THIRD INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON COMPUTATIONAL LATIN DIALECTOLOGY

28th March – 29th March 2018
Conference Room (no. 108, 1st floor)
Temporary Building of the Research Institute for Linguistics (RIL)
of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS)
Teréz körút 13.
1067 Budapest
Hungary

PROGRAMME

Wednesday, 28ᵗʰ March

09:00–09:10 Opening remarks (PRÓSZÉKY G. — ADAMIK T.)

FIRST SESSION (chair: ADAMIK T.)

09:10 The transformation of the case system in African Latin as evidenced in inscriptions (ADAMIK B.)

09:45 Archaisms in the Latin inscriptions of the Roman provinces. Some considerations (TANTIMONACO S.)

10:20 Some remarks on the cumulation of verbal prefixes in Vulgar Latin inscriptions (URBANOVÁ D.)

10:55–11:25 Coffee break

SECOND SESSION (chair: KISS S.)

11:25 The *vivo suo* formula as an indicator of the supposed interference between the Latin and the Greek languages in Moesia Inferior (ZELENAI N.)

12:00 Phonetic changes in the Latin of Noricum (GONDA A.)

12:50 Some Preliminary Remarks concerning Sociolinguistic Variation within the "Vulgar Latin" Vowel System: as evidenced by the inscriptional data (PAPINI A.)

Thursday, 29ᵗʰ March

FIRST SESSION (chair: DÉRI B.)

09:00 Electronic editing of epigraphic texts from Dacia (BEU-DACHIN E.)

09:35 The *Endovellicus* sanctuary in Portugal: an example of votive inscriptions and Latin language variation (GASPAR C.)

10:10 *LatinNow*: crossing disciplinary boundaries (COTUGNO F.)

10:45–11:15 Coffee break

SECOND SESSION (chair: CSER A.)

11:15 The confusion between \<b\> and \<v\> in Latin inscriptions from Sardinia (TAMPONI L.)

11:50 *Brutes* and *svecerio*: on the origin of some Germanic words in Latin inscriptions (SIMON Zs.)

12:25 *Mala bestia foras dato*. Linguistic Features of Estate Protecting Magical Texts (BARTA A.)

13:00–13:10 Closing remarks (ADAMIK B.)

13:15–14:15 Lunch break

SEMINAR SESSION

14:15–15:45 Demonstration of the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age: new developments and 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., WEISSAR T. and ŠMERDA M. from the Department of Classical Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno.

OPENING REMARKS – 28th March, 09:00–09:10

PRÓSZÉKY Gábor (Director, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

ADAMIK Tamás (Professor emeritus, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

FIRST SESSION – 28th March, 09:10–10:55

Chair: ADAMIK Tamás (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

ADAMIK Béla (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

The transformation of the case system in African Latin as evidenced in inscriptions

Despite the renewed activity in the literature of the last few decades concerning the problem of African Latin (for the detailed critical review of which see Adams 2007), the very process of the transformation of the case system in African Latin (apart from some particularities, see Adamik T. 1987 or Adams 2007) was discussed neither extensively nor comprehensively. In this context almost exclusively Gaeng (1992) can be mentioned, who discussed the transformation of the case system of later Latin expansively, based on a selection of African Christian inscriptions published in ILCV. From this material he inferred a radical reduction of the five-case system of Classical Latin into a system with only one inflection in later African Latin. For the pre-Christian period, practically the same conclusion was drawn by Herman (1987=2006) surveying the language of some African curse tablets from the 2nd and/or 3rd century A.D. It can be assumed that it is due to the results of these investigations that Herman

(2000: 58) indicated Roman Africa (accompanied by parts of Italy and Hispania in this respect) as a representative for a system with only one i.e. no inflection.

However, some considerations suggest that the disintegration and transformation of the case system in African Latin might have happened territorially unevenly, more slowly, and more gradually than assumed so far. This has effectively been proved as for the pre-Christian period or at least as for the language of the African curse tablets (cf. Adams 2013 and Adamik 2017). The present paper intends to reconsider the process of the transformation of the case system as evidenced in the inscriptions of both the pre-Christian and the Christian era of the core area of Roman Africa (i.e. of the provinces Africa Proconsularis and Numidia) with the help of the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age.

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Silvia TANTIMONACO (DAAD Fellow – Heidelberg University)

Archaisms in the Latin inscriptions of the Roman provinces. Some considerations

The aim of my paper is to reconsider the thorny issue about the use of archaisms –at all levels of the linguistic system– in Latin inscriptions, specifically in those found in the provinces. Indeed, such a phenomenon has been interpreted in light of the chronology of the Roman conquest: this is the case, for instance, of Hispania, which was one of the earliest territories to be occupied by the Romans, and one of the provinces where Latin is usually labelled as conservative and archaic. The marginal location of these territories could turn the problem of linguistic conservatism into a matter of geo-linguistics, in the same way as happens nowadays in the case, for example, of the American variants of Spanish, which are supposed to preserve some archaisms despite the linguistic developments of the homeland. On the other hand, literary sources connect the use of archaisms with the concept of *rusticitas* (e.g. CIC. *Brut.* 36, 137: *Cum uerbis tum etiam ipso sono*

quasi subrustico persequebatur atque imitabatur antiquitatem), in this way suggesting that their usage represented a sociolinguistic feature in Latin. When dealing with epigraphy, one should not forget that archaisms are traditionally used in texts of a juridical nature, and that they could reflect the influence of the literary language in the case of (though not exclusively) the *carmina latina epigraphica*, being in this case a form of acculturation. For these reasons, my paper tries to 'make some order' among the possible causes and interpretations of archaisms in Latin inscriptions, and to investigate their possible connections with specific sociolinguistic or geo-linguistic contexts. I will focus on the epigraphic corpus of Hispania (above all of Lusitania), and I will compare the situation of this province with that of other territories by means of the online database, *Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age* (lldb.elte.hu).

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Daniela URBANOVÁ (Masaryk University Brno)

Some remarks on the cumulation of verbal prefixes in Vulgar Latin inscriptions

The language of most epigraphic documents we possess includes certain repeated habitual formulations that are typical of certain types of inscriptions. This applies even more to curse tablets which illustrate some linguistic peculiarities strictly tied to the genre. The texts of these are often formulated according to their own rules which take into account the magical ritual accompanying the text itself and are focused on the supposed effect on the victim of the curse. This special linguistic use may be traced also in the use of verbal and nominal prefixes in curse texts. We can find prefixes changing the semantic quality of a verb or a noun in strange combinations as well as their accumulations with diverse functions (spatial, evaluative, aspectual, and manipulative)

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Chair: KISS Sándor (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

ZELENAI Nóra (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The *vivo suo* formula as an indicator of the supposed interference between the Latin and the Greek languages in Moesia Inferior

One year ago, at the Second International Workshop on Computational Latin Dialectology I spoke about a curious ablative absolute construction, the *se vivo fecit* ('he has made it while he was alive') expression, that occurs in many inscriptions from the first up to the sixth century, where one would expect the grammatically correct *vivus fecit* formula. In that paper, I focused on one type of the variants of this expression, in which the ablative of the adjective (*vivo*) has been substituted by another case (*se vivum, se vivos, se vivi,* etc). Although this particular change was specific to Rome, the *se vivo fecit* formula was often used not just in the capital of the empire, but also in Africa and in the Balcans, chiefly in Moesia Inferior and Superior. However in Moesia Inferior we can find an other interesting form of the expression: *vivo suo fecit*. It appears only in twelve inscriptions, but that makes up one third of all the occurrences of the *se vivo fecit* expression in this region. How can we account for this formula, which cannot be explained by the classical Latin grammar? This intriguing form has attracted the attention of Giovanbattista Galdi, who in 2002 dedicated a paper to the possible origin of the formula. In this paper he claims that the *vivo suo* form is the result of the interconnection of the Latin and Greek languages in Moesia Inferior, since the expression usually

occurs in areas populated by Greeks. Galdi attributes the emergence of the formula to the fact that the Greek language does not have a possessive pronoun (like the Latin *suus*), but uses the genitive case of the reflexive pronoun (ἑαυτοῦ) to express the possesive relation. According to this theory the bilingual environment in Moesia Inferior, and more specifically the aforementioned Greek structure caused a confusion in Latin in the use of the possessive pronoun (*suus*) and reflexive pronoun (*se*). The aim of my paper is to examine Galdi's argument and to point out the problematic elements of this theory.

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GONDA Attila (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS – Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Phonetic changes in the Latin of Noricum

In the previous two workshop conferences, I analyzed the Vulgar Latin of the inscriptions of Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia and Venetia et Histria (Regio X of Italia), comparing the differences between the provincial capitals and the countryside of the provinces, in order to verify the hypothesis of Unterman (1980) and Herman (1983) about the existence of a larger regional dialect of Latin over the Alps–Danube–Adria region of the Roman empire. The analyses made it clear that these geographic unites don't constitute a solid and uniform dialectal area, however, there are undeniable common characteristics, such as the

weakness of the /w/~/b/ merger, the lack of sonorization, the fusion of the nominative and accusative cases, which allow us to suppose that the Vulgar Latin variants of these provinces were somewhat more connected among each other than with the rest of the empire. In our next talk, we will involve another province of the Alps–Danube–Adria region, Noricum, in the examination, and we will systematically study the changes in the vowel and consonant system in order to define whether Noricum fits the common characteristics found in the other provinces of the Alps–Danube–Adria region. 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. Linguistic data will be taken from the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (LLDB) database.

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

Some Preliminary Remarks concerning Sociolinguistic Variation within the "Vulgar Latin" Vowel System: as evidenced by the inscriptional data

Since from the (late) Republican age, the monograph <e> is extensively used in both epigraphic and non-literary *corpora* to render the Classical Latin (henceforward CL) /ae̯/ diphthong. The corresponding inverse spelling (namely, <ae> for /ē/) is also very common, at least within inscriptional sources from outside Rome and from the Provinces (Adams 2013). Furthermore, several cases of hypercorrection, show that the digraph <ae> may also be used to render an etymological short /ĕ/ (Väänänen 1966; Coleman 1971; Adams 2013). According to the traditional view (Leumann 1977; Adams 2013), this kind of evidence would indicate three different stages in the monophthongization of the CL /ae̯/ diphthong: namely, 1) /ae̯/ > 2) /ɛ:/ (i.e. a both long and lax vowel) > 3) /ĕ/. Since the very first hypercorrect use of <ae> for the CL /ĕ/ (the form *petiaerit* for *petiĕrit* attested at Pompeii) dates as early as the 37 AD (Adams 2013), the passages from 1) to 3) are regarded to have taken place in Latin no later than the mid-1st cent. AD. As a result, this graphemic oscillation (which will become more and more common during the

Empire), would be only related to the "cultural level" of the draftsmen (Herman 2000), showing «nothing more than the interchangeable use of the graphemes <e> and <ae>» (Loporcaro 2015, p. 52). Nevertheless, this kind of evidence (in particular the spelling <ae> for the CL short /ĕ/), may also point to a premature dephonologization of the CL vowel quantity, at least in some basilectal varieties of Latin (Väänänen 1966; Vineis 1984; Marotta 2017). This paper aims to investigate if the latter hypothesis may be supported by the inscriptional evidence. In order to do so, we have calculated the relative frequency of the <ae>/<ē> and <ae>/<ĕ> graphemic oscillations in three different *corpora* of both synchronic and syntopic (but diaphasically and diastratically different) inscriptions from the city of Rome (see Mancini 2014): 1) official inscriptions published in the section VIII of *CIL,* VI; 2) common funerary inscriptions ranging from *CIL,* VI 8399 to *CIL,* VI 9400; 3) "Graffiti del Palatino" (Väänänen 1966-1970). Furthermore, even other misspellings collected in the LLDB database have been taken into account. All the inscription considered dates back from ca. 50 AD to ca. 250 AD (the last date referring to the "end" of the so called "Classical Latin" according to Adamik 2015). Our results, may point to the existence of a "disturbance" within the CL quantitative-based vowel system, at least as far as some sub-standard varieties of the language are concerned.

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FIRST SESSION – 29th March, 09:00–10:45

Chair: DÉRI Balázs (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

BEU-DACHIN Eugenia (National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca)

Electronic editing of epigraphic texts from Dacia

This presentation describes the method used to encode epigraphic texts in order to represent them electronically. Except the special representation of the texts, the monuments included in this digital format answer questions related to types of monuments, dating, material, dimensions, typology, analogies, bibliography, up to the

more complicated ones such as language errors, phonetic development of sounds etc. The principle of encoding antique texts from monuments is the following: the XML (Extensible Markup Language) is used to obtain three levels of encoding (*facsimile* – the text as it stands on the monument, with its abbreviations or errors, *diplomatic* – the text as it was understood and rendered by the editor, using special signs in order to mark its various extensions, *normalized* – the text as it should be according to the grammatical norms of the language).

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Catarina GASPAR (University of Lisbon)

The *Endovellicus* sanctuary in Portugal: an example of votive inscriptions and Latin language variation

The *Endovellicus* sanctuary located in S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal, in the south of the Portuguese territory, provided a *corpus* of 89 Latin votive inscriptions. The archaeological excavations and the study of the epigraphic materials show us that the sanctuary and the cult to *Endovellicus* have a wide chronological range, from the Roman times till the late Antiquity. Several studies have focused on the God and its indigenous and/or Roman origins and function, as well as on its worshippers. This

paper aims the linguistic analysis of these epigraphic texts regarding the Latin language and its variation. Bearing in mind the hypothesis stated that this sanctuary was mostly related with the local pilgrimage, the aim is the analysis of the linguistic features related with the dimensions of language variation (diastratic, diatopic, and diachronic), although we are dealing with epigraphic votive and formulaic texts.

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Francesca COTUGNO (University of Nottingham – University of Oxford)

LatinNow: crossing disciplinary boundaries

The ERC project LatinNow's aim is to try to achieve an understanding of the modalities of Latinization and literacy in the north-western Roman Provinces (Mullen 2017). To do this it must cross different boundaries, linking sociolinguistics, archaeology and epigraphy, and exploits evolving technologies such as Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI), Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and also EpiDoc (see www.latinnow.eu). RTI is a digital imaging technique which allows a dramatic improvement of the reading of materials which are damaged by the passing of time. GIS allows us to present and compare in spatial and chronological dimensions the epigraphic remains (from EAGLE), data for *instrumenta scriptoria* and data from a range of other projects on social factors which can be related to Latinization. EpiDoc allows us to encode linguistic features and to undertake complex sociolinguistic analysis.

A combination of these technologies and methodologies facilitates the analysis of how, when and why linguistic changes occurred in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire and will allow us to write a new socio-cultural history of these provinces. I am leading the work on *Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, Raetia* and *Noricum.* In this presentation, a selection of case studies from Germanic-speaking areas will be provided as examples of the scope and potential of this project. Among the collected data, special consideration must be afforded to onomastics and theonyms as they have a double role: first, they are less normativized as there is not always a classical reference for the names and secondly because the diffusion

of theonyms give an insight into how Roman and local tradition interacted, through cases of syncretism, and confronts socio-cultural issues.

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Sitography:

https://latinnow.eu/
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SECOND SESSION – 29th March, 11:15–13:00

Chair: CSER András (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest – Piliscsaba)

Lucia TAMPONI (University of Pisa)

The confusion between <B> and <V> in Latin inscriptions from Sardinia

The graphemic confusion between <b> and <v> is a widespread phenomenon across the Roman Empire. Occurrences of these alternations are particularly frequent in epigraphic texts, at least from the first century AD, and are traditionally explained as due to the merger of /b/ and /w/ into a bilabial fricative /β/, which was therefore alternatively represented in Latin script with <b> and <v> (Adams 2013: 183). The analyses carried out on the topic by Barbarino (1978) and, more recently, by Adamik (2017) show an unequal diffusion of the phenomenon through the Empire.

In this talk, we will focus on the distribution of the alternation <b> and <v> in Sardinian inscriptions. Since the innovative study by Herman (2000), a quantitative analysis of the phenomenon has not yet been carried out in the epigraphs from the island, where the romance outcome of Latin /b/ and /w/ is /b/ in initial position in almost all the areas (Wagner 1864: 163-165; see also Lupinu 2000: 49-53). This study is particularly interesting, since inscriptions are a fundamental direct evidence for studying variation in Latin, as demonstrated by scholars such as Herman (2000), Adamik (2012), Kruschwitz (2015) and Marotta (2015).

Our corpus contains all the available Latin inscriptions from Sardinia (1st century BC – 7th century AD) and is specifically designed to analyse spelling variants and to interpret them with reference to several variables. The distribution of the graphemes has been related to the dating and the provenance place of the inscriptions, and the total number of occurrences of has been compared with the number of corresponding forms in Classical Latin. The amount of other consonantal misspellings in the epigraphs has been examined as well, in order to verify whether the absence of misspellings could be due to a high degree of literacy of those involved in the creation of the inscriptions.

The results of the examination show a widespread graphemic confusion between <b> and <v> in the island, especially from the third century AD, confirming the general trend shown by Adamik (2017) for other areas of the Roman Empire. In most of the cases Classical Latin /w/ is represented as <b>, both in initial and internal position. It will be shown that the examination of the variables considered here could shed light on the evolution of Latin /b/ and /w/ in Sardinia.

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

Brutes and *svecerio*: on the origin of some Germanic words in Latin inscriptions

The words *brutes* / *bruta* 'daughter-in-law, young married woman' and *svecerio* 'brother-in-law' (and related forms, cf. Deman 1981, also on the meaning) known from Latin inscriptions of the Imperial period are generally considered to be of Germanic origin (e.g. Adams 2003: 447-448). If more specific definitions are attempted, then *brutes* is generally identified as Gothic (e.g. Green 1998: 184-185). It will be argued in this paper that the investigation of the chronology and geography of these inscriptions, the morphophonology of these words as well as a critical engagement with Germanic dialectology of this period not only question the Gothic derivation but also open the way for a dialectologically and geographically more precise determination of the origin of *svecerio* and other early Germanic words in Imperial Latin inscriptions.

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Barta Andrea (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

Mala bestia foras dato. Linguistic Features of Estate Protecting Magical Texts

More than one hundred years ago, a lead tablet of unusual thickness was found in North Africa and forwarded to Auguste Audollent, a specialist of curse tablets who had just published his great work on *tabellae defixionum*. He never treated it nor carried out any reading of the tablet, and until the last years it has passed almost unnoticed among his legacy in Clermont-Ferrand.

Recently its text was in full length revealed, but the interpretation is still not obvious. The tablet is definitely an amulet in Latin, and by virtue of the wording it bears a resemblance to the estate protecting *phylacteria*.

Despite the similar characteristics, some disturbing elements make this classification unsure. The aim of my presentation is to define the reason and the object of this tablet with the help of linguistic examination. Moreover, having this group of similar protective amulets of different origin and period on hand, I would like to present if they can be a matter of investigation in regard to Latin language changes and dialectology.

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CLOSING REMARKS – 29th March, 13:30–13:10

ADAMIK Béla (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

LUNCH BREAK – 29th March, 13:15–14:15

SEMINAR SESSION – 29th March, 14:15–15:45

ADAMIK Béla (LRGCLD, RIL/HAS, Budapest)

Demonstration of the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age: new developments and some case studies of data collection issues

In active collaboration with the data collectors: Markéta MELOUNOVÁ, Natália GACHALLOVÁ, Pavel ŠEVČÍK, Tereza ŠEVČÍKOVÁ, Radek ČERNOCH ,Tomáš WEISSAR and Martin ŠMERDA from the Department of Classical Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno.

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This document was edited by Daniel Seres, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.