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NOTE

This introductory essay is the first in a set of five articles that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are “Roger Ascham’s Latin–Greek Code-Switching: A Philosophical Phenomenon” by Lucy Nicholas (pp. 28–49), “Dialects and Languages in the Poetic Oeuvre of Laurentius Rhodoman (1545–1606)” by Stefan Weise (pp. 51–73), “Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Vicente Mariner’s (ca. 1570–1642) Correspondence with Andreas Schott (1552–1629): A Case-Study” by William M. Barton (pp. 75–94) and “Non δὲ γλωττον aut τρίγλωττον neque πεντάγλωττον, sed παντάγλωττον?’ The Polyglot Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) and Her (Latin–Greek) Code-Switching” by Pieta Van Beek (pp. 96–117).

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Introduction: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity

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Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 1.5.69–70 (158–159) – first century

Sed res tota magis Graecos decet, nobis minus succedit: nec id fieri natura puto, sed alienis favemus, ideoque cum *κυρταύχενα*¹ mirati simus, ‘incurvicervicum’ vix a risu defendimus.

But all this [word derivation and composition] suits the Greeks better. It is not very successful with us—not I think because of any innate weakness, but we favour foreign imports, and so admire *kurtauchen* [‘with arching neck’], but can hardly protect *incurvicervicum* from ridicule. (Translation Loeb)

Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica, De epistolis*, 106 – fourth century

Graece aliquid addere litteris suave est, si id neque intempestive neque crebro facias: et proverbio uti non ignoto percommodum est, et versiculo aut parte versus.

Adding something in Greek to one’s letter is pleasant, if one would do it neither untimely nor too often. And using a proverb that is not unknown is very well-suited, just like a little verse or verse part. (Translation ours)

¹ The manuscripts in fact read *συραύχενα* (‘with trailing neck’) but the emendation is according to the Loeb editor “generally accepted,” and dates back to early modernity.

Guarino Veronese, *Epistolario*, 2 – fifteenth century

Vix enim esse poterit ut aliqua ex parte proprium patriae non sapiat eloquium; imoque eiusdem nobis insueta graeca nonnunquam inter narrandum verba miscui, quae uti nimia non sunt, sic gratioris aliquid varietatis aspergunt. Praeterea cur, si ‘pro parte virili’ ‘patrium ditare sermonem’ et aliunde aliqua simul ferre si possim ‘invidear?’ praesertim cum id ex ipso Quintiliano in oratoriae artis institutione licere compererim, qui ‘et concessis quoque graecis, inquit, utimur verbis, ubi nostra desint.’²

It is hardly possible that his speech [Isocrates’ in Guarino’s Latin translation] will not, every now and then, keep some of its native flavour. I actually mixed some of his Greek words into the narrative. We are not used to them, but if they are not too many they bestow an attractive variety. So why do people look askance at me if I, for my individual share, should succeed in enriching our paternal language [Hor. ars 57] by bringing something from elsewhere? Especially when I found out from Quintilian himself, in *The Orator’s Education*, that “we admittedly use Greek words where no Latin terms are available [*Inst.* 1.5.8].”

Erasmus, *Moriae encomium*, 76 – sixteenth century

Visum est enim hac quoque parte nostri temporis rhetores imitari, qui plane deos esse sese credunt, si hirudinum ritu bilingues appareant, ac praeclarum facinus esse ducunt latinis orationibus subinde graeculas aliquot voculas velut emblemata intertexere, etiam si nunc non erat his locus.

For at this point too I think I should copy the rhetoricians of today who fancy themselves practically gods on earth if they can show themselves twin-tongued, like horse leeches, and think it a splendid feat if they can work a few silly little Greek words, like pieces of mosaic, into their Latin speeches, however out of place these are. (Erasmus, “Praise of Folly,” 88)

Latin, as the four quotes above abundantly illustrate, was under constant pressure from Ancient Greek, the prestige language of antiquity. Ever since Petrarch and Boccaccio tried in vain to study the language and read its literature, the humanists had developed a growing fascination with Greek, which they considered crucial for an accurate understanding of Roman literature and the Latin language. Greek provided, in many cases, the literary models to interpret Latin classics, which were furthermore imbued with Greek words and references. This constant pressure led to the borrowing of many Greek words into Latin but also the insertion of numerous Greek words and phrases in Latin literary works.

In his *Institutes of Oratory*, Quintilian (ca. 35–100 CE) praised Greek mechanisms of composition and derivation, leading to a rich vocabulary with words like *κυρταύχην* (‘with a bulging neck’) or *σύραυχην*, which in Latin would sound ridiculous when translated (he gives the example of *incurvicervicus*, ‘having a crooked neck’). Latin should keep such formations to a minimum, and use where possible

² Latin text and English translation cited from Pade, ““Conquering Greece,”” 62–63.

Greek compound words rather than their Latin equivalents. Word-importing, in short, ensures that one's style is in keeping with the decorum of the Latin language while still allowing it to range beyond the boundaries of the language. Julius Victor (fourth century) encouraged Latin authors to add Greek to their writings even more proactively than Quintilian; this was especially the case in letters, where Cicero's *Ad familiares* offered an obvious model (see Section 2 below). Moderate insertion of Greek, whether in the form of a proverb or a verse, contributed to overall enjoyment, Julius Victor maintained in his *Art of Rhetoric*.

In a similar fashion to Julius Victor, pioneering Hellenist and student of Byzantine diplomat Manuel Chrysoloras Guarino Veronese (1374–1460) explained in one of his letters that the use of Greek can "sprinkle" ("aspergunt") "welcome variation." Notably, Guarino did not discuss the genre of epistolography in his letter but rather a Latin translation he made of a Greek political treatise by the Athenian orator Isocrates, into which he chose to insert occasional Greek words. These he would typically transcribe into the Latin alphabet, paving the way for their borrowing into Latin. Alluding to both Horace and Quintilian—two luminaries of classical poetics—Guarino argued in favor of mixing Greek words into one's Latin, as such an import equaled a richer expression than would have been possible with Latin alone. In sum, importing and mixing words for Guarino served to sprinkle grace onto one's Latin style, as it had done for Julius Victor. It furthermore enabled translators to retain some of the "native flavour" of the original—to use Guarino's own expression—and, following Quintilian, supplement Greek words where the Latin lexicon was defective and hence bring more nuance than Latin allowed. Guarino proposed expanding this methodology from epistolography (the focus of Julius Victor) to translation: in his case the translation of a political treatise that he made—significantly—while studying in Constantinople and hence in an entirely Greek atmosphere.³ Finally, Erasmus of Rotterdam (ca. 1469–1536), himself an eager user of Greek in his Latin letters, had his Folly proclaim a declamation larded with Greek expressions—or in her own metaphor: orators of her day placed Greek words like inlaid work or pieces of mosaic (*emblemata*) in their Latin, interweaving everything to a deformed whole, a practice she criticised by reference to Horace and by mock-using it throughout her declamation.⁴ Erasmus' Folly imagined, in short, the use of Greek in Latin as a form of word-weaving or stitching.

To sum up, uses of Greek in Latin texts have been described with quite disparate imagery. In this set of special issues, we propose to look at this phenomenon of weaving Greek into Latin using a concept from modern linguistics: code-switching, just as much a metaphor as the ancient and humanist descriptions. Indeed, code-switching "is not an entity which exists out there in the objective world, but a construct which linguists have developed to help them describe their data."⁵ The term, in fact, stems from communication technology and theory as

³ Pade, "Conquering Greece," 62.

⁴ *Art of Poetry* 19: "sed nunc non erat his locus [...]." On Greek in Erasmus' letters, see Rummel, "The Use of Greek."

⁵ Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 10. This book, especially its Chapter 1, will guide our discussion of code-switching in Section 1.

formulated by Roman Jakobson in his well-known scheme, featuring agents like “sender,” “receiver,” and—most notably—“code,” referring to the language form(s) shared by speakers.⁶ “Switching,” on the other hand, evokes the act of flicking an electric switch, as if using another language requires one to make a similar switch in one’s brain. Contrary to the diverse imagery of the ancients and the early moderns, modern scholarship has developed a highly specialised concept, which has proven useful for the analysis of linguistic interactions, both past and present.⁷ It is the aim of this introduction, and the special issues that follow, to explore and highlight the benefits of the concept of code-switching for understanding early modern uses of Latin and Greek. Such a study is needed as the phenomenon of early modern Latin–Greek code-switching has been largely neglected, despite the long-standing tradition of Neo-Latin studies and the upcoming field of New Ancient Greek studies.⁸

1 Code-Switching as a Linguistic and Humanist Phenomenon

A Definition

Code-switching can be defined as alternating between language varieties within a single communicative act.⁹ Typically, this code-switching occurs from a matrix language (in our case Latin) to another (Greek), where the matrix language forms the variety into which other language elements are embedded. Various definitions are in circulation for the metalinguistic concept of code-switching. We adopt a broad one here to allow for a view of classical bilingualism in early modernity that does justice to the linguistic diversity we encounter in the sources, in terms of the forms, functions, and contents of code-switches.

Forms

First of all, on the formal level, one can alternate from one language to another within the boundaries of a word, for instance by giving a word root in one language an ending in another (e.g. “*φιλοδιδακτικorum*”). This phenomenon might be dubbed an example not of code-switching, but of code-mixing, a phenomenon associated with children and language learners and referring to the use of elements of different languages, especially within sentences and words. The distinction between code-mixing and code-switching is, however, not a clear one in linguistics, with many scholars using them interchangeably or at least with some overlap.¹⁰ Since we are typically dealing with sources by scholars, often advanced bilinguals beyond the stage of learners, we will stick to the term code-switching rather than

⁶ E.g., Hébert, “The Functions of Language.”

⁷ E.g., Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*.

⁸ See Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, for more details.

⁹ We will use the term “language” as a shorthand to refer broadly to “language variety,” as it has proved difficult to find linguistic criteria to determine the language or dialecthood of individual varieties. See Van Rooy, *Language or Dialect?*

¹⁰ See e.g., Ezeh et al., “Code Switching and Code Mixing,” and the literature review there.

code-mixing, associated in the first place with language learning. From the level of the word, one can go up to that of the sentence: intrasentential code-switching concerns alternating languages between words or phrases. A further level up is intersentential code-switching, referring to language alternation between sentences. Given early modern praxis, we also consider code-switching on higher levels, for instance between paragraphs, chapters, poems, and other larger textual units.

In relation to the continuum of mixing languages within words through intrasentential and intersentential language alternations to code-switching between larger text units, one can quantify certain formal features of code-switching, like the average code-switching length (how many words does a Latin–Greek code-switch typically encompass?) and code-switching density (how many code-switches occur per thousand words?).¹¹ Other questions to take into account relate to the compatibility of the grammatical structures of the two languages: each language has a set of rules of its own, but the way they are combined also follows a set of rules. Most syntactic functions of the Latin ablative (e.g. after prepositions), for instance, are fulfilled by the Greek dative in cases of code-switching, even though one would expect the genitive to be an equally suitable candidate in many cases.¹²

Functions

Secondly, code-switching serves various functions, depending on the contents and contexts in which the phenomenon occurs. Modern linguistic research has put forward several functions, most of which seem to have had their place in early modern Latin–Greek code-switching as well, judging by the papers in the two issues:

- (1) Code-switchers aim to fit in by using a language typically associated with a dominant culture.
- (2) Code-switchers intend to convey sensitive information and switch to a less accessible language to communicate in secret.
- (3) Code-switchers accommodate to their addressees as they want to create an atmosphere of intimacy, to gain their favor, or to obtain something in their advantage.
- (4) Code-switchers make full use of their linguistic gamma to better convey a thought, express a concept, or make a pun.
- (5) Code-switchers slip into another language as emotion takes over, generating a feeling of authenticity.¹³

¹¹ See Van Rooy and Mercelis, "The Art of Code-Switching."

¹² Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 65–67. See also the discussion of this phenomenon in the overview of ancient code-switching below.

¹³ For these functions, see Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching* and the literature cited there; as well as the accessible article by Thompson, "Five Reasons Why People Code-Switch." Our list of functions is inspired by Thompson's list, but we have expanded and nuanced it using Gardner-Chloros' observations.

In sum, “bilinguals often switch varieties in order to communicate something beyond the superficial meaning of their words,” as Penelope Gardner-Chloros has put it.¹⁴

Being only one concrete manifestation of language contact, in our case a consequence of Byzantine Greek migration to Italy and Western Europe, code-switching is related to phenomena like borrowing. For instance, the more often a humanist scholar code-switched to a Greek word in his Neo-Latin utterances—both oral and written—the more likely it was for the word to be borrowed into Latin. This happened with the Greek word *διάλεκτος* (*diálektos*), which is barely attested in pre-1500 Latin but was soon borrowed into Neo-Latin as *dialectus* as scholars developed an interest in Greek literature and the great linguistic variation it shows.¹⁵ This gradual process of borrowing occasionally makes it difficult to decide whether a user is code-switching or using a borrowed word. Next to borrowing, other linguistic phenomena relevant to Latin–Greek language contact in early modernity are convergence and transfer. Latin converged in the direction of Greek as it adopted various borrowings and expressions from Greek in this period, not least under the influence of Erasmus’ popular *Adagia* collection. Latin, being the more familiar language, also imposed itself on Greek, as language users transferred Latin features to their Greek, which in this sense felt the pressure of Latin.¹⁶ Because of these features, Latin–Greek code-switching in early modernity offers an exceptional case of entirely nonnative bilingualism that offers new opportunities for linguistic research. Studying early modern Latin–Greek code-switching will allow linguists to test whether the conclusions drawn from situations of (partly) native bilingualism also hold for nonnative bilingualism.

Owing to the nature of our early modern sources, our focus remains on written uses of code-switching, typically in scholarly and literary contexts. Oral uses have taken center stage in code-switching scholarship on modern languages, but in recent years a written turn can be discerned, notably with increasing attention for literary uses of code-switching.¹⁷ The fact that only written forms of code-switching are extant from the early modern period implies an observer’s paradox, a major methodological issue in sociolinguistics, first recognised by the discipline’s pioneer William Labov and holding a fortiori for our early modern sources.¹⁸ The code-switching encountered in manuscript and print typically reflects well-considered, thought-through intellectual and literary language use, not spontaneous oral speech, even though certain text types, like student notes and conversation reports, can give insight into such spontaneous language.¹⁹

¹⁴ Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 4.

¹⁵ See Van Rooy, “*Διάλεκτος*, *dialectus*, Dialect,” for details on this complex process. On borrowing in Neo-Latin more generally, see Helander, “On Neologisms in Neo-Latin.”

¹⁶ Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, 109–13.

¹⁷ See notably Gardner-Chloros and Weston, “Code-Switching and Multilingualism in Literature,” a paper which introduces a special issue on the topic.

¹⁸ Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, 209.

¹⁹ See the ongoing research by Tomás Antonio Valle into orality and Greek terminology in Philipp Melancthon’s scholarly circle, particularly in two forthcoming publications: Valle and Van Rooy, “History of Orality” and Valle, “Making ‘Affection’ Matter.”

Contents and Attitudes

A third dimension in addition to forms and functions is content. What are the subjects of sentences and texts showing Latin–Greek code-switching? One could speak of an originality continuum in this regard, as switches to Greek may contain a quote from classical literature, a variation on an ancient saying, or an entirely new utterance. This appears to be a problem crucial to early modern Latin–Greek code-switching but less so for modern situations of bilingualism and code-switching. Perhaps code-switching from modern languages to Latin set-phrases comes closest to this phenomenon of Renaissance classical bilingualism.

Considering the attitudes of code-switchers themselves also can be helpful in assessing the form, the content, and especially the functions of code-switching. Whereas cognitive measurements suggest that code-switching requires extra effort in terms of the time needed for production and reception, speakers blame their code-switching on laziness. It is said to be easier to use another language than the matrix language in order to find an appropriate word or expression. Typically, speakers disapprove of this code-switching as incorrect language use and express surprise and even embarrassment when they hear recordings of themselves code-switching, resulting in a cognitive dissonance between beliefs and practices. They tend to associate code-switching with informal contexts, where language norms appear to be of lesser concern. These modern attitudes raise questions about the humanists' own attitudes. How did they regard code-switching? The testimonies by Guarino and Erasmus' *Folly* suggest an ambiguous attitude that contrasts rather sharply with that of modern speakers. *Folly*'s remark indicates that an extra effort was needed to weave in Greek words as part of an act of showing off one's knowledge—if only because of the need to use a different alphabet, one might imagine. Veronese approved of code-switching, as did also Erasmus, in his letter-writing manual.²⁰ *Folly*, too, left room for code-switching if it was not "out of place"—using Horatian diction—and stuck to the decorum.²¹ The humanists also seem to have been more conscious about code-switching than modern speakers, as they used it especially in formal (literary and scholarly) contexts and expressed meta-ideas about the phenomenon, building on ancient ideas and presumably going far beyond them.

Methodology

A possible mismatch between modern code-switching research and studies of its early modern Latin–Greek counterpart can be found in the methodologies adopted. A central tenet put forward by Gardner-Chloros suggests that "linguists should derive their data and evidence from the most typical speakers rather than

²⁰ See the discussion in Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, 31–32.

²¹ Compare Horace, *Ars poetica*, 19: "nunc non erat his locus." See also above for the full passage from Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*.

from more exceptional ones.”²² Scholars of early modernity are faced with several biases related to preservation and focus. First of all, due to the mechanics of Renaissance intellectual and print culture, the most exceptional code-switchers (like Erasmus of Rotterdam) have been best preserved and studied. These biases confront the scholar with the issue of representativeness, which can perhaps be overcome by looking at marginalised authors and student writings and the ways in which they show code-switching.

Historical code-switching presents other methodological issues, too. We cannot monitor the brains of historical speakers and try to analyze how their thought processes worked while code-switching. This poses additional challenges because each individual instance of code-switching “can be looked at from multiple perspectives, so from the outset, a certain depth of engagement with the data is necessary.”²³ Hence, scholars of Latin–Greek code-switching in early modernity will inevitably have access only to a portion of the data investigators of modern code-switching can draw upon. Nonetheless, an in-depth engagement with language data (i.e. texts) happens to be one of the specialties of Neo-Latinists and other scholars of early modernity, who are ideally suited to analyze early modern Latin–Greek code-switching, as the papers in the three special issues illustrate, we hope. The present triptych hopefully also demonstrates that philologists are prepared to tackle the phenomenon of early modern Latin–Greek code-switching by combining established methods with new digital approaches.²⁴ This step is inevitable if we want fields like Neo-Latin studies to keep pace with broader trends in the humanities. For this *via duplex*, we could follow the example of recent research into Latin–Greek code-switching in antiquity. In particular, the *Code-Switching in Roman Literature* (CSRL) database at the University of Cambridge provides an example of good practices in this regard, as it offers in-depth engagement with the sources, which are systematically analyzed using a tailor-made framework. Figure 1 shows a record of the CSRL database of an instance in Cicero’s letters to Atticus where the author code-switched to Greek in order to convey confidential information to his friend regarding the financial malpractice of his wife’s freedman.

²² Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 5.

²³ Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 9.

²⁴ See e.g., Van Rooy and Mercelis, “The Art of Code-Switching.”

Code-Switching in Roman Literature Home Browse Search About ▾

118 (VI.4.3)

ID	548
Corpus	Cicero: Ad Atticum
Reference	118 (VI.4.3)
Reference 2	n/a
Date	15/6/50
Source	Letter
Author	Cicero
Addressee	Atticus
Citation Greek Code Switch	μυστικώτερον
Latin Context	
Inter/Intra Sentential	Intra
Function Code Switch	Metalinguistic
Flagging	
Syntactic/Grammatical Info	
Context	Cicero describes need to conceal what he is writing by using Greek.
Comments	

Figure 1: Screenshot from the CSRL database, last accessed 16 June 2023, <https://csrl.classics.cam.ac.uk/detail.php?id=548>

The CSRL database constituted the starting point for numerous publications, including an extensive and well-researched monograph.²⁵ This digital philological approach shows how code-switching can be a fruitful research topic where classics and modern linguistics meet in stimulating ways, and how important it is to reflect well on one’s methodology:

- What research focus does one want to adopt? What kind of code-switching will be in focus? Which aspect will take center stage (social, intellectual, pragmatic, metapoetic)?
- Which author(s) or corpus does one focus on?
- How can one meaningfully and efficiently analyze the code-switching? By close-reading following the example of the CSRL database or by automated processing? Or by both or by another method still?
- How can one meaningfully open up the results of the analysis? Preferably, one would make the underlying data as well as the analytical results available in order to make one’s conclusions fully testable by others.

Conclusion: Thinking Outside the Box

Up to this point, we have been focusing on early modern classical bilingualism, since the special issues take early modern Latin–Greek code-switching as their object. In reality, however, the two classical languages interacted with other

²⁵ See Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*. See Section 2 for more details on the results.

languages, too, both learned tongues (like Hebrew and Arabic) and the vernaculars (like French and German). Interactions between Latin and the vernaculars have already been tackled in recent research.²⁶ Yet, the position of the learned languages, especially Greek, in the early modern languagescape has so far been overlooked almost entirely. At the same time, the multilingual situation in early modern Europe implies that Latin authors could switch to other languages than Greek, most notably the vernaculars, as several contributions in this special issue highlight.²⁷ This observation gains all the more importance, if one considers that “the fact of switching once actually creates the possibility of further switching: instead of going back to the variety used before the switch, trilingual speakers often take a different ‘branch’ on ‘exiting’ from it and switch to a third language.”²⁸ This quote from Penelope Gardner-Chloros’ work bears on intrasentential switches as in “Ich muss ab und zu in einem *dictionary* KIJKEN,” where German, *English*, and DUTCH are used, but for the early modern period trilingual code-switching seems to have been rarer on this small scale, but rather productive between sentences and larger text units. Further research is required to investigate these more-than-bilingual forms of code-switching, especially in early modernity.

This three-part special issue should be considered the first rather than the last words on early modern Latin–Greek code-switching, which we hope will help scholars of Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek think outside the monolingual box.²⁹ This outside-the-box thinking is crucial since Latin stood at the center of an entire intellectual ecosystem of language use. Latin was surrounded by the vernacular languages which scholars were starting to explore both in Europe and beyond, as well as the learned languages like Greek and Hebrew, and other linguistic codes, for instance invented languages (e.g. Utopian) or cryptographical codes, sometimes inspired by non-Latin alphabets such as the Greek.³⁰ As such, studying Latin–Greek code-switching in early modernity joins in recent enthusiasm for historical multilingualism.³¹

Looking beyond the language box, code-switching has much to offer the scholar of the early modern period, since the phenomenon formed part of writers’ socio-cultural profiling and constituted a strategy for negotiating an identity for themselves and for demonstrating their learning and wit.³² This could happen both in dialogue and in contrast with the audience, distinguishing the in-group of classical bilingual learned and privileged men from non-learned others.³³

²⁶ See e.g., Deneire, *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular*; Bloemendal, *Bilingual Europe*; Smirnova, “Neo-Latin and Russian”; Zeeberg, “The Language of the Professors”; Volk et al., “*Nunc profana tractemus*.”

²⁷ See Barton and Nicholas in this special issue for observations on Greek, Latin, and the vernaculars (Spanish and English). For Dutch, see also Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, e.g., 58–62, 103–107.

²⁸ Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 16–17.

²⁹ The idea of studying code-switching as a strategy to “think ‘outside the box’” in linguistic research stems from Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 9. See also the plea in Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*.

³⁰ See Van Rooy, “*Collegium plus quam trilingue*,” 177, for an example of partly Greek-inspired cryptography from sixteenth-century Leuven.

³¹ See e.g., most recently Pavlenko, *Multilingualism and History*.

³² See Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*; Enenkel, “Introduction.”

³³ See e.g., the paper by Barton in this special issue.

Indeed, for humanist authors, code-switching was about more than language alone, as it formed a linguistic strategy that gave shape to social relationships. As such, code-switching formed a constitutive part of a broader identity negotiation in early modern culture, in dialogue also with the ancients, from which they drew major inspiration. Hence, Section 2 goes back in time, outlining key features of classical Latin–Greek code-switching that are crucial to understand early modern practices.

2 Code-switching in Classical Literature

Overview

As Alex Mullen underlined in her article of 2015, contact between the Greek and Latin linguistic and cultural spheres was a “defining feature” of late Republican and Imperial Rome.³⁴ Greek was, of course, far from the only language with which Latin interacted in the long history of the Roman Empire. Varro and Festus reflected on the Etruscan words that had entered Latin by the time of Ennius, for example.³⁵ As the Empire’s borders expanded, Latin speakers soon had to deal with languages (like Etruscan) linguistically much further removed from their own than the Italic tongues, including Oscan and Umbrian, for example, with which they had also long been in contact. Celtic and Germanic to the north, Punic and Libyan to the south across the Mediterranean, Hebrew and Aramaic languages to the east and then the Iberian and Celtiberian languages to the west are just some of the languages for which historical evidence of contact with Latin survives.³⁶ The extent of the exchange between Latin and Greek in antiquity (particularly in the late Republic and Empire), however, and thus the relatively large quantity of evidence surviving for interaction between the two, makes this sphere of linguistic contact the most important for historians, as well as the best studied.³⁷ The situation also meant that the exchange between Latin and Greek particularly was the most influential for the early modern authors at the focus of this special issue.

Among the numerous areas and contexts for the interaction of Latin and Greek in antiquity, the case of “elite bilingualism” in classical Rome has received the

³⁴ Mullen, ““In Both Our Languages,”” 213.

³⁵ For the discussion of the term “subulo” (“flute-player”) in Ennius, *Sat.* 20, for example, see Varr. *Ling.* 7.35 and Fest. 444.2. On this example and Latin’s contact with Etruscan more widely see Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 158–84. Bonfante, “Etruscan Words in Latin,” 203; 206–7 gives three further examples of Varro’s awareness of Etruscan contact.

³⁶ The detailed chapter on the contact of these languages (and others) with Latin in Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 111–295 remains a leading introduction to the question.

³⁷ In lieu of an attempt to rehearse a bibliography of the well-researched field, we signal here Swain, “Bilingualism in Cicero,” 130–135 for a compact and pointed reminder of the extent of Greek’s presence as a language in Rome.

most attention among classicists.³⁸ Within this ‘bilingual’ context,³⁹ the Latin–Greek code-switching in Cicero’s letters, those of Pliny the Younger, or the correspondence of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius has been called upon repeatedly by philologists for evidence of the wide-spread competence in both Latin and Greek amongst members of the Roman elite.⁴⁰ Indeed, such was the expectation that a member of the Roman elite be able to speak Greek, that the absence of such skills in an individual could become a point of criticism and mockery.⁴¹ Further indicative of the extent of Greek skills among Roman elites was the widespread opinion that condemned an over-reliance on Greek (as a marker of poor Latin skills, for example, or insincerity), or its use in unsuitable circumstances (such as formal debate or diplomatic occasions).⁴² Knowledge of Greek in ancient Rome was, however, by no means restricted to the upper classes. The extensive and enduring overlap of the Roman and Greek worlds across the Mediterranean (and beyond) meant that skills in Greek were to be found across the social spectrum in Roman society, including—and often especially—among slaves.⁴³

Following the long Roman conquest of Greece and continuing into the Eastern Roman Empire, Greek speakers of all social classes also came more frequently into contact with, and increasingly learned Latin.⁴⁴ Fleshing out her criticism of the ‘established view’ in earlier scholarship (which claimed that while Romans engaged thoroughly with Greek, the Greeks made little effort with Latin and Latin had little influence on Greek language), Dickey’s lexicon of *Latin Loanwords in Ancient Greek* presents no fewer than 2500 instances of evidence for the intensive, and long-enduring Greek attention to Latin letters.⁴⁵ Exemplary of the extensive engagement of native Hellenophones with the Latin language from a later period generally are Ammianus Marcellinus from Greek Antioch and Claudian from Alexandria, who made their names on the basis of their works written in the language of Rome. Though less frequent than the Latin–Greek

³⁸ This terminology is introduced helpfully in Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 9. Adams references Hoffman, *An Introduction to Bilingualism*, 46 for his adoption of the term.

³⁹ For pointed reflection on use of the term ‘bilingual’ in the study of ancient languages see Langslow, “Approaching Bilingualism,” 26–35.

⁴⁰ On Cicero’s letters see, for example, Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 308–47, and Dunkel, “Remarks on Code-Switching.” For Fronto and Marcus Aurelius, see, for example, Mullen, ““In Both Our Languages.”” For Pliny see Rochette, “Traces du bilinguisme.”

⁴¹ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 9. Adams cites Cic. *Verr.* 4.127 as an example of the social disparagement directed at the Roman elite who had no Greek.

⁴² See the overview of Roman hostility to code-switching in Jocelyn, “Code-Switching in the *Comodia Palliata*,” 189–94. See also Rochette, “Greek and Latin Bilingualism,” 287–88.

⁴³ Biville, “The Graeco-Romans and Graeco-Latin,” 79. Biville gives the example of slaves using Greek at *Petr.* 64.5 and 73.3. On Greek as particularly the language of slaves and other lower classes in Rome see, e.g., Mullen, ““In Both Our Languages,”” 215 and Swain, “Bilingualism in Cicero,” 130.

⁴⁴ Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, 69–83.

⁴⁵ Dickey set out the ‘established view’ and neatly formulated a critique in her review article “Ancient Bilingualism,” 295–97. Dickey, *Latin Loanwords in Ancient Greek* appeared in late May 2023. A full consultation of the work has not been possible in the preparation of this Introduction. The summary of her work for the CUP blog, Dickey, “How did ancient Greek speakers use Latin?”, http://www.cambridgeblog.org/2023/06/how-did-ancient-greek-speakers-use-latin/?utm_source=hootsuite&utm_medium=twitter&utm_campaign=JYR_245_Dickey_Blog_June23_IOC provides a helpful summary of some key results (accessed on June 14, 2023).

reverse, Greek–Latin code-switches are also attested in both literary contexts such as Plutarch’s description of the Roman temples founded under Servius Tullius,⁴⁶ for example, as well as in less elite circumstances. As Adams’ chapter-length study showed in 2002, the Roman traders working side-by-side with Greek merchants at Delos from the second-century BC made switches between Latin and Greek in the inscriptions set up within their community, for example.⁴⁷

The overlap of Greek and Latin in a wide range of linguistic contexts was, then, a reality for numerous individuals in the ancient Mediterranean. Code-switching between the two languages has emerged as a phenomenon of particular interest for scholars wishing to learn more about linguistic habits, social perceptions of language, literary traditions and the transfer of ideas within the Graeco-Roman (and Romano-Greek) world. The present overview of code-switching in classical literature intends to provide a compact summary of the key results of this earlier research as a useful starting-point for the study of Latin–Greek code-switching in early modern literature, the central theme of this set of special issues. It is no secret that the Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek authors who are the protagonists of the contributions to follow, prized imitation of classical authors as a key virtue of their own written production. It is thus no surprise to see that code-switching in letter writing (on the model of the custom evidenced among classical authors like Cicero, Pliny the Younger, Fronto and Marcus Aurelius), to take one obvious generic example, was a common practice among humanist authors who wished to set themselves apart as elites amongst their contemporaries.⁴⁸ However, as the chapters that follow also make clear, the respective values attached to Latin and Greek in early modern Europe often differed considerably from those of the classical world; the genres in which early modern authors composed their works could vary greatly from their ancient models; and the interplay between Latin, Greek and the various mother tongues of early modern authors (less often an issue for Ancient Greek and Roman writers) could bring new perspectives to the Latin–Greek relationship. Accordingly, whilst a grasp of the functions of code-switching in classical literature undoubtedly makes for a productive starting place for spotting similarities in the study of Latin–Greek switches in the early modern period, knowledge of ancient practice is equally important for highlighting the differences in the relationship between Latin and Greek in the early modern world. Following closely the established scholarship on Latin–Greek code-switching in classical literature, then, this overview will first briefly address (i) acknowledged methodological concerns before sketching (ii) representative formal concerns for code-switching in ancient authors and the question of genre, and (iii) the attempts to describe the common functions of code-switching in classical texts.

⁴⁶ Plut. *Moral.* (23.10) 322F. Plutarch keeps the specific Roman terminology for the temples’ context, but uses the Greek alphabet. For further examples see Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, 290–93.

⁴⁷ Adams, “Bilingualism at Delos,” 119–25.

⁴⁸ See the articles on the letters of Ascham, Mariner, and Schurman in the present special issue.

(i) Methodological Concerns

As the written heritage of a historical linguistic community, it is clear that the evidence for Latin–Greek code-switching in the classical corpus is exclusively textual. The Latin and Greek of antiquity—and, for that matter, of the early modern period—are thus “corpus languages”.⁴⁹ The application to written corpora of terminology and concepts developed primarily for the study of spoken language is a process not without its challenges.⁵⁰ The concerns of literary production, for example, (including considerations of genre, audience, and style) might colour an author’s use of language in ways different to those observed in spoken communication.⁵¹

Although the study of corpus languages occasionally offers solutions to some of the difficulties faced in work on the very flexible and rapidly changing world of speech,⁵² scholarly approaches to code-switches in classical literature face a number of hurdles: a considerable amount of information on the identity of authors and their readers is missing; the precise dates and contexts of written production are often unclear; the effects of textual transmission of manuscripts or later editing should be accounted for; and access to data about the intentionality or spontaneity of an author’s language use is seldom sure.⁵³ These concerns also hold, by and large, for the study of code-switching in the early modern period. But the fact that scholars of the Renaissance and early modern period are often fortunate to have access to autograph material from their authors, and in many cases possess surer knowledge of the contexts and figures at the heart of their work, may mitigate some of the methodological concerns faced by classicists.

(ii) Formal Characteristics

Studies of the formal aspects of Latin–Greek code-switching in antiquity to date have dealt almost exclusively with examples of the phenomenon in letter-writing, and with Cicero as a particular point of focus. This focus can be deemed representative to the extent that letter-writing, as a genre, constitutes for scholars one of the dominant sources for code-switching in antiquity: the three major collections of Cicero, Pliny and Fronto/Marcus Aurelius all contain Latin–Greek code-switches, with Cicero’s correspondence alone presenting around one thousand instances.⁵⁴ Code-switching also occurs in early Roman comedy, where Plautus used Greek terms as a strategy to introduce humour through witticisms

⁴⁹ For the use of this term in classical philology see Langslow, “Approaching Bilingualism,” 23–24.

⁵⁰ A summary of approaches to code-switching in historical texts, in the context of explicit methodological reflection on the study of the phenomenon in classical language is offered in Mäkilähde and Rissanen, “Methodological Considerations,” particularly 239–41. See also Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 7–12.

⁵¹ On this question see Swain, “Bilingualism in Cicero,” 143–46.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 144–45.

⁵³ This list summarises the points made by Mullen, ““In Both Our Languages,”” 214.

⁵⁴ Mullen, ““In Both Our Languages,”” 215.

and banter,⁵⁵ for example, as well as in satire, where in-jokes could be made for educated readers (who were also occasionally the targets of humour) in Greek.⁵⁶ Greek terminology appears, of course, in Roman technical treatises,⁵⁷ but switches into Greek were largely avoided in oratory and the poetic genres of elegy, lyric, and epic. Historians, too, tended to steer away from the inclusion of Greek in their work. The anecdotes including Greek words and phrases included in Suetonius' historical works make here for an exception.⁵⁸ Whilst these generic patterns of code-switching in ancient literature appear to map only loosely onto the practices of Neo-Latin authors,⁵⁹ classicists' concentration on Cicero and his letters has two clear methodological benefits for a comparison with early modern practice: firstly and most conspicuously, it is surely no accident that the majority of the chapters in the current series of studies have also found code-switching to be particularly common in early modern letter writing.⁶⁰ Secondly, regardless of genre, Cicero's works marked (then, as also perhaps still today) a high point of classical Latinity, and thus served as a model for Neo-Latin composition in numerous genres for authors in later periods.⁶¹ The following overview of key formal characteristics of code-switching in classical literature thus draws in large part on Cicero due to his simple dominance in the sources (and thereby in earlier studies), but also as a particularly representative figure for Latin composition (and therefore also for code-switches into Greek) among early modern authors.

The structures of classical Greek and Latin are, in the wider perspective of linguistic divergence, overall rather similar. Both belong to the Indo-European family, are roughly co-eval and, as highly inflected languages, exhibit the characteristics of synthetic language structure (i.e.: they condense a range of semantic information in their endings). One result of these similarities with particular significance for the practice of code-switching between Latin and Greek is the relatively free word-order in both languages. On the basis of these conditions, it thus follows that the insertion of nouns in the second language is among the simplest, and the most frequently observed, examples of Latin-Greek code-switching.⁶² Indeed, in their statistical analysis of the parts of speech employed in Pliny's correspondence, Elder and Mullen found that "single word switches are overwhelmingly composed of nouns, in fact three-quarters of all

⁵⁵ Shipp, "Greek in Plautus," 105–12.

⁵⁶ Jocelyn, "Code-Switching in the *Comoedia Palliata*," 183.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 183–84.

⁵⁸ Mullen, "'In Both Our Languages,'" 216.

⁵⁹ See for example, the conspicuous inclusion of Greek in the theological tracts of Roger Ascham in the present issue by Nicholas.

⁶⁰ The contributions by Nicholas and Barton address Latin-Greek code-switching in early modern correspondence.

⁶¹ For a careful but concise overview of Cicero as "[der] sprachlich-stilistische Vorbild der frühen Neuzeit schlechthin" see Korenjak, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur*, 34–37.

⁶² Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 126.

examples are single noun switches.”⁶³ This dominance of nouns was also observed in Jackson’s study of Cicero’s code-switches in the *Ad Atticum*.⁶⁴

Turning to the use of these nouns in their context: Greek nouns in code-switches tend to be governed by the Latin syntactical structure in which they appear.⁶⁵ In moments of exclamation in Cicero’s letters, for example, where the Latinate exclamatory accusative is used, an inserted Greek noun also goes into the accusative, even if Greek itself would expect a genitive of exclamation.⁶⁶ The degree of overlap between the languages’ syntaxes meant that this practice might operate seamlessly for code-switchers (compare Cic. *Epist.* 12.5.1 “non ad διψῶσαν κρήνην sed ad Πειρήνην,” (“not to a *thirsty fount* but to *Pirene*”), where *ad* with the accusative replaces easily εἰς with the same case).⁶⁷ But the lack of an ablative in Greek, and the overlap of the Latin ablatival, instrumental and locative functions of the ablative with the dative (instrumental and locative) and genitive (ablatival) in Greek made for an array of responses. In Cicero’s *Letters to Atticus*, we find constructions such as “[Cato] dicit enim tamquam in Platonis πολιτεία,” (“For [Cato] speaks as though he were living in Plato’s *Republic*”),⁶⁸ where Latin *in* plus ablative maps straightforwardly onto ἐν plus dative. The same Ciceronian corpus also gives, however, “etsi quid iam opus est σχολίῳ” (Not that there’s any need for a *tract* now”), constructed with the dative to match the expected Latin ablative, whereas equivalent Greek phrases (δεῖ or χρεία ἐστὶ, for example) would want a genitive.⁶⁹ This meant a preference, in Fronto’s letters for example, for Latin *ex* with a Greek dative, where the related Greek preposition ἐκ would expect a genitive.⁷⁰ To generalise, then, for a Latin ablative, the Greek dative is commonly employed.⁷¹ In his study of the “Roman Greek” dative in Cicero, Adams even remarked on the graphemic support for this pattern in the apparent preference for Greek terms ending in -ω or -α in the dative to match the Latin ablative equivalents.⁷² To mention but one of the alternative approaches to this widespread tendency, a Greek preposition might additionally be attracted into a moment of code-switching and thereby substantiate the ‘expected’ Greek declension of a noun within the switch.⁷³ An example occurs in Quintilian’s consideration of *status* in philosophical discourse. In his discussion of the various

⁶³ Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 47. The authors’ statistical analysis is set out in tables 4 and 5 in the monograph on pages 45–6 and 48 respectively.

⁶⁴ Jackson, “*In utramque partem*,” 10–24.

⁶⁵ Dunkel, “Remarks on Code-Switching,” 125–26.

⁶⁶ Dunkel, “Remarks on Code-Switching,” 127. For a refinement of Dunkel’s remarks on this syntactical structure see also Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 497.

⁶⁷ The text and translation of Cicero’s *Letters to Atticus* follows those of Shakleton Bailey, ed. and trans., *Cicero’s Letters to Atticus*.

⁶⁸ Cic. *Epist.* 2.1.8.

⁶⁹ Cic. *Epist.* 16.7.3; given as an example (with a different reading of the text) in Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 497.

⁷⁰ This example is discussed at Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 71.

⁷¹ Dunkel, “Remarks on Code-Switching,” 125, n. 27. Wenskus even names the practice of Greek dative for Latin ablative “ein Regel,” (“a rule”) at “Triggering und Einschaltung griechischer Formen,” 178.

⁷² For Adams at length on the dative/ablative question see *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 496–509.

⁷³ On the four or five varieties of attraction in Latin–Greek code-switching see Wenskus, “Triggering und Einschaltung griechischer Formen,” 180–84.

names for the conceptual arrangement of philosophical enquiry, Quintilian calls on the example of Theodorus the Atheist as follows,

Idem Theodorus, qui de eo an sit et de accidentibus ei quod esse constat, id est *περὶ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότων*, existimat quaeri.

As indeed [says] Theodorus, who thinks that the questions asked concern (a) whether a thing exists, (b) the accidents of something whose existence is agreed that is to say, *about its substance and its accidents*.⁷⁴

Here, the Greek preposition *περὶ* is drawn additionally into the code-switch, which allows Quintilian to use the Greek genitive as expected after a preposition meaning 'about'. He might alternatively have declined *οὐσία* and *συμβεβηκότων* in the dative (for ablative) after *de*.⁷⁵

Turning to the less well-represented parts of speech in Latin–Greek code-switches, adjectives—unsurprisingly—follow nouns and nominal phrases both in the frequency of their occurrence as well as in their grammatical-syntactical behaviour in the corpora reviewed by classicists.⁷⁶ The same does not hold, however, for the Greek noun's other close companion, the definite article. As Adams put it unambiguously in his overview of the theme in the context of ancient bilingualism, "the Greek definite article presented complex problems for Latin speakers."⁷⁷ Readers of an English-language special issue on Latin–Greek code-switching might agree with Dunkel's view that this absence is a "surprising" missed opportunity on the part of ancient authors to expand Latin's "grammatical panoply."⁷⁸ No statistical analysis of the parts of speech employed by early modern authors (with a wide variety of mother tongues) is offered in the present collection of essays, but the editors' impression would be that this absence is not so acutely felt in the Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek texts studied here. This is perhaps because many early modern vernaculars, the mother tongues of the authors considered in the following contributions, did possess an article in contrast to Latin.

In the data collected for the correspondence of Cicero, Pliny, and Fronto, verbal forms also lag behind nouns (outside nominal phrases) and adjectives when quotations are left out of the picture.⁷⁹ In the case of Pliny this lack of verbal forms is "striking,"⁸⁰ and whilst Cicero and Fronto more frequently employed Greek verbs in their texts, the profile of this usage is similarly marked: finite forms far outweigh infinitives. These verbs tend to be in the main clause, in the

⁷⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 3.6.36. The translation follows that of the Loeb, with an editorial translation of the Greek by the present authors for the sake of demonstrating the force of the code-switch.

⁷⁵ This example is discussed at length at Wenskus, "Triggering und Einschaltung griechischer Formen," 183.

⁷⁶ See once more Jackson, "In utramque partem," 10–24 for Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* and Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 48 for an overview of Roman correspondence.

⁷⁷ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 515.

⁷⁸ Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 127.

⁷⁹ Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 44–50.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

indicative, and with a preponderance of first-person forms.⁸¹ In his focused study of Cicero’s *Letters to Atticus*, Dunkel underlined the “complete absence of subordinate optatives” as indicative of the (relatively) restricted syntactic complexity of code-switches among ancient authors, for example.⁸²

(iii) Common Functions of Code-Switching in Classical Texts

The use of Greek by Roman authors is a long-acknowledged feature of Latin literature, and indeed, for readers of Roman correspondence, comedy, satire, technical treatises and the wide range of later papyrological evidence—as we have seen—impossible to ignore.⁸³ Research into the circumstances, motivations, and goals of Latin authors’ usage of Greek only began in earnest, however, with the introduction of methodologies from modern language studies, including the apparatus of code-switching.⁸⁴ One general, often implicit result of this turn of attention towards the whys-and-wherefores of Latin–Greek switches is the status of code-switching as a ‘marked’ activity.⁸⁵ That is to say, an activity with a communicative power greater than the meaning of the words themselves. On this basis, Adams classified the functions of code-switching in ancient authors into four overarching categories: establishing a relationship with an addressee, expressing identity, responding to a particular topic, and stylistic effect.⁸⁶ Under these main headings are then catalogued specific functions, which include expressions of solidarity and intimacy, practices of encoding information, confidentiality or the exclusion of certain readers, distancing, humour and euphemism, the use of fixed expressions, filling a gap, technical terminology, and emotional or literary evocativeness. There is a good deal of overlap in the functions discussed by Adams with those identified by Swain, who examines—once more on the basis of Cicero—examples of code-switching for addressing specific topics, as discourse markers, for the purposes of humour, solidarity, confidentiality and, of course, learned quotation.⁸⁷

The most comprehensive list of the functions of code-switching in ancient literature (once more with an explicit focus on the correspondences of Cicero, Pliny, Fronto, and Suetonius) has been prepared by Elder and Mullen. A first tabular arrangement of these functions in Fronto’s correspondence was presented in Mullen’s article-length study of 2015.⁸⁸ It was then expanded considerably to include the results of the authors’ work on Cicero, Pliny, and Suetonius and

⁸¹ It has been well noted that this preference for the first person is surely influenced by the personal nature of the letter-writing genre. See Jackson, “*In utramque partem*,” 10.

⁸² Dunkel, “Remarks on Code-Switching,” 126–27 (citation 126).

⁸³ A useful review of earlier nineteenth and twentieth-century studies was made in Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, 16–26. (Rochette’s introduction continues with a review of earlier work on Latin in Greek, 26–36.)

⁸⁴ Dickey, “Ancient Bilingualism,” 296.

⁸⁵ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 303–305 refers explicitly to the terminology of markedness inherited from modern language studies.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 301–304. Adams’ list largely maps onto the functions outlined in Section 1.

⁸⁷ Swain, “Bilingualism in Cicero,” 151–62.

⁸⁸ Mullen, ““In Both Our Languages,”” 222.

offered to readers in a series of tables as an appendix to *The Language of Roman Letters*,⁸⁹ before being made available online in the CSRL database.⁹⁰ As the fullest account yet produced in the field, the following reproduction of the head words from Elder and Mullen's survey, in alphabetical order, provides the a clear overview of the basic functions of code-switching in Roman literature:⁹¹ Citation of a word under discussion (often the Greek term's meaning or correct translation); Code (for the sake of confidentiality); Commentary (for elaboration on terms in the other language); Description (offering additional information on another term); Discourse marker; Exclamation; Explanation; Greek cultural sphere (GCS) (to describe the evocation of Greek cultural associations, often through the use of specifically Greek terms); Greetings; Instructions/Requests; Insults/Mockery; Metalinguistic (for code-switches that comment on a moment of switching); Naming (for mentioning a Greek proper name); Omen/Prophecy; Question; Quotation (including both verbatim and lightly adapted quotations of sources); Referential (where the code-switch advances the meaning of the text, but neither comments nor describes the other language); Wordplay.

In the corpus compiled by Elder and Mullen, the two dominant functions are those of the 'Greek cultural sphere' and 'Quotation'. The second of these needs little explanation. Pliny, for example, could call on Homer's *Odyssey* in a letter to Tacitus, a fellow member of Rome's literary elite, by means of a switch into the original Greek.⁹² The ampler functions of such a quote might include the marking of solidarity for an in-group of Hellenised Romans, or the evocation of emotions, but for Elder and Mullen's analysis the primary function of quotation remains key.⁹³ The wider category of 'GCS' gains its precedence primarily through the inclusion of code-switches involving specific Greek terms for the technicalities of literature, rhetoric, and grammar. Whilst Latin developed its own terms for many of these features, Greek remained the dominant language of instruction for educated Romans in these fields.⁹⁴ The same went for the vocabulary of medicine, philosophy, politics, seafaring, and warfare, where the incorporation of single word switches allowed authors to express nuances and subtleties of meaning that were difficult to capture in Latin alone.⁹⁵

Among the "higher level functions" subordinated to Elder and Mullen's list of "basic functions"⁹⁶ the related purposes of expressing solidarity, intimacy and

⁸⁹ Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 291–307.

⁹⁰ Elder and Mullen, "Code-Switching in Roman Literature," <https://csrl.classics.cam.ac.uk/index.php#> (accessed on June 10, 2023). See Section 1 on methodology.

⁹¹ This list reproduces the head words, with adapted descriptions in brackets (where deemed necessary), from the table presented in Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 25–29. Methodological reflection on the compilation of these head words is offered *ibid.*, 19–30.

⁹² E.g., Plin. *Ep.* 1.20.22.

⁹³ Discussion of the methodological choices made by the two authors on the basis of this Plinian passage can be found at Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 19–23.

⁹⁴ The explanation of this statistical dominance at Mullen, "'In Both Our Languages,'" 225 is concise and clear.

⁹⁵ A list of common fields where these "still-Greek *Fremdwörter*" in Cicero is offered at Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 127.

⁹⁶ For this terminology see Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 19.

shared experience stands out as a group of theme to which classicists have attributed particular importance.⁹⁷ This is an example of a function of Latin–Greek code-switching upon which early modern authors also frequently called.⁹⁸ To cite just once example from the array of examples mentioned in earlier research: in signing off a letter to Atticus (2.15), Cicero could pass on greetings to his friend on behalf of his family, specifically from Terentia (who owes much gratitude to Atticus for his support in her dispute with Mulvius) and from his son as follows: “*ea tibi igitur et Κικέρων, ἀριστοκρατικώτατος παῖς, salutem dicunt,*” (“so, she [Terentia] and Cicero, most noble of sons, send their regards.”) The switch captures, then, Cicero’s affection for his son in his use of the boy’s language of education and in-house upbringing.⁹⁹ It also, however, captures the feeling of belonging of Cicero himself and of Atticus to this group of upper-class Romans well-educated in Greek. By extension, the Greek then also reinforces the feeling of solidarity and intimacy felt by Cicero towards Atticus for the latter’s engagement on behalf of Terentia.

2 Summary and Preview

Whilst the above summary of several of the key elements of code-switching in classical literature testifies to the extensive work devoted to the interaction between the ancient languages, the phenomenon of Latin–Greek code-switching in Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek literature has yet to become the object of dedicated study. The oversight is surprising: the widespread presence of Ancient Greek in Neo-Latin texts is immediately evident to readers of humanist dialogues, baroque *tractatus*, eighteenth-century handbooks, or early modern letter collections. Moreover, authors of new Greek texts in western Europe’s early modern period had invariably—indeed, almost unavoidably—also had extensive training in Latin. The workshop “Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity” (held at KU Leuven 13–14 October 2022 and funded by the Scientific Research Network (SRN) “Literatures without Borders” from the RELICS Group (Ghent), the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies (Innsbruck) and the Flemish FWO (KU Leuven) aimed to make a first step towards filling this gap.

The twelve contributions to this workshop dealt with both linguistic and literary questions of code-switching between the classical languages in early modern Europe. Following a two-day discussion of materials submitted by

⁹⁷ For solidarity in particular in Cicero see Mäkilähde and Rissanen, “Methodological Considerations,” 241–42. On intimacy see Wenskus, *Emblematischer Codewechsel*, 8–10; Dunkel, “Remarks on Code-Switching,” 128; Jocelyn, “Code-Switching in the *Comoedia Palliata*,” 187. For the expression of shared experience see Dubuisson, “Le grec à Rome,” 193 and again Dunkel, “Remarks on Code-Switching,” 128. A compact summary of these themes on the example of Cicero, with a detailed bibliography of earlier studies, is available at Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin language*, 309–323.

⁹⁸ See, for example, the contribution by Nicholson in the present issue. See also Rummel, “The Use of Greek.”

⁹⁹ Dunkel, “Remarks on Code-Switching,” 128.

authors in advance of the event workshop and subsequent revision of papers in response to the workshop's results, the contributions collected in this three-part special issue offer case-studies of individual authors, works, and geographical areas. The studies reflect on the various practices, contexts, meanings, and functions of Latin–Greek code-switching in the period ca. 1450–1750. The articles return to a series of questions and themes which guided, often implicitly, the proceedings of discussion in Leuven and therefore also the present three-part collection. From the wide-range of responses to these questions offered by the early modern material under the lens, the following paragraphs draw together the themes of the four papers collected in this first part of the special issue triptych. Parts two and three will both be prefaced by a brief editorial note performing a similar synthetic function for the articles in those issues.

In the first contribution to the present issue, on Roger Ascham's (ca. 1515–1568) Latin–Greek code-switching, Lucy Nicholas asks a series of questions about the strategic combination of the two classical languages in one scholar's correspondence and examples of his theological work from Tudor England. This paper reveals the recognisable use of Greek to parade one's learning and the language's employment as a recondite medium offering potential to forge new communities within a public-facing Latin discourse. After Nicholas' attention to Ascham's prose texts, Stefan Weise's article analyses the factors that determined Lorenz Rhodoman's (1546–1606) choice of languages or dialects in his extensive poetic output. Rhodoman's verse included Neo-Latin and bilingual poems, in Greek and Latin or Latin and German. Within his Greek poems, moreover, Rhodoman often also used the Doric dialect adding further linguistic variation.

Moving from Germany to Spain in the multilingual landscape of early modern Europe, the third article by William M. Barton focuses on the forms and functions of Vicente Mariner's (d. 1642) Latin–Greek code-switching in his correspondence with Brabantian scholar Andreas Schott. The contribution finishes by comparing Mariner's use of the languages with his theoretical reflections on the relationship of Greek, Latin, and the modern vernaculars in his *œuvre*. For the Valencian author, a perceived hierarchy in descending order from Greek to Latin to the vernaculars became a means to demonstrate his virtuosity in the face of his personal publication concerns. Widening still further the information available from the study of Latin–Greek code-switching in the early modern literary tradition, Pieta van Beek's article gives an overview of Anna Maria van Schurman's (1607–1678) remarkable linguistic knowledge. The paper examines the Dutch scholar's Latin–Greek code-switching within her plurilingual context and shows how it differed from that of her male and female contemporaries, as well as how it could change in response to shifting religious allegiances.

This first issue thus explores the results of applying the concept of code-switching to early modern uses of Latin and Greek in the writing of four authors from western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The following second and third issues widen this perspective substantially to include studies on the phenomenon of Latin–Greek code-switching in the multilingual early modern world from the early sixteenth century to the nineteenth century across Europe.

List of figures

Figure 1. Screenshot from the CSRL database, accessed 16 June 2023, <https://csrl.classics.cam.ac.uk/detail.php?id=548>.

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