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AUGUSTINE'S USE OF PREVERBS.
'CON-' IN SOME PASSAGES OF THE *CONFESSIONS*

This paper deals with the use of verbal prefixes as a stylistic device in Augustine's *Confessions*. It mainly focuses on the preverbs *con-* and *in-*, which occur in passages concerning human and divine friendship, in order to point out the contextual values – either concrete/spatial or abstract/actional – they are endowed with in the different contexts. The impression we get from this survey is that the plasticity of preverbs may serve the purpose of intensifying the meaning.

Keywords: Augustine of Hippo – style; Augustine of Hippo – *Confessions*; Latin language – history; Latin language – verbal prefixes / preverbs

In the paper I presented at the '*Literary Crossroads*' in September 2010, I dealt with a wider subject.[1] Here I will focus only on one of the points I made on that occasion: the use of verbal prefixes as a stylistic device in Augustine's *Confessions*.[2]

1. Latin verbal prefixes.

It is impossible to give here an exhaustive account of previous scholarship concerning Latin verbal prefixes (preverbs, to use Varro's words).[3]

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[1] „Augustine's *Confessions* as Christian *Metamorphoses*? Some Remarks about Augustine's and Apuleius' Style."

[2] I quote the Latin text according to SKUTELLA, MARTINUS – VERHEIJEN, LUCAS [EDS.]. 1983. *Augustinus*, *Confessionum libri XIII*, Turnholti: Brepols; I will refer to the English translation by CHADWICK, HENRY. 1992. *Saint Augustine*, *Confessions*. Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

[3] VARRO *ling*. VI 5.37 (RIGANTI, ELISABETTA [ED.]. 1978. *Varrone*, *De lingua Latina. Libro VI*, Bologna: Pàtron): *A quibus iisdem principiis, antepositis praeverbiis*

From a synchronic viewpoint preverbs may be endowed with either a concrete (often 'spatial') or an abstract sense (often 'actional', i.e. defining the action expressed by the verb as either completive or ingressive/egressive/progressive).[4]

Furthermore, from a diachronic viewpoint Augustine's writings must be set within the linguistic frame of late Latin, where the semantic strength of preverbs seems to decrease gradually. In fact, in the conclusion of her huge study on *-sco* verbs where the role played by preverbs is taken into close consideration, Gerd Haverling states that the language change taking place from 240 BC to the late period[5] is

> "from a system where the semantic functions of a verb are the result of the grammatical function of the suffix and prefix, towards another [starting by the end of the II century] where they are due to the traditional lexical content of a verb".[6]

As a result, in late Latin texts it is sometimes difficult to define the meaning that is peculiar to certain prefixed verbs as opposite to the corresponding unprefixed forms.[7] But it is mainly the abstract sense of preverbs that seems to fade, while the concrete one is often preserved: in fact some preverbs still survive and are productive even in mediaeval Latin and in the romance languages.[8]

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paucis, immanis verborum accedit numerus, quod praeverbiis [*mutatis*] *additis atque commutatis aliud atque aliud fit: ut enim <pro>cessit et recessit, sic accessit et abscessit; item incessit et excessit, sic successit et decessit, <discessit> et concessit.*

4   As for these distinctions, I refer to HAVERLING, GERD. 2000. *On 'sco-' Verbs, Prefixes and Semantic Functions. A Study in the Development of Prefixed and Unprefixed Verbs from Early to Late Latin.* Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 249–393. A different, by all means synchronic, approach is found in the work by GARCÍA HERNÁNDEZ, BENJAMÍN. 1980. *Semántica estructural y lexemática del verbo.* Reus: Avesta, 123–241 (who distinguishes the semic function peculiar to each prefix, from its classematic functions, that are abstract and shared by different preverbs). Lorenzo Lorenzo's work (LORENZO LORENZO, JUAN. 1976. *El valor de los preverbios en Jordanes.* Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca) contains a useful list of prefixed forms, and thoroughly collects the ancient grammatical sources. I shall return shortly to the senses of the prefix I examine in this paper.

5   G. HAVERLING (2000: 38–39), where late Latin is considered to start about 200 AD and to end about 700–800 AD.

6   G. HAVERLING (2000: 458).

7   See e.g. the remarks by Gaide about some *con*-prefixed verbs in Marcellus Empiricus: GAIDE, FRANÇOISE. 2005. „À propos des préverbés en *com*-; "couper" et "broyer" dans le *De medicamentis* de Marcellus." In MOUSSY, CLAUDE [ED.]. *La composition et la préverbation en Latin.* Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005, 263–276: 267.

8   As for late Latin, see at least VÄÄNÄNEN, VEIKKO. 1987. *Le Journal-épître d'Ége-*

2. The prefix *con-*.

Firstly, I will present a general survey of the meanings of *con-*, however approximate it may be. It is the most productive prefix throughout the history of the Latin language.[9] To describe its functions, I will adopt the categories proposed by Moussy.[10]

Con- may be endowed with two main functions: 1. the concrete one, "sociative" (antonymic prefixes: *dis-, se-*), which contains some different nuances: gathering/reunion, with verbs indicating movement; association; partaking in a common action; reciprocity; 2. the abstract ones, which are defined by Moussy as "valeurs… déterminées": ingressive (quite rare); terminative; to this, two further values are related: the meaning of 'entirely' and the intensive sense.

From a diachronic viewpoint, *con-* appears to be growingly weakened, so that in some cases it seems to be only a prosthetic element increasing the physical volume of the word (*comedo = edo*).[11] This loss of strength mostly involves the abstract sense of the prefix, not the concrete "sociative" meaning, which is often preserved, probably due also to the resemblance to the preposition *cum*.[12] In fact, *con-*, although its etymology must not be related to *cum*,[13] is

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rie (Itinerarium Egeriae). Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 149; UNTERMANN, JÜRGEN. 1996. „Sprachwandel beobachtet an lateinischen Präverben." In ROSÉN, HANNAH [ED.]. *Aspects of Latin. Papers from the Seventh International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Jerusalem, April 1993*. Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1996, 153–168. As for mediaeval Latin, STOTZ, PETER. 2000. *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, 2: *Bedeutungswandel und Wortbildung*. München: Beck, §§ 112–124.

9   About 500 modified verbs. For its description, see LEUMANN, MANU. 1975. „Zu den Verwendungen des lat. Präverbs *com-*." *Museum Helveticum*, 32, 91–98; J. LORENZO LORENZO (1976: 75–104); B. GARCÍA-HERNÁNDEZ (1980: 140–144); G. HAVERLING (2000: 251–272); C. MOUSSY. 2005. „La polysémie du préverb *com-*." In ID. [ED.] (2005: 243–262).

10 Cf. C. MOUSSY (2005); G. HAVERLING (2000) distinguishes an "actional" function, which might be taken as roughly corresponding to the following point 2, from a "sociative" function, which corresponds to point 1.

11 C. MOUSSY (2005: 257–258).

12 Cf. G. HAVERLING (2000: 271–272); see also P. STOTZ (2000: § 115).

13 Cf. ROSÈN, HAIIM B. 1992. „Die Komposita mit *co(n)-* in funktioneller und vergleichender Sicht." In PANAGL, OSWALD – KRISCH, THOMAS [EDS.]. *Latein und Indogermanisch. Akten des Kolloquiums der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 23.–26. September 1986*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1992, 357–367. Priscian lists *con-*, together with *re-* and *dis-*, as prepositions that *numquam separantur* (*inst.* XIV 2.10 = *GLK* III, 29), in this case seemingly understanding *con-* as different from *cum*.

actually perceived as connected to it and as having the same sociative value, as we can argue from Priscian:[14]

> *Sciendum, quod omnes monosyllabae praepositiones tam accusativo quam ablativo casui servientes et componi et separari possunt, excepta 'cum', pro qua 'con' in compositione semper invenitur praepositiva, eandem significationem habens quam 'cum' praepositio, ut 'concurro, conficio'. Nec scriptura tamen multum discrepat: antiqui enim pro 'cum' 'com' scribebant* (inst. XIV 3.29 = GLK III, 39); *'Cum' et adverbium potest esse, quando* τὸ ʹὁπότεʹ *significat, et praepositio, quando* σύν, *et est copulativa, ut 'cum ducibus pugno, cum imperatore proficiscor, cum amico habito', et per solam appositionem invenitur. Nec mirum, cum loco eius in compositione semper 'con' praeponatur, ut 'concurro, coniungo, contraho, conspiro' etc.* (ibid. XIV 5.47 = GLK III, 50).

3. Human friendship and the 'intensification' of *con-*.

Prefixed verbs in some passages by Augustine are quite copious and are often susceptible of reinforcement, mostly by means of devices involving *semantic repetition*: adverbs, a different verb composed with the same prefix, use of the preposition which corresponds to the prefix, etc.[15] This behaviour should be interpreted not as a mere reaction to the linguistic trends of his age, as if Augustine's aim were merely that of intensifying prefixes which were losing strength; instead, I suggest that prefixation is a stylistic device pointing to the heart of what he is saying.[16] In other words, Augustine, who *linguistically* belongs to a peculiar phase of the history of Latin – the trends of which I have tried to summarize briefly –, *stylistically* takes advantage of one aspect of this *langue* in his *parole*. Hence, by describing which contextual values verbal prefixes may be given by the context they are used in, I hope I will improve the understanding of Augustine's texts in their depth.

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[14]   But ancient grammarians attest further meanings of *con-*: see the passages quoted by B. GARCÍA-HERNÁNDEZ (1980: 140–144).

[15]   More seldom, they are reinforced by means of devices involving *semantic opposition*, such as the base verb composed with an antonymic prefix.

[16]   See the remarks of HOFMANN, JOHANN B. – SZANTYR, ANTON. 2002. *Stilistica latina*, Bologna: Pàtron, 185–186, who quote the reinforcement of preverbs as a device pertaining to stylistic *abundantia* (they mention even some examples of *re-*, one of which is taken from Augustine). For Augustine, also BALMUS, CONSTANTIN. 1930. *Étude sur le style de saint Augustin dans les* Confessions *et la* Cité de Dieu. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 64–65: according to him, Augustine does not generally create new compounds, but he exploits the opposition between simple and compound verb or between different compounds of the same verb, to obtain stylistic *varietas* and wordplays.

Let us start from a paragraph, where Augustine, dealing with the period he lives in Thagaste (375–376), describes what might seem the joys of a newly acquired friendship (*conf.* IV 4.7):[17]

> *In illis annis, quo primum tempore in municipio, quo natus sum, docere coeperam,* **comparaveram** *amicum societate studiorum nimis carum,* **co***aevum mihi et* **con***florentem flore adulescentiae. Me***cum** *puer creverat et pariter in scholam ieramus pariterque luseramus. Sed nondum erat sic amicus, quamquam ne tunc quidem sic, uti est vera amicitia, quia non est vera, nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes tibi caritate diffusa in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis* (cf. *Rom 5,5*). *Sed tamen dulcis erat nimis, cocta fervore parilium studiorum. Nam et a fide vera, quam non germanitus et penitus adulescens tenebat, deflexeram eum in superstitiosas fabellas et perniciosas, propter quas me plangebat mater. Me***cum** *iam errabat in animo ille homo, et non poterat anima mea sine illo.*

The verb *comparaveram* ("I had come to have": H. CHADWICK [1992: 56]), where *con-* has either an abstract (intensive or terminative) sense or might even be felt as superfluous,[18] seems to me to assume a contextual sociative value: *con-* not only means that Augustine won the friendship of that young man, but it also foreshadows the intensity of that affection.[19] Furthermore, *con-* is polysemic in the word *conflorentem* (probably an extemporary lexical innovation):[20] seemingly it refers both to the age of the two ("we shared the flowering of youth"": H. CHADWICK [1992: 56]; cf. *coaevum*) and to their mutual affection, which is pointed to by many expressions, reaching their climax in *non poterat anima mea sine illo*. And the emphasis on the sociative value of *con-* leads me to take into serious account even the textual variant *coacta* instead of *cocta*,[21] which is found in some manuscripts (*cocta* being possibly a *lectio facilior*, attracted by *fervor*).

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17   In each passage, I will set in bold type both the prefix *con-* (even when used with nouns and adjectives) and the preposition *cum*.

18   As a result, the prefixed verb is roughly synonymous of the unprefixed *paro* (examples in *ThlL* III, 2012.52–2013.50).

19   The verb is used by Cicero regarding the same semantic field (*S.Rosc.* 111: *idcirco amicitiae comparantur, ut commune commodum mutuis officiis gubernentur*); the etymological sociative value is preserved also in TERT. *Marc.* IV 24.4 MORESCHINI: *Haec erunt nostrae potius antithesis* (*scil.* the contradictions between the Old and the New Testament pointed out by Marcion)*, quae comparant, non quae separant Christum.*

20   The *ThlL* IV, 242.54–55 quotes only Augustine, while *confloreo* occurs in Columella as well (IV, 28).

21   See the commentary by O'DONNELL, JAMES J. 1992. *Augustine*, *Confessions*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, v. II, 219.

In the following chapters, devoted to this friend's death and to Augustine's grief, *con-* disappears and the reader's attention is caught by a wordplay, pointing out that Augustine's miserable condition and sadness (*miseria*) is due to the fact that he has lost (*amitto*) his friend just because he has not loved him truly, that is: he has not loved him *in* God.[22]

Again, the prefix *con-* recurs in another passage – a "variation on the theme of friendship"[23] –, where he speaks of the bad friends he meets in Carthage during the years 380–381, the Manicheens (*conf.* IV 8.13):

> (*Tempora,* that is times going by, after the above mentioned friend's death) *Maxime quippe me reparabant atque recreabant aliorum amicorum solacia,* **cum** *quibus amabam quod pro te amabam, et hoc erat ingens fabula et longum mendacium, cuius adulterina* **con***fricatione* **cor***rumpebatur mens nostra pruriens in auribus* (cf. 2 *Tim.* 4, 3). *Sed illa mihi fabula non moriebatur, si quis amicorum meorum moreretur. Alia erant, quae in eis amplius capiebant animum,* **con***loqui et* **con***ridere et vicissim benivole obsequi, simul legere libros dulciloquos, simul nugari et simul honestari, dissentire interdum sine odio tamquam ipse homo se***cum** *atque ipsa rarissima dissensione* **con***dire consensiones plurimas, docere aliquid invicem aut discere ab invicem, desiderare absentes cum molestia, suscipere venientes cum laetitia: his atque huius modi signis a corde amantium et redamantium procedentibus per os, per linguam, per oculos et mille motus gratissimos quasi fomitibus* **con***flare animos et ex pluribus unum facere.*

Here the sociative connotation of *con-*, which is quite obvious for *conloqui* and *conridere* ("to make conversation, to share a joke": H. CHADWICK [1992: 60]) (while we do not know whether *condire* may be perceived by Augustine as a prefixed form)[24] is reinforced by many contextual elements:

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22   *Miser enim eram et amiseram gaudium meum* (*conf.* IV 5.10); *Miser eram, et miser est omnis animus vinctus amicitia rerum mortalium et dilaniatur, cum eas amittit, et tunc sentit miseriam, qua miser est et antequam amittat eas. Sic ego eram illo tempore et flebam amarissime et requiescebam in amaritudine. Ita miser eram et habebam cariorem illo amico meo vitam ipsam miseram* (ibid. IV 6.11); and further: *Beatus qui amat te et amicum in te et inimicum propter te. Solus enim nullum carum amittit, cui omnes in illo cari sunt, qui non amittitur. Et quis est iste nisi Deus noster, Deus, qui fecit caelum et terram et implet ea, quia implendo ea fecit ea?* (ibid. IV 9.14). On the word-play *amitto-miser*, see MORETTI, PAOLA FRANCESCA. 2009. „Agostino e la scuola. L'*utilitas* della formazione scolastica e la prosa delle *Confessiones*.“ In GASTI, FABIO – NERI, MARINO [EDS.]. *Agostino a scuola. Atti della giornata di studio di Pavia, 13 novembre 2008.* Pisa: ETS, 19–55: 42–43.

23   Cf. J.J. O'DONNELL (1992, v. II, 232).

24   About this verb see ERNOUT, ALFRED – MEILLET, ANTOINE. 1959–1960[4]. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: histoire des mots.* Paris: Klincksieck, v. I, 137, s.v. *condio* and DE VAAN, MICHIEL A.C. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages.* Leiden: Brill, 130, s.v. *condio.*

the adverbs (*simul, vicissim, etc.*), but also the quite emphatic *quasi fomiti-bus conflare animos et ex pluribus unum facere*[25] ("acting as fuel to set our minds on fire and out of many to forge unity": H. CHADWICK [1992: 61]). I dare say that even in *confricatione* (a deverbative noun, meaning 'strong, vigorous rubbing', with intensive *con-*)[26] and *corrumpebatur* (where the prefix usually has an intensive sense) may acquire a sociative connotation (which is not expressed in H. CHADWICK [1992: 60]: "By its adulterous caresse, my mind which had 'itching ears' was corrupted"): both *con-* point out that it is *in friendship* and *with friends* that Augustine experiences the 'adulterous caresse' leading him to ruin; we may say, to 'complete' ruin, endowing the second *con-* (*corrumpebatur*) with polysemy: in fact it might be both sociative and intensive.

And again, the prefix *con-* is no longer used in the following chapters, where Augustine expresses disapproval of the falsity of those friendships.

Further, the prefix *con-* is used again in a passage concerning friendship. In this case it is not a false one, but nonetheless one destined to fail. In the Milanese period (385), he plans with some friends to begin living together, sharing even earthly possessions, in order to develop their philosophical search for truth. But their project fails, due to the issue of what to do with the female partners that are or will be tied to them (*conf.* VI 14.24):

> *Et multi amici agitaveramus animo et **con**loquentes ac detestantes turbulentas humanae vitae molestias paene iam firmaveramus remoti a turbis otiose vivere, id otium sic moliti, ut, si quid habere possemus, **con**ferremus in medium unamque rem familiarem **con**flare-mus ex omnibus, ut per amicitiae sinceritatem non esset aliud huius et aliud illius, sed quod ex **cu**nctis* [27] *fieret unum, et universum singulorum esset et omnia omnium … Sed posteaquam coepit **co**gitari, utrum hoc mulierculae sinerent, quas et alii nostrum iam ha-*

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25   A somewhat ciceronian expression; cf. CIC. *amic.* 25, 92: *cum amicitiae vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus*. Cicero's text is referred to in J.J. O'DONNELL (1992, v. II, 233).

26   The meaning of *confrico* is in most cases concrete (see *ThlL* IV, 454.59–83); see the incisive use of this verb made by Augustine in *serm.* 113A MORIN: *Adorando autem imaginem hominis, quam fecit faber, conteris imaginem Dei, quam tibi inpressit Deus. Ideo, cum te vocat ut redeas, reddere tibi vult illam imaginem, quam tu ipse cupiditate terrena quodam modo confricando perdidisti et obsoletasti*. The noun *confricatio* is met with in *conf.* II 8.16, about bad friendship as well: *Quid est, quod mihi venit in mentem quaerere et discutere et considerare, quia si tunc amarem poma illa, quae furatus sum, et eis frui cuperem, possem etiam solus, si satis esset, committere illam iniquitatem, qua pervenirem ad voluptatem meam, nec confricatione consciorum animorum accenderem pruritum cupiditatis meae?*

27   Maybe Augustine was also familiar to the explaination of *cuncti* as linked to *con-iuncti*: cf. PAUL. FEST. 44.9–10 LINDSAY: *Cuncti significat quidem omnes, sed*

*bebant et nos habere volebamus, totum illud placitum, quod bene formabamus, dissiluit in manibus atque **con**fractum et abiectum est. Inde ad suspiria et gemitus et gressus ad sequendas latas et tritas vias saeculi, quoniam multae **co**gitationes erant in corde nostro, **con**silium autem tuum manet in aeternum* (cf. *Prov.* 19, 21). *Ex quo **con**silio deride-bas nostra et tua praeparabas nobis daturus escam in oportunitate et aperturus manum atque impleturus animas nostras benedictione* (cf. *Ps.* 144, 15–16).

Here the sociative value of *con-* is straightforward in some of its occur-rences (*conloquentes*, "talking with one another"; *conferremus in medium*, "put into a common treasury"; *unamque rem familiarem conflaremus ex omnibus*, "would create a single household chest": H. CHADWICK [1992: 60]); the same is true for the intensive value of *con-* in *confractum* ("it was broken up": *ibid.*: 61). Furthermore, the passage begins contrasting *agitav-eramus animo* with *conloquentes*: the former suggests that each of them thinks the project over; the latter refers to the discussion they have with each other. So the verb *cogitare*, which appears in the following lines and which Augustine has learnt at school to be a composed verb (*con-agitare*, intensive of *cogere*, *con-agere*),[28] seems to be endowed with a twofold so-ciative connotation, as it may refer: on the one hand, quite obviously, to each of them thinking the problem over; on the other hand, more surpris-ingly, to the fact that they discuss the issue, as if *co-gitari* were restored to its etymological value (*agitare cum*: 'to discuss with'). In any case, these thoughts and discussions result in *multae cogitationes*, which will shortly turn out to be vain in comparison to God's *consilium*. And the Varronian

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coniuncti et congregati. See MALTBY, ROBERT. 1991. *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies.* Leeds: F. Cairns, 165, s.v. *cunctus.*

28   Elsewhere in the *Confessions* Augustine describes as *cogitare* (that is *con-ligere*) the activity of mind, recollecting the ideas contained in the recesses of memory, and shows to be familiar with the etymology of the verb: *Quocirca invenimus nihil esse aliud discere ista, quorum non per sensus haurimus imagines, sed sine imaginibus, sicuti sunt, per se ipsa intus cernimus, nisi ea, quae passim atque indisposite memoria continebat, **co**gitando quasi **con**ligere atque animadvertendo curare, ut tamquam ad manum posita in ipsa memoria, ubi sparsa prius et neglecta latitabant, iam familiari intentioni facile occurrant. Et quam multa huius modi gestat memoria mea, quae iam inventa sunt et, sicut dixi, quasi ad manum posita, quae didicisse et nosse dicimur. Quae si modestis temporum intervallis recolere desivero, ita rursus demerguntur et quasi in remotiora penetralia dilabuntur, ut denuo velut nova ex**co**gitanda sint indidem iterum – neque enim est alia regio eorum – et **co**genda rursus, ut sciri possint, id est velut ex quadam dispersione **con**ligenda, unde dictum est **co**gitare. Nam **co**go et **co**gito sic est, ut ago et agito, facio et factito. Verum tamen sibi animus hoc verbum proprie vindicavit, ut non quod alibi, sed quod in animo **con**ligitur; id est **co**gitur, **co**gitari proprie iam dicatur* (conf. X 11.18).

background of Augustine's etymological understanding of words is clear; see Varro *ling*. VI 42–43:[29]

> *Actionum trium primus agitatus mentis, quod primum ea quae sumus acturi cogitare debemus, deinde tum dicere ac facere. De his tribus minime putat volgus esse actionem cogitationem; tertium, in quo quid facimus, id maximum. Sed et cum co[a]gitamus quid et eam rem agitamus in mente, agimus, et cum pronuntiamus, agimus… Cogitare a cogendo dictum: mens plura in unum cogit, unde eligere possit... A cogitatione concilium (inde consilium).*

4. A suggestion, rather than a conclusion.

The impression we get from this short survey is that the plasticity of preverbs may serve the purpose of intensifying the meaning. Predictably human friendship and human relationships, which are often false or destined to fail, are the semantic field where *con-* is recurrent; but unexpectedly – as we shall see shortly – this prefix seems to give way to another one, *in-*, when the relationship with God is involved: the true friendship which is not destined to fail.

As far as the relationship with God is concerned, the prefix *in-* appears to be predominant and most meaningful. As remarked by scholars, *in-* in general can have either a concrete sense (spatial) or an abstract one (actional: ingressive or intensive); and *in-*prefixed verbs are often polysemic.[30] The two functions are met with even in Priscian, who identifies a spatial function, when *in-* corresponds to Greek εἰς/κατά or ἐν (either preposition or prefix), and an intensive one, which is peculiar to the prefix (*inst*. XIV 6.50 = *GLK* III, 53):[31]

> *'In' quando εἰς vel κατά significat, id est si 'ad locum' vel 'contra' demonstrat, accusativo iungitur, ut 'in urbem vado' vel 'in adulterum dico'. Invenitur tamen etiam pro 'ad', cum huic casui praeponitur* [*id est accusativo*]*, ut Virgilius in I Aeneidos* [v. 82]*: 'Impulit in latus', pro 'ad latus', et Lucanus in III* [v. 545]*: 'In puppim rediere rates', pro 'ad puppim'; quando vero pro ἐν Graeca praepositione accipitur apud nos, ablativo servit, ut 'in Italia, in urbe, in tempore'. In compositione quoque diversas habet significationes quam in appositione: modo enim privativa est, ut 'indoctus, iniustus, inutilis, iniquus, impius; infirmo, improbo', modo intentiva, ut 'imprimo, incuso, irrumpo, impugno, inicio, immitto, incumbo, incurro, irrideo'.*

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[29] O'DONNELL (1992: v. II, 393, ad *conf*. VII 1.1); see also R. MALTBY (1991: 139), where a passage from Augustine's *De trinitate* is quoted.

[30] G. HAVERLING (2000, 287–315). See also J. LORENZO LORENZO (1976: 173–190); B. GARCÍA HERNÁNDEZ (1980: 161–167).

[31] As we shall see shortly, Priscian does not treat separately the negative prefix *in-*.

Two passages, belonging to the beginning of books I and XIII of the *Confessions*, suggest that the whole work must be seen a long *in*vocation to God:

*Et quomodo **in**<u>voc</u>abo Deum meum, Deum et dominum meum, quoniam utique **in** me ipsum eum <u>voc</u>abo, cum **in**<u>voc</u>abo eum? Et quis locus est **in** me, quo veniat **in** me Deus meus? Quo Deus veniat **in** me, Deus, 'qui fecit caelum et terram'* (*Ps.* 123, 8 et al.)*? Itane, domine Deus meus, est quidquam **in** me, quod capiat te? An vero caelum et terra, quae fecisti et in quibus me fecisti, capiunt te? An quia sine te non esset quidquid est, fit, ut quidquid est capiat te? Quoniam itaque et ego sum, quid peto, ut venias **in** me, qui non essem, nisi esses **in** me? Non enim ego iam <in profundis> **in**feri, et tamen etiam ibi es. Nam etsi descendero in infernum, ades* (cf. *Ps.* 138, 8)*. Non ergo essem, Deus meus, non omnino essem, nisi esses **in** me. An potius non essem, nisi essem **in** te, ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia* (cf. *Rom.* 11, 36)*? Etiam sic, domine, etiam sic. Quo te **in**<u>voc</u>o, cum **in** te sim? Aut unde venias **in** me? Quo enim recedam extra caelum et terram, ut inde **in** me veniat Deus meus, qui dixit: 'Caelum et terram ego **im**pleo?'* (*Jer.* 23, 24) (*conf.* I 2.2)*;*

"How shall I call upon my God, my God and Lord? Surely when I call on him, I am calling on him to come into me. But what place is there in me where my God can enter into me? 'God made heaven and earth'. Where may he come to me? Lord my God, is there any room in me which can contain you? Can heaven and earth, which you have made and in which you have made me, contain you? Without you, whatever exists would not exist. Then can what exists contain you? I also have being. So why do I request you to come to me when, unless you were within me, I would have no being at all? I am not now possessed by Hades; yet even there are you: for 'even if I were to go down to the Hades, you would be present'. Accordingly, my God, I would have no being, I would not have any existence, unless you were in me. Or rather, I would have no being if I were not in you 'of whom are all things, through whom are all things, in whom are all things'. Even so, Lord, even so. How can I call on you to come if I am already in you? Or when can you come from so as to be in me? Can I move outside heaven and earth so that my God may come to me from there? For God has said 'I fill heaven and earth'": H. CHADWICK (1992: 3–4).

***In**<u>voc</u>o te, Deus meus, 'misericordia mea'* (*Ps* 58, 18)*, qui fecisti me et oblitum tui non oblitus es. **In**<u>voc</u>o te **in** animam meam, quam praeparas ad capiendum te ex desiderio, quod **in**spiras ei: nunc **in**<u>voc</u>antem te ne deseras, qui priusquam **in**<u>voc</u>arem praevenisti et **in**stitisti crebrescens multimodis vocibus, ut audirem de longinquo et converterer et <u>voc</u>antem me **in**<u>voc</u>arem te* (*conf.* XIII 1.1).*

"I call upon you, my God, my mercy. You made me and, when I forgot, you did not forget me. I call you into my soul which you are preparing to receive you through the longing which you have inspired in it. Do not desert me now that I am calling on you. Before I called to you, you were there before me. With mounting frequency by voices of many kinds you put pressure on me, so that from far off I heard and was converted and called upon as you were calling to me": H. CHADWICK (1992: 273).

But what does *in*vocation mean exactly? The intensive sense, which is usually proper to the prefix in the verb *invoco*, overlaps with a spatial one,

which is all-pervading. *In-vocare Deum* means on the one hand 'to call upon God' (intensive value, which is somewhat banal);[32] on the other hand – we might say, paraphrasing Priscian –,[33] it means *vocare Deum in*, 'to call upon God, so that he come into Augustine's soul': in this case the prefix is given a strong spatial – although spiritual – value. And the relationship with God, a friendship that is not going to fail, is described as an action of 'staying *in*', rather than of 'staying *with*': God *in* Augustine, Augustine *in* God.

In conclusion, we may state that "les verbes simples parlent du monde, tandis que les préverbés latins parlent du locuteur, et des relations que ce locuteur sait apercevoir et construir entre les êtres".[34]

This short overview, I think, should be regarded as an invitation to carry on the research about the verbal prefixes that are met with in Augustine' *Confessions*, a text that certainly deserves to be furtherly examined in this respect.

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[32] See *ThlL* VII/2, 254.26–258.24. Cf. PAUL. FEST. 48.16–18 LINDSAY: *Clutum Graeci* κλυτόν *dicunt. Unde accepta praepositione fit inclytus. In enim saepe augendi causa <a>dicimus, ut invocavit, inclamavit*; 96.1–2: *In non semper abnuitionem significat, sed interdum etiam pro adnuendo ponitur, ut involando, inclamando, invocando*; 97.15–17: *In praepositio modo significat, quod non, ut inimicus; modo auctionem, ut inclamavit; modo* [ubi] *quo tendatur, ut incurrit; modo ubi qui sit, ut inambulat.*

[33] PRISC. *inst.* XIV 3.19 = *GLK* III, 35: (particles which might be treated both as prepositions and as prefixes) *est quando eandem habent tam in compositione quam in appositione significationem, ut 'invado hostem' et 'in hostem vado', in utroque enim 'contra' significat.*

[34] F. GAIDE (2005: 271).