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The 'Phonetic Complex' in Renaissance Latin Grammar

Petrus Ramus's Dichotomies and Their Reflections in Two Vernacular Grammatical Texts

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Abstract

Most *Artes grammaticae* of late antiquity start with a 'phonetic complex' traditionally placed into chapters entitled *De voce* and *De lit(t)eris*. The content and terminology of the complex became an object of criticism among humanist scholars. In this paper, the complex will be briefly characterized and then the attitude of Julius Caesar Scaliger towards the term *lit(t)era* in *De causis linguae Latinae* will be presented. This contribution will describe in detail Petrus Ramus's definitions of the key terms of the complex and his classification of Latin speech sounds based on a dichotomic approach. In the context of Ramus's dichotomic model of the Latin sound inventory, two vernacular models of the sound inventory of a Slavic language will be analysed. The aim of the paper is to outline how Ramus's approach was adopted in the grammatical texts of a Slavic language: Nudožerinus's *Grammaticae Bohemicae libri duo* and Anonymous's *De litteratura Slavorum germanissima*. This research was inspired by the statement of G. A. Padley in *Trends in Vernacular Grammar I* concerning the small degree of mutual awareness among scholars working in the Latin and vernacular grammatical traditions.[1]

Keywords

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1   Cf. Padley (1985: pp. 2–3). In the second volume of *Trends in Vernacular Grammar* (1988: p. 3), Padley again emphasized: 'No single vernacular tradition can be studied in isolation, either from work on Latin or from analysis of the vulgar tongues elsewhere in Europe.' Thirty years later, much of Padley's concern is still relevant.

The philosophical background of the 'phonetic complex' of the *Artes grammaticae*

The 'phonetic complex' of *Artes grammaticae* consists of a small chapter entitled *De voce* followed by a chapter entitled *De lit*(*t*)*eris*.[2] *De voce*, which is a very short chapter, served as an introduction to the doctrine about speech constituents, and the chapter *De lit*(*t*)*eris* was the first part of the doctrine itself. This complex is a product of a long tradition, the roots of which lie in the philosophical works of Plato and Aristotle, with a significant constitutive shift taking place in Hellenistic Stoic philosophy, when the *Peri fónés* complex found its way from the sphere of natural sciences into dialectics. The dependence of the 'phonetic' chapters of Roman grammar on the Stoic doctrine is seen, for instance, in the definitions of the crucial term *vox* in Donat's *Ars maior* (Keil 1864; GL IV, 367, 5 = Holtz 1981: p. 603): *Vox est aer ictus sensibilis auditu, quantum in ipso est*,[3] or in Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (Hertz 1855; GL II, 5, 1–2): *Philosophi definiunt, vocem esse aerem tenuissimum ictum vel suum sensibile aurium. id est quod proprie auribus accidit.* The dependence of these definitions on the definitions by Diogenes from Babylon preserved by Diogenes Laertius (D. L. VII, 55: ἔστι δὲ φωνὴ ἀὴρ πεπληγμένος ἢ τὸ ἴδιον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς, ὥς φησι Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς τέχνῃ) is obvious.[4]

In the context of the term *lit*(*t*)*era*, we should remember that in the Greek philosophical tradition, and subsequently the grammatical tradition, two almost synonymous terms were used to denominate speech sounds and letters (*stoicheion* and *gramma*) and they were often interchangeable. In the Roman grammatical tradition, this pair did not find an exact parallel in the Latin pair of *elementum–lit*(*t*)*era*. On the contrary, *lit*(*t*)*era* dominated as a broader generic term which originally did not designate only a graphical sign, as can be seen in its definitions as a minimal unit of an articulate speech, for instance, in Donat's *Ars maior* (Keil 1864; GL IV, 367, 9 = Holtz 1981: p. 603): *littera est pars minima vocis articulatae.* The Stoic discussion about the relationship between the phone, letter, and name of the letter[5] was projected into Roman *Artes* in the form of three *accidentia* of *lit*(*t*)*era*: for example, in

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2   The word *lit*(*t*)*era* was originally written with a long vowel or the diphthong *ei* and one *t*, which then (around 200 B.C.) turned into a sequence of a short vowel and double *t* (the so-called *rule littera* or *Iuppiter*). Thanks to the etymologies of Roman grammarians deriving the meaning of the word *lit*(*t*)*era* from *litura* or *legitera*, the original way of spelling with one *t* came into use again. The chapters in *Artes grammaticae* may therefore, according to the preferences of the author, have the headings *De litera* or *De littera*, and *De literis* or *De litteris*. In the present study, the spelling *lit*(*t*)*era* is used when speaking generally about the term, and the spellings *litera* and *littera* are used according to its actual use by an individual author.

3   Identical definition, cf. e.g. *Dosithei Ars* (Keil 1880; GL VII, 381, 2). Similar definitions, cf. e.g. *[Probi] Instituta artium = Palladius* (Keil 1864; GL IV, 47, 3–4): *Vox sive sonus est aer ictus, id est percussus, sensibilis auditu, quantum in ipso est, hoc est quam diu resonat*; or *Audacis excerpta de Scauro et Palladio* (Keil 1880; GL VII, 323, 5): *Vox quid est? Aër ictus auditu sensibilis.* For a detailed analysis of the *De voce* chapter, see Ax (1986: pp. 15 sqq.); for a summary, see also Ax (2002: pp. 123 sqq.).

4   For the relationship between the definitions of the term *vox* in *Artes* and its pendant in the Stoic doctrine, see Ax (1986: p. 53); more details can be found in the chapters *Erster Teil: de voce in der Römischen Grammatik*, pp. 15 sqq. and *Zweiter Teil: philosophische Grundalgen: 3. Stoa*, pp. 138 sqq.

5   Cf. D. L. VII, 56: τριχῶς δὲ λέγεται τὸ γράμμα, τό τε στοιχεῖον ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ στοιχείου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, οἷον Ἄλφα.

Donat's *Ars maior* (Keil 1864; GL IV, 368, 15 = Holtz 1981: p. 605): *accidunt uni cuique litterae tria, nomen, figura, potestas* – 'name', 'shape', and 'power/value/phonetic meaning, phone'.[6]

Renaissance grammatography and its criticism

In Renaissance grammatography, a critical attitude affected the introductory parts of the Roman *Artes grammaticae*. The autonomous passage of *De voce* disappeared, and the *De lit(t)era* chapter was open to discussion, its content being usually incorporated into the part about orthography or morphology.

Renaissance scholars contributed to the history of phonetics with a more consistent distinction between the sound and graphical levels of communication, with a focus on the development of articulatory phonetics. These two facts stemmed from a humanist interest in the practical usage of languages, including Latin and living vernaculars.[7]

Before looking at what attention Scaliger and Ramus paid to the phonetic questions, it is firstly important to remember that it had been Erasmus from Rotterdam who had focused the attention of humanists on the pronunciation of Latin sounds in his dialogue *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* (1528).

Both Scaliger and Ramus critically addressed the same phonetic questions. However, in the case of Scaliger we can observe his preference for the concept of *lit(t)era*; its three *accidentia*; terminological questions about the names of basic classes of speech sounds, *mutae*, *somivocales*, etc.; and other questions connected with the relationship between graphemics and phonemics. On the other hand, in addition to the same topics, Ramus built a completely new classification of Latin sounds.

Julius Caesar Scaliger – the critique of the central terms of the *De voce* and *De lit(t)era* chapters

The critical discussion instigated by the ambiguous line drawn between the graphical and sound levels in *Artes* can be best observed in Scaliger's work *De causis linguae Latinae* (1540). W. K. Percival called Scaliger 'the supreme example of the destructive critic of the grammatical tradition'.[8] In the part about *lit(t)era*, Scaliger enumerated thirteen errors in *Artes* connected with this term: *De causis linguae Latinae* I, IV: *Litera non est a lituris... Litera non est quasi legitera... Litera non recte definitur per 'pars vocis'...*[9]

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6   For the phonetic value of the Latin word *lit(t)era* as a pendant of the Greek *stoicheion* and *gramma* in an exhausting overview (including the Middle Ages, humanism, and briefly later periods up to the modern era), see Vogt-Spira (1991). For more on the term *lit(t)era* and the relationship between written language and its phonetic representation, see Buzássyová (2016: Chapter 4) and in a brief summary Lass (2015: p. 57).

7   Izzo (1982: p. 335) has stressed the importance of revolution in the outlook of Renaissance linguists who turned their attention to living languages and their spoken usage.

8   Percival (1975: p. 241).

9   For more about these 'errors', also see Thomas (2004: p. 86).

Scaliger bonded the word *lit(t)era* with the concept of the letter as the written sign. However, he did this in the well-approved traditional method of etymology, deriving it from the word *lineatura*, in which some letters dropped off and the rest were contracted: *De causis linguae Latinae* I, IV (1540: p. 6): *Exemptis nanque ex prisca nominis origine aliquot elementis, cum primum dictae essent 'lineaturae', 'literae' postea factae sunt.*[10] With respect to this etymology, he strictly denied that the term *lit(t)era* could be identified with the sound level as it is in *Artes grammaticae*. Indeed, neither the term *vox* nor *lit(t)era* were defined correctly in that text, as Scaliger argues in *De causis...* I, IV (1540: p. 8): *At isti ... [..] vocis partem cum dicant literam, vocemque aerem percussum, literam tantum in aere ponunt. Ergo cum scripta erit, non ei competet definitio, neque cum in intellectum recipietur: potest enim nunquam fuisse in pronunciatione.*

Vogt-Spira points out that with the practice of silent reading, which started to spread from the 13th century, the old concept of *lit(t)era* became inadequate, and the sensibility for a need to distinguish between the media carrying the text increased.[11] As is shown by Vogt-Spira, Scaliger did not completely reject the traditional interpretation of the *lit(t)era* notion in its generic polysemic meaning, nor did he restrict it only to graphics. However, his preference for the terms *elementum* and *potestas* (*literae*) when speaking about the sound value of *lit(t)era* signalizes his concern about differentiating between graphemics and phonemics very clearly. Nevertheless, Scaliger's stance was not quite the breakthrough it might have seemed to be from his passionate formulations. The need to distinguish between graphemics and phonemics had existed for a long time. However, despite the fact that the concept of *lit(t)era* and its meaning related to the medium had been repeatedly opened for discussion and focused upon, mostly in scholastic philosophical grammar, it was not discussed at the common level of the teaching of reading and writing. School practice still stuck to the traditional definitions along the lines of *Artes grammaticae*. Moreover, the central Renaissance grammars show that the explanations usually followed the indisputable claims made by Donat and Priscian. It is in the light of the persisting conservatism in scholarly practice that Scaliger had to present his critique so resolutely.[12]

Petrus Ramus's works on Latin grammar – methodology and an accent on phonetics

One of Ramus's greatest achievements was in developing the *grammatica methodica*, whose sole purpose was the description of linguistic structure. Within his theoretical and methodological approach, he considered both the real world and the world of thought

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10   For the discussion in detail, see Vogt-Spira (1991: p. 312).

11   Vogt-Spira (1991: pp. 313–314). For more on reading aloud and silently, see Knox (1968) and Lefèvre (1990).

12   The prefigurations for Scaliger's postulations are enumerated in Vogt-Spira (1991: p. 322). For reluctance against the older grammatical tradition in three main phases, see Percival (2004: pp. 73–90); and for the lamentations of humanists over the conservatism of teachers, see Jensen (1990: p. 87).

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in terms of spatial models of diagrams and easily illustrated dichotomies.[13] As an illustration of his method, Ramus produced two Latin grammars: *Rudimenta grammaticae (Latinae)* (the first edition by Wechel in 1559) and *Grammatica = Grammaticae libri quattuor* (the first edition by Wechel in 1559).[14] The first two books of the *Grammatica* were dedicated to morphology (including also parts about speech sounds), traditionally called *etymologia*, whereas the following ones were dedicated to syntax. The theoretical discussion for grammars is provided in Ramus's lectures on grammar, *Scholae grammaticae* (the first edition by Wechel in 1559).[15]

The comparison of the editions of Ramus's grammars reveals the fact that the definitions of the crucial notions of the original 'phonetic complex' were gradually slightly modified. Among other things, the 1559 and later editions differ in their tendencies towards a phonetic specification of the terms. The notions of *syllaba* and *litera* were first defined in Ramus's grammar (1559) only as parts of words or syllables respectively, whereas in the later editions (1560 and later on) they are also characterized phonetically:[16]

- *Grammatica* I, 1; 1559: *Syllaba itaque est vocis elementum. Litera est elementum syllabae.*
- 1560: *Syllaba est integri soni comprehensio; Litera est individui soni comprehensio.*
- 1578: *Syllaba est in voce sonus integer. ... Litera est in syllaba sonus individuus.*

The syllable is defined acoustically as a complex sound unit (*sonus integer, comprehensio soni integri*) and *litera* as the smallest sound unit (*individuus sonus, comprehensio soni individui*). The acoustic definitions of the notions of *syllaba* and *litera* made it into later editions of Ramus's grammar from his theoretical treatise behind his grammars, *Scholae grammaticae*, edited for the first time in 1559.[17]

In the wider context, this corresponds to Ramus's and Scaliger's definition of grammar: it was no longer the art of correct writing and speaking, but simply the art of speaking correctly, as it is, for example, in Ramus's *Grammatica* I, 1 and in his *Scholae grammaticae* I (1559: p. 17 = 1581: p. 30): *Grammatica est ars bene loquendi*, or in Scaliger's *De causis linguae latinae* I, 1 (1540: p. 2): *Scientia loquendi ex usu... Gramatici unus finis est recte loqui.*[18]

The key specification of *litera* as *individuus sonus* deviated from Priscian's traditional definition as *minima pars vocis compositae* and Donat's *minima pars vocis articulatae*. Coming from Aristotle's definition of 'element' or 'phone' (*stoicheion*) as 'an indivisible

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13   For the impact of Ramism on grammar in general, see Padley (1985: pp. 9 sqq.). The dichotomies in Ramus's works are presented, for example, by Outrata (2002: p. 60).

14   *Rudimenta grammaticae* basically differ from *Grammatica* in that they are written in a form of simple questions and lapidary answers.

15   A detailed overview of the numerous variously altered editions of Ramus's works is given by Ong (1958).

16   *Syllaba* and *litera* are defined by the method of recomposition, known in Scaliger as *via resolutoria*. For more about *via resolutoria* and *via componens* in Scaliger's work, see Jensen (1990: p. 92).

17   Cf. *Scholae grammaticae I* (1559: p. 25): *Syllaba est integri soni comprehensio, eaque constat e littera. Litera est individui soni comprehensio*; *Scholae... II* (1569: p. 18 = 1581: p. 32): *Syllaba est in voce sonus integer eaque constat e litera. Litera est individuus sonus in syllaba.*

18   For more on the interest of Renaissance grammarians in *recte loqui*, see Tavoni (1998: pp. 10–11).

sound/voice' (*fóné adiairetos*),[19] Ramus did not interpret the Greek term *fóné* as *vox*, which had been used also in the meaning of 'word'. Instead, he replaced it with the more precise (and 'more phonetic') *sonus*.

Ramus's attitude to the traditional definition of *lit(t)era* in *Scholae grammaticae* can be best represented by the very name of the chapter: *De sonis literarum*, and not *De lit(t)eris* or *De lit(t)era* in its polysemic meaning as was common in *Artes grammaticae*. Ramus leaned on the authority of Aristotle and was committed to the original phonetic understanding of *stoicheion* in his *Poetics*. In *Scholae...* (1569: p. 20 = 1581: p. 34), he focused on the articulatory features of sounds outlined by Aristotle: *Aristoteles recte in Arte poetica docuit literas differre inter se figuris oris et locis, crassitudine, levitate, longitudine et brevitate, item acumine, gravitate et medio*.[20]

Since Ramus was well aware of the different pronunciation of Latin among individual nations, he set himself the objective of identifying its most correct, authentic, and natural sound, which could be achieved by an exact description of pronunciation: *Scholae...* (1559: p. 27 = 1569: p. 19 = 1581: p. 33): *Video enim (ut plerique veteres prodidere) literarum et genera et species et differentias quaslibet ex organis oris observandas esse, id est e caussis*. However, Ramus's contribution did not lie so much in his specification of sounds by their articulatory features as in his classification of sounds based on these features.

Ramus's dichotomies based on criteria of articulation

Ancient systems of classification were set out originally in metrics and based on acoustic criteria.[21] There were two competing principles in the classifications: the dichotomic and the trichotomic. Ramus rebuilt the whole system dichotomically using oppositions based on articulatory criteria. In addition to Aristotle, he found backing for his articulatory arguments in the works of Dionysius from Halicarnassus, Terentianus Maurus, Victorinus, and Martianus Capella. Every member of the sound inventory is described from the point of view of activity of articulatory organs. The descriptions are presented in detail in *Scholae...* and in *Grammatica*; *Rudimenta*, on the other hand, contain only brief basic definitions.

In Ramus's dichotomic classification, the binary opposition of 'widened/extended/open' (*diducta*) and 'contracted/rounded' (*contracta*) became central. Ramus applied it to the system of vowels as well as the system of consonants, with the terminological modification in the class of consonants seeking the most perfect parallelism.

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19 Arist. Po. 1456b22 sq.: στοιχεῖον μὲν οὖν ἐστιν φωνὴ ἀδιαίρετος, οὐ πᾶσα δὲ ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἧς πέφυκε συνθετὴ γίγνεσθαι φωνή:

20 Cf. Arist. Po. 1456b30 sq.: ταῦτα δὲ διαφέρει σχήμασίν τε τοῦ στόματος καὶ τόποις καὶ δασύτητι καὶ ψιλότητι καὶ μήκει καὶ βραχύτητι ἔτι δὲ ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι καὶ τῷ μέσῳ... The translation from Aristotle's *Poetics* 1456b30 sq. is absent from Ramus's *Scholae* in the 1559 edition.

21 This is reflected in the terminology in the names of the classes of sounds: Gk. *fónéenta* / Lat. *vocales*, Gk. *afóna* / Lat. *mutae*, and Gk. *hémifóna* / Lat. *semivocales*. For more on the origins of classifications see Balázs (1965: p. 232) and Swiggers & Wouters (2002: p. 106).

This opposition was based on the level and character of openness of the mouth cavity, which is visible in the distance of the lips and their formation and in the position of the tongue. In using this opposition, Ramus was inspired by Erasmus from Rotterdam and his dialogue *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*. In the dialogue, Erasmus spoke about pronunciation with an open or contracted mouth and used words which after proper word-formation changes were also found in Ramus's grammar as the terms *diducta* and *contracta* (Dialogus, 32): *Quia litteram eandem aliter atque aliter sonant, nunc ore contractiore, nunc diductiore...*

However, Ramus's dichotomies developed only gradually. In the first editions of his grammatical texts by Wechel, the traditional classifications (including both dichotomic and trichotomic ones) known from *Artes grammaticae* and also from Quintilianus's *Institutiones oratoriae* are used: e.g., vowels are still divided into three subclasses *plena*, *exilis*, and *media*. The first editions with an obvious dichotomies incorporated into classifications are the 1569 Basle editions of both *Rudimenta grammaticae* and *Scholae in liberales artes*.
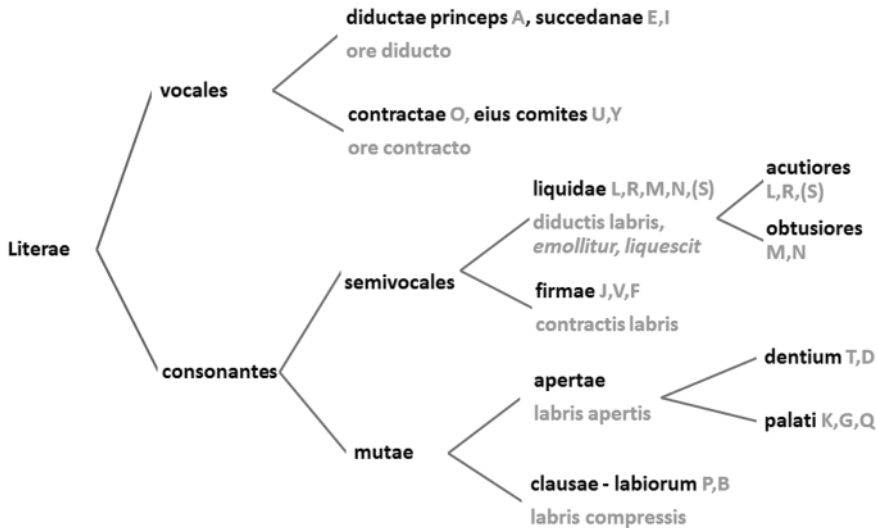
Figure 1: Petrus Ramus's classification of Latin sounds based on *Rudimenta grammaticae I* (1569 and later editions), *Scholae in liberales artes I* (1569 and later editions), and *Grammatica I* (1576 and later editions)

When dividing consonants, Ramus did not give up the classes of *semivocales* and *mutae*, well known from *Artes*, because their separation within consonants was dichotomic. Within semivowels, the subclass of 'liquids/variable' (*liquidae*) *l, r, m, n, (s)* were set apart by metricians originally according to metrical qualities, with respect to the weight

of syllables.[22] The remaining ones had no name in *Artes*. Ramus made this dichotomy complete by giving the name 'firm/stable' (*firmae*) to *j, v, f* as the second group of *semivocales*. The whole class of *semivocales* was reinterpreted in an articulatory way so that they exactly copied the model of vowels and their *diductae–contractae* dichotomy. According to Ramus, *liquidae* were pronounced by extended or open mouth (*diductis labris*), while *firmae* were pronounced by contracted or rounded mouth (*contractis labris*). The level of openness of mouth or lips (*diductio*) is, according to Ramus, either sharper/more acute/ more intensive (*acutior*) or milder/blunt (*obtusior*).

The basic division of *mutae* consonants was into 'open' (*apertae*) and 'closed' (*clausae*). *Apertae* were likened by Ramus to *diductae* vowels. *Clausae*, on the other hand, corresponded to *contractae* vowels. They were further divided upon the basis of articulatory organs into dentals, palatals, and labials. The differences between the members of the *p–b*, *t–d*, and *k–g* pairs were included in these relatively detailed descriptions. In the case of dentals, the voiceless member was characterized by Ramus as *fortis/fortius sonat*, and the voiced pendant was classified as *remissus, mollis, mitis/remissius, mitiore sono...* In the case of labials, it was the other way around: *b* was *acutior* or *arctior* and *p* was *mitior*: *Grammatica* I (1569: 5, 1576: 8–9): *C lingua exterius palatum et genuinos premente fortius sonat; ... G lingua medium palatum et dentes geminis vicinos premente, remissius sonat.... B quidem arctius intus continetur. P, autem mitiore sono succedens, e mediis labiis erumpit.*[23] Following the footsteps of Terentianus Maurus, his principal ancient Roman source, Ramus did not reveal the true nature of the opposition between voiced and voiceless consonants, or fortis and lenis in their modern linguistic meaning. Nevertheless, his work reflects the phonetic impressions of a certain kind.[24]

Reflections of Ramus's dichotomies in two Slavic texts on grammar

Ramus's interest in the systemization of the classification of sounds and in articulatory phonetics was reflected not only in various editions of Latin grammar in Renaissance Europe[25] but also in vernacular grammars.[26] In the following, the results of the analysis of two Slavic texts on grammar from the very beginning of the 17th century will be

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22 In the Greek grammatical tradition, *liquidae* formed the *l, m, n, r (s)* group. The authors of the Roman *Artes grammaticae* usually place the same members in the subclass, but when describing their metrical qualities, they speak only about *l* and *r*. Cf. e.g. in Donatus's *Ars maior* (Keil 1864; GL IV, 368, 1–2 = Holtz 1981: p. 604): *liquidae quattuor, l m n r, ex quibus l et r faciunt communem syllabam...*

23 The descriptions slightly differ in various editions of Ramus's grammatical texts.

24 For more on how the opposition voiced – voiceless and fortis – lenis was coped with by Terentianus Maurus in his treatise *De litteris*, see Buzássyová (2016: pp. 161–164).

25 For instance, *Grammatica Latina Philippo-Ramea* (1596), based on Melanchthon's and Ramus's grammar, became very popular.

26 The dichotomic approach towards the classification of speech sounds seems obvious, for example, already in Bartoli's treatise entitled *Degli elementi del parlar Toscano*, 1584. Whether the treatise was inspired by Ramus's methodology is not discussed in the study by Izzo entitled *Phonetics in 16th Century Italy: Giorgio Bartoli and John David Rhys* (1982).

presented. The texts under analysis have been chosen because of their temporal, cultural, and linguistic background, and because of their 'Ramism'. The first analysed work is *Grammaticae Bohemicae libri duo* (1603) by the Prague university scholar Vavrinec Benedikt of Nedožery (also known as Nudožerinus). Both of its parts (on morphology and on syntax) truly copied the model of Ramus's grammar.[27]

The second work under analysis is the anonymous treatise *De litteratura Slavorum germanissima*, which has been dated by its present-day editor and translator Daniel Škoviera to the period between 1598 and 1606. There are a few indications mentioned by Škoviera which suggest that Jeremiáš Parlagi, who was a scholar from central Slovakia and a devout Reformed Protestant, was the original author. The author called Ramus a 'Homer among philosophers'.[28]

The two works differ in their impact and importance to the later grammatical tradition. Nudožerinus's grammar was published at the time in printed form (although only once), and it played an important role in the grammatography of Czech as well as Slovak. Even though its real importance is somewhat arguable,[29] generations of grammarians were inspired by it. Anonymous's treatise remained in manuscript form, with the preserved text being most likely a copy, and it probably had no influence on the subsequent grammar tradition. Nudožerinus's grammar has been referred to as the first complete and systematically organized Czech grammar written by an experienced teacher. Anonymous's treatise resembles Scaliger's treatise *De causis linguae Latinae* and Ramus's *Scholae grammaticae*, and signalizes certain scholarly ambitions. Nevertheless, only his second book, dedicated to prosody, had the clearer character of a textbook.[30]

Both works inform the reader about the contemporary usage of the language[31] and describe phonetic inventories facing problems with spelling. The authors were both Slovak by origin. The language described is Czech,[32] although in the second text it is actually Slovakized Czech and contains elements from central Slovak dialects and several

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27 The influence of Ramus on Nudožerinus is characterized in great detail by Hendrich (1930: pp. 6 sq.). However, Hendrich does not pay attention to Nudožerinus's classification of speech sounds. Ramus's accent on method and the way Ramus's 'premature structuralism' is reflected in Nudožerinus work is explained by Outrata (2000: pp. 60–65). Nudožerinus's dichotomic approach in general is described well by Koupil (2007: pp. 142–144). For the general characteristics of the grammar, its sources, structure, and its importance for subsequent Czech grammatography, see Smith's *Introduction* in the critical edition (1999), Pleskalová et al. (Eds. 2007: p. 18), Koupil (2007: pp. 138–145), Blanár (2006), Majtán (2003), Kollárik (1967: p. 12), and Outrata (2002, 1998).

28 Škoviera (2005: pp. 46–47).

29 Smith (1999: p. i), Novák (1888: p. 363).

30 The general characteristics and aims of the treatise *De litteratura Slavorum germanissima* were presented by Škoviera in the bilingual *Praefatio* to his edition of the text (2005: pp. 6–23) and in the paper *Poznámky k anonymnému spisu De litteratura Slavorum germanissima* (2008).

31 According to Smith (1999: pp. iv, v, ix), the prescriptive character of Nudožerinus's grammar has had an influence on the fact that the model of the Czech language he presents is a conservative model.

32 It is the Czech language of the *Bible kralická* (1579–1593) with some colloquial features. In several places in the grammar Nudožerinus points out to the differences between the speech of Czechs, Slovaks and Moravians. Cf. Pleskalová (2007: p. 19), Blanár (2007: p. 262), Majtán (2003: p. 116), and Jóna (1985: pp. 109–110).

distinctive Slovak sounds, including *ä* and *dz*.[33] (In explaining the situation with vernacular languages in the region, it should be pointed out that at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries Czech was the closest language to Slovak in terms in intelligibility, and it performed the function of a domestic Slovak literary language in place of Slovak itself.)[34] Nudožerinus's grammar contains a synoptical table with the dichotomic classification of sounds preserved from the 1603 edition,[35] which Smith's modern edition (1999) does not contain. Anonymous's dichotomies must be extracted from a less reader-friendly text.
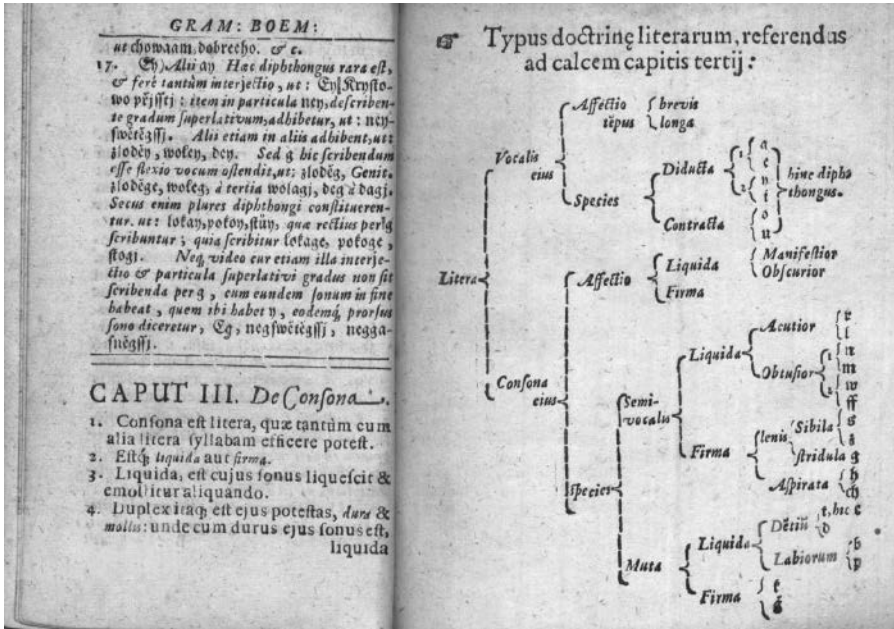

Figure 2: M. Vavrinec Benedikt of Nedožery, *Grammaticae Bohemicae libri duo*, 1603 [2v–2bisr]. Dichotomies in the sound inventory

The table displayed does not fully correspond with the description in the text. The basic dichotomic principle in the classification of the members of the system according to 'modification' (*affectio*) and 'species' (*species*) is not commented on or explicitly stated in the text as clearly as it is demonstrated in the table. Furthermore, the text speaks about the division of the consonants into *liquidae* and *firmae*, after which there is nothing more than the lapidary statement in Cap. III, 12: *Affectio consonae declarata est*. Then the text continues: *Sequuntur eius genera, semivocalis et muta*. However, the subclasses *semivoca-*

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33   Cf. Škoviera's *Praefatio* (2005: pp. 14, 15).

34   Cf. e.g. Majtán (2003), Krajčovič & Žigo (1999: pp. 31–46), Pauliny (1983: pp. 104–112).

35   The table with the classification. Retrieved 25. 7. 2016 from: http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz/moduly/mluvnice/digitalni-kopie-detail/BenGram1603/strana-2v%E2%80%932bisr.

lis and *muta* are identified in the table as *species*, not as *genera*. In the terminology used in the classification of consonants, the similar and interfering conceptual pairs *affectio* and *liquida* (both reflecting a change of a certain kind) are used. The 'Ramusian' terms (in addition to *affectio*, also, for example, *acutior* and *obtusior*) are not exactly specified by Nudožerinus, and other facts disturb the clarity of explanation and the reading experience.

Nudožerinus was confronted with the problems of spelling demanded by a Slavic language and the orthography of the Czech Brethren, *Bratrský pravopis*.[36] Through comparison it appears that Nudožerinus adopted the dichotomic approach of Ramus towards the classification of phonetic elements in the base line and imitated some basic definitions of key notions. On the other hand, he also creatively elaborated Ramus's model with respect to the needs of the Slavic language so that the constitutive elements of vocalism and consonantism could be enhanced using Ramus's dichotomic scheme, and so that the relationship between phonemics and graphemics of the Czech Brethren's spelling could be taken into consideration.

Nudožerinus's primary dichotomy was in discerning between *species* and *affectio*. *Species* was a traditional term from *Artes grammaticae*[37] which was also used elsewhere in Ramus's grammar, whereas *affectio* was a term not known in *Artes*. The term *affectio* (or *affectus*) was used by Scaliger in his treatise *De causis linguae Latinae* and can be understood as a 'modification', 'variation', 'change', or 'effect'. Most often it is used for categories of inflection and derivation. However, it also enhances the phenomena of the phonetic level.[38]

In Nudožerinus's dichotomies of sound inventory, the term *affectio* in the case of vowels refers to *tempus* and to the short–long opposition, while in consonants it refers to palatalization. *Affectio* enhances a modification of both a sound and its graphics. In a modified form, the term is used also by Anonymous in *De litteratura Slavorum germanissima* for the description of the soft consonants, which the author calls *affectae*.[39]

Nudožerinus only preserved Ramus's basic opposition of *diducta–contracta* in vocalism. In consonantism he generalized the opposition of *liquida–firma*. This opposition had its origins with Ramus, but Ramus only used it in the class of *semivocales*. By contrast, Nudožerinus made it universal for all consonants. The *firmae* were 'unchanging'. Whereas Ramus reinterpreted the traditional *liquidae*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *(s)* in an articulatory way, Nudožerinus changed their meaning again: any consonant could be a 'liquid' if it

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36   The *Bratrský pravopis*, an orthographical treatise based on the tract *De orthographia bohemica* attributed to Jan Hus, was a manuscript used by the Czech Brethren in writing the *Bible kralická* and was in common use as the standard orthography until the end of the 18th century. The orthography used in Nudožerinus's grammar uses a combination of diacritical marks and digraphs to represent the sounds of the Czech language. Cf. Smith (1999: p. ii).

37   For example, *breves* and *longae* are discerned by the term *species* within the *genus vocales*. Cf. *Prisciani Institutiones* (Hertz 1855; GL II, 23, 21).

38   Cf. for example in Scaliger's *De causis linguae Latinae* I, XLVII (1540: p. 85): *Elementorum affectus ad principia syllabae constituendae*; *De causis...* V, CXIII (1540: p. 234): *temporum forma, ac finis atque affectiones ad hunc modum sese habent...*; *De causis...* XIII, CXC (1540: p. 350): *Vocum principia, causas, elementa, affectiones quemadmodum universa natura comprehenderentur, hactenus declaravimus.*

39   Neither in Vintr's (1985) nor in Bayerová's (1979) publications, which are both only concerned with Czech grammatical terminology, are the Latin terms used by Nudožerinus dealt with.

was capable of change, if there were changes in pronunciation, and if the change was somehow reflected in the spelling. Nudožerinus used exactly the same words as Ramus (Nudožerinus: *Grammatica*, Caput III, 3. = Ramus: *Rudimenta* I: *Liquida est cuius sonus liquescit et emollitur aliquando*),[40] but he used them for a different group of consonants. Nudožerinus used the properties of *liquida* for the needs of a language with soft consonants. For instance, the Czech *d* has a 'hard value' (*potestas dura*) in the case of the hard consonant *d* and a 'soft value' (*potestas mollis*)[41] in the case of the soft consonant *ď*.

The softness of the soft consonants can be 'obvious' (*manifestior*) when it remains permanently with a consonant and does not depend on the following soft vowel. When not followed by the vowel, it is signalized in graphemics by diacritics, a *stigma*, or a caron: Caput III., 9: *Manifestior, cuius sonus mollis etiam absque vocali molli manifestus est, et cum vocalis abest, tum liquida mollis stigma assumit: kúňň, kovářř...*

The softness of the soft consonants, according to Nudožerinus, is 'obscure' (*obscurior*) when it depends only on the following soft vowel: Caput III., 10: *Obscurior cujus sonus mollis tantum cum sequente vocali molli quodamodo deprehenditur, ut primae in mjsto, wjra...*

Like Ramus, Nudožerinus generally used a scheme of division for occlusives (*mutae*) based on the place of articulation, although he completely abolished Ramus's opposition of *diductae–contractae* and instead applied his own main opposition of *liquidae–firmae*.

Nudožerinus applied the articulatory characteristics of Ramus's dichotomies in a new way and in relation to orthography. He modified Ramus's terminology according to the phonetic and orthographic features characteristic for the Czech language, and he divided classes into subclasses and filled them with different elements. He took into consideration some specific phonetic features of his native language and, for instance, changed the place of *y*, which in Ramus's scheme belonged to 'contracted/rounded' (*contractae vocales*), by grouping it with 'widened/extended/open' (*diductae vocales*) together with the *i*, as the pronunciation of 'hard y' (*y durum*) and 'soft i' (*i mollis*) in Czech at that time was already the same.[42]

Anonymous's *De litteratura Slavorum germanissima*

Anonymous's inspiration by Ramus lies in his peculiar adaptation of Ramus's dichotomies. While Nudožerinus followed Ramus's dichotomies in methodology, structure, and partly in terminology, Anonymous immediately picked up on his articulatory principle. Anonymous applied Ramus's dichotomic principle only on the basic inventory of speech sounds which Slavic languages shared with Latin. This means, for instance, that the sys-

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40 The identical definition can be found in *Grammatica Latina Philippo-Ramea* which also served as a source for Nudožerinus.

41 The term *mollificatio* was used for softness of consonants already in *Orthographia Bohemica* which has been attributed to Jan Hus. See Šembera (1857: p. 14).

42 On one hand, within the system described, Nudožerinus grouped *y* and *i* together with the *diductae* vowels, while on the other hand he distinguished between them as between a hard *y* and a soft *i*. According to Smith (1999: p. iv), distinguishing between the hard *y* and soft *i* is an archaism or might signalize the influence of the fact that Nudožerinus was a Slovak who was educated in Moravia, where the difference between *y* and *i* remained.

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tem of consonants described in Caput II of the treatise *De litteratura Slavorum germanissima* is a system of basic inventory of Latin consonants without the traditionally disputed *h* and with only one *k* instead of the traditional three Latin ones (*c*, *k*, and *q*).

Anonymous paid attention to specific Slavic (Czech and Slovak) sounds and their relationship to the spelling[43] only outside of the basic classification scheme. In Caput III–XI, he discusses the Czech and Slovak sounds, their acoustic and articulatory features, and the way these features are reflected in writing. From this, it can be seen that while Nudožerinus tried to adapt Ramus's system to the Czech sound system and incorporate Czech sounds into it, Anonymous did not face the same challenge. On the other hand, this might also mean that Anonymous realized better than Nudožerinus did that Ramus's Latin model did not match the sound system of the Slavic language described. In addition, Anonymous's descriptions of the articulation of vowels and consonants are much more detailed than Nudožerinus's. This reflects the fact that while Nudožerinus followed in his dichotomies of sounds the generalized statements of Ramus's Grammar, Anonymous was inspired by Ramus's detailed treatise *Scholae* at the first place.

Anonymous changed Ramus's classes and defined the basic elements of the sound inventory differently. It is an open question whether Anonymous changed Ramus's system with the specific intention of doing so or whether he was merely inspired by Ramus's

Figure 3: Anonymous's *De litteratura Slavorum germanissima*, 1598–1606.
Division of consonants

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43 Anonymous also used the orthography of the Czech Brethren, but proposed several new graphemes in the treatise.

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dichotomies in general terms, be that during his studies or from literature he had read but not kept at his disposal while writing his treatise.

In the treatise, vowels are divided into *diductae* and *contractae*, as was done by Ramus. Anonymous adds to this the descriptions of the activity of articulatory organs, as was done by Ramus in *Scholae*. He further classifies vowels according to acoustic features, such as *sonus constans* and *scandens*. However, the classification of consonants is more interesting (cf. Figure 3).

Although he knew and used the terms *semivocalis* and *muta*, Anonymous did not include them in the classification scheme. He also rejected Ramus's division of *semivocales* into *liquidae* and *firmae*. His shift from traditional terminology might have been influenced by the authority of Scaliger, whose argumentation about the incorrectness of using the traditional terms of the *Artes grammaticae* was well known to him. Anonymous's primary division of sounds is that of 'related/close' (*littera (sono) vicina*) and 'different' (*differens*). By *vicinae* he meant consonants, between which he saw a certain articulatory relatedness: they are binary pairs *sui generis*.

In a further step, Anonymous used Ramus's terms 'closed' (*clausa*) and 'open' (*aperta*), which Nudožerinus did not use. Although these terms were well known, Anonymous transformed Ramus's dichotomies into a completely new form which relied on relatively correct phonetic intuitions. He only considered the labial occlusives *p–b* to be really 'closed consonants' (*clausae*); the others, be they occlusives with an incomplete closure or fricatives in modern terminology, were termed by Anonymous as *apertae*. Within these, he identified the subclass of *subobscura*: occlusives which, in line with Ramus, he put into two groups – palatals and dentals. A second subclass was formed by *manifesta*, whose sound is more obvious and clearer. They are fricatives: the obstacle for the expiratory flow is of a different nature than is the case for occlusives. *Manifesta* were then divided into a group 'with hissing' (*cum sibilo*) and a group 'with blowing' (*cum flatu*).

A separate class was formed by *differen(te)s*, corresponding with traditional *liquidae*, which, according to Anonymous, were pronounced differently. What the difference actually was and what *ex parte* and *toto genere* criteria used for further distinction in this class meant is not very clear from the text, although it seems that this division corresponds with Ramus's and Nudožerinus's division of *acutior–obtusior*. Otherwise, Anonymous characterized the activity of articulatory organs relatively faithfully; he spoke, for instance, about the vibration of the tip of the tongue and its pressing on the palate in pronunciation of *r*.[44]

There are similarities in terminology between Nudožerinus and Anonymous. In addition to the already mentioned *affectio* (Nudožerinus) and *affectae* (Anonymous), there is a similarity in the terms *obscurior* (Nudožerinus) and *subobscura* (Anonymous), and in *manifestior* (Nudožerinus) and *manifesta* (Anonymous).

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44 Cf. Škoviera (2005: pp. 60–61).

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Summary

In summary, we can say that in the works of Nudožerinus and Anonymous there is a visible and consistent inspiration from the humanist giants Ramus and Scaliger and their attitude towards the 'phonetic complex' of the traditional grammar. However, this is not a blind imitation. Both authors adopted Ramus's dichotomic model of sound inventory with respect to the specifics of Czech and Slovakized Czech/Slovak and their graphemics. Each of them, however, adapted Ramus's dichotomies in his way; Nudožerinus evolved his own elaborated scheme of dichotomies, partly changed the terminology and through the categories of *affectio* and *liquida* incorporated vernacular sounds to the adopted scheme. Nudožerinus's terms refer to the speech sounds as well as to their relationship to graphemics. Anonymous applied Ramus's dichotomic principle only on the basic inventory of speech sounds which Slovakized Czech/Slovak shared with Latin and significantly modified Ramus's model according to supposed articulatory features. As a phonetician *sui generis*, Anonymous added detailed descriptions of the pronunciation of Czech and Slovak sounds to his treatise. Both authors evolved Ramus's terminology in their own way. We can see how differently the basic dichotomic model can be interpreted in a methodical description of the sound inventory of a Slavic language and what various results it bore due to the vagueness of the key terms in Ramus's model and, of course, because Ramus's model was intended for grammars of Latin, not for grammars of a vernacular language.

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