The *articulus* according to Latin grammarians up to the early Middle Ages:
The complex interplay of tradition and innovation in grammatical doctrine[1]

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Abstract: Ancient Greek grammar, and in particular its parts-of-speech system, provided the conceptual and terminological basis for the description of the Latin language. This transfer caused a number of (sub)categorial "frictions", due to the structural differences that exist between both languages. A specific instance is that of the article, ἄρθρον or *articulus*, which was considered (part of) a separate part of speech in Greek, but which is absent from Latin. In this paper we discuss the views and comments expressed on this issue by Latin grammarians up to the early Middle Ages. While some of the grammarians deny that there is an article in Latin, others state that it does exist, but that it does not "count" as a separate part of speech, or that it is "substituted for" with the demonstrative pronoun. Their comments are illustrative (a) of the various adaptive strategies followed in the "bargaining situation" constituted by the projection of the Greek parts-of-speech system upon the Latin language; (b) of transformations undergone by the Graeco-Latin grammatical legacy in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages; and (c) of a push chain of changes in the anaphoric-deictic (sub)system of Latin pronouns.

In a study on the treatment of nominal gender in Latin grammars of Antiquity, Jaana Vaahtera makes the following observation:

> Romans writing on language frequently note that there is no article in Latin (e.g. Quint. inst. 1,4,19). The term *articulus*, used for the Greek ἄρθρον, was, however, used of the Latin pronouns as well (thus e.g. Varro ling. 8,45). The grammarians may, in defining gender with the help of the pronoun, refer to it with expressions like *pronomen vel articulus* [...], or *articulum sive articulare pronomen* [...]. (Vaahtera 2000: 233 n. 2)

This synthetic passage suggests a rather straightforward history of the Latin term for "article" – the nominal determiner (French: *déterminant* or *actualisateur*) – in the Latin grammatical tradition.[2] However, its history is by no means simple and clear-cut, especially if one takes a

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[2] A somewhat more differentiated account is given by Schöpsdau (1992: 126–127): "Einen Artikel als selbständige Kategorie kannte die lateinische Grammatik naturgemäß nicht; da aber der Artikel bei den griechischen

closer look at aspects of terminology in their interrelation with specific grammatical elements: we have to ask ourselves exactly which words are called *pronomina*, *articuli*, or *articularia pronomina*. The story becomes even more complicated if one delves into the vicissitudes of textual transmission. The present paper aims to offer an account of what one can call the "surreptitious intrusion" of a part of speech into the Latin grammatical tradition[3] – in fact, one should speak of "*part of* a part of speech", since from a broader retrospective viewpoint, it should be stressed that in the Greek parts-of-speech system, this was only a subdivision of the *arthron* class (cf. the passage quoted from Schöpsdau [1992: 126–127] in footnote 2).

1. Methodological preliminaries

When taking a closer look at the relevant material, we will have to keep in mind three encompassing methodological issues in linguistic-historiographical practice, namely

(a) the necessity of carefully examining *terminological* uses, without being misled by superficial similarities;

(b) the need to strike a proper balance between "the principle of charity" towards the source texts on the one hand (cf. Sluiter 1998), and the inevitability of resignation on the other: in some cases we just have to admit that we do not understand our sources, sometimes our sources hardly make sense – and not only because of a problematic text transmission;

(c) the necessity, for the linguistic historiographer, to take into account the reality of language history in dealing with statements about linguistic facts or categories.

In studying linguistic and, more specifically, grammatical ideas, one can focus on terms and the contexts[4] in which they occur, but at least two other dimensions should be taken into account.

Grammatikern auch Teile der Pronomina mitumfaßte, ließen sich im Lateinischen mühelos Äquivalente zum griechischen Artikel aufzeigen. So wollte Plinius d.Ä. das Pronomen *hic*, *haec*, *hoc*, das die römischen Grammatiker im Flexionsparadigma vor den Nomina mitzudeklinieren pflegten, geradezu als *articulus* bezeichnen; Priscian gebraucht dagegen für diesen Fall den Terminus *pronomen articulare*, weil das Pronomen *loco articulorum* stehe; in gewöhnlicher Sprechsituation (*in oratione*) fungierte *hic* jedoch als Pronomen im eigentlichen Sinn; eine Parallele zu dieser Doppelfunktion von *hic* findet Priscian in der analogen Verwendungsweise von griech. ὁ und ὅς, ἥ, ὅ." Likewise with reference to Priscian, Matthews (1994: 38) remarks very concisely that "the Romans recognized that, where Greek had a definite article which was functionally distinct from the pronouns, Latin did not".

[3] Viciano (1996) offers a general overview of the topic; his survey downplays the (in our opinion central) importance of Donatus, the relevant passages in the latter's *Ars maior* being crucial reference texts. A listing of the relevant terms for the present topic (*articulus*; *pronomen articulare*) is provided by Lomanto / Marinone (1990 vol. 1: 194–197). Schad (2007: 42) offers a survey of passages in which *articulus* is used; she distinguishes two meanings, viz. "pronoun" (in Varro; cf. below, §3), and "article" (in later grammarians). Her survey includes passages where *articulus* is used to render Greek ἄρθρον. A useful listing of the linguistic uses of the noun *articulus* and the adjective *articularis* can be found in *TLL* s.vv. 695.29–696.22 and 689.44–69 respectively.

[4] For a collection of essays focusing on the contexts in which linguistic ideas (in Antiquity) originated and developed, cf. Swiggers / Wouters (1996), next to the study by Sluiter (1990).

On the one hand, grammar – just like any art or discipline – undergoes an "accommodation by society", a convenient term introduced by the historian and philosopher of science Charles Gillispie (Gillispie 2007). On the other hand, grammar also presents a dimension of what could be termed "anchoring in linguistic situations": what we find in grammatical texts tells us something about the "linguistic reality outside the texts". In the present case, it is the complex evolution of the Latin pronominal system towards the Romance languages that will have to be kept in mind (cf. below, §4).

2.   The parts-of-speech system: from Greek to Latin

It is well known that ancient Greek grammar, and in particular its parts-of-speech system, provided the conceptual and terminological basis for the description of the Latin language (Jeep 1893; Desbordes 1988, 1995; Swiggers / Wouters 2010, 2011). In a number of cases, this transfer gave rise to a "bargaining situation" (a term introduced in Swiggers 1988; cf. Swiggers / Wouters 2007)[5] involving (sub)categorial tensions or "frictions", due to the structural differences that exist between both languages.[6] In this specific case, it is the prenominal (definite) determiner that was considered part of a separate part of speech for Greek, but which is absent from the grammatical system of Latin.[7] In its linguistic use,[8] the Latin term *articulus* corresponds to the Greek term ἄρθρον (cf. Wackernagel 1928: 125), which was introduced (with reference to a word class) into the technical discussion of language by Aristotle in *Poetica*, chapter 20 (cf. Swiggers / Wouters 2002). The subsequent stages in the term's history are represented by the Stoics and the Alexandrian grammarians (cf. Bécares Botas 1985: 84–85; Matthaios 1999: 498–508). The Stoics recognized the ἄρθρον as a word class next to ὄνομα (or: ὄνομα and προσηγορία), ῥῆμα and σύνδεσμος. Under ἄρθρον they subsumed both pronouns and "articular elements". The Alexandrians, by contrast, starting already with

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[5] "Bargaining situations" in the history of grammar are caused, or triggered, by the discrepancy between a descriptive-classificatory model developed with reference to one language (or a set of languages) on the one hand, and, on the other, the structural data presented by another language (or another set of languages), which does (/do) not fit within the extant model.

[6] Cf. Desbordes (1988: 22): "L'application des catégories grecques au latin, même largement couronnée de succès, a cependant fait apparaître des dissymétries." And cf. Bonnet (2005: 141), with regard to the adverb in the Latin grammatical tradition: "Comme toujours en matière de grammaire, les artigraphes latins antérieurs à Priscien sont à la fois les héritiers de la réflexion grecque normative [...] et tenus par la nécessité de rendre compte de la situation dans une langue qui n'est pas le grec; et comme toujours, cette contrainte est productive."

[7] Cf. Bonnet (2005: 148): "On sait que l'interjection est la huitième *pars orationis* dans la tradition latine: il s'agit d'une catégorie qui lui est propre, et dont l'existence préserve le chiffre de huit parties hérité du grec, mais impossible à conserver en l'état en latin, faute d'article dans cette langue."

[8] On this and different uses of the originally anatomical term *articulus*, cf. Valenti (1998) and *TLL* s.v. 691.37–696.40.

Aristarchus, confined the ἄρθρον class to articles (or determiners) and relative pronouns. Matthaios (1999: 509) aptly summarizes the evolution as follows:

> Aus den einschlägigen Zeugnissen kann man also ersehen, daß schon zu Aristarchs Zeit der Begriffsumfang der Kategorie des ἄρθρον auf die Artikel ὁ, ἡ, τό (ἄρθρα προτακτικά) und die Relativpronomina ὅς, ἥ, ὅ (ἄρθρα ὑποτακτικά) eingeschränkt wurde.[9]

3. The early history of *articulus* in the Latin grammatical tradition

The preceding brief sketch offers a starting point for our analysis of the history of *articulus*[10] in the Latin tradition. It is the 1st-century AD Roman grammarian Remmius Palaemon, the teacher of Quintilian, who is usually accredited with the adoption of the parts-of-speech system in Latin grammar (Barwick 1922). In the Latin version of this system, the void left by the article was filled by the interjection, which in the Greek system is placed under the adverb. This is a fact repeatedly mentioned by Latin grammarians.[11] For Latin, this gives the following list: *nomen, pronomen, verbum, adverbium, participium, coniunctio, praepositio*, and *interiectio*.

A first testimony – which predates Remmius Palaemon – is provided by Varro (116–27 BC) (cf. Viciano 1996: 88–89),[12] who to a certain extent follows the Stoic division between ἄρθρα ὡρισμένα and ἄρθρα ἀόριστα in discerning two "parts" or types of articles, viz. finite and infinite ones.[13] Varro's division of the *appellandi partes* into four kinds, of which the *provocabula* and *pronomina* are subsumed under the *articuli*, is in closer agreement with the doctrine of the Alexandrian grammarians, more specifically with their distinction between "preposed" elements and (relative) pronouns – although it is likely that Varro's term *pronomina* includes more than just the relative pronouns (in fact, the demonstrative pronouns are

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[9] Cf. also Matthews (1994: 80–81), with a focus on Apollonius Dyscolus.

[10] Lomanto / Marinone (1990 vol. 1: 194–197) list some 250 occurrences of the lemma *articulus* and some 25 occurrences of *pronomen articulare*.

[11] Cf. Viciano (1996: 90): "Por lo general, los gramáticos latinos prefirieron seguir la doctrina gramatical de los alejandrinos a la hora de clasificar las partes de la oración. Para éstos las clases de palabras eran ocho, como también para los latinos, que, a pesar de no tener artículo, añadían la interjección quizá con el fin de mantener ese mismo número". Likewise, Desbordes (2000: 469): "La liste des *partes orationis* est à peu près constante et calquée sur la liste grecque, avec remplacement de l'article par l'interjection: [...] De même, la volonté d'aligner le latin sur le grec peut entraîner les grammairiens à des contorsions pour retrouver l'article en latin, ou l'optatif".

[12] For a recent overview of Varro's linguistic conceptions, cf. Taylor (2015).

[13] Varro, *De lingua Latina* 10.20 (ed. Kent 1938: 548): *Ut in articulis duae partes, finitae et infinitae, sic in nominatibus duae, vocabulum et nomen.* – "As there are two groups in the articles, the definite and the indefinite, so there are in the nouns, the common nouns and the proper names" (tr. Kent 1938: 549).

considered [finite] *articuli*).[14] Varro's approach was not followed by later grammatical authors.[15]

The first statement that is actually relevant to our topic is provided only about one century later by Quintilian (35–100 AD), who remarks that "our language feels no need for articles, and for this reason they are scattered over the other parts of speech, but the interjection is added to the above" (cf. Holtz 1981: 131–132 n. 55; Desbordes 1988: 22; Swiggers / Wouters 2010: 144; 2011: 78).[16] Three points should be emphasized here. First, Quintilian's comment is situated on an "ontological" level, in that it is concerned with the "proper nature" of the Latin language (*noster sermo*) itself. Second, by speaking of the absence or redundancy (*non desiderat*) of *articuli*, Quintilian seems to confine the term to what the Greeks called ἄρθρα προτακτικά, i.e. the (pre-)determiners. Third, he seems to believe that at least functionally, other parts of speech substitute for *articuli* or compensate for their absence – one can think of pronouns and nouns.

4. A look at the historical course of "linguistic reality": the pronominal system from Latin to Romance

After Quintilian, it is only in the 4th century that further relevant remarks can be found in the Latin tradition. By that time, the Latin language had undergone and was still undergoing profound changes. We can follow the relevant processes from the period of so-called classical Latin (e.g., in the works of Cicero) to later, "vulgar" Latin texts (such as the *Itinerarium Egeriae* or *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, the *Vulgata* [cf., e.g., Rönsch 1869: 420–422], and parts of Petronius' *Satyrica*). In particular, the pronominal system underwent a considerable

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[14] Varro, *De lingua Latina* 8.23 (ed. Kent 1938: 406): *Appellandi partes sunt quattuor, e quis dicta a quibusdam provocabula quae sunt ut quis, quae; <vocabula> ut scutum, gladium; nomina ut Romulus, Remus; pronomina ut hic, haec. Duo media dicuntur nominatus; prima et extrema articuli. Primum genus est infinitum, secundum ut infinitum, tertium ut finitum, quartum finitum.* – "The "naming" types are four in number: of which the words which are like *quis*, *quae* have been called provocables by certain grammarians; those like *scutum* and *gladium* have been called vocables; those like *Romulus* and *Remus* have been called proper nouns; those like *hic*, *haec* have been called pronouns. The two middle types are called (de)nominations; the first and last are called articles. The first class is indefinite, the second class is almost indefinite, the third is almost definite, the fourth is definite." (our translation is based on that of Kent [1938: 407], with a number of changes). Varro's approach seems to have been rejected or twisted in the later Latin grammatical tradition, cf. Viciano (1996: 92): "Por consiguiente, estos gramáticos invirtieron el planteamiento varroniano. Según Varrón, bajo el concepto genérico de *articulus* se englobaban dos partes de la oración: el *prouocabulum* y el *pronomen*. Según estos tratadistas tardíos, el *pronomen* se subdivide en distintos tipos, uno de los cuales se denomina *articulus o articulare pronomen*."

[15] We do, however, find an echo of it in the third book (§§ 238, 249–250; ed. Willis 1983: 64, 67) of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, e.g., §249: *c* [...] *finit articulos, quos pronomina vocant,* hic, haec, hoc, *et adverbia, ut* sic, huc, hic.

[16] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.4.19 (ed. Radermacher 1907: 25): *Paulatim a philosophis ac maxime Stoicis auctus est numerus, ac primum convinctionibus articuli adiecti, post praepositiones: nominibus appellatio, deinde pronomen, deinde mixtum verbo participium, ipsis verbis adverbia. Noster sermo articulos non desiderat ideoque in alias partes orationis sparguntur, sed accedit superioribus interiectio.* Cf. the commentary by Ax (2011: 125, 128).

transformation in the direction of the Romance languages, a transformation which in all likelihood occurred in a push-chain-like way,[17] involving displacements of the members of the demonstrative set. *Hic* assumed the function of a generic anaphoric or cataphoric element; *iste* took the place of *hic*; *ille* on the one hand replaced *is*, and on the other started to take on the new function of nominal determiner, in competition with *ipse*. This competition is reflected in the Romance languages,[18] where some languages have an article stemming from *ille*, *illa*, and others an article going back to *ipse*, *ipsa*.[19] These functional reorganizations also entailed the creation of expanded forms (e.g. with *ecc-* or with *-met*). The most important changes are conveniently summarized in the following scheme, taken from Väänänen (³1981: 112):[20]

IS*   HIC*   ISTE   ILLE   IPSE   IDEM*
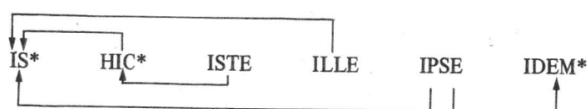
Due to the aforementioned accommodation to the linguistic situation of grammatical texts, the relevant comments show the traces of this changing linguistic reality – be it to varying degrees.[21]

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[17] The term "push chain" and its opposite, "drag chain", are translations of the French terms *chaîne de propulsion* and *chaîne de traction*, introduced by Martinet (1955) [for the English translations, cf. King (1969)]; a push chain is characterized by the moving away of an element from its normal structural position towards the normal position of another element in the language pattern, a move which sets in motion subsequent changes of elements from their normal position in the pattern.

[18] On the (approximative) dating of the process, cf. Müller (1945: 151–153), who recognizes the first signs of an article system in Tertullian and subsequent Christian authors. Dauzat (1949) adduces cases of agglutination and deglutination, testifying to the evolution of *ille* towards a nominal determiner.

[19] Reflexes of *ipse*, *ipsa* used as nominal determiners are found in Sardinian and (Old) Catalan. The demonstrative use of reflexes of *ipse*, *ipsa* is more widespread: it is found in all the Ibero-Romance languages, in Sardinian, and in southern Italian varieties.

[20] However, Väänänen also remarks (³1981: 112): "Toutefois, l'évolution a été tout autre que linéaire, et il est extrêmement difficile d'établir la situation linguistique d'une période donnée, attendu que les textes à notre disposition ne reflètent que très incomplètement la langue parlée. Ainsi, *is* (du moins les formes obliques de plus d'une syllabe) et *hic* semblent garder leurs positions dans la plupart des textes tardifs, tout en étant souvent supplantés par *ille* durant toute la latinité et par *ipse* au moins depuis le 1ᵉʳ siècle ap. J.-C." A more complex scheme is argued for and presented by von Wartburg (³1969: 209–213). On the Latin pronominal / deictic system and the emergence of an article in the Romance languages, cf. also Meader (1901), Wolterstorff (1919), Aebischer (1948), Löfstedt (1961: 254–270), Fontán (1965), Iso Echegoyen (1974), and Calboli (1990).

[21] *Pace* Holtz (1981: 133), who notes the following, with regard to the common usage of declining *hic haec hoc* along with nouns in grammatical education: "Nous restons donc devant une pure tradition scolaire qui plonge loin ses racines, et dans ces conditions il nous semble fort aventureux de mettre la présence de *hic* dans la déclinaison des paradigmes nominaux en rapport avec la formation de l'article dans les langues romanes [as della Casa (1969: 298) does]." Although Holtz is right that we are faced here with a didactic convention, one cannot deny that *hic haec hoc* is used to fill a void in Latin that would also be filled later on in the Romance languages, and one could cautiously suggest that *hic haec hoc* was perceived as the most intuitive way to do so for Latin.

5. The *articulus* in late antique grammatical texts: "(not) being there" vs. "(not) being counted"[22]

Starting in late antiquity, one notices a gradual move away from Quintilian's ontologically oriented observation to a methodologically oriented one, testifying to a classificatory concern. In general, comments on the *articulus* are ever less about the nature of the Latin language itself, and increasingly about the grammarian's descriptive and categorial choices. However, as we will see in what follows, this evolution was neither abrupt nor rectilinear. Furthermore, there are a number of "factors of incomparability" or "incommensurability" in this evolution, for at least two reasons. First, some authors focus on the *number* of the parts of speech, while others focus on the roles or *functions* they fulfill. And second, the authors entertain different relationships with and attitudes towards their predecessors, in particular towards Donatus.

To begin with, we have a number of relevant comments posterior to Quintilian that are still situated on an ontological level. Thus, the 4th-century grammarian Charisius writes on the interjection that "our authors have set this part of speech apart, not in order to make full the number of eight parts, in the absence of the article, i.e. τὸ ἄρθρον, but because they saw that it could not be an adverb" (cf. Holtz 1981: 131 n. 53; the passage is also quoted by Viciano 1996: 91 n. 9, 96; Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén / Uría 2016: 6 with n. 23).[23] This formulation shows that according to Charisius, the article "is wanting" (*deficiens*) in the Latin language. The same position is taken by the 5th-century scholar Macrobius in his *De verborum Graeci Latinique differentiis vel societatibus*, as can be seen from two collections of excerpts from this work, namely the 7th- or 8th-century *Excerpta e codice Vindobonensi 16 olim Bobiensi*,[24] and the one procured by Iohannes Scotus Eriugena (c.815–877).[25] In both collections, we read that Greek

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[22] For the distinction between "having" and "counting" the article, cf. Desbordes (1988: 23): "Quant à l'identité de fond, c'est de cela qu'il s'agit lorsque, par exemple, on met en parallèle les cas grecs et latins pour mettre au point, au-delà des formes, un répertoire unitaire des fonctions. Même inspiration encore quand on s'escrime autour des fameuses huit catégories de mots: s'agit-il d'*avoir* l'article ou l'interjection, ou seulement de les *compter*?", and the remainder of Desbordes' comment, focusing on Pompeius, quoted in footnote 42. Viciano (1996: 90–91) classifies the relevant comments in a different way: "Con respecto al uso del término *articulus*, los gramáticos se dividieron en tres grupos: a) los que incluyeron el *articulus* dentro del *pronomen* como una subclase de éste y emplearon la expresión *articulare pronomen* para denominarla; b) los que negaron cualquier presencia del *articulus* en la sintaxis latina; c) los que consideraron que el *articulus* era una clase de palabras distinta del *pronomen*. El primer grupo representa una postura conciliadora e intermedia de los otros dos."

[23] Charisius, *Ars grammatica* 5 (ed. Barwick / Kühnert 1997 [1964]: 246–247): *Quam partem orationis nostri, non ut numerum octo partium articulo, id est τῷ ἄρθρῳ, deficiente supplerent, sed quia videbant adverbium esse non posse, segregaverunt.*

[24] *Excerpta e codice Vindobonensi 16 olim Bobiensi* (ed. *GL* 5: 631): *Nam et isdem orationis partibus absque articulo, quem Graecia sola sortita est, et isdem penes singulas partes observationibus sermo uterque distinguitur, pares fere in utroque conponendi figurae, ut propemodum qui utramvis artem didicerit ambas noverit.*

[25] Iohannes Scotus Eriugena, *Excerpta ex Macrobii opere De verborum Graeci Latinique differentiis vel societatibus – Defloratio de Macrobii libro – Excerpta Parisina* (ed. *GL* 5: 599): *Nam et isdem orationis partibus*

and Latin share the same parts of speech, "except for the article, which Greece alone has got" (cf. ed. De Paolis 1990: 5–7).

The methodologically oriented discourse on *articulus* seems to have arisen in the second half of the 4th century, with Diomedes and Aelius Donatus. The works of these grammarians display various similarities, but it remains unclear whether Diomedes relied either on Donatus, or on a source that is common to both. Both authors enumerate the eight parts of speech that exist in Latin, and then observe that "the Latins do not count the article, the Greeks do not count the interjection" (cf. Holtz 1981: 131–132 n. 53, n. 55; Viciano 1996: 90, 91 n. 9, 96),[26] thus approaching the issue from a "methodological", i.e. a descriptive, categorizing or listing (*adnumerant*) point of view. However, Donatus has two further observations to make. The first one is a relativizing remark following upon the enumeration of the word classes: "Many believe there are more parts of speech, many believe there are fewer" (cf. Swiggers / Wouters 2011: 82).[27] The second remark occurs in the chapter *De pronomine*, where Donatus deals as follows with the distinction in Latin between *pronomina* and *articuli*:

> Between pronouns and articles there is this difference, namely that as pronouns are considered those that, when they stand alone, fulfill the role of a noun, such as *quis iste ille*; articles, however, are joined with pronouns or nouns or participles, such as *hic huius huic hunc o ab hoc*, and in the plural *hi horum his hos o ab his*. These same pronouns are used both with the value of articles and in order to designate.[28]

Although this explanation is primarily based on linguistic usage, Donatus' discussion of the difference between *pronomen* and *articulus* does seem to imply (a) that the article in the Latin parts-of-speech system has a peculiar affiliation to, or is even "part of" the pronoun (*haec eadem pronomina*); (b) that the use of the pronoun *hic* can make up for the lack of an article in Latin

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absque articulo, quem Graecia sola sortita est, isdem paene observationibus figuris constructionibus uterque sermo distinguitur, ut propemodum qui utramvis artem didicerit ambas noverit.

[26] Diomedes, *Ars grammatica* (ed. *GL* 1: 300–301): [*DE PARTIBVS ORATIONIS*] *Partes orationis sunt octo, nomen pronomen verbum participium adverbium coniunctio praepositio interiectio; Scauro videtur et appellatio. Ex his primae quattuor declinabiles sunt, sequentes indeclinabiles. Latini articulum, Graeci interiectionem non adnumerant.* For the text of Donatus, cf. footnote 27.

[27] Aelius Donatus, *Ars maior* 1 (ed. Holtz 1981: 613): *Partes orationis sunt octo, nomen, pronomen, verbum, adverbium, participium, coniunctio, praepositio, interiectio. Ex his duae sunt principales partes orationis, nomen et verbum. Latini articulum non adnumerant, Graeci interiectionem. Multi plures, multi pauciores partes orationis putant.* Cf. the following general observation made by Desbordes (1988: 28): "Autre attitude enfin, vis-à-vis de la différence: l'inattention, le silence ou l'impatience, cependant qu'on prend conscience du fait que le latin peut être à lui-même sa propre référence. Ainsi Donat réduit au minimum la mention de la différence des langues dans l'*Ars maior*: l'accent, la notation de l'aspirée, l'article et l'interjection, l'ablatif, le tout sans grand commentaire, comme par acquis de conscience et révérence envers ce qu'il trouvait chez ses prédécesseurs."

[28] Aelius Donatus, *Ars maior* 11 (ed. Holtz 1981: 631–632): *Inter pronomina et articulos hoc interest, quod pronomina ea putantur, quae, cum sola sint, vicem nominis conplent, ut quis, iste, ille; articuli vero cum* [*pronominibus aut*] *nominibus aut participiis iunguntur, ut hic huius huic hunc o ab hoc, et pluraliter hi horum his hos o ab his. Haec eadem pronomina et pro articulis et pro demonstratione ponuntur.* Holtz deletes *pronominibus aut*, but we have chosen to follow the transmitted text in our translation.

(*pro articulis et pro demonstratione*); and (c) that this need was felt most cogently on a metalinguistic level, more specifically in the didactic practice of formulating nominal paradigms – compare the sequence *hic huius huic hunc o ab hoc*.[29] Holtz (1981: 132) comments as follows on this foundational passage:[30]

> Nous remarquons d'emblée le caractère général de la présentation, souligné par l'emploi du pluriel, la variété des exemples de pronom: pour l'article Donat n'en est pas moins réduit à ne donner qu'un exemple, celui de *hic*. Et pour cause! Il s'agit en fait uniquement de justifier l'usage, depuis longtemps ancré dans la pédagogie romaine, de décliner les paradigmes nominaux en les faisant précéder des différentes formes de *hic*. Cette pratique remonte au temps des premiers adaptateurs, qui ne pouvaient se résoudre à l'absence d'article en latin. Du point de vue du latin cette pratique est absurde; mais une tradition établie depuis des siècles est inattaquable. Alors, il n'y a qu'un moyen, trouver une justification à un usage aberrant.

In Donatus, we thus find traces of a determining use of a demonstrative pronoun in didactic practice; on one occasion, the compound expression *articulare praepositivum vel demonstrativum* occurs in this connection.[31] Interestingly, in the two Donatus passages discussed, two different "methodological" views on the status of the *articulus* can be identified. According to the categorizing view, the article is not "counted" as a part of speech. According to the functional view, some elements can fulfill two different functions, and one can label as *articuli* pronouns that (also) have a determining function. In the first case, Donatus' focus is on

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[29] On this practice among Latin grammarians and lexicographers, cf. Funaioli (1907: 153, 196, 499–500, 517). This usage is also attested in non-grammatical texts: Viciano (1996: 100) quotes a passage from the early Christian author Arnobius of Sicca's *Adversus nationes* (1.59.11), in which the demonstrative pronoun *hic haec hoc* is used to differentiate between near-synonyms of different gender. On this use of *hic haec hoc* "*discernendorum casuum vel generum gratia*", also cf. *TLL* s.v. *hic* 2737.42–59. In particular, like the Greek article, *hic haec hoc* could be used to indicate the case (and gender) of foreign, often biblical names that were not declined according to the Latin system (*TLL* s.v. 2737.72–2738.3).

[30] Apart from the quotation from Schöpsdau (1992: 126–127) in footnote 2, cf. furthermore Holtz (1981: 131): "Peu de grammairiens latins ont estimé de traiter de l'article. Pourtant, chez tous, les paradigmes nominaux sont toujours déclinés précédés des formes correspondantes du pronom *hic/haec/hoc*, même si l'auteur ne prononce pas le mot *articulus*: c'est que l'article existe aussi en latin, nous dit-on, mais qu'on peut s'en passer." Likewise, Law (1996: 46): "Charisius embarks upon what appears at first sight to be a random hodgepodge of topics related to the noun: *de casibus*, *de generibus nominum*, *de numeris et pronominibus* (i.e. *hic haec hoc*, which was habitually declined together with nouns as a marker of gender and case, after the model of the Greek definite article)" (cf. above, §5, for Charisius' discussion of the article). With specific regard to the article used to distinguish gender, cf. Vaahtera (2000: 233): "While the Greek grammarians used the article to establish the gender of a noun, the Latin grammarians resorted to pronoun agreement. The forms *hic*, *haec*, and *hoc* thus performed the function of ὁ, ἡ, τό." Cf. also Bonnet's (2011: 180) reference to "la possibilité d'adapter le marqueur en genre, "l'articloïde", *hic*, *haec*, *hoc*, au sexe du référent".

[31] Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor* 3 (ed. Holtz 1981: 589): *Item articulare praepositivum vel demonstrativum generis masculini numeri singularis hic huius huic hunc o ab hoc, et pluraliter hi horum his hos o ab his; generis feminini numeri singularis haec huius huic hanc o ab hac, et pluraliter hae harum his has o ab his; generis neutri numeri singularis hoc huius huic hoc o ab hoc, et pluraliter haec horum his haec o ab his.* – "Furthermore, the prepositive or demonstrative articular [pronoun] of masculine gender, singular number: *hic huius huic hunc o ab hoc*, and in the plural: *hi horum his hos o ab his*; of feminine gender, singular number: *haec huius huic hanc o ab hac*, and in the plural: *hae harum his has o ab his*; of the neutral gender, singular number: *hoc huius huic hoc o ab hoc*, and in the plural: *haec horum his haec o ab his*."

the word class status; in the second, it is on the discursive role of the language forms under consideration.

6. Observations on the *articulus* by "grammatical commentators" in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages

Because of the explicit "problematization" of the *articulus* in Donatus' highly influential language manual, the topic continued to attract attention in the tradition of grammatical commentaries.[32] The commentators specifically focus on the relation between *pronomina* and *articuli*. In doing so, they take different positions with regard to Donatus. Generally speaking, we see that Servius, the so-called "Sergius" (if the latter is not to be identified with, or if some of "his" works are not to be attributed to Servius),[33] and Pompeius try to elaborate on Donatus' position while respecting the latter's authority, whereas the Byzantine commentator Cledonius sets out from what seems to be a rejection of Donatus' view. However, between Donatus and his commentators we have to place the testimony of Probus [or pseudo-Probus] (cf. Holtz 1981: 132–133; Viciano 1996: 91 n. 10, 92–93), the author of the *Instituta artium*, about whom we hardly know anything. This author reacts against a view which he attributes to Pliny the Elder, who in his *Dubius sermo*[34] apparently went as far as to posit the *articulus* as a distinct part of speech: at least according to (pseudo-)Probus, Pliny the Elder drew a distinction between the pronominal (or independent) use of elements such as *hic* (*haec hoc*), and their use as nominal determiners, establishing a separate status and name for the latter use (*Plinius Secundus voluit* [...] *articulum appellari*; subsequently, the text speaks of *discretio*).[35] This distinct category or subcategory is rejected by the author of the *Instituta artium* as being *supervacuus* – as he claims

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[32] Of the "grammatical commentators", Servius and Pompeius are discussed extensively by Kaster (1988: 139–168 [on Pompeius] and 169–197 [on Servius]). On Servius' life and works, cf. also Cameron (1970).

[33] Kaster (1988: 429–430) devotes a separate entry to "Sergius". In a paper read at KU Leuven on 15 May 2017, Guillaume Bonnet pointed to the possibility of "Sergius" being a deformation of "Servius", without drawing conclusions as to whether there was only a single Servius who wrote commentaries on Donatus, as well as a *De littera, de syllaba, de pedibus, de accentibus, de distinctione*, and a *De grammatica*. Bonnet proposes to speak of a "Servian constellation". In what follows, we will use the (traditional) designation "Sergius" for the texts attributed to "Sergius" in Keil's *GL*, and "Sergius (ps.-Cassiodorus)" for the *Commentarium* edited by Stock (2005). On the "polyphony" of Servius' literary and grammatical commentaries, cf. Lafond (2012).

[34] For the passage, cf. ed. Beck (1894: 53); cf. furthermore the commentary by della Casa (1969: 298), and the review of the latter by Löfstedt (1972: esp. 497).

[35] Other fragments of Plinius' *Dubius sermo* concerning the pronouns as conserved by authors of *artes grammaticae* mostly deal with the distinction of persons in the pronominal class (cf., e.g., *GL* 2: 594; *GL* 4: 131, 137; *GL* 5: 27, 50). Pliny the Elder's views on the *articulus* were part of a more comprehensive reconsideration of the parts-of-speech system (cf. *GL* 4: 137).

many others had done before him.[36] As we will see, this is a position that will be taken up by Priscian (cf. below, §7).

Let us consider the case of Servius (cf. Viciano 1996: 91, 93), who in his commentary first recalls Donatus' relativizing statement about the number of parts of speech, which varies according to the positions held by different grammarians. Servius then delineates the *articulus* as a subdivision within the pronoun, stating that "we" (*nos*) – Latins – "do not entirely lack the article, but count it together with the pronoun" (cf. Holtz 1981: 131–132 n. 55).[37] This statement should be understood in the light of the subdivision of pronominal elements into four classes which Servius adopts, namely *finita*, *minus quam finita*, *infinita*, and *possessiva*. The *minus quam finita* class consists of two subtypes, one consisting of pronouns referring to persons that are "absent" [or: not necessarily present][38] (*ipse*, *is*, *idem*, *sibi*), the other referring to persons that are "present" (*iste*, *hic*). Furthermore, the *minus quam finita* with a deictic-situational reference, i.e. reference to persons that are "present", are called *pronomina articularia vel demonstrativa*.[39]

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[36] (Ps.-)Probus, *Instituta artium* (ed. *GL* 4: 133): *Sane hoc monemus, quod Plinius Secundus "hic" tunc voluit dici pronomen, quando solum reperitur declinari, ut puta hic huius* [...] *at vero si cum alia parte orationis inveniatur declinari, articulum appellari, ut puta hic Cato huius Catonis* [...] *sed haec discretio a Plinio Secundo cunctis artis latoribus supervacue visa est constitui, siquidem omnis oratio octo partibus tantum instituta sit pronuntiari* (identical text in the edition of Pliny the Elder's fragments; ed. Beck 1894: 33) – "We draw attention to the fact that Pliny the Elder wanted *hic* to be called a pronoun on those occasions when it is found to be declined on its own, for instance *hic*, *huius* [...] however, that when it is found to be declined with another part of speech, it is called an article, for instance *hic Cato*, *huius Catonis* [...] but to all authorities in the discipline [of grammar], this distinction has appeared to have been introduced superfluously by Pliny the Elder, since indeed all speech has been established to be pronounced [= articulated] by means of eight parts [of speech] only".

[37] Servius, *Commentarius in artem Donati* (ed. *GL* 4: 428): *Aristotelici duas dicunt esse partes orationis, nomen et verbum, Stoici quinque, grammatici octo, plerique novem, plerique decem, plerique undecim. Interiectionem Graeci non penitus non habent, sed inter partes orationis non conputant. Nos articulo non penitus caremus, sed in pronomine conputamus.*

[38] Given the fact that the prototypical communicative situation is that of a dialogue.

[39] Servius, *Commentarius in artem Donati* (ed. *GL* 4: 410): *Infinita autem pronomina varias habent species. Nam licet omnia quaecumque non recipiunt personas infinita sint, tamen alia dicuntur generaliter infinita, alia minus quam finita, alia articularia vel demonstrativa, alia possessiva.* – "Furthermore, the infinite pronouns have various species [= subclasses]. For, although all those that do not take person are infinite, still others are generally called infinite, others less than finite, others articular or demonstrative, and others possessive." Subsequently, Servius specifies the difference between reference to persons that are "absent" and reference to persons that are "present" (ed. *GL* 4: 410): *Minus quam finita dicuntur quae commemorationem habent notarum personarum, ut est ipse: haec sunt sex tantum, ipse iste is hic idem sui. Sed ex his alia sunt quae absentes personas significant, alia quae praesentes: absentes reliqua omnia; praesentes haec tantum, iste ista istud et hic haec hoc, quae non nulli pronomina etiam articularia vocant, eo quod more Graeco cum nominibus declinantur.* – "Less than finite are called those that involve a recalling of known [= already mentioned] persons, such as *ipse*: these are only six in number, viz. *ipse*, *iste*, *is*, *hic*, *idem*, *sui*. But among these there are some that refer to persons who are absent, and others that [refer to persons] who are present: to persons who are absent all the remaining ones; to persons who are present only the following: *iste*, *ista*, *istud*, and *hic*, *haec*, *hoc*, which some also call articular pronouns, because in the way of Greek, they are declined with nouns."

Three other commentaries on Donatus concur with Servius on two main points, viz. the *Explanationes in artem Donati* attributed to "Sergius", the *Commentarium de oratione et de octo partibus orationis Artis secundae Donati* (attributed to "Sergius" or "pseudo-Cassiodorus"), and the *Ars* of Pompeius. First, they confirm Donatus' authoritative stance, including his relativizing remark on the number of parts of speech; and second, they adopt, like Servius (also using the expression *computamus*), a terminology related to the active role and decision-taking of the grammarian. The commentator referred to as "Sergius" writes that "there are as many parts of speech among the Greeks as there are among the Latins, who do not have the article. For the Greeks separate the pronoun from the article, so that the pronoun is one part of speech, the article another; but they do not count the interjection, they do not include it in the number of parts of speech".[40] This author plainly states that the Latin language does not have an article, a statement with "ontological" purport. However, if what he subsequently says about "not counting" the interjection in Greek can be "inversely projected" onto the article in Latin, he would be entertaining the view that the article was "joined" to the Latin pronoun, and that the Latins simply did not differentiate the article as a separate part of speech. This is indeed the position explicitly taken in the grammatical tract *Commentarium de oratione et de octo partibus orationis Artis secundae Donati*, which has formerly been linked to Cassiodorus (c.485–585), but is now attributed to "Sergius". There, the author states that "indeed the article, which the Greeks count among their parts of speech, is part of the pronoun with the Latins", and that, conversely, this applies to the interjection in Greek, which in Greek grammar is included under the adverb.[41]

The testimony of a third commentator, Pompeius, is particularly interesting, because in his analysis of Donatus' *Ars* and of Servius' commentary on it, he brings up the distinction between statements on what we have called the "ontological" and the "methodological" levels, writing that "he [sc. Donatus] did not say either that the Latins do not *have* articles or that the Greeks do not have the interjection, no, but he said that they do not *count* it [italics ours]. For he said it so: *Latini articulos non adnumerant*, not *non habent*". What is more, Pompeius also comes up with two further adjustments. First, in the same passage, he justifies the inclusion of the article under the pronoun through a kind of functional extension or "exaptation". In the group *hic*

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[40] "Sergius", *Explanationes in artem Donati* 2 (ed. *GL* 4: 534): *Partes orationis apud Graecos totidem sunt, quot et apud Latinos, qui articulum non habent. Graeci enim pronomen ab articulo differunt, ita ut una pars sit pronomen, alia articulus; sed non adnumerant interiectionem, non eam recipiunt numero.*
[41] "Sergius" (ps.-Cassiodorus), *Commentarium de oratione et de octo partibus orationis Artis secundae Donati* praef. (ed. Stock 2005: 40): *Plures vero partes orationis dicunt esse, qui articulum inter has enumerant. Articulus sane, quem Graeci inter partes orationis enumerant, apud Latinos in pronomine est; interiectio, quam Latini inter partes orationis enumerant, apud Graecos in adverbio est.*

Aeneas, *hic* is a pronoun with an "articular" function, or in Pompeius' words: "We say, this is not an article, but a pronoun that fulfills the function of an article".[42] Second, in a passage on the relationship between *pronomen* and *articulus* where the problem is approached in a rather different way, he indicates a characteristic of the function of the article, which consists in "constraining" (*coartare*). Pompeius puts it as follows: "the pronoun is what fulfills the function of a noun (for so he [sc. Donatus] said it), the article is what constrains the noun".[43]

Whereas all of the preceding commentators concord in respecting Donatus' authority, the situation is different with Cledonius (active in Constantinople in the 5th century) (cf. Viciano 1996: 91, 94–96), who deals with the pronoun in various passages. In the section of his *Ars grammatica* devoted specifically to the article, Cledonius formulates an explicit criticism of Donatus' position, which reads as follows: "The article – Donatus has said this wrongly. We do have articles, but we have them in the pronoun, not in the noun, like the Greeks. Whereas the Greeks have the article in the noun, they count the interjection with the adverb. [...] So we do not have a separate article, the Greeks do not have a separate interjection".[44] Since it is clear

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[42] Pompeius, *Commentum artis Donati* (ed. *GL* 5: 135): *Octo partes orationis habent Graeci, octo etiam Latini, sed hoc differunt illi: Graeci habent articulum, quem conputant inter partes orationis; nos eum non conputamus inter partes orationis. Octo habent partes orationis, nomen pronomen verbum adverbium participium coniunctionem praepositionem articulum. Sed articulum nos non conputamus, sed partem pronominis credimus, ut puta hic et quis. Dicit hoc in pronomine* [sc. "Sergius" – *GL* 4: 436], *"hic autem" dicit "non est pronomen, sed est articulus, hic Aeneas huius Aeneae". Nos dicimus, non est articulus, sed pronomen quod fungitur articuli officio. Nam hoc interest inter pronomen et articulum, quod pronomen solum ponitur. Puta hic huius huic, modo pronomen est; hic Aeneas huius Aeneae, modo non est pronomen, sed est articulus. Ergo ecce habes unam partem orationis, quam Graeci conputant, nos* [*articulum*] *non conputamus, sed in pronominibus ponimus. Item nos habemus unam partem orationis, quam Graeci non conputant, ut est interiectio. Heus si dicas Latino, dicit tibi "interiectio est"; Graeco si dicas, dicit tibi "adverbium est". Nam quod nos interiectionem habemus, illi non habent interiectionem, sed in adverbio conputant. Ergo vides, quo modo locutus est iste qui scripsit artem. Non dixit aut Latinos non habere articulos aut Graecos non habere interiectionem, non, sed non conputare. Ita enim dixit "Latini articulos non adnumerant", non dixit "non habent". Nam et illi funguntur officio interiectionis in adverbio et nos officio articuli in pronomine.* Cf. the comment made by Desbordes (1988: 23) with specific reference to this passage, preceded by the observation quoted in footnote 22: "La différence concernant l'article ne serait qu'une question de classement, de quadrillage du réel qui, lui, serait uniforme pour les deux langues. On cherche donc l'équivalent de l'article en latin et, parfois, on le trouve."

[43] Cf. Pompeius, *Commentum artis Donati* (ed. *GL* 5: 210–211): *Quaeritur quid interest inter pronomina et articulos. Dicit, multum. Graeci alia habent pronomina, alios habent articulos. Latini conpendium secuti sunt; unum quidem habent utrumque, sed diverso officio funguntur. Quando cum nominibus <declinant>, ita habent quasi articulos; quando sola declinant pronomina, habent quasi pronomina. Ut puta hic huius huic: si solum hoc declinetur, pronomen est; si dicas hic Aeneas huius Aeneae, iam articulus est. Hoc quidem ipsi sibi persuaserunt, ego tamen illis non credo. Longe aliud est articulus et longe aliud pronomen. Pronomen est quod fungitur officio nominis (nam ita dixit), articulus est quod coartat nomen* [*nomen* coni. Denecker / Swiggers : *nos* codd.] [...] *Multum interest inter articulos et inter pronomen. Latini confuderunt illud, istam rem perturbaverunt.* We suggest to read *nomen* instead of *nos*, which does not seem to make sense in this passage; *coartat nomen* is also the reading that we find later in the *Ars Ambrosiana* (cf. below, §8).

[44] Cledonius, *Ars grammatica* (ed. *GL* 5: 34): *Articulum: male dixit Donatus. Habemus autem articulos, sed in pronomine, non in nomine, ut Graeci.* τὸ ἄρθρον *cum in nomine habeant Graeci, interiectionem in adverbio enumerant. Heu adverbium Graeci dicunt, Latini interiectionem. Ergo nos articulum separatum non habemus, Graeci interiectionem.* Cf. also another passage in Cledonius' *Ars grammatica* (ed. *GL* 5: 53): *Inter pronomina et articulos hoc interest: pronomina sola declinantur. Articulos Graeci in nominibus habent, nos in pronominibus.*

that Cledonius cannot have intended to say that the article was grouped with the noun in Greek grammar, he must have been referring here to the functional aspect: the Greek article accompanies nouns in order to indicate definiteness, something which in Latin has to be expressed by (certain) pronouns. In this rather polemical presentation of the matter, Cledonius does not proceed entirely fairly. As we have seen, Donatus did write that the Latins do not "count" the article, not that they do not "have" it.

7.   The *articulus* according to Priscian

The issue of the status of the article is frequently commented upon by Priscian (cf. Viciano 1996: 91–94, 97–99), who was active as a teacher of Latin in Constantinople until the first decades of the 6th century AD (cf. Baratin / Colombat / Holtz 2009 for a collection of essays on Priscian's life and work, and on his later influence). Priscian takes an explicitly contrastive point of view, confronting the Greek and the Latin parts-of-speech systems. A central discussion of the topic is found in book 2 of his *Institutiones grammaticae* (cf. Swiggers / Wouters 2010: 146–147; 2011: 79):

> [...] counting the pronouns together with the articles, they [the Stoics, for Greek] called them finite articles, while they called infinite articles those articles which we lack, or, as others say, they counted the articles together with the pronouns and called those articular pronouns, in which we Latins follow them until now, although in our language we do not find pure articles.[45]

With Priscian, we thus return to an "ontologically" based position, as we found it in Quintilian and, after him, in Charisius and Macrobius: the Latin language lacks an article, at least an article *stricto sensu*. Priscian restates this position on several occasions throughout his *Institutiones grammaticae*.[46] Unlike Donatus and many of his commentators, Priscian does not accept the

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[45] Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae* 2 (ed. *GL* 2: 54): *Secundum Stoicos vero quinque sunt eius partes: nomen, appellatio, verbum, pronomen sive articulus, coniunctio. Nam participium connumerantes verbis participiale verbum vocabant vel casuale, nec non etiam adverbia nominibus vel verbis connumerabant et quasi adiectiva verborum ea nominabant, articulis autem pronomina connumerantes finitos ea articulos appellabant, ipsos autem articulos, quibus nos caremus, infinitos articulos dicebant vel, ut alii dicunt, articulos connumerabant pronominibus et articularia eos pronomina vocabant, in quo illos adhuc sequimur Latini, quamvis integros in nostra non invenimus articulos lingua.*

[46] Cf. *Institutiones grammaticae* 2 (ed. *GL* 2: 54): *Quidam autem novem dicebant esse partes orationis, appellationem addentes separatam a nominibus, alii etiam decem, infinita verba seorsum partem ponentes, alii undecim, qui pronomina, quae non possunt adiungi articulis, per se numerabant. His alii addebant etiam vocabulum et interiectionem apud Graecos, quam nos adhuc servamus, apud Latinos vero articulum addebant, quem purum per se apud eos non inveniri supra docuimus.* – *Institutiones grammaticae* 11 (ed. *GL* 2: 548): *nam [Romani] articulos non habent* – *Institutiones grammaticae* 13 (ed. *GL* 3: 11): *deinde articulum Romani non habent* – *Institutiones grammaticae* 17 (ed. *GL* 3: 119): *Post participium Graeci articulum ponunt, quem nos, sicut in pronomine ostendimus, non habemus.*

view that the demonstrative pronoun[47] *hic* can be considered, or can be used with the role of an article, except when it is used in a declension paradigm (cf. Holtz 1981: 132 n. 59).[48] In book 17, he puts it as follows: "*hic*, *haec* and *hoc*, however, are undoubtedly pronouns, which except for the declension of nouns by the grammarians are not accepted in the role of articles" (cf. Schöpsdau 1992: 126–127; Biville 2016: 328).[49]

8. Gleanings from the early Middle Ages

The view according to which the Latin parts-of-speech system includes the article within the category of the pronoun is a popular one in the early medieval tradition of grammars and grammatical commentaries;[50] apparently, this must be explained with reference to the influence of Pompeius, the intermediary source through which Donatus was often read and interpreted. Thus, the 7th-century Donatus Ortigraphus in the section *De partibus orationis* of his *Ars grammatica* starts with the peculiar information – which he attributes to Isidore (presumably of Seville), but which cannot be identified in the latter's work – that the Phoenicians counted twelve parts of speech, placing the article in the ninth place. In the passage at issue, which is composed in question-and-answer, i.e. teacher-pupil format, Donatus Ortigraphus quotes Aelius Donatus and Pompeius on the view that the Greeks and Latins – unlike the "Phoenicians" – both have eight parts of speech, but that the Latins count the interjection as their eighth part of speech instead of the article, which they join with the pronoun.[51]

This is also the position found in the section *De partibus orationis* of the *Commentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores* in the 6th- or 7th-century *Ars Ambrosiana*,[52] in chapter 2

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[47] On the importance of "definite" demonstration for Priscian's conception of the unity of the pronoun class, cf. Swiggers / Wouters (2009).

[48] On the use of *hic haec hoc* as a declension marker, cf. Consentius, *Ars de nomine et verbo* (ed. *GL* 5: 344) and Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae* 5 (ed. *GL* 2: 141).

[49] Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae* 17 (ed. *GL* 3: 120): *Nam "idem", quod significat* ὁ αὐτός, *et "qui",* ὅστις, *quamvis videantur quantum ex interpretatione et praepositivos et subiunctivos habere articulos, tamen, sicut latius docuimus, cum de pronomine tractabamus, non sunt articuli; "hic" vero et "haec" et "hoc" indubitanter pronomina sunt, quae nisi in declinatione nominum a grammaticis loco articulorum non recipiuntur.*

[50] For overviews of early medieval grammarians and grammatical commentators, cf. Law (1982), Vineis / Maierù (1994), Irvine (1994), Swiggers (1995), and Visser (2011).

[51] Donatus Ortigraphus, *Ars grammatica* (ed. *CCCM* 40D: 63): *Pompeius dicit: Octo partes orationis habent Greci, VIII etiam Latini, sed hoc differunt illi: Greci habent articulum, quem conputant inter partes orationis; nos autem eum non conputamus. Sed nos habemus unam partem orationis quam Greci non conputant, id est interiectio, sed inter partes adverbiorum ponunt.*

[52] *Ars Ambrosiana – Commentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores* (ed. *CCSL* 133C: 4): LATINI ARTICULUM NON ADNUMERANT *reliqua. Haec autem dictio respicit ad id quod dixit VIII apud Latinos sicut et apud Grecos. Tamen "Latini articulum non adnumerant" sicut Greci* [*respicit autem ad id*]*, quod nominant octavam apud Latinos interiectionem. In numero consentiunt partium, in octava tamen disentiunt* [sic]*: Latini articulum in pronominibus habent (hoc est in finitis et minoribus quam finitis et relativis pronominibus), Greci vero <interiectionem> in adverbiis habent (hoc est monstrandi). Ex se sunt, vel unaquaeque species ex his fit.* – "THE LATINS DO NOT COUNT THE ARTICLE and so on. Now this statement concerns what he has said [before]: eight [parts

of the 7th-century *Expositio Latinitatis* by the so-called Anonymus ad Cuimnanum,[53] in the 8th-century *Ars Bernensis*,[54] in the *Expositio in Donatum maiorem* of the 9th-century *Ars Laureshamensis*,[55] and in part 2 of the 9th-century commentary *In Donati artem maiorem* by Sedulius Scotus, who was active between 840 and 860.[56] None of these texts takes the step of

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of speech] among the Latins just as among the Greeks. However, "the Latins do not count the article" as the Greeks do, because they call the eighth [part of speech] among the Latins the interjection. They agree in the number of parts, but they disagree as to the eighth [part]: the Latins have the article as part of the pronouns (that is, in the finite, the less than finite, and the relative pronouns), but the Greeks have the interjection as part of the adverbs (that is, the demonstrative ones). [Either] they are by themselves, or each [of the two] species is made out of these." With the concluding sentence, the author of the *Ars Ambrosiana* seems to avoid formulating his own stand: the article and the interjection can either be taken as classes on their own, or – as the confrontation of the Greek and Latin grammaticographical traditions shows – they can be grouped respectively with the pronoun or with the interjection.

[53] Anonymus ad Cuimnanum, *Expositio Latinitatis* 2 (ed. *CCSL* 133D: 21): LATINI ARTICULUM NON ADNUMERANT, *id est cum pronomine iungunt. Sed inter pronomen et articulum hoc interest, quod pronomen quando pro nomine ponitur, ut est "magistrum quaere et hunc audi"; articulus est autem, si coniungas cum nomine, ut "hic magister bonus est"*. – "THE LATINS DO NOT COUNT THE ARTICLE, that is to say, they join it with the pronoun. But between the pronoun and the article there is this difference, that it is a pronoun when it is used instead of a noun, as in *magistrum quaere et hunc audi*, but it is an article if you combine it with a noun, as in *hic magister bonus est*."

[54] *Ars Bernensis* (ed. *GL* 8: 63): *Unde Virgilius Maro dixit: "Atque ita erat ut pro octo partibus orationis quinque numerarent". Has autem octo partes orationis quomodo Graeci nominant? Sic dicunt:* [...] ἄρθρον *hoc est articulus* [...]. *Graeci ergo et Latini in numero partium orationis consentiunt, quia utrique octo partes esse definiunt, sed in una ratione differunt et dissentiunt, quod Graeci articulum octavam partem orationis habent, Latini autem articulum in numero octo partium non numerant, sed in pronomine articulum habent. Item Latini interiectionem octavam partem orationis esse dicunt, Graeci vero interiectionem in numero partium non habent, sed in adverbio eam ponunt. Inde Donatus dixit: "Latini articulum non adnumerant nec Graeci interiectionem."* – "Hence Virgilius Maro has said: "And so it came that instead of eight parts of speech they counted five". So these eight parts of speech, how do the Greeks call them? They call them as follows: [...] *arthron*, that is "article" [...]. The Greeks and the Latins thus agree in the number of parts of speech, because they both define there to be eight parts [of speech]; but they differ and disagree in one respect, namely that the Greeks have the article as the eighth part of speech, whereas the Latins do not include the article in the number of eight parts [of speech], but have the article as part of the pronoun. Also, the Latins say that the interjection is the eighth part of speech, whereas the Greeks do not have the interjection in the number of parts [of speech], but classify it under the adverb. Hence Donatus has said: "The Latins do not count the article, nor [do] the Greeks [count] the interjection.""

[55] *Ars Laureshamensis* – *Expositio in Donatum maiorem* 2 (ed. *CCCM* 40A: 9): LATINI ARTICULUM NON ANNUMERANT, GRECI INTERIECTIONEM. *Idcirco Latini articulum in numero partium non deputant, quia articulum pronominibus coniungentes interiectionem octavam partem habent, Greci quoque ideo interiectionem inter partes non annumerant, quia interiectionem adverbiis applicantes articulum octavam partem dicunt.* – "THE LATINS DO NOT COUNT THE ARTICLE, THE GREEKS DO NOT COUNT THE INTERJECTION. Therefore the Latins do not include the article in the number of parts [of speech], because they join the article with the pronouns and have the interjection as the eighth part [of speech], and for the same reason the Greeks do not count the interjection among the parts [of speech], because they join the interjection with the adverbs and call the article the eighth part [of speech]."

[56] Sedulius Scotus, *In Donati artem maiorem* 2 (ed. *CCCM* 40B: 62): LATINI ARTICULUM NON ANNUMERANT, GRECI INTERIECTIONEM. *"Latini", id est nos qui Latinam linguam habemus, "articulum non annumeramus". Idcirco Latini articulum in numero partium non deputant, quia articulum pronominibus adiungentes interiectionem octavam partem habent.* [...] *Greci igitur habent quandam partem prolixam de articulis, quos articulos per se computant pro una parte orationis, et quia interiectionem non habent, sed pro interiectionibus adverbiis utuntur, ipsam partem articulorum in ultimo loco ponunt. Nos vero illam partem non habentes, interiectionem in ultimo ponimus, et pro articulis Grecorum utimur tribus pronominibus, videlicet hic et haec et hoc.* [...] *"Non annumerant (id est non computant) Latini articulum" inter partes orationis, quia non habent, nec Greci interiectionem annumerant, quia non habent.* – "THE LATINS DO NOT COUNT THE ARTICLE, THE GREEKS DO NOT COUNT THE INTERJECTION. "The Latins", that is, we who have the Latin language, "do not count the article". Therefore the Latins do not include the article in the number of parts [of speech], because they join the article to the pronouns and have the interjection as the eighth part [of speech]. [...] So the Greeks have some kind of extensive part on the articles [= some kind of extended subclass of articles], which articles they count in their own right as one part of speech, and because they do not have the interjection but use adverbs instead of interjections, they put that part of

regarding the "articular" function as an autonomous one, but some texts, such as the *Ars Ambrosiana* and the commentary by Sedulius Scotus, do refer to its clearly identifiable adnominal status.[57] By contrast, Clemens Scottus, who was active between c.814 and 826, in his *Ars grammatica* seems to return to the "ontological" position that the article is simply not a part of speech in Latin grammar.[58]

The testimonies of the *Ars Ambrosiana* and Sedulius Scotus already point to the common use of the demonstrative pronoun *hic* as a nominal determiner, a function which was in the spoken language of their time undoubtedly (also) fulfilled by *ille*. In the 9th century we find this role of *hic* confirmed by Murethach of Auxerre, who states that the Latins do not "count" the article "because they do not have an article, but only use three pronouns instead of articles, i.e. *hic haec hoc*".[59] More information is provided by Remigius of Auxerre (c.841–c.908) in his *Commentum Einsidlense in Donati Artem maiorem* (Viciano 1996: 96–97).[60] Remigius remarks upon the combination of the article with another pronoun (*hic ipse*, *hic ille*), and of the article with a participle (*hic legens*). In Remigius' view, the first element clearly has the function of a determiner ("the one over there", "the one reading"). For *articulus*, Remigius also uses the term

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[57] the articles in the last place. We, by contrast, not having that part [of speech], put the interjection in the last place, and instead of the articles of the Greeks we use three pronouns, namely *hic*, *haec* and *hoc*. [...] "The Latins do not add (that is, they do not count) the article" among the parts of speech, because they do not have it, nor do the Greeks count the interjection, because they do not have it."

[57] In early medieval grammatical texts we find discussions concerning the possible (and impossible) combinations of *pronomina articularia* with other pronouns (such as *hic alius*, *hic alter*, *hic ipse*, *hic ille*, *hi ambo*). Cf., e.g., the commentaries on Donatus' *Ars maior* by Murethach of Auxerre and by Remigius of Auxerre (quoted below, footnotes 59 and 60). This issue is part of a larger discussion concerning the elements that clearly belong to the *pronomina* on the one hand, and the more "dubious" cases on the other. An overview of the varying lists of pronouns given in the *artes grammaticae* can be found in Barwick (1922: 25). For relevant passages, cf. (Ps.-)Probus, *Instituta artium* (*GL* 4: 133), Cledonius, *Ars grammatica* (*GL* 5: 15, 53), and Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae* 13 (*GL* 3: 20).

[58] Clemens Scottus, *Ars grammatica*, a grammar conceived in question-and-answer format, as a dialogue between *magister* and *discipulus* (ed. Tolkiehn 1928: 23–24): *Octo enim partes orationis habent Graeci, octo etiam et Latini. Sed hoc differunt illi: Graeci habent articulum quem computant inter partes orationis; nos autem eum non computamus. Sed nos habemus unam partem orationis quam Graeci non computant, id est interiectio, sed inter partes adverbiorum ponunt. – Δ Quomodo Graeci has octo partes orationis nominant? – M [...] sextam arthron, id est articulus* [...] – "For the Greeks have eight parts of speech, and the Latins, too, have eight. But they differ in this respect: the Greeks have the article which they count among the parts of speech; we, by contrast, do not count it. But we have one part of speech, namely the interjection, which the Greeks do not count, but which they classify among the types of adverbs. – Δ How do the Greeks call these eight parts of speech? – M [...] the sixth they call *arthron*, that is article [...]".

[59] Murethach of Auxerre, *Intellectus in Donati Arte maiore* (ed. *CCCM* 40: 52): LATINI ARTICULUM NON ADNUMERANT, GRAECI INTERIECTIONEM subauditur "in numero partium non adnumerant". *Quare Latini articulum non adnumerant? Quia non habent articulum, sed tribus solummodo pronominibus utuntur pro articulis, id est "hic haec hoc". Nam Greci habent maximam partem de articulis et ponunt illam ultimam.* On the intellectual background of the Irish scholar Murethach, founder of the school of Auxerre, cf. Holtz (1991).

[60] Remigius of Auxerre, *Commentum Einsidlense in Donati Artem maiorem* 11 (ed. *GL* 8: 249–250): *Inter pronomina et articulos hoc distat, quod ea pronomina esse putantur, quae sine nomine vicem nominis implent, ut "iste ipse ille"; articuli autem cum pronominibus ponuntur, ut "hic ipse" "hic ille"; cum nominibus, ut "hic vir" "hic magister"; cum participiis, ut "hic legens". Haec eadem pronomina pro articulis ponuntur, quando in declinatione sunt, et pro demonstratione, quando pronomina sunt.*

articulare praepositivum vel demonstrativum; his source may have been a passage in Donatus' *Ars minor*,[61] but one cannot exclude the possibility that he took the term from a source transmitting the text of Servius,[62] or – more indirectly – of Cledonius' commentary.[63]

9. Concluding remarks

The preceding account has shown (part of) the complex history of *articulus* – and some related terms – in the development of Latin grammar from Antiquity up to the early Middle Ages. The reasons for the complexity of this history are manifold. First, there is the impact of the Greek grammatical model (§2), which invited Latin grammarians to look for formal or at least functional equivalences or correspondences in the language they used and/or taught, i.e. Latin (§3). Second, there is the history of the Latin language itself (§4), which witnessed intricate gradual changes in its language system, giving rise to the emergence of "*articuloid*" elements, and eventually to full-fledged articles. A third factor was the variation of opinions found in authoritative texts and their commentaries (§5 and §6), leading in turn to variations in terminology and classification. A fourth and last factor of complexity is the difficulty of distinguishing between form, function, and categorization, which explains the wavering between the "ontological" and the "methodological" perspective. In this regard, it is noteworthy that formal issues were generally dealt with in an untechnical (meta)language – an issue that

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[61] Cf. the text quoted in footnote 31.

[62] Cf. the text of Servius, *Commentarius in artem Donati* (*GL* 4: 410) quoted in footnote 39.

[63] Cf. Cledonius, *Ars grammatica* (ed. *GL* 5: 50): *Articularia nominibus iunguntur, quia funguntur articulis Graecorum. Nam inter articulos et pronomen hoc interest: articuli iuncti nominibus declinantur, pronomina sola* – "Articular [pronouns] are joined to nouns, because they function as the articles of the Greeks. For between articles and the pronoun there is this difference: articles are declined in combination with nouns, pronouns on their own"; and in the same work (ed. *GL* 5: 15): *Hic: hoc pronomen dum correptum fuerit, pronomen est, dum productum, adverbium est. Ideo articulare praepositivum dicitur, quia praeponitur nomini. Dum dico hic magister, praepositus est articulus nomini.* – "*Hic*: if this pronoun is short, it is a pronoun, but when it is long, it is an adverb. Therefore it is called the prepositive articular [pronoun], because it is put in front of a noun. When I say *hic magister*, it is put in front of a noun as an article." Cledonius thus proposes a threefold distinction between an autonomous pronominal use, an "articular" use as a nominal determiner, and an adverbial use. Cf. Remigius of Auxerre, *Commentum Einsidlense in Donati Artem minorem* rec. brevis 45 (ed. Fox 1902: 36): *Item articulare praepositivum vel demonstrativum et reliq(ua). Articulare pronomen dicitur ab articulis, quia pro articulis ponitur. Graeci partem articulorum habent, quam nos non habemus, et in ultimo eum ponunt, ubi nos interiectionem. Sed pro illis articulis nos pronominibus utimur. Praepositiva dicuntur, quia semper praeponuntur, ut hic et haec et hoc, licet aliquando supponantur, ut Virgilius: "Hic vir hic est tibi quem promitti saepius audis". Sciendum quia hic et haec et hoc in demonstratione pronomina sunt, in declinatione vero articuli.* – "Also, the articular prepositive or demonstrative [pronoun], and so on. The articular pronoun is so called from the articles, because it is used instead of articles. The Greeks have a part on the articles, which we do not have, and they put it in the last place, where we put the interjection. But instead of these articles we use pronouns. They are called prepositive [pronouns], because they are always put in front, like *hic* and *haec* and *hoc*, although they are sometimes put in the back, so Vergil: *Hic vir hic est tibi quam promitti saepius audis*. One should know that *hic* and *haec* and *hoc* are pronouns in demonstration, but articles in declension." A direct reliance by Remigius on Cledonius is difficult to prove, since Cledonius' grammar is extant only in a single manuscript dating to the 6th or 7th century (ms. Bern, Burgerbibliothek 350) (cf. Holtz 1971: 62; Law 1982: 28). However, traces of Cledonius' grammar can be found in the *Ars Ambrosiana* (cf. Löfstedt 1980).

deserves a study in its own right. For instance, most of the authors simply speak of formal elements that are "*eadem*". However, some authors, e.g. Servius, use the term *forma* followed by the genitive of a term designating a word class, in order to refer to the formal aspects or formal appearance of a particular element. Interestingly, the *Ars Ambrosiana* stands alone in using the specific term *nuntiatio*.[64] As to the function of linguistic elements, the terminology used includes *fungi officio* [gen.], *vicem* [gen.] *complere*, or *accipi pro* [abl.]. The act of categorizing is indicated by terms such as *adnumerare*, *enumerare* or *computare*; the result of this act, lastly, is designated by the stative expressions (*aliquid*) *esse in* [abl.] or (*aliquid*) *habere in* [abl.].

10. Reference list

10.1.   Abbreviations

CCCM = Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
GL = Grammatici Latini (H. Keil)
TLL = Thesaurus Linguae Latinae

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[64] The author of the *Ars Ambrosiana* uses the term *nuntiatio* in order to refer to the behaviour of linguistic forms, thus making a distinction between autonomous elements (either as word classes or as independent linguistic forms), and "bound" elements (such as grammatical morphemes). The former type is called *tota nuntiatio*, the latter *specialis nuntiatio* (cf. Swiggers / Visser / Wouters 2013).

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