This book addresses the question of whether there are continuities in Latin spanning the period from the early Republic through to the Romance languages. It is often maintained that various usages admitted by early comedy were rejected later by the literary language but continued in speech, to resurface centuries later in the written record (and in Romance). Are certain similarities between early and late Latin all that they seem, or might they be superficial, reflecting different phenomena at different periods? Most of the chapters, on numerous syntactic and other topics and using different methodologies, have a long chronological range. All attempt to identify patterns of change that might undermine any theory of submerged continuity. The patterns found are summarised in a concluding chapter. The volume addresses classicists with an interest in any of the different periods of Latin and Romance linguists.

J. N. Adams, CBE, FBA, is an Emeritus Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, an Honorary Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford and an Honorary Research Fellow, The University of Manchester. He was awarded the Kenyon Medal for Classical Studies of the British Academy in 2009.

Nigel Vincent, FBA, MAE, is Professor Emeritus of General and Romance Linguistics at The University of Manchester. He has held visiting appointments at the Universities of Pavia and Rome III, the Romansk Institut in Copenhagen and an Erskine Fellowship at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand.
The chapters in this volume derive for the most part from papers given at a workshop held at The University of Manchester on 12–13 May 2014 with the title 'Early Latin and late Latin/Romance: continuity and innovation'. Our guiding idea was to explore the traditional view that there are connections between early and late Latin which, so to speak, go underground during the classical period; hence the term 'submerged' Latin which occurs in a number of the chapters that follow.” – Preface

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.
Contents

List of contributors  vii
Preface  ix
Abbreviations  x
Supplementary abbreviations  xiii
Compiled by Valerie Knight

1 Continuity and change from Latin to Romance  1
Nigel Vincent

2 Comic lexicon: searching for ‘submerged’ Latin from Plautus to Erasmus  14
Giuseppe Pezzini

3 Third person possessives from early Latin to late Latin and Romance  47
Tommaso Mari

4 The language of a Pompeian tavern: submerged Latin?  69
James Clackson

5 Ad versus the dative: from early to late Latin  87
James Adams and Wolfgang de Melo

6 Variation and change in Latin be-periphrases: empirical and methodological considerations  132
Lieven Danckaert

7 Analytic passives and deponents in classical and later Latin  163
Philip Burton

8 On the use of habeo and the perfect participle in earlier and in later Latin  180
Gerd V. M. Haverling
Contents

9 Expressions of time in early and late Latin: the case of temporal *habet*  
Stelios Panayotakis  
202

10 *Quid ago? Quid facimus?* ‘Deliberative’ indicative questions from early to late Latin  
Anna Chahoud  
217

11 *On coepi/incipio* + infinitive: some new remarks  
Giovanbattista Galdi  
246

12 Infinitives with verbs of motion from Latin to Romance  
James Adams and Nigel Vincent  
265

13 Causatives in Latin and Romance  
Nigel Vincent  
294

14 The development of the comparative in Latin texts  
Brigitte L. M. Bauer  
313

15 Analytic and synthetic forms of the comparative and superlative from early to late Latin  
Robert Maltby  
340

16 Left-detached constructions from early to late Latin: (*nominativus pendens* and *attractio inuersa*)  
Hilla Hallaaho  
367

17 Six notes on Latin correlatives  
Philomen Probert and Eleanor Dickey  
390

18 Epilogue: some patterns of change  
James Adams  
420

Bibliography  
431

Subject index  
459

Index verborum  
464
Contributors

James Adams,
Emeritus Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford; Honorary Fellow, Brasenose College, Oxford; Honorary Research Fellow, The University of Manchester.

Brigitte Bauer,
Research Fellow, Linguistics Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin and Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen.

Philip Burton,
Reader in Latin and Early Christian Studies, University of Birmingham.

Anna Chahoud,
Professor of Latin, Trinity College Dublin, The University of Dublin.

James Clackson,
Reader in Comparative Philology, University of Cambridge.

Lieven Danckaert,
Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Research Foundation - Flanders, Ghent University.

Wolfgang De Melo,
Associate Professor in Classical Philology, Oxford University.
Contributors

ELEANOR DICKER,
Professor of Classics,
University of Reading.

GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI,
Professor of Latin Linguistics,
University of Ghent.

HILLA HALA-AHO,
Researcher,
The University of Helsinki.

GERD V. M. HAVERLING,
Professor of Latin,
Department of Linguistics and Philology,
Uppsala University.

ROBERT MALTBY,
Professor Emeritus of Latin Philology,
The University of Leeds.

TOMMASO MARI,
Associate Researcher, Faculty of Classics,
University of Oxford.

STELIOS PANAYOTAKIS,
Associate Professor in Classics,
University of Crete.

GIUSEPPE PEZZINI,
Lecturer in Latin,
University of St Andrews.

PHILOMEN PROBERT,
University Lecturer in Classical Philology and Linguistics,
University of Oxford.

NIGEL VINCENT,
Professor Emeritus of General and Romance Linguistics,
The University of Manchester.
Preface

The chapters in this volume derive for the most part from papers given at a workshop held at The University of Manchester on 12–13 May 2014 with the title ‘Early Latin and late Latin/Romance: continuity and innovation’. Our guiding idea was to explore the traditional view that there are connections between early and late Latin which, so to speak, go underground during the classical period; hence the term ‘submerged’ Latin which occurs in a number of the chapters that follow. While some of our contributors stay with that brief, exploring the hypothesis as it applies across a range of different words and constructions, others broaden the discussion to deal with more general issues of change within the history of Latin, and the nature of the textual evidence on which our accounts of those changes are based.

In the event some of those who spoke at the workshop were not able to contribute written versions for inclusion here. At the same time the volume also contains some chapters that were commissioned after the event. All our contributors however were present at the workshop and participated in the discussion on that occasion. We are grateful to them for their commitment and enthusiasm, and for their constructive responses to our comments and suggestions about their chapters.

The costs of the workshop were partly covered by a grant from The University of Manchester’s Mont Follick fund, and we are grateful to the Head of School, Jeremy Gregory, for authorising this award.

Many people helped us in the preparation of the workshop, including our colleagues David Langslow, who was integral to the planning and hosting of the event, and Polly Low, who maintained the webpages. Especial thanks go to Valerie Knight, who provided invaluable administrative support before and during the event and who has done outstanding work in compiling the indexes and lists of abbreviations herein. We are grateful too to Michael Sharp at CUP for his advice and guidance in the preparation of the volume, to Helen Flitton of Out of House Publishing for her attentive overseeing of the publication process and to Jane Robson for the copy-editing.

JNA and NV
Abbreviations

Authors and texts cited and abbreviations will for the most part be found in the Oxford Latin Dictionary ‘Aids to the reader I: Authors and works’. A special case concerns the text variously referred to in the literature as Itinerarium Egeriae (Itin. Eger.) or Peregrinatio Aetheriae (Peregr. Aeth.) where we have followed the preferences of our contributors as to which is used in the separate chapters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>L’Année épigraphique (Paris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Anglo Norman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>Catalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIL</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin: Reimer / De Gruyter, 1862–).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Classical Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dauph</td>
<td>Dauphinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EL</td>
<td>Early Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© in this web service Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
Abbreviations


**LL**  Late Latin


**ML**  Medieval Latin

**Occ**  Occitan

**OF**  Old French

**OIt**  Old Italian


**OOcc**  Old Occitan


**OPg**  Old Portuguese


**Pg**  Portuguese


**Rom**  Romanian

**Sermones Aurelii Augustini opera. Ps. 11, 1, Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento: id est sermones I-L secundum ordinem vulgatum insertis etiam novem sermonibus / Lambot
Abbreviations


Sic Sicilian
Sp Spanish
TLL Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig: Teubner; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1900–)
TPSulp Tabulae Sulpicianae
Vet. Lat. Vetus Latina
VL Vulgar Latin
Supplementary abbreviations

Compiled by Valerie Knight

This supplementary list of abbreviations has been compiled as an aid for those readers who may be unfamiliar with the very many abbreviations found within the volume not covered by the OLD (pp. ix–xx) and LSJ (pp. xvi–xxxviii). For these, in the first instance, the TLL (Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur, 5th edn, Leipzig, 1990) has been followed. One exception is the abbreviation for Gregory of Tours (Greg. Tur.) Historia Francorum: Hist. Franc. The TLL has Franc., ‘historiae, sc. historia Francorum’: some contributors favoured Franc., others Hist., others HF and others Hist. Franc. All have been standardised to Hist. Franc. Another exception is the abbreviation for Palladius of Helenopolis, Pall. This has been standardised to Pall. to avoid confusion with Pallad., Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus. For abbreviations not found in the OLD, LSJ or TLL, the ‘Abbreviations List’ of the OCD (Oxford Classical Dictionary, S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow, eds, 4th edn, Oxford, 2012) has been consulted. For the abbreviations of the Christian Greek texts, G. W. H. Lampe (A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Oxford, 1961) has been used (Stelios Panayotakis, Ch. 9). For other abbreviations, contributors have provided me with appropriate details. I am extremely grateful for the help and expertise of the editors and contributors in compiling this list. I would particularly like to thank Robert Maltby for his assistance.

Adémar de Chabannes

Chron.    Chronique
Alex. Trall.    Alexander Trallianus
Ambr.    Ambrose
Epist.    Epistulae
Virg.    De virginitibus
Amm.    Ammianus Marcellinus
Anthem.    Anthimus
Supplementary abbreviations

Apic. Apicius


ps. Apul. ps. Apuleius

Herb. Herbarium (De medicaminibus herbarum)

Arnob. iun. Arnobius iunior, Liber ad Gregoriam in palatio constitutam

Ad Greg. Arnobius of Sicca, Adversus nationes

Aug. Augustine

Anim. De anima et eius origine

C. acad. Contra academicos

Cathecb. rud. De catechizandis rudibus

C. Iul. Contra Iulianum

C. Iul. op. imperf. Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum

Civ. De ciuitate dei

Conf. Confessiones

Cons. euang. De consensu evanglistarum

Doctr. Christ. De doctrina Christiana

Epist. Epistulae

In epist. Ioh. In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus

In euang. Ioh. In Iohannis euangelium tractatus

In Psalm. In Psalmos enarrationes

Lib. arb. De libero arbitrio

Loc. hept. Locutiones in heptateuchum

Op. monach. De opere monachorum

Quaest. hept. Quaestiones in heptateuchum

Serm. Sermones

Trin. De trinitate


Epit. Epitome de Caesaribus

Auson. Ausonius

Epist. Epistulae

A. Xanthipp. Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae (M. R. James, Apocrypha anecdota, Cambridge, 1893)
# Supplementary abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barnab.</td>
<td>Epistulae Barnabae Pauli socio perperam ascriptae versio Latina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caes. Arel.</td>
<td>Caesarius of Arles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serm.</td>
<td>Sermones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cass. Fel.</td>
<td>Cassius Felix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassiod.</td>
<td>Cassiodorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hist.</td>
<td>Historia ecclesiastica tripartita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Psalm.</td>
<td>Expositio Psalmorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var.</td>
<td>Variae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina, Turnhout, 1954–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrys.</td>
<td>Joannes Chrysostomus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Heb. Hom.</td>
<td>Homiliae in epistolam ad Hebraeos, PG (ed. Migne) 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stag.</td>
<td>Adhortationes ad Stagyrium a daemone uexatum, PG (ed. Migne) 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claud. Don. Aen.</td>
<td>Tiberius Claudius Donatus, Interpretationes Vergilianae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cledon.</td>
<td>Cledonius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Veron.</td>
<td>Codex Veronensis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. Celt.</td>
<td>Colloquium Celtis (see Dickey 2015a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. Harl.</td>
<td>Colloquium Harleianum (see Dickey 2015a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. Leid.-Steph.</td>
<td>Colloquium Leidense–Stephani (see Dickey 2012b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. Mon.-Eins.</td>
<td>Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidleniensis (see Dickey 2012b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. Mont.</td>
<td>Colloquium Montepessulanum (see Dickey 2015a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. Steph.</td>
<td>Colloquium Stephani (see Dickey 2012b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comp. Luc.</td>
<td>Compositiones Lucenses (H. Hedfors, Compositiones ad tingenda musiua, Uppsala, 1932)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consent.</td>
<td>Consentius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coripp.</td>
<td>Flavius Cresconius Corippus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ioh.</td>
<td>Flauii Cresconii Corippi Johannidos seu De bellis Libyce libri VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSEL</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Supplementary abbreviations

Cypr.      Cyprian
Didasc. apost.        Didascaliae apostolorum
Diom.  Diomede
Diosc. Dioscorides
Dosith. Dositheus
Dracontius
Orest. Orestis tragoedia (immo epyllion)
Epigr. Bob. Epigrammata Bobiensia
Eugraph. Eugraphius
Euseb. Verc. Eusebius episcopus Vercellensis
Trin. De trinitate
Faust. Rei. Faustus Reiensis
Epist. Epistulae
Firm. Iulius Firmicus Maternus
Err. De errore profanarum religionum
Math. Mathesis
Fortun. Consultus Fortunatianus
Gal. Galen
Greg. M. Gregory the Great
Epist. Registrum epistularum
In euang. In euangelia homiliae
Greg. Tur. Gregory of Tours
Glor. conf. In gloria confessorum
Glor. mart. In gloria martyrum
Hist. Franc. Historia Francorum
Vit. patr. De uita patrum
Herm. Pastoris Hermae versiones Latinae
Hier. Jerome
Adv. Rufin. Aduersus Rufinum
## Supplementary abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epist.</td>
<td>Epistulae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Eph.</td>
<td>Commentarii in epistulam Pauli ad Ephesios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Ier.</td>
<td>Commentarii in Ieremiam prophetam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Matth.</td>
<td>Commentarii in Matthaeum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Mich.</td>
<td>Commentarii in Michaem prophetam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. hebr.</td>
<td>Hebraica nomina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Hilar.</td>
<td>Vita Hilarionis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Malchi</td>
<td>Vita Malchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Pauli</td>
<td>Vita Pauli Thebaei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hist. Apoll.</td>
<td>Historia Apollonii regis Tyri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hist. Aug.</td>
<td>Historia Augusta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hom. Clem.</td>
<td>Homiliae Clementinae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Iordanes**
- Get. | De origine actibusque Getarum |
- Rom. | De summa temporum sicut origine actibusque gentis Romanorum |

**Itin. Anton. Plac.**
- Itinerarium Antonini Placentini |

**Itin. Eger.**
- Itinerarium Egeriae (= Peregr. Aeth., Peregrinatio Aetheriae) |

**Lact.**
- Lactantius |

**Inst.**
- Diuinae institutiones |

**LASLA**
- Database of the Laboratoire d’Analyse Statistique des Langues Anciennes (www.cipl.ulg.ac.be/Lasla) |

**Lib. Feud.**
- Liber feudorum maior (F. M. Rosell, ed., Liber feudorum maior: cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivio de la Corona de Aragon, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1945–47) |

**Lib. pontif.**

**Livius Andronicus**
- trag. | tragoediarum fragmenta |

**Lucif.**
- Lucifer episcopus Caralitanus |

**Athan.**
- De Athanasio |

**Marcellus**
- Med. | De medicamentis |

**Mart. Cap.**
- Martianus Capella
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supplementary abbreviations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar. Victorin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulomed. Chir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obseq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oribas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eup.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oros.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. agr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vet. med.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paneg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paschas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verba patr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Supplementary abbreviations


Patric.
Conf.
Epist.
Pelagon.
Peregr. Aeth.
PG
Philogelos
PL
Porphyrio
Priscianus Caesarensis
ps. Probus
Prudentius
Liber peristephanon
Papiri greci e latini (Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiro greci e latini in Egitto, Florence, 1912–)
Querolus siue Aulularia
Regula magistri
Rufinus
Clementis Romani quae feruntur recognitiones Latine uersae
Eusebii historia ecclesiastica translata et continuata
Schol. in Ciceronis orationes Bobiensia
Septuagint
Seruius in Donati artem maiorem
Sermones (M. Manitius, ed., Sexti Amarcii Galli Postrati sermonum libri IV, Leipzig, 1888)
Supplementary abbreviations

| Sulp. Sev.       | Sulpicius Severus                              |
| Dial.            | Dialogi                                       |
| Mart.            | Vita Sancti Martini                           |
| Symmachus        |                                              |
| Epist.           | Epistulae                                     |
| Tert.            | Tertullian                                    |
| Adv. Hermog.     | Aduersus Hermogenem                          |
| Adv. Marc.       | Aduersus Marcionem                           |
| Apol.            | Apologeticum                                  |
| Cult. fem.       | De cultu feminarum                           |
| Nat.             | Ad nationes                                   |
| Patient.         | De patientia                                 |
| Vxor.            | Ad uxorem                                     |
| ps. Tert.        | ps. Tertullian                                |
| Haer.            | Aduersus omnes haereses                      |
| Theod.           | Theodosius                                    |
| De situ          | De situ terrae sanctae                       |
| Veg.             | Vegetius                                      |
| Mulom.           | P. Vegeti Renati digestorum artis mulomedicinae libri |
| Victorin. Poetov.| Victorinus episcopus Poetouionensis          |
| In apoc.         | Commentarius in apocalypsin                  |
| Vict. Vit.       | Victor Vitensis                               |
| Vincent. Ler.    | Vincentius presbyter Lerinensis              |
| Visig.           | Leges Visigothorum                           |
| Vitae patr.      | Vitae patrum                                  |
| Vita Radeg.      | Vita Sanctae Radegundis (B. Krusch, ed., De vita sanctae Radegundis libri II, MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 2, Hannover, 1888) |
| Vulg.            | Vulgare                                       |