ICHoLS XV - Workshop 4 -

Grammars, metalanguage, and glossing on the model language as reflection on the target language in the Middle Ages

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ABSTRACTS

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"*Artes lectoriae* e ortografie del latino: *grammatica*, retorica, teologia nei secoli XI-XIII"

Nei secoli XI-XIII la trattatistica grammaticale del Medioevo occidentale annovera strumenti prescrittivi destinati ad istruire, nell'esercizio di pratiche ortografiche ed ortoepiche inerenti alle *dictiones* latine, figure semiprofessionali quali (nella misura in cui una distinzione è possibile) *lectores ecclesiae*, *cantores*, *scribae* ed *emendatores*.

Fra questi strumenti sono le *artes lectoriae*, repertori di *regulae* attribuiti a personalità come Aimerico e Siguino e noti dalla seconda metà del secolo XI, che sono fortemente innovativi sia per la prospettiva tematica e le istanze di cui sono espressione, sia per la concreta organizzazione dei contenuti nozionali. Questi caratteri di novità sono condivisi anche da altri prodotti di scuola pressoché coevi, quali le ortografie attribuite ad Apuleius e che, come le *artes lectoriae*, riflettono le esigenze di ambienti della società religiosa - monastica e clericale - orientati a valorizzare la *grammatica* ai fini non di un'alfabetizzazione primaria e curricolare, ma di saperi linguistici specializzati, chiamati a sostenere una *correctio* comunicativa che deve realizzarsi paritariamente a livello della scrittura e dell'oralità a vantaggio di una "textual community".

In questi manuali ascrivibili (con Vivien Law) al '*regulae*-type', la prassi correttiva esercitata sulla *scriptura* ha il proprio fondamento nella *grammatica*, la quale garantisce l'intelligibilità della natura e dei valori fonetici, morfosintattici e semantici delle *dictiones* (nel cotesto o in isolamento) fin dall'atto della trascrizione, e come nella tradizione cassiodorea guida anche l'esercizio (proto)filologico ed ecdotico, volendo sottrarre il testo alla variabilità delle redazioni, al polimorfismo grafico, alla agrammaticalità dovuta agli errori dei copisti, potenzialmente amplificabili nell'esecuzione orale.

D'altra parte, è alla stessa oralità, per come si attua nella *performance* rappresentata dalla *plana lectio* o dal canto del repertorio cristiano, che spetta riconoscere, interpretare correttamente e comunicare le relazioni strutturali e semantiche tra parole nel testo e al contempo garantire il senso di questo - anche sul piano dei correlati pragmatici - mediante una resa ortoepicamente efficace e retoricamente curata. In una stretta interrelazione tra auralità e visualità, la *correctio* esercitata sulla *vox* si alimenta della

correctio esercitata primariamente sul 'corpo grafico' del testo, la *scriptura* diviene una metagrafia in grado di sostenere e motivare la prima, e il *recte scribere* si fa via attraverso cui sia il *pronuntiare* sia l'*audire* possono realizzarsi e risultare efficaci, non ambigui e tali da permettere l'*intellegere*.

Tre sono i gli aspetti su cui il contributo intende focalizzarsi.

-1 Innovativamente ripensato appare in questi manuali il bagaglio nozionale attraverso cui si esercita la *correctio* sulle *dictiones* e che è ereditato dai *grammatici* tardolatini, soprattutto nella sistema(tizza)zione priscianea relativa ai fenomeni fonografici (*mutationes*, *copulae litterarum* etc.) e alle tassonomie morfologiche (a partire dalla distinzione tra *primitivus* e *derivativus*). In particolare, proprio il rapporto fra *dictio primitiva* e *dictio derivativa* assume un ruolo centrale ed argomentativo, che riflette una spiccata e nuova attenzione alla *derivatio*, in sé ma anche rispetto a *compositio* ed *etymologia*, dimensioni prima diversamente configurate e non precisamente delineate nei loro reciproci confini epistemici. La circostanza rivela una sensibilità incipiente della manualistica normativa nei confronti di temi che nel secolo XII saranno oggetto di dibattito speculativo da parte di componenti 'altre' della riflessione metalinguistica come le glosse *Tria sunt* e *Promisimus* (Hunt 1958, p. 272) e Pietro Helias (*Summa super Priscianum*, I, 70.87-96 Reilly). Il contributo intende dare conto di come la *grammatica practica* (volendo anticipare una nozione successiva) funzionalizzi tali categorie ad una *orthopraxis* (con Paul Gehl) che intende restituire iconicità e trasparenza alle parole, ancora considerate *indices rerum*, attraverso l'indagine sincronologica e della loro motivazione sia strutturale, sia semantico-referenziale in chiave speculativa.

-2 Altro aspetto che sarà approfondito nel contributo è l'attenzione che soprattutto le *artes lectoriae* (in ciò organiche alle istanze retoriche dell'ordine cisterciense come rileva Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk) riservano alla ricezione e all'*audire*, alla dimensione performativa, al valore della gestualità e dell'*actio*, ai correlati pragmatici dell'atto enunciativo. Riflesso di questa attenzione è un metalinguaggio fortemente innovativo che richiede uno studio adeguato e di cui si intende portare esempi e possibili confronti, tanto più utili se è vero con Tullio De Mauro che la lessicalizzazione della dimensione produttiva è maggiore rispetto a quella della ricezione e comprensione, e se quindi si può parlare interlinguisticamente di una relativa povertà quantitativa e di una evidente specificità dei *verba recipiendi* e di quelli *intelligendi*.

-3 Ultimo aspetto che sarà oggetto di approfondimento guarda alla strutturazione dei contenuti nei trattati. Comune alle ortografie e alle *artes lectoriae* è infatti il ricorso a modelli di organizzazione

testuale delle *regulae* ortografiche ed ortoepiche, noti come *vowel-* e *consonant-system*, che appaiono agli inizi del secolo XI anche in testi di Alberico di Montecassino e di Tebaldo, e che nell'uso documentato nei manuali in esame sono innovativamente rielaborati. La circostanza merita ulteriore approfondimento in quanto non solo comprova l'affinità di *artes lectoriae* e testi ortografici anche rispetto all'architettura dei dati oltre che alla complementarità di temi e fini, ma li configura come manifestazioni di quella *grammar of* (nel senso di Malcom B. Parkes) che nei secoli XI-XII emerge anche in altri àmbiti socioculturali e in altre dimensioni della *literacy*, le quali in misura crescente affidano allo scritto la comunicazione, la memorizzazione e l'archiviazione dei saperi collettivi, attraverso strategie nuove di *mise en page* che presuppongono una nuova concezione della *dictio*. L'analisi di questo terzo ed ultimo aspetto mira a cogliere, dall'ottica di questi strumenti pedagogici, le dinamiche che regolano il rapporto fra comunicazione scritta e comunicazione orale a partire da quel 'turning point' che è l'XI secolo, che di tale rapporto vede il mutare di modi e di bilanciamento.

In questi strumenti di scuola, quindi, ortoepia ed ortografia sono parte di una categoria policentrica di saperi e tecniche normative su cui si fonda la *grammatica Christiana*, della quale appaiono dimensioni complementari ed integrate in un percorso di acculturazione linguistica che offre fondamento ad una *orthopraxis* (nel senso indicato da Paul Gehl) linguistica rivolta al patrimonio testuale, teologico e ideologico dell'Occidente cristiano.

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The metalanguage of sentence structure in ME grammars

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Grammatica una et eadem est secundum substantiam in omnibus linguis, licet accidentaliter varietur. (Roger Bacon, *Greek Grammar,* p. 27) "With regard to its substance, grammar is one and the same in all languages, though it may be Subject to inessential variation". Starting from this affirmation, the paper aims at answering the question how the variation is arbitrary in the different languages and which were the roles to build sentences.

In the twelfth century, glosses and grammars shared the same syntactical concerns of word order (*ordo*) and government (*regimen*). Glossators and grammarians dealt with complex word order through the explanatory model of proximity (Kneepkens 1987a, vol. 1 : 535). In more general terms, the syntax (*constructio*) of the vernacular and of the glosses is characterised by the principle of proximity: those *partes orationis* –which are (semantically) related– are usually contiguous. Contiguity was moreover the defining quality of the *ordo naturalis*, the order of syntactic exposition. Indeed the terms *expositio* and *constructio* become almost synonymous during this period. This semantic merging comes about by virtue of the polysemy of the term *constructio*, which embraces

the constructed entity, its syntax, and the act of construing the entity during the reading of texts (*actus construentis quem in lectione exercemus*: Petrus Hispanus in Kneepkens 1987a, vol. IV: 1; Scaglione 1972 : 106).

William of Conches' remarks formed part of a long tradition, which, in the same way as Priscian, characterised the word order of literature (crafted rhetorical writing) as the more beautiful *ordo artificialis* and contrasted it with the order of grammatical exposition, *ordo naturalis*, used most notably in paraphrase. William of Conches' formulation of this order relies on a morphological approach to syntactic function, also found in Priscian (IG XVIII, 4 [GL III : 211]): the nominative is followed by the verb which is followed by the obliques, then adverbs. He explains further that this order is natural (*naturalis*) and is related directly to the work of exposition (*necesse est in expositione*) (Kneepkens 1987b: 146 n. 7)

Ralph of Beauvais recommends that all relative pronouns should be placed first in their own clause: to this point, the role of the glossator is remarkable: the glossator (*in suo capitulo* f) puts this into practice and in so doing accounts for sixteen breaches of SVO word order. However, the glossator's practice of ordering the direct before the indirect object contradicts the ideal word order later recommended by Alexander of Villa Dei. The problem lasted until William Zender. He introduced the well-known distinction between *grammatica positiva,* which is not a true science since it depends on human will, and *grammatica regularis,* i.e. syntax, which meets the requirements of a science, since it is about true and necessary things that cannot be otherwise. Furthermore, his discussion of grammatical construction gives us two definitions. The first one ("grammatical construction is the mutual composition of several words") is theoretically neutral and resembles that given by master Marcilius (grammatical construction is the mutual union of *constructibiles*). This definition. The other definition is called "the definition of construction according to Thomas": the construction is a combination of *constructibiles*, made up of the modes of signifying, created by the intellect and devised for expressing a concept of the mind. Moreover, in a modistic context could be demonstratively proved that government and construction are necessarily a part of the subject of grammar by means of the true adequate principle of that subject, which is the mode of signifying.

Syntactical thoughts of this period were concentrated around the notion of *regimen*, based on and later refined into theories of transitivity and intransitivity (Kneepkens 1990). Three basic definitions of *regimen* prevailed (Covington 1984: 12-19; Kneepkens 1978). In the first, *regimen* was intrinsically bound with the notion of semantic specification (*determinatio*) (Kneepkens 1978: 123-130). Peter Helias made it clear that this relationship could not be considered syntactic *regimen* either, but was rather an example of *determinatio significationis*. In fact, the semantic specification he and other morphologically oriented grammarians (i.e. Hugh of Saint-Victor) denied *determinatio* as a form of government.

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Parts of speech as parts of the body: the metalinguistic lacunae in the Middle Ages

The present paper aims at a reflection on syntax in Middle Age texts and grammars. Starting from the 7th century, we observe a dramatic shift from the metalanguage inherited from the ancient and early Christian scholars, that was deeply rooted on oral-aural units, to new metalinguistics tags which were more apt for the study of Latin language as "written word" and no longer as a spoken language in the same way it was centuries before.

The Grammarians had to offer new criteria for understanding the word and its syntactic and morphological relationship as a physical entity with a clearly analysable structure. This process made them aware of significant metalinguistic lacunae and it became clear that a new approach was needed for decomposing the sentence and the words in their minimal semantic units.

Given this, this paper offers an analysis of the different and new labels adopted by the scholars, which clearly shifts the focus from the spoken language to a new dimension of the study of Latin language which is based on the written medium.

Taking into account documents like the work of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, we aim at considering the different *partes orationis*, with special interest to the *potestas* and *ordo* of the conjunctions as their collocation in the sentence modify the meaning of the sentences themselves and also conjunctions have the major role in connecting the microcosmic level of phrase and the macroscopic level of dependent clauses.

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The development of syntax within Syriac grammatical tradition

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Early Syriac linguistic theories were modeled upon the Greek tradition, by means of translations and adaptation of rhetoric, logic and grammatical texts. In the domain of grammar, the main source of inspiration were the *Téchne Grammatiké*, translated into Syriac in the 6th cent, and the *Canons* of Theodosios, adapted at the end of the 7th cent (we can speak, for the Syriac tradition, of Greek « extended grammar », in the terms of Auroux 1992 and Aussant 2017). In the following centuries, Syriac grammars progressively evolved, but always expanding on the same template, which did not include syntax. Syntactic elements were treated in some section of logical and rhetorical doctrines, but in a rather desultory manner.

Although no systematic description of Syriac syntax is produced before the Renaissance, it is nonetheless possible to reconstruct a certain evolution towards the description of specific syntactic phenomena, throughout the Syriac grammatical tradition.
This paper will explore the grammatical theories of different Syriac authors, from the 6th to the 13th cent., trying to show how underneath their progressive re-elaboration of the Greek model (also in interaction with the development of Arabic linguistics, from the 11th cent.) lays the attempt at describing syntactic phenomena and at addressing syntactic problems (e.g. the syntax of pronouns, of participle and of nominal predication, the morpho-syntax of nominal composition, the interaction between syntactic and semantic roles).

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Classifications of Noun Phrases in the *Doctrinale* and in Some Medieval and Humanist Grammars composed in Italy c. 1250-1500

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In my presentation, I will examine the typologies used to describe noun phrases in Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale* and in medieval Latin grammars used at secondary level of education in Italy from 13th century until 15th century. The grammars examined are the following: *Summae* by Sponcius and Pietro da Isolella (1252), Giovanni Balbo's *Catholicon* (1286), Francesco da Buti's *Regule grammaticales* (1355-1378), Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices* (1473), and Sulpizio da Veroli's *Opus grammaticum* (1475).

In the Middle Ages, the analysis of noun phrases became an essential part of syntactical theories, which began to flourish in the twelfth century. Then the primary tools of analysis were transitivity and government, employed also in verbal syntax, but in the later Middle Ages the four Aristotelian causes were also applied regularly to the description of noun phrases. The number of syntactical rules varied from one grammar to another. For example, in the *Doctrinale* well over 20 different instances of genitive phrases are named, whereas da Buti mentions only twelve uses, and all the noun phrases are absent from the *Regule* of Guarino Veronese, the first Humanist grammar. The various syntactico-semantic relations were described using a rigorous terminology (e.g. *ex natura/vi causae materialis*), which was largely condemned by the Humanists. In my talk I will raise the following questions: How many subtypes of noun phrases does each grammarian establish? Is there a consistent tendency to simplify the syntactical description by diminishing the number of rules? If so, how does the fifteenth-century Humanists' educational reform change the theory and description of noun phrases?

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Phrasis entre rhétorique et grammaire : de Denys d'Halicarnasse aux commentateurs byzantins

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Le sens grammatical du mot *phrase* en français n'est pas très ancien. D'après le *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, c'est au XVIIIème siècle que cette valeur métalinguistique fait son apparition et finit par s'imposer en grammaire puis en linguistique en France et sous des formes phonétiquement proches dans les langues romanes comme l'italien, l'espagnol ou le portugais. On sait qu'en anglais *phrase* réfère à une unité plus réduite correspondant au français *groupe de mots* ou *syntagme*. Mais il s'agit encore d'un terme à valeur syntaxique.

Le *DHLF* indique que le français a emprunté ce terme au latin *phrasis*, lui-même calqué sur le grec *phrasis*, en 1546. Le sens est alors celui d'« arrangement de mots », « façon de parler », « tour donné à l'expression », plus proche du sens étymologique et en tout cas hors du champ spécialisé de la grammaire.

Ce qui est surprenant, c'est que les textes techniques grecs de l'Antiquité et du Moyen-Âge, tant dans le champ de la rhétorique que dans celui de la grammaire utilisent le terme de *phrasis* couramment et de façon continue au moins depuis Denys d'Halicarnasse (autour du premier siècle avant notre ère), qui enseignait à Rome, jusqu'aux commentateurs, grammairiens et rhéteurs byzantins médiévaux jusqu'aux XIIIème - XIVème siècles. Tout se passe donc comme si le caractère technique du terme s'était perdu avant de retrouver tardivement une nouvelle jeunesse.

Le projet de cette communication consiste à explorer les emplois de *phrasis* chez les auteurs de langue grecque entre Denys d'Halicarnasse et les savants byzantins de la fin du Moyen-Âge. Les textes ont été sélectionnés à partir d'une interrogation de la base de donnée du *TLG*. Avec quelques erreurs liées à l'homographie entre quelques formes du verbe *phrazein* ('faire comprendre, indiquer') et le datif singulier et le nominatif pluriel de *phrasis*, on obtient plus de 2000 occurrences pour toute la période, ce qui est assez élevé pour un terme plutôt tardif et assez technique. Une propriété du corpus est qu'il fait apparaître pour cette période une intersection entre la grammaire, la philologie et la rhétorique. Par exemple, le grammairien Tryphon (Ier siècle avant notre ère) emploie spécialement le terme dans son traité sur les tropes. Mais Apollonius Dyscole, 3 siècles plus tard, l'utilise de façon significative (48 occurrences) dans des traités relevant de la pure grammaire. Au IXème siècle, le grammairien Choeroboscus (26 occurrences) y a recours aussi bien dans ses traités de rhétorique que dans ses commentaires philologiques ou grammaticaux. Au XIIème siècle, Eustathius de Thessalonique, mêle également emplois rhétoriques et grammatico-philologiques dans ses commentaires sur Homère et ses discours variés. Il est l'auteur qui utilise le plus le mot *phrasis* (414 occurrences !). Si l'occurrence unique du manuel de Denys le Thrace est de date incertaine, les commentaires tardifs médiévaux, d'orientation grammaticale l'utilisent 71 fois.

La mixité technique du mot *phrasis* sera au cœur de notre présentation, qui tentera de définir au plus près les contours de la notion qu'il recouvre.

1) A partir des contextes d'emploi, on essaiera d'abord de relever les différentes composantes de cette notion, tous les auteurs ne l'utilisant pas de la même manière.
2) Une seconde interrogation portera sur une éventuelle évolution de son usage puisque notre corpus s'étend sur quinze siècles.
3) On verra aussi dans quelle mesure le domaine de référence – rhétorique, grammaire, philologie, ou autre- influe sur l'interprétation du terme.
4) Enfin on s'interrogera sur le lien entre cette longue histoire et la renaissance du terme au XVIème puis au XVIIIème siècle.

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Some alternative approaches to construing sentences employed in medieval schools

Stoic logic formed the basis for the ancient grammatical theory of syntax, as developed by the Greek grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd cent. A.D.) and adapted into Latin grammar by Priscian c. 500 A.D. In the footsteps of Apollonius, Priscian recognized as the point of departure for his syntactical theory a minimal statement, from which nothing is missing and which includes nothing superfluous,

The textbooks on grammar did not offer tools for analyzing complex and compound sentences, and the early medieval grammarians occasionally employed techniques for expanding sentence structure, provided by the other arts of the trivium. At least three authors, Isidore of Seville, Alcuin, and Sedulius Scottus, resorted to the tools offered by Aristotle's Categories, as in the following sentence: "Augustine, a great orator, the son of that person, standing in the temple, today, adorned with a headband, having a dispute gets tired" (e.g. *Etym*. II 26,11). At St. Gall, some teachers made use of both logical and rhetorical methods in their attempt to teach their pupils how to construe Latin sentences. Although these tools of analysis fall outside the mainstream of medieval grammar, snippets of these techniques continued to be incorporated into pedagogical grammars, including for instance the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei. These techniques could be used in analyzing an existing literary work or the Bible, or alternatively, they might help the pupil to produce a Latin sentence on his own, or to translate a Latin sentence into the vernacular. Finally, some aspects of punctuation may offer us glues how a medieval teacher analyzed sentence structure in the absence of established grammatical procedures.

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Syntax in Some Late XIIIth-century Commentaries on Martin of Dacia's *Modi significandi*

The research on Modistic syntax, afetr a long period of interruption (from the contributions by Covington 1984, Benedini 1988, and Marmo 1994, ch. 6), has recently regained some interest (Lombardi 2007, ch. 2). However many texts are still unpublished or rarely studied. Among these are the commentaries on Martin of Dacia's *Modi significandi* which, from the end of the 13th century, in Paris as weel as in Bologna, were commented beside to Priscian's text (the so-called *Priscianus Minor*) in teaching and reflecting on syntax. In this paper we will try to offer an overall examination of the first commentaries, due to an unidentified Master Simon (in Paris) and Gentilis of Cingoli (in Bologna) and their respective positions within the modistic mainstream.

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Reflections on syntax in medieval grammars: Francesco da Buti's contribution

The Pisan *magister* Francesco da Buti (1324 – 1406) provides an important contribution on syntax in his grammatical works, written in the second half of the 14th century.

The first one is an extensive grammar, known as *Regule*: an intermediate grammar, which encompasses a large part of the normative curriculum, from notions aimed at post-beginners to those referring to pre-university students. In the part aimed at the most advanced students the *Regule* focuses a lot on syntax, in particular on the parts of speech, on their properties and on their syntactic functions.

A particularly relevant section is dedicated to participles. Here Buti discusses the function of the participle as a noun and as an adjective, also considering the construction of embedded clauses, and he enumerates five *habitudines* denoted by the participle: efficient cause, consequence, adversity, concomitance and indefiniteness. In the case of concomitance, he points out that the participle, in ablative, is not governed, but is placed *absolute*. In his analysis Buti makes an extensive use of vernacular sentences in order to explain the composition of Latin constructs.

The second grammatical work is a glosses commentary on Alexander de Villadei's *Doctrinale*. In this book Buti reproposes the same topics, in particular within the glosses dealing with cases syntax, when he speaks about the ablative, while, in the section on the the accusative, he discusses the construction of infinitive clauses.

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Searching for the copula

As is well-known, in linguistics a copula is a word that links the subject of a sentence to a subject complement, such as the word *is* in the sentence "The sky is blue." The word copula derives from the Latin noun for a "link" or "tie" that connects two different things.

A copula is often a verb or a verb-like word, though this is not universally the case. Sometimes called a copulative or copular verb, a copula is often called a linking verb in English. In other languages, copulas show more resemblances to pronouns, as in Classical Chinese and Guarani, or may take the form of suffixes attached to a noun, as in Korean, Beja, and Inuit languages.

Most languages have one main copula, although some – like Spanish, Portuguese, and Thai – have more than one, and some have none. In the case of English, this is the verb 'to be'. While the term copula is generally used to refer to such principal forms, it may also be used to refer to some other verbs with similar functions, like *become*, *get*, *feel*, and *seem* in English. These may also be called "semi-copulas" or "pseudo-copulas".

An Ancient Greek term corresponding to 'copula' is missing, even though there is a lady who persists unjustifiably in believing that such corresponding term is ἄρθρον.

Coined in the Middle Ages, the term 'copula' was first considered a happy invention of Peter Abelard (1079-1142), the famous scholastic philosopher, theologian, and preeminent logician. Subsequently, the term was attributed to Garland the Computist, an early mediaeval logician of the eleventh-century school of Liège. The *Dialectica* published under his name by L.M. de Rijk (1959) is now commonly attributed to Gerlandus of Besançon (early 12th century).

Aiming to investigate the origin of the concept of copula, my paper will examine the possibility that at the base of it there are certain considerations of Ammonius Hermiae (c 440-c 520) then taken up by Boethius (475/477-524/526).

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Alcuin of York: the *dispositio verborum* between grammar and rhetoric

The work of Alcuin of York is characterized, as in the case of many contemporary authors, by the interest addressed, on the one hand, to theology and, on the other, to the *artes liberales* that he saw as the starting point of the course of studying. Within the *artes liberales* there are the disciplines related to the study of language, that is grammar, rhetoric and dialectics. The present contribution intends to address precisely this group of works, in an attempt to add a further hermeneutical element around one of the classical topics of ancient syntax: the *dispositio verborum,* to an extent superimposable to the modern concept of (linear?) syntax, which, as is evident, reaches us with layers stratified through centuries of both linguistic and metalinguistic reflection. In the work of Alcuin, a specific chapter (*De dispositione*) is dedicated to the theme of the 'disposition of words' in the *Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus.* This is enriched with a series of scattered observations on the same subject contained in the Grammar. They range from the analysis of indefinite verbal modes to the participle (which was one of the 'part of speech' in ancient taxonomy), and further to prepositions and conjunctions. The aim of the contribution is to analyse, starting from the example represented by Alcuin of York, not only the perspective of a particular author (even if representative of a school, and a protagonist of the "Carolingian renaissance"), but also a methodology at work, which consists in the search for syntactic observations in all the texts in which they may appear. In other words, we are not allowed to limit our research to the grammatical texts. We need to integrate them with what emerges in the texts about rhetoric and dialectics. The commitment of the contemporary scholar is to operate in the best possible understanding of textual philology, to distinguish the levels of linguistic analysis involved in the description and exemplification of linguistic expressions, applying the contemporary methodological filter without forcing the text, in order to reach an interpretation as complete as possible and at the same time consistent with the historical period and the theoretical horizon in which the text was produced. Starting from these fundamental tools it is possible to reconstruct a thread or (most probably) a series of threads that weave more and more tightly together, going beyond the boundaries of the single traditional disciplines.

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Syntactic instances in the Old Irish glosses

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The glosses in Latin MSS. (Milan, Würzburg, St. Gall, etc.) are marginal and interlinear explanations in Irish representing the most important source of Old Irish. Since the earliest layers go back to the VI cent., Irish linguistic concern and theoretical reflexion on the language started shortly after the acceptance of the Christian and Latin culture, imposing its material as a basis for the modern speculations on the Irish grammar.

The grammatical activity follows the subdivion of the eight parts of speech or follows a different pattern like the *regulae*-type. The focus remains on the formal discussion on the line of the rational and certain principles established by Donatus and Priscian («certisque rationis legibus» *GL* II.1.11-12) and a dialetical apparatus (with a tighter link between grammar and logic and a looser one with rhetoric) devoted to: - the main distinction between noun, verb, pronoun; - the derivation of the *species* from the *genus*; - the isolation of peculiar features from the specific ones.

Glossing is an activity within the systematic commentary of the conditions inherent in the forms detected within the analyses of a reputed text. The choice adopted by glossators trained at distinguishing associative-contrastive relations is the result of a connotation responding to a classification elusive to clear-cut definitions. It is our purpose to trace the procedural way worked out in order to satisfy an interpretation in the frame of the (Latin) written grammar supporting the oral-aural attempts to attaining a codified written language. The "theoretical" insight yields to a "practical" guidance in making up concrete phrases building up the "new language".

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Magister Gaufridus e le *artes dictandi* nello *Studium* bolognese: tracce di sintassi

Benché il primo impulso alla nascita del genere tipicamente medievale dell'*ars dictaminis* (o *dictandi*) sia da collocare intorno al 1087 presso l'abbazia benedettina di Montecassino ad opera di Alberico (*Dictaminum radii* e *Breviarium de dictamine*), lo sviluppo teorico della nuova arte epistolografica ebbe uno dei suoi momenti più vitali a Bologna tra il XII e il XIII secolo. L'aperto e non raro scontro tra i *magistri*, spesso laici, che si avvicendarono nelle cattedre dello *Studium*, contribuì in maniera determinante alla ricerca dell'originalità nei precetti dei singoli *dictatores*, sempre più professionisti dell'*ars* con cui si guadagnavano da vivere: già Ugo di Bologna (*Rationes dictandi prosaice*, 1119-1124) si era trovato in aperta polemica con Adalberto Samaritano (*Praecepta dictaminum*, 1111-1118), che a sua volta aveva aspramente criticato il magistero di Alberico di Montecassino; non dissimile sarebbe stata l'animosità che Bene da Firenze (*Candelabrum*, 1220-1227) avrebbe mostrato nei confronti del suo predecessore Buoncompagno da Signa (*Cedrus*, 1201). La vivacità delle lotte personali e dottrinali tra i *dictatores*, in un genere precettistico fortemente caratterizzato dalla rielaborazione delle eredità retorica e grammaticale classiche, rappresenta un terreno fecondo per lo sviluppo sottotraccia di una consapevolezza sintattico-grammaticale alquanto marcata, complice la dimensione essenzialmente scritta del nuovo dettato, orientato soprattutto al *dictamen prosaicum*. Maestro Goffredo (forse Goffredo di Vinsauf), che ha i connotati di autore maturo della prima fase bolognese, nella sua *Summa de arte dictandi* (1180-1190) mostra una chiara limitazione di termini come "*sententia*" all'ambito puramente sintattico, e tratta di problemi di sintassi non lineare *ante litteram* nell'analisi delle anfibologie. Sebbene queste considerazioni siano per Goffredo e per i suoi coevi argomenti essenzialmente retorici, essi costituiscono un pensiero pre-sintattico alquanto strutturato e di ampia diffusione (anche terminologica). Per quanto riguarda le *artes dictandi* di matrice bolognese, infatti, gli scambi con le scuole medievali di Orléans e della valle della Loira, a tradizione fortemente grammaticale, fanno supporre che quanto elaborato in Italia, all'interno del genere in questione, rappresenti un importante precedente in una storia della sintassi che vede in Port-Royal un punto di arrivo fondamentale.

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Development of syntactic observations and terminology in the Russian Church Slavonic and Modern Russian tradition of the late 16th – early 19th centuries

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The roots of the Russian grammaticography go back to traditions of the southern Slavs of the tenth and eleventh century, whose primary objectives, however, mostly consist in the defense of the right of Slavs to use their own language for liturgical practice and translations of the Christian sacred texts, as well as in the apologetic presentation of the Glagolitic (and Cyrillic) alphabet(s) as philological creations more perfect than the Greek and Latin ones. The occupation with grammatical subjects in the narrow sense begins in Russia only in the 16th century, with concise presentations of individual themes of morphology, topics in phonetics, and orthographic problems. The immediate starting point of Slavic grammar *sensu stricto* is represented by two essays: *On the eight parts of speech* is probably

a medieval compilation of Serbian origin from the first part of the fifteenth century that goes back to the activity of the grammatical school of Resava founded by Konstantin Kostenečki, a Bulgarian emigrant at the court of the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević, at the beginning of the 15th century. The same Konstantin is the author of a treatise under the title *O pismenechъ* ('On the letters'), which primarily aims at making Slavic scholars aware of the necessity of preservation and correct normativization of Church Slavonic as *lingua sacra* of Slavic Orthodox Christians, but also contains elements of morphosyntaxm, phonetics and graphemics/graphetics. Both the composition and the terminology in these two treatises strictly refers to models of the Greek-Byzantine grammatical tradition.

The first grammatical monographs concerning Church Slavonic and Early Modern Russian appear only from the end of the 16th century onwards, the former being exemplarily represented by Meletij Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatiki slavénskija pravilnoe síntagma* (1619), with its four (diverging) editions. Beside theis Graeco-centric research tradition, in Western-oriented Russian cities such as Novgorod the interest in Latin grammar lead to the employment of traditional (Latin-)Western methods of grammatical description and terminology for the objectives of Latin education of students of Slavic (Russian) origin and then to the application of these descriptive methods to Early Modern Russian as object language. Even if such "Latinizing" traditions enjoyed only a limited diffusion for ideological reasons, in the 16th century we still find a Russian 'Donatus' (1522) as well as the first Slavic monograph practically entirely dedicated to (school) syntax, the *Pravila grammatičnye* ('Regulae grammaticae'), texts that show influences from the Late Antiquity and Early Mediaeval times, viz. the traditions of Donatus and Priscianus, but also from the works of Modists, esp. of Alexander de Villa Dei. Finally, a group of Western Russian grammarians underwent strongly scholarly influence from the grammatical works of Melanchthon. The project of a 'Reformation' of the Orthodox Church (emulating the one of the Reformation of the Catholic confession) has its adepts in the person of grammarians such as Lavrentij Zyzanij(-Tustanovs'kyj), who published his *Hrammatyka slovenska* in 1596. In the period of Counterreformation, the grammatical interests of the Jesuit school lead to the compilation of a Russian grammar by Juraj Križanić under the title *Gramatično izkazanje ob ruskom jeziku* (1666).

The present paper will summarize syntactical observations, theories and terminology of the earlier New Church Slavonic and Russian grammatical corpora, in order to systematically follow specific trends and diverging tendencies of later Russian grammaticography (18th – early 19th c.). The works to discuss in this context will be represented by the *Grammatica Russica* (1696) by "Henricus Wilhelmus Ludolfus", the grammar by Maksimov (1723), Adodurov's *Anfangs-Gründe der russischen Sprache*, then the so-called "First Russian Grammar in [our] own language" (re-discovered by B. A. Uspenskij), up to the classical *Rossijskaja grammatika* by Michail Vasil'evič Lomonosov (1757). From the post-Lomonosov period, we shall focus at the two editions of the *Kratkija pravila rossijskoj grammatiki* (1773 and 1784), the *Rossijskaja grammatika* (1802) of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, to arrive at influences of the Universal Grammar (in the late 18th and early 19th c.) exemplified by Ornatovskij's *Novejšee načertanie pravil rossijskoj grammatiki* (1810).