SECOND INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON COMPUTATIONAL LATIN DIALECTOLOGY

30th March – 31st March 2017
Conference Room
Research Institute for Linguistics (RIL), Hungarian Academy of
Sciences (HAS)
Benczúr utca 33.
1068 Budapest
Hungary

PROGRAMME

Thursday, 30th March

09:00–09:10 Opening remarks (RITOÓK Zs. — ADAMIK B.)

FIRST SESSION (chair: KISS S.)

09:10   The problem of the omission of word final *-s* as evidenced in the inscriptions of the imperial period (ADAMIK B.)

09:50   Remarks on the Vulgar Latin Nominal System of Lusitania (TANTIMONACO S.)

10:30   *Maritus/marita*: some notes on the dialectal variation per lexical choices (GASPAR C.)

11:10–11:30 Coffee break

SECOND SESSION (chair: CSER A.)

11:30   Celtic influence on Pannonian Latin? A Critical Overview (SIMON Zs.)

12:10   The Graphic Oscillation between O and U in Italian Latin Epigraphy of the Late Republican age. A Preliminary Investigation (PAPINI A.)

12:50–14:00 Lunch break

SEMINAR SESSION

14:00–15:30 Introduction to the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age. How does it work? Some case studies of data collection issues (ADAMIK B. in in active collaboration with the data collectors: MELOUNOVÁ M., GACHALLOVÁ N., ŠEVČÍK P., ŠEVČÍKOVÁ T., ČERNOCH R. and WEISSAR T.

from the Department of Classical Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno.

Friday, 31ˢᵗ March

FIRST SESSION (chair: ADAMIK T.)

09:00   The Siscia Curse Tablet from a Linguistic Point of View. A New Autopsy (BARTA A.)
09:40   A multidisciplinary analysis of non-literary Latin texts from Britain (COTUGNO F.)
10:20   Local Vulgar-Latin Elements in Curse Tablets, with special attention to the Northern Provinces of the Roman Empire (URBANOVÁ D.)
11:00–11:20 Coffee break

SECOND SESSION (chair: DÉRI B.)

11:20   Changes in the consonant system and verbal system of Pannonia, Dalmatia and Venetia et Histria (GONDA A.)
12:00   The variants of the *se vivo fecit* expression found on latin language inscriptions (ZELENAI N.)
12:40–12:50 Closing remarks (ADAMIK B.)

OPENING REMARKS – 30th March, 09:00–09:10

RITOÓK Zsigmond (Ordinary Member of HAS, Budapest)
ADAMIK Béla (LRGCLD[1], RIL/HAS, Budapest)

FIRST SESSION – 30th March, 09:10–11:10

Chair: KISS Sándor (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

ADAMIK Béla (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

The problem of the omission of word final -*s* as evidenced in the inscriptions of the imperial period

It was exactly thirty years ago that József Herman published the findings of his investigation of the omission of word final -*s* in imperial inscriptions. He concluded that the relevant omissions can be explained by morphosyntactic changes rather than by purely phonetic developments. He argued that the frequency of such omissions is much lower than expected based on cases where a phonetic development lies behind a misspelling (e.g. in the case of the merger of *b* and *v,* or the loss of word final -*m*). He also drew attention to the high frequency of omissions in the nominative of -*us* nouns and names in African curse tablets from Hadrumetum (from the second and/or third century), where -*u* nominatives (after the omission of -*s*) seem to have become interchangeable with -*u* accusatives (after the omission of -*m*) (e.g. *Latrone, Vagulu cadant < Latro, Vagulus cadant ~*

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[1] LRGCLD = Lendület Research Group for Computational Latin Dialectology

Latronem Vagulum cadant). This morphosyntactic explanation of Herman (1987=2006, 41) placed this phenomenon at the beginning of the development which, starting by this functional extension of the accusative to the nominative, might have led to the accusative becoming the base form or default case of nouns in African Latin (contrary to the situation of Gallo-Romance, which retained the nominative *-s*). Herman's explanation has been received favourably by Adams (2013, 143) as follows: "There may be something in this idea".

Our paper intends to reconsider Herman's morphosyntactic explanation in the light of inscriptional data of regions other than Latin Africa. Herman suggested that the (linguistically relevant) omission of the word final *-s* in inscriptions recorded from other regions of the Empire may be explained by the same morphosyntactic oscillation as in the case of the African curse tablets from Hadrumetum. According to our preliminary investigation, however, relevant items with the omission of the word final *-s* after *-u* recorded from regions other than Latin Africa are hard to be explained by morphosyntactic factors, or at least by a functional extension of the accusative to the nominative, since in the relevant inscriptions confusions between the nominative and the accusative (e.g. LLDB-43687: HIC REQVI|ISCIT ALBINVM EPISCOPVM = *hic requiescit Albinus episcopus* or LLDB-46856: P SIGERIVS = *per Sigerium*) are extremely rare as compared to the massive attestation of confusions between the accusative and the ablative (e.g. LLDB-8547: PER VALERIO = *per Valerium* or LLDB-1235 EX VOTVM = *ex voto*).

This situation compels us to reconsider all items of the omission of *-s*, especially those after a *-u,* recorded to date in the LLDB Database, and analyse them not only according to their territorial and chronological distribution,

but also their phonetic context, and reintroduce the phonetic and/or phonosyntactic approach alongside or instead of the morphosyntactic one. This might help account for those cases where extralinguistic factors cannot explain the omission of word final *-s*.

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LLDB = Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (http://lldb.elte.hu/)

Silvia TANTIMONACO (Universitat de Barcelona)

Remarks on the Vulgar Latin Nominal System of Lusitania

With the help of the informatics tools provided by the linguistic database LLDB (lldb.elte.hu), Adamik (2014) proved the correspondence between Romance languages and Vulgar Latin inscriptions as for the treatment of the nominal case system. Indeed, he identified two main linguistics regions, corresponding to Gaul and to the Balkans, where the case system developed in independent forms: «1. According to the evidence of Old French and Old Occitan, a system with only two cases evolved in Gaul, where a nominative was opposed to an oblique case descending from the accusative. 2. According to the evidence of Rumanian, another system with only two cases emerged in the Balkans, where an established dative-genitive inflection was opposed to a nominative-accusative inflection, which emerged from the fusion of the

nominative and the accusative-ablative» (p. 658). In the same paragraph, he also postulated the existence of a third linguistic region, which includes the province of Hispania: «3. There must have been a third area in later times, i.e. Africa and probably parts of Italy and Hispania, where the nominative and the accusative merged earlier than in Gaul, and a system with only one inflection emerged, which means that in those regions the system of inflections effectively disappeared - as there is no such system in modern Romance languages except for Rumanian».

By using Adamik's study as reference, I will analyse the data referred to the nominal field that I have been collecting in LLDB concerning the Hispanic province of Lusitania. My purpose is to analyse the ways and times of the merge of the case system in this territory and, in general, to set into light its principal characteristics in a dialectological perspective. As a methodological introduction, I will also discuss some problematic points related to the study of the Vulgar Latin morpho-syntax throughout inscriptions. They concern both the epigraphical nature of the sources (e.g. technical errors) and the inner mechanisms of the language (e.g. the possible loss of concordance, due to psycholinguistic factors) as well as specific features of Latin itself (e.g. phonetic changes that determine morphological variations). I will pay special attention to the following aspects: change of declension, interchange of cases and use of prepositional and nominal patterns.

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Catarina GASPAR (Universidade de Lisboa)

Maritus/marita: some notes on the dialectal variation per lexical choices

The lexical choices between words with closer or similar meaning in Latin epigraphy are one way to understand lexical variation in Latin language. I will focus on formal reasons, semantic reasons and other, that explain the use of words *maritus, mariti* (m.) and *marita*, *maritae* (f.), and their distribution on time and space in Latin epigraphy. That allow us to understand the relations between the juridical sense and usage of the words in other contexts, such is the case of the poetry.

The use of these words in epigraphic texts has a specific distribution on time and space. For instance, we have several examples known in Iberian Peninsula, but they are more common in specific regions as *Baetica* and south part of *Lusitania*, and in specific cities, such is the case of *Tarraco*.

The analysis on the use of *maritus / marita* can help us to understand the semantic changes in Latin language, as well as the lexical change of the words, for instance, into

onomastic elements, such is the case of *Marita*. Also interesting is to relate the distribution of these words in epigraphic texts with the Romance languages, as Portuguese language, where the masculine form *maritus* has been preserved, but the feminine *marita* was left beyond. As Herman (2000, 97) stated: "The vocabulary that survives in Romance can in turn offer us a kind of control mechanism that is largely reliable as well as convenient."

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SECOND SESSION – 30th March, 11:30–12:50

Chair: CSER András (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

SIMON Zsolt (RIL/HAS, Budapest – Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

Celtic influence on Pannonian Latin? A Critical Overview

Despite the lack of inscriptions in pre-Roman languages, it is generally assumed that (a) Celtic dialect(s) was/were spoken in Pannonia at least until the end of the 2nd c. AD. Hence the logical question if any Celtic influence can be

detected in the peculiarities of Pannonian Latin. Although cautious suggestions have indeed been proposed (e.g. Fehér 2007, 481; Gonda 2015, 322–324), and some of them received considerable criticism (e.g. Adamik 2005, 258, 261; Péterváry-Szanyi 2012, 15, 20–21), a full scale investigation is still missing. Moreover, the investigation of this problem is hampered by the fact that these authors used methodologically different approaches. Thus the purpose of this paper is twofold: First, a methodological introduction how substrate influences can be identified in general and in this special correlation. Second, a critical evaluation of all of the hypotheses proposed so far as well as some additional observations.

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Alessandro PAPINI **(**Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"**)**

The Graphic Oscillation between O and U in Italian Latin Epigraphy of the Late Republican age. A Preliminary Investigation

The spelling *O* for Classical Latin /ŭ/ is widely attested in Latin inscriptions up from the Republican age. Nevertheless, as many scholars (Väänänen 1966; Adams 2013) have well pointed out, not all these documented deviations from the classical norm can be securely used to argue for developments in the Latin vowel system. Indeed, a misspelling possibly reflecting a vowel merger that appears in Romance could have a different explanation in a Latin text. For example, it might be old and archaising or it might have been adopted by some writers in the first imperial period since it still represented a current pronunciation. Furthermore, some of these forms might be regarded as "special cases" and could therefore be unrelated to future developments in the later vowel system. Are we so to conclude that, as Adams (2013: 65) suggests, there is not a single case in our epigraphic material which might be interpreted as showing opening of /ŭ/ in anticipation of a (Proto) Romance vowel merger of the back vowels /ō/ and /ŭ/ as a close /o/?

In this paper, a few epigraphs published in *CIL,* I² and attesting some particularly interesting o-spelling have been considered. All inscriptions have undergone a detailed analysis, taking into account dating, geographical origin, typology of the single epigraph and paying particular attention to the possible presence (or absence) of other deviant spellings in the same texts. In addition, some of the above monuments have been put in comparison with other

epigraphic (and literary) sources in which the same deviant spelling appears. A further inscription has been added to the above republican material. This inscription is published in *CIL,* VI, it dates within the first century AD and attests the spelling *monomento* (for CLat. *monumento*), which might be, for several reasons, particularly relevant to the given subject. Noteworthy, the results suggest that not every single o-spelling attested in our epigraphic material could be regarded as a "special case" as usually done. Conversely, the investigated phenomenon might be dated back in the late Republican age, at least in some sub-standard varieties of the language.

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SEMINAR SESSION – 30th March, 14:00–15:30

ADAMIK Béla (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

Introduction to the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age. How does it work? Some case studies of data collection issues

In active collaboration with the data collectors: Markéta MELOUNOVÁ, Natália GACHALLOVÁ, Pavel ŠEVČÍK, Tereza ŠEVČÍKOVÁ, Radek

ČERNOCH and Tomáš WEISSAR from the Department of Classical Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno.

FIRST SESSION – 31st March, 09:00–11:00

Chair: ADAMIK Tamás (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

BARTA Andrea (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

The Siscia Curse Tablet from a Linguistic Point of View. A New Autopsy

In 1912, during the dredging works of the river Kupa (in Sisak, today Croatia) a curse tablet was found by workers. Its text was published in six relevant and several minor publications, each of them showing differences in certain sections. These differences can be explained on one hand by the poor legibility of the text, on the other hand by the fact that only two researchers have examined the tablet personally, all the other scholars applied photographs or sketches of the previous editors which they interpreted in their own way. Because of the divergent readings, even establishing the correct order of the text on the outer and the inner side of the tablet has given rise to controversy. Despite these problems, the text of this curse tablet has become a standing exemplar of Vulgar Latin features on the course of the past 100 years, handbooks and papers on the Latin of imperial times refer to its well-known „mistakes". For obvious reasons, a new autopsy could not be delayed any longer.

In my paper, I am going to relate the results of my research in Zagreb where this tablet is kept today. I have

examined the defixio personally, I have made a new interpreting drawing. Having the tablet on hand, my main aim was to check the possible correctness of the two latest editors' readings, of Fehér 2007 and Marco—Rodà 2008, both of them worked without autopsy. Additionally, I want to give definite answers to those questions which were left open due to lack of personal examination. Finally, I intend to reflect on the linguistic features of this curse text in regard to formularies. By comparing with other curses we can distinguish the expressions which represented the characteristics of the Siscian magician's language usage from the parts based on magical handbooks circulating all over the provinces (or just in certain provinces) for centuries.

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Francesca COTUGNO (Università di Pisa – Universiteit Gent)

A multidisciplinary analysis of non-literary Latin texts from Britain

The focus of this presentation will be discussing a methodological and theoretical approach to the analysis of non-literary texts written on tablets between the 1st and 4th century CE in Roman Britain, i.e. Vindolanda, Carlisle and *Londinium* writing-tablets, the *defixiones*, and other minor texts (edited in Bowman & Thomas 1983; 1994; 2003; Bowman, Thomas & Tomlin 2010; 2011; Tomlin 1988; 1998; 2016).

The first results of my study will be published on CLaSSES (http://classes-latin-linguistics.fileli.unipi.it/, cf. De Felice, Donati & Marotta 2015), in the framework of the analysis of spelling variation in Latin inscriptions, as conceived by Giovanna Marotta (2015).

On the one hand, this choice rests upon the work by Adams (2013; 2016), who stresses that the use of a unified and cohesive corpus would overcome the difficulties in interpreting non-literary texts. On the other hand, my argumentation follows Herman's (2000: 117) work on the combination of quantitative analysis together with qualitative analysis, involving also other fields of research, as these corpora are the object of study of several disciplines, among which are history, palaeography and archaeology, linguistics, and sociolinguistics.

The theoretical framework discussed here aims at using relevant phonological phenomena to delineate diaphasic, diastratic and diatopic variation, by comparing classical and non-classical words, with specific reference to extra-linguistic features, such as

geographical location of the tablets and their date, possible writer and recipient together with the writing used and textual typology, with a first distinction between formal and non-formal styles, and then through further subdivisions according to the specific textual typology (cf. Marotta 2015).

The analysis of linguistic features in their historical and extra-linguistic context can also help in confirming previous assumptions, such as the diffusion of *h-* in initial position in documents written by people with a Germanic influence, the tendency towards degemination in text whose writer were influenced by Celtic, or the presence of vowel syncope in non-formal text (i.e. personal informal correspondence and accounts). Thanks to this methodological approach, it is possible to have a clearer picture of the Latin used, thus leading to a systematic organization of these non-literary texts according to linguistic principles and to a better understanding of the levels of Latinization of Roman Britain (Pearce 2004; Cotugno *in press*).

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Daniela Urbanová (Masaryk University Brno)

Local Vulgar-Latin Elements in Curse Tablets, with special attention to the Northern Provinces of the Roman Empire.

The Latin curse tablets from the Northern provinces (Germania, Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia) document a rapid and varied spreading of the Mediterranean cursing tradition to the border areas of the Empire. The new numerous findings from Germania (Mainz) and Pannonia provide rich material for study from the linguistic point of

view as well as because of the specific magic features of the preserved texts. In connection with the specific technical magic use of language we can recognize independent vernacular peculiarities in curse formulations made by laymen in combination with typical Vulgar-Latins elements conditioned probably by social and territorial diversification in spoken Latin on this territory.

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SECOND SESSION – 31st March, 11:20–12:40

Chair: DÉRI Balázs (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

GONDA Attila (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

Changes in the consonant system and verbal system of Pannonia, Dalmatia and Venetia et Histria

After our analysis of the changes of the vowel system and the noun cases of the Latin inscriptions of Aquincum, Salona and Aquileia, presented at last year's workshop conference, in our next talk we shall attempt to uncover common features and differences in the language of the Latin inscriptions of Pannonia, Dalmatia and Venetia et Histria (Regio X of Italia), in order to pursue our investigation to demonstrate if there existed a regional dialect area over the Alps–Danube–Adria region of the Roman empire, a hypothesis suggested by Unterman (1980) and Herman (1983). Linguistic data will be taken from the *Tituli Aquincenses*, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, *CIL III*, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*, the *Salona IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe-VIIe siècles* and some other minor corpora, as recorded in the LLDB database. Continuing the systematic

method set forth in our previous study, we shall examine the relative distribution of diverse types of non-standard data found in the inscriptions and contrast the linguistic phenomena of an earlier period (1st–3rd c. CE) with a later stage (4th–6th c. CE) of Vulgar Latin. We will analyze the changes in the consonant system and in the verbal conjugations, with special attention to the perfect tense variations *posuit* and *posit*, between the two chronological periods within each of the examined provinces. Our previous studies revealed some common linguistic characteristics within the region, but the results so far have not been convincing and conclusive enough to prove the existence of a single Latin dialect in the Alps–Danube–Adria region, but seemed to suggest that there might have existed more than one minor dialects in the area. In this next study, we continue our quest to discover the missing details and to find a conclusive answer to this question.

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The variants of the *se vivo fecit* expression found on latin language inscriptions

The *se vivo fecit* formula (or any variants of it) occurs almost 1400 times in the Latin epigraphic corpus. This fact attracts our attention, because, according to the rules of the classical grammar, the expression should be seen as incorrect, since the semantic subject of the ablative absolute construction corresponds to the subject of the main phrase. This incorrect formula was nevertheless part of the Latin funerary epigraphic language for more than five hundred years. We can find variants of it (as *se vivo*, *vivo se*, *se vivente*) on inscriptions from the Iberian Peninsula to the Balkans, from Africa up to Gallia, and the form was considerably widespread in the area of Rome, in the west side of North-Africa, and in the Balkan provinces. It is remarkable that (most of all in Rome) the phonetic and morphosyntactic changes of the Latin language have induced further interior mutations of the formula. We have many examples in which the adjective of the expression (*vivus*) stands in the nominative or in the accusative instead of the relatively correct ablative. Therefore, we can find variants as *se vivus*, *se vivum*, etc. The aim of this paper is to explore the spread of each variant of the *se vivo fecit* formula, and to give a possible explanation for the occurrence of trends that do not meet our expectations.

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CLOSING REMARKS – 31st March, 12:40–12:50

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