum est paucis; nam omnino haud placet*[472] remain debated, the verb ***philosophor*** is clearly a Latin formation based on a Greek root and reflects a productive Latin word-formation pattern frequently applied to Graecisms (denominatives in *-ari*).[473] It carries a distinct meaning and displays a significant contextual distribution. Its use is unlikely to be directly connected with a specific Greek text. Indeed, *philosophor* is not a straightforward translation of

[468] Cf. Jocelyn (1967) 248-9, on the occurrences of the word in Plautus and on adjectives in *-icus*.
[469] In EL, the verb *exanclare* shows a significant synchronic distribution in poetic texts. In his tragedies, Ennius employs it both in a literal sense ("clean out") in *trag.* 144 and in a metaphorical sense ("endure", a meaning already attested for the Greek ἀντλέω in Attic tragedy, cf. Jocelyn (1967) 259) at *trag.* 103. Since both usages are stylistically marked – the former occurring only twice in EL and CL, the latter exclusively in poetic texts – *exanclare* is treated here under stylised lexicon rather than stylised semantics.
[470] *Exsacrifico* is a verb formed with the preverb *ex-* but conveying essentially the same (or a slightly more vivid) meaning as its simple counterpart, thus reflecting a Greek word-formation pattern with the preverb ἐκ-, frequently attested in Herodotus (cf. Rutherford (1881) 7) and in Attic tragedy (especially, Sophocles; cf. Meillet (1930) 209; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1933[2]) 250-1; Fraenkel (1950) 464-5). This pattern was inherited in EL tragedy and mock-tragic passages (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 197 and 224). For the debated attribution of *trag.* 50-61, quoted in Cic. *diu.* 1.42, to Ennius – and specifically to the *Alexander* – see Jocelyn (1967) 206.
[471] In Ennius' tragedies, *stola* consistently occurs within phonetic clusters, but cf. pp. 187-9 for a detailed discussion on its usage.
[472] *Philosophari est mihi necesse, paucis: nam omnino haud placet* – according to Vahlen (1903[2]) 191, who reconstructs the line from Cic. *Rep.* 1.30 *magis eum delectabat Neoptolemus Enni qui se ait philosophari uelle set paucis; nam omnnino haud placere* and *tusc.* 2.1 *necesse mihi quidem esse arbitror philosophari* [...] *sed non paucis ut ille. Philosophandum est paucis; nam omnino haud placet* is the reconstruction proposed by by Jocelyn (1967) 252, who maintains that Gell. 5.15.9 quotes the line verbatim. *Trag.* 95 is also partially quoted (*paucis; nam omnino haud placet*) in Cic. *de orat.* 2.115 and alluded to in Apul. *Apol.* 13 *ego necesse habeam contra sententiam Neoptolemi Enniani pluribus philosophari*. The general meaning of the line is clear: one ought to philosophise briefly (or on a limited range of topics). In the ancient sources, the fragment is attributed to the Ennian character Neoptolemus; more specifically, Ribbeck (1875) 140-1 and Jocelyn (1967) 235-6 assign it to the *Andromacha*.
[473] Cf. Leumann (1977) 546.

the Greek φιλοσοφέω, but rather a Latin derivation from φιλόσοφος, as indicated both by its deponent form[474] (in contrast to the original Greek active) and by its specialised semantic development. In EL, *philosophor* occurs four times in Plautus (*Capt.* 284, *Merc.* 147, and *Pseud.* 687 and 974) and once in Ennius, consistently with the sense of "overthink" or "become absorbed in one's own reflections", often with an ironic or detached note. This nuance is rarely attested for Greek φιλοσοφέω (LSJ *s.u.* 1939-40 records only Lys. 8.11 in the sense "quibble").[475]

In *trag.* 95, the speaker is Neoptolemus (cf. n. 472), who likely employs *philosophor* pejoratively, expressing disdain for Ulysses' sophistries in the episode concering Philoctetes' bow. Nevertheless, in EL, the nouns *philosophus* and *philosophia* do not appear to carry such negative connotations (cf. e.g. Hemina, *hist.* 37; Lucil. 28.754). The pejorative nuance of *philosophor* therefore seems directed neither against philosophy as an institution nor against Greek culture as such. Jocelyn (1967) 252-3 observes that φιλόσοφος and φιλοσοφέω are absent from Attic tragedy, even though tragic characters – especially in Euripides – frequently engage in philosophical reflection. This avoidance may reflect a degree of anti-intellectual sentiment that would have resonated with Greek and Roman audiences alike, particularly among the business classes. On this basis, Jocelyn suggests that Ennius most likely adopted *philosophor* from colloquial usage. The term thus appears to reflect not anti-Hellenic sentiment but rather a broader scepticism towards intellectualism, despite the fact that philosophisical inquiry itself was a cultural import from Greece. Whether *trag.* 95 was followed by a mitigating reflection on philosophy – such as *degustandum ex philosophia non in eam ingurgitandum* in Gell. 5.16.5, commenting on this passage (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 252, contra Mercklin (1860) 668) – or not, the speaker's reluctance to engage in philosophising and the pejorative force of *philosophor* in this context remain clear. Accordingly, *philosophor* should not be regarded as a "Poetic Graecism" nor as a term evoking an exotic atmosphere. It is rather a neo-formation (or a term drawn from spoken language) based on a Greek term referring to a specific cultural practice imported from Greece but most likely not perceived anymore as typically Greek.

The stylised use of the Graecism ***stola*** (from Greek στολή, cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 655) in Ennius' tragedies remains difficult to interpret. In EL, *stola* is attested exclusively in Ennius' tragedies (281

[474] See ThLL *s.u.* 2030.66-9 for instances of active *philosopho.*
[475] In CL, *philosophor* is also used in the sense of "devote oneself to philosophy" (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 2031.24 and ff.).

†*cedo et caueo cum uestitus*† *squalida saeptus stola*, 282 *regnum reliqui saeptus mendici stola*, 386 *et quis illaec est quae lugubri succincta est stola?*, 396 *induta fuit saeua stola*). By contrast, Ennius employs the neutral[476] *uestis* only once, at *trag.* 276 *strata terrae lauere lacrimis uestem squalam et sordidam*. Whether this apparent preference for *stola* reflects personal taste, chance, or deliberate stylistic choice is difficult to ascertain. No consistent stylistic, semantic, or phonetic rationale emerges from the distribution of *stola* and *uestis* across these fragments.

Semantically, there is little to distinguish the garments described: the *uestem squalam et sordidam* of *trag.* 276 is functionally equivalent to the *squalida… stola* of 281 or the *mendici stola* of 282. Phonetically, all four passages containing *stola* display notable alliteration (281 *squalida saeptus stola*, 282 *saeptus mendici stola*, 386 *succincta est stola*; 396 *saeua stola*), yet these sound patterns may have not dictated the lexical choice. In *trag.* 386, for instance, replacing *stola* with *ueste* would eliminate the alliteration *succincta stola*, but retain a comparable sound pattern with *est*, whereas substituting *stolam* for *uestem* in *trag.* 276 *uestem squalam et sordidam* would in fact extend the alliteration of *squalam* and *sordidam*. The evidence therefore suggests that *stola* was not consistently selected for phonetic stylisation.

The only discernible pattern concerns case usage: *stola* appears exclusively in the ablative, whereas *uestis* occurs in the accusative. Moreover, *stola* occurs only in constructions with mediopassive verbs of dressing. However, this seems hardly significant, as EL authors tend to use the ablative of the garment in such contexts (as in *trag.* 281 and 282, in which *saeptus* is used, and 386, where *succinctus* occurs) except for *induo* (cf. *trag.* 396 *induta fuit saeua stola*), where the accusative is preferred (cf. Hahn (1960) 224-7) – a construction also occurring in Sabellian (cf. Tikkanen (2011) 54-55) and therefore not to be interpreted as an accusative of respect of Greek influence – but also the ablative is attested (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1268.27-34). Therefore, the different syntactic constructions of mediopassive verbs of dressing with the accusative or ablative of the garment are hardly a factor at play. Whether this distribution reflects Ennius' personal syntactic preferences (since the ablative *ueste* is attested fifteen times in EL), an avoidance of forms such as *stolam* or *ueste*, an alternance based on prosodic convenience, or some other factor remains uncertain.

[476] In EL, *uestis* is attested once in Livius Andronicus' *Odusia*, once in Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, once in Ennius' tragedies, fifteen times in Plautus, once in Caecilius Statius, twenty times in Terence, once in Pacuvius, five times in Accius, once in Afranius, and once in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

Consequently, the borrowing *stola* is simply classified under "non-Latin derivation", with no further certain specifications.

2.2. High-Register Morphology (Category TL 2.2)

In the subcategories of "Latin morphology", the synchronic distribution of the items' word-formation patterns constitutes the primary criterion for classification.[477] Items whose word-formation patterns are predominantly associated with high-poetic diction are assigned to the subcategory of "high-register morphology"; by contrast, items formed according to patterns attested across a range of different genres or contexts are included in the subsequent subcategory "standard morphology".[478] In these subcategories, not only derivational suffixes or compounding patterns are considered, but also the lexical base of the item. For example, the verb *halito* (*trag.* 169) follows a common derivational pattern – namely that of frequentative verbs in *-to* formed on a present-tense stem – but it derives from the low-frequency verb *halo*, which is attested exclusively in poetic texts (eight occurrences across EL and CL). For this reason, *halito* is classified under "high-register morphology", rather than "standard morphology", despite the productivity of its formal derivational pattern.

Furthermore, the synchronic distribution of the lexical item itself is also taken into account. Accordingly, items predominantly associated with high-poetic diction are included in the subcategory "high-register" morphology, even when they exhibit formally standard word-formation patterns. For instance, *altisonus* (*trag.* 88 and 188) and *ueliuolus* (*trag.* 111),[479] although formally displaying a standard word-formation pattern (type 1B in Oniga (1987) 88), are classified under "high-register morphology" owing to their exclusive attestation in poetic texts (cf. pp. 87-8 and n.

[477] However, the data listed under the coloumn "first-stage result" in the tables concern the items under analysis rather than their word-formation patterns, since the tests of the first stage of my algorithm serve to distinguish neutral lexical items and semantic usages from those that are potentially stylised.
[478] Unlike the *Annals*, the tragedies do not include items exhibiting uncommon word-formation patterns (cf. p. 182).
[479] On the generally high-poetic status of compounds in Latin, cf. p. 88.

197). Similarly, *quadriiugus* (*trag.* 79 *uidi, uidere quod me passa aegerrume / Hectorem curru quadriiugo raptarier*) is included in this subcategory on account of its distinctly poetic usage. Although its word-formation pattern should be regarded as standard (type 4 in Oniga (1987) 121-2; poetic distribution of 51.95%, comedic distribution 25.97%, prose distribution 22.08% – though Maltby (2023) 261 characterises this type as "high-style neologisms"), *quadriiugus* exhibits an overall poetic distribution of 85.71% across twenty-one occurrences in EL and CL, with Enn. *trag.* 79 representing the sole EL instance. Moreover, the word occurs here in a highly elevated context – namely Andromache's lament over the fate of Hector's body. This passage is stylistically marked by features such as the figura etymologica *uidi uidere*, the periphrasis *curru quadriiugo*, and the infinitive ending *-ier* in *raptarier*.

Finally, some items, although formed according to widely attested word-formation patterns, appear to have been selected specifically in order to produce clear and elaborate phonetic effects. In certain cases, the word-formation patterns themselves actively contribute to the sound-patterning of the passage. Items exhibiting such patterns are therefore treated as poetic and classified under the subcategory "high-register morphology" (for the loose and partly arbitrary association between phonetic clusters in Ennius' tragedies and poetic stylisation adopted in this thesis, cf. pp. 143-5). This applies, for example, to the prefixed denominative verbs *elimino*, *euito*, and *expectoro*, as well as to the prefixed inchoative verb *exalbesco*, derived from an adjective. The prefix *e-/ex-* in all of these items contributes to elaborate systems of phonetic corresponences. By contrast, *cupienter* appears within a phonetic cluster at *trag.* 259 (*cupiens cupieter cupit*), yet its selection over *cupide* responds to considerations of register rather than to phonetic patterning (cf. n. 480).

As in the case of the *Annals*, items with peculiar morphologies clearly associated with non-poetic diction are not attested (for the case of *sublimo*, predominantly attested in prose in EL and mostly in CL, though derived from the adjectival stem of *sublimis*, itself primarily associated with poetic usage, see n. 486). Indeed, this subcategory may almost be regarded as a specialised subset of

the category of "poetic stylisation" within the pattern of "context of use", encompassing items that display a certain degree of linguistic creativity. In any case, the distinctly high-poetic composition of this subcategory, combined with its relatively high density (fifteen items) – especially when compared to the seven items of non-Latin derivation (one when not considering "Poetic Graecisms") and the absence of items exhibiting uncommon morphology – further emphasises the standardised high-poetic style that characterises the lexicon of the tragedies.

Table TL 2.2. Lexical Items with High-Register Morphology in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
altisonus	88 AN, 188 IP	1a: poetry 8/8 CL (100%)	*qui in alto sonat*
cupienter[480]	259 PH	1b: 3 occurrences	*cupide*
elimino[481]	238 ME	1a: tragedy 5/6 (93.63%)	*eicio*
euito[482]	93 AM	1b: 3 occurrences[483]	*rapio*
exalbesco[484]	17 AM	1b: 4 occurrences	*pallesco*
expectoro[485]	20 AM	1b: 3 occurrences	(*e pectore*) *rapio*
flammifer	25 AM	1a: poetry 24/24	*ardens*

[480] Despite following a standard word-formation pattern, in drama *cupienter* appears to be the form appropriate to tragic and mock-tragic diction, as opposed to *cupide*, which seems largely confined to comedy (cf. Maltby (2023) 258). Moreover, *cupienter* occurs in the figura etymologica *cupiens cupienter cupit*.

[481] *Elimino* occurs in the alliterative line *quid sic te extra aedis exanimatam eliminat.*

[482] *Euito* occurs both in the threefold homoeoteleuton *inflammari, euitari, turpari* (*trag.* 92-4) and in the sequence *ui uitam euitari* of *trag*. 93, which exhibits both alliteration and a figura etymologica.

[483] Only the occurrences of *euito* understood as a denominative compound of *uita*, meaning "take one's life", are considered.

[484] *Exalbesco* occurs within a series in passages of the *Alcmeo* in which compound verbs and nouns formed with the prefix *ex-* emphasise Alcmaeon's exclusion from civic life following his matricide. Moreover, *exalbesco* may reflect the Greek poetic practice of employing verbs with this prefix *ex-* (ἐκ- in Greek) that convey essentially the same meaning as their simplex counterparts (cf. n. 470).

[485] *Expectoro* forms part of a series of compound words with the prefix *ex-* in the *Alcmeo* emphasising Alcmaeon's estrangement from civic life (cf. pp. 194-5).

		(100%) CL	
halito	169 HL	1b: 1 occurrence	*spiro*
obuaro	5 AC	1b: 1 occurrence	*impedio*
quadriiugus	79 AN	1a: poetry 18/21 (85.71%) CL	*quadriga* (*quadriiugus currus*)
quadrupedans	169 HL	1a: poetry 10/11 (90.99%) CL	*quadrupedus*
signitenens	97 AN	1b: 1 occurrence	*cum signis*
sublimo	243 ME	1a: prose 10/11[486] (90.91%) CL	*extollo*
ueliuolans	45 AL	1b: 1 occurrence	*uelox*
ueliuolus	111 AN	1a: poetry 8/8 (100%) CL	*uolantes ueloces*

At *trag.* 92-4 *haec omnia uidi inflammari / Priamo ui uitam euitari / Iouis aram sanguine turpari*, ***euito*** participates in the striking disyllabic homoeoteleuton closing each line (*inflammari*, *euitari*, *turpari*)[487] as well as in the *ui*- alliteration shared with *uidi* (*trag.* 92) and, more prominently, with *ui* and *uitam* (*trag.* 93), the latter also forming a figura etymologica. The verb *euito* is attested only three times across EL and CL and may represent an Ennian neologism (cf. Pisani (1962) 230), formed according to a standard

[486] The distribution of this term offers little support for its classification as prose stylisation. Apart from this occurrence and the relatively elevated example in Cato *Or.* 63.2 *in maximum decus atque in excelsissimam claritudinem sublimauit*, *sublimo* is attested within EL and CL only in Vitruvius (once) and Apuleius (eight times), two authors who are chronologically distant from Ennius. Despite its regular word-formation pattern (derivative in *-are* from adjectives; cf. Leumann (1977) 546), *sublimo* is included under the category of "stylised morphology and derivation", as it is formed on the basis of the high-register adjective *sublimis* (cf. Meister (1925) *passim*, esp. 33-34 and 37-40).

[487] A homoeoteluton is usually defined as the repetition of identical sounds at the ends of coordinating cola, whereas a homoeoptoton denotes the repetition of identical morphological endings irrespective of the positions of the words involved in the sound play (cf. Guggenheimer (1972) 76-7). The sequence *inflammari*, *euitari*, *turpari*, with each verb placed at the end of lines 92-4, may therefore be interpreted either as a homoeoteleuton with identical morphological endings or as a homoeoptoton occurring at the end of the cola. For the sake of simplicity, I refer to this sequence as a homoeoteleuton.

derivational pattern (prefixed denominative verbs; cf. Leumann (1977) 564).[488] It may nevertheless have been selected – or even coined – specifically for its phonetic effects, a feature that may loosely be associated with poetic stylisation (cf. pp. 143-5).[489] Accordingly, *euito* is classified under the subcategory "high-register morphology". In particular, the *ui-* alliterative cluster intensifies the emotional pathos of Andromache's lament over the destruction of Troy (cf. Grilli (1965) 174;[490] Ginsberg (2025) 176). Similarly, the homoeoteluton *inflammari*, *euitari*, *turpari* may highten the effect of Andromache's despair through emphatic iteration.

Homoeoteleuta (whether involving one or two syllables) occur frequently in Ennius' extant corpus (cf. Catone (1964) 132-3). The sequence *inflammari*, *euitari*, *turpari* at *trag.* 92-4 – three disyllabic forms – may nevertheless represent a particularly emphatic instance of homoeoteleuton, pushed to an extreme[491] in order to heighten the sense of Troy's catastrophic destruction within Andromache's emotional narrative. Although the effect is achieved through three words sharing the same morphological ending, the resulting homoeoteleuton does not appear to be an accidental by-product of syntax or prosody (cf. Guggenheimer (1972) 210). First, *euitari* is a low-frequency lexeme (perhaps a neologism, see above), while *inflammari* and *turpari* display significant synchronic distributions. Secondly, *euitari* and *inflammari* could easily have been replaced by neutral alternatives lacking the *-ari* ending – *rapi* (or *pelli*, cf. Pisani (1962) 230) and *incendi*, respectively. Thirdly, the placement of not merely two, but three rhyming words at the end of three consecutive lines (and clauses) is highly unlikely to be coincidental. It is therefore probable that the elements of the sequence *inflammari*, *euitari*, *turpari* were deliberately selected and arranged in *trag.* 92-4 in order to produce a calculated phonetic effect.

[488] Leumann (1977) 563-4 distinguishes two types of denominative verbs formed with the prefix *ex-*: the *expectorare* ("remove from the chest") type, in which the nominal stem denotes the place from where something is removed, and the *exossare* ("remove the bones") type, in which the nominal stem denotes the object removed.

[489] Similarly, *inflammo* occurs in prose 89.33% of instances across EL and CL, and may have been selected primarily for its phonetic qualities rather than for considerations of registers. In EL, the verb is attested only once in Ennius and once in Accius (both in the same construction *uideo inflammari*; Nethercut (2025) 309-10 suggests that Accius is here echoing Ennius), while its predominantly prose distribution in CL is somewhat unexpected, given that the noun *flamma* occurs in 77% of cases in poetic texts in EL (a figure close to my statistical threshold for stylisation; cf. also pp. 195-7).

[490] Grilli (1965) 174 suggests that the recurrence of the vowels *-i-* (fourteen instances, including the semivocalic forms such as ***I****ouis*) and *-a-* (eleven instances, including diphthongs such as *h****a****ec*; all other vowels in *trag.* 92-4 amount to six instances, plus six tokens of the semivowel *-u-*) may also contribute to the same phonetic effect.

[491] The homoeoteluton in *trag.* 92-4 is the only instance of a three-member disyllabic homoeoteluton in EL drama, whereas two-member disyllabic homoeoteleuta are attested in Plautus (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 252).

The homoeoteleuton at *trag.* 92-4, together with the syntactic repetition of three passive AcInf clauses, reinforces the sense of iteration and exaggeration in Andromache's emotional depiction of the destruction of Troy. The resulting effect was appreciated by Cicero in his polemic against the *poetae noui*: Cic. *Tusc.* 3.46 *praeclarum carmen! est enim et rebus et verbis et modis lugubre. eripiamus huic aegritudinem*. Although authors sometimes exploit the iterative force generated by homoeoteleuta[492] in tragic laments (as in the case of *trag.* 92-4), such phonetic effects are not confined to contexts of lamentation.[493] For instance, in Plaut. *Rud.* 956-6a *furtum ego uidi qui faciebat; / noram dominum, id quoi fíebat*, the repetion of essentially the same message across two consecutive lines, reinforced by the homoeoteleuton *faciebat-fiebat*, does not heighten the solemnity of a lament but instead serves Trachalio's attempt to slow down Gripo's frenetic pace and capture his attention.

In sum, *euito* follows a common word-formation pattern when considered in isolation (a prefixed denominative verb), yet the form appears to have been coined specifcally to participate in two prominent phonetic effects: the alliterative sequence (with figura etymologica) *uidi* […] *ui uitam euitari* and the homoeoteleuton *inflammari, euitari, turpari*. This intricate interplay of sound was most likely designed to reinforce phonetically the emotional intensity of Andromache's lament. Accordingly, the word-formation pattern of *euitari* may be be more approprauetly regarded as poetic when considered within the elaborate phonetic structure of *trag.* 92-4.

Although preserved in different fragments, lines 16-20, 21, 22, and 23-27 (from the *Alcmeo*) display an interwoven phonetic effect, namely the repetition phoneme *ex-* at the beginning of six words: *exilio* (line 16), *exanimato* and ***expectorat*** (line 17), ***exalbescat*** (line 21), *expetunt* (line 23), and *excruciat* (line 25). This pattern may allude to one of the central themes of the tragedy: Alcmaeon's segregation from civic life following his matricide (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 190 and 200). These fragments revolve around the speaker's frenzy, possibly provoked by the Furies' pursuit. Accordingly, the analysis of the formations *expectoro* and *exalbesco* must take into account the broader system of phonetic correspondences to which they contribute – a refined stylistic feature that in this thesis is loosely associated with poetic stylisation (cf. pp. 143-5).

[492] Guggenheimer (1972) 59-61observes that the excessive use of homoeoteleuta was criticised on the grounds that it might overcrowd a passage, thereby disrupting the overall rhythm of the line or sentence and producing monotony.
[493] Barsby (1986) 183 argues that homoeoteluta – referred to by him as "rhymes" – are a characteristic feature of tragic laments, and that Plaut. *Bacch.* 1094-4a *Chrysalus med hodie lacerauit* / *Chrysalus me miserum spoliauit*, which combines a homoeoteleuton with an anaphora (*Chrysalus me*), should be interpreted as a parody of a tragic lament.

Although both verbs follow common word-formation patterns – a prefixed denominative verb of the *exossare* type (cf. n. 488; Leumann (1977) 563-4) and a prefixed inchoative verb formed on an adjective denoting colour (cf. André (1949) 222 and 243)[494] – they are nevertheless classified under the subcategory "high-register morphology", owing to their role within this elaborate phonetic structure.[495]

The deliberate selection and placement of these forms may serve to reinforce phonetically Alcmaeon's sense of exclusion. First, the prefix recurs in six words spoken by the same character and relating to the same theme of frenzy. Secondly, all these words occupy prominent penultimate or final positions within five separate lines. Thirdly, the sequence begins with *exilio* at line 16 – a term of obvious semantic relevance to Alcmaeon's civic banishment. The phonetic echo of Alcmaeon's exclusion, created through the repeated prefix *ex-*, retains its expressive force even if lines 16-27 did not originally belong to a single continuous passage. The insistent recurrence of the prefix in metrically prominent positions would likely have made a strong impression on the audience, who could readily perceive Alcmaeon's profound sense of deprivation each time he speaks.

Therefore, although *expectoro* and *exalbesco* follow common word-formation patterns when considered in isolation, they are classified here under "high-register morphology", since their formation actively contributes to an elaborate phonetic effect that extends across several fragments and is best interpreted as a feature of poetic stylisation.

Flammifer (*trag.* 25 *pestem abige a me, / flammiferam hanc uim quae me excruciat*) may be regarded as a high-register poetic coinage, since it is attested exclusively in elevated poetry both in EL and CL (*trag.* 25 being the sole EL occurrence). In addition, its word-formation pattern may itself contribute to poetic stylisation. Although compounds of the type noun stem[496] + verbal stem + *-o*/*-a* (type 1B in Oniga (1987) 88) are standard in EL and, contrary to Jocelyn's view (1967) 200, *-fer* compounds are not

[494] Moreover, *alb-* is the stem most frequently employed in Latin in words relating to the colour white (cf. André (1949) 25).
[495] Similarly the word *exanimatus* is attested exclusively in conversational contexts in EL (22 instances), and *expeto* conveys the meaning "attack" in only four further occurrences across EL and CL. Moreover, *expeto* (as well as *exalbesco*) may reflect the poetic Greek usage of prefixed verbs with preverb ἐκ- conveying the same meaning as their simplex counterparts (cf. n. 470).
[496] *Dulcifer* in *ann.* 448 is treated as a compound of uncommon rather than high-register morphology, since it is formed on an adjectival rather than a nominal stem, which in fact constittues an extremely rare word-formation pattern (cf. pp. 85-6).

demonstrably less frequent in comedy than in tragedy,[497] their use in prose and comedy generally occurs in stylistically marked contexts. In such genres, *-fer* compounds tend to appear in passages dispalying linguistic creativity (as in Nov. *Atell.* 38 *o pestifera portentifica trux tolutiloquentia*), in formal contexts (e.g *pestiferum* in the sacred inscription CIL 1.3181c), or at least alliterative pairings (as in Pompon. *Atell.* 74 *símile est, quasi cum in caelo fulgit propter lunam lucifer*). The only clear exceptions are the fossilised formations *furcifer* and *trifurcifer,* which occur frequently in Plautus and Terence (*furcifer* fifteen times in Plautus and four in Terence, *trifurcifer* three times in Plautus). As Maltby (2023) 261 observes, such compounds may therefore be considered typical of high-style poetic diction while remaining morphologically productive across different types of poetic texts.[498] Moreover, the noun forming the first element of the compound, *flamma,* exhibits a synchronic distribution in EL that approaches the threshold of poetic predominance (77%). Accordingly, Jocelyn (1967) 199 characterises *flamma* as a word of "elevated tone", noting its ten occurrences in tragedy as compared with four in comedy – contrasting with *ignis*, which appears only once in tragedy[499] but twenty-six times in comedy.

In the context of *trag.* 22-30, *flammifer* may contribute to conveying the speaker's confusion. The passage, cited in Cic. *ac.* 2.88 as an illustration of madness, presents Alcmaeon's frenzied attempt to describe the assault of the Furies and includes elements drawn from different registers: certain items associated with low registers or predominantly attested in conversational contexts (*expeto* at *trag.* 23 and *abigo* at *trag.* 24), alongside others displaying poetic stylisation (*caeruleus* at *trag.* 26, *crinitus* at *trag.* 28, and *auratus* at *trag.* 29).[500] Alternatively, the elevated elements of diction in this passage may reflect the speaker's formality towards a socially superior interlocutor. In discussing the passage, Cicero remarks *quid cum uirginis fidem implorat,* employing a term (*fides*), which, in Republican drama, often denotes the protective authority characteristic of the client-patron relationship. Accordingly, Jocelyn (1967) 187 argues that, if Cicero's phrase echoes Ennius' original wording, Alcmaeon may have been addressing a figure of higher social

[497] After applying the comedy parameter, the distribution is as follows: comedy 46.36%, tragedy 26.82%, and satire, epic, and prose 8.94% each.
[498] Arens (1950) 241-62, esp. 245-6, explains that in a language poor in compounds even relatively simple formations such as compounds in *-fer* – when compared to Greek compounds in –φορος – stand out as particularly stylised.
[499] Enn. *trag.* 26 *caerulae incincitae igni incedunt* – from the same fragment as *flammifer* – although *igni* might be corrupt (*angui* : Columna), Jocelyn (1967) 200-201 argues in favour of retaining it. In any case, Ennius may have selected *ignis* in this passage primarily to produce a highly alliterative effect.
[500] Additionally, Jocelyn (1967) 200-201 suggests that *pestis* (*trag.* 24) "may be a tragic hyperbole for *febris* or *morbus*", while *taeda* (*trag.* 27) functions as the tragic equivalent of *fax* (*taeda* occurring twice in tragedy and never in comedy, as against *fax*, which appears once in tragedy and five times in comedy).

status. Whether Alcmaeon's speech reflect his mental confusion or his deference towards an elevated interlocutor is difficult to determine, especially since Ennian tragedy frequently favours a broadly elevated poetic diction at the expenses of pragmatic realism more typical of the direct speech in the *Annals*. In any case, *flammifer* in *trag.* 26 may exemplify the kind of inflated artificiality often associated with certain *-fer* compounds, here employed to intensify the depiction of Alcmaeon's madness and perhaps also shaped by the decorum of addressing a socially superior listener or by the general high-poetic colouring of Ennius' tragic language.

2.3. Standard Morphology (Category TL 2.3)

This subcategory comprises stylised items formed according to word-formation patterns that are productive across a range of genres and contexts. Their use does not appear especially marked or overtly stylised. Accordingly, these items may be considered less distinctive than other stylised formations, though still more elevated than their neutral alternatives (cf. p. 89). The prevalence of such productive yet only moderately marked formations in the tragedies likely reflects Ennius' intention to maintain a restrained degree of linguistic diversity and creativity in his tragic diction.

Table TL 2.3. Lexical Items with Standard Morphology in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
abnuto[501]	290 TH	1b: 3 occurrences	*abnu*(*e*)*o*
adito	390 IN	1b: 1 occurrence	(*saepe*) *eo*
argutor	260 PH	1b: 8 occurrences	*disputo*
augifico	102 AN	1b: 1 occurrence	*augeo*
blandiloquentia	226 ME	1b: 1 occurrence	*blanditia*

[501] In *trag.* 290, *abnuto* occurs in the alliterative sequence *adiri abnutas*. Its proposed neutral alternative, *abnueo*, would, however, preserve the alliteration.

euiscero	296 TH	1b: 8 occurrences	*sine uisceribus* (*euisceratus*)
futtile[502]	263 PH	1b: 2 occurrences	*frustra*
guttatim	175 HE	1b: 4 occurrences	*continuo*
hostimentum	133 CR	1b: 3 occurrences	*merces*
inuestio	113 AD	1b: 3 occurrences	*tego*
laqueatus[503]	90 AN	1b: 9 occurrences	*laquearibus*
longinque	104 AN	1b: 3 occurrences	*procul*
nitido[504]	136 CR	1b: 4 occurrences	*expolio* (*-ire*)
proiecto	204 IP	1b: 1 occurrence	*obiurgo*
regifice	91 AN	1b: 2 occurrences	*regibus*
squalus[505]	276 TM	1b: 1 occurrence[506]	*spurcus*

Augifico (*trag.* 102 †*quid fit seditio tabesne an numerus*† *augificat* †*suos*†)[507] provides a particularly illustrative example of an item formed according to a standard word-formation pattern. Non. 76.1-2 M quotes the fragment with the gloss *augificat: auget. Ennius Andromacha*. On this reading, here *augifico* may be interepted in the sense of *augeo*, though the transmitted text of the quotation is corrupted. The causative suffix *-ficare*, one of the few productive verbal derivative suffixes in Latin, developed from the nominal suffix *-fex* or the adjectival suffix *-ficus*, gradually replacing the original causative suffix *-ē*, which had

[502] *Futtile* appears in the alliterative line *ut quod factum est futtile, amici, uos feratis fortiter*. Its proposed neutral alternative, *frustra*, however, would likewise preserve the alliteration.
[503] *Laqueatis* occurs in the threfoold homoeoptoton *tectis celatis laqueatis*. This sound-pattern, involving three consecutive words in the same case, may, however, be coincidental (cf. pp. 193-4).
[504] Maltby (2023) 256 suggests that *nitido* is a high-register formation, since it is attested only in tragedy in EL (in two similar contexts of washing at a fountain), and in Acc. *trag.* 601-2 it occurs in the same passage as the high-register compounds *quadrupedantum* and *sonipedum.* This evidence, however, does not appear sufficiently strong to support such a conclusion, and *nitido* is therefore classified under "standard morphology", as it follows a common word-formation pattern (i.e. a denominative verb in *-are*).
[505] *Squalus* occurs in the alliterative phrase *squalam et sordidam*. Its proposed neutral alternative, *spurcus*, would, however, preserve the alliteration. *Squalus* may be a back-formation from *squalere* (cf. Meister (1925) 41-2). Back-formation is a multifaceted phenomenon not confined to any particular genre or context, although it may occasionally be influenced by metrical constraints (cf. Brender (1920) 9-33, esp. 17-21).
[506] *Squale* in Pacuv. *trag.* 314 is excluded owing to the unsound state of the text.
[507] Lindsay (1903) 106 prints Non. 76.1-2 M (where *trag.* 102 is quoted) as *quid fit? seditió tabetne? an números augificát suos?* (*tabesne* : Lips.*; numerus* : ed. princ.).

become indistinguishable from its stative homophone (cf. Leumann (1977) 396; Fruyt (2011) 170-1; Maltby (2023) 261, who, however, notes that, although verbs in *-fico* originated "in the common language", in EL drama neo-formations following this word-formation pattern are restricted to tragedy). It is noteworthy that *augeo* itself is a causative verb ("to make greater") formed on the older suffix *-ē* (cf. Leumann (1977) 541). In EL, compounds in *-ficare* are productive and occur across a wide range of registers. Thus, although the creation of new derivatives inevitably involves some degree of stylistic intention (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 258), the stylistic markedness of *augifico* appears minimal.

Little further can be inferred about its stylistic colouring from the reconstructed context of the heavily corrupted *trag.* 102. Ennius' *Andromacha* probably dealt with the fate of the Trojan women after the fall of Troy (cf. e.g. Auhagen (2000b) 199-200), and *trag.* 102 – if the reconstruction reported in n. 507 is accepted – may refer either to the disagreements among the Greeks concerning the treatment of the captives (cf. Ribbeck (1875) 138-139) or to a possible uprising among the prisoners themselves (cf. Vahlen (1903^{2}) CIII). Neither scenario appears to require a particularly elevated register,[508] which may further support the relatively low stylistic markedness of the derivative *augifico*.

3. Other and Doubtful Stylisation (Category TL 3)

This category comprises items that exhibit a stylised distribution or frequency, yet whose precise type of stylisation does not correspond to the preceding patterns or remains indeterminate.

Table TL 3.1. Lexical Items with Other and Doubtful Stylisation in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Item	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
almus[509]	350 IN	1a: prayers 5/5	ornamental adjective

[508] If Lindsay's reading is retained, *tabet* should be noted as a low-frequency poetic term (seven out of eight occurrences are in poetic texts in EL and CL), here used in an otherwise unattested figurative sense (cf. OLD *s.u.* 1898).
[509] In *trag.* 350, *almus* is embedded in the alliterative pair *alma apta*. The passage, however, forms part of a prayer, aligning with the conventional use of *almus* in such contexts. *Almus* was therefore probably employed to reproduce the register of prayer rather than for phonetic effects and is accordingly is classified not under "poetic stylisation" but under "other and doubtful stylisation".

		(100%)	
concubium	181 HE	1b: 4 occurrences	*concubitus*
conglomero[510]	302 TH	1b: 5 occurrences	*confero*
praeter propter	202 IP	1b: 4 occurrences[511]	*fere*
russus	344 IN	1b: 9 occurrences	*ruber*[512]

In *trag.* 181 *quae tibi in concubio uerecunde et modice morem gerit*, the lexeme ***concubium*** functions as a sexual euphemism – a type of stylisation that falls outside the patterns examined in this chapter. The noun *concubium* occurs only four times across EL and CL, and only twice as a modest allusion to sexual intercourse (Enn. *trag.* 181 and Gell. 9.10.4).[513] Although the euphemistic verbs *cubo* and *concubo* are relatively frequent in EL – particularly, in comedy,[514] a genre that often deals with sexual themes – their nominal derivatives are rare. Beyond *concubium* in Enn. *trag.* 181, only one instance each of *cubitus*, *concubitus*, and *cubitura* is attested. Both *cubitus* and *concubitus* occur in the *Amphitruo* (1122 and 1136, respectively), referring to Jupiter's intercourse with Alcmena. *Cubitura* is attested in *Cist.* 379, where the prostitute Gymnasion plays on the *-ura* suffix shared with *cursura* (*pol ad cubituram, mater, magis sum exercita* / *fere quam ad cursuram. eo sum tardiuscula*).

The sparse attestations of these terms in EL make it difficult to reconstruct their usage with certainty. Nevertheless, it is possible to infer that *concubitus* was likely the most widely accepted form. The semantic salience of the prefix *con-* in this context may have contributed to the preference for *concubium* and *concubitus* over *cubitus* and *cubitura*, the latter being a hapax legomenon evidently coined for comic effect. Moreover, *concubium* may not have been widely employed as a sexual euphemism because it could carry a

[510] Maltby (2023) 256 regards *conglomero* as a specifically tragic formation.
[511] The phrase *praeter propter* (sometimes written as a single word, *praeterpropter*) is attested only at Gell. 19.10.4-13, where it occurs seven times and forms the subject of a discussion on its usage and meaning. Gellius reports its use in a conversation with friends and claims that it was also employed by Cato, Varro, and many others of that period. He further cites Enn. *trag.* 195-202 (from the *Iphigenia*). I have counted four occurrences of the expression in total: one each in Gellius (the remaining six instances occurring in a metalinguistic context or as quotations from other authors), Ennius, Cato, and Varro.
[512] *Russus* appears to denote a specific, particularly vivid, shade of *ruber* (cf. André (1949) 83-4). Accordingly, *ruber* may be considered as a hypernym of *russus*.
[513] It is also attested twice in LL with this meaning: Schol. Iuv. 3.17 and Sulp. Sev. *chron.* 1.11.1.
[514] Cf. Preston (1916) 32 and Adams (1982) 177.

degree of semantic ambiguity. The expression *concubia nocte* (and its variant *concubium noctis*) is commonly used in EL simply to denote the late hours of the night when people are asleep, without any sexual implication (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 100.77-101.9).[515] By contrast, *concubitus* is consistently attested as a sexual innuendo across a range of genres in CL.[516]

Trag. 181 is spoken by Hecuba, who implores Agamemnon to avenge the murder of Polydorus for Cassandra's sake, and the fragment is traditionally regarded as part of Ennius' adaptation of Eur. *Hec.* 824-35 (cf. Ribbeck (1875) 144-5; Jocelyn (1967) 315). In her plea, Hecuba assures Agamemnon that Cassandra will behave towards him not merely as a concubine, but with the loyalty and obedience expected of a wife. In both Greek and Roman cultures, the euphemistic expression to "sleep with" (*in concubio*) typically refers to sexual relations within marriage (cf. Adams (1982) 177-8). Moreover, female sexual obedience (*morem gerit*, itself a further euphemism; cf. Williams (1958) 20; Traina (1970) 141) and restraint (*uerecunde et modice*) were traditionally regarded as a wifely virtues.[517] Within this framework, it is plausible that Ennius considered *concubitus*[518] too familiar – and therefore too explicit – to convey the restraint appropriate to Hecuba's speech[519] and the modesty associated with Cassandra. He may therefore have replaced the more conventional euphemism *concubitus* with the rarer (and perhaps unprecedented) *concubium*.[520] If so, *concubium* would represent a case of "over-euphemism" – that is, a more obscure euphemism substituted for one that had become too explicit – and would thus constitute a stylistic choice falling within the category of "other and doubtful types of stylisation".

By contrast, Della Casa (1962) 67-9 and Scafoglio (2007) 279-80 argue that *trag.* 181 contains no sexual allusion, although they arrive at this conclusion for different – yet not mutually exclusive – reasons. Della Casa (1962) 67-9 mantains that Ennius could not have implied that Hecuba exploited Cassandra's sexual

[515] Traina (1970) 140 argues that in such expressions the prefix *con-* is "prefettivo e non sociativo".
[516] For other euphemisms referring to the sexual act, see Adams (1982) 118-208.
[517] Williams (1958) 20 argues that the wifely virtues in *trag.* 181 constitute an original Ennian addition to Euripides' "*Troad.* 826 ff." (perhaps intending *Hec.* 826 ff.), while Jocelyn (1967) 315-6 maintains that the passage reflects the para-marital relationship between Cassandra and Agamemnon mentioned at Eur. *Hec.* 834-5 τοῦτον καλῶς δρῶν ὄντα κηδεστὴν σέθεν / δράσεις.
[518] *Concubio* and *concubitu* are ecdotically similar, but this does not justify replacing the former with the latter. Two manuscripts of Non. 342.32 M, quoting *trag.* 181, read the *vox nihili cubio.*
[519] According to Röser (1939) 32 and Della Casa (1962) 68-69, Hecuba's morally charged modesty reflects Roman sensibilities. Traina (1970) 140-1, by contrast, argues that her phrasing is better understood in light of her role as Cassandra's mother.
[520] For similar alterations of common phrases, cf. e.g. *contulit sese in pedes* (p. 160) and, possibly, *mi ausculta* (pp. 179-80).

submission to Agamemnon in order to secure his assistance in avenging Polydorus' death, since such a portrayal would reduce Hecuba to the level of a Plautine *laena*. She therefore emphasises that *morem gerere* may also carry a non-allusive meaning. On this basis, Della Casa concludes that the surviving fragments of Ennius' *Hecuba* do not clarify what persuaded Agamemnon to support Hecuba, but that Cassandra's sexual compliance cannot plausibly have been the determining factor. Scafoglio (2007) 279-80, by contrast, suggests that a mother would hardly be expected to allude to sexual matters when speaking of her daughter. He accordingly interprets the phrase *in concubio* not as a euphemism but simply as meaning "at night", in line with expressions such as *concubia nocte* and *concubium noctis*. Furthermore, he contends that this interpretation resolves the apparent inconsistency between a sexually suggestive phrase and the moralising adverbs *uerecunde et modice*.

Nevertheless, the suggestion that either *morem gerit* or *in concubio* may be interpreted in a non-allusive sense does not appear conclusive. Euphemistic expressions, by their nature, allow for multiple interpretations. Indeed, as noted above, the very obscurity of the allusion in the phrase *in concubio*[521] may enhance its suitability to Hecuba's modesty. It seems unlikely that Ennius did not intend some reference to sexual relations in a line containing two expressions that can function as sexual euphemisms, particularly in a context where concubinage is implicitly at stake. I therefore suggest that both *morem gerit* and *in concubio* represent instances of highly restrained language – especially the latter – perhaps, as Traina (1970) 141 proposes, moderated by the presence of the moralising adverbs *uerecunde et modice*. At the same time, these expressions need not be regarded as entirely devoid of sexual reference. Such an intepretation does not diminish Hecuba's speech, which remains consistent with the decorum expected of a Roman *matrona* speaking about her daughter.

Similarly, the phrase ***praeter propter*** (or *praeterpropter*) in Enn. *trag*. 202 *incerte errat animus, praeter propter uitam uiuitur* may represent a further instance of socio-dramatic characterisation, specifically a low-register expression reflecting the speech of the chorus of soldiers of the *Iphgenia* (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 333-7). Although such instances are attested less frequently than in the *Annals*, examples of socio-dramatic characterisation (cf. above on Hecuba's restrained language) are nevertheless found in the tragedies. This, in

[521] That *concubium* may also denote sexual intercourse is demonstrated by Gellius' unambiguously allusive use of the term in his discussion of euphemistic language in literature (9.10.4).

turn, illustrates the limitations of constructing linguistic profiles of the different Ennian corpora on the basis of their surviving fragments. Accordingly, the conclusion advanced throughout this thesis – that the *Annals* exhibit a more diverse and inclusive linguistic repertoire, whereas the tragedies display a less flexible and more consistently elevated register – should be understood as identifying broad linguistic and stylistic tendencies rather than establishing strict rules.

Enn. *trag.* 195-202[522] is preserved in Gell. 19.10, where the discussion is devoted specifically to the meaning and usage of *praeter propter* (cf. also n. 511). In this passage, which in fact contains all instances of *praeter propter* in Latin, Gellius recounts a debate about the phrase involving Cornelius Fronto, Julius Celsinus, an unidentified but supposedly reputed grammarian, and other interlocutors. The discussion arose from the expression of Fronto's acquaintances in a casual conversation about the costs of constructing a bathhouse. This speaker claimed that the phrase was widely used, although he was uncertain of its exact meaning – which appears to have been "more or less", and in Enn. *trag.* 202 perhaps specifically "in an approximate manner" – and therefore proposed consulting a grammarian. The grammarian, apparently unable to explain the expression, dismissed the matter on the grounds that it was either plebeian or technical. Fronto, however, objected that in antiquity, *praeter propter* had been employed *ut necessario et Latino* by Cato, Varro, and many others. Julius Celsinus added that Ennius had used the expression in a passage from his *Iphigenia* resembling a philosophical dialogue (Enn. *trag.* 195-202). The primary aim of Fronto's and Celsinus' argumentation is to refute the grammarian's claim that the expression *praeter propter* is unworthy of discussion because it is merely colloquial or belongs to the technical jargon of builders.

Although *praeter propter* does not occur in EL authors who frequently employ colloquial or low-register expressions, such as Plautus and Lucilius, thereby seemingly supporting Fronto's and Celsinus' rejection of its classification as colloquial, an analysis of *trag*. 195-202 may instead lend support to Gellius' grammarian's interpretation that praeter propter is indeed "plebeian" (i.e. low-register). *Trag*. 195-202 is uttered by the soldiers forming the chorus of the *Iphigenia*, who complain about their enforced idleness: for men such as these, who are unaccustomed to *otium* (for this aspect of the characterisation of soldiers in

[522] *Otio qui nescit uti / plus negoti habet quam cum est negotium in negotio. / Nam cui quod agat institutum est †in illis† negotium, / id agit, <id> studet, ibi mentem atque animum delectat suum; / †otioso initio† animus nescit quid uelit. / Hoc idem est: em neque domi nunc nos nec militiae sumus. / Imus huc, hinc illuc; cum illuc uentum est, ire illinc lubet. / Incerte errat animus, praeter propter uitam uiuitur.*

Greek literature, cf. Jocelyn (1967) 335), *otium* is more burdensome than *negotium*. The opening of the passage displays several philosophical features, which Celsinus, in Gellius' passage, does not fail to recognise. These include both the subject matter itself and a number of stylistic features, such as the repeated use of the key terms *otium* and *negotium*, together with the statement *incerte errat animus* (cf. also Jocelyn (1967) 337). At the same time, however, when the soldiers turn to illustrate their predicament, they adopt a markedly simple style (cf. Mariotti (1951) 119): *hoc idem est*; the interjection *em* (cf. Luck (1964) 52); the repeated use of simple adverbs and verbs of motion in *imus huc, hinc illuc, cum illuc uentum est, ire illuc lubet*; and the quasi-proverbial conclusion *praeter propter uitam uiuitur*, featuring the scarcely attested, but probably low-register, accusative with the "impersonal passive" uitam uiuitur (cf. Rovai (2007) 51-64, esp. 54). It is therefore possible that, after indulging in philosophical reflections, the soldiers shift to a plain, low-register style in order to illustrate their present condition. Taken together with Gellius' interpretation that *praeter propter* was regarded wither as a technical or "plebeian" expression, these considerations may suggest that the phrase is indeed a low-register usage reflecting both the language of the *personae loquentes* and its immediate context of use.

Semantics

General overview

This section aims to identify the stylised semantic usages of lexical items in Ennius' tragedies. The same methodology and provisos adopted for the corresponding section on the *Annals* are applied here (cf. pp. 96-8). Specifically, a semantic usage of a lexical item is considered stylised when the meaning conveyed by that item is attested within a single genre or context in at least 80% of its occurrences (criterion of synchronic distribution), or when its total attestation across EL and CL – up to 200 AD – amounts to fewer than ten instances (criterion of low frequency). For example, the use of *taenia* in the sense of "[honorary] headband" at *trag.* 67 and *sospes* in the sense of "saviour" at *trag.* 377 are treated as stylised semantic usages of lexical items. The former satisfies the criterion of synchronic distribution, since in EL it occurs predominantly in poetic texts (89.01% of the instances, with the comedy parameter applied), whereas the latter meets the criterion of low frequency, being attested only once with this meaning in EL and CL.

Most of the stylised semantic usages discussed in this section are conveyed by otherwise neutral lexical items. For example, the meaning "fire [of a torch]" of the lexical item *incendium* is considered stylised, as this sense is attested only at *trag.* 41 in EL and CL. The lexeme *incendium* itself, however, remains neutral: when its occurrences are considered independently of whatever meaning it carries, it is relatively frequent and not restricted to any specific genre or context. Nevertheless, five stylised semantic usages are conveyed by lexical items that are themselves stylised – that is, words displaying a significant synchronic distribution or low frequency regardless of the meaning they bear in individual occurrences. These include *fremitus* in the sense "liquid" (*trag.* 394); *fornix* in the sense "sky" (*trag.* 319); *optumas* in the sense "[foreign] noblewoman" (*trag.* 34); *prognatus* in the sense "grandchild" (*trag.* 291); and *respecto* in the sense "look at" (*trag.* 71) – for *facesso*, cf. n. 83. In such cases, the semantic analysis takes precedence over the lexical one. Accordingly, although these lexemes might fall within the macroarea of "stylised

lexicon", their occurrences are instead examined under "stylised semantics". For example, in EL the lexical item *fremitus* occurs predominantly in poetic texts and is therefore treated as a stylised lexical item in the analysis of the *Annals*, where it is used in its primary meaning of "roar". Yet across EL and CL only at *trag.* 394 does *fremitus* refer synaesthetically to rushing water. This semantic specificity indicates that *fremitus* in *trag.* 394 should not be analysed primarily as a poetical lexical item but rather in terms of its synaesthetic semantic usage (cf. pp. 243-4).

Finally, some words convey with a stylised meaning and occur within a phonetic cluster, typically an alliterative phrase. In such cases, the phonetic dimension of the passage's stylisation is prioritised, and the usage is classified under the broader category of "poetic stylisation" regardless of its synchronic distribution (for the particular treatment of items and usages occurring in "phono-pathetic" clusters as elements of poetic stylisation, cf. pp. 143-5). For example, in *trag.* 308 *ibi quid agat secum cogitate parat putat*, the verbs *parat* and *putat* are used in the stylised sense of "scheme, come up with" (a meaning attested exclusively in conversational texts and contexts). At the same time, the words appear in a synonymic and alliterative pairing. In this instance, the phonetic structure of the phrase is given priority in the analysis, and both *paro* and *puto* in the sense of "scheme" are therefore classified under "poetic stylisation".

I have identified 60 stylised semantic usages in Ennius' tragedies.[523] These have been classified into five patterns, broadly corresponding to those employed in the section on the semantics of the

[523] The use of *indo* in the sense "give a name" (attested twice in *trag.* 99 and once in Enn. *Euh. fr*. 6) is noteworthy, but does not appear to be stylised and is therefore excluded. The lexical item *indo* (regardless of meaning) occurs ninety-nine times in EL: seventy-two times in Cato's *de agri cultura* (84.57% of occurrences when the comedy parameter is included), once in Cato's *Origines*, once in Quadrigarius, twenty-two times in Plautus, twice in Ennius' *Andromacha*, and once in Ennius' *Euhemerus*. In all occurrences in Cato and Quadrigarius, and in twelve of those in Plautus, *indo* is used in its primary sense "put", "pour", or "insert". It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Ennius was not imitating Cato or prose writers more generally when employing *indo* in the specific sense "give a name"; rather, this usage must be examined from a semantic perspective. This meaning, attested thirteen times in EL, occurs predominantly in dramatic texts (twelve instances: ten in Plautus and two in Ennius' *Andromacha*; 85.83% when the comedy parameter is applied). This usage does not, however, appear to reflect any particular stylisation, since EL lacked a neutral alternative verb meaning "give a name". Indeed, expressions conveying this meaning occur only three times in EL: *impono* (once in Cato and once in Sulla) and *do* (once in Cato). Both alternatives are too sparsely attested to be regarded as standard EL substitutes for *indo*, especially given that Cato, who adopts once *impono* and once *do* with this meaning, consistently uses *indo* in its core sense "insert" and was unlikely to employ it in other meanings. Similarly, Plautus entirely avoids *impono* and *do* in the sense "give a name", presumably because he did not consider them viable alternatives for semantic rather than stylistic reasons (*dare nomen* in *Pseud*. 1100 means "enrol"). The relatively high

Annals, with minor adjustments. The patterns used to categorise the stylised semantic usages in the tragedies are: "etymological meaning", "poetic stylisation", "technical stylisation", "stylised calques", and "stylised usages featuring tropes". In addition, the residual category "other and doubtful stylisation" includes stylised usages that do not clearly conform to any of the other patterns.

The first pattern "etymological meaning" comprises usages in which a word is employed in its etymological yet stylised sense, that is, a meaning that transparently reflects the semantic root of the item but survives only in specific genres or contexts, or is otherwise rare. For example, the etymological meaning of *asper* is "physically rough" (the sense conveyed at *trag.* 296 and 379) rather than "harsh". The latter, however, is the more common meaning in Latin, while the former appears to be largely confined to poetic usage and may therefore be regarded as stylised. This category also includes compounds and derived forms used in a sense that reflects the compositional meaning of their elements rather than their later idiomatic development, and which are similarly rare or largely restricted to a particular genre or context. Thus, *insulto* at *trag.* 124 conveys the sense "enter while jumping or dancing" (*in+salto*), a meaning predominantly attested in poetry, rather than the more common sense "insult" that the verb presumably acquired later in Latin.

Although a word's etymological meaning most likely chronologically precedes its figurative one, this does not necessarily imply that the etymological sense represents archaic stylisation. In fact, none of the usages included in this pattern can be securely classified as "archaic", since they do not occur in overtly archaising contexts either in Ennius' tragedies or elsewhere in EL – for the problematic cases of *statim* meaning "steadfastly", *cerno* meaning "fight", and *tam* meaning "however", see pp. 211-3, 216-20, and 251-2, respectively. For this reason, the descriptive label of "etymological meaning" has been adopted in this pattern in preference to "archasing stylisation",

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frequency of expressions meaning "give a name" in Plautus' comedies is likely to have been encouraged by his fondness for wordplay (cf. e.g. Petersmann (1973) 123). It follows that the usage of *indo* in the sense "give a name" in both *trag.* 99 and *Euh. fr*. 6 does not appear to be stylised.

which would imply a stylistic, literary, and linguistic interpretation that remains necessarily tentative. This apparent absence of clear semantic archaisms in the tragedies parallels the lack of archaic lexemes in their vocabulary, although it is not matched by the evidence for archaic morphology (cf. pp. 15-9).

The second pattern "poetic stylisation" comprises usages that appear to reflect specifically Latin poetic stylisation.[524] As in the analysis of the tragic lexicon, the term "poetic stylisation" is used here in a broad sense: it includes not only usages that may be strictly regarded as poetic on the basis of their synchronic distribution, but also stylised meanings of lexical items embedded within phonetic clusters (cf. p. 143-5). The priority accorded to the phonological dimension in the analysis of lexical items conveying any stylised semantic usage withn clear and elaborate phonetic clusters is even more evident here than in the preceding analysis of lexical items that retain their usual meaning within similar clusters. In such cases, the pursuit of a particular sound effect leads to a semantic shift, or at least to the selection of a less common but attested meaning of the lexical item.

The third pattern "technical stylisation" comprises usages that appear characteristic of specialised jargons and may evoke professional or technical modes of expression. As with other instances of technical stylisation, these usages are identified through a combination of contextual considerations and semantic specificity.

The fourth pattern "semantic calques" comprises usages involving the translation or adaptation of a foreign model. This pattern is subdivided into three categories: "literary calques", "non-literary calques", and "Romanising calques". The first category "literary calques" includes usages that can be traced to earlier Greek literary sources. The second, "non-literary calques", encompasses usages that entered Latin through everyday linguistic contact between Rome and other cultures, rather than through direct literary borrowing. The category of "Romanising calques" involves the use of Latin terms rooted in Roman cultural and social institutions to describe Greek concepts within Greek

[524] However, semantic usages involving tropes are included in the fifth pattern.

narrative contexts. This category represents a distinctive feature of the semantics of the tragedies (cf. pp. 230-2 and n. 573).

The fifth pattern "stylised usages featuring tropes" comprises usages involving semantic tropes for which identifiable parallels exist in earlier literary texts. As in the corresponding section of the analysis of the *Annals*, the search for similar occurrences in earlier literary sources does not focus on the type of trope involved (e.g. metaphor, synecdoche), but on the specific semantic usage itself (cf. pp. 127-8). For instance, the metaphorical use of *uillosus* meaning "covered in" at *trag.* 384 is included in this pattern because it is unattested before Ennius, even though metaphor as a rhetorical device was undoubtedly in circulation earlier. As in the *Annals*, similes and conceptual metaphors are excluded from this pattern, since the former do not alter the intrinsic meaning of the word and the latter represent a conventional, and therefore non-stylised, usage (cf. pp. 34-5, 97 and 127). In the tragedies, this pattern includes instances of hyperbole, metaphor, metonymy, personification, synecdoche, and synaesthesia.

Finally, a residual category of "other and doubtful stylisation" includes stylised semantic usages that do not fit within the pattern-based classification outlined above. The categorisation adopted in this section is intended primarily to provide an approximate and general framework for analysising the stylised semantics of Ennius' tragedies. Consequently, overlaps between categories may occur, and the attributions of particular usages to specific patterns may be open to alternative interpretations.

1. Etymological Meaning (Category TS 1)

This pattern comprises stylised usages of lexical items in their etymological sense. Words at times develop figurative meanings alongside their original ones. In some cases, the figurative meaning eventually supplants the etymological sense, rendering the latter obsolete or archaic. For

example, in contemporary English, “sad” is now obsolete in its original literal sense of “sated”, but neutral in its figurative sense of “doleful”, while “full” has become the standard term expressing the concept of “sated”. In other cases, the etymological meaning may remain as current as the figurative one. Thus, in contemporary English “way” functions as a neutral term both for “method” and for “route”. Finally, the etymological sense may become restricted to particular contexts (and therefore stylised) without becoming obsolete, while the figurative sense becomes the more frequent and neutral usage. For instance, in contemporary English “regard” is used in its etymological sense of “look” primarily in formal contexts, yet it is not obsolete, whereas its figurative sense of “consider” is more common and stylistically neutral.[525]

This pattern includes usages in which words appear in their etymological sense, where that sense is rarely employed or restricted to particular types of texts or contexts (such as poetic or conversational), yet without display in clear archaic stylisation. The pattern comprises five clear instances and one uncertain case (*statim* meaning “steadfastly” at *trag.* 15, cf. pp. 211-3). A representative example of this pattern is *asper*: in EL, its etymological meaning “rough (to the touch)” appears to be largely confined to poetry, whereas its figurative sense shows no significant synchronic distribution. A specific subcategory within this pattern includes compound and derived forms used in their etymological sense – that is, a meaning transparently arising from the combination of prefix and root – rather than in their more common figurative or idiomatic meanings. Examples include *increpo*, meaning “strike with sounds” (*trag.* 305) rather than “offend” or “reproach”; *iners* meaning “unskilled” rather than “idle” (*trag.* 266); and *insulto*, meaning “enter while jumping or dancing” (*trag.* 124) rather than “insult”. In these cases the etymological sense remains largely restricted to poetry (*insulto*), becomes comparatively rare (*iners*), or both (*increpo*).

[525] Cf. Sihler (2000) 113-5.

Table TS 1. Stylised Etymological Usages in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
asper	rough (to the touch)	296 TH[526] 379 IN	1a: poetry 8/10 (85.38%)	*scaber*
gratulor	give thanks	176 HE	1a: conversational contexts 6/7 (80.43%)	*gratias ago*
increpo	strike with sounds	305 TH	1a: poetry 5/6 (83.33%) CL	(*sonando*) *percutio*
iners	unskilled	266 TM	1b: 6 occurrences	*sine arte*
insulto	enter while jumping or dancing	124 AT	1a: poetry 22/27 (81.48%) CL	*salto*
statim	steadfastly	15 AI	1b: 6 occurrences	*firmiter*

The use of ***statim*** in its etymological sense "steadfastly" at *trag.* 15 *qui rem Achiuis gesserunt statim* (from the *Aiax*), as argued by Non. 393.7 M, who quotes the fragment, is difficult to define with certainty, since it remains unclear whther this usage was neutral or stylised in EL. The etymological sense of *statim* derives from the stem of *stare*, and appears to be the more common in EL. The alternative sense "immediately" – probably a later development[527] and eventually the predominant meaning – is also attested in EL, though less frequently and primarily in prose contexts.[528] Nonius maintains that the form occurring in Ter. *Phorm.* 789, Plaut. *Amph.* 239 and 276, Enn. *trag.* 15, and Afran. *com.* 11, with the meaning

[526] Legend. AC: *Achilles*; AD: *Andromeda*; AI: *Aiax*; AL: *Alexander*; AM: *Alcmeo*; AN: *Andromacha*; AT: *Athamas*; CR: *Cresphontes*; ER: *Erechteus*; EU: *Eumenides*; HE: *Hecuba*; HL: *Hectoris Lytra*; IP: *Iphigenia*; ME: *Medea*; ML: *Melanippa*; NE: *Nemea*; PH: *Phoenix*; TM: *Telamo*; TP: *Telephus*; TH: *Thyestes*; IN: *incerta*.

[527] Cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u. sto* 652.

[528] Whatever its meaning, the absence of *stătim* from hexametric verse is due to prosodic constraints. The form *stătim* renders the final syllable of the preceding word long by position owing to the *st-* cluster and thus – together with the short *stă-* and the long *-tim* – produces a cretic. The alteration a cretic sequence through the ecthlipsis of final *-m* is not usual in Latin poetry (cf. Axelson (1945) 20). Accordingly, in EL and CL *statim* does not occur in hexametric verse but is also relatively rare even in texts metrical forms (21 occurrences vs. 328 in Cicero's corpus alone).

"steadfastly", derives from *stare* and should be reas as *stātim*, distinct from *stătim* meaning "immediately". However, the stem of *stare* is *stă-*, as shown by the supine *stătum*. Moreover, the scansion *stātim* in Ter. *Phorm.* 789 and Enn. *trag.* 15 has been strongly questioned (cf. Lindsay (1922) 218; Jocelyn (1967) 184, respectively). Nonius' distinction therefore appears unreliable, and it is possible that the two forms were in fact homophonous.

In any case, in EL *statim* appears with the meaning "steadfastly" in six out of nine occurrences (Enn. *trag.* 15; Plaut. *Amph.* 239 and 276; Ter. *Phorm.* 790; Afran. *com.* 11; Acc. *carm. frg.* 14.1 from the *Didascalicon*). In two instances it means "on the spot" or "immediately" (Cato, *agr.* 83.1 and Sisenna, *hist.* 100), while in one passage the meaning remains uncertain (Sisenna, *hist.* 42 *omnia quae diximus loca statim potitus*), although "immediately" seems the more likely interpretation.

The meaning "steadfastly" of *statim* occurs in a heterogeneous range of contexts that appear to share little in common. Five attestations occur in dramatic texts (one tragedy and four comedies) and one in a poetic work on dramatic production (Accius' *Didascalicon*), which is insufficient to classify the usage as restricted to conversational contexts. In Plaut. *Amph.* 239 *statim rem gerat* and Enn. *trag.* 15 *qui rem cum Achiuis gesserunt statim, statim* appears in military contexts.[529] By contrast, Plaut. *Amph.* 276 *ita statim stant signa, neque nox quoquam concedit die* occurs in Sosia's somewhat magniloquent description of the night's slow progress – note the soundplay in *statim stant signa, neque nox quoquam* and *concedit die*. This passage may contain an allusion to Jupiter and Alcmena's prolonged intercourse (cf. Christenson (2000) 196), and is therefore far removed from a military context. *Statim* also appears in a similar, though less striking, alliterative phrase in Acc. *carm. frg.* 14.1 *uectigalia legerant uestra, et seruantur statim*. Finally, in Ter. *Phorm.* 789-90 *nam ex eis praediis talenta argenti bina* / *statim capiebat* and Afran. *com.* 10-11 *quamquam non istis exercetur ín locis* / *hic noster, delaborat cum puera statim*, the term does not occur in clearly stylised contexts. Moreover, none of these passages suggests an overtly archaising usage. Accordingly, the precise stylistic status of *statim* in the sesne "steadfastly" remains uncertain.

Conversely, in EL the meaning "immediately" of *statim* does not appear to occur consistently in any particular stylised context either, apart from prose texts (for the avoidance of *statim* in hexaemtric poetry, see

[529] Given their similarity, the two passages may have influenced one another or may both allude to the same phrase, *statim rem gerere*.

n. 528). In Cato, *agr.* 83.1 *ubi res diuina*[*s*] *facta erit, statim ibidem consumito,* the term occurs within instructions for a ritual sacrifice for oxen, yet the passage does not display distinctly religious language. By contrast, Sisenna *hist.* 100 *quo uoto damnati fetum omnem dicuntur eius anni statim consecrasse* appears to belong to a description of a legal procedure and includes several (para-)legal terms (*uotum, damnatus, consecro*). Finally, Sisenna *hist.* 42 *omnia quae diximus loca statim potitus,* in which *statim* likely means "immediately" though it is not certain, is perhaps set in a military context. Thus, the meaning "immediately" of *statim* does not seem to be restricted to any particular context either. The stylistic status of either meaning of *statim* therefore remains uncertain. Nevertheless, the clear distribution of the two meanings of *statim* in CL – where "steadfastly" is unattested, in contrast to roughly 1,300 occurrences of *statim* meaning "immediately" – suggests that even in EL the etymological sense "steadfastly" may have carried some degree of stylistic markedness.

2. Poetic Stylisation (Category TS 2)

The second pattern "poetic stylisation" comprises two types of stylised usage. First, there are lexical items employed with meanings perceived as characteristic of poetic diction, as suggested by their synchronic distribution. These usages do not have identifiable Greek antecedents[530] nor involve conventional semantic tropes. Poetic usages with Greek antecedents are instead classified under the fourth pattern, "stylised calques", whereas those involving tropes are included in the fifth pattern, "stylised usages featuring tropes". Only *cerno* in the sense of "fight" is included in this type of stylisation.

Secondly, this pattern includes words employed in stylised meanings – namely, meanings that are rare or predominantly attested within a particular text or context – and embedded within clear and elaborate phonetic clusters. As previously noted (cf. pp. 143-5), Ennius' tragedies display a

[530] None of the stylised usages found in Ennius' tragedies occur in the surviving tragic fragments of Livius Andronicus or Naevius. By contrast, *gratulor* in the sense of *gratias ago* (trag. 176) also appears in Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* (*carm. frg.* 24M), and *tam* in the sense of *tamen* (*trag.* 380) is attested at Naev. *com.* 131. Nevertheless, given the extremely limited extent of the surviving corpus of the tragedies in Greek dress by Livius Andronicus and Naevius (forty-one and sixty-two lines, respectively), this absence of correspondences may be purely coincidental.

structured use of soundplay, aimed at intensify passages of heightened emotional pathos. The presence of lexical items within such clusters therefore reflects a broader form of "poetic stylisation" understood not in opposition to "prose stylisation" (which may also involve a similar system of "phono-pathetic" correspondences), but as distinct from unmarked diction. In the case of stylised semantic usages occurring within such clusters, the "phono-pathetic" dimension of the passage's poetic stylisation becomes even more evident, as it may involve the selection of meanings that are non-standard or rare. For example, *delecto* is used in the sense "deceive" (a meaning attested only twice across EL and CL) rather than "delight" at *trag.* 303 *set me Apollo ipse delectat ductat Delphicus,* where it contributes to the threefold alliteration *delectat ductat Delphicus*. This phonetic effect would be diminished if the more usual term for "deceive", *fallo,* were employed instead. Usages of words embedded in such phonetic clusters are included in this pattern even where they overlap with other categories – such as "semantic calques", if they exhibit Greek antecedents, or "stylised usages featuring tropes", if they involve semantic tropes – since the "phono-pathetic" dimension of their stylisation is given priority in the analysis. All instances of semantic occurring within phonetic clusters and/or exhibiting Greek antecedents or involving tropes are, in any case, explicitly flagged in the footnotes.

Since the "poetic" character of stylised items and usages occurring within "phono-pathetic" clusters has already been discussed at length (cf. pp. 143-5), the usages included in this pattern on account of their phonetic contribution are treated briefly in the footnotes. By contrast, the case of *cerno* requires more extensive discussion and is therefore analysed in the main body of this section.

Table TS 2. Semantic Usages of Poetic Stylisation in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
cauus[531]	sky	96 AN, 250 ML	1b: 3 occurrences	*caelum*
cerno	fight	166 HL; 232 ME	1a: poetry 6/6 (100%)[532]	*certo*
cortina[533]	sky	366 IN	1b: 1 occurrence	*caelum*
delecto[534]	deceive	303 TH	1b: 2 occurrences	*fallo*
expeto[535]	assault	23 AM	1b:5 occurrences	*peto*
faueo[536]	use	344 IN	1b: 1 occurrence	*utor*
foedo[537]	wound	399 IN	1a: poetry 8/10 (80%)	*cruento*
macto[538]	affect	287 TP	1a: conversational contexts 14/14 (100%)	*adficio*
paro[539]	plan	308 TH	1a: conversational contexts 7/7 (100%)	*fingo*
puto[540]	devise	308 TH	1a: conversational	*machinor*

[531] In *trag.* 96 and 250, *cauus* occurs in the metaphorical and alliterative expressions *caua caeli* and *caua caerula*, two of Ennius' recurring (often alliterative) periphrases for the sky. The suggested neutral alternative is therefore simply *caelum* (cf. n. 98). In *trag.* 250, the alliteration is extended in *caua caerula candent*.

[532] Plaut. *Bacch.* 399 and *Cas.* 516 are not included, as *cerno* ("fight") occurs within a fixed phrase: *nunc specimen specitur, nunc certamen cernitur*.

[533] In *trag.* 365-6, *cortina* occurs in the alliterative expression *in corpore caua caeruleo / caeli cortina*, one of Ennius' most original periphrasis for the sky. The suggested neutral alternative is therefore simply *caelum* (cf. n. 98).

[534] In *trag.* 303, *delecto* is embedded in the alliterative sequence *delectat ductat Delphicus*.

[535] *Expeto* is embedded in an elaborate system of phonetic correspondences (*trag.* 16-25), based on the prefix *ex-* and aimed at emphasising Alcmaeon's exclusion from civic life following his matricide (cf. pp. 194-5),

[536] In *trag.* 344, *faueo* occurs in the alliterative sequence *fauent faucibus*.

[537] In *trag.* 399, *foedo* is used in the alliterative sequence *ferro foedati*.

[538] The use of *macto* ("honour" or "sacrifice") in *trag.* 287 *qui illum di deaeque magno mactassint malo* is oxymoronic, in that an auspicious word is employed in an inauspicious context (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 411), and also because it denotes an action directed from the gods to humans with a verb that typically describes a human action directed towards the gods. In any case, *macto* is embedded in the elaborate alliteration *magno mactassint malo.*

[539] In *trag.* 308, *paro* occurs in the alliterative pair *parat putat.*

[540] In *trag.* 308, *puto* occurs in the alliterative pair *parat putat.* Its use in the sense of "devise" may be paralleled with the Greek νοέω (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 1007, entry III).

			contexts 6/6 (100%)	
prognatus[541]	grandchild	291 TH	1b: 1 occurrence	*nepos*
saeuus[542]	loud	4 AL	1b: 2 occurrences	*magnus*
saepio[543]	wear	281 TP, 282 TP	1a: conversational contexts 4/4 (100%)	*induo*
saucius[544]	in love	216 ME	1a: poetry 7/8 (87.5%) CL	*captus*
sudo[545]	be covered in	165 HL	1b: 2 occurrences	*madefacior*
suspiro[546]	daunting	53 AL	1b: 1 occurrence	*sollicito*
uastus[547]	alone	207 IP	1b: 1 occurrence	*solus*

In the extant corpus of Ennius' fragments, ***cerno*** occurs at least three times with the meaning "fight" (*ann.* 185 *ferro, non auro uitam cernamus utrique*,[548] *trag.* 166 *saueiter fortuna ferro cernunt de uictoria* and

[541] The lexical item *prognatus* exhibits a stylised synchronic distribution in EL (95.45% of its occurrences are found in high-register contexts; cf. p. 48 and n. 85). In *trag.* 291, however, it appears to carry the otherwise unattested meaning "grandchild" (three times in EL and CL, it denotes a remote descendant of noble or divine lineage, cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1766.21-7; similarly Greek γόνος, cf. LSJ *s.u.* 315, entries II and III). Its use in *trag.* 291 is therefore better analysed from a semantic perspective. In addition, *prognatus* is here embedded in the alliteration *prognatus Pelope*. Although this phonetic cluster is not particularly elaborate (and may not form part of the "phono-pathetic" system of soundplay in the tragedies), it is nevertheless included under the pattern of "poetic stylisation", as the word remains distinctly high-register.

[542] In *trag.* 4 *saeuus* is embedded in the alliterative phrase *sonitu saeuo et spiritu*. Its use with reference to a loud noise may also be interpreted as a personification or a synaesthesia, and thus classified under the fifth pattern of stylisation.

[543] The use of *saepio* for *induens* in *trag.* 281 and 282 is metaphorical; however, *saepio* is embedded in the alliterative phrase *saeptus stola* in both passages. Accodingly, it is classified under "poetic stylisation" rather than "stylised usages featuring tropes". In *trag.* 281, the alliteration includes also *squalida*.

[544] The use of *saucius* in the sense "in love" in *trag.* 207 is metaphorical; however, *saucius* is embedded in the alliterative phrase *saeuo saucia*.

[545] In *trag.* 165 *terra sudat sanguine*, *sudo* is embedded in the alliteration *sudat sanguine* (*sanguis* and *sudor* are frequently paired in alliterative sequences in Latin; cf. Jocelyn (1967) 300) and involves personification. Jocelyn (1967) 299-300 argues that the image of the earth sweating blood, reprised in Verg. *Aen.* 2.582, results from a combination of two recurring Homeric motifs: the sweat of the warriors in battle and the ground covered in blood.

[546] As Jocelyn (1967) 224 argues, the usage of *suspiro* at *trag.* 53 may reflect personfication rather than metonymy (cause-effect: "anxieties that cause one to sigh"), since the attribution of animate qualities to emotions is a frequent feature of Roman tragedy (cf. also Jocelyn (1967) 210-1) and has at least one precedent in Soph. *Ai.* 957 μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν. In any case, at *trag.* 53 *suspiro* is embedded in the alliteration *sumptus suspirantibus* (cf. Grilli (1965) 183-4) and is accordingly treated under "poetic stylisation" rather than"stylised usages featuring tropes"

[547] The use of *uastus* for *solus* in *trag.* 207 is metaphorical. The use of an adjective meaning "desolate" with reference to persons is also well attested in Greek for the word ἐρῆμος (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 577, entry 2). However, *uastus* is embedded in the alliterative phrase *uiduae et uastae uirgines* and is accordingly included under "poetic stylisation".

232-3 *nam ter sub armis malim uitam cernere / quam semel modo parere*). The sense of *cerno* in *ann.* 569 *olli cernebant magnis de rebus agentes* remains uncertain (cf. n. 250). This usage of *cerno* is exclusively attested in poetic texts. Moreover, it is possible that Ennius recognised *cerno* as the simplex form of the iterative *certo* on (para-)etymological grounds (cf. Leumann (1947) 133 and Jocelyn (1967) 301), and that this use of *cerno* in the sense of *certo* reflects the high-poetic tendency to employ simplex verbs with the meanings of their iterative counterparts (cf. Sjoestedt (1925) 137; Maltby (2023) 269-70).

The use of *cerno* in the sense "fight" clearly carries a degree of high-register stylisation (cf. Leumann (1947) 133 and Skutsch (1985) 350-1), as is evident from its attestations (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 864.81-865.6). This usage appears in the refined and balanced – possibly formulaic – expression *nunc specimen specitur, nunc certamen cernitur*, featuring two parallel cola introduced by *nunc* and two etymological figures, in Plaut. *Bacch.* 399 and *Cas.* 516 (cf. n. 532). It also occurs in grandiloquent declarations, such as Enn. *ann.* 185 *ferro non auro uitam cernamus utrique*, and *trag.* 232-3 *nam ter sub armis malim uitam cernere / quam semel modo parere*, as well as in Pacuv. *trag.* 23-4 *qui sese adfines esse ad causandum uolunt* / *de uirtute is ego cernundi do potestatem omnibus* and Acc. *trag.* 325-6 *primores procerum prouocauit nomine* / *si esset quis qui armis secum uellet cernere*. It is likewise found in elevated narrative statements, such as Enn. *trag.* 166 *saeuiter fortuna ferro cernunt de uictoria* and *ann.* 569 *olli cernebant magnis de rebus agentes*.

Furthermore, it appears that this meaning of *cerno* was not self-evident and, consequently, was not standard. When *cerno* is used with the sense "fight", this meaning is typically made explicit by accompanying elements in the sentence (cf. also n. 250), such as *ferro* in Enn. *ann.* 185 and *trag.* 166, or (*sub*) *armis* in Enn. *trag.* 232-3 and Acc. *trag.* 325-6. The only clear exception is Pacuv. *trag.* 24,[549] alongside the uncertain case of Enn. *ann.* 569. Even in the formulaic phrase found in Plaut. *Bacch.* 399 and *Cas.* 516, the presence of *certamen* signals the notion of combat.[550] It therefore seems that authors employing *cerno* in the sense "fight" felt the need to signal its non-standard meaning by combining it with terms clearly associated with military contexts.

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[548] By contrast, Loewenstein Drabkin (1937) 72-3 argues that in *ann.* 185 *ferro, non auro uitam cernamus utrique*, *cerno* is better understood in its standard sense "decide", and *uitam cernere* as "decide one's life".
[549] For the meaning of *cerno* in this passage, cf. Non. 261 M.
[550] It might be argued that our sources preserve only those fragments in which the meaning "fight" of *cerno* was unmistakable, precisely in order to illustrate such a usage. However, *cerno* in *ann.* 185 forms part of a longer passage (*ann.* 183-90), preserved in Cic. *off.* 1.38 not for its stylised usage but as evidence for Pyrrhus' military honour.

In EL, the neutral verb for "fight" was likely *certo* rather than *decerno* (cf. Leumann (1947) 133), the latter becoming standard in this sense only at a later stage. Although Skutsch (1985) 350-1 argues that in Ennius *cerno* is used in place of its compound *decerno*, the available evidence suggests otherwise: *decerno* is attested only once in EL with the meaning "fight", whereas *certo* occurs several times in this sense (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 301). Moreover, the sole EL instance of *decerno* meaning "fight" – Enn. *ann.* 132 *adnuit sese mecum decernere ferro* – includes *ferro*, possibly to signal the non-standard sense of *decerno*, thereby mirroring the construction observed with *cerno* in the examples discussed above.

That said, reconstructing the type of stylisation underlying *cerno* in the sense "fight" remains a challenging task. Although Skutsch (1985) 350-1 classifies this usage as both high-poetic and archaic, the evidence for an archaising value is far from compelling. The fact that an archaising diction might suit the magniloquent register of the passages cited above does not in itself demonstrate that the use of *cerno* in the sense "fight" was perceived as archaic. Indeed, almost no overtly archaising features appear in the language of the seven passages in which *cerno* bears this meaning. Other considerations may suggest that *cerno* functioned as a semantic archaism, yet the available evidence remains inconclusive. First, Sen. *epist.* 58. 3-4 characterises this usage as archaic in his own period (and possibly already in Virgil's):

> quaedam simplicia in usu erant, sicut "cernere ferro inter se" dicebant. Idem Vergilius hoc probabit tibi: 'ingentis genitos diuersis partibus orbis / inter se coiisse uiros et cernere ferro'. Quod nunc decernere dicimus. Simplicis illius uerbi usus amissus est.

However, expressions such as *in usu erant* and *dicebant* suggest that the use of simplex rather than compound verbs was not archaic in EL, but rather common – including the use of *cerno* for *decerno* in *cernere ferro inter se*, even though *decerno* itself did not appear to carry the meaning "fight" in EL (cf. above). Secondly, the occurrence of *cerno* meaning "fight" in the fixed expression *nunc specimen specitur, nunc certamen cernitur* may indeed represent a fossilised and archaic phrase. Nevertheless, the general tendency of proverbial expressions to preserve archaising language does not entail that every element within such phrases is itself archaic. Thirdly, the diachronic priority of *cerno* over *certo* (and also *decerno*) does not in itself imply that this usage of *cerno* was perceived as old-fashioned. These forms may well have coexisted, with their synchronic distribution varying according to stylistic and register-based criteria. Consequently, the arguments in favour of interpreting *cerno* meaning "fight" as an instance of archaic stylisation remain inconclusive, and this usage may or may not have been perceived as archaic in EL.

The origin of this high-poetic usage of *cerno* is also a matter of debated. A possible Greek influence is suggested by Jocelyn (1967) 301, who refers to the Homeric formula κρίνομαι Ἄρῃ (*Il.* 2.385 ὥς κε πανημέριοι στυγερῷ κρινώμεθ᾽Ἄρηι and 18.209 οἵ τε πανημέριοι στυγερῷ κρίνονται Ἄρηι). However, the Homeric expressions and the Latin use of *cerno* may be unrelated. In the Greek formula κρίνομαι Ἄρῃ, the verb κρίνομαι appears in the middle voice and means "have a contest decided" (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 846, entry II.2.b), whereas in the Latin examples *cerno* is used in the active voice. Moreover, in Greek this usage of κρίνομαι was subsequently extended to verbal disputes, acquiring the sense "argue" or "dispute" (cf. again LSJ *s.u.* 846, entry II.2.b),[551] whereas *cerno* is never clearly attested with this meaning (cf. n. 250 for *ann.* 569; and Leumann (1937) 31 on *hereditatem cernere* "dispute whether to accept or reject an inheritance", a usage deriving from the notion of dividing inherited property, with *cerno* originally meaning "separate"). A Greek influence, therefore, while possible, does not appear particularly likely.

Rather, the explanation for the use of *cerno* in the sense "fight" is better sought within Latin morphology and poetic diction. As reconstructed by Leumann (1937) 31, the "fighting" sense of the active *cerno* was probably an artistic back-formation from its passive, mirroring the development undergone by *certo* in a more neutral register. Leumann argues that the distinction between *certo* "fight" and *cerno* "decide" originated in their impersonal passive forms. The semantic difference between active *cerno* "decide", where the subject is a judge, and *certo* "fight", where the subjects are the contenders, is not directly reflected in their morphology – namely, the opposition between a simplex verb and its iterative (or intensive or desiderative) counterpart. However, this distinction becomes clearer when one considers the impersonal passives *cernitur* ("it is decided", a perfective action) and *certatur* ("it is being decided through a prolonged or contested process", an iterative and imperfective action).[552] When these forms are reanalysed as personal passives with *certamen* ("dispute") as the subject, two distinct agents emerge: in *certamen cernitur* ("the dispute is decided"), the agent is the judge, whereas in *certamen certatur* ("the dispute is fought"), the agents are the contenders. At this stage, the original perfective versus iterative-imperfective distinction is no longer operative, and the meanings of *cerno* and *certo* stabilise as "decide" and "fight", respectively.

[551] One of the most widespread conceptual metaphors across cultures is that "argument is war" (cf. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) 4).
[552] Cf. ThLL *s.u.* 891.81 *passim impersonaliter usurpatur.*

It is unlikely that Ennius consciously engaged in such a detailed morphological and semantic reconstruction; rather, he probably perceived *cerno* simply as the basic counterpart of the iterative (intensive) verb *certo*. His use of *cerno* in the sense of "fight" effectively neutralises the recently developed semantic distinction between *cerno* and *certo* but does not restore the original morphological contrast reflected in the impersonal passive constructions. In this usage, no clear difference in semantic intensity, iteration, or aspectual value can be detected between *cerno* and the more usual *certo*. For instance, in Enn. *trag.* 166 *saeuiter fortuna ferro cernunt de uictoria*, the use of *cernunt* in place of *certant* does not imply that the combatants fight with less vigour (lack of intensity), that they engage in fewer acts of combat (lack of iteration), or that the contest has reached completion (perfective aspect). Rather, having recognised *cerno* as the simplex corresponding to *certo* on para-etymological grounds, Ennius may have deliberately employed the simplex form with the meaning of its iterative counterpart as a marker of elevated poetic diction.

3. Technical Stylisation (Category TS 3)

The third pattern, "technical stylisation", comprises usages of words in specialised technical senses – that is, meanings which, in EL, were likely perceived as characteristic of professional or technical registers. As noted above (cf. p. 47), the identification of such registers in EL is inherently problematic, owing to the near-total absence of specialised treatises from this period.

Nevertheless, certain passages in literary texts may preserve expressions drawn from specific domains. Moreover, since semantic technicisms rarely occur outside technical contexts and such contexts are limited in EL, the overall frequency of semantic technicisms is inherently low. Finally, given their restricted use and semantic specificity, semantic technicisms may occur in explanatory glosses. Thus, their identification may be supported by a combination of factors, including synchronic distribution, semantic specificity, low frequency, and possible attestation in glosses. However, no test can be regarded as universally decisive, and each usage must be assessed on a

case-by-case basis. Consequently, some instances will remain doubtful, and alternative interpretations are to be expected.

Ennius' tragedies provide one possible example of a technical semantic usage of a lexical item: *facesso* in the sense "depart", which may reflect a legal formula of acquittal and is attested only in conversational texts (see below). Interestingly, the lexical item *facesso*, irrespective of its meaning, in EL predominantly occurs in conversational texts and contexts (cf. n. 83). However, given the specialised sense in which it appears in Ennius' tragedies, *facesso* meaning "depart" (*trag.* 145) is analysed here from a semantic rather than a lexical perspective. The relative scarcity of such technical semantic usages aligns with the more standardised high-register language of the tragedies, which exhibit less variation in register than the *Annals*.

Table TS 3. Semantic Usages of Technical Stylisation in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result. Specialised language.[553]	Neutral alternative
facesso	depart	145 EU	1a: conversational, high-register contexts 7/7 (100%) LA	*recedo*

The use of ***facesso*** in the sense "depart" at *trag.* 145 (*dico uicisse Orestem. uos ab hoc facessite*) very likely reproduces a formula of legal jargon.[554] Although the lexical item *facesso* originated as a desiderative formation of *facio*, probably within the spoken language (cf. Guardì (1985) 129), it was subsequently adopted into legal terminology with the meaning "depart" – a marked and semantically opaque development.

The legal value of *facesso* in this sense is supported by the contexts of three (possibly four) of the passages in which it occurs. In Enn. *trag.* 145, *facesso* forms part of Athena's declaration of Orestes'

[553] LA: law.
[554] Both meanings of *facesso* (*facio* and *recedo*) are glossed at Non. 306 M without any indication of register or stylistic markedness.

acquittal following his trial for matricide (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 286-7) – arguably the most explicitly legal scene among the known plots of Greek tragedy. The line conveys the authority of a presiding magistrate pronouncing a verdict: it is clear, concise, and authoritative, emphasising the judge's agency in the decision (*dico*).[555] In Plaut. *Rud.* 1062, *facesso* appears within a mock-legal exchange, albeit following a pun on its alternative meaning "carry out" in *Rud.* 1061. In Ter. *Phorm.* 635, *facesso* in the sense "depart" is used in the context of an extra-judicial settlement. Finally, Daviault (1981) 107 argues that the clause *ut res suas procuret*, preceding *aedibus facessat* in Titin. *com.* 52, may reflect an adaptation of the formula for divorce (cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 928 *tuas res tibi habeto*). Jocelyn (1967) 287 suggests that *facessere* formed part of the formula of acquittal in trials where the prosecutor had physically brought the defendant before the court. This reconstruction fits well Enn. *trag*. 145 and Plaut. *Rud.* 1062, but less so with Ter. *Phorm*. 635 and Titin. *com.* 52, where *facesso* appears in a legal setting without necessarily referring to the specific procedural moment in which such a formula would originally have been uttered.

Although the remaining instances of *facesso* meaning "depart" (Pacuv. *trag.* 326 and 343; Afran. *com.* 203) are not strictly legal in context, they nevertheless function as solemn dismissals (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 287; Schierl (2006) 489-90 and 502-3; and Maltby (2023) 256). It is therefore plausible that this semantic usage originated as part of a legal formula (preserved in Enn. *trag.* 145 and Plaut. *Rud.* 1062), was subsequently retained as an expression associated with legal diction (Ter. *Phorm.* 635; Titin. *com.* 52), and eventually entered more general language while retaining an elevated colouring derived from its origin in judicial pronouncement. Nevertheless, in *trag.* 145, Ennius appears to employ *facesso* in its original legal sense, thereby imparting a distinct technical stylisation to the line.

4. Stylised Calques

This pattern encompasses all stylised semantic calques derived from Greek culture, language, and literature. It is subdivided three categories: "literary semantic calques", "non-literary semantic calques", and "Romanising calques". The first category includes usages that display parallels with

[555] Cf. Traina (1970) 123-4.

earlier Geek literature; the second comprises usages that may have entered Latin through non-literary contact between Romans and Greeks; and the third consists of the semantic extensions of Latin terms used to denote Greek concepts.

While the first two categories are also attested in the *Annals*, the third appears to be specific to the tragedies and may represent the most distinctive difference between Ennius' epic and tragic styles and registers. The language of the *Annals* is characterised by a rich presence of loanwords from a variety of languages, a feature facilitated by the poem's "multinational" setting. In addition to Graecisms of a technical (e.g. *agea*), poetic (e.g. *melos*), or broadly exotic-evoking nature (e.g. *campso*), the *Annals* also incorporate terms from other languages, including Celtic (*ambactus*), Etruscan (*fala*, *falarica*), Oscan (*meddix*), Thracian (*rumpia*, possibly, via Greek), and a term of uncertain origin (*sybina*) (cf. pp. 79-84). They further contain instances of stylised non-literary borrowings from Greek (*spira*) and from a "Sabine" language (*catus*) (cf. pp. 124-7).

By contrast, borrowings in the tragedies are restricted to a relatively limited number of Graecisms primarily employed as markers of poetic diction (cf. pp. 185-9). Moreover, the tragedies exhibit instances of Romanising calques of Greek concepts – that is, the use of Latin terms rooted in Roman socio-political and cultural institutions to express concepts belonging to Greek contexts. Among the Romanising calques attested in the tragedies, two may be regarded as stylised (i.e. attested fewer than ten times in EL and CL, or largely confined to a single genre): *optumas* (*trag.* 34), used of Trojan noblewomen, and *ordo* (*trag.* 5), referring to the assembly of Greek kings at Troy. Both clearly derive from Roman political terminology.[556] Conversely, the *Annals* contain only one clear instance of a Romanising calque (*matronae* used for foreign noblewomen), which, however, does not appear to be stylistically marked (cf. n. 573).

[556] For examples of non-stylised Romanising calques in the tragedies, cf. p. 230.

4.1. Literary Semantic Calques (Category TS 4.1)

This section focuses on identifying stylised semantic usages in Ennius' tragedies that are also attested in earlier Greek literature. Its aim is to determine whether certain stylised usages found in Ennius' tragedies were already established in Greek literature and therefore cannot be regarded as Ennian innovations,[557] rather than to investigate systematically the relationship between the tragedies and their reconstructed models.[558] For this reason, the table provided includes, in each case, the earliest corresponding Greek attestation, even where a particular usage may be directly associated with a specific identifiable model. For example, the use of *antiquus* applied to persons, as in *trag.* 237 *antiqua erilis fida custos corporis*, was very likely influenced by Eur. *Med.* 49 παλαιὸν οἴκων κτῆμα δεσποίνης ἐμῆς (cf. e.g. Jocelyn (1967) 376 and Traina (1970) 146). However, the use of παλαιός for persons is well established in Greek and can be traced back to Hom. *Il.* 14.108. Accordingly, in the table, *Il.* 14.108 is cited as "similar occurrence".

As a result, the parallels presented in the following table should not be interpreted as evidence of direct influence on Ennius' tragic production. The inclusion of authors such as Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides – who were almost certainly the principal linguistic models for Ennius' tragedies (cf. n. 558) – should therefore be regarded as largely coincidental in ths context. In this section, I examine in detail one example of a semantic usage that is well established in Greek literature (*aes* at *trag.* 165) and one that appears to reflect the specific usage of an individual author (*gradus* at *trag.* 193).

[557] Usages first attested in Ennius should not automatically be regarded as original Ennian innovations, as they may have occurred in now-lost literature.

[558] Ennius' dramatic production brings together a range of literary and para-literary traditions. It is generally accepted that Euripides was his principal model for tragedy, but this does not preclude influence from other Athenian dramatists (cf. e.g. Brooks (1981) 172-6), perhaps mediated through performances attended in Southern Italy (cf. Brooks (1981) 104-9 and Jocelyn (1968) 16-7) and sometimes adapted to appeal to a contemporary Roman audience (cf. Brooks (1981) 178-80), as well as from non-dramatic authors, especially Homer. At the same time, the composite nature of EL tragedy may also have incorporated elements from non-Greek traditions, such as Etruscan (para-)literary forms of theatre and, less likely, the Atellan farce (cf. Jocelyn (1968) 13-5). Finally, some elements inherited and further developed by Ennius derive from the Latin pre-literary tradition, such as alliteration (cf. Grilli (1965) 160-91).

Table TS 4.1. Stylised Literary Semantic Calques in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative	Similar occurrence
aes	defensive weapon	165 HL[559]	1a: poetry 38/41 (92.68%) CL	*arma*	Hom. *Il.* 4.495
antiquus	old (of people)	237 ME	1a: conversational contexts 6/6 (100%)	*uetus*	Hom. *Il.* 14.108
genus	children	321 IN	1a: poetry 23/23 (100%) CL	*liberi*[560]	Aesch. *Sept.* 654
gradus	gait	193 IP[561]	1a: conversational contexts 35/37 (91.12%)	*pedes*[562]	Eur. *Tr.* 333-4
grauidus	full	72 AL	1a: conversational contexts 5/5 (100%)[563]	*plenus*	Eur. *Tr.* 11[564]
homo	he	66 AL	1a: conversational	*is*	Soph. *Tr.*

[559] For the use of *aes* in the sense "shield" at *trag.* 2, cf. p. 245.

[560] *Trag.* 321 contains the periphrasis *liberorum* […] *genus* for "children". The simple *liberi* would have sufficed and is therefore proposed as the neutral alternative. The Greek word γένος can function as a collective noun meaning "children" (as in Aesch. *Sept.* 654), but I have not identified any comparable periphrasis in Greek literature.

[561] For *gradus* in *trag.* 6, see under "poetic stylisation".

[562] *Trag.* 193 contains the periphrasis *gradum proferre pedum.* The simple *pedes* would have sufficed and is therefore proposed as the neutral alternative. The synonyms *gressus* and *passus* both exhibit poetic synchronic distributions across EL and CL when used in the sense "gait". Accordingly, *gradus* at *trag.* 6-7 *quo nunc incerta re atque inorata gradum / regredere conare?*, where it cannot be replaced by *pedes*, is not treated as a stylised usage, since no neutral alternatives are available.

[563] All the instances where *grauidus* is used in the metonymic sense "full" to refer to stuffed objects (and not only the case of the wooden horse, as in Enn. *trag.* 72) are included.

[564] The description of the wooden horse as a pregnant mare is first attested in Eur. *Tr.* 11 ἐγκύμον᾽ἵππον τευχέων, but the idea is at least as old as Aesch. *Ag.* 824-6 πόλιν διημάθυνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος, / ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδηφόρος λεώς, / πήδημ᾽ὀρούσας, where the Greek soldiers are described as the mare's offspring (κοῖλον λόχον in *Od.* 4.277 and 8.515 should be understood as "lurking-place" rather than "womb"; cf. Conington in Hardie and Rogerson (2007) 114). Enn. *trag.* 72-3 *nam maximo saltu superauit grauidus armatis equus* / *qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama* shares with Aesch. *Ag.* 824-6 the imagery of the soldiers as the offspring of the wooden horse and of the horse reaching the ground instead in their place (cf. Fraenkel (1950) 2.279-80). However, as Conington in Hardie and Rogerson (2007) 114 observes, the metaphor of the pregnant mare for the wooden horse is a natural one; it may have been well established in Greek literature, and Ennius need not have been alluding specifically to either Aeschylus or Euripides.

			contexts 31/33 (86.43%)		55
horresco	bristle	143 ER	1a: poetry 8/9 (88.89%) CL	*erigo*	Hom. *Il.* 13.339
lapideus	cruel	140 ER	1b: 3 occurrences	*crudelis*	Hom. *Od.* 23.103[565]
lux	example	69 AL	1a: conversational contexts 4/4 (100%)	(*praeclarum*) *exemplum*	Hom. *Od.* 16.23
sono	speak	108 AN	1a: conversational contexts 6/6 (100%)	*loquor*	Hom. *Il.* 6.116

The metonymic use of "bronze" (***aes***) to denote (especially defensive) arms, as in *trag.* 165 *aes sonit, franguntur hastae, terra sudat sanguine*, is well attested in both Latin and Greek poetry (cf. ThLL *s.u. aes* 1073.73-82 and LSJ *s.u.* χαλκός 1711, entry II, respectively) but ultimately derives from the Homeric epics. In this passage, *aes sonit* most likely refers to the noise produced by defensive armour as it is struck by enemy spears (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 300) rather than to a trumpet call (pace ThLL *s.u.* 1073.48). Interpreting *aes sonit* as a trumpet call would disrupt the coherence of *trag.* 165 in three distinct images – the call to attack, the braking of spears, and the bloodshed on the ground. By contrast, understanding *aes sonit* as the sound of armour being struck by spears establishes a coherent progression: shields and helmets resound as they are hit, the spears consequently break, and the final image (*terra sudat sanguine*) offers a grim summation of the battle's outcome.[566]

Bronze weaponry constitutes a conventional topos of epic poetry. It is well known that Roman military equipment was not typically made of bronze (cf. e.g. Petculescu (1991) 35), and that references to bronze

[565] Although syntactically different, the phrase *lapideo … corde* in Enn *trag.* 140 is semantically comparable to Hom. *Od.* 23.103 κραδίη στερεωτέρη ἐστὶ λίθοιο.
[566] Cf. also Jocelyn (1967) 300 for several parallels to the motif of sounding shields, including Eur. *Heracl.* 832, Enn. *ann.* 363, and Verg. *Aen.* 9.666-7.

arms reflect the poetic memory of the weaponry depicted in the Homeric epics, which in turn evoke the actual military practices of the Bronze Age (cf. e.g. Lang (1906) 284).

Despite its conversational synchronic distribution in EL, the use of ***gradus*** in the sense "gait" at *trag.* 193 *procede, gradum proferre pedum, nitere, / cessas, o fide?*, where Agamemnon urges an elderly servant to come out of his tent, may reflect an artificial phrase translating the Greek expression ποδῶν βάσιν, which recurs in Euripides (*Hec.* 837 and *Tr.* 333-4; cf. Grilli (1965) 200-1, n. 24; Traina (1970) 146, n. 1). Indeed, the phrase *gradum proferre pedum* appears stylistically marked. First, the periphrasis *gradum* […] *pedum* is semantically redundant, since *pedes* alone would suffice. Secondly, the use of *gradus* in the sense "gait" is primarily associated with tragic texts or military contexts. As Jocelyn (1967) 173 observes, in tragedy – both Republican (twelve occurrences) and Senecan (sixty-five) – *gradus* meaning "gait" may occur in a wide range of contexts, whereas in Plautus, it appears predominantly in military settings (as later in Sallust and Livy, though not Caesar) or para-tragic contexts. Thirdly, the collocation *gradum proferre* may itself be artificial, as suggested by its parody in Plaut. *Men.* 753-4 *ut aetas meast atque ut hoc usus factost, / gradum proferam, progrediri properabo*. This passage belongs to the stereotypical lament on old age delivered by an elderly man characterised by gravitas (cf. Gratwick (1993) 207-8), where the mock-tragic effect is reinforced by the triple alliteration *proferam, progrediri properabo* (cf. Grilli (1965) 200-1, and n. 24).

Most likely, this artificial construction serves to highlight the contrast between Agamemnon's urgency and his elderly servant's slow gait. Agamemnon's request is deliberately and unnecessarily verbose: he repeats it three times (twice through the imperatives *procede* and *nitere*, and once in the rhetorical question *gradum proferre pedum cessas?*), and he employs the periphrasis *gradum pedum* in place of the simpler *pedes*, thereby prolonging the command. This effect becomes even clearer when Enn. *trag.* 193-4 is compared with its Euripidean model, Eur. *I.A.* 1-2 Ὦ πρέσβυ, δόμων τῶνδε πάροιθεν / στεῖχε, or, less probably, *I.A.* 139-40 ἀλλ᾽ἴθ᾽ἐρέσσων σὸν πόδα, γήρᾳ / μηδὲν ὑπείκων; cf. Vahlen (1907-8) 1.413-5 and Traina (1970) 145), which is markedly more concise and direct.[567] By contrast, Ennius' Agamemnon

[567] The peculiar structure of the prologue of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* – with an iambic narration of the backstory embedded within an anapaestic dialogue between Agamemnon and his elderly servant – has prompted debate regarding its authenticity (cf. e.g. Kovacs (2002) 166-7, n. 1). Lennartz (1994) 159-60 convincingly argues that the dialogic (sung) section may be a post-classical interpolation by a performer, and that Ennius may have had access to a version of the play that included this interpolated passage while lacking other parts. Consequently, Ennius' adaptation of the prologue appears very close to the modern version of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* (cf. also *trag.* 188-91 that recall *I.A.* 6-11), whereas

foregrounds the servant's sluggish movement: during the time it takes him to urge the old man three times – once at length in the elaborate *gradum proferre pedum cessas, o fide?* – the servant has still not appeared on stage.[568]

In masking the substantial modification of *I.A.* 1-2 for his own dramatic purposes, Ennius skilfully adapts a phrase found elsewhere in Euripides (ποδῶν βάσιν, *Hec.* 837 and *Tr.* 333-4). Consequently, despite its conversational synchronic distribution, the use of *gradus* in the sense "gait" does not reflect conversational Latin usage, but rather fulfils an artistic function. It is likely to form part of a translation of a Euripidean expression, designed to render the reworking of the original Euripidean line in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* less conspicuous.

4.2. Non-Literary Semantic Calques (Category TS 4.2)

As noted above (cf. p. 124), the category "non-literary calques" comprises usages that may be reconstructed as having entered Latin from a different language (in this case, Greek) through everyday linguistic contact rather than through direct literary imitation. In Ennius' tragedies, there is only one possible example of a "non-literary semantic calque": *taenia* (*trag.* 67) in the sense "[honorific] headband". This usage may belong to the group of colloquial Graecisms attested in Latin drama – more frequently in comedy than in tragedy – borrowed from the Doric Greek of Southern Italy, the Greek dialect that arguably exterted the strongest influence on everyday Latin (cf. Maltby (2023) 270). By Ennius' time, most of such Graecisms had either become integrated into Latin or were restricted to technical registers. According to Jocelyn (1967) 230, *taenia*, the only usage in this category, is a Graecism adopted from the religious technical vocabulary of South

other parts of his adaptation do not. Indeed, the surviving version of Euripides' prologue (and apparently closely followed by Ennius) may inadvertently offered rich material for comic parody, both in the scene of the slow, ageing servant lamenting his old age and in the incongruity between the urgency of Agamemnon's instructions and the sluggish unfolding of events (Agamemnon summons his servant at line 1, explains the content of his message at line 115, and the servant does not depart until line 162).

[568] Grilli (1965) 200-1, and n. 25, suggests that Ennius' wording also reflects σπεῦδε (or πεύσῃ, according to variant manuscripts) at line 3 of the Greek text, and that Agamemnon's eagerness is further conveyed through the alliteration *procede … proferre pedum* and the interpolated imperative *nitere* (on the latter, cf. also Traina (1970) 146).

Italian Greek communities, and thus reflects both a Western Greek origin and a form of technical stylisation.

Table TS 4.2. Stylised Non-Literary Semantic Calques in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
taenia	(honorific) headband	67 AL	1a: poetry 3/4 (89.01%)	*redimiculum*

The linguistic history of ***taenia*** (attested at *trag.* 67 *uolans de caelo cum corona et taeniis* in the sense of "[honorific] headband") remains uncertain. It may represent a non-literary borrowing from Greek ταινία through South Italian Doric. The term likely entered Latin with two distinct meanings: "headband" and "tapeworm", possibly connected by analogy, given the similar elongated shape of the object and the parasite.[569] The distributions of Greek ταινία and Latin *taenia* appear to differ according to meaning. In Greek, ταινία in the sense of an "honorary headband" awarded to victors is attested in Classical literature (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 1522, entry 1, with occurrences in authors such as the comic poet Eubolos, as well as Empedocles, Xenophon, Plato, and Pausanias), whereas its use meaning "tapeworm" is not recorded before Galen. In EL, *taenia* meaning "honorary headband" occurs in both poetry and comedy (in the tragedies of Ennius and Accius, as well as in Laevius and Caecilius), while in the sense "tapeworm" it is attested exclusively in Cato's *de agri cultura* (four occurrences).

While the usage of *taenia* in the sense "tapeworm" is most likely a colloquial Graecism adopted by Cato (or, less probably, a semantic innovation on his part; cf. O' Sullivan (2023) 377-8),[570] the origin of the alternative sense "[honorific] headband" is less certain. Despite the attestations of ταινία with this meaning in Greek literary sources, Jocelyn (1967) 230 argues that *taenia* was borrowed into Latin from the religious

[569] It is unlikely that the meanings "[honorific] headband" and "tapeworm" – clearly belonging to distinct domains – directly influenced one another. It is more plausible that ταινία originally denoted a long, flat band and subsequently developed these two specialised meanings, since both the headbands worn by victors or deities and tapeworms share this physical form.

[570] Cf. also Adams (2016) 224-5 on the possibility of using EL authors as sources for lexical items derived from non-literary Greek, and Leumann (1949) 205-6 on the same possibility with regard to unattested meanings of Greek words.

vocabulary of South Italian Greek communities. A parallel development may be observed in *corona* (also attested at *trag.* 67), since Greek κορώνη is never attested in the sense "crown" corresponding to Latin *corona*. Although a calque from a known or lost Greek literary model for Ennius' use of *taenia* cannot be excluded, *trag.* 67 *uolans de caelo cum corona et taeniis* may ultimately derive from the description of a figure within a religious ritual. On this view, both *corona* and *taenia* entered Latin not through literary transmission but via the religious jargon of South Italian Greek, mediated by everyday linguistic contact. Accordingly, this semantic usage may be understood either as a religious technicism or as a non-literary semantic calque originating in non-official religious practice, entering Latin through contact among the lower classes and elevated to literary status only later by Ennius.

4.3. Romanising Calques (Category TS 4.3)

This category comprises stylised Romanising calques of foreign concepts – that is, instances in which specifically Latin terminology, reflecting Roman society and culture, is employed to describe non-Roman realities. Ennius' tragedies contain several non-stylised Romanising calques, namely terms drawn from Roman socio-political and cultural vocabulary that conventionally came to denote aspects of foreign cultures, such as *ciuis* (*trag.* 8, 42, 275, 341), *imperium* (*trag.* 162 and 214), and *res publica* (*trag.* 74) (for *matrona* attested in Cic. *Fam.* 7.6.1, cf. n. 573). In addition, two instances may be classified as stylised Romanising calques – that is, terms of Roman socio-political and cultural vocabulary that are used to denote foreign concepts only in specific contexts or with low frequency overall. These are *optumas*, used by Cassandra in *trag.* 35 (from the *Alexander*) for the noblewomen of Troy, a usage otherwise predominantly confined to prose;[571] and

[571] The lexical item *optumas*/*optimas* is likewise typically associated with prose: in EL and CL, its only clear occurrence in a poetic text is at Enn. *trag.* 34. It is possible that Ennius also used *optumas* in Medea's speech addressing the women of Corinth mentioned in Cic. *Fam.* 7.6.1, although the exact wording remains disputed. For this reason, Jocelyn (1967) 358-62 does not regard the sentence *quae Corinthum altam habetis matronae opulentae optumates* as a fragment of Ennius' tragedies, and I have therefore not included this instance in my analysis.

ordo, otherwise unattested for foreign political assemblies, used at *trag.* 5 (from the *Achilles*), where it presumably denotes the assembly of the Greek kings at Troy.[572]

As noted above (p. 223), stylised Romanising calques occur only in the tragedies and not in the *Annals*.[573] When representing concepts from foreign societies, Ennius tends to employ lexical loanwords in the *Annals*, whereas in the tragedies he favours Romanising semantic calques. This striking tendency aligns with technical expressions, which are more numerous and varied in the *Annals* than the tragedies. More generally, it reflects the contrast between the standardised high-register stylisation of Ennius' tragic language and the more varied and "spectacular" linguistic texture of the *Annals*. The differing use of lexical loanwords and Romanising calques is therefore unlikely to be coincidental.

Two possible – though not mutually exclusive – motivations may underlie this general linguistic distinction. The first relates to the different modes of transmission of the two genres and thus reflects a practical consideration. Since the tragedies were performed, the use of an excessively recherché language might have risked confusing the audience. By contrast, the *Annals* were intended for reading (cf. Vahlen (1903^2) XXI), allowing readers to return to a passage repeatedly and thereby affording Ennius greater freedom for linguistic experimentation and inclusivity.

The second motivation is stylistic. In dramatic genres, Graecisms tended to be associated with the speech of slaves[574] and, possibly, technicisms (apart from those drawn from religion and law) with the register of the working classes. As such, both loanwords and technicisms were ill suited to

[572] Cf. also the use of the Roman legal term *facesso* at *trag.* 145 (pp. 221-2), reflecting a legal usage and thus included in the pattern of "technical stylisation".

[573] The only Romanising calque in the *Annals* is *matronae* (*ann.* 418), used to describe Asian noblewomen. However, the use of *matrona* for a foreign noblewoman is not stylised. According to Timpanaro (1954) 157 and Elliott (2005) 151-3, *ciues* in *ann.* 384 may likewise be considered a Romaninsing calque referring to non-Roman citizens; however, it seems unlikely that Ennius would have used *ciues* in reference to foreigners (cf. Oddi (forthcoming)). Manuwald (2025) 47-9 surveys Romanised terms and concepts across Ennius' works and concludes that, while such usage accords with the Roman subject matter and setting of the *Annals* and the *pretextae*, it is more surprising in works not set in Rome, such as the tragedies in Greek dress, and reflects Ennius' aim of producing texts comprehensible to a Roman audience, even at the expense of strict plausibility. This observation partly aligns with my findings, but does not take into account the range of loanwords employed in the *Annals*. While it is true that Ennius' tragedies appear to be tailored specifically to a Roman audience, the *Annals*, with their broader, international setting, allow for a more inclusive vocabulary.

[574] Cf. Jocelyn (1967) 230; Maltby (2023) 269-70.

the noble characters[575] depicted in tragedy. By contrast, the *Annals* were likely conceived as a multifaceted and heterogeneous poem. First, speakers of diverse social statuses and origins are represented, and this diversity is reflected in the range of styles and registers employed in direct speech.[576] Secondly, the *Annals* display a "multidisciplinary" outlook, with a particular – though not exclusive – engagement with Pythagorean and Empedoclean philosophy, as well as with military technology and strategy, which naturally encourages the use of a specialised vocabulary. Thirdly, the poem celebrates Rome's domination of the known world, presenting the Roman state as a new Mediterranean superpower. This perspective introduces a variety of foreign realities, further reinforced by a notably inclusive linguistic approach. In sum, despite a shared high-register patina, the tragedies and the *Annals* exhibit markedly distinct linguistic profiles, likely resulting from a combination of practical and stylistic factors.

Table TS 4.3. Stylised Romanising Calques in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
optumas	noblewoman	34 AL[577]	1a: prose 44/45 (97.78%) CL	*nobilis*
ordo	assembly	5 AC	1b: 1 occurrence	*contio*

Optumas (*trag.* 34 *mater, optumatum multo mulier melior mulierum*) provides a representative example of a stylised Romanising calque in the tragedies. The word occurs in Cassandra's lament over her fate – her undesired fits of prophetic frenzy, which bring dishonour upon her noble family. In asserting her mother's superior status within the Trojan aristocracy, Cassandra refers to the noblewomen of Troy as

[575] In the tragedies, even slaves appear to employ high-register language (cf. Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming) on the speech of Medea's nurse). The only apparent exception is Medea's nurse's use of *era* in *trag.* 215 and *erilis* in *trag.* 237, perhaps reflecting too marked a sociolinguistic distinction to be ignored.
[576] Elliott (2007) 43 observes that the two longest surviving speech of the *Annals* are delivered by characters who do not embody the dominant Roman male perspective: Ilia and Pyrrhus.
[577] On the possible use of *optumas* in Medea's address to the Corinthian women, cf. n. 571.

optumates.[578] The term *optumas/optimas* is only sparsely attested in EL: one clear instance occurs in Ennius (and one possible; cf. n. 571), alongside two occurrences in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. It becomes widely used in the first century BC, particularly within the political vocabulary of authors such as Cicero, where it denotes the faction supporting the senatorial elite. This later diffusion suggests that, despite its limited attestation in EL, the word may have already formed part of Roman political jargon in Ennius' times. Although *optumas* recalls Greek ἄριστος (without constituting a direct translation – the standard Latin equivalent being *optimus*; Timpanaro (1947) 69, n. 1, instead identifies the Homeric equivalent of Ennius' *optumates* for the Trojan noblewomen as γεραιαί) and although the noun *ops*, with its connotations of wealth, may have encouraged a paretymological association,[579] the use of *optumas* at *trag.* 34 is best explained as influenced by contemporary Roman political terminology. As a political term, *optumas/optimas* is overwhelmingly attested in prose (145 out of 146 occurrences in EL and CL), including in reference to foreign aristocracies (cf. my table; Strasburger (1939) 773.8-11). The Romanising value of the term becomes even clearer when one considers the subsequent reception of Cassandra's monologue (*trag.* 34-40), a speech that was frequently quoted during the Roman Republic (cf. Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 2.156, n. 1) and held in high esteem (cf. Cicero's remark *o poema tenerum et moratum atque molle* in *diu.* 1.66).[580] Moreover, the passage evokes recognisably Roman cultural and socio-political values, such as *uirginalis modestia*[581] and pietas towards one's parents.[582] Within this framework, Ennius is likely to have adopted an element of "Romanised language", namely *optumatum* (cf. Paduano (2000) 261).

The case of (*hic*) ***ordo*** at *trag.* 5 †*nam consilius*† *obuarant quibus tam concedit hic ordo* (from the *Achilles*),[583] referring to the assembly of kings, may represent an even clearer example of a Romanising

[578] The transmitted reading *optuma tum* should be interpreted as *optumatum*, not *optumarum* (cf. Grilli (1965) 161-3; Jocelyn (1967) 211; Timpanaro (1996) 20-21), since Ennius most probably used *optumas* to refer to the women of Corinth in his *Medea* as well (cf. n. 571), and comparable formations such as *summas* and *infumas* are attested in the Greek settings of Plautus' comedies (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 211).
[579] Cf. Jocelyn (1967) 211. Jocelyn does not, however, exclude the influence of contemporary political vocabulary.
[580] On the linguistic construction of Cassandra's lament, designed to enhance its "pathetic" effects, cf. Grilli (1965) 161-68.
[581] The emphasis on virginal modesty may also allude to Cassandra's punishment – her fate as a prophetess never to be believed – following her refusal to lie with Apollo (cf. Timpanaro (1996) 26-30).
[582] In analysing Ennius' adaptation of Euripides' *Medea*, Brooks (1981) 185-203 emphasises that the conveyance of emotionally compelling messages capable of moving the audience is a central aim in adapting foreign drama and may lead to deviations from the original (cf. esp. 185-8 on Medea's address to the women of Corinth: *trag.* 219-20; Cic. *Fam.* 7.6.1).
[583] The same tragedy likely featured another Romanising calque: *imperator* used of Agamemnon, preserved at Plaut. *Poen.* 3-4 *sileteque et tacete atque animum aduortite: / audire iubet uos imperator*, and regarded by many scholars

calque. The expression (*hic*) *ordo* was an established phrase in Roman political discourse, frequently used to denote the senatorial order (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 961.31 and ff.), and is already attested in EL (cf. Lucil. 690; L. Crass. *or. frg. ap.* Cic. *de orat.* 3.4; Sisenna, *hist.* 110), including in parodic contexts (Plaut. *Cist.* 22-4, for which cf. Jocelyn (1967) 172; and Caecil. *com.* 129).

Although the context of *trag.* 5 remains uncertain, it is clear that Ennius adapted the phrase *hic ordo* to convey to his Roman audience the official fucntion of the assembly of kings. Havet (1907) 133 suggests that the formula *hic ordo* serves to distinguish the aristocratic circle of the kings from the mass of soldiers, in much the same way as it differentiates the senatorial elite from the plebs in Roman political terminology. By contrast, Morelli (1992) 53-62, who argues that the plot of Ennius' *Achilles* centred on Achilles' conflict with Diomedes and Thersites over the proposal to grant Penthesilea an honourable burial, maintains that *trag.* 5 – reconstructed as *nam consil<iis> ius obuarant, quibus tam concedit hic ordo* (cf. Timpanaro (1947) 69-72) – was spoken by an outraged Achilles upon seeing that the assembly of kings was inclining towards Diomedes' and Thersites' proposal to dispose of Penthesilea's body dishonourably in the Scamander. On this interpretation, Achilles' use of the official Roman political expression *hic ordo* serves to emphasise the scandalous favour shown by this prestigious body to Diomedes and Thersites.

In sum, although *hic ordo* is not otherwise attested as a designation for foreign assemblies (apart from those of Roman municipalities; cf. ThLL *s.u.* 961.54-69), Ennius appears to have regarded it as the most effective term for conveying to a Roman audience the authoritative and institutional character of Greek kings in the Trojan war camp, It would this have been more immediately intelligible than a neutral term such as *contio* or an exotic transliteration or translation of Greek βουλή. Accordingly, *hic ordo* in *trag.* 5 is best interpreted as a Romanising calque of a Greek concept, adapted for a Roman audience.

5. Stylised Usages featuring Tropes

The fifth pattern comprises stylised semantic usages that involve tropes unattested before Ennius. Three criteria must be met for a usage to qualify for this pattern. First, the lexical item must

(though not by Jocelyn, on whose edition this thesis is based) as a verbatim quotation from Ennius' *Achilles* (cf. e.g. Morelli (1992) 48 and 60).

be employed with a stylised meaning – that is, one that is infrequently attested (fewer than ten occurrences in EL and CL), predominantly confined to a single genre or context (at least 80% of occurrences), or explicitly identified as such in glosses. Secondly, the stylised meaning must involve a semantic trope, such as hyperbole, metaphor (provided that it is not a conventional metaphor; cf. pp. 34-5 and 127), metonymy, synecdoche, or synaesthesia; similes are excluded, as they do not alter the intrinsic meaning of the lexical item (cf. pp. 97 and 127). Thirdly, the semantic usage must be unattested prior to Ennius; otherwise, it should be qualified either as a "Latin poetic usage" (first pattern) or as a "literary semantic calque" (fourth pattern), depending on the earlier text in which it appears. The focus here is on the specific semantic usage rather than on the general type of trope.[584] For example, the metaphorical use of *recludo* meaning "unleash [wrath]" satisfies this criterion not because it is a metaphor – since metaphor is, of course, attested prior to Ennius – but because this particular usage of *recludo* is first attested in *trag.* 230. Given the fragmentary nature of both Greek and Latin literary corpora, however, such usages cannot be securey identified as Ennian innovations. Moreover, the analysis of individual tropes is often complicated by the possibility of divergent semantic interpretations.

As in the corresponding pattern in the stylised semantics of the *Annals* (cf. pp. 127-8), the semantic usages within this pattern are further classified according to the type of trope involved. The resulting categories largely correspond to those identified for the *Annals* – namely hyperbole, metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche[585] – with the addition of synaesthesia, that is, a trope in which perceptions associated with one sense are expressed in terms belonging to another. An example is provided by *fremitus* at *trag.* 394 *ager oppletus imbrium fremitus*, where a term typically associated with hearing (*fremitus* "roar") conveys an impression belonging to sight or touch, namely

[584] Cf. p. 128 on the analysis and codification of tropes before Ennius.
[585] In the tragedies, a possible instance of personification (a trope also found in the *Annals*) is *curis sumptus suspirantibus* at *trag.* 53; however, as it occurs within a clear and elaborate phonetic cluster (cf. Grilli (1965) 183-4), it is included under "poetic stylisation" (cf. n. 546).

the swelling or flooding caused by water (cf. pp. 243-4).[586] This pattern arguably requires the greatest degree of interpretative engagement. Accordingly, the classifications proposed here should not be regarded as definitive, since individual passages may admit multiple plausible interpretations.

5.1. Hyperbole (Category TS 5.1)

Two usages are included in this category: *incendium* in the sense "fire [of a torch]" (*trag.* 41) and *pinso* in the sense "hit" (*trag.* 354). The latter usage is comparable to that of *pinso* at *ann.* 350, discussed above (cf. p. 131). Accordingly, only *incendium* is analysed in detail in this section.

Table TS 5.1. Stylised Hyperbolic Usages in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
incendium	fire (of a torch)	41 AL	1b: 1 occurrence	*ignis*
pinso[587]	hit	354 IN	1b: 5 occurrences	*contundo*

[586] The use of *rapere* at *trag.* 32 *sed quid oculis rapere uisa est derepente ardentibus?* would constitute another possible instance of synaesthesia (*rapere*, typically associated with the sense of touch, being used of vision), were the transmitted line secure. Lambinus proposed emending *rapere* to *rabere* (cf. Ribbeck (1871[2]) 20, who accepts the emendation; Jocelyn (1967) 210, n. 1, who rejects it). In support of the synaesthetic construction *oculis rapere*, Vahlen (1903[2]) 127 cites *trag. inc.* 48 *oculis postremum lumen radiatum rape*, and Jocelyn (1967) 210 adduces *trag. inc.* 48, Plaut. *Poen.* 277 *haec tanta oculis bona concipio*, and Verg. *Georg.* 2.230 *locum capies oculis*. Jocelyn (1967) 210 further argues that the speaker (Hecuba) would not have required *uisa est* had she intended to describe Cassandra metaphorically as "raging like a dog" (the sense implied by *rabere*). Although this argument carries some weight, I am inclined to agree with the observations of Scheidweiler (1948) 323 and especially Skutsch (1968) 183-4 and n. 15, followed by Timpanaro (1996) 19, who accept the emendation. The fact that *rapere oculis* is attested in *trag. inc.* 48 does not necessitate its retention in Enn. *trag.* 32. First, *rabere oculis ardentibus* ("raging with blazing eyes", a symptom of madness) suits the context of prophetic frenzy more aptly than *rapere oculis ardentibus* ("glimpsing with blazing eyes"). Secondly, *rabere* forms an expressive antithetis with *sapientia* in *trag.* 33. Thirdly, the descriptive use of *oculis ardentibus* to indicate a symptom of madness is more effective than its instrumental use with *rapere* to describe Cassandra's fleeting perceptions. Nevertheless, although *rabere* appears preferable, I regard the case as uncertain and therefore do not include *trag.* 32 in the analysis.

[587] On Ennius' hyperbolic use of *pinso* at *ann.* 350, cf. p. 131.

Incendium at *trag.* 41-2 *adest adest fax obuoluta sanguine atque incendio* / *multos annos latuit. ciues ferte opem et restinguite* provides a clear example of hyperbole. In Latin, *incendium* normally denotes a large, destructive fire (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 215; cf. also It. "incendio" as opposed to "fuoco"), a meaning that does not appropriately descrive the flame of a torch. Indeed, this appears to be the only occurrence in EL and CL in which the word is used in this way.

The hyperbolic use of *incendium* is multi-layered and fits closely with the context of *trag.* 41-2. These lines belong to the passage from the *Alexander* preserved in Cic. *diu.* 1.66-7, within the discussion of prophetic frenzy, and specifically to Cassandra's prediction of Alexander's role[588] in the impending destruction of Troy (cf. e.g. Snell (1937) 27-8; Jocelyn (1967) 207-9; Timpanaro (1996) 50). The couplet is carefully constructed to convey the hallucinatory agitatation of Cassandra's trance. As Grilli (1965) 166 observes, *trag.* 41 is marked by a hectic rhythm and semantic opacity, with the repeated *adest* giving voice to Cassandra's inner turmoil. By contrast, *trag.* 42 opens with an explanatory comment on the prophecy, which momentarily slows the pace and moderates her agitation (*multos annos latuit*), only to culminate in an apostrophe to the *ciues* and an urgent plea for help that echoes the imagery and urgency of the preceding line (*restinguite*). Cassandra is thus presented as simultaneously terrified by her vision and desperate to persuade her audience of the magnitude of the threat facing Troy.

Describing the flame of a torch as an *incendium* accords well with this scenario. Cassandra's fate – condemned to prophesy without being believed – may well prompt her to adopt hyperbolic language. Moreover, as Grilli (1965) 166 suggests, *sanguen* and *incendium* together foreshadow the horrors of the catastrophe about to befall Troy. The use of *incendium* in *trag.* 41 is therefore best understood as a refined and contextually appropriate hyperbole for *ignis*, serving multiple dramatic and semantic functions.

5.2. Metaphor (Category TS 5.2)

This category contains the largest number of usages in the pattern (8 instances), in line with the generally high frequency of metaphor among tropes. At *trag.* 229-30, the metaphor of a door being

[588] The reference to the torch (*fax*) alludes to Hecuba's dream, which set in motion the abandonment of the newborn Alexander in the woods (cf. Snell (1937) 27 and Timpanaro (1996) 50).

forced open as an image for the unleashing of wrath is extended and involves three distinct semantic usages (*recludo* in the sense "unleash", *repagulum* in the sense "opportunity", and *trauersus* in the sense "misguided"). This metaphor is examined here in detail on account of its complexity.

Table TS 5.2. Stylised Metaphoric Usages in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
concido	defeat	372 IN	1a: prose 24/26 (92.31%) CL	*opprimo*
crispus	bent	86 AN	1b: 1 occurrence	*inclinatus*
efflo	squirt	14 AI	1a: poetry 3/3 (100%) CL	*emico*
fornix	sky	319 IN	1b: 1 occurrence	*caelum*[589]
recludo	unleash	230 ME	1a: 14/17 poetry (82.35%) CL	*effundo*
repagulum	opportunity	229 ME	1b: 2 occurrences	*occasio*
trauersus	misguided	229 ME	1a: 9/10 prose (90%) CL	*fallax*
uillosus	covered	384 IN	1b: 9 occurrences	*tectus*

The words ***trauersus*** in the figurative sense "misguided", ***repagula*** meaning "opportunity", and ***recludo*** meaning "unleash" in *trag.* 229-30 form a striking extended metaphor: *ille trauersa mente mi hodie*

[589] *Trag.* 319 contains the periphrasis *caeli ingentes fornices*. Ennius frequently describes the sky using similar periphrases (cf. n. 98); in such cases, the suggested neutral alternative is therefore *caelum*. Nevertheless, *fornix* is classified under "metaphors", since the metaphorical association of the sky with an arch-vault underlies the expression *caeli fornices*. The metaphorical force of the expression is confirmed by Cic. *de or.* 3.162, where Cicero considers the metaphor inappropriate on the grounds that Ennius allegedly brought a ball onto the stage to represent the sky; since a ball and an arch share no similarity, the resulting image is confusing.

tradidit repagula / *quibus ego iram omnem recludam* […].[590] In *trag.* 229-31, Medea plots to punish Creon for banishing her from Corinth. As Skutsch (1968) 170-1 and Brooks (1981) 190 observe, the metaphor begins with *trauersa* (*mente*) – a term rarely used metaphorically in EL and CL and, apart from this instance, unattested in poetry – and initially presents an obscure image, which is subsequently clarified through *repagula* and *recludam*.[591] Creon's decision to banish Medea, while granting her a single day's reprieve before departure, is conceptualised as an obstacle set sideways (*trauersa*) in the path of her plans. Yet this same delay affords her access to the *repagula*[592] – the "bolts" that confine her rage behind a metaphorical door. By "unbolting" them, she releases (*recludam*) her wrath and sets her destructive scheme in motion, a plan that will bring ruin, grief, and death upon Creon, and sorrow and exile upon herself (cf. *trag.* 230-1 […] *atque illi perniciem dabo / mihi maerores, illi luctum, exitium illi, exilium mihi*).

Medea's plotting is described in Euripides' *Medea* 364-75 and 399-40 (cf. e.g. Jocelyn (1967) 365-6 and Brooks (1981) 188-91):

> κακῶς πέπρακται πανταχῇ· τίς ἀντερεῖ;
> ἀλλ᾽ οὔτι ταύτῃ ταῦτα, μὴ δοκεῖτέ πω·
> ἔτ᾽ εἴσ᾽ ἀγῶνες τοῖς νεωστὶ νυμφίοις
> καὶ τοῖσι κηδεύσασιν οὐ σμικροὶ πόνοι.
> δοκεῖς γὰρ ἄν με τόνδε θωπεῦσαί ποτε
> εἰ μή τι κερδαίνουσαν ἢ τεχνωμένην;
> οὐδ᾽ ἂν προσεῖπον οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἡψάμην χεροῖν.
> ὁ δ᾽ ἐς τοσοῦτον μωρίας ἀφίκετο
> ὥστ᾽, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τἄμ᾽ ἐλεῖν βουλεύματα
> γῆς ἐκβαλόντι, τήνδ᾽ ἐφῆκεν ἡμέραν
> μεῖναί μ᾽, ἐν ᾗ τρεῖς τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν νεκροὺς
> θήσω, πατέρα τε καὶ κόρην πόσιν τ᾽ ἐμόν.

[590] Grilli (1965) 212 notes that, although separated within the verse, *trauersa* and *tradidit*, and *repagula* and *recludam*, form alliterative pairs. In analysing the extensive and coherent metaphor in which thes usages are embedded, however, I prioritise the semantic dimension over the phonetic one, and accordingly classify the stylised usages of *trauersus*, *repagulum*, and *recludo* under this pattern rather than under "poetic stylisation".

[591] By contrast, Lennartz (1994) 234 argues that *ille trauersa mente* is a close translation of Eur. *Med.* 371 ὁ δ᾽ἐς τοσοῦτον μωρίας ἀφίκετο and does not carry any metaphorical force. However, as Skutsch (1968) 171 observes, a closer non-metaphorical rendering of Euripides' words would be *peruersa mente*.

[592] I interpret *mi hodie tradidit repagula quibus ego iram omnem recludam* as "he has today given me access to the bolts; by removing them I shall unleash all my wrath". *Repagula* are the bolts securing a door – i.e. obstacles (cf. ThLL *s.u.* esp. 1135.48-64) – and not a key to open it, as Gualandri (1965) 117 n. 60 and Grilli (1965) 212 suggest. The metaphor is effective only if Medea is understood to be permitted to remove the bolts that confine her wrath behind barriers.

[…]
πικροὺς δ᾽ἐγώ σφιν καὶ λυγροὺς θήσω γάμους,
πικρὸν δὲ κῆδος καὶ φυγὰς ἐμὰς χθονός.[593] 400

Eur. *Med.* 364-75 and 399-40

However, no trace of the door metaphor can be found in these lines (cf. e.g. Ribbeck (1875) 154, Skutsch (1968) 170-1, Galasso and Montana (2004) 271, and Rosato (2005) 105). Jocelyn's claim (1967) 366 that Ennius borrowed the metaphor from this passage may therefore result from an oversight, since at p. 368, where he discusses *trag.* 229-30 in detail, he does not cite any Euripidean wording that would support such a view. Various attempts have been made to identify a comparable door image elsewhere in Euripides, but none appears convincing. Gualandri (1965) 117 n. 60 suggests that Eur. *Med.* 660 ἀνοίξαντα κλῆδα φρενῶν or Soph. *fr.* 360N ψυχῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὴν κεκλημένην πύλην may anticipate the bolts later mentioned by Ennius (*repagula*), but in both cases the action expressed is that of confiding in another, rather than unleashing wrath. Brooks (1981) 190-1 proposes that τἄμ᾽ἑλεῖν βουλεύματα in Eur. *Med.* 372 may have inspired Ennius' metaphor, although he concedes that the Greek expression is "barely a metaphor at all" and that Ennius reverses the logic of Euripides' formulation: in Euripides, it is Creon who restrains Medea, whereas in Ennius Medea presents herself as ensnaring Creon. This interpretation, however, rests on a mistaken understanding of *recludo* as "imprison" rather than "release" (cf. Lennartz (1994) 230): Medea does not intend to trap Creon, but rather to release her own wrath from the constrant imposed by Creon and thereby set her destructive plan in motion. Moreover, τἄμ᾽ἑλεῖν βουλεύματα should not be interpreted as implying physical capture or confinement: αἱρέω has a wide semantic range that does not necessarily convey such a sense (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 39; Kovacs (2001^2) 319 translates τἄμ᾽ἑλεῖν βουλεύματα as "check my plans"). Lennartz (1994) 230 therefore concludes that the image is most likely an Ennian invention. Similarly, Arcellaschi (1990) 88 argues that this metaphor exemplifies the "attirance du concret" characteristic of Ennius' tragic adaptations, which, in his view, catered to a Roman audience supposedly less receptive to abstract imagery.

[593] Compare especially Eur. *Med.* 399-400 with *trag.* 230-1 […] *atque illi perniciem dabo, / mihi maerores, illi luctum, exitium illi, exilium mihi.*

Although such interpretations may be overtly assertive, it seems reasonable to conclude that the door metaphor is not derived from any identifiable Greek source.[594]

By contrast, the image of a door being opened as metaphor for the onset of violence and destruction appears elsewhere in Ennius' corpus, notably in the depiction of Discordia forcing open the doors of the Temple of Janus to unleash war in *ann.* 225-6 *postquam Discordia taetra* / *Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*. Yet whereas Discordia breaks free through the doors with force and violence, Medea's avenging wrath proceeds according to a calculated plan: it does not erupt by violently breaking the barriers that confine it, but rather releases them with deliberate control. The two passages need not to be directly connected, and it is entirely possible that the scene involving Discordia alludes to the actual ritual of opening the doors of the Temple of Janus (cf. Skutsch (1985) 402-3). Nevertheless, both passages illustrate Ennius' interest in representing the onset of violence and destruction through the imagery of a door being opened.[595]

5.3. Metonymy (Category TS 5.3)

Ennius' tragedies exhibit a range of stylised metonymic usages, including attribute for quality (*arduus* for *altus* at *trag.* 73), part for whole (*cardo* for *postis* at *trag.* 88), effect for cause (*recipio* for *refugio* at *trag.* 298), result for agent (*sospes* for *seruator* at *trag.* 377), and product for source (*trabs* for *truncus* at *trag.* 209). The use of *cardo* for "door leaf" will be discussed as example of stylised metonymic usage.

Table TS 5.3. Stylised Metonymic Usages in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
arduus	high	73 AL	1a: poetry 54/66 CL (81.82%)	*altus*

[594] The parallel with Plaut. *Truc.* 603 *meamque iram ex pectore promam*, tentatively suggested by Jocelyn (1967) 368, does not appear comparable either, as it dos not involve the imagery of a door or its bolts.
[595] Cf. also *ann.* 534 *irarum effunde quadrigas* for the conceptual metaphor of the raging horse for wrath (cf. Gualandri (1965) 118, n. 60).

cardo	door leaf	88 AN	1a: poetic, conversational contexts 4/4 (100%)	*postis*
recipio	find a refuge	298 TH	1a: conversational contexts 27/28 (91.84%)	*refugio*
sospes	saviour	377 IN	1b: 1 occurrence	*seruator*
trabs	trunk	209 ME	1a: poetry 13/15 (86.67%) CL	*truncus*

In *trag.* 88 *saeptum altisono cardine templum,* ***cardo*** is used in the sense "door leaf", providing a distinctive example of stylised metonymy (part for whole). This interpretation seems unavoidable, since a *templum* is not enclosed (*saeptum*) by hinges – the ususal meaning of *cardo* – but by doors. The boldness of the metonymy, however, is partially mitigated by the adjective *altisonus* ("high-sounding"), which evokes the creaking noise produced by hinges as they turn. The association between creaking hinges and the opening of doors is, in fact, well established in Latin (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 443.7-36), and this conventional link likely renders the metonymy less striking.

However, in only four instances across EL and CL is *cardo* used metonymically for the whole door leaf without any explicit reference to the movement of the door: Enn. *trag.* 88, Lucil. 839 *uecte atque ancipiti ferro effringam cardines* and 840 *nemo hos ancipites ferro effringat cardines*;[596] and Gracch. *trag.* 1 *o grata cardo, regium egressum indicans.* All these occurrences are found in poetic texts, suggesting that the metonymy of "hinge" for "door leaf" was perceived as characteristically poetic. The context of *trag.* 88 is arguably the most elevated of the four, as it forms part of Andromache's lament over the destruction of Troy. This passage – through which Ennius earned Cicero's praise (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.45 *o poeta egregium*) – is suffused with pathos and marked by a high poetic register (cf. Grilli (1965) 170-5 Auhagen (2000a) 178-9). Its opening line, *trag.* 87 *o pater, o patria, o Priami domus*, was even parodied in Plaut. *Bacch.* 933 *o Troia, o*

[596] Cf. Krenkel (1970) 489 for the interpretation of *cardo* as *ianua* in both Lucil. 839 and 840. By contrast, Charpin (1991) 188-9 interprets *cardines* as "hinges" and argues that they are termed *ancipites* because there are two hinges on every door. I would instead suggest that the *cardines* are described as *ancipites* because the doors themselves are double-leaved. Furthermore, although the image of smashing the hinges to break down a door is frequent in Latin (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 443.37-48), a person threatening to force a door open with an axe (*ancipiti ferro*) would in fact strike the wooden leaves of the door rather than the metal hinges.

patria, o Pergamum, o Priame periisti senex, one of Plautus' most striking para-tragic passages (cf. Grilli (1965) 172-3). Moreover, the following line, *trag.* 88, features a grandiloquent compound, *altisono*. These elements suggest that, despite the common association in Latin between the creaking motion of *cardines* and the opening of doors, Ennius likely perceived the metonymic use of *cardo* for door leaf as belonging to elevated poetic diction.[597]

5.4. Synaesthesia (Category TS 5.4)

The use of *fremitus* (literally "roar") in *trag.* 394, a passage describing a sudden flood may be regarded as the only clear example of stylised synaesthetic usage in the tragedies. In this context, *fremitus* likely conveys either the visual impression of rising water or the tactile sensation of its dampness.

Table TS 5.4. Stylised Synaesthetic Usages in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
fremitus	liquid	394 IN	1b: 1 occurrence	*liquor*

The use of ***fremitus*** to describe a flood in *trag.* 394 *ager oppletus imbrium fremitus* constitutes a highly stylised instance of synaesthesia. Here, a flooded field is characterised through the sense of hearing (*imbrium fremitus* "the roar of the waters"), whereas one might instead expect vocabulary drawn from sight (the blue waters inundating and overwhelming the landscape) or touch (dampness, saturation) to convey such an image. This particular usage of *fremitus* is unattested elsewhere in Latin, and no comparable trope is found in Greek. It is therefore possible that this unusual synaesthesia was deliberately employed to convey the violent impact of floodwaters, especially given that *fremitus* denotes an intense noise that may be associated with destructive force.

[597] Warmington (1938) 303, n. c, likewise identifies elements of "elevated style" in Lucil. 839, whereas the apostrophe in Gracch. *trag.* 1 may reflect poetic stylisation through an allusion to the παρακλαυσίθυρα of the elegiac poets.

In addition, the lexical item *fremitus* exhibits a clear high-poetic stylisation. Irrespective of its meaning,[598] in EL *fremitus* occurs in poetry six times (five times in tragedy, including one in a *praetexta*, and once in epic) and once in comedy, with a poetic incidence of 94.19%, with the comedy parameter applied. Moreover, all attestations of *fremitus* appear in high-register contexts, since even the passage from comedy in which it occurs (Plaut. *Amph.* 186-261) constitutes a parody of epic narrative (the clash between Amphitruo and the Teleboans) and displays Plautine "literary virtuosity" (cf. Christenson (2000) 172-3). In particular, *Amph.* 232-3 *ferro ferit, tela frangunt, boat* / *caelum fremitu uirum* forms part of a hyperbolic description of the sky resounding with the war-cries of Amphitruo and the Teleboans.[599] It may therefore be inferred that, in EL, the lexical item *fremitus* was perceived as belonging to a high-poetic register, irrespective of the specific meaning it conveyed.

In sum, *trag.* 394 *ager oppletus imbrium fremitus* exhibits a stylised synaesthesia designed to convey the violent, roaring force of a flood, employing a lexical item characteristic of high-poetic diction. The overwhelming rise of the water is further emphasised by the participle *oppletus*, suggesting that the field is completely inundated. In light of the highly poetic and impressionistic character of this line, I disagree with Kessisoglu (1990) 72-3, who argues that *trag.* 394 in fact belonged to the *Euhemerus*.[600] Rather, it is more plausible that the fragment formed part of an impressionistic passage describing a salient moment in a tragedy. One possible attribution – already tentatively proposed by Ribbeck (1871[2]) 66 – is the *Andromeda*, where *trag.* 394 could hyperbolically describe the splashes produced by Cetus as it struggles with Perseus.[601]

[598] *Fremitus* is used both for natural and human sounds: in Enn. *ann.* 179, it denotes the noise of trees being cut down and falling, and in Pacuv. trag. 336 the rumbling of thunders; in Plaut. *Amph.* 233, cries of war, in Pacuv. *trag.* 311, the joyful shouts of a festival, in Acc. *praet.* 11, the clamour of marching soldiers, and in Acc. *trag.* 550, moans of pain. However, *fremitus* is only rarely used to denote the sound of water (eight occurrences in EL and CL; cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1280.63-73), whereas its base verb *fremo* is not subject to the same restriction (cf. ThLL *s.u.*1284.76-7 and 1285.3-18).
[599] The lexical item *fremitus* is also embedded in phonetic cluster and may function as an onomatopeic term (cf. Ernout and Meillet (19594) *s.u. fremo* 252-3) in Enn. *ann.* 179 *omne sonabat* / *arbustum fremitu siluai frondosai* (cf. n. 104, and Grilli (1965) 228-30) and in Plaut. *Amph.* 233 *ferro ferit, tela frangunt, boat* / *caelum fremitu uirum*.
[600] Furthermore, this would be the only fragment of the *Euhemerus* preserved by an author other than Lactantius (apart from Varro, who cites only a single word).
[601] Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 2.198, n. 1, note that the line "has often been ascribed to the *Andromeda*" (though I have identified only Ribbeck's suggestion), but they rightly observe that the passage may describe not an overflowing body of water but an intense rainstorm (*imbrium*), which would not suit the plot of the *Andromeda*. They therefore assign *trag.* 394 to the *incerta*, as does Jocelyn (1967) 156.

5.5. Synecdoche (Category TS 5.5)

Two instances of stylised synecdoche can be identified in Ennius' tragedies: *aes* meaning "shield" at *trag.* 2 (material for object), which will be discussed as a representative example, and *pestis* meaning "death" at *trag.* 323 and 328 (genus for species).

Table TS 5.5. Stylised Synechdochic Usages in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
aes	shield	2 AC[602]	1b: 2 occurrences (*trag.* 2)	*scutum*
pestis	death	323 IN; 328 IN	1a: 7/8 conversational contexts (83.64%); high-register contexts 8/8 (100%)	*mors*

In *trag.* 2 *prolato aere astitit*, ***aes*** is used in a synecdochic sense (material for object) to denote a shield. As Jocelyn (1967) 168 and n. 1 observes, *aes* – like its Greek counterpart χαλκός – is occasionally employed in poetry as a synecdoche for defensive armour, but never specifically to denote a shield. Alternatively, poets use *aes* to refer explicitly to the material from which shields are made (for both usages, cf. ThLL *s.u. aes* 1073.73-82 and LSJ *s.u.* χαλκός 1711, entry 2). In using *aes* to refer directly to shields in *trag.* 2, Ennius extends a familiar poetic association into a more marked semantic development – much as in the metonymic use of *cardo* for "door leaf" (cf. pp. 242-3). Such a bold trope is particularly suited to elevated contexts, in which warriors are portrayed bearing the heavy bronze shields of a heroic past, rather than the lighter, more contemporary shields made of wood, linen, leather, and metal (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 168).

[602] For the use of *aes* in the sense "defensive weapon" at *trag.* 165, cf. pp. 226-7.

6. Other and Doubtful Stylisation (Category TS 6)

This residual category comprises five stylised usages that elude classification under the established patterns for a variety of reasons. In particular, three usages may appear to relate, albeit loosely, to conversational variants of the language (*aduersum/aduorsum* in the sense of "in front of", *respecto* meaning "look at", and *tam* meaning "however"). The use of *aduersum/aduorsum* in the sense "in front of" at *trag*. 286 is predominantly attested in conversational texts and contexts, and may reflect a more expressive alternative to *ante* or *coram*, specifically suited to performative discourse in order to emphasise spatial relations. The lexical item *respecto* likewise exhibits a conversational distribution, occurring exclusively in conversational contexts in EL (twice in Plautus, once in Ennius' tragedies, and once in Terence). However, Ennius' usage differs from that found in Plautus and Terence: in *trag.* 71 it appears in the sense "look at" (*specto*), rather than "look back". Although the usage of prefixed verbs whose meaning does not fully reflect that of the preverb is typically associated with spoken language (cf. n. 229), neither the immediate context of *trag.* 71 (Cassandra's desperate vision of Hector's death) nor the later attestations of *respecto* with this meaning (two in Statius and one each in Pliny the Younger and Apuleius) support a specifically conversational interpretation. Finally, *tam* meaning *tamen* (*trag.* 380) also appears predominantly in conversational contexts, yet the available contextual evidence does not allow us to determine with certainty whether this usage should indeed be regarded as conversational.

By contrast, *uerso* in *trag.* 402 in the sense "brandish" may or may not reflect a Greek literary usage of τρέπω, depending on its precise interpretation in Ennius; however, the highly fragmentary context renders any secure assessment impossible. Finally, the type of stylisation possibly reflected in the expression *etiam atque etiam* (*trag.* 191), used in the sense of "more and more", is particularly difficult to determine. Even a tentative interpretation remains problematic, as this usage is attested only twice in EL and CL, although it is closely related to the more common and well-established meaning of the expression, "again and again".

Table TS 6.1. Semantic Usages with Other and Doubtful Stylisation in the Tragedies. Items in bold are discussed in detail below.

Word	Meaning	Position and tragedy in Jocelyn (1967)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
aduorsum	in front of	286 TP	1a: conversational contexts 11/11 (100%)	*ante*
etiam atque etiam	more and more	191 IP	1b: 2 occurrences	*magis magisque*
respecto	look at	71 AL	1b: 5 occurrences	*specto*
tam	however	380 IN[603]	1a: 7/7 conversational contexts (100%)[604]	*tamen*
uerso	brandish	402 IN	1b: 2 occurrences	*promo*

Aduorsum, used in the sense "in front of" at *trag.* 286 *te ipsum hoc oportet profiteri et proloqui / advorsum †illam mihi†* likely represents a more expressive variant of prepositions such as *apud*, *coram*, or *ante*. In EL, *aduorsum* with the meaning "in front of" is attested exclusively in conversational contexts (eleven occurrences): five in Plautus' comedies, two in Terence's *Andria*, and once each in Ennius' *Telephus*, Afranius, Titinius, and a speech attributed to Scipio. In almost all these instances,[605] the speaker explicitly emphasises the person or object before whom the action takes place.

[603] *Tam* in *trag.* 5 *†nam consilius† obuarant quibus tam concedit hic ordo* may stand either for *tamen* or *adeo* (cf. Timpanaro (1947) 71-2; Jocelyn (1967) 172). It is therefore excluded.

[604] Plaut. *Men.* 387, *Pseud*. 713 and *Stich*. 472 are not included, since *tam* ("however") occurs within the fixed expression, *tam gratia est* ("thanks, but no, thanks"). In this phrase, *tam* may also function as a comparative particle (cf. Braune (1882) 41-2): the *quam*-clause may be implicit – "[such is your offer], such is my gratitude" (an interpretation later revived by Brix, Niemeyer and Conrad (1929) 50, who apply it specifically to *Men.* 387 *bene uocas: tam gratiast*, interpreting it as *quam bene uocas tam gratiast*). Alternatively, the speaker may indicate the degree of their gratitude by gesture. Braune (1882) 42 also mentions a parallel, suggested by Lorenzi, with the Italian expression "tante grazie".

[605] It is difficult to determine where the emphasis lies in the two isolated fragments of Titin. *com.* 55 *mulier, credo, aduorsum illum res suas conqueritur* and Afran. *com.* 147-8 *de uita ac morte domini / fabulabere* (*fabulauere* Daviault) *aduorsum fratrem illius ac dominum tuum* (corr. Both. : *suum* codd.; cf. Lindsay (1903) 345). It is possible that, in Titin. *com.* 55, the speaker emphasises that the woman is complaining about her misfortunes specifically **in the presence of *illum***, and that, in Afran. *com.* 147-8, the speaker instructs (or requests) the listener to speak about the life and death of a master specifically **before his brother and the listener's own master**. Alternatively, according to Daviault's reading of Afran. *com.* 147-8, some slaves who had witnessed their master's brother's attempted suicide report the news **to him** (cf. Daviault (1981) 179, n. 8).

In Plaut. *Amph.* 936, Jupiter, impersonating Amphitruo, swears **in front of Alcmena herself** that he believes in her chastity. In *Asin.* 564, the slave Leonida praises his fellow slave's cunning abilities, noting that he was able to perjure himself **even before the most severe tribunal**. In *Bacch.* 127 the surprised pedagogue Lydus asks his pupil whether he has begun to answer **him** with witty retorts, and at 698 Mnesilochus reassures Chrysalus – who feared that Nicobulus had exposed his scheme – by reporting that Nicobolus told **him** he trusted Chrysalus. In *Mil.* 242, Palaestrio demonstrates the reliability of his plan, arguing that it would withstand even an accusation of infidelity brought by Sceledrus against Philocomasium **in the presence of Pyrgopolynices**. In Ter. *Andr.* 42 the freedman Sosia expresses all his gratitude to Simo **in his presence**, and in 265 the maid Mysis states that is essential that she must speak **to Pamphilus** about Glycerium's imminent delivery. In Enn. *trag.* 286, the speaker (possibly Agamemnon; cf. Ribbeck (1875) 111) asserts that his interlocutor must deliver a speech **in front of a woman** (possibly Clitemnestra; cf. again Ribbeck), although the words *illam mihi* may be corrupt (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 409-10). Finally, in Scip. min. or. *ap.* Gell. 6.12.5, Scipio criticises Publius Sulpicius Gallus' vanity, observing that he dresses and perfumes himself daily **before a mirror**.

In three further instances (Plaut. *Aul.* 690, *Mil.* 1080, and *Poen.* 400), *aduorsum* appears in constructions with *mentior/mendax*, where it denotes not only the physical position of the addressee but also their involvement in the speaker's utterance.[606] It therefore seems likely that *aduorsum* functioned as a more emphatic alternative to *apud*, *ante*, or *coram*, used to highlight the significance of the person or object before whom the action takes place. This emphasis was probably reinforced by the speaker's tone of voice – an inherently conversational feature. Accordingly, *aduorsum* in the sense "in front of" may be interpreted as an expressive semantic usage particularly suited for conversational and performative contexts.

Etiam atque etiam in *trag.* 191 *in altisono* / *caeli clipeo temo superat* / *<plaustri> stellas sublimum agens* / *etiam atque etiam noctis iter* appears to mean "more and more", a sense more typically conveyed by the phrase *magis magisque*. This constitutes an extremely rare semantic usage, attested in EL and CL only once in Ennius and once in Gellius (2.30.3), yet it may not carry any marked degree of stylisation. The

[606] In *Pseud.* 454 *orationem tibi para aduorsum senem*, which ThLL *s.u. aduersus* 852.70 lists alongside other Plautine passages where *aduorsum* conveys both physical orientation and interpersonal stance, the term retains its standard meaning "against"; the fact that the speech is delivered in the old man's presence is merely coincidental (cf. Christenson (2020) 205).

standard meaning of *etiam atque etiam* is rather "again and again" (cf. ThLL *s.u. etiam* 930.19-63). Three considerations suggest that Ennius may not have perceived this usage ("more and more") as distinct from its conventional meaning ("again and again"). First, the two meanings are closely related (indeed, the ThLL treats them under the same heading). Secondly, Ennius retains the conjunction *atque*, thereby preserving the fixed phrase *etiam atque etiam*, rather than employing *-que*, as in *magis magisque*, the more usual expression for "more and more". Thirdly, the presence of the noun *iter* in *trag.* 191 may have encouraged the use of an expression typically associated with repetion (*etiam atque etiam*), rather than one marking intensity (*magis magisque*).

An analysis of the contexts in which *etiam atque etiam* occurs in the sense "more and more" suggests that this semantic usage did not carry any clear stylistic marking. It is true that *trag.* 191 appears within a highly poetic passage (cf. the compound *altisono*, the periphrastic and alliterative expression *caeli clipeo*, and the alliteration between the poetic items *sublimum* and *stellas*) and that these lines – closely modelled on Eur. *I.A.* 6-8 – may have formed part of the prologue, a section of a tragedy typically characterised by elevated diction. However, this does not necessarily imply that *etiam atque etiam* itself carried a high-poetic value. Indeed, the same usage is attested in Gell. 2.30.3 in a markedly prosaic context, namely a discussion of the different types of the waves produced by winds blowing from various directions. It is therefore possible that *etiam atque etiam* in the sense "more and more" was not an established poetic usage at the time of Ennius, and that he is unlikely to have intended it to be perceived as poetic – if stylised at all.

The type of stylisation exhibited by ***respecto*** (*trag.* 71) is difficult to determine. As noted above (cf. pp. 205 and 246), the synchronic distribution of the lexical item *respecto* in EL – considering occurrences irrespective of meaning – is predominantly conversational, since the lemma appears twice in Plautus (*Cas.* 886 and *Men.* 161), once in Terence (*Ad.* 157), and once in Ennius' tragedies. However, whereas in Plautus and Terence *respecto* means "look back", thus retaining the semantic force of the preverb *re-* (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1505.27-32), in *trag.* 71 *aut qui te sic respectantibus tractauere nobis?* it simply means "look at", with the preverb contributing no discernible semantic value.

Although the use of prefixed verbs with the meaning of their simple counterparts is often regarded as a feature of spoken language – particularly in light of the semantic development of prefixed verbs in the

Romance languages (cf. n. 229) – this does not appear to be the case with *respecto* in *trag.* 71. The line forms part of the highly poetic sequence of Cassandra's prophecies concerning the destruction of Troy (cf. Brooks (1981) 253-5), and more specifically her vision of Hector's hapless death: *o lux Troiae, germane Hector, / quid ita cum tuo lacerato corpore miser? / aut qui te sic respectantibus tractauere nobis?*.[607] These verses are deeply pathetic. One may note the apostrophe to Hector both in his civic role as the "light of Troy" and in his familial relationship (*germane*), which intensifies the sense of a dual – and therefore particularly tragic – loss, as well as the repeated emphasis on the mutilation of his body (*lacerato corpore*, *miser*, *tractauere*). Cassandra's emotional turmoil is further reflected in the use of elevated poetic diction, such as Hector's epithet "light of Troy" – a convention inherited from Greek literature already attested in the Odyssey (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 232) – and possibly the *-ere* ending of *tractauere* (though cf. Jocelyn (1967) 232 and Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)). It is therefore unlikely, that the use of *respecto* in this passage imitates spoken language. On the other hand, this evidence is not sufficient to establish that *respecto* in the sense "look at" constitutes a clearly poetic usage.

An examination of the other occurrences of *respecto* in the sense of *specto* in EL and CL likewise suggests no clear stylisation. This meaning of *respecto* is extremely rare, being attested only four further times in EL and CL: Stat. *Theb.* 3.377 and 10.887, Plin. *paneg.* 23.2, and Apul. *met.* 2.23.7. These texts belong to different genres and date from the late first century AD onwards, nearly three centuries after Ennius, and are therefore of limited relevance for assessing the stylistic value of *respecto* in Enn. *trag.* 71. The only feature common to all five passages appears to be semantic: in each case, *respecto* denotes a gaze charged with emotion – sadness in Enn. *trag.* 71, resentment in Stat. *Theb.* 3.377 and 10.887, gratitude in Plin. *paneg.* 23.2, and vulnerability or a plea for protection in Apul. *met.* 2.23.7. However, *respecto* is not the verb Ennius typically uses to convey emotionally charged vision. Compare *trag.* 78-9, where Andromache recalls witnessing Hector's body dragged behind Achilles' chariot, an image of intense pathos: ***uidi uidere*** *quod me passa aegerrume,* / *Hectorem curru quadriiugo raptarier*. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that *respecto* in the sense of *specto* in Enn. *trag.* 71 does not exhibit any clear stylistic marking.

[607] The prosody of these lines and the structure of the first question (in which a verb is probably missing) remain debated (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 231-2 and Timpanaro (1996) 54-5 for a summary of the hypotheses).

The synchronic distribution of ***tam*** in the sense "however" (*tamen*) suggests that it may reflect neutral conversational usage, although its stylistic value remains uncertain. This usage is discussed by Fest. 494 L,[608] who cites Naev. *com.* 130 *quid si taceat? Dum uideat, tam sciat quid scriptum sit*; Enn. *trag.* 380 *ille meae tam potis pacis potiri,* and Titin. *com.* 156 *bene cum facimus, tam male sapimus,*[609] *ut quidem perhibent uiri* and 157 *quamquam estis nihili, tam ecastor simul uobis consului* as examples in which *tam* means "however". In addition to the passages quoted by Festus, *tam* with the meaning *tamen* also occurs in Plaut. *Bacch.* 1194 *si dum uiuas tibi bene facias tam pol is quidem esse haud perlonginquom*; *Merc.* 32-3 *quae nihil attingunt ad rem nec sunt usui, / tam amator profert saepe aduorso tempore*; and *Stich.*43-5 *etsi illi improbi sint atque aliter / nos faciant quam aequost, tam pol / nequid magis sit*.[610]

However, there may originally have been more instances of *tam* in this sense. Some occurrences transmitted as *tamen* may not be original, but rather reflect scribal trivialisations of *tam*; in certain cases, modern editors have acknowledged textual uncertainty (cf. e.g. Plaut. Epid. 585 or Stich. 27).[611] Consequently, the true extent of the use of *tam* in the sense *tamen* remains uncertain: Fennell (1893) 3 describes it as rare and specifically Plautine, whereas Marmorale (1950) 231 considers it "abbastanza frequente negli scrittori di periodo arcaico". Nevertheless, on the basis of the extant EL and CL corpus, adversative *tam* qualifies as a low-frequency – and therefore stylised – semantic usage.

The precise nature of its stylisation, however, remains uncertain. Most likely, *tam* is older than *tamen*,[612] which appears to have developed later either to reduce the ambiguity between the comparative and adversative meanings of *tam* (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u. tam* 674) or as a more emphatic form of adversative *tam* (cf. Corssen (1863) 279). In EL, however, adversative *tam* does not seem to have been perceived as archaic (cf. also n. 613). Rather, *tamen* and *tam* appear to have coexisted as alternative forms

[608] Festus states that *antiqui tam etiam pro tamen usi sunt*. This usage of *tam* is indeed attested only in EL; however, this does not imply that *tam* in the sense "however" was perceived as a semantic archaism in that period.
[609] Bothe coni. : *subimus* uel *subicimus* uel *sabinus* uel *cupimus* mss.
[610] Other possible instances of this usage of *tam* may include Plaut. *Men.* 387, *Pseud.* 713, and *Stich.* 472, where the word appears in the fixed phrase *tam gratiast* (but cf. n. 598); Plaut. *Epid.* 585, where Bothe proposed restoring *tam* in place of *tamen* for metrical reasons; and Ter. *Ad.* 278 *ne tam quidem,* where Donatus suggests that both meanings of *tam* ("as" and "however") may be valid (cf. Guardì (1985) 167).
[611] Braune (1882) 41-52 (esp. 45-48) argues that *tam* was used only when in close proximity to a concessive clause, whereas *tamen* was employed in all other contexts (except when at the end of a line, where *tamen* is invariably used). Accordingly, he proposes emending Plaut. *Rud.* 1350, *Cas.* 421, *Mil.* 1355, *Rud.* 384, and *Most.* 858; Afran. *com.* 125; and Cato, *orig.* 83.2 and *orat.* 22.1, and dismisses Enn. *trag.* 145 *ille meae tam potis pacis potiri* on the grounds that the line allegedly lacks a main verb, though this may be supplied as *potis* (*est*). This interpretation, however, relies on an excessive number of ecdotic emendations.
[612] By contrast, e.g. Ritschl (1859) 399 argues that adversative *tam* is a conversationally reduced form of *tamen.*

meaning "however". Moreover, the passages in which *tam* occurs with this meaning display no clear features of archaic stylisation that might suggest it was regarded as old-fashioned.[613]

Rather, the fact that adversative *tam* appears only in dramatic texts and, in three out of seven attestations (Titin. *com.* 157, Plaut. *Bacch.* 1194 and *Stich.* 44), occurs alongside expressions of clear conversational stylisation – such as the interjections *ecastor* and *pol* – may suggest that it was perceived as a feature of conversational usage. However, it is difficult to draw more specific conclusions, since the characters employing adversative *tam* vary widely both in gender and social status: a prostitute in Plaut. *Bacch.* 1193 (and possibly in Titin. *com.* 156), a woman of uncertain status in Titin. *com.* 157,[614] a young married woman in Plaut. *Stich.* 44, a young lover in *Merc.* 33, and unidentified speakers in Naev. *com.* 130 and Enn. *trag.* 380. This evidence is therefore insufficient to support the classification of adversative *tam* as a marker of conversational stylisation. Accordingly, it seems preferable to treat *tam* in the sense "however" as an instance of doubtful stylisation.

Finally, determining the stylisation of the semantic usage of ***uerso*** in *trag.* 402[615] *uersat mucronem* is extremely difficult, as the meaning of the line itself remains uncertain. The phrase *uersat mucronem* is preserved in Serv. *Aen.* 744, where Servius identifies Virgil's use *uersat* at *Aen.* 747 *at non hoc telum, mea quod ui dextera uersat,* / *effugies* as Ennian. Servius, however, interprets *uerso* in *Aen.* 747 in the sense of *libro*, *iacto* ("throw, hurl"), whereas in context it more precisely means "brandish". This is clear from *Aen.* 749, where Turnus, after uttering these threatening words, raises his sword (*ensis*), a weapon that is brandished rather than thrown. Servius' interpretation may have been influenced by Virgil's use of *telum*, here meaning "sword". It is therefore likely that *uerso* in Ennius likewise means "brandish", not least because a *mucro* is not a weapon typically thrown.[616]

[613] Even if one accepts that *tam* in the fixed expression *tam gratiast* is adversative (cf. n. 604), its occurrence within fixed expressions does not necessarily imply that this usage of *tam* was archaising in EL (cf. the case of *cerno* in the fixed phrase *nunc specimen specitur, nunc certamen cernitur* at pp. 217-8).
[614] For the conjectures regarding the two fragments of Titinius, cf. Guardì (1985) 167.
[615] The attribution of the phrase *uersat mucronem* to the tragedies is uncertain. Skutsch (1985) 131 and 756 suggests that it may belong to the *Annals*, whereas Vahlen (1903[2]) 230 leaves the question open and lists it among the *incerta*.
[616] Within a military context, *uerso* is also attested at Stat. *Theb*. 4.167 *quattuor indomitis Capaneus erepta iuuencis* / *terga superque rigens iniectu molis aenae* / *uersat onus*, where it may mean "brandish" (cf. e.g. Lesueur (1990) 90) or "swing in all directions" (cf. OLD *s.u.* 2040, entry 4). This occurrence therefore offers no assistance in determining the meaning of *uerso* at *trag.* 402.

An alternative interpretation is “deflect”, which aligns more closely with the notion of turning inherent in other uses of *uerso*, such as “stir” or “drive around” (cf. OLD *s.u.* 2040-1). On this reading, *uersat mucronem* (*e.g. clipeo*) would describe a defensive rather than an offensive manoeuvre. This usage would parallel that of Greek τρέπω (cf. LSJ *s.u.* 1571, entry 4 IV), as. in Hom. *Il.* 5.187 ὃς τούτου βέλος ὠκὺ κιχήμενον ἔτραπεν ἄλλῃ.[617] However, determining the meaning of *uerso* in *trag.* 402 ultimately appears impossible, for both internal and external reasons. Internally, the fragment is extremely brief and preserved without any contextual framework (and its attribution is itself uncertain; cf. n. 615). Externally, the available parallels for *uerso* in comparable military contexts are extremely limited. Consequently, *uerso* in *trag.* 402 must be regarded as a case of highly doubtful stylisation, epitomising the challenges of semantic analysis in the context of a fragmentary corpus.

[617] I do not fully understand Skutsch’s suggestion (1985) 756 that *uerso* may mean “turn”, as in, for example, *in Fabium uersat mucronem*. It is unclear whether Skutsch intends something like “seizing the sword and directing it towards Fabius”.

The *Euhemerus*

Lexicon and Semantics

General overview

The *Euhemerus*, now widely regarded as an original prose[618] adaptation[619] of Euhemerus of Messene's fictitious diary recounting a journey in search of the human origins of the gods,[620] has survived primarily[621] through a series of extended fragments quoted in Lactantius' *Divine Institutions*. These excerpts, embedded within a religious dicusssion on pagan deities, were not preserved for their linguistic peculiarities. Consequently, this collection of fragments most likely reflects the standard linguistic register of the *Euhemerus*, rather than isolated stylistic features that might deviate from the general prose of the work. However, Lactantius' method of quotation has given rise to scholarly debate concerning the authenticity of the transmitted fragments. Of the twelve excerpts cited in the *Divine Institutions* and collected as fragments 1-12 in Vahlen's edition (1903^2), only eight (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11) are now generally regarded as faithful reproductions of Ennius' original text. The remaining four (2, 9, 10, and 12) are considered to have been heavily affected by Lactantius' rephrasing.[622] Accordingly, the present analysis will focus exclusively on these reliable fragments, together with fragment 13, a single-word fragment preserved in a Varronian gloss.

[618] A summary of the debate as to whether the *Euhemerus* was originally composed in verse or prose is provided by Winiarczyk (2013) 115-117.

[619] Cf. e.g. Feeney (1991) 122, Suerbaum (2002) 131, Winiarczyk (2013) 119, Adams (2016) 7, Goldberg and Manuwald (2018) 2.239. The view that Ennius' *Euhemerus* was not a verbatim translation of the Greek original is based on Cic. *nat. deor.* 1.119 *quae ratio maxime tractata ab Euhemero est, quem noster et interpretatus est et secutus praeter ceteros Ennius*, a claim echoed at Lact. 1.11.32 *hanc historiam et interpretatus est Ennius et secutus*. Winiarczyk (2013) 118-119 also identifies several apparent references to the Roman world, which are impossible to have appeared in the original Greek.

[620] Euhemerus reports that he discovered a golden stele in a temple of Zeus on an island in the Indian Ocean. This stele, inscribed first by Zeus and then by Hermes with an account of the gods' deeds in a hieroglyphic script, was translated into Greek by the temple priests (cf. Winiarczyk (2013) 87-95).

[621] The only other source for the fragments of the *Euhemerus* is Varro, *rust.* 1.48.2, who attests the use of the word *gluma* "husk".

[622] Krug (1948) 57-59 and Laughton (1951) 35-49 independently assessed fragments 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, and 11 as authentic. Fraenkel (1964b) 58 further argued that fragment 5 may represent an adaptation of Ennius' words into *oratio obliqua*, and noted that fragment 8 is too brief to be assessed according to his criteria. See also Winiarczyk (1994) 285-6.

I have identified 22[623] stylised lexical items in the *Euhemerus*. Owing to their relatively small number and limited range of stylisation types, these items are organised in a simpler and less elaborate manner than those of the *Annals* and the tragedies. They are grouped into four categories – "prose stylisation", "low register", "technical stylisation", and "conversational distribution" – all corresponding to the pattern "context of use" employed in the other chapters.[624] The category of "prose stylisation" is the most extensive (15 items), whereas "technical stylisation" and "conversational distribution" each comprise only a single item (*gluma* at *fr.* 13 and *sempiternus* at *fr.* 11, respectively). Unlike the *Annals* and the tragedies, register has been treated as a classificatory variable, since five items out of twenty-two display a significant distribution in low-register texts and contexts (cf. pp. 265-6). In addition, only one instance of stylised semantic usage has been identified in the *Euhemerus* (*circumago* at *fr.* 3 in the sense "surround", rather than "lead around"). Given the very limited number of stylised semantic usages in the *Euhemerus*, the section on stylised semantics has been integrated into that on stylised lexicon.

The findings of this analysis accord with previous linguistic assessments on the *Euhemerus* in highlighting its limited lexical and semantic stylisation, which largely consists of prosaic and low-register items contributing to a clear and straightforward mode of expression. In particular, Adams (2016) 7-26 (esp. 25-26) characterises the language of the *Euhemerus* as an instance of artificial simplicity, combining features typical of prose with elements of popular narrative. According to Garbarino (1973) 292-3, this simplicity of register ultimately reflects Ennius' intention to humanise and desecralise the gods, reducing events traditionally narrated as heroic deeds in an elevated style to more ordinary episodes expressed in everyday language. This simplified character emerges most clearly in the lexicon and syntax of the text. Features such as the limited lexical variety (cf. Oddi

[623] I have excluded *scribo* and *scriptio* in *fr.* 4, as their co-occurrence within the same sentence appears to emphasise the role of writing, thereby rendering substitutions such as *narro* or *liber* inappropriate (cf. Russo (2017) 346-80, esp. 369-71): *haec, ut scripta sunt, Iouis fratrumque eius stirps atque cognatio: in hunc modum nobis ex sacra scriptione traditum est*. For the case of *indo*, see n. 523.

[624] Only one item (*circumsaepio* at *fr.* 5) may exemplify the pattern of "morphology and derivation" (category "standard morphology"), as it displays a distinctive word-formation pattern. However, since it also exhibits a significant synchronic distribution in prose texts, it is included solely under the category "prose stylisation" for the sake of simplicity.

and Pezzini (forthcoming)), the frequent use of temporal connective particles such as *deinde* – sometimes even redundantly iterated as in the case of *deinde posterius* in *fr.* 3 – in clause-initial position (cf. p. 259), the superfluous repetition of pronouns (cf. Mikalson (1976) 172), and the marked reliance on paratactic constructions (cf. Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)) all contribute to a style that may be described as deliberately simple and transparent.[625]

An illustrative lexical example of the text's simplicity and immediacy is provided by *sempiternus* (*fr.* 11), a term exhibiting a significant synchronic distribution in conversational texts and contexts, in which the meaning of *aeternus* is reinforced through the prefix *semp-*, cognate with the adverb *semper*. Similarly, the use of stylised prefixed verbs (nine instances)[626] appears primarily aimed at enhancing the clarity and transparency of expression. In at least six of the nine cases, the preverb serves to specify the action denoted by the verb and to facilitate comprehension: *ab-eo* emphasises departure, *circum-ago* (which constitutes an instance of stylised semantics; cf. pp. 272-3), *circum-saepio*, and *con-prehendo* denote enclosure or confinement, *e-leuo* suggests removal, *ex-imo* conveys liberation from constraint.[627] This phenomenon may be compared to the semantic contribution of adverbial particles in certain phrasal verbs in modern English, such as "get up" (cf. Blake (2002) 28). Moreover, the use of such prefixed verbs reduces lexical variation (e.g. *ex-imo* in place of *libero*), reflecting a form of linguistic economy characteristic of colloquial registers (cf. Hofmann and Ricottilli (1985) 335).

Furthermore, in the lexicon of the *Euhemerus*, terms that may not be immediately intelligible are reduced to a minimum: only a single technicism is attested, while stylised loanwords and lexical

[625] Since the focus of this thesis is on stylised lexicon, semantics and morphology, syntactic features such as redundancy in connective expressions, the repetition of pronouns, and paratactic constructions are not discussed in detail.
[626] *Diuido* is excluded from this count because it is formed with the prefix *dis-* and **uido*, which is not attested as a simplex verb (cf. Ernout and Meillet (1959[4]) *s.u.* 177).
[627] The other stylised prefixed verbs in the *Euhemerus* may instead reflect the colloquial phenomenon of the weakening of the preverb's semantic force (cf. n. 229): *commuto* is used in the same sense as *muto* in the phrase *commutauit uitam* ("abandon the mundane life"); *emorior* in the sense of *morior*; and *rescisco* in the sense of *scisco* (i.e. *cognosco*).

items associated with poetic, high-register, or archaic stylisation are entirely absent.[628] This characterisation is consistently reflected across all the surviving fragments. Of the twenty-two items identified in this section, twenty-one may be classified as instances of "in-text stylisation" (cf. p. 41), that is, items conforming to the linguistic profile typical of the work – in this case, a low-register prose text (for the case of *sempiternus*, cf. pp. 269-70). By contrast, only one lexical items appears to represent "out-of-text stylisation", that is, a form not characteristic of the linguistic milieu of the *Euhemerus*: the technicism *gluma* at *fr*. 13, which is, moreover, preserved in a peculiar context (cf. pp. 270-1).

The semantics of the *Euhemerus* appear even more strikingly unmarked, with only a single stylised usage (*circumago* at *fr*. 3 in the sense "surround", rather than "lead around"),[629] thus displaying a minimal degree of either "in-text" or "out-of-text" stylisation.[630] Stylised semantics – even in cases of "in-text stylisation" – tends to obscure the text more than stylised lexicon. A stylised lexical item can be readily recognised as such, even if its meaning is not immediately clear; by contrast, a stylised semantic usage involves assigning an otherwise ordinary word or expression a meaning it does not typically bear. This may generate confusion for the reader and thus runs counter to the overarching aim of clarity and transparency in the *Euhemerus*. Consistently with this tendency, although *circumago* is attested only twice across EL and CL in the sense "surround", its meaning in *fr*. 3 remains clear from the immediate context.

However, as Professor Russo – whose suggestion I gratefully acknowledge – pointed out to me, any attempt to outline a general linguistic profile of the *Euehemerus* on the basis of the text

[628] In *fr*. 9 – generally considered non-authentic – the high-poetic term *uescor* (attested once in the *Euhemerus*, once in Novius, twice in Pacuvius, and four times in Accius) occurs alongside the frequentative *esito*, a term common in prose, while the neutral variant *edo* is absent. This unusual lexical variety may support the fragment's non-authenticity.
[629] The lexical item *circumago* likewise exhibits a significant synchronic distribution irrespective of meaning, being attested only in prose in EL (four attestations).
[630] The low register of conversational Latin and Latin poetic diction share a preference for semantically broad terms such as *facere* (cf. Hofmann and Ricottilli (1985) 336-7, n. 2), though possibly for different reasons: the former owing to the aforementioned principle of linguistic economy (cf. p. 257), the latter owing to a preference for an allusive rather than semantically precise vocabulary. As a result, semantic usages that might be taken as low-register on account of their broad meaning are in fact non-stylised, since they are not exclusively or predominantly confined to low-register texts and contexts.

preserved in Lactantius' quotations must take into account that that these excerpts are shaped by Lactantius' theological agenda. Furthermore, and more importantly, all the surviving fragments belong to the section translating the inscription on the golden stele. It is therefore possible that Ennius deliberately adopted a simple language only in this part of the work in order to reproduce the archaic simplicity of the inscription – and thereby reinforce its authenticity – in contrast to the different register that may have characterised the remainder of the text describing Euhemerus' journey.

1. Prose Stylisation (Category ELS 1)

As noted above, the lexicon of the *Euhemerus* contains a large number of items exhibiting "in-text stylisation". In particular, the most prominent category is that of "prose stylisation", that is, items displaying a significant synchronic distribution in prose texts, comprising fifteen items. Among these are two temporal adverbs (used in clause-initial positions): *deinde*, which occurs six times, and *item*, attested once. The frequent placement of such particles at the beginning of clauses – thirteen out of nineteen sentences in the authentic fragments of the *Euhemerus* open with temporal adverbs, including those with a less distinctively prose distribution, such as *ibi*, *tum* and *exim* – is characteristic of EL (cf. Skustch (1985) 163; Adams (2013) 19-20). This feature has been identified as typical of popular narrative across a range of languages and cultures (cf. Fraenkel (1964b) 53-8, esp. 55-6) and may already have been present in the *Annales Pontificum* (not the *Annales Maximi*, but the pre-literary records compiled by the *pontifex maximus*; cf. Elliott (2013) 23-6) or in the original Greek text of the *Euhemerus* (cf. Norden (2002^{8}) 492).

Four further lexical items exhibiting prose stylisation consist of prefixed verbs in which the preverbs carry a clear semantic value, thereby rendering the overall meaning of the verb more transparent (see pp. 257 and 262-3): *circumsaepio*, *conprehendo*, *eleuo,* and *eximo*. A similar formation also appears under the category of low register (*abeo*). Likewise, in the case of the

stylised semantic usage of *circumago* (see pp. 272-3), the prefix *circum-* contributes to the clarity and immediacy of the compound verb's meaning. By contrast, *commuto* may instead represent a prefixed verb used in the sense of its simplex counterpart (cf. n. 229).

In addition, a number of lexical items appear ill suited to poetic diction and may, in some cases, reflect a bureaucratic register: *dare in conspectum*, *diuido*, *multitudo*, *uirile secus*, and perhaps *periculum* (cf. n. 631). Moreover, the apparent prose distribution of certain words may result from their frequent occurrence in specific texts, such as *controuersia* in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *creo* in CIL 1.583 (the *lex agraria* of 111 BC). Finally, the preference of EL prose writers for *supra* over *super* remains unclear, but may be connected with the adverbial use of *supra* in relatively unpoetic fixed expressions such as *ut supra diximus*.

Table ELS 1. Lexical Items of Prose Stylisation in the *Euhemerus*. Items in bold are discussed in detail.

Item	Fragment in Vahlen (1903^2)	First-stage result	Alternative
circumsaepio	5	1a: prose 11/11 (100%) CL	*cingo*
commuto	11	1a: prose 35/51 (84.22%)	*muto*
conprehendo	4; 5	1a: prose 14/20 (83.08%)	*capio*
controuersia	8	1a: prose 26/31 (95.64%)	*lis*
creo	6; 11	1a: prose 21/30 (80.53%)	*construo* (6); *condo* (11)
dare in conspectum	3	1a: prose 10/12 (83.33%) CL	*ostendo*

deinde	3 (bis); 4; 5; 6; 11	1a: prose 121/153 (87.75%)	*postea*
diuido	11	1a: prose 49/65 (84.64%)	*partio*
eleuo	5	1a: prose 62/69 (89.86%) CL	*minuo*
eximo	5	1a: prose 34/54 (81.45%)	*libero*
item	3; 8	1a: prose 222/317 (84.28%)	*pariter*
multitudo	5	1a: prose 14/15 (93.33%)	*multi*
periculum	5	1a: prose 45/58 (89.87%)	*discrimen*[631]
supra	6	1a: prose 15/17 (91.63%)[632]	*super*
uirile secus	3	1a: prose 13/13 (100%)[633] CL	*puer*[634]

Circumsaepio (*fr*. 5), the only lexical item in the *Euhemerus* that exhibits a distinctive word-formation pattern and a significantly low frequency (eleven occurrences across EL and CL), is attested exclusively in prose texts: once each in the *Euhemerus*, Cicero, the pseudo-Ciceronian *Letter to Octavian*, Columella, Livy, Pliny the Elder, Seneca, Apuleius, and a votive inscription, and twice in Suetonius.

[631] The earliest recorded use of *discrimen* in the sense of *periculum* is found at Cic. *Sull*. 77.
[632] Only occurrences of *supra* as a preposition are considered.
[633] Occurrences of *uirile* and *muliebre secus* are included.
[634] The expression *uirile secus* occurs in the phrase *quid liberum uirile secus*; accordingly, *puer* is proposed as the neutral alternative.

Similarly, the word-formation pattern of *circumsaepio* – that is, the formation of verbs compounded with the preverb *circum-* – is only rarely attested in EL poetry. In EL, approximately 9% of such prefixed verbs occur in poetic texts (60% in prose and 31% in comedy, with the comedy parameter applied).

In *Euh. fr.* 5, *circumsaepio* is used in the description of Jupiter's discovery of Saturn and Ops in captivity: *cum audisset patrem atque matrem custodiis circumsaeptos atque in uincula coniectos.* The meaning of the term is transparent, and its association with *saepes* ("hedge"), which typically conveys the idea of physical enclosure, is reinforced by the preverb *circum-*. The stylistic characterisation of this prefix, possibly owing to its contribution for semantic immediacy, is supported by its contrast with the two occurrences of the unprefixed *saepio* and the single occurrence of *consaepio* in Ennius' tragedies, where *circumsaepio* is not attested. Even in this instance – where the low-frequency form (possibly a neologism) *circumsaepio* is employed – Ennius clearly favours a lexicon that is direct and readily intelligible, in keeping with the stylistic profile of the *Euhemerus*.

A comparable usage may be illustrated by the lexical item ***eximo*** in *fr.* 5, describing Jupiter's liberation of his parents *Iouem adultum* […] *parentes uinculis exemisse*, which likewise exhibits a significant synchronic distribution in EL prose. Indeed, both *eximo* and its proposed neutral alternative *libero* appear avoided in EL poetry: *eximo* does not occur at all, while the only poetic instance of *libero* is found at Enn. *trag.* 131, where it is used metaphorically in the phrase *incommodis liberare* within a relatively prosaic fragment reminiscent of rhetorical discourse and legal terminology: *si probus est, collocaui. sin est inprobus, / diuortio te liberabo incommodes* (cf. Jocelyn (1967) 274-7). Nevertheless, *libero* may still be regarded as a neutral term since, unlike *eximo*, it is also widely attested in comedy.

In any case, there appears to be a register distinction between *eximo* and *libero*. In more formal contexts, *libero* is more commonly used (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1304.56 and SENT. Minuc. = CIL 1.584 *iudicati aut damnati sunt sei quis in uinculeis ob eas res est eos omneis / soluei mittei leiber*(*are*)*ique*).[635] This distinction may reflect a broader contrast between abstract and concrete expression. The denominative verb *libero* is more abstract, conveying the result of the action ("make someone free"), whereas the *eximo* expresses the action itself in more concrete terms through the use of the prefix *ex-*, which foregrounds the notion of movement

[635] By contrast, *eximo* is used in the more figurative sense "liberate from a siege" in the honorific inscription of INSCR. *column. rostr.* (CIL 1.25).

(take **off** chains, *uinculis **ex**imisse*). Accordingly, in the *Euhemerus* – a text characterised by a preference for immediate and transparent expression – *eximo* may have been selected over *libero* precisely because it was perceived as more concrete and readily intelligible. Moreover, the use of a compound verb may reflect the aforementioned principle of linguistic economy, characteristic of lower register (cf. p. 257). In conclusion, in both *circumsaepio* and *eximo* the prefix may contribute to a clear and straightforward mode of expression.

By contrast, ***multitudo***, attested in *fr*. 5 to describe the army of Cretans led by Jupiter to defeat Titan and liberate his parents, Saturn and Ops (*uenisse cum magna Cretensium multitudine*), likely reflects a specifically prosaic stylisation, in line with its predominantly prose synchronic distribution in EL (fourteen of fifteen occurrences). The prosaic character of the term may be associated both with its meaning "crowd" (cf. Sblendorio Cugusi (1991) 175 and n. 3) and with its morphological formation. Abstract nouns ending in *-tudo* are indeed more commonly attested in prose: in EL, such forms occur in prose texts in approximately two-thirds of the instances[636] (cf. also Sblendorio Cugusi (1991) 32-33). However, the distribution of this morphological type may also be influenced by prosodic factors. Many such nouns naturally scan as cretics (e.g. *sōlĭtūdo*), which makes them less suitable for hexametric verse and thus contributes to their relative scarcity in poetic texts. Nevertheless, Sblendorio Cugusi (1991) 33-4 notes that such nouns are not entirely absent from later dactylic poetry, whereas they are not attested in early epic poetry. This observation suggests that their absence from early epic poetry cannot be explained solely by metrical constraints, but also reflects deliberate stylistic choices.

Furthermore, the use of this suffix may reflect a significant diachronic variation. In comedy, while nouns in *-tudo* occur with comparable frequency in Plautus and Terence (approximately one every 769 lines in Plautus and one every 811 lines in Terence), the variety of such nouns and the productivity of the suffix in neologism formation differ markedly. Among Plautus' twenty-five types (sixty-five total occurrences), fourteen are low-frequency words (fewer than ten occurrences across EL and CL) and are therefore likely to represent genuine Plautine coinages (*albitudo, aritudo, bellitudo, canitudo, hilaritudo, macritudo, maestitudo, partitudo, saeuitudo, seueritudo, sorditudo, suauitudo, tarditudo, uanitudo*). By contrast, among Terence's nine types (thirty-seven total occurrences), only *habitudo* is relatively rare (twelve occurrences

[636] The comedy parameter was applied.

across EL and CL), and it can scarcely be regarded as a neologism; rather, it may represent an instance of "submerged Latin" (cf. Pezzini (2016) 43), as suggested by its Romance continuations. Even allowing for the broadly acknowledged difference in lexical creativity between Plautus and Terence, the difference remains striking. It suggests that, whereas in Plautus' time the suffix *-tudo* was highly productive – to the point that many neologisms were probably not even perceived as such – in Terence's time it had ceased to function as a productive morphological suffix.

By contrast, in poetic texts (with comedy treated in this thesis as neither poetic nor prose; cf . pp 26-7), the suffix *-tudo* is predominantly attested in Pacuvius and Accius: forty-three out of the total forty-eight occurrences in EL poetry. The remaining five consist of three in Lucilius and one each in Ennius' *Epicharmus* and a tragic fragment of uncertain origin. Moreover, while Pacuvius and Accius frequently employ the suffix in new formations (and at times replace common *-tudo* nouns with neologisms in *-tas*, and vice versa; cf. Sblendorio Cugusi (1991) 290-1, 303-5, 441-2), none of the the remaining poetic *-tudo* forms may be regarded as such – only Ennius' *aritudo* qualifies as a low-frequency term but is also attested in Plautus. According to Sblendorio Cugusi (1991) 443, this variation reflects a diachronic shift in Latin. The high productivity of *-tudo* in Plautus, combined with its near absence from the high poetry of the earliest stage of EL, suggest that the suffix was common in everyday language in this period. Conversely, in the later phase of EL, *-tudo* becomes less frequent in everyday usage (as suggested by its scarce productivity in Terence), while appearing more prominently in Pacuvius and Accius as a low-frequency form, employed to differentiate their language from standard or comedic diction (cf. Maltby (203) 262-3), rather than as a straightforward marker of poetic style. Since Ennius belongs chronologically to the earlier phase, his use of the suffix may reflect its association with lower register.

Across the entire corpus of Ennius' works, only two nouns in *-tudo* are attested: *multitudo* in the *Euhemerus* and *aritudo* at *var.* 46 *frigori miscet humori calorem atque humori aritudinem*, a trochaic line from the *Epicharmus*. These two forms differ both in frequency – *multitudo* being common, whereas *aritudo* is attested only here, once in Plautus, and twice in Varro (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 589.75-80) – and in morphological formation – *multitudo*, like many such nouns, is derived from an adjectival stem, while *aritudo* derives from a verbal stem, a less productive pattern (cf. Sblendorio Cugusi (1991) 32). Although the language of *var.* 46,

like that of *Euh. fr.* 5, does not appear particularly elevated or high-poetic, *var.* 46 results extremely different from *Euh. fr.* 5 in both immediate context and general type of text, as it forms part of an explanation of the generation of beings from the four elements[637] within a philosophical composition, possibly composed in trochaic verse (cf. Garbarino (1973) 276-80). The presence of two *-tudo* nouns in distinct contexts, neither of which displays a markedly high-poetic register, together with the absence of such nouns from the *Annals* and the tragedies – as noted by Sblendorio Cugusi (1991) 283 – suggests that Ennius regarded the suffix *-tudo* as generally unsuitable for high-poetic compositions, in line with its usage among earlier EL authors.

In sum, the lexeme *multitudo* was most likely perceived as unsuitable for poetic diction, owing to both its semantic profile and its morphological form. Its use in the *Euhemerus* is therefore consistent with the text's prosaic and deliberately simple register.

2. Low Register (Category ELS 2)

This category is based on the distinction between high- and low-register texts and contexts. This distinction was not systematically applied in the chapters on the *Annals* and the tragedies, owing to its inherent arbitrariness[638] and the relatively small number of items exhibiting a significant synchronic distribution in either high- or low-register texts and contexts (cf. pp. 47-8). By contrast, the *Euhemerus* – a text noted for its simplicity – attests five low-register lexical items out of twenty-two total stylised lexical items (approximately 23%), a comparatively high proportion, that has necessitated the introduction of a separate category. Within the EL corpus, epic, tragedy, historiography, oratory, and official inscriptions have been treated as high-register texts, whereas comedy (including mime and Atellan farce), satire, and the *Euhemerus* itself have been considered low-register texts. All other texts fall outside this distinction. Particular attention has been paid to the specific contexts of comedy and satire, genres that may employ high-register language for

[637] Cf. Garbarino (1973) 281.
[638] Register variation should be regarded as a spectrum rather than a set of sharply defined categories, such as those adopted elsewhere in this thesis (e.g. the poetry-comedy-prose division). Accordingly, labels such as "high" and "low" register should be understood in relative rather than absolute terms.

parodic effect: such passages, despite occurring within low-register texts, have been classified as high-register. The usual thresholds and adjustments have been applied.

Excluding the technical term *gluma* and *sempiternus*, which exhibits a significant synchronic distribution in conversational texts and contexts irrespective of genre or register, all the lexical items in the *Euhemerus* that do not fall under the category of "prose stylisation" belong to that of "low register". Although these findings should be treated with caution given the inherent arbitrariness of the distinction between high- and low-register texts and contexts, they further support the view that the *Euhemerus* employs a deliberately "contrived simplicity" (cf. Adams (2016) 26), characterised by a pedestrian and immediately intelligible language.

Table ELS 2. Lexical Items of Low Register in the *Euhemerus*. Items in bold are discussed in detail.

Item	Fragment in Vahlen (1903^2)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
abeo	11	1a: conversational contexts 658/677 (92.84%); comedy 654/677 (91.33%)	*ascendo*
clanculum	3	1a: comedy 37/39 (87.26%); low-register contexts 39/39 (100%)	*occulte*
emorior	3	1a: comedy 26/27 (90.59%); low register 27/27 (100%)	*morior*
pessum	11	1a: conversational contexts 14/15 (85.33%); low-register contexts 14/15 (85.33%)	*ad finem*
rescisco	4	1a: conversational contexts 60/64 (85.1%); comedy 59/64 (81.38%)	*cognosco*

In fr. 11, the low-register verb ***abeo*** occurs in the sentence describing Jupiter's apotheosis: *ad deos abiit*. Although a similar Greek expression (εἰς θεούς μετέρχεσθαι) is attested in formal epigraphic texts describing the apotheosis of Hellenistic kings at Canopus and Pergamon (cf. Habicht (1956) 177 and n. 54), the formula *ad deos abiit* appears to be a mere unembellished expression consistent with the plain style of the *Euhemerus*. The Greek formula was most likely already present in Euhemerus' original, purportedly a transcription of the inscription from Panchaia. Ennius, however – or at least his audience – may have been unaware of its formal register, since this expression seems confined to epigraphic texts, whose circulation was far more limited than that of literary works. In any case, Ennius seems, whether deliberately or not, to have assigned a new, more informal, stylistic value to the translation of the formal Greek expression, as suggested by the contrast with the high-poetic style that characterises other passages in which Ennius describes, or even merely alludes to, deification.

First, in the *Annals*, Romulus' apotheosis is anticipated at *ann.* 54-5 *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli templa*, possibly as part of Jupiter's instructions to Mars concerning his role in Romulus' deification (cf. Skutsch (1985) 205 and Flores (2002) 45). Secondly, Romulus' new divine status is proclaimed at *ann.* 110-1 *Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aeuom / degit*. Thirdly, in a fragment attributed to the character of Scipio from an unspecified Ennian work, preserved by Lact. *inst.* 1.18.10-13 (*var*. 23, generally assigned to the epigrams), Scipio declares himself worthy of such an honour: *si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam est, / mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.* All three passages display clear markers of elevated poetic diction: the alliteration in the phrase *tu tolles in caeli caerula templa* and the periphrasis *caerula caeli templa* for the sky at *ann.* 54-5; the possible neologism *genitalibus*,[639] etymologically connected with high-register forms such as *genitor*, together with the poetic phrase *aeuom degit* at *ann.* 110-1; and, in *var.* 23, the religious formula *si fas est*, the periphrasis *plagas caelestum*, and the archaism *endo*. Against this background, the decision to maintain a neutral register and to refrain from marking Jupiter's deification with elements of elevated poetic style would stand in marked contrast to Ennius' usual treatment of such episodes.

[639] Cf. Cic. *de orat.* 3.155 *Sed saepe uel sine coniunctione uerba nouantur ut "ille senius desertus", ut "di genitales".*

Furthermore, the phrase *ad deos abiit* in the description of Jupiter's apotheosis in the Euhemerus appears to belong to a low register. A more neutral expression for ascension to the gods would be *in caelum ascendit* (cf. ThLL *s.u. ascendo* 756.5-21). Besides employing the low-register and semantically broad verb abeo instead of the more specific *ascendo*, Ennius' formulation states that Jupiter goes "among the gods" (*ad deos*), rather than "to the sky" (*in caelum*), thereby making the notion of deification more explicit. Consequently, the presentation of Jupiter's deification in such unadorned terms – an event that, although probably not the central episode of the *Euhemerus* (cf. Russo (2017) 357-9), nevertheless constitutes a significant moment in the narrative – provides further evidence of the work's deliberately simplified style. It is therefore possible that Ennius recast the formal register of the formula εἰς θεούς μετέρχεσθαι, which was most likely already present in Euhemerus' original, into a plain and unembellished Latin expression through the semantically very close translation *ad deos abiit*. Finally, the sentence *ad deos abiit* has been regarded as key evidence for the view that Ennius (and Euhemerus) were not atheists, but conceived of eternal heavenly bodies alongside deified humans (cf. Courtney (1999) 37). Given the stylistic significance of the sentence, however, I would be more cautious about relying on it when drawing conclusions concerning the theology of Ennius and Euhemerus.

Clanculum appears in *fr*. 3, in the description of Neptune's secret birth behind Saturn's back: *item Neptunum clam Saturno Ops parit eumque clanculum abscondit*. *Clanculum*, the adverbial accusative of *clanculus*[640] ("secret"), is attested exclusively in low-register texts, predominantly in EL. It occurs twenty-eight times in Plautus, seven in Terence, and once each in Afranius, Lucilius and Atta, with later attestations in the *Bellum Hispaniense*, Gellius, and in the *Argumentum* to Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*. It is therefore clear that *clanculum* functioned as a lower-register alternative to *clam*, which does not exhibit any particular stylistic marking. It remains uncertain, however, why in the same fragment the low-register *clanculum abscondit* and the neutral *clam abscondunt*[641] occur in two analogous clauses describing the similarly secret births of Neptune and Jupiter.

In *fr*. 11, ***pessum*** is used in a phrase denoting the end of Jupiter's earthly life (*aetate pessum acta*). Although unattested elsewhere, the expression *aetate pessum acta* is concrete and readily intelligible. The

[640] Cf. Adams (2016) 21.
[641] Phrases conveying concealment tend towards pleonasm; however, their exaggerated repetition in this passage may reflect the deliberate adoption of an over-simplified style (cf. Courtney (1999) 32).

adverb *pessum* was originally the supine of a verb **ped-* meaning "fall", and shares the same etymological root as *peior* and *pessimus* (cf. Ernout and Meillet *s.u.* (1979[4]) 502). In EL, *pessum* occurs predominantly in comedy (ten instances in Plautus, two in Terence, and one in Caecilius Statius), but is also attested in other low-register texts (once in the *Euhemerus*) and in performative genres (once in Pacuvius).

Although *pessum* is typically collocated with the verbs *eo* or *do*, conveying respectively the sense "collapse" (physically or metaphorically) or "destroy, murder" (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1918.13-19.75), the meaning of the phrase *aetate pessum acta* remains readily intelligible. This is due both to its immediate context and to the fact that it appears to result from a blending of two established expressions, *aetatem agere* ("lead a life") and *pessum dare* ("destroy, murder"). Moreover, the phrase *aetate pessum acta* contributes to a more concrete representation of the scene, depicting Jupiter's life as "falling down" rather than simply coming to an end. Accordingly, although the low-register adverb *pessum* occurs here in an otherwise unattested expression, the overall sentence remains clear and vivid, in keeping with the stylistic profile of the *Euhemerus*.

3. Conversational Distribution (Category ELS 3)

This category comprises only one item that exhibits a significant synchronic distribution in conversational texts and contexts irrespective of genre or register: *sempiternus* in *fr.* 11. Since it is unclear whether this distribution is merely coincidental or whether *sempiternus* in fact reflects a neutral variety of spoken language, the more cautious label "conversational distribution" is adopted rather than "conversational stylisation", in line with the analysis of the corresponding category in the tragic lexicon (cf. pp. 172-4).

Table ELS 3. Lexical Items with Conversational Distribution in the *Euhemerus*. Items in bold are discussed in detail.

Item	Fragment in Vahlen (1903[2])	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
sempiternus	11	1a: conversational contexts 11/12 (85.64%)	*aeternus*

Sempiternus (*fr*. 11) is used to describe the enduring monuments left behind by Jupiter following his ascent to the gods: *sempiterna monumenta sui{s} reliquit*. The term displays a conversational distribution, occurring predominantly in conversational contexts without a clear association with either high or low genres or registers, being attested in comedy, tragedy, and oratory. The instance in *Euh. fr*. 11 is the only EL occurrence outside such contexts. The use of the compound *sempiternus* likely reinforces the notion of immortality through the combination of two elements associated with eternity: *semp-*, cognate with the adverb *semper*, and *aeternus*. Accordingly, *sempiternus* may either have been perceived as more immediate than *aeternus* or reflect a tendency, characteristic of lower registers, to express extremes in hyperbolic terms, thus qualifying Jupiter's monuments as "extremely immortal". In either case, it may have been considered particularly well suited to the lexicon of the *Euhemerus*. Whether this item should be specifically linked to varieties of spoken Latin, as its synchronic distribution might suggest, however, remains unclear.

4. Technical Stylisation (Category ELS 4)

The *Euhemerus* contains only one technical term: *gluma* ("husk"), attested in fragment 13. This lexical scarcity points to a less varied vocabulary than that found in Ennius' other works, particularly the *Annals*.[642] It is possible that technicisms were deliberately avoided, in much the same way as stylised loanwords and archaisms. A notable feature of this deliberately austere stylistic profile is indeed the apparent avoidance of stylised loanwords. Professor de Melo, to whom I am deeply grateful, suggested that translators tend to avoid loanwords from the language of the original works in order to lend some degree of novelty to their translations. For example, most of the Graecisms in Plautus' comedies do not derive from the Greek works used as models but are instead popular loanwords from the Greek spoken in southern Italy. The sole Graecism in the suriving fragments of the *Euhemerus* is *aether*, which occurs twice in fragment 6, but in a clearly metalinguistic context, accompanied by an explicit explanation of the term: *idque quod supra*

[642] The greater lexical variety of the *Annals* in comparison with the *Euhemerus* is also evident from the relative frequency of new words in the two texts. In the *Euhemerus*, a new word is attested every 2.22 words, whereas in a fragment of the *Annals* of comparable length and not particularly rich in linguistic eccentrities, a new word occurs every 1.65 words (cf. Oddi and Pezzini (forthcoming)).

mundum erat, quod aether uocabatur, de sui aui nomine caelo nomen indidit, idque Iuppiter quod aether uocatur placans primus caelum nominauit. As such, this usage does not represent a "natural" adoption of the word and is therefore excluded from the present analysis. This treatment of *aether* contrasts sharply with its occurrences in *ann.* 545 *clamor ad caelum uoluendus per aethera uagit* or *Sat.* 4 *inde loci liquidas pilatasque aetheris oras*, where the term is fully integrated into the sentence and requires no gloss.

Table ELS 4. Lexical Items of Technical Stylisation in the *Euhemerus*.

Item	Fragment in Vahlen (1903^2)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
gluma	13	1b: 1 occurrence.[643] AG[644]	*tegmen*

Gluma (*fr*. 13) survives as a single-word fragment without context, preserved and glossed by Varro, who explains that the term means "husk" and – unlike other words describing parts of the ear of wheat – was known to few (*notum paucis*). If Varro's gloss reflects usage already current in Ennius' time, this would suggest that *gluma* was indeed a technical term. At the same time, its characterisation as an obscure word raises the possibility that it may have been glossed within Ennius' own text, in a manner comparable to *aether* in *fr*. 6 (see above), thereby diminishing its value as a stylistically marked form. The generally simple and accessible lexicon of the *Euhemerus* would in any case have left little room for obscure or highly specialised vocabulary. Technical terms therefore may have been employed only when necessary and, in such cases, likely accompanied by some form of explanation. This approach contrasts sharply with that of the *Annals*, where technical vocabulary is employed with greater frequency and is seldom glossed.

[643] The six occurrences of *gluma* at Varro, *rust.* 1.48.2 are excluded from consideration, as they appear in a metalinguistic context – namely, in the explanation of the term itself.
[644] Legend. AG: agronomy.

5. Stylised Semantic Usages (Category ELS 5)

In the *Euhemerus*, I have identified only one instance of stylised semantic usage: *circumago* in the sense "surround" (*fr.* 4). Although the lexical item *circumago* exhibits a prose synchronic distribution in EL irrespective of meaning (four out of four occurrences), this particular sense is extremely rare (attested only twice across EL and CL). Its use in the *Euhemerus* is therefore best analysed from a semantic perspective, possibly reflecting a form of low-register stylisation.

Table ELS 5. Stylised Semantic Usages in the *Euhemerus*.

Item	Meaning	Fragment in Vahlen (1903^2)	First-stage result	Neutral alternative
circumago	surround	4	1b: 2 occurrences	*cingo*

Although the lexical item ***circumago*** irrespective of meaning exhibits a significant synchronic distribution in EL (see above), its use in the sense "surround" at *fr.* 4 (*fratremque suum Saturnum atque Opem conprehendit eosque muro circumegit et custodiam iis apponit*) is more appropriately analysed as a stylised semantic usage, as it is attested only here and in Varro, *ling.* 5.143, whereas the primary sense of the verb is "lead around" (cf. ThLL *s.u.* 1120.30-36; Courtney (1999) 32). This case provides a particularly illustrative example of a prefixed verb in the *Euhemerus*, in which the preverb carries a significant semantic weight (cf. pp. 257 and 262-3), in this instance perhaps even greater than that of the verbal root. While the standard meaning of *circumago* ("lead around") arises from the straightforward combination of its elements (*circum* "around" and *ago* "lead"), in *Euh. fr.* 4 the verbal root *ago* does not contribute to the overall meaning "surround" as transparently as the prefix *circum-* does. Nevertheless, Ennius' use of *circumago* remains clear, owing to the immediate context of the sentence.[645]

Furthermore, *Eur. fr.* 4 features other similarly constructed compounds in which the preverbs contribute signifcantly to the concrete and visual character of the passage, namely the description of Titan's imprisonment of Saturn and Ops, as part of his attempt to reclaim the rule of the gods. Titan seizes

[645] This usage of *circumago* may be interpreted as opposed to that of compounds employed in their "etymological sense" classified under the first pattern of stylisation in the section on the stylised semantics of the tragedies (cf. pp. 209-10).

(*conprehendit*)[646] the two rival deities, encloses them within a wall (*muro circumegit*), and stations a guard over them (*custodiam iis apponit*). Each verb in the sentence contains a preverb that enhances the immediacy and clarity of the sentence: ***con***-*prehendit* ("seized **together**"), ***circum***-*egit* ("built **around**") and ***ad***-*ponit* ("places **near**"). The stylised semantic usage of *circumago* in *fr*. 4 can therefore be understood within this broader tendency in the *Euhemerus*, whereby the preverb plays a decisive role in conveying the meaning of the compound verb.

[646] *Conprehendo* likewise exhibits a significant synchronic distribution in prose in EL.

Conclusions

1. Scope of the Thesis

This thesis has analysed Ennius' use of specific lexical items and semantic usages as stylising techniques, that is, as means of distinguishing his poetic diction from the standard, non-literary Latin of its period (EL: 240-81 BC); I have focused on Ennius' *Annals*, tragedies in Greek dress, and *Euhemerus*, with a brief introductory note on certain morphological features in the three corpora. Stylised lexicon and semantics do not constitute the only stylising techniques available, since the use of tropes or sound patterning, as well as the stylised incidence of otherwise neutral items and usages, may likewise be regarded as such (cf. pp. 2-3). However, the examination of stylised lexicon and semantics has yielded both more reliable and more original results, even though alternative interpretations may at times be possible, some questions remain unresolved, and certain findings have confirmed those already established in previous scholarship.

2. A Summary of the Findings: the *Annals*

In the linguistic examination of the *Annals*, the notion of a high-poetic register typically associated with epic poems should not obscure the register complexity of its diction, an aspect that has rarely been addressed in the previous scholarship on the poem. Although the *Annals* are grounded in a high-poetic linguistic base, their range of contexts and settings remains broad, thereby giving rise to a correspondingly wide range of lexical and semantic features, including numerous archaisms, technicisms, and borrowings. The poem encompasses not only a variety of themes and subject matters – the Roman foundation cycle and early history, social institutions, warfare and conquest, oratory and rhetoric, friendship, literary criticism, philosophy, and nature, to name but a few – and a wide range of settings (such as Rome and foreign lands, the forum, military camps, the sea, the countryside, working environments, dream scenes), but also multiple

perspectives and points of view. These include those of men and women, Romans and foreigners, elites and ordinary individuals, soldiers and civilians. As Elliott (2007) 43 perceptively notes, the two longest surviving speeches in the poem are delivered by Ilia and Pyrrhus; one may add a third, spoken by an Epirote shepherd – all figures representing forms of alterity in relation to the traditional Roman, male, aristocratic perspective.

2.1. Stylised Lexicon

The surviving fragments of the *Annals* offer a varied picture of stylised lexicon. In this thesis, the stylised lexicon of the *Annals* has been categorised according to two patterns: "context of use" (divided into the categories of "poetic", "prose", "archaic", and "technical" stylisation), which illustrates the inclusiveness and register range of the poem's lexicon; and "morphology and derivation" (divided into the categories of "non-Latin derivation" and "uncommon", "high-register" and "standard morphology"), which primarily highlights Ennius' lexical creativity. A residual category of "other and doubtful stylisation" includes all items that do not fit within the preceding classifications.

2.1.1. Poetic Lexicon

As might be expected in an epic poem, a substantial number of lexical items (63, constituting the largest category of stylised items in the *Annals*) display a poetic or high-poetic stylisation (category AL 1.1 "poetic stylisation"; cf. pp. 52-63), as indicated by their synchronic distribution and other contextual considerations (cf. pp. 52-3). These items may either (1) reflect and contribute to the general register of the poem or (2) function as markers that elevate the diction of specific contexts or characterise the speech of particular speakers. For example, the use of *flumen* at *ann.* 163 *quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumine* and 453 *et Tiberis flumen flauom uomit in*

mare salsum may be regarded as a high-poetic feature (cf. p. 61), characteristic of the elevated language of the *Annals* in general, since these passages appear to belong to narrative geographical descriptions that do not seem to require a specifically poetic register. By contrast, the use of *flumen* (an item predominantly attested in poetic texts in EL, in contrast to the synonymic *riuus*, which occurs mainly in prose in the same period) at *ann.* 26 *teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto* is appropriate (and contributes) to the register of its context, namely a formal prayer (cf. p. 61). Similarly, the use of the high-poetic term *genetrix* at *ann.* 58-9 *te †saneneta precor, Venus, te genetrix patris nostri, / ut me de caelo uisas, cognata, parumper* characterises Ilia's utterance, a figure who consistently employs a high-poetic diction, even in situations of distress such as this desperate plea for help (cf. pp. 61-2). Finally, certain items classified within this pattern are broadly designated as "poetic" not because they constitute elements of poetic diction *per se*, but because they are embedded in stylistically marked constructions, including elaborate phonetic clusters (such as *occendo* at *ann.* 387 in the alliterative sequence *omnes occisi occensique*) or recherché variations of fixed expressions and common sayings (such as *noctu concubia* in place of *nox concubia* at *ann.* 227-8).

2.1.2. Prosaic Lexicon

The *Annals*, however, also include 21 items that may exhibit prose stylisation (category AL 1.2 "prose stylisation"; cf. pp. 64-7), although some of these may not have functioned as intentional markers of a more prosaic register. In particular, those items attested fewer than four times in EL, whose stylisation is determined primarily by their distribution across EL and CL (cf. p. 25) – eight in total (*confercio, dare in conspectum, haudquaquam, humanitus esse, petra, refringo, sica, suasor*) – may reflect a stage of the Latin literary language in which certain lexemes and expressions were still perceived as neutral rather than as characteristic of prose diction. By contrast, an item such as *aedifico* at *ann.* 405 *reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt, /*

aedificant nomen, summa nitutntur opum ui is more likely to represent a deliberate instance of prosaic stylisation, as it probably emphasises the contrast between the pursuit of eternal glory through the pedestrian construction of statues and mausolea and its achievement through poetry. This instance exemplifies the stylistic and linguistic adaptability of the *Annals*.

2.1.3. Archaic Lexicon

In the *Annals*, fourteen lexical archaisms are also attested (category AL 1.3 "archaic stylisation"; cf. pp. 68-72). Archaisms are, by definition, elements of the language no longer used in neutral contexts of everyday speech and/or writing. Their intrinsic rarity renders them particularly suitable for poetic or highly formal contexts. Accordingly, in the *Annals* archaisms may either serve to evoke an earlier age or contribute to a formal or broadly poetic diction in particular contexts; the distinction is not always straightforward. For example, while *cascus* at *ann.* 22 *quam Prisci, casci populi, tenuere Latini,* describing the earliest inhabitants of Latium, evokes a quasi-mythological past, the use of *insece* and *induperator* (although the latter may be a reconstructed rather than an inherited archaism) at *ann.* 322 *insece Musa manu Romanorum induperator* – which forms part of a proem – aligns with poetic conventions and, at the same time, contributes to the mythicisation of the events of the Second Macedonian War subsequently narrated.

2.1.4. Technical Lexicon

Arguably, the 19 technicisms attested in the *Annals* drawn from nine different specialised domains (agronomy, augural arts, carpentry, economics, hunting, literature, philosophy, seafaring, and warfare), exhibits the greatest degree of lexical inclusiveness in the epic poem (category AL 1.4 "technical stylisation"; cf. pp. 72-7). Although many of the items within this category are preserved in short fragments transmitted by grammarians specifically interested in such specialised language

(on the role of different types of sources in the transmission of Ennius' text, see below), and may therefore over-represent the presence of technical vocabulary in the poem, the diversity of their domains remains striking. In the *Annals*, Ennius depicts scenes set in a wide range of environments, consistently employing the specialised language appropriate to each context, despite the attendant risk of linguistic obscurity. This lexical choice not only enhances precision and semantic specificity but also carries a strong evocative force. A line such as *ann.* 388 *malos defindunt, fiunt tabulata falaeque*, which features two clear technical terms from carpentry (*defindo* and *fala*), as well as a possible specialised use of *malus* (cf. pp. 108-9), provides an illustrative example of this tendency: actions and objects are precisely designated, and the specialised milieu of military carpentry is immediately evoked for the reader.

2.1.5. Lexical Items with Non-Latin Derivation

The *Annals* also include several lexical items that display peculiar morphologies, classified under the second pattern of stylisation "morphology and derivation" (cf. pp. 77-9). Of these, 16 exhbit a non-Latin derivation (category AL 2.1 "non-Latin derivation"; cf. pp. 79-84) and fall into three distinct groups: evocative loanwords, that is, borrowings that contribute to the evocation of an exotic atmosphere; poetic Graecisms, that is, Graecisms employed as markers of poetic register, reflecting the considerable prestige of Greek in second-century literary Latin; and neo-formations, that is, items formed most likely by Ennius from Latin material but according to Greek word-formation patterns. The first group (comprising of six items: *ambactus* from Celtic, *falarica* from Etruscan, *campso* from Greek, *meddix* from Oscan, *rumpia* from Thracian, and *sybina* possibly from Illyrian) is, to some extent, comparable to the category of technicisms in its contribution to the lexical inclusiveness and evocative force of specialised contexts, particularly in view of the relatively lower literary prestige of many of the source languages. By contrast, the second group (seven items: *aer*, *aether*, *aethra*, *lychnus*, *melos*, *pontus*, and possibly *bouo*; cf. n. 175) largely

overlaps with the category of "poetic stylisation" in contributing to the poem's high-poetic register. Finally, the three items included in the third group (*cael*, *do*, and *gau*) are formed according to an elisional word-formation pattern attested in the Homeric poems (cf. p. 80); these items may be regarded as a form of stylistic experimentation, illustrating the author's lexical creativity.

2.1.6. Lexical Items with Uncommon Morphology

Similarly, seven items showing uncommon morphology (category AL 2.2 "uncommon morphology"; cf. pp. 84-6) are attested. These demonstrate a considerable degree of creativity, although not all items within this category can be securely identified as Ennian innovations. The tendency to coin or adopt forms with unusual morphology is particularly evident in items such as the onomatopoeic *taratantara*, attested at *ann.* 451.

2.1.7. Lexical Items with High-Register Morphology

Nine further items exhibiting peculiar morphology may be directly associated with poetic or high-poetic discourse (category AL 2.3 "high-register morphology"; cf. pp. 86-8). Accordingly, while still showing some degree of creativity, these items primarily serve to emphasise the high-poetic colouring of particular contexts or of the poem in general. All occur in clearly stylised contexts or positions, including scenes involving deities (such as *bipatens* at *ann.* 52, qualifying the sky), stylistically marked syntactic constructions (such as *ueliuolus* at *ann.* 379-80, occurring in the same sentence as the rare and distinctly poetic construction of *aspicio* with the AcInf), metrical positions (seven of such compounds appear at line-end), or figurae etymologicae (such as *longisco* in *longiscere longe* at *ann.* 439). Notably, the *Annals* do not attest further items with peculiar morphology typically associated with other genres or contexts.

2.1.8. Lexical Items with Standard Morphology

By contrast, twelve items exhibit productive and widely attested word-formation patterns (category AL 2.4 “standard morphology”; cf. pp. 89-91). These items display a lower degree of stylistic markedness and creativity than those formed according to uncommon patterns, but should nevertheless be regarded as stylised, as they constitute relatively low-frequency derivatives or compounds. For example, *russesco* at *ann.* 245 is attested only in this instance in EL and CL; however, it is a derivative verb formed according to a common word-formation pattern (namely, the addition of an inchoative suffix to an adjective denoting colour). It may therefore be considered more stylised than a periphrastic construction such as *russus fio*, but less so than a hypothetical verb formed according to an unattested pattern for colour terms, such as **russifico*.

2.1.9. Lexical Items with Other and Doubtful Stylisation

Finally, twenty-two items either exhibit specific patterns of stylisation or distribution that do not fit within the preceding categories – such as items primarily attested in conversational texts and contexts – or display an unclear type of stylisation – such as the low-frequency item *gracilentus* at *ann.* 239 *deducunt habiles gliadios filo gracilento* (category AL 3 “other and doubtful stylisation”; cf. pp. 91-5). This category further illustrates the stylistic variety of the *Annals*, as well as the inherent difficulties of drawing firm conclusions about individual items attested in fragmentary texts.

2.2. Stylised Semantics

Turning to stylised semantic usages in the *Annals* – that is, instances in which words are employed in secondary meanings that are either predominantly attested within a specific genre or context, or are otherwise rare – these are less numerous than stylised lexical items but exhibit

similar types of stylisation, reflecting archaic, poetic, technical, and non-Latin patterns, often with overlap between categories.

2.2.1. Semantic Archaisms

Indeed, only two potential semantic archaisms (category AS 1 “semantic archaisms”; cf. pp. 98-101) are attested in the *Annals*. As with lexical archaisms, their use may reflect not only archaising tendencies but also formal or poetic stylisation. In particular, *arceo* in the sense “contain” at *ann.* 555-6 *qui fulmine claro / omnia per sonitus arcet, terram mare caelum* may constitute a poetic archaism, appropriate to the depiction of Jupiter’s boundless power (cf. pp. 98-100). By contrast, *faueo* in the sense “wish” at *ann.* 418 *matronae moeros complent spectare fauentes,* embedded in a scene in a τειχοσκοπία of *matronae,* may instead represent an instance of archaising stylisation consistent with the context, characteristic of epic poems, and aligned with the conventional association of noblewomen’s speech with archaic colouring (cf. pp. 100-1).

2.2.2. Poetic Semantics

Similarly, only seven semantic usages appear to display a poetic stylisation (category AS 2 “poetic stylisation”; cf. pp. 101-6). As in the case of the lexicon, the label “poetic stylisation” has been employed in a broad sense, encompassing not only usages that occur with a high frequency in poetic texts (predominantly, simplex verbs with the same meaning as compounds, such as *for* in the sense of *profor* in *ann.* 15-6 *doctus†que Anchisesque Venus quem pulcra dearum / fari donauit, diuinum pectus habere*), but also those embedded in marked phonetic clusters (such as *sese expleo* in the sense of *exeo* within a figura etymologica with *repleo* at *ann.* 518 *nauibus explebant sese terrasque replebant*; for the treatment of sound patterning as a feature of poetic stylisation, cf. pp. 143-5).

2.2.3. Semantic Technicisms

Although less frequent and less recherché than lexical technicisms, semantically specialised usages in the *Annals* (category AS 3 "technical stylisation"; cf. pp. 106-9) nevertheless display a marked engagement with specialised domains. As in the case of lexicon, not only are the domains of religion and law – often associated with formal contexts (cf. pp. 170 and 231-2) – represented, but also more narrowly technical fields such as carpentry (*configo* in the sense "pierce" at *ann.* 517, and *malus* in the sense "pole" at *ann.* 388), seafaring (*forus* in the sense "ship deck" at *ann.* 512), and agronomy (*polio* in the sense "harrow" at *ann.* 300).

2.2.4. Literary Semantic Calques

In addition, the stylised semantics of the *Annals* includes usages derived from other languages (cf. p. 109). This pattern predominantly consists of various types of calques from Greek literary language (category AS 4.1 "literary calques"; cf. pp. 109-23): clear imitations of specific passages (e.g. *imber* for the element of water at *ann.* 221 drawing on Emped. 98.1-2; cf. pp. 120-1); possible combinations of two distinct stylised semantic usages (e.g. *oras euoluere belli* at *ann.* 164, which may combine a figurative use of the metonymy *ora*, comparable to πείρατα in Hom. *Il.* 23.350 ἑκάστου πείρατ᾽ἔειπε, with the metaphorical use of *euoluo* in the sense "narrate", perhaps recalling ἑλίσσω from Callim. *Aet.* 1.5 ἔπος δ᾽ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἑλ[ίσσω; cf. pp. 116-7); further developments of a stylised usage previously attested (e.g. *exsicco* for "waking up", elaborating the Homeric metaphor of sleep as a liquid; cf. n. 274); and the adoption of well-established literary motifs (e.g. *sale* for "sea" at *ann.* 378). As already noted in the main body of the thesis (cf. p. 112), this analysis was not intended to contribute to the study of Ennius' literary models in the *Annals* (for which see the brief note at pp. 110-2), but was rather to examine semantic usages already attested in Greek literature, which do not necessarily constitute close reworkings of specific models.

2.2.5. Non-Literary Semantic Calques

Two further usages are of particular interest, in that they were presumably borrowed from foreign languages via non-literary channels, thus further illustrating the linguistic "multinational" character of the *Annals* (category AS 4.2 "non-literary calques"; cf. pp. 124-7). These include *catus* at *ann.* 450 in the sense "high-pitched", reportedly borrowed from a Sabine language (as noted by Varro; cf. pp. 124-6), and *spira* at *ann.* 531 in the sense "maniple", comparable to later attestations of σπεῖρα in Polybius and perhaps already current in the Greek or Macedonian militaries in Ennius' times (cf. pp. 126-7). The overall picture of literary and non-literary calques in the *Annals* is, however, significantly affected not only by the fragmentary state of the poem (as with the others categories examined in this thesis), but also by the fragmentary state of the pre-Ennian Greek and Latin literary corpora, as well as by our limited knowledge of other ancient languages and para-literary expressions.

2.2.6. Semantic Usages featuring Tropes

Finally, twenty-six usages involve tropes that are predominantly attested in a specific genre or context, or are otherwise scarcely attested overall – in either case, they are first attested in Greek or Latin literature, which, however, does not prove their Ennian paternity (categories AS 5 "stylised usages featuring tropes"). Such usages may be regarded as contributing to the text's poetic diction (cf. pp. 127-8). In the *Annals*, they predominantly involve metaphor (cf. pp. 132-4), metonymy (cf. pp. 134-6), and personification (cf. pp. 136-8), but also include instances of synecdoche (cf. pp. 138-40), hyperbole (cf. p. 131), and amphibolia (cf. pp. 129-30). The latter category, which includes *gero* in the sense of *fero* and *resisto* in the sense of *resurgo* at *ann.* 45, is of particular interest, as it appears to respond to a specific contextual requirement (namely Aeneas' prophecy to Ilia) rather than to reflect the general poetic register of the poem.

3. A Summary of the Findings: the Tragedies in Greek Dress

Although sharing a general high-poetic register with the *Annals*, the tragedies in Greek dress exhibit some peculiar characteristics that are not found in the *Annals*. First, in the tragic corpus, although it consists of different texts exploring a variety of plots all set in Greece including characters of various social status and of both sexes (noble citizens, servants, foreigners) – which might, in principle, encourage greater linguistic diversity – Ennius adopts almost exclusively a unified Roman-aristocratic linguistic perspective. As a result, the linguistic profile of the tragedies tends to converge towards a standardised and relatively non-inclusive high register, displaying a limited number and range of borrowings, technicisms, and archaisms. This perspective, in stark opposition with the linguistic inclusiviness of the *Annals*, is particularly evident in the tendency to render concepts from different societies and cultures through "Romanising calques" rather than through loanwords.

Secondly, the discrepancy in linguistic diversity between the two corpora is also reflected in their lexical creativity: whereas the *Annals* exhibit numerous neologisms and formations based on less common word-formation patterns, the tragedies largely restrict such innovations to more standardised morphological types, whether associated with high register or widely attested across different layers of Latin.

Thirdly, the tragedies exhibit two characteristics that are absent from the *Annals* and may be directly associated with their performative mode of reception (see below): a more systematic structuring of phonetic effects (cf. pp. 143-5) and a substantial presence of lexical items predominantly attested in conversational texts and contexts (cf. pp. 172-4).

Interestingly, while this divergence in linguistic range is clearly observable in the domains of stylised lexicon and semantics, it is not paralleled to the same extent in morphology. Particularly noteworthy are certain features that occur with markedly different frequencies in the two corpora yet are traditionally associated with elevated diction, such as the archaic genitive singular ending *-ai*

in first-declension nouns, more frequent in the *Annals* (cf. pp. 12-3), and the genitive plural ending *-um* in first- and second-declension nouns, more characteristic of the tragedies (cf. p. 15).

3.1. Stylised Lexicon

As noted above, the stylised lexicon of the tragedies in Greek dress shares certain similarities with that of the *Annals*, but has a more limited inclusiveness (lexical archaisms are not clearly attested; technical terms are fewer and derive from a narrower range of specialised domains; and borrowings are confined to a small number of – predominantly poetic – Graecisms) and a reduced variety (no items exhibit uncommon word-formation patterns). By contrast, the lexicon of the tragedies displays a higher proportion of items predominantly attested in conversational texts and contexts. The stylised lexicon of the tragedies has been classified in a similar manner to that of the *Annals*, according to the pattern "context of use" (comprising the categories of "poetic", "prose", and "technical stylisation", as well as "conversational distribution") and that of "morphology and derivation" (including "non-Latin derivation" and "high-register" and "standard morphology"), with the addition of the residual category "other and doubtful stylisation".

3.1.1. Poetic Lexicon

As in the *Annals*, poetic stylisation is the predominant form of stylisation in the tragedies' lexicon, with 62 items reflecting this type of discourse (category TL 1.1 "poetic stylisation"; cf. pp. 150-63). These include lexemes that exhibit a predominantly poetic synchronic distribution (such as *progenies* at *trag.* 39) and/or are embedded in marked phonetic clusters (such as *texo* at *trag.* 44 involved in the parechesis *texitur. examen exitium*), as well as those occurring in elaborated variants of standard formulae (such as *cruciatu perbito* in place of *cruciatu pereo* at *trag.* 178). In particular, 25 items are not predominantly attested in poetic texts, but are associated here with poetic diction,

as they are embedded in phonetic clusters; this figure partially reflects the elaborate and pervasive system of sound patterning attested in the tragedies (cf. pp. 143-5 and below).

3.1.2. Prosaic Lexicon

In the tragedies, items potentially exhibiting prose stylisation (category TL 1.2 "prose stylisation"; cf. pp. 163-8) are attested in smaller numbers than in the *Annals*: 14 lexemes, approximately one in every 74 lexical items, as compared with 21 in the *Annals*, approximately one in every 57 lexical items (cf. p. 163). Moreover, none of these reflect clear instances of prose stylisation. Seven (*consaepio*, *contagio*, *deflagro*, *exsecror*, *obscuro*, *obseruatio*, and *uulnero*) display a significant synchronic distribution in prose across EL and CL, and may not yet have been associated specifically with prose diction in EL. A further four items occur with high frequency in particular contexts or works (*ager* and *plebes* in legal or honorary inscriptions; *crassus* in Cato's *de agri cultura*; and *exordium in* the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*), so that their apparent predominance in prose may reflect contextual or authorial preference rather than genuine prose stylisation. In addition, two items (*ciuitas* at *ann.* 288 and *societas* at *ann.* 320) may also be treated as political technicisms, and in any case reflect specific bureaucratic register rather than generic prose stylisation. Finally, *profiteor* at *trag.* 285 *te ipsum hoc oportet profiteri et proloqui* / *aduorsum* †*illam mihi*† may have been adopted for pragmatic rather than stylistic reasons, as its preverb reinforces the necessity of speaking in the presence of a specific interlocutor. The relatively limited number of items exhibiting prose stylisation in the tragedies thus points to the largely standardised register of this corpus, which only rarely varies according to contextual setting.

3.1.3. Technical Lexicon

Similarly, only five possible items with a technical stylisation have been identified (category TL 1.3 "technical stylisation"; cf. pp. 168-72). Of these, three (*hariolatio* at *trag.* 35, *piaculum* at *trag.* 280, and *tescum* at *trag.* 379) draw on the specialised domain of religion, which, as noted above, is at times associated with elevated rather than strictly technical diction. The remaining two might be regarded as more narrowly specialised terms: *uisceratim* at *trag.* 118, possibly derived from the language of butchery, and *uruo* at *trag.* 114, from agronomy (or, less plausibly from legal terminology, cf. pp. 171-2). However, the classification of three of these items as instances of technical stylisation remains highly uncertain. *Hariolatio*, attested only once in Ennius and once in Gellius, may instead represent an Ennian formation based on the well-established root *hariol-*. *Tescum* may simply be a low-frequency item denoting a desolate place, without any technical connotation, and is moreover embedded in alliteration with *tuor*. Finally, the technical dimension of *uisceratim* is inferred from analogous adverbs in *-atim* attested in technical contexts within comedy.

3.1.4. Lexical Items with a Conversational Distribution

As noted above, the tragedies feature several items (42) predominantly attested in conversational texts and contexts (category TL 1.4 "conversational distribution"; cf. pp. 172-81). Such a marked synchronic distribution cannot, in itself, be regarded as constituting a distinct type of stylisation owing to the variety of registers within texts of performative genres and direct speech. Moreover, many items (such as interjections, pragmatic weakeners or stage directions) are confined to such texts for pragmatic rather than stylistic reasons. Accordingly, the seven such items identified in the *Annals* are classified under the residual category of "other and doubtful stylisation", whereas the 43 of the tragedies – whose number warrants a separate treatment – are grouped under the label "conversational distribution", a term preferred to "stylisation" (cf. p. 173). Items primarily attested in tragedy, however, are classified under "poetic stylisation". While, as noted above, some items

may reflect the pragmatics of spoken language, others may represent lower-register variants, particularly suited to conversational contexts. These include expressive lexemes formed through semantically redundant preverbs (*commiseresco* and *inspicio*, and possibly *derepente*, *oborior*, and *exsequor*) or frequentative suffixes (*gestito*, *recepto*, and possibly *expeto*); items conveying immediacy or affective force (*ausculto*, *scelestis*, *usurpo*, and perhaps *adeo*, *fabulor*, *impetro*, *libet*, *nescio*, *peruerse*, *taceo*, *turbidus*, and *uoluptas*); and items associated with character types emblematic of comedy (*erilis* and *muttio*, both linked to the speech of slaves). Finally, the predominantly conversational distribution of a further group of items (*abigo*, *aedis*, *extemplo*, *festiuus*, *malefactum*, *obsidio*, *opinor*, *pergo*, *quidem*, *superstitiosus*, and *ultro*) remains difficult to account for.

3.1.5. Lexical Items with Non-Latin Derivation

In the tragedies, items showing peculiar morphology and foreign derivation show less lexical creativity than those in the *Annals*. In particular, no items exhibit clearly uncommon word-formation patterns (cf. p. 182). Furthermore, despite the Greek setting of the tragedies, only seven items display a foreign derivation (category TL 2.1 "non-Latin derivation"; cf. pp. 185-9), six of which (*aer*, *barbaricus*, *exanclo*, *exsacrifico*, and possibly *astrologus* and *stola*) may be regarded as "poetic Graecisms" (i.e. Graecisms specifically associated with elevated or poetic diction; cf. p. 80). Among these, *exsacrifico* does not contain a Greek root, but rather reflects a word-formation pattern attested in Herodotus and the Greek tragedians, namely prefixed verbs with *ex-* (ἐκ- in Greek) in which the prefix carries little or no semantic force (cf. n. 470). The remaining item, *philosophor*, is formed on a Greek root and an indigenous word-formation pattern (denominative verbs in *-ari*), which appears to have lost any direct connection with its Greek origin and instead conveys a more generalised anti-intellectual sentiment (cf. pp. 186-7). The limited lexical inclusiveness of the tragedies emerging from this category does not seem coincidental, as it is paralleled by the adoption

of “Romanising calques” (i.e. lexemes characteristic of Roman institutional terminology used to describe foreign concepts; cf. pp. 230-2 and below).

3.1.6. Lexical Items with High-Register Morphology

The tragic corpus also features 15 items exhibiting peculiar morphologies associated with poetic or high-poetic diction for various reasons (category TL 2.2 “high-register morphology”; cf. pp. 189-97). First, eight items are formed according to high-poetic word-formation patterns or predominantly attested in elevated poetic texts (*altisonus*, *flammifer*, *obuaro*, *quadriiugus*, *quadrupedans*, *signitenens*, *ueliuolans*, and *ueliuolus*); secondly, two items derive from rare or poetic bases (*halito* from the low-frequency *halo* and *sublimo* from the poetic *sublimis*); thirdly, five items, although formed according to standard word-formation patterns, are embedded in elaborate phonetic clusters (*cupienter*, *elimino*, *euito*, *exalbesco*, *expectoro*), which further emphasise the elaborate “phono-pathetic” structure of the corpus. Among the latter, in the prefixed verbs *elimino*, *exalbesco*, and *expectoro*, the prefix itself contributes to the “phono-pathetic” construction of the passage, reinforcing a sense of exclusion (cf. pp. 194-5). In addition, *exalbesco* may alternatively be interpreted as belonging to the Greek word-formation pattern noted above, namely compounding with the prefix *ex-* (Greek ἐκ-) in cases where the prefixed form is not semantically distinct from its simplex counterpart.

3.1.7. Lexical Items with Standard Morphology

By contrast, sixteen items are formed according to standard word-formation patterns (category TL 2.3 “standard morphology”; cf. pp. 197-9) and, as in the case of the *Annals*, exhibit a relatively limited degree of stylisation (cf. p. 89). The absence of items displaying word-formation patterns

associated with non-poetic diction or of a more generally irregular character emphasises the limited lexical creativity of the tragedies.

3.1.8. Lexical iIems with Other and Doubtful Stylisation

Finally, three items exhibit specific types of stylisation that do not fit within the previous categories (*almus*, associated with the register of prayers, and *concubium*, functioning as a euphemism for sexual intercourse, *preater propter*, possibly associated with lower register), and rwo items are rarely attested for unclear reasons (*conglomero* and *russus*). These are all included in one residual category (category TL 3 “other and doubtful stylisation”; cf. pp. 199-204).

3.2. Stylised Semantics

As with their stylised lexicon, the tragedies’ semantic usages display a lower degree of linguistic inclusiveness and range than those of the *Annals*. This divergence is evident not only in that the tragedies lack clear semantic archaisms and display only one semantic technicism, but also in that, as already noted, they include two “Romanising calques” (that is, two instances of the extension of specific Roman terminology to denote foreign concepts; see below), which, combined with the scarcity of loanwords, attest to the exclusive and “Romanocentric” perspective of Ennius’ tragic language. Interestingly, the tragedies also include six “etymological usages” (see below), that is, instances of words used in their literal, yet secondary meaning. These do not necesarily reflect archaic stylisation.

3.2.1. Etymological Usages

As noted above, the tragedies feature six "etymological usages", that is, instances in which words are employed in a literal but now secondary sense, such as *asper* in the sense of "rough" to the touch at *trag.* 296 and 379 (category TS 1 "etymological meaning"; cf. pp. 209-13). A specific subset of this pattern consists of compounds whose meaning arises from the simple juxtaposition of their components rather than from figurative reinterpretation: an example is *insulto* in the sense "enter while jumping" (*in*+*salto*), rather than "insult" at *trag.* 124. Although the literal sense of these words most likely predates the figurative one, such usages do not necessarily constitute semantic archaisms: hence, the label "etymological meaning" is preferred to "archaic stylisation". Indeed, none of such usages (*asper* "rough" to the touch; *gratulor* "give thanks"; *increpo* "strike with sounds"; *iners* "unskilled"; *insulto* "enter while jumping"; and possibly *statim* "steadfastly") occur in clearly archaic contexts in Ennius' tragedies or elsewhere in EL. This pattern may therefore represent low-frequency usages selected for their rarity as markers of elevated diction – perhaps functioning as stylistic exercises – rather than instances of genuine archaic stylisation.

3.2.2. Poetic Semantics

The stylised semantics of the tragedies predominantly reflects a broad conception of poetic stylisation, either through usages that display a significant synchronic distribution in poetic texts (one usage: *cerno* in the sense "fight" at *trag.* 166 and 232) or through usages embedded in phonetic clusters (sixteen instances; for example, the otherwise unattested use of *faueo* in the sense "use" in the alliterative *fauent faucibus* at *trag.* 344), which are classified under the pattern of "poetic stylisation" (category TS 2 "poetic stylisation"; cf. pp. 213-20). As with lexicon, the relatively high proportion of stylised usages embedded in phonetic clusters exemplifies the intricate system of phonetic correspondences characteristic of the tragic corpus.

3.2.3. Semantic Technicisms

As noted above, in the tragedies technical semantic usages are extremely limited, as only *facesso* in the sense "depart" – occurring at *trag.* 145 *dico uicisse Orestem. uos ab hoc facessite* and derived from legal terminology – reflects this type of stylisation (category TS 3 "technical stylisation; cf. pp. 220-2). This usage occurs in the judge's verdict in the *Eumenides*, arguably the most overtly "legal" context among the extant plots of Greek tragedy, within a line that emphasises judicial authority (*dico*) and reflects the clarity expected in such a setting (*uicisse Orestem*). The technical sense of *facesso* was perhaps not perceived as particularly obscure by the audience, since it forms part of the closing formula of the trial rather than denoting a lesser known aspect of legal procedure. Ultimately, this use of *facesso* does not seem to exhibit a high degree of stylisation, in keeping with the generally limited presence of technical stylisation in the tragic corpus.

3.2.4. Literary Calques

As with the *Annals*, the tragedies feature a number of literary calques (category TS 4.1 "literary calques"; cf. pp. 224-8), that is, usages that may be paralleled in earlier Greek literature. These may reflect either a close relationship with a reconstructed model – such as the use of *gradus* in the sense "gait" at *trag.* 193, which probably results from an elaborate system of correspondences with Euripidean language – or a more general literary usage well attested in Greek literature – such as *aes* in the sense of a generic defensive weapon at *trag.* 165.

3.2.5. Non-Literary Calques

Even the relatively standardised language of the tragedies features a single usage that most likely entered Latin through non-literary channels (category TS 4.2 "non-literary calques"; cf pp. 228-30): *taenia* in the sense of "honorific headband" at *trag.* 67. This may reflect a religious usage

attested in the Greek communities of Southern Italy, transmitted into Latin through non-literary contact – a type of borrowing that was likely widespread among the lower classes of the Roman Republic and perhaps reflected in certain Graecisms of comedy. However, *taenia* as "honorific headband" may not constitute a "lower-class Graecism", as the context of *trag.* 67 (a description of a flying deity, possibly Victoria), its honorific sense, and its attestations in EL (once each in Ennius, Accius, Laevius, and Caecilius, always in celebratory, quasi-religious or religious contexts) suggest that this usage is instead characteristic of formal and religious registers.

3.2.6. Romanising Calques

An interesting class of calques in the tragedies consists in the semantic extension of terms typically used to denote Roman social, cultural, and political institutions to denote foreign concepts (category TS 4.3 "Romanising calques"; cf. pp. 230-4). These calques, labelled as "Romanising", may be non-stylised if they are widely attested across a range of genres and contexts, or stylised if they are rare or confined to a specific genre or context. In the examined corpus of Ennian texts, the latter group is attested exclusively in the tragedies. In particular, at *trag.* 5, Ennius employs *hic ordo*, a standard expression of Roman political terminology denoting the Senate, to refer to the assembly of Greek kings in the Trojan war-camp – a usage that is unparalleled in reference to non-Roman assemblies, excluding those of Roman *municipia*. At *trag.* 34, *optumas*, a term characteristically applied to the Roman elite, is used of Trojan noblewomen; its application to both Roman and foreign elites is otherwise restricted to prose. This type of calques contrasts with the linguistic inclusiveness of the *Annals*, in which foreign concepts are predominantly expressed through borrowings (e.g. *meddix* denoting the Oscan consul), and thus emerges as a distinctive feature of the tragic corpus. As noted above, this characteristic contributes significantly to the "Romanocentric" linguistic perspective of the tragedies.

3.2.7. Semantic Usages featuring Tropes

In addition, eighteen usages involve semantic tropes and may be regarded as broadly poetic (categories TS 5 "stylised usages featuring tropes"; cf. pp. 234-6). These tropes include metaphor (cf. pp. 237-41; eight instances, such as the extended metaphor of a door opening to unleash Clytemnestra's rage at *trag.* 229-30, which features *recludo* in the sense of "unleash", *repagulum* denoting an obstacle that may become an opportunity if skilfully manipulated, and *trauersa* denoting Creon's compromised decree), metonymy (cf. pp. 241-3; five instances, such as *cardo* in the sense "door leaf" at *trag.* 88), hyperbole (cf. pp. 236-7; two instances: *incendium* for the flame of a torch at *trag.* 41, and *pinso* in the sense "beat" the ground at *trag.* 354, a usage comparable to that at *ann.* 350), synecdoche (cf. p. 245; two instances: *aes* in the sense "shield" at *trag.* 2 and *pestis* in the sense "death" at *trag.* 323 and 328), and synaesthesia (cf. pp. 243-4; one instance: *fremitus*, possibly in the sense "liquid" at *trag.* 394).

3.2.8. Semantic Usages with Other and Doubtful Stylisation

Finally, five stylised usages reflect other types of stylisation that do not conform to the proposed pattern classification (category TS 6 "other and doubtful stylisation"; cf. pp. 246-53). Among these, *aduersum/aduorsum* in the sense "in front of" at *trag.* 286 may reflect a lower register, functioning as a more expressive alternative to *ante* or *coram*. The stylisation of *etiam atque etiam* in the sense "more and more" at *trag.* 191, of *respecto* in the sense "look at" at *trag*. 71, and of *tam* in the sense "however" at *trag.* 380 remains ultimately difficult to determine. Conversely, the assessment of *uerso* at *trag.* 402 *uersat mucronem* is complicated by the uncertainty surrounding the verb's meaning in this fragment. If it denotes "deflect", a possible literary calque from Greek τρέπω may be inferred; however, if it means "brandish", as in *Aen.* 747 *at non hoc telum, mea quod ui dextera uersat, / effugies*, a usage paralleled with Enn. *trag.* 402 in Serv. *Aen.* 747, it would be otherwise

unattested. This residual category highlights the difficulties of linguistic and stylistic analysis in fragmentary corpora and the ultimate provisional nature of the present pattern classification.

4. A Summary of the Findings: the *Euhemerus*

The analysis of the language of the *Euhemerus*, already identified as markedly simple (cf. e.g. Adams (2016) 7-26), revealed a text characterised by a low degree and scarce variety of stylisation, and a preference for immediacy, transparency, and low-register diction, in keeping with its reconstructed nature as a work of popular science. Whether this deliberately simplified style was intended to communicate a philosophical and theological message to a broad audience, or also to de-sacralise the divine sphere, as suggested by Garbarino (1973) 292-3, remains uncertain, and any such interpretation must necessarily remain speculative. Similarly, given that all Lactantius' quotations from the *Euhemerus* refer exclusively to the inscription on the golden stele, it remains uncertain whether the marked simplicity of the language was confined to this section of the work. Such a linguistic choice would accord both with the stylistic variety that characterises Ennius' oeuvre production and with an attempt to lend authenticity to the text by presenting it as a close translation of an ancient inscription (cf. pp. 258-9). Unsurprisingly, the Latinity of the *Euhemerus* appears largely devoid of explicit literary references, in contrast to the epic and tragic corpora, which offer numerous instances of linguistic engagement with Greek models as even the limited observations of this study suggest, although the linguistic similarities with certain models in the extant corpus of the *Annals* may be overrepresented (see below). It remains a suggestive and open question whether certain linguistic features in Ennius' corpus may also reflect the (para-)literary tradition associated with his third, Oscan (or broadly Italic), "heart". Owing to the relatively limited degree and range of stylisation, the analysis of the linguistic profile of the *Euhemerus* is presented in a less elaborated form, both in the body of the thesis and, corrispondingly, in these conclusions, with lexicon and semantics treated together.

4.1. Prosaic Lexicon

The stylised lexicon of the *Euhemerus* comprises a relatively small number of items (22), classified within a limited and fairly uniform range of categories. Most items (15) reflect prose stylisation (category ELS 1 "prose stylisation"; cf. pp. 259-65), representing six distinct groups: five items that may be regarded as generally "unpoetic" and possibly reflective of a bureaucratic register (*dare in conspectum*, *diuido*, *multitudo*, *uirile secus*, and possibly *periculum*); four prefixed verbs, in which the prefix renders the overall meaning of the compound more transparent (*circumsaepio*, *conprehendo*, *eleuo*, and *eximo*); two temporal adverbs (*deinde*, attested six times, and *item*, once), used in clause-initial position, and reflecting a characteristic feature of popular prose narrative; two items that are highly frequent in specific prose texts (*controuersia* in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *creo* in CIL 1.583, i.e. the *lex agraria* of 111 BC); one prefixed verb whose meaning closely corresponds to that of its simplex counterpart (*commuto*); and one item that shows a significant distribution in prose for no clear reasons (the preposition *supra*, not to be confused with the adverb *supra*, which is predominantly attested in prose texts largely owing to the phrase *ut supra diximus*). Taken together, all these items contribute to a broadly "unpoetic", simple, and transparent register, in keeping with the overall language of the text.

4.2. Low-Register Lexicon

Five further items are predominantly attested in texts and contexts exhibiting a lower variety of the language (category ELS 2 "low register"; cf. pp. 265-9), which also contribute to the *Euhemerus*' "contrived simplicity" (a formulation adopted by Adams (2016) 26) and to its immediate, accessible lexicon: *abeo*, *clanculum*, *emorior*, *pessum*, *rescisco*. For example, the description of Jupiter's deification in *fr.* 11, expressed through the simple clause *ad deos abiit* contrasts with comparable scenes elsewhere in Ennius' corpus, which are rendered in more elevated and elaborate language (e.g. the deification of Romulus in the *Annals* or that of Scipio in a fragment

of the *Epigrams*), as well as with the more conventional expression for deification, *in caelum ascendo*. In *ad deos abiit*, the verb *abeo* derives from the highly frequent and semantic broad verb *eo*, in keepng with both the verbal economy and the marked lexical simplicity characteristic of low-register discourse. Moreover, the prefix *ab-* contributes to the visualisation of Jupiter's departure from the human sphere, while the phrase *ad deos*, rather than *in caelum*, conveys his new divine status in a more immediate and transparent manner.

4.3. Lexical Items with Conversational Distribution

Likewise, the only item that exhibits a significant synchronic distribution in conversational texts and contexts regardless of genre (category ELS "conversational distribution"; cf. pp. 269-70), namely the compound *sempiternus*, serves to emphasise the intended meaning, to some extents reflecting the hyperbolic expression of extremes characteristic of lower registers. The sense of infinity conveyed by the adjective *aeternus* is further reinforced by the root *semp-*, cognate with the highly frequent adverb *semper*, thus expressing the notion of "extreme immortality".

4.4. Lexical Technicisms

By contrast, one item exhibits an "out-of-text" stylisation, that is, a type of stylisation that does not align with the rest of the text. This is the technical term *gluma*, denoting a part of the ear of corn (category ELS 4 "technical stylisation"; cf. pp. 270-71), which is preserved in a gloss by Varro without further context. It is, however, possible that this term was originally accompanied by some form of explanation within the text, since the use of obscure terms such as technicisms would run counter the overall simplicity of the work's language. Comparable recherché words are, in fact, accompanied by in-text explanations in the *Euhemerus*. For example, the Graecism *aether* at *fr.* 6 is glossed by the sentence *idque quod supra mundum erat, quod aether uocabatur, de sui aui nomine*

caelo nomen indidit, idque Iuppiter quod aether uocatur placans primus caelum nominauit, whereas elsewhere in Ennius' corpus the same lexeme is fully integrated in the text without the need for explanatory glosses.

4.5. Stylised Semantics

The stylised semantics of the *Euhemerus* comprises only a single usage (category ELS 5 "stylised semantic usages"; cf. pp. 272-3), which confirms the text's direct and transparent language: *circumago* in the sense "surround". Although the lexeme itself displays a significant synchronic distribution in prose in EL, irrespective of meaning, its use in the *Euhemerus* is notable for its semantics. The verb does not convey its more usual sense of "lead around", derived from the combination of preverb and verbal base, but rather that of "surround", a meaning attested only twice across EL and CL. This sense remains clear, however, from the immediate context, namely the description of Titan's imprisonment of Saturn and Ops. Here, the force of the preverb *circum-* effectively overrides that of the verbal stem *-ago*, so that *circumago* expresses the idea of surrounding and enclosing even more effectively than *cingo*, the verb more typically associated with this notion. This usage of *circumago* exemplifies the characteristic function of preverbs in the *Euhemerus*, where they primarily contribute to the spatial representation of verbal action.

5. Limitations

In the analysis and reconstruction of the language of fragmentary texts, every conclusion must be treated with caution: to what extent does the surviving corpus accurately reflect the original linguistic texture of the works under examination? Within Ennius' surviving production, the corpora of the *Annals*, the tragedies in Greek dress, and the *Euhemerus* offer the most reliable basis for linguistic investigation. Not only do they constitute the largest part of Ennius' extant corpus

(approximately 92% of the total), but they are also the only works to preserve multiple extended fragments, which allow for a more representative linguistic analysis. It is true that the *Hedyphagetica* includes an eleven-line fragment that provides a coherent sample of (mock-)elevated register (*var.* 34-44); however, since *var.* 34-44 constitutes the only surviving fragment of the *Hedyphagetica*, any linguistic conclusions drawn from it necessarily remain limited to this isolated passage.

Long fragments, particularly when preserved by authors not primarily concerned with linguistic peculiarities, constitute the most valuable evidence for reconstructing the linguistic profile of fragmentary texts. As de Melo (2010b) 122-125 and (2014) 449-452 has argued, grammarians tend to quote short excerpts that illustrate unusual or noteworthy linguistic features (cf. also Elliott (2013) 144 on the *Annals*). While such fragments remain valuable for identifying individual phenomena, they are of limited reliability when used to reconstruct the overall linguistic character of a text. By contrast, longer quotations preserved for their content provide more extended passages that do not foreground linguistic irregularities, and thus offer a more representative and reliable insight into the language of the original work.

However, as Karakasis (2005) 148-9 has observed, when a particular linguistic feature recurs frequently within a corpus – even if attested primarily in short excerpts selected precisely to illustrate that feature – it may be regarded as a recurrent trait of the text in question. This consideration applies with particular force in comparative analyses, especially in the case of the *Annals* and the tragedies; by contrast, the *Euhemerus* preserves only one such fragment (*fr.* 13, *gluma*, quoted and glossed by Varro). The two corpora of the *Annals* and the tragedies are broadly comparable in size (approximately 3,350 and 2,600 words, respectively), and the nature of their transmission is also similar. In the case of the *Annals*, the proportion of lines preserved exclusively by etymological, lexicographical, and grammatical sources – excluding those quoted for comparison with other authors – amounts to roughly 38% of the total (cf. Elliott (2013) 144-5). A

comparable calculation suggests that approximately 43% of the total lines attributed to the tragedies are preserved through similar modes. Despite these similarities, certain linguistic features are more frequently attested in such quotations in one corpus than the other. For example, the comparatively richer lexical range of the *Annals*, including borrowings, technicisms, and archaisms, emerges precisely from the analysis of short fragments preserved by grammarians and should not be disregarded in assessing the overall linguistic profiles of the two corpora.

Elliott (2013) *passim* has provided a detailed analysis of the role of sources in the transmission of the *Annals*, proposing two fundamental principles for addressing the question of how these sources shape our understanding of the poem. First, Cicero's interpretation – and, to some extent, reconfiguration – of Ennius' text as a social and historiographical authority in support of his own ideological agenda (on this, see also Zetzel (2007) 1-16). Secondly, the over-representation of the Homeric-Virgilian dimension of the *Annals*, resulting from the fact that a large proportion of the surviving fragments are preserved through quotations by grammarians interested in comparing Ennius with the other two epic authors. This interpretation of the role of the sources of the *Annals* suggests that the original poem likely displayed a plurality of settings and viewpoints (see below), as well as a less exclusively Homeric-Virgilian linguistic orientation than might be inferred from the extant material. No comparable comprehensive study exists for the corpus of the tragedies (apart from some observations on Cicero's influence on the modern reconstruction of Ennius' tragic fragments in Zetzel (2007) 1-16), while the impact of the principal source for the *Euhemerus* – Lactantius' *Divine Institutions*, with the exception of the single-word *fr.* 13 preserved by Varro – has consistently been taken into account by the relevant literature (cf. p. 255).

A final caveat concerns the interpretative nature of the present analysis. Although grounded in a systematic methodology, the conclusions inevitably depend on individual readings. Alternative interpretations may therefore arise, both with regard to specific points and to the broader analysis, and some cases necessarily remained inconclusive. While such a caution applies to all forms of

critical inquiry, it is particularly pertinent in the study of fragmentary texts, where the scope for interpretation is considerably greater. Nevertheless, it remains possible, in my view, to outline three distinct profiles of stylised lexicon, semantics, and morphology for the *Annals*, the tragedies in Greek dress, and the *Euhemerus*, which emphasise the linguistic and stylistic multiplicity of Ennius' corpus.

6. A Possible Interpretation of the Findings

While the *Euhemerus*, with its simple and immediate register, presents a recognisable linguistic profile within Ennius' corpus, probably in keeping with its reconstructed generic characteristics, the differences between the epic and the tragic corpora, as noted above, are more subtle and not always straightforward, reflecting the similarly high-poetic register expected of both genres. However, such divergences are present, and may be related to their distinct modes of performance and reception. The *Annals* were likely intended for reading (the first public recitals of the *Annals* were probably held by Q. Vargunteius at some point after 168 BC, as reported by Suet. *gramm.* 2.4; cf. Vahlen (1903^2) XXI), allowing the audience to revisit the same passage multiple times. This, in turn, permitted a higher degree of lexical and semantic experimentation.

By contrast, the tragedies were composed for performance, and their language had to be readily intelligible, thereby limiting opportunities for linguistic experimentation. At the same time, the performative nature of tragedy encouraged innovation in sound play. The phonetic texture of the tragedies is organised so as to highlight moments of emotional intensity, and is therefore more elaborate and systematic than that of the *Annals*, where phonetic clusters tend to be either onomatopoeic or isolated (as analysed by Grilli (1965) 103-264). By contrast, Grilli attributes this discrepancy primarily to stylistic and generic differences: tragedy centres on the emotional experience of characters, whereas epic emphasises action. Accordingly, a system of "phono-pathetic" correspondences is more fully developed in the tragic than in the epic corpus.

Nevertheless, it seems likely that the differing modes of transmission – performative in the case of tragedy, as opposed to reading (even aloud) in the case of the *Annals* – also played a significant role in shaping the development of such an elaborate sound-based structure.

Conversely, it remains complicated to attribute the divergent linguistic characteristics of the *Annals* and the tragedies to a diachronic development in Ennius' style. First, the absolute and relative chronology of Ennius' works is highly uncertain, owing to both external and internal linguistic factors. Although the *Annals* were probably composed during the last phase of Ennius' life, their composition cannot be regarded as entirely subsequent to that of the tragedies. Ennius likely began adapting Greek tragedies at an earlier stage and may have continued this activity until his death, resulting in a chronological overlap with the *Annals* (cf. Skutsch (1985) 2-7). It is therefore difficult to identify which corpus predates the other. Secondly, the most significant stylistic differences between the tragedies and the *Annals* do not readily support the establishment of a relative chronology. On the one hand, the tragedies may appear to represent a more refined stage in terms of their elaborate "phono-pathetic" structures – compared with the more isolated and often onomatopoeic instances of sound play in the *Annals*. On the other hand, the greater lexical variety and creative innovation of the epic poem may be interpreted either as characteristic of an earlier phase of broader and unrefined inclusivity or as the final result of a process of lexical and semantic diversification and experimentation. Therefore, interpreting these differences in strictly diachronic terms is ultimately impossible.

In any case, notwithstanding the inevitable limitations imposed by the fragmentary nature of Ennius' corpus, this study has sought to delineate three distinct linguistic profiles for the *Annals*, the tragedies in Greek dress, and the *Euhemerus*, on the basis of stylised morphology, lexicon, and semantics. The *Annals* are characterised by a high-poetic linguistic base, within which instances of experimental, creative, and inclusive lexical and semantic usage are interwoven. By contrast, the tragedies in Greek dress present a linguistic profile that remains still high-poetic and elevated, yet is

more standardised and exclusive, while being distinguished by an innovative system of phonetic and emotional correspondences. Finally, the *Euhemerus* exhibits a constantly straightforward language, marked by a low degree of stylisation and predominantly characterised by low-register prosaic diction.

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List of Bibliographical Abbreviations

For the most part, the abbreviations adopted in the bibliographical reference list follow those of *L'Année Philologique*. However, some abbreviations are not included in that catalogue. The following is a full list of the bibliographical abbreviations adopted.

ABSA: Annual of the British School at Athens

AClass: *Acta Classica*. Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa

AGI: Archivio Glottologico Italiano

AJPh: The American Journal of Philology

ALL: Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik

AmStClPh: Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology

ASNP: Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia

Athenaeum NS: Athenaeum (Pavia) Nuova Serie

Atti AcTo: Atti della Accademia delle scienze di Torino: II, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche

Atti AI: Atti della Accademia d'Italia. Classe di scienze morali e storiche

AUPA: Annali del Seminario Giuridico dell'Università di Palermo

BICS: Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London

BSL: Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris

CCC: Civilità Classica e Cristiana

CErc: Cronache Ercolanensi

CPh: Classical Philology

CQ: The Classical Quarterly

CSCA: Californian Studies in Classical Antiquity

EFH: Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt

HSPh: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology

IF: Indogermanische Forschungen

IFCGe: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Filologia Classica di Genova

JFkA: Jahresberichte der Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft

JRMES: Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies

JRS: The Journal of Roman Studies

MH: Museum Helveticum

MD: Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici

QCTC: Quaderni di Cultura e di Tradizione Classica

RA: Revue Archéologique

RE: Pauly, A.F. and Wissowa, G. (eds.), *Real–Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart)

RecAug: Recherches augustiniennes

RFIC: Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica

RhM: Rheinisches Museum für Philologie

RPh: Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes

SCO: Studi Classici e Orientali

SE: Studi Etruschi

SIFC NS: Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica Nuova Serie

TAPhA: Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association

TPhS: Transactions of the Philological Society

Ungar. Revue: Ungarische Revue

ZPE: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

ZVS: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen