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DIVERSITY IN NEO-LATIN: EXAMPLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE ECCLESIASTICAL TEXTS

Although it is a generally acknowledged fact that Neo-Latin consists of a set of linguistic varieties, there is a short supply of research into its linguistic diversification, especially in non-literary texts. One of the characteristic text classes within Neo-Latin tradition are canonical visitations, a special type of ecclesiastical administrative texts, produced extensively after the Council of Trent in all parts of Europe that had Roman Catholic hierarchical structures. The present paper analyses the language of three canonical visitations written in 18th century Diocese of Senj and Modruš (Krbava) and tries to recognise linguistic peculiarities that could prove to be distinguishing properties for canonical visitations and similar texts.

0. Introduction

Each year more papers have been published that deal with the linguistic make-up of Neo-Latin texts.¹ Research mainly deals with deviations from the classical Latin, and such features have been explained as relics of the medieval usage, influences from vernacular languages, expanding the classical canon, slips of the pen, or simply ignorance. While literary works are often linguistically analysed, the language of bureaucratic Neo-Latin texts, with its fixed formulas, rigid arrangement, and absence of schematised rhetorical devices, seems to have fostered relatively little attention by linguists.

¹ Bibliographical lists in IJsewijn and Sacré 1998: 377–419 are, of course, very selective, and by now outdated. A recent rich resource is the Part I (Language and education) of Ford et al. 2014. See also the annual *Instrumentum Bibliographicum Neo-Latinum* published annually in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*. Some scholars believe that the research field has still not been satisfactorily developed; see Waquet 2001: 124.

I will argue in this contribution that administrative Neo-Latin texts, apart from being a valuable source for a historian, are linguistically interesting on their own and that their use (sociolinguistic status) and structure (appearance) possess certain elements that make their language worthy of linguistic research.

The case study has been conducted on the so-called canonical visitations. A canonical visitation is a bishop's (or his depute's) periodic visit to his diocese in order to review its state of affairs, but the term also refers to the transcript of such visits for the purpose of bringing or sending a report (*relatio*) to Rome. They became regular after the Council of Trent and contain essentially the interviews with the clergy and the descriptions of church property (Meehan 1912).

Three canonical visitations of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Senj/Modruš (Krbava) (western Croatia) from the 18th century will serve as a sample.² The visitations were conducted in person by bishops Juraj Vuk Čolić od Löwensberga (Georgius Wolffgangus Chiolich de Löwensburg 1746–64) and Ivan Krstitelj Kabalin od Ehrenburga (Iohannes Baptista Caballini de Ehrenburg, 1773–82), and are *visitationes personales*, i.e. they deal only with persons, in this case the members of the town clergy.³

1. Variety in ecclesiastical Neo-Latin

Linguistic variety can be defined as a specific set of “linguistic items” or “human speech patterns” that that can be uniquely associated with some external factor – presumably, a geographical area or a social group (Wardhaugh 2006: 25). Social groupings and processes tend to produce distinct linguistic features, which give rise to separate varieties, placed on the level between the usage of an individual and the entire language (Pocetti and Poli and Santini 1999: 27; Heller 2005).

It is well-known that Neo-Latin is internally differentiated, more than it was recognised in past as such.⁴ Most authors distinguish between two main clusters of Neo-Latin usage: the humanist neo-classical variety and the inherited medieval Latin (Burke 2004: 56). Their distribution depends in the first place on the occasion of the use, where established rules were the principal determinants of

² The documents are stored in Senj, Chapter Archive (KAS), MS f. 2, n. 39 (26–29 August 1746 – hence C1) and MS f. 2, n. 47 (22 and 30–31 May 1774 – hence K), and Senj, Diocesan Archive (BAS), MS f. 1, n. 47 (28–30 December 1751 and 7–10 January 1752 – hence C2), and contain about 29,000 words. They are published with a translation into Croatian in Demo 2007.

³ The other type of canonical visitations are *visitationes reales*, that deal with Church property. See biographies of the two bishops and their *relationes* in Bogović 2003.

⁴ This consciousness goes so far as to cast in doubt the validity of the term itself (IJsewijn and Sacré 1998: 377; Rizzo 2004).

the choice.⁵ The users of different varieties of Neo-Latin, in addition to being ethnically, geographically or socially differentiated, constituted various “communities of practice” – groups that “come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998: 490).

Although canonical visitations were produced by the people of the Church and for the purposes of the Church, the religious function is not central in such texts. They are used not for the expression of religious feeling, but for the organisational, “profane” segment of the ecclesiastical practice. Therefore, one would not expect in them the hallmarks of the religious language proper. On the other hand, the fact that their context is ecclesiastical, and that bureaucratic Neo-Latin is a continuation of medieval Latin, non-classical traits characteristic of Christian usage or of medieval chancery will not come as a surprise (see Barbour 2004; Mohrmann 1977; Samarin 1976; Ferguson 1996).

2. Sociolinguistics of the canonical visitations

If a particular class of texts is to be considered linguistically separate, one should relate its linguistic properties to the contexts of its use. Various social conditions give rise to linguistically varied texts, and the clusters of equal values for social features tend to produce linguistic varieties. I will advance the following working question: Which (if any) are social and linguistic features that set apart canonical visitations as a separate linguistic category?

A full picture of sociolinguistical status of canonical visitations can be presented by a set of socially driven text properties, which could serve as a basis for comparison of various text classes within the ecclesiastical use.

Structuralist tradition reduces (somewhat simplifying) the complex picture of the variety in language into several dimensions: diachronic (time of existence of the variety), diatopic (geographical distribution of the variety), diastratic (social group expected to use the variety), and diaphasic (social situation of the use of the variety) (Cosieriu 1969). These simple headings will serve as a basis for a multidimensional sociolinguistic representation of our variety. The summary of the preliminary comparison of various ecclesiastical text types, prepared *ad hoc* only for the purpose of an illustration, is presented in Table 1 on the next page.⁶

A canonical visitation consists of an institutionalised procedure, which has to be followed in order for the visitation to be valid. The diaphasic dimension

⁵ About social ‘role-playing’ see Wardhaugh 2006: 151; about multiple choices possible for Neo-Latin users see Ronca 2002: 231–269; Burke 2004: 56; Rizzo 2004: 75–76; Canfora 2007: 53.

⁶ Diatopic and diachronic linguistic variation, as in Neo-Latin in general, is marginal and low, and is therefore not presented here. Not all properties are of equal importance, and I am far from trying to give a complete list either of them or of the text types.

		can. visitations	apost. constitutions	Canon Law	private letters	court transcripts	oral prayers	sacramental rites	accounting	theological works	catechisms	bishop's circulars	court verdicts	common prayers	mystical works	papal Brevia	diplomatic talk	private prayers	Lit. of the Hours	clerical talk	canticles	Encyclicals	diplomatic letters	religious poetry
Diaphasic dimension	Institutionalisation	+	+	+	-	+	±	+	±	±	+	+	+	+	-	+	±	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
	Corporate work	+	±	+	-	+	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	-	±	+	-	±	±	±	±	±	-
	Recorded in written	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	Repeated performance	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	±	+	-	+	-	-	-
	Monoglossic reduction as final form	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	±	-	-	±	±	-	-	-	±	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	Schematicity	h	1	1	1	h	1	h	h	1	1	h/l	h	1	1	1	1	1	h	1	1	1	h/l	1
	Locality/globality	lc/g	g	g	lc	lc/g	lc/g	lc/g	lc/g	g	g	lc	lc/g	g	g	lc	lc	lc	g	lc	g	g	lc	lc
	Repetitiveness	h	1	1	1	h	1	1	h	1	1	1	h	1	1	1	1	1	h	1	1	h	1	1
	Abstractness	1	h	1	1	1	h	h/l	1	h	h/l	1	1	h	h	1	1	h	h	1	h	h/l	1	h
	Single event-orienteness	-	-	-	+	±	±	-	-	±	-	±	+	-	±	+	+	±	-	+	-	+	+	+
Diastratic dimension	Free choice of linguistic variety	±	-	-	+	±	±	-	±	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	Elaborated evidentiality	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Expressiveness	1	1	1	1	1	h	h	1	1	1	1	1	h	h	1	1	h	h	1	h	1	1	h
	Rhetorical elaboration	1	h	h	h/l	1	h/l	h	1	h/l	1	1	1	h	h/l	h	1	h	1	1	h	h	h	h/l
	Authorial invention	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	±	+

lc local, g global, h high, l low, + present, - absent, ± partially present / uncertain; dark shaded - full correspondence, light shaded - partial correspondence

Table 1. Sociolinguistic comparison of Neo-Latin ecclesiastical text types (oral and written) with canonical visitations.

describes the preset external rules that govern the social situation, without regard to the individual users. On the other hand, social background of the participants (their education, talent and personal preferences) sometimes enters an interplay with the rules of the text production. This fact is embodied in the diastatic dimension, which represents the tension between individual invention and form prescribed by the domain of use. Our comparison, more clearly visible in the dendrogram (see Figure 1 at the end of the paper) generated on the basis of the data from the Table 1, confirms the intuitive reckoning that canonical visitations are most similar to court transcripts, accounting writings, and court verdicts, and that they are most distant from private prayers and oral prayers. If we also take a look at other text types, we can see that they generally group in a pretty expected way.⁷

3. Relation to classical grammatical and lexical standards

The analysis has shown that at the level of grammar and vocabulary our texts are fairly unclassical. Specific conditions of their production make it possible for the cognitive forces that cause deviations from literary texts and Classical Latin to appear. The structure of the discourse emerges more spontaneously, thus being psychologically more dynamic than in literary elaborated texts. We expect to find the traces of school authors, liturgical and biblical language, theological and homiletic literature, but also of the local mother tongue.

3.1. Syntax

Although the syntax of standard Neo-Latin is pretty conservative, it is far from being “unblemished”, even in the so-called high literature, and especially so in less elaborated usage, such as in our corpus. Thus the use of verbal moods is not rigorously classical (*nisi quod murmurent ... et solent* (C1 3) ‘except for the fact that they grumble ... and use to’, first subjunctive and the indicative put in a parallel structure), the sequence of tenses does not always seem to be observed (*interrogatus ... cum quo habitat* (C1 20) ‘asked with whom he lives’, present subjunctive instead of imperfect subjunctive), *quod* is frequently used after the verbs of perception, and especially after the evidential verbs (a feature of biblical Latin, while Classical Latin would use the accusative with infinitive construction), there are possible syntactic Croatisms (stance taking expressions such as *de auditu* (K 2r) ‘by hearsay’, Croat. *po čuvenju*; Class. Lat. *de visu, de scientia propria*) or Italianisms (*non obstantibus decretis* (c2 16) ‘in spite of the decrees’, It. *nonostante*), non-partitive genitives with numbers (*nostrum sunt 12* (C2 18) ‘there are 12 of us’), etc.

⁷ The dendrogram is generated with the help of Garcia-Vallvé and Puigbo (2009).

3.2. Vocabulary

Apart from technical ecclesiastical terminology, the language of the visitations exhibits various other post-classical advances. Sometimes words used as technical terms in classical Latin are transferred into another specific area: *emaneo* (C2 3, 6, 18; K 1v, 7r, 7v, 8r) developed from a military word meaning ‘unauthorised absence from a camp’ to an ecclesiastical expression meaning ‘absence from the Liturgy of the Hours’; *atingo* (C1 6, 11, 16) ‘to reach’ (for an amount of money); *ogero* (K 6r) ‘to say’ (with negative pragmatic meaning equal to the one of *obicio*, ‘to taunt’); *suppono* (C1 7, 15) ‘to suppose’ (It. *supporre*). Some non-classical idiomatic expressions appear (*ad auram capiendam* (C2 20) ‘to take fresh air /by taking a walk/’). General spatial meaning is commonly specialised in non-spatial semantic fields (e.g. *distractio* (C2 4) ‘pastime’, It. *distrazione*).

Another class consists of post-classical or technical derived words (*doc-tio* (C2 35) ‘teaching’, *subductura* (C1 20) ‘lining of a coat’, *radicalis* (C1 12) ‘radical’, *particularis* (K 2v, 14r, 12r) ‘particular’, *exemplariter* (C1 22) ‘in an exemplary manner’). Adopted foreign words, usually Italianisms, are not lacking either (*caffè* (C2 2, 13, 29, 36) ‘coffee’, *domus caffearia* / *caffetaria* (C2 10, 38, 47) ‘bar’, *arrestum* (C2 4) ‘prison’, *per turnum* (C2 21) ‘by turns’).

4. Higher-level linguistic features

Atomic phenomena, such as syntactic features and lexical change, can reveal a great deal about the language of a text, but in order to detect completely what makes a group of socially homogenous texts linguistically distinct, one has to scrutinise other levels of textual organisation. Specific conditions of text production generate some peculiarities at the level of discourse structuring and pragmatics. For canonical visitations, the analysis has pointed to a set of the salient linguistic features more or less characteristic of them. A provisional list of them, starting from the most general ones (i.e. acting similarly in many other kinds of texts) and going toward the more specific ones, goes as follows:

- semantic bleaching of content words
- specialisation of function words
- reduction of pragmatic meaning
- particular system of evidentials and stance-taking expressions
- specific formulaic sequences

In the following sections we will take a brief look at each of these in turn.

4.1. Semantic bleaching of content words

One of the detected features is semantic bleaching, which is the loss of semantic content, representing one of the stages in the process of grammaticalisation. It is characteristic for administrative language. For example, ablative *actu* became an adverb meaning ‘now’, and *aeque* and *successive* were specialised for meanings ‘furthermore’ and ‘after’, respectively. Sometimes a grammaticalised word is joined with a preposition, producing an idiomatic phrase with an adverbial meaning (*a potiori* ‘for the most part’; *de praeterito* ‘before’, as a temporal adverbial; *per totum* ‘completely’ – all in many instances).⁸ Peculiar examples are the nouns *ratio* and *causa*, which are grammaticalised in many causal expressions, so that they appear to be pleonastic (*ob hanc causam* (C2 38) ‘because of this reason’; *ex causa aestus* (C1 5) ‘out of the reason of the heat’; *ob rationem, ne possim* (C1 5) ‘for the motive that I could not’). Another example of grammaticalisation is presented by textual anaphoras derived from content words and is characteristic of administrative texts (*memorati* ‘mentioned’, *nominatum* ‘named’, *ut praenarravi* ‘as I said previously’, *uti praemisi* ‘as I mentioned before’).

4.2. Specialisation of function words

In administrative texts, function words tend to be specialised and, consequently, uniformed. Within a simple clause, this happens with the prepositions, which can take the function of other prepositions in specific contexts (*super* used instead of *de* when meaning ‘about, concerning’, the use of *absque* in *absque illius scitu* (C2 14) ‘without his knowledge’), assume a prevalent form (*circa* instead of *circum*), or be reduced in meaning range (*juxta* appears exclusively in the unclassical meaning ‘according to’).

At the level of clause subordination, reduction in formal variation can be observed in the high specialisation of conjunctions. Thus negative final clauses are always introduced with *ne*, concessive with *licet*, causal with *quod* and *quia*,⁹ disjunctive indirect questions regularly with *an* (45x, rarely with *utrum*, 6x); *quo* is never (out of 64 instances) used finally, and *cum* is extremely specialised (used almost exclusively as a preposition, 180x/182).

Coordination and discourse markers will be most conveniently presented in a table, which can show the degree of their specialisation by relative frequencies, but also oddities with reference to the classical usage (see Table 2).¹⁰

⁸ An adverb is sometimes used as a preposition (*desuper veste domestica* (C1 5) ‘over his house dress’).

⁹ Apart from curious *sicut(i) ... ita* ‘as ... so’, used several times (C1 6; C2 9, 17 *bis*; K 2r, 10r).

¹⁰ The reference frame for frequencies is provided for by items in the BTL 2004 database,

	CV	f _{BTL} ¹¹	Notes
Additive	<i>ac/atque</i>	51/63	2.46/2.50 distributed functionally, not phonologically: <i>atque de</i> reduced to introductory formulas (57x)
	<i>et</i>	1076	5.66
	<i>etiam</i>	101 ¹²	- another 35x used evaluatively
	<i>iam</i>	12	- relatively frequent in additive meaning (out of 40x), very marginal in classical Latin
	<i>item</i>	11	1.49
	<i>-que</i>	36	0.38 setting apart <i>seque</i> in a formula of dismissal (50x)
Continuative	<i>deinde</i>	1	- another 6x used temporally
	<i>porro</i>	0	0
	<i>tum</i>	17	- another 4x used temporally (as <i>postea</i> , not as <i>olim</i>)
	<i>quoad+Acc.</i>	18	-
Causal	<i>enim</i>		0.06
	<i>nam</i>	7	0.30 only in <i>KAS</i> MS f. 2, n. 47
Consecutive	<i>ergo</i>	0	-
	<i>igitur</i>	0	0
	<i>ita</i>	25	1.40 never equative, but causal/consecutive and adversative meaning ¹³
	<i>itaque</i>	0	-
Disjunctive	<i>aut</i>	39	1.47
	<i>sive/seu</i>	54	10.89
	<i>-ve</i>	5	1.41 only in conjunction <i>unus alterve</i>
	<i>vel</i>	69	3.62 mostly alternative names or two entities
Adversative	<i>at</i>	1	0.12
	<i>attamen</i>	0	0
	<i>autem</i>	87	3.35
	<i>quidem</i>	32	1.82
	<i>sed</i>	67	1.28
	<i>tamen</i>	32	1.60
	<i>vero</i>	102	- specialised for listing the <i>curricula vitae</i> (41x)

Table 2. Number and relative frequencies of coordinators and discourse markers in Senj canonical visitations

We can see clearly that in the additive group *et* prevails not only absolutely (left numeric column), but also relatively (right column). In the continuative use, *tum* is preferred, and non-Classical *quoad+Acc.* is also important. Causal and consecu-

which comprises a large number of Classical Latin texts. The basis of the division is the category of connectors in Pinkster 1990: 253.

¹¹ When there are multiple meaning groups (e.g. coordinating and evaluative), it was not practicable to individuate them in the BTL 2004 corpus. Such cases are not given relative frequencies.

¹² Equative meaning is reserved for the correlation *tam ... quam* (*tam* almost exclusively appears in this connection: 27x/29).

tive connectors are very rare (because the texts mostly convey a state of affairs, not some stream of reasoning) and are reduced to *nam* and *ita* (which lost its equative function). Among disjunctive connectors, *sive/seu* is by far the most frequent one, *-ve* is reduced to a formulaic expression, and *vel* for the most part lost its function of indicating uncertainty. In the adversative use one can observe a preference for *autem* and *vero*, which are the most neutral ones and tend to be continuative, while the strongly adversative *at* and *attamen* are almost completely absent.

4.3. Reduction of pragmatic meaning

In every utterance, some part of sentence meaning – called pragmatic meaning – is supplied contextually as it is not included in its referential meaning. More pragmatic meaning means more uncertainty and intellectual effort for decoding the message.¹³ If we take as pragmatic the part of the meaning related to complex contextual clues, emotional states, politeness, evidentiality, evaluative utterances and so on, we can individuate the reduction of pragmatic meaning as a phenomenon parallel to semantic bleaching. Administrative texts tend to present the reality directly, minimising involvement of considerably variable pragmatical factors, such as social relations and personal feelings. This is evident in the specific lexical meanings of the words employed, but also in the use of the grammatical words. Only a few examples will suffice to illustrate this.

Thus, for instance, *notabilis* (K 11r) does not mean ‘noteworthy’ (with an implication of a personal estimate), but simply ‘observable’ (which “depersonalises” the meaning). Then, *sollicitus*, which is used with Gen. in the meaning ‘taking care’ (*sollicitum esse etiam horum per alium implendorum* (C1 10) ‘care has also been taken that another person perform them’), while in classical Latin only the more complex (although older) meaning ‘anxious’ (involving a person’s state of mind) is constructed in this way.

As for grammatical words, *aliquis* became a generalised indefinite pronoun and is comparatively very frequent: this is a pragmatic reduction, because the speaker’s knowledge about a fact is not involved. Furthermore, typical bureaucratic anaphoras like *saepedicta* (‘often mentioned’), *suprafatus* (‘mentioned above’) etc. are employed to designate precisely, without relying on pragmatic reasoning, what is more or less vaguely achieved by demonstrative pronouns in literary or everyday language; this is a safeguard against misunderstandings and legal tricks. Then, *etiam*, which is relatively frequent, is used only 1/4 of times in its evaluative (pragmatical) meaning ‘even’, while descriptions from the dictionaries suggest that this ratio is rather inverted in the classical Latin. Finally, *quidem* is used exclusively as

¹³ A comprehensive and recent introduction is Horn and Ward 2004.

an explanatory particle (introducing giving details or listing), which is a marginal meaning in classical Latin, because there it is primarily evaluative.

The depragmatisation, just as the specialisation and the reduction of connectors, is clearly related to the nature of the text itself: if a text tends to be objective, informative and easily accessible, it reduces the diversity in the grammatical “skeleton” in its body and eliminates vague points dependent on individual situations.

4.4. Particular set of evidentials and stance-taking expressions

In a text based on a series of interviews a high rate of evidential and stance-taking expressions is not surprising. Specific subject matter and setting are expected to produce, in a given text class, a more or less marked tendency towards a certain unique configuration of such expressions. Thus canonical visitations employ various means to express various states of interviewees’ knowledge and their attitudes to it. Among grammatical devices introducing evidential utterances are *de, circa*, Acc./Nom. with infinitive, passive of report verbs, suppositive future etc. Lexical strategies emerge in the use of a specific vocabulary (*murmur, rumor* ‘rumours’; *scio* ‘I know’, *agnosco* ‘I learn’ – all *passim*), which can be more or less specialised (*audio (passim)* ‘I hear’ vs. *spargitur* (C2 9; K 2r, 11v) ‘it is rumoured’), and even developed into the pseudo-technical vocabulary (e.g. *observo (passim)* is excessively used as a report verb). These strategies are usually combined with speech acts (of hedging, reproach, and so on) and hints to contextual clues about the various implied pieces of information. Their overall typology for our corpus, with examples, is given in Table 3 (all of them appear in many places).

		Author not involved	<i>dicunt, dicitur, referuntur, (ob)murmurant (aliqui), erat murmur, rumor, suspicio est</i>
Author involved	Not hedged	General knowledge	<i>prout publicum est, observatum ... fuit, uti jam scitur, notatus est</i>
		First-hand knowledge	<i>observavi ipse, bene observo, notitiam habeo</i>
	Implicitly hedged	Information source generalised	<i>uti audio, audivi loqui, audio/audivi, prout alii mihi narrant, sciscitatus agnovi, memini me legisse</i>
		Information source specified	<i>quod mihi narravit, mihi aperuit, ex auditu ejus familiarium, mihi confidit</i>
	Explicitly hedged		<i>ut mihi videtur, habebit, mihi persuadeo, suppono, importare potest, minus quantum constat, inquantum scio</i>

Table 3. Typology of evidentials and stance taking expressions in Senj canonical visitations

A comparison within a larger corpus and with other textual classes could give more accurate and valid conclusions.

4.5. Specific formulaic sequences

Formulaic sequences are strongly present in any type of text (see e.g. Schmitt and Carter 2004). However, their choice and frequency depends on the kind of text. Some of them seem to be relatively recurrent in our corpus and possibly typical for canonical visitations in general. Since we are dealing with a specific type of interviewing, the most notable type of such sequences are procedural expressions of ignorance, used for closing an answer or its part. As they have two intersecting dimensions, they are conveniently presented in a table, too (see Table 4).¹⁴

	Complete ignorance	Finishing the informative part
direct statement	<i>nescirem</i> ¹⁶ <i>quidquam dicere</i> ‘I wouldn’t know anything to say’, <i>mihi non constat</i> ‘I am not aware’, <i>ego non possum scire</i> ‘I personally can’t know’	<i>aliud nihil scio (dicere)</i> ‘I don’t know anything else to say’
“internal” unavailability of information	<i>nihil reipsa expertus sum</i> ‘I really haven’t experienced’, <i>mihi nunc non occurrit</i> ‘right now it doesn’t come to my mind’, <i>colligere non possum</i> ‘I can’t make a conclusion’, <i>non possum assequi</i> ‘I can’t recall’	<i>aliud mihi dicendum non occurrit</i> ‘nothing else to say comes to my mind’, <i>quod exponerem ... non invenio aliud nisi</i> ‘what should I say ... I don’t find anything else except’
“external”	<i>[e]go per memet nihil notavi</i> ‘I by myself didn’t notice anything’, <i>nihil huiusmodi animadvertitur</i> ‘nothing of the kind is observed’, <i>ego in persona non notavi</i> ‘I personally didn’t notice’	
inability to talk	<i>non possum dicere</i> ‘I can’t say’, <i>[e]go de scientia propria aut experientia nihil possum dicere</i> ‘I personally can’t say anything based on my direct knowledge or experience’	<i>ulteriorem non possum dare informationem</i> ‘I can’t give further information’

Table 4. Typology of expressions of ignorance in Senj canonical visitations

¹⁴ As they are all very frequent, referencing each instance would only burden the table.

¹⁵ Intensifying politeness elements are boldfaced.

Other formulaic sequences appear in:

- descriptions of biographical details, e.g. sacraments and consecrations received (*per/ab* + name of a bishop)¹⁶
- text structuring devices (*nisi quod; et quidem; ita ut; de/quoad/super* introducing a new topic)
- abbreviating formulas (*(pro)ut supra*)
- descriptions of a personal routine (*confiteri soleo* ‘I use to confess’; *singulis diebus celebro* ‘I celebrate [Mass] every day’)
- descriptions of institutionalised procedures (*sub iuramento corporali de veritate dicenda* ‘under the corporal oath on telling the truth’; *per vota publica* ‘by public voting’; *pro aequali rata/portione* ‘by equal shares’)
- periphrastic expressions (*domus ubi caffè venditur* (C2 3, 13, 29, 36) ‘house where coffee is sold’)

A comparative analysis of formulaic sequences – not only their types, but their relative and overall frequency and the contexts of their use – could clarify the relation between their types and distribution, and the text classes.

5. Conclusions

So far, the Latin of canonical visitations has not been singled out as a special variety within Neo-Latin. Their administrative character made researchers focus on their historiographical value, with neglect of their linguistic aspect. However, their language is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, they were a ubiquitous textual genre all over Europe during the early modern period. Therefore, they are greatly suitable as corpora for linguistic comparisons between varieties of Neo-Latin used by people of geographically distant and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Secondly, they are relatively free from authorial rhetoric enhancements, thus enabling unconscious mental forces that shape the linguistic variety to emerge. Thirdly, they span chronologically over several centuries, showing a high stability of general formal framework.

In this article I have tried to support the hypothesis that similar social conditions produce cognate linguistic forms. Canonical visitations have proved to have not only specific context of use, but also particular linguistic patterns, clearly identifiable by means of certain characteristic structural properties.

¹⁶ Many prepositions and adverbs are specialised for formulaic sequences (*per* 125x/209, *super* 77x/81, *supra* 60x/64, *sine inventario / iurisdictione / licentia / scandalo*).

These features are, of course, also present, at various rates, in other text classes. However, their overall configuration is expectedly more similar in texts that were produced in more analogous social circumstances. One could expect that the borderlines between them are not sharp, but that the transitions are gradual. Finally, since this is the analysis of a not-so-large corpus, and since it comprises uniform texts, a comprehensive cross-categorical investigation is needed, which could reveal the relative positions of the linguistic make-up of various text classes. Thus it could bring us closer to the outline of the complex linguistic picture of Neo-Latin.

Appendix:

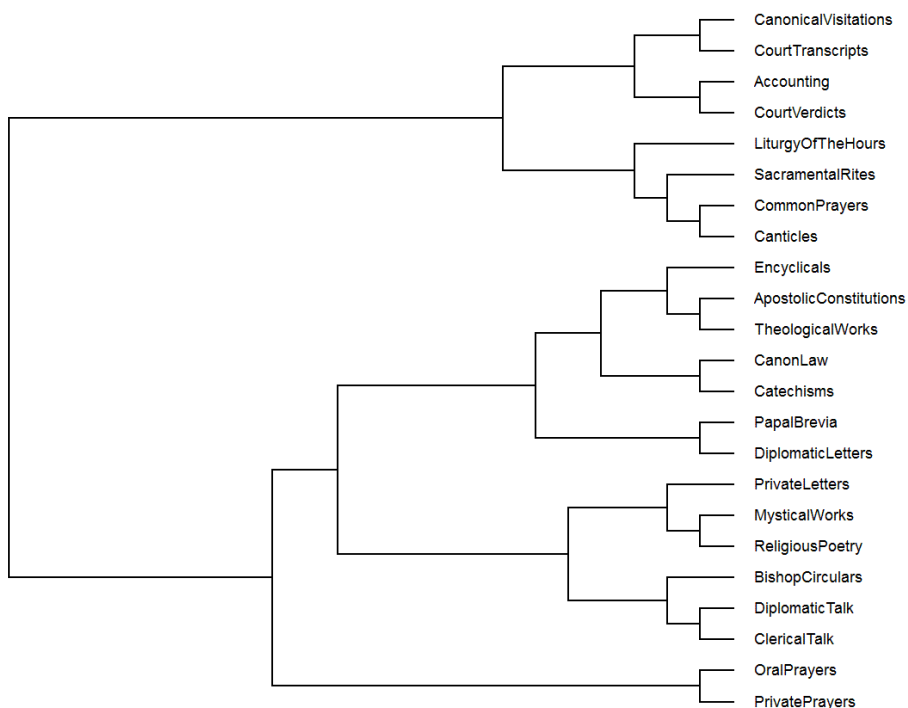


Figure 1. Dendrogram comparing Neo-Latin ecclesiastical text types according to a set of selected sociolinguistic variables.

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Raznolikost u novolatinskom: Primjer administrativnih crkvenih tekstova

Sažetak

Premda je općeprihvaćena činjenica da se novolatinski sastoji od različitih varijeteta, studije koje proučavaju njegovu raznolikost nisu brojne, osobito kada se radi o neknjiževnim tekstovima. Jedna su od tekstnih vrsta karakterističnih za novolatinski kanonske vizitacije, osobita vrsta crkvenih administrativnih tekstova, pisanih u velikim količinama nakon Tridentskoga sabora u svim dijelovima Europe koji su imali hijerarhijsku organizaciju Rimokatoličke Crkve. U ovom se članku analizira jezik triju kanonskih vizitacija napisanih u 18. stoljeću u Senjskoj i Modruškoj (Krbavskoj) biskupiji te se u njima pokušavaju pronaći jezične osobitosti koje se mogu pokazati razlikovnim obilježjima kanonskih vizitacija i sličnih tekstova.

Ključne riječi: latinski jezik, novolatinski jezik, crkveni jezik, kanonske vizitacije, Senjska i Modruška (Krbavska) biskupija, 18. stoljeće

Key words: Latin, Neo-Latin, ecclesiastical language, canonical visitations, Diocese of Senj and Modruš (Krbava), eighteenth century

