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## VARIATION AND CHANGE IN LATIN CLOSE APPPOSITIONS

**Summary:** Close appositions are binominal constructions in which the two nouns are combined and denote a single entity. Throughout the history of Latin, syntactic and morphological variation in appositions point to a gradient from juxtapositional structures, where the two members are semantically and syntactically on a par, to hierarchical structures, where the two members build various semantic and syntactic relations, yielding multiple and context-dependent interpretations. As it will be shown, the gradient-based model proposed in this paper captures variation and change in close appositions more adequately than approaches attributing an invariant internal structure to these constructions.

**Key words:** close apposition, cohesion, focus, Classical Latin, Late Latin

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In Latin, as in other languages, the notion of appositive phrase refers to a wide range of constructions. Two (or more) constituents form a nominal apposition if they (a) fulfill the same syntactic function; (b) are coreferential; (c) agree in case (and often in number); (d) either of them is omissible.<sup>1</sup> As illustrated in (1), two kinds of apposition are traditionally distinguished: the close, attributive, or restrictive type (*praetorem*), and the loose, free, or non-restrictive type, which expresses information parenthetically (*fortem virum*).

- 1) *C. Sulpicium praetorem, fortem virum, misi* [...] I sent the praetor Gaius Sulpicius, a gallant man, ... (Cic. *Catil.* 3, 8)

<sup>1</sup> PINKSTER, H.: *The Oxford Latin Syntax. Vol. 1: The Simple Clause*. Oxford 2015, 1054.

Our research focuses on the semantic and syntactic relation between the nouns in close appositions (CA). This relation has often been considered to be one of dependency, similarly to attributive constructions, but the issue of headedness is still much debated.

For instance, analyzing the examples in (2), Longrée considers *Ancus* and *Roma* as attributes on the basis of several tests, in particular the substitution with the anaphoric pronoun *is, ea, id.*<sup>2</sup>

- 2) *rex Ancus* → *is rex* / \**is Ancus*  
*urbs Roma* → *ea urbs* / \**ea Roma*

Heberlein, instead, remarks that assumptions about dependency do not straightforwardly apply to Latin, where elements in the nominal group seem to have high syntactic autonomy and relatively free order.<sup>3</sup> In his opinion, since in CA either element can have the same function as the whole construction, the internal relation is juxtaposition, while word-order variation reflects different meanings and degrees of ‘solidarity’ between *Nukleus* and *Appositum*, which are semantic-pragmatic concepts. Spevak agrees that different orders presuppose different meanings, but she uses substitution to prove that the linearly first member always functions as the head, cf. (3).<sup>4</sup>

- 3) *philosophus Plato*  
 there is one Plato and several philosophers (Socrates, Chrysippus, etc.)  
*Plato* is restrictive → *is philosophus*

*Plato philosophus*  
 there is one philosopher and several Platos (*philosophus, comicus, etc.*)  
*philosophus* is restrictive → *is Plato*

Nonetheless, Spevak admits that headedness also depends on the particular type of construction at issue, since we cannot think of CAs as one homogeneous category, always displaying the same internal structure and analogous functions.

In this work, instead of connecting word order variation to reversible dependency relations between the two members, we propose a different perspective. We argue that appositions are organised into a gradient category, determined by two dimensions: the semantically motivated dimension of *cohesion* (the degree of functional symmetry between the two terms) and the pragmatically motivated dimension of *focus* (the degree of contrastiveness and/or novelty in the discourse). This gradient-based model more adequately captures the intrinsic variability of CAs, as well as their diachronic development.

<sup>2</sup> LONGRÉE, D.: À propos du concept d’‘apposition’: les constructions *rex Ancus* et *urbs Roma*. *Information grammaticale* 45 (1990) 8–13.

<sup>3</sup> HEBERLEIN, F.: Über ‘enge’ Appositionen. In ROSÉN, H. (ed.): *Aspects of Latin. Papers from the Seventh International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics. Jerusalem, April 1993*. Innsbruck 1996, 343–359.

<sup>4</sup> SPEVAK, O.: *The Noun Phrase in Classical Latin Prose*. Leiden 2014.

We ground our proposal on the qualitative analysis of data from the Library of Latin Texts database.<sup>5</sup> In order to grasp the specificities of word order in CAs, we first consider their use in Early and Classical Latin. Once we have established a baseline for our analysis, we describe some developments in Late Latin documents belonging to literary genres in which appositions are expected to be more frequent in virtue of the descriptive, didactic nature of the texts: technical treatises, historical prose, and Christian chronicles (3rd to 6th century).

Following the above quoted literature, we distinguish three main subclasses of CAs: proper name of person and common noun (§2); proper name of geographical entity and common noun (§3); combinations of two common nouns (§4). We investigate them by means of a corpus study in order to arrange them into the space delimited by our gradient-based model (§5). We single out some developmental paths and we discuss how the gradient promises to better capture the diachronic evolution of CAs (§6).

## 2. PERSON NAME AND COMMON NOUN

The subclass formed by a proper name of person and a common noun displays two configurations: Type 1 (*rex Philippus*) and Type 2 (*Philippus rex*).

In *rex Philippus* the common noun, which is syntactically autonomous but semantically underspecified (since it potentially refers to a broad set of individuals), forms a tight semantic-pragmatic unit with the following proper name: as we will see, this sequence corresponds to the expression of an inherent and stable role, and to the function of denomination and reference designation.

In *Philippus rex*, on the other hand, the proper name, which is both syntactically and semantically autonomous, tends to form a looser nexus with the following noun: as we will see, this combination is more suited to the expression of a discriminative (i.e., disambiguating) or accidental (e.g., temporary) status, and to the function of contrast and reference identification.

Type 1 can thus be viewed as a reference-building symmetrical unit, where both parts equally serve to designate a person (*King Philip*), while Type 2 is a reference-clarifying asymmetrical sequence, where the second part refers to an individual who may need to be identified (*Philip the king*), classified (*Philip a king*), or defined according to a status (*Philip as king*).

As Pinkster remarks, it is difficult to detect semantic or pragmatic differences in minimal pairs.<sup>6</sup> However, the dialogical contexts of the comedy often offer enough pragmatic elements to ascertain their conditions of use. For instance, in the microcosm of each play there is only one pimp, who is often simply evoked by name or as 'the pimp'. Nonetheless, complex denominations are not rare and usually follow the first pattern: *leno Ballio* (Pl. *Ps.* 4x out of 6 CAs), *leno Lycus* (Pl. *Poen.* 5x/5), *leno*

<sup>5</sup> Series A. Cf. <http://www.brepols.net/Pages/BrowseBySeries.aspx?TreeSeries=LLT-O>

<sup>6</sup> PINKSTER (n. 1) 1056–1057.

*Cappadox* (Pl. *Cur.* 2x/2), *leno Labrax* (Pl. *Rud.* 1x/1). The use in contexts like (4)–(5) shows that the whole unit is well anchored in the discourse, since the character has already been introduced in the plot:

- 4) *hunc uos lenonem Lycum / Nouistis? ADV. Facile.* (Pl. *Poen.* 591–592)  
Do you know this pimp Lycus? Of course
- 5) *Sed lenone istoc Lyco, / illius domino, non lutum est lutulentius.* (Pl. *Poen.* 157–158)  
But dirt isn't dirtier than that pimp Lycus, her master

Plain juxtaposition of contextually equivalent and defined terms forms a symmetrical structure: the character is not A pimp, he is THE pimp, and the following element is not restrictive but merely names the 'professional' at issue, as in (6)–(7):

- 6) *Si tu quidem es / leno Ballio.* (Pl. *Ps.* 1154–1155)  
If indeed you are pimp Ballio
- 7) *aedium dominum lenonem Ballionem quaerito.* (Pl. *Ps.* 1140)  
I'm looking for the master of the house, pimp Ballio

In fact, as noted by Heberlein, only *rex Ancus* can be paraphrased as *rex nomine Ancus*: Type 1 serves as appellation that includes a pseudo-title (8), or a true title (9):<sup>7</sup>

- 8) *Quid est ei homini nomen? SI. Leno Ballio.* (Pl. *Ps.* 977)  
What's the name of that man? Pimp Ballio (the question is asked by Ballio himself)
- 9) *Ego sum ille rex Philippus.* (Pl. *Aul.* 702)  
I am the famous King Philip

Type 2 performs different functions: due to the looser solidarity between its components, it displays internal asymmetry, revolving around a pragmatically salient new character in need of definition. Not surprisingly, Type 2 is normally used to list the *personae* and their role: in such lists *Ballio leno* simply means 'Ballio, the/a pimp'. The same order is also found in (10), where Arpax describes an individual he does not know personally:

- 10) *Nimis uelim / certum qui id mihi faciat, Ballio leno ubi hic habitat.* (Pl. *Ps.* 598–599)  
I'd very much like someone to tell me for certain whereabouts here Ballio the pimp lives

<sup>7</sup> HEBERLEIN (n. 3) 355 n. 50.

The functional difference between specular orders is confirmed by (11), where Type 2 serves for the first mention and Type 1 regularly designates the king with his title:

- 11) *Et ubi Pterela rex regnauit oppidum expugnauimus,  
Et legiones Teloboarum ui pugnando c[on]cepimus,  
Et ipsus Amphitruo opruncauit regem Pterelam in proelio.* (Pl. *Am.* 412–414)  
The city where Pterela the king reigned was conquered  
and by forcefully fighting we captured the legions of the Teleboi,  
and Amphitruon himself killed King Pterela in battle

In (12)–(13) another minimal pair further supports the idea that Type 1 was used to name presumably known persons, whereas Type 2 was preferred to identify unknown individuals:

- 12) *Quid multa uerba faciam? tonstricem Suram  
nouisti nostram quem erga aedem sese habet?*  
DI. *Novi.* (Pl. *Truc.* 405–407)  
But why beating about the bush? Do you know the hair dresser Sira,  
who lives near our home? I know her
- 13) DI. *Dic quo iter inceptas? quis est quem arcessis? AST. Archillinem / tonstricem.*  
(Pl. *Truc.* 129–130)  
Tell me, where are you heading? And who are you looking for? Archilline  
the hair dresser

Spevak's data for Classical Latin, where the order with full name followed by *consul* or *praetor* neatly prevails and is the preferred pattern "for the first mentions of new protagonists", confirm this trend.<sup>8</sup>

Late Latin data substantially confirm the conclusions reached on Early and Classical Latin. Moreover, as expected in view of the persistence of the appositional structure in Romance, no particular developments are observed and this subclass remains stable. The real revolutionary factor, that is, the grammaticalization of determiners, is yet to come (cf. §6).

Type 1 is typically used as appellation, in particular for characters that are familiar or known either because of previous introduction, as in (14) – a case of second mention –, or because of world knowledge, cf. (15):

- 14) *ipse rex Chlodovechus victuriam, Domino adiuuante, obtinuit* (Greg. *Tur. Franc.* 2. 37)  
and it was king Chlodovechus to obtain victory, with the help of God

<sup>8</sup> SPEVAK (n. 4) 280.

- 15) *ubi rex dauid regis saulis interfectorem iussit occidi* (Aug. *epist.* 204. 5)  
where king David ordered the murderer of King Saul to be killed

Type 2 is found when new entities are introduced, especially when additional descriptive material follows (this is very systematic in Augustine):

- 16) *si a cypriano episcopo, doctore gentium, frustratore idolorum, proditore daemoniorum, lucratore paganorum, confirmatore christianorum, inflammatore martyrum* [...] (Aug. *serm.* 312b. 2)  
if by Cyprian the bishop, doctor of the gentiles, defeater of idols, revealer of daemons, acquirer of pagans, strengthener of christians, inspirer of martyrs...
- 17) *Erat autem tunc Ragnacharius rex apud Camaracum tam effrenis in luxoria, ut vix vel propinquis quidem parentibus indulgeret.* (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 2. 42)  
There lived in Cambrai at this time a King called Ragnachar who was so sunk in debauchery that he could not even keep his hands off his close relatives

Gregory of Tours has a special position among the analyzed authors: in the *Historia Francorum* he shows a clear tendency to overgeneralize Type 2 order, used also for mentioning known referents (18) and repeated across short text spans; over-specification is probably to be explained with the documentary nature of the text.

- 18) *Sic et Herodes rex* [...] *propriae se manus ictu liberavit*  
Similarly also king Herodes ... freed himself with a stroke of his own hand (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 1. 24, with explicit reference to the Gospels) cf. also Vulgate: *Matth.* 2. 3; *Marc.* 6. 14; *act.* 12. 1.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* and in the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*. The frequency of Type 2 is surprising in view of the Romance developments, where Type 1 is generalized for appellation, but is remindful of certain Old French uses:

- 19) *Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes* (CdR 1)  
Charles the king, our great emperor

### 3. GEOGRAPHICAL NAME AND COMMON NOUN

Also the subclass of CA involving toponyms comes in two types. In principle, Type 1 (common noun + geographical name) serves to mention a well-known geographical entity with a (somewhat redundant) denomination, while Type 2 (geographical name + common noun) is used to identify a place that is likely to be unknown by the reader; it is therefore found with entities felt as unfamiliar or remote. For instance, *urbs Roma* is never reversed in Classical Latin; besides, the word *flumen* in Caesar

always precedes *Rhodanus* and *Rhenus* but follows *Garunna* (Caes. *Gall.* 1, 1, 2; 1, 1, 5; 1, 1, 7), as in (20):

- 20) *eorum una pars [...] initium capit a flumine Rhodano, continetur Garunna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum, attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum*

One part of these ... takes its beginning at the river Rhone; it is bounded by the river Garonne, the ocean, and the territories of the Belgae; it borders, too, on the side of the Sequani and the Helvetii, upon the river Rhine (Caes. *Gall.* 1. 1. 5)

However, differently from titles and pseudo-titles combined with proper names, in this subclass the common noun typically describes a category of geographical entities. Therefore, we assume that toponymic appositions are always asymmetrical structures (lower on the cohesion parameter), reflecting either a *type-token* order, i.e. a strategy of particularization (*in insula Creta*, Plin. *Nat.* 12. 11) or, conversely, a *token-type* order, i.e. a kind of classification (*in Creta insula*, Plin. *Nat.* 10. 76). The two structures differ in terms of focus: the *token-type* classification performed by Type 2 is motivated either as information focus (discourse novelty) or as contrastive focus (disambiguation). The intrinsic asymmetry of this subclass motivates the often-discussed instability of these constructions that, as we will see below, tend to functionally overlap with both genitival and adjectival structures.

In Late Latin Type 1 continues to be used with appellations and, in general, with well-known places: for instance, in Augustine we always find *urbs Roma*. Otherwise it serves for *type-token* particularization, as in (21)–(22):

- 21) *habens impetum, sicut habet fluvius rodanus*  
with impetuosity, similarly to the river Rhône (*Peregr. Aeth.* 18; in this text the order is always Type 1 with *fluvius* and *flumen*)
- 22) *Deinde uenimus in ciuitatem nazareth* (*Itin. Anton. Plac.* p. 161, 13)  
thence we came to the city of Nazareth

Type 2 is again preferred when further descriptive content is added, as in (23):

- 23) *A meridie habet Oscarum fluvium piscibus valde praedivitem* (Greg. *Tur. Franc.* 3. 19)  
On the south it [*sc.* Dijon] has the Ouche, a river very rich in fish

It is also found when a contrastive expression is needed: e.g. in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, *civitas* systematically follows the proper name *Arabia*, in order to disambiguate between the land and the town: *usque ad arabiam ciuitatem* (*Peregr. Aeth.* 7); *De arabia autem ciuitate* (8); *per arabiam ciuitatem* (9); *ab arabia ciuitate* (9).

Overlap with alternative expressions is sometimes observed; when an adjective is used instead of a proper name, it is typically postposed, as in (24)–(25):

- 24) *a ciuitate placentina* (*Itin. Anton. Plac.* p. 159, 1)  
from the city of Placentia
- 25) *consilium habuit expetendi urbem Romanam*  
he decided to aim at the city of Rome (*Greg. Tur. Franc.* 2. 5)

As for the genitive, Heberlein remarks that the *genitivus definitivus* substituting toponymic appositions is a post-classical tendency, not found in Cicero and Caesar but occasionally witnessed in Livy: *Ad Pachyni promunturium* (*Liv.* 24. 35. 3).<sup>9</sup> In our Late Latin corpus, the substitution with the genitive is still rarely found. There are some signs of a prescriptive pressure against the genitive construction: while the first version of the *Itinerarium Antonini* has *in insula cypri* (159. 4), the genitive construction is substituted with *in insula ciprum* (195. 6) in the later Carolingian version.

#### 4. TWO COMMON NOUNS

Observations about asymmetry adapt very well to CAs with two common nouns, which often imply tersely, and without suggestion of afterthought, that the second item is a specific *token* of the generic *type* described by the first item, as in (26)–(27).

- 26) *Tange: adfligam ad terram te itidem ut piscem soleo polypum* (*Pl. Rud.* 1010)  
touch me and I will smash you on the ground like I usually do with an octopus
- 27) *ne arbor olea, [...] a capra tangi possit.* (*Var. R.* 1. 2. 19)  
to avoid the danger of having the olive tree ... touched by a she-goat

Composite labels like *pullus passer* (*Pl. Cas.* 134), *digitum pollicem* (*Cato Agr.* 19. 2), *lapides silices* (*Cato Agr.* 18. 3), *ventus auster* (*Cato orat.* 1, *frag.* 8) clearly illustrate the particularizing function of the construction, where, as stated by Asmus, the specific notion depends on the general one.<sup>10</sup>

The *type-token* construction can be reversed for sake of clarity and to discriminate an entity against others, especially when polysemous items are involved. The unusual *token-type* sequence is illustrated in (28)–(29), where the tree is explicitly contrasted with its fruit:

- 28) *ex olea arbore ceram, e fico mel, sed non bonum* (*Var. R.* 3. 16. 24)  
from the olive as a tree they obtain the wax, from the fig tree the honey, but not of good quality

<sup>9</sup> HEBERLEIN (n. 3) 349.

<sup>10</sup> ASMUS, K. L. W.: *De appositionis apud Plautum et Terentium collocatione*. Diss. Halle 1891, 25.



- 29) *ficus arbor ipsa riguis alitur, pomum vero eius marcescit.* (Plin. Nat. 17. 247)  
in the case of the fig, irrigation nourishes the tree itself but makes the fruit decay

These examples confirm that order inversion is mainly devoted to disambiguation and contrast.

The possibility of minimal pairs is also implied when it comes to sex/gender distinction with epicene nouns: we find the *type-token* order in (30), but the units are reversed in (31), where *femina* is contrasted with *mas*:

- 30) *prius quam porcum feminam immolabis* (Cato Agr. 134. 2)  
before you immolate a sow
- 31) *emissio feminae anguis mortem adferebat Ti. Graccho, emissio autem maris anguis erat mortifera Corneliae* (Cic. Div. 2. 62)  
freeing the snake female was bringing death to Tiberius Gracchus but freeing the snake male was deadly for Cornelia

Similar cases explain why CA has been treated as a special case of attribute (a ‘substantive attribute’). Examples like *homo servus*, *homo amicus*, *senex maritus*, *mulier meretrix*, *filia virgo*, which include elements of adjectival origin or nature, are in fact marginal cases, halfway between noun-noun and noun-adjective sequences.<sup>11</sup> Considering reversed structures where the first element is on the way of abandoning its adjectival functions, we can agree with Quintilian’s observation about redundancy:

- 32) *quaedam ordine permutato fiunt supervacua ut ‘fratres gemini’: nam si ‘gemini’ praecesserint, ‘fratres’ addere non est necesse.* (Quint. Inst. 9. 4. 24)  
Once the order has been changed, some words become superfluous, like ‘twin brothers’: if indeed ‘twins’ were used first, there would be no need to add ‘brothers’

In fact, if Plautus still uses *gemini fratres* (4x), in later authors this expression is rare and limited to poetical and formal contexts.

Like toponymic appositions, also the asymmetrical structures with two common nouns display growing instability and overlapping with postmodified structures: *arbor ficus* > *arbor ficulnea* (Aug. serm. 110. 15 and 16), *arbor fici* (Col. 5. 11); *arbor olea* > *arbor oleae* (Aug. serm. 77. 22). The shift towards an explicit morpho-syntactic marking of the hypernym-hyponym relation is clear in the diachrony. In Late Latin we find many examples with the genitive (typically postposed):

- 33) *Et est ibi preterea arbor sicomori, quae dicitur a patriarchis posita esse* (Peregr. Aeth. 8)  
Moreover, in that place there is also a sycamore tree, which is said to have been planted by the patriarchs

<sup>11</sup> Cf. ASMUS (n. 10) 11.

- 34) *In quo loco arborem piperis uidi et ex ipso collegi* (Itin. Anton. Plac. p. 187, 6)  
In that place I saw the pepper tree and I collected pepper from it

The predominant order hypernym-hyponym admits occasional variation, especially with juxtapositional structures where no genitive is involved:

- 35) *Lucius piscis et ipse bonus* (Anthim. 40 p. 18, 8)  
the pike fish is also good
- 36) *De pisce cracatio caro fortior est* (Anthim. 46 p. 19, 12)  
the meat of the fish *cracatius* (sturgeon) is stronger

## 5. THE GRADIENT: COHESION AND FOCUS

We have singled out various types of CAs with different levels of symmetry and integration, which reflect variable semantic relations between the two members. These types can be arranged along a gradient represented in Fig. 1.

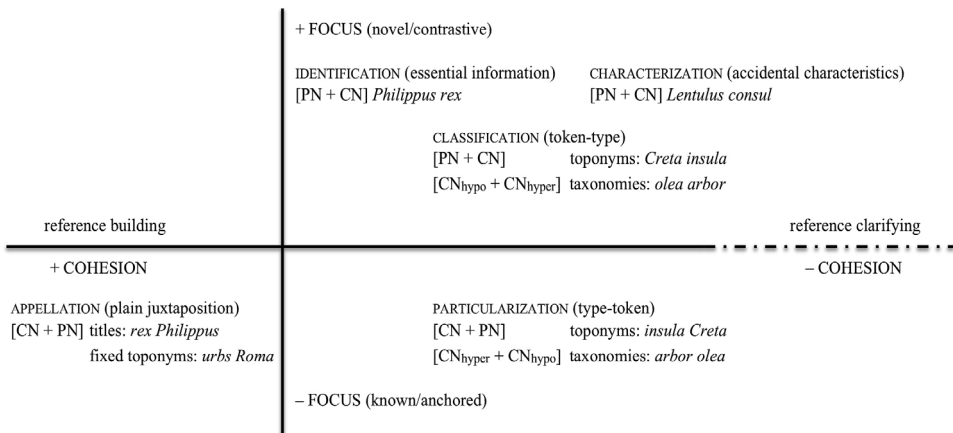


Fig. 1.

The main, horizontal dimension of the gradient concerns *cohesion*, which manifests the highest degree in flat juxtapositional structures, where symmetric terms fulfilling the same function are integrated with respect to their semantic and syntactic role. On the other hand, appositions with lower degrees of cohesion are internally articulated and less integrated, since they allow for the individuation of different functions for each term.

A further orthogonal dimension of variation concerns *focus*, that is, the sensitivity of these structures to the given/new nature of the denoted referent with respect

to the discourse background: we subsume both novel and contrastive information under [+ focus].

Towards the [+ cohesion] pole, CAs characterized by symmetrical relations between coreferential members serve mainly for *appellation* and consist of two juxtaposed elements, the second of which is a proper noun that merely ‘names’ the first (*rex Philippus* but also *urbs Roma*).

Towards the [– cohesion] pole, CAs characterized by asymmetrical relations between members differing in uniqueness or specificity can express diverse semantic relations and functions. Those for *identification*, oriented towards the [+ focus] pole, consist of an element introducing a new referent followed by a noun that ‘completes’ its reference by adding further essential information (*Philippus rex*). Those for *characterization* consist of an element introducing a new referent followed by a noun that describes its reference by mentioning accidental or temporary characteristics (*Lentulus consul*). Those for *classification* consist of an element referring to a specific entity followed by a noun – typically a hypernym – that ‘disambiguates’ its reference or meaning by attributing distinctive features (*Creta insula, olea arbor*): here the focus value consists in intrinsic contrastiveness with respect to other possible referents. Those for *particularization*, oriented towards the [–focus] pole, consist of an element referring to an underspecified or generic class followed by a more specific element – in most cases a hyponym – that pinpoints its reference (*insula Creta, arbor olea*).

The symmetrical reference-building type resembles a composite denomination where both elements equally contribute to designate a referent, while the asymmetrical reference-clarifying types are more compliant with the idea of CAs as hierarchical structures organised around a salient element.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS AND ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Between the two poles of appellation and restrictive modification, the various types of Latin CAs follow different paths towards Romance. Our work confirms some trends previously noted in the literature, but also adds new aspects deserving attention.

A first confirmed observation concerns the difficulty of tracing the development of adjectival constructions replacing appositions: evidence is present but remains scant also in our corpus, thus supporting Bauer’s findings in this respect.<sup>12</sup>

Another confirmed trend is the increase in genitive constructions.<sup>13</sup> These genitives presuppose non-anchoring relations and involve in particular less symmetrical constructions: in fact, they are absent in the subclass seen in §2 but increase in the subclasses seen in §§3–4.<sup>14</sup> In their ordering they conform to the general drift towards

<sup>12</sup> BAUER, B. L. M.: *Nominal Apposition in Indo-European: Its Forms and Functions, and Its Evolution in Latin-Romance*. Berlin – New York 2017.

<sup>13</sup> ERNOUT, A. – THOMAS, F.: *Syntaxe Latine*. Paris 1953, 43; VÄÄNÄNEN, V.: *Introduction au latin vulgaire*. Paris 1987, 30.

<sup>14</sup> MAGNI, E.: Synchronic Gradience and Language Change in Latin Genitive Constructions. In GIACALONE, A. – MAURI, C. – MOLINELLI, P. (eds): *Synchrony and Diachrony: A Dynamic Interface*.

post-nominal genitives in Late Latin, and thus possibly to the preference for right-branching structures.<sup>15</sup> Their emergence is also in line with the tendency towards the explicit marking of constituents' margins (cf. grammaticalization of determiners, decrease in hyperbaton and other discontinuous structures). However, we also note that this novel strategy exploits means of the 'old grammar' ('synthetic' case inflection instead of 'analytic' prepositions, since the substitution with the ablative preposition *dē* is still rare in our Late Latin corpus), and that it originates from 'weak spots' already in the language (namely, the intrinsic asymmetry of some CAs).

Constructions that remain juxtapositional are mainly restricted to the proper name-common noun subclass. Due to its affinity with an institutionalized title, the appellative type is continued by CAs that typically refer to unique or famous individuals and remain excluded from the article's expansion: OFr. *seint Perre, saint Basilie* (CdR 2346), It. *San Pietro, Papa Francesco*. Uniqueness or familiarity explain the optionality of the definite article also in cases like (*il*) *Re Vittorio Emanuele III*, (*lo*) *zio Mario*, but most of the sequences in this subclass are in fact continued by structures where the article is becoming mandatory: OFr. *li reis Marsilie* (CdR 7), *la reine Bramimunde* (CdR 634) *li quens Rollant* (CdR 575), *l'angle Gabriel* (CdR 2262), It. *l'arcangelo Gabriele, l'apostolo Paolo*.

On the other hand, characterizing appositions are less stable: some of them survive in fossilized structures (It. *Paolo apostolo, Pietro martire*) but in Old French they are also continued by constructions with the definite article preceding the common noun: *Carles li reis* (CdR 1), *Marsilies li reis* (CdR 563), *Neimes li dux* (CdR 673), *Rollant le barun* (CdR 766). Such structures may fit in the evolution from close to free appositions observed by Heberlein.<sup>16</sup>

Juxtaposed structures are found to some extent also in toponymic appositions: with toponyms the choice between juxtaposition or prepositional marking seems to be lexeme-based and subject to diachronic variation (Fr. *le fleuve du Rhin*, found in Early and Classical French but now disused / *le fleuve Rhin*).<sup>17</sup> In general, toponyms and CAs formed by common nouns are characterized by a stronger asymmetry between the two terms.

Bauer highlights the interplay between the changes in CAs and more general changes at the systemic level, in particular, the shift from parataxis to hypotaxis.<sup>18</sup> Our work prompts a re-evaluation of this supposed trend in the development of CAs.

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Amsterdam–Philadelphia 2013, 177–200, esp. 192: “the increasing use of adnominal genitives for non-anchoring relations reflects phenomena of constructional gradience that, according to the various semantic and functional properties of the dependents, comes to involve structures with different degrees of cohesion and/or morphosyntactic tightness”.

<sup>15</sup> For genitives cf. MAGNI (n. 14), GIANOLLO, C.: The Internal Syntax of the Nominal Phrase in Latin. A Diachronic Study. In PURNELLE, G. – DENOZ, J. (eds): *Ordre et cohérence en Latin. Communications présentées au 13<sup>e</sup> Colloque international de linguistique Latine*. Genève 2007, 65–80. For right-branching structures, cf. BAUER (n. 12) 271.

<sup>16</sup> HEBERLEIN (n. 3).

<sup>17</sup> GREVISSE, M. – GOOSSE, A.: *Le bon usage. Grammaire française*. 14<sup>e</sup> édition. Bruxelles 2008, 424.

<sup>18</sup> BAUER (n. 12) 374.

First, despite the absence of formal dependency marking, CAs vary in the degree of symmetry already in Early Latin. While we do not make precise claims as to the underlying syntactic structure of the different subclasses, we assume that this kind of variation is intrinsic to the system; the more asymmetric types on our gradient are the first ones to move to clearly dependent coding. Secondly, we remark that Italian witnesses a lot of new juxtaposed structures that ‘oscillate’ between morphological compounds and syntactic appositions: *parola chiave* ‘keyword’, *palazzo Chigi* ‘Chigi palace’, *vertice UE* ‘EU summit’, *decreto dignità* ‘Dignity Act’.<sup>19</sup> Given the absence of formal marking on either term, these constructions display what Bauer calls ‘asyndetic parataxis’. This suggests that, rather than supposing the beginning of a new cycle from hypotaxis to parataxis similarly to what Bauer proposes for the history of German, we should conclude that ambiguity between parataxis and hypotaxis always exists in CAs, and that various factors may conspire to make one realization more prominent than the other in a given linguistic system at various stages in history.

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<sup>19</sup> LOMBARDI VALLAURI, E.: Composti intitolativi in italiano: un’oscillazione. In CRESTI, E. (ed.): *Prospettive nello studio del lessico italiano. Atti SILFI 2006*, vol. 2. Firenze 2006, 555–562.