

SIXTH INTERNATIONAL
WORKSHOP ON
COMPUTATIONAL LATIN
DIALECTOLOGY



6th July - 7th July 2023

Conference Room
Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics (HRCL)
Benczúr utca 33
1068 Budapest
Hungary

PROGRAMME

Thursday, 6th July

09:00–09:15 Opening remarks (CSER, A. — BAKRÓ-NAGY, M.)

FIRST SESSION (chair: ITTZÉS, M.)

09:15 Vowel mergers in the Latin of the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire as evidenced in inscriptions (ADAMIK, B.)

09:50 The etymology of *plouum* (SIMON, Zs.)

10:25 Some remarks on a magical nail with an apotropaic inscription addressed to Artemis (URBANOVÁ, D. – BARTA, A.)

11:00–11:30 Coffee break

SECOND SESSION (chair: CSER, A.)

11:30 Diatopic variation in African Latin: language and literacy (TAMPONI, L.)

12:05 At the margins of the Latin-Greek writing koiné: special cases of *geminatio consonantium* (BARCHI, S.)

12:40 On the merger of the front and back-vowels in Latin inscriptions from Rome (ca. 119 BCE – ca. 600 CE). A statistical study concerning vowel confusions (<e>/<i> and <o>/<u>) in the stressed vs. the unstressed syllables (PAPINI, A.)

13:30–15:00 Lunch break

SEMINAR SESSION (chair: ADAMIK, B.)

15:00 Metrical faults as evidence of linguistic change – data labelled ‘metro indicante’ in the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (PAULUS, N.)

15:45–16:00 Discussion

Friday, 7th July

FIRST SESSION (chair: ADAMIK, T.)

09:00 Medieval grammars as non-Literary source for Syntax: the Wiki format for terminological Analyses (COTTICELLI, P. – COTUGNO, F.)

09:35 *Plus minus* formula in Latin epigraphy – a reappraisal (GASPAR, C.)

10:10 Latin theonyms and epithets in the light of epigraphic evidence: the case and declension system (VÁGÁSI, T.)

10:45–11:15 Coffee break

SECOND SESSION (chair: KISS, S.)

11:15 Demonstratives in the Charters of St. Gall (PÁLFI, D.)

11:50 Gender confusions and other linguistic changes. A provisional description of Vulgar Latin Phenomena (SZLOVICSÁK, B.)

12:25 Letter Z in the inscriptions of the Roman Empire (TANTIMONACO, S.)

13:00–13:10 Closing remarks (BAKRÓ-NAGY, M. — ADAMIK, B.)

OPENING REMARKS – 6th July, 09:00–09:15

CSER, András (Director, IHLUS¹, HRCL, Budapest)

BAKRÓ-NAGY, Marianne (IHLUS, HRCL, Budapest)

FIRST SESSION – 6th July, 09:15–11:00

Chair: ITT²ZÉS, Máté (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

ADAMIK, Béla (RGLHLD², HRCL, Budapest)

**Vowel mergers in the Latin of the Danubian provinces
of the Roman Empire as evidenced in inscriptions**

The dialectological characterization of the inscriptional Latin of the Danubian provinces on the basis of various linguistic criteria has been a concern of research for a long time. While the issue was also considered by some recent works, József Herman's study published in 1983 and republished in 1990 is still considered fundamental, the conclusions of which are as follows (Herman 1983=1990, 180-181):

“As it is demonstrated by the research carried out since the beginning of the century and in particular from the recent works of H. Mihăescu, the so-called Danubian provinces did not constitute a linguistically distinctive area that could be contrasted with other parts of the Empire; the various

¹ IHLUS = Institute of Historical Linguistics and Uralic Studies

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innovations and developments attested by the inscriptions of this region are found without exception elsewhere as well, just as almost all of the innovations noted in other provinces are found in the inscriptions of this region. However, this result, which in a certain sense can be considered purely negative, can be overridden if we take a closer look at the various phenomena, and investigate their exact extent and chronology, possibly using statistical methods. Such research will demonstrate, it seems, that the Danubian provinces are neither more nor less homogeneous from the point of view of Latin than the other regions and provinces of the Empire, that there are divisions here too, a set of ‘microstructures’ reflecting the ways and the mechanism of the extension of the innovations. Of course, these ways and mechanisms differ from province to province, and depend greatly on local conditions, axes of communication, ethnic particularities etc. Continuous and systematic research in this direction can probably show that, at least in the first centuries of the Empire, Italy was still the centre from which innovations started (meaning certainly different areas of Italy, but that’s another question); in line with this, provinces should also display a difference according to the ties they had to each region of Italy – through transport routes, the origin of colonists, troop movements, etc. It seems that from the Danubian provinces, Pannonia and Dalmatia (and no doubt also Noricum) were particularly attached to northeastern Italy, more particularly to Venetia, while Dacia seemed to be attached more to generally more conservative regions, notably central and southern Italy.”

Herman’s findings were formulated taking into account several linguistic criteria (mainly phonetic, and also some morphological and morpho-syntactic), but were mostly based on the examination of vowel mergers. Herman’s

essential findings regarding this, mostly using the results of a previous study (Herman, J. 1968=1990), are as follows (Herman 1983=1990, 178-179):

“Based on the investigation, it seems that in Dalmatia and in Regio X [i.e. Venetia et Histria], the reorganization of vowel quality ($\bar{e}, \bar{i} > e$; $\bar{o}, \bar{u} > o$) in both the palatal and velar series was already in full swing before the era of Christian inscriptions in both stressed and unstressed syllables. In Pannonia, the situation is similar in that the reorganization of vowel quality can be clearly recognized in both the palatal and velar series in the case of the unstressed syllable; in the stressed syllable, this reorganization mainly characterizes the palatal vowels, while the examples for the velar series are confined to the extreme south of the province, close to Dalmatia. Dacia, on the other hand, is extremely conservative: although there are a few scattered examples of I~E confusion in the province, their distribution according to vowel types does not foreshadow the future Romance reorganization of vowel quality; the trend does not emerge in the velar series either, and the single example in a stressed syllable is also highly questionable (...). It should be noted that this is not a matter of general conservatism or purism, as Dacia also follows the direction of movement of the language system at other points. Let us also note that with regard to the conservative character of Dacia in the field of vocalism, this province is by no means isolated: however, it joins not its neighbours but certain regions of southern Italy. Pannonia, at the same time, is clearly linked, with a slight delay, to the evolution of northeastern Italy and Dalmatia.”

Herman's findings were only sporadically mentioned in the literature, tangentially by Loporcaro (2015: 54), briefly by Adams (2007: 668-669), and in more length by Gonda (2019,

54-59): they were not discussed in the depth and detail they deserved. That is why, since the material from the provinces that Herman included in his analysis is now sufficiently processed in the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (= LLDB), I decided to check Herman's conclusions and, where necessary, supplement and revise them. For this purpose, I will examine the phonological data set of the LLDB for the provinces also examined by Herman, i.e. the Danubian provinces that are the focus of my study (Noricum, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Dacia, Moesia Superior, and Moesia Inferior), and also the provinces selected for comparison (Dalmatia, then Istria et Venetia, from Central Italy Picenum, Samnium, and Rome from Northern Italy, and Apulia et Calabria, as well as Bruttium et Lucania from Southern Italy, the latter not considered by Herman). The phonological analysis will focus on the examination of the various ratios of *e/i* and *o/u* letter confusions referring to vowel mergers, with regard to stressed and unstressed syllable positions, in accordance with the methodology used in Adamik (2022). Since the inscriptional culture in the Danubian provinces disappeared much earlier (roughly in the 4th century) than in the Dalmatian and Italian areas selected for comparison (roughly in the 6th–7th centuries), I will conduct a comparative study of the Danubian provinces with regard only to the first four centuries A.D. At the same time, I carry out this analysis in a century-by-century breakdown, so that, in addition to the regional differences, the trend changes over time can also be recognized. As a result, the subtle structural analysis based on the LLDB database can reveal the territorial and chronological differences in the internal development of the Danubian provinces, as well as their possible dialectological

connections with other, more deeply Romanized (Dalmatian and Italian) areas in terms of vowel mergers.

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SIMON, Zsolt (IHLUS, HRCL, Budapest)

The etymology of *plouum*

The etymology of Late Latin *plouum* ‘a type of plough’, known from sources connected to the Langobard court (notably the *Edictum Rothari*) and from its continuations in Northern Italian dialects, is unknown, although it is obviously similar to the Germanic words for ‘plough’. Several solutions were proposed to account for these facts:

- (1) A borrowing from Rhaetic (e.g., Derooy 1963), based on Pliny’s *plaumorati* ‘a type of plough’ in “Rhaetia of Gallia” (*nat. hist.* 18.48). However, all phonological and morphological details remained unexplained.
- (2) An inherited form from Proto-Germanic **plōga-* ‘plough’, borrowed by Vulgar Latin (e.g., Kroonen 2013: 398), but this is not possible phonologically.
- (3) A loanword from Cisalpine Gaulish **plowu-* via Vulgar Latin, which spread later to other Germanic languages as well (Blažek – Dufková 2016). However, there is no independent evidence for such a Gaulish word and the Langobard word cannot be the source of the other Germanic words, on several grounds (e.g., the velarization of the **w* happened between high vowels).

Therefore, a new scenario will be proposed in this talk. The distribution of the word allows both a Langobard and a Vulgar Latin origin. In case of a Langobard origin, its etymology and similarity to the Germanic words for ‘plough’ remain unexplained. A Vulgar Latin word restricted to

Northern Italy can indeed easily be a Celtic, more specifically, a Gaulish loanword. However, since Gaulish is characterized by the lenition of intervocalic *-g-*, *plouum* can regularly reflect an earlier Gaulish **plōgo-*. The advantage of this reconstruction is that it makes the Celtic and the Proto-Germanic words practically identical, solving the problem of the similarity of *plouum* and the Germanic words: whatever the ultimate relation of the Celtic and Germanic words is (borrowing from either direction or from a common source or common innovation on inherited base), which also will be addressed in this talk, *plouum* would represent one more case of the well-known and numerous Celtic-Germanic lexical isoglosses (e.g., Koch 2020).

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URBANOVÁ, Daniela (Masaryk University Brno) and BARTA, Andrea (RGLHLD, HRCL, Budapest)

Some remarks on a magical nail with an apotropaic inscription addressed to Artemis

The most famous Latin magical nail with quite a long inscription carved on all four sides addresses the dogs of Artemis and Solomon. First acquired by Hon. W. Temple,

Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in the first half of the 19th century (1832–1856), the nail came into the possession of The British Museum in London following Temple's death. It was first published by Orioli (s.d.) who did not state any information about the archaeological context or the provenance. This was followed by another partial publication with a drawing by W. Henzen in 1846 which generated a vivid scholarly discussion in the following century and a half, see recently Bevilacqua 2001.

Both the poorly readable letterforms and the substandard spelling raise several questions about the interpretation. Nevertheless, the systematic evaluation of the writing mistakes affords the opportunity to examine the content from a new point of view. In this contribution we offer a new reading based on high resolution photographs and an autopsy with remarks on the possible interpretation of the inscription.

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COFFEE BREAK – 6th July, 11:00–11:30

SECOND SESSION – 6th July, 11:30–13:15

Chair: CSER, András (Director, IHLUS, HRCL, Budapest)

TAMPONI, Lucia (University of Pisa)

Diatopic variation in African Latin: language and literacy

Among the graphemic alternations attested in the epigraphic texts of the Roman Empire, the confusion between and <v> is one of the most widespread phenomena. Occurrences of these alternations are found in epigraphic texts, at least from the first century AD (Adams 2013: 183), and 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, with a higher relative frequency of the confusions attested in Africa. However, up to the time of writing a more fine-

grained analysis of the /<v> confusions attested in this province is not yet available.

For these reasons, we conducted a quantitative and qualitative analysis of three representative subsets of inscriptions from Roman Africa from both urban centres and more peripheral areas (belonging to the 1st century BC – 7th century AD): (i) the epigraphic texts from Leptis Magna, (ii) the inscriptions from the colonies of *Theveste* and *Sabratha*, and (iii) the texts from more peripheral locations displaying an adequate epigraphic density, i.e. *Uchi Maius*, *Mustis*, *Thuburbo Maius*, *Mactaris*, *Sufetula*, *Cillium*, *Talah*, *Aradi*, *Limisa* and *Masciliana*. The corpus includes a total number of 839 inscriptions (15510 tokens).

Among these areas, we examined the distribution of /<v> confusions with reference to the amount of other vocalic and consonantal misspellings in the epigraphic texts, the dating and the type of the inscriptions involved. Furthermore, since in the hypothesis by Herman (2000) the monophthongization of <ae> in epigraphic texts can be taken as the ‘cultural index’ of the regions, we investigated the distribution of the <ae>/<e> confusions in the three areas, in order to assess any difference in the literacy level in the subcorpora.

The results show a difference in the distribution of both /<v> confusions and <ae>/<e> spellings in the three areas. In particular, a higher relative frequency of /<v> confusions is spotted in *Sabratha*, where the confusions cover 32% of the total number of other types of misspellings, as opposed to a frequency of less than 20% or even 10% observed in the other locations. However, a higher frequency of <ae>/<e> confusions is also observed in *Sabratha* (32% as opposed to <12% in the other areas). Thus, the literacy level of those involved in the crafting of the inscriptions seems to be lower in this area in comparison to

the other locations. Therefore, we will discuss whether the different distribution of the /<v> confusions observed in the different regions might be a cue for internal diatopic variation or could be rather due to differences in the literacy levels among the examined areas.

Essential bibliography:

- Adamik, B. (2012): *In search of the regional diversification of Latin: some methodological considerations in employing the inscriptional evidence*, in *Latin vulgare - latin tardif IX: Actes du IXe colloque international sur le latin vulgare et tardif, Lyon, 6 ÷ 9 septembre 2009*. Lyon, Maison de l'Orient et la Méditerranée, 123–139.
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BARCHI, Serena (University of Tuscia)

At the margins of the Latin-Greek writing koiné: special cases of *geminatio consonantium*

This talk intends to focus on peculiar cases of *geminatio consonantium* attested in Latin primary sources (inscriptions,

papyri, ostraca, tablets). We will examine the *geminatio* of consonant *litterae* in antec consonantal or postconsonantal position (e.g. MERENNTI CIL 6, 2467; PONTIVS AE 1994, 518). This phenomenon is also attested in the Greek documentation, albeit more marginally than in Latin (e.g. ἐ]ποιήσαντο, SEG 38, 139). Although Latin *geminatio consonantium* is a widely studied topic in the literature (e.g. Giannini & Marotta 1989 and Mancini 2019), the case study at hand has not yet been adequately investigated and has been only cursorily noted (e.g. Sommer 1914: 204; Leumann 1977: 219). Nonetheless, the phenomenon presents points of interest at various levels: 1. on the socio-graphic level, in relation to the documentary points where this graphic phenomenon is most attested; 2. on the grapho-phonological level, in relation to the syllabic representation of heterosyllabic clusters; 3. on the metalinguistic level, in relation to the criteria of *syllabae divisio* and the classification of *litterae* we find in the artigraphic sources (cf. Marotta 2016).

The analysis was conducted on a large corpus of texts, by means of the databases EDCS, papyri.info, PHI, and LLDB. The collected data were classified according to extra-linguistic parameters (e.g. dating, geographic provenance, text type) and properly linguistic ones (lemma, POS, consonant cluster affected by the *geminatio* and whether it affects the syllable coda or onset). From a quantitative point of view, the phenomenon is poorly represented in both writing traditions (less than 400 total occurrences). This finding, together with the fact that this type of *geminatio* is documented in careless texts in which other substandard elements co-occur, ranks the phenomenon on the socio-graphic margins of the Latin-Greek writing koiné. On the grapho-phonological level, we can distinguish the clusters affected by the phenomenon into two subtypes: 1.

continuous + stop clusters (86% of the total); 2. stop + stop clusters (14% of the total). In the first case, the most affected cluster (41%) is the heterosyllabic /nt/, with gemination of the <n> *littera*. In the second case, the most affected cluster (93%) is /kt/, with gemination of the <c> *littera*. However, in the case of continuous + stop clusters, there are also cases of *geminatio* of the grapheme associated with the stop. On the whole, such spellings signal uncertainty in the placement of the syllabic boundary. This phenomenon should be related to the practice of writing on stone, which is in many respects similar to slow speech, with pauses between the syllables and elongation of the segment associated with the coda, particularly when belonging to the sonorant class. This evidence is further supported by the fact that the phenomenon occurs in 18 % of cases in contexts of syllable division by line breaks. The data will also be interpreted in light of metalinguistic sources.

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PAPINI, Alessandro (Ghent University)

On the merger of the front and back-vowels in Latin inscriptions from Rome (ca. 119 BCE – ca. 600 CE). A statistical study concerning vowel confusions (<e>/<i> and <o>/<u>) in the stressed vs. the unstressed syllables

The merger of the short /i/ and the long /e:/ as a close /e/ and the corresponding merger on the back-vowel axis (*i.e.*, /u, o:/ > /o/) was one of the most important changes occurring during the so-called “Latin-Romance” transition. It is usually assumed that this change started earlier and progressed further in the unstressed syllables than it did in the stressed syllables (Herman 2000, Adams 2013, Barbato 2017). This hypothesis is supported by the subsequent Romance developments (most of the Romance languages merged short /e, o/ with /i, e:/ and /u, o:/ respectively only outside stress), and by the metalinguistic evidence in Latin grammarians. For example, Terentius Scaurus (2nd cent. CE) prescribes a further graphic distinction between the short /i/ and the long /e:/ (by writing the latter vowel as <ei>) in the final syllables, but not in the stressed syllables. This suggests that, in his time, /i/ and /e:/ were already in the process of merging outside, but not under stress (Scaur. *GL* 7, 32, 1–33, 1–10; cf. Loporcaro 2015). According to Herman 1965, this was particularly the case in the city of Rome, for Herman pointed out that, in the inscriptional corpus of this city, orthographic confusions involving <e> vs. <i> and <o> vs. <u> are more frequent in the unstressed than in the stressed

syllables (even as late as the so-called “Christian era”; see also Adamik 2017).

The main aim of this study is to supplement (and validate) Herman’s 1965 findings on the “relative chronology” of the aforementioned vowel mergers under and outside stress. To this end, I have investigated the interaction between vowel confusions (<e, o> for /i, u/) and lexical stress by conducting a statistical analysis on a corpus of ca. 6,600 inscriptions. Specifically, all the inscriptions considered were written in Rome during five different periods: 1) the “late Republic” (ca. 119 BCE – ca. 1 BCE), 2) the “early Empire” (ca. 1 CE – ca. 150 CE), 3) “the mid Empire” (ca. 151 CE – ca. 300 CE), 4) the “late Empire” (ca. 301 CE – ca. 450 CE), and 5) the “post-Imperial period” (ca. 451 CE – ca. 600 CE). The results obtained indicate that vowel confusions (<e>/<i> vs. <o>/<u>) are indeed more frequent in Rome in the unstressed syllables than in the stressed syllables, even during the “late Empire” and the “post-Imperial period”, confirming the view of Herman 1965. However, the same results also indicate that the frequency of “deviations” in the stressed syllables starts to increase from about the 4th–5th cent. CE, a circumstance that might be related to the progressive dephonologisation of contrastive vowel quantity in this prosodic environment (as described by Herman 1982).

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LUNCH BREAK – 6th July, 13:30–15:00

SEMINAR SESSION – 6TH JULY, 15:00–16:00

Chair: ADAMIK, Béla (RGLHLD, HRCL, Budapest)

PAULUS, Nóra (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest)

Metrical faults as evidence of linguistic change – data labelled ‘metro indicante’ in the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age

Metrical data have been recorded into the *Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age* since 2007, today the database contains 1758 records

labelled as „metro indicante.” During these 16 years, we created a complex methodology to deal with the collection of this special type of errors but the *Guidelines for data collection* has not been updated with this methodology yet, so it leaves the data collectors without any support in this field.

It is an obvious deficiency, since recording prosodic errors is a complex task and differs in many ways from any other part of the data collector’s work. The main difference is that these kinds of linguistic deviations are not realised in the orthographic level: the fields „relevant text” and „classical text” on the data form are filled in with the same texts and the collector must make the error visible in the „remark” field in his own words. It would be desirable to standardize the way how collectors make these data forms easily interpretable.

It is also worth talking about the new developments of the metrical part of the LLDB: the number of codes that refer to metrical deviations has significantly grown. At the outset, there were only 6 codes and they were used for recording the errors regarding the changes of the vowel quantity (e. g. *correptio vocalium sine accentu* for VIXI PER ANNOS at the end of a hexameter line, where the last vowel of VIXI must be shortened). Although these codes are the most often used even today (roughly 70 % of the metrical data forms has one of them as their main code), now the database has 53 codes labelled as „metro indicante:” 17 of them refer to deviations within the vocalic system (such as e. g. *contractio ii metro indicante*), and 36 signal consonantal changes shown by the scansion (e. g. *ll > L metro indicante*).

The number of codes labelled as „metro indicante” increased because we realised that errors in the scansion signal not only changes of vowel quantity, but many other phonetic phenomena. This realisation lead to an increase in the number of registered metrical deviations as well and

alternative codes have become more often used, because metrically the more corrupted the verse is the more possible interpretation it has. The aim of this seminar session is to provide insight into the process of recording metrical data and to present new codes of the LLDB regarding this topic.

FIRST SESSION – 7TH JULY, 09:00–10:45

Chair: ADAMIK, Tamás (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

COTTICELLI, Paola (University of Verona) and COTUGNO, Francesca (University of Verona)

**Medieval grammars as non-Literary source for Syntax:
the Wiki format for terminological Analyses**

In the last decades, network data collection and database have been highly beneficial for historical linguistics. Lemmatized and morphologically annotated corpus of non-literary Latin allows to extract continuous linguistic variables and in features and in this sense, special mention deserve the “Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age” that allows for a more comprehensive examination of the geographical changes and variance of the Imperial Age Latin language and a multilayer visualisation of the revealed linguistic geography structures. Thanks to this tool for visualization of the linguistic features, we can gather knowledge concerning the complex fabric of language change.

However, language change was a relevant topic for grammarians at the time when the non-literary documents were written, carrying on to the Middle Ages, eliciting the need for a grammatical terminology and an increasingly refined metalinguistic awareness. It should be noted that our linguistic terminology does not match the grammatical terminology from the antiquities and the Middle Ages and for this reason, rethreading the different definitions and arranging a metalinguistic database require a painstaking work.

Our Wikimedia proposal aims at collecting a few chosen keywords valuable for the linguistic investigation ranging from the antiquities to the Middle Ages, aiming at the documentation of the syntactic concepts, overcoming the analysis of the mere parts of speech but analysing the sentence in its more complex nuances. For this reason, we will illustrate key words such as *constructio*, *clausula*, *coniunctio* as a practical example from Wikimedia.

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GASPAR, Catarina (University of Lisbon)

***Plus minus* formula in Latin epigraphy - a reappraisal**

This study aims to review the usage of the formula *plus minus* in Latin language in Early Christian epigraphy. According to Pietri (1997, p. 1453), it was already attested in Roman epigraphy; however, it became more frequent after the IV century CE. At the same time, we find it translated to the Greek formula *πλέον ἔλαττον*. Its high-frequency rates in Latin and Greek epigraphy allow us to have a significative *corpus* and data to study it from a linguistic perspective and relate it to the ‘early Christian language’.

This formula was frequently abbreviated in Latin and Greek as it was so recurrent. In this study, we will analyse and quote the examples quoted in LLDB, allowing us to see its usage in vulgar Latin. The examples quoted in LLDB are related to linguistic phenomena such as: the loss of the final -s in *plus* (*litterae omissae*); *abbreviatio insolita*; changes affecting the vowels -i: > E e.g., *PL ME*; *plus minus*; *transmutatio litterarum*, e.g. *PVL MENVS*; *litterae superfluae*, among other examples. Bearing in mind the correlation between the Latin formula and its translation in Greek language, we will also analyse the Greek examples and occurrences of *πλέον ἔλαττον*, to see if they have similar or specific vulgar traits.

From the semantic point of view, this *formula* indicates the incertitude of the number of years lived by the deceased (Grossi Gondi 1920, p. 96-97; Testini 1958, p. 373; Nordeberg 1963, p. 26; Pietri 1997, p. 1453); however, it was also a ‘fossilised formula’ since it can be used in epitaphs with a very precise indication of the years, months, and even days that the deceased lived. Moreover, we find it also with the word *numero* (*vixit annos plus minus numero*), which has an opposite meaning – exactitude.

The reappraisal of this *formula* and its variants, both in Latin and Greek, *leads* us to discuss how it was used in the language of the early Christian epitaphs and how it changed its meaning from incertitude to a precise indication of age.

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VÁGÁSI, Tünde (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Latin theonyms and epithets in the light of epigraphic evidence: the case and declension system

This presentation offers a linguistic analysis of votive texts, focusing on the case and declension systems and their Latin usage and variants. The aim of the linguistic analysis is to identify variations in the context of votive texts. The epigraphic corpus shows various Vulgar Latin traits in theonyms and epithets. The names of the deities are cultural characteristics and are influenced by many things. The inevitable phenomenon of Roman religiosity manifested

itself in the religious text, especially where polytheistic religions were particularly permeable to borrowing and assimilation. In the investigation, I try to answer the question, do the case and conjugation mixtures of theonyms and epithets follow the characteristics of the given region? The most common feature of religious inscriptions is that the declension of epithet follows the declension of the name of the deity and the other way around. The other feature is mixture in the case system. The names of the gods are usually in dative, so it is understandable why mixing the dative is the most common case mix. Some of them are influenced by other facts besides adjective and noun matching. In some cases the meaning of the name influences it, in other cases there are cultural reasons for the declension mixing, especially if the inscriptions come from a Celtic, Germanic, Greek or other language areas.

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COFFEE BREAK – 7th July, 10:45–11:15

SECOND SESSION – 7TH JULY, 11:15–13:00

Chair: KISS, Sándor (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

PÁLFI, Dorottya (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Demonstratives in the Charters of St. Gall

The main scope of the present article is the semantical and syntactical analysis of the demonstratives based on quantitative and qualitative data from the 1st and 2nd volumes of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (ChLA). These volumes contain original parchment charters between the second half of the 7th century and 801, written in St. Gall or in its vicinity. For the current analysis, 129 legal documents were selected. The underlying principle of the examination is concerned with the 'genre' of the legal documents, namely the formulas, i.e. the strict set of words embedded in the tradition of charter composition that can only be changed when difficulties in understanding emerge and prevail. Therefore, anomalies presented 3-4 times in the *corpus* are evaluated, if they differ in the identity of the scribe, in the place and time of the composition, although, statistically, they could be excluded from the examination as outliers. Thus, the analysis focuses on the following anomalies: determinant multiplication, change and additional metalinguistic participles. These are compared with the norm, the traditional compositions of the formulas. This method seemed effective in the examination of the function and syntax of the anaphoric *ipse* and led to the logical reduction of its semantical field, helped interpreting the

functional weakening of the demonstratives *is* and *hic*, while it showed that the deictic and resumptive anaphoric *hic* has slowly started to decrease and gave place to *iste*.

Main bibliography:

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SZLOVICSÁK Béla (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Gender confusions and other linguistic changes. A provisional description of Vulgar Latin Phenomena

The transformation of the Latin grammatical gender system evidenced by Vulgar Latin epigraphical data is a highly interesting area of linguistic change. This phenomenon has been brought up and analysed in many studies, which also provided a thorough description of it (see e.g., Väänänen 1981³ or Loporcaro 2018). I also presented a preliminary

description of these transformations using the inscriptional data (Szlovicsák 2023). However, none of these studies did control their results for different confounding variables which could highly influence the final conclusions. The goal of the present paper is to provide a more sufficient description of the transformation of the grammatical gender system while controlling for a potential confounding variable. To achieve this, I will also present and evaluate a rough statistical model for the description of the epigraphical data and present the main ways in which it could be improved to achieve an even better description of this data.

The focus of this paper is the influence of other grammatical errors over gender confusions. These changes could affect the way gender confusions appear on epigraphs and the general distribution of them. In a similar case Adamik (2019) has already examined the interaction between word final *-m* errors and morphological confusions using the LLDB Database. In this paper I will try to achieve similar results with gender confusions and other transformations. Luckily these alternative readings are captured by the LLDB Database, therefore I was able to use them for the description of the data. The statistical model achieved by controlling for these alternative readings could approximately describe my own earlier findings, while it showed that some aspects of it need further tuning. It could be shown that most conclusions were correct, needing at maximum some minor revisions. Other findings however were heavily influenced by the alternative reading of those errors and taking into account this variable greatly reduces their significance. I was able to show that for example the ratio of confusions between neuter and masculine, and neuter and feminine was heavily affected by the (non) appearance of other grammatical errors, such as the confusion of different consonants.

The main goal of my ongoing research into the influence of some grammatical changes over other ones is to address the difficult question of how the dynamics of language change in one subsystem are affected by other, seemingly independent transformations. In this paper I will present some important steps towards this and show the utility of statistical methods for analysing this data.

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TANTIMONACO, Silvia (University of Oviedo)

Letter Z in the inscriptions of the Roman Empire

Previous studies have focused on the origin and presence of letter Z in the Latin alphabet, with some remarks on its pronunciation in the Latin language (Hempl 1899; Perl 1971; Biville 1990: 98-136; Desbordes 1990: 153–155; Boscherini 2006). Another recent essay has paid attention to the use of this letter for transcribing Celtic names of Hispania (Jordán Cólera & Díaz Ariño 2022). In our paper, we are performing a survey on the uses of <Z> in the Latin inscriptions of the

Roman Empire (ca. 1st to 8th c. AD). By doing so, we will try to provide an answer to the following questions: Where should we expect to find <Z> in Latin? Which was the familiarization level of the Latin speakers with this letter? In this framework, we will also try to set into light the eventual existence of vulgar Latin pronunciations of the related grapheme, with specific emphasis on possible dialectal areas. The research will be principally based on the data collected so far within the *Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age* (lldb.elte.hu/en/database).

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CLOSING REMARKS – 7th July, 13:00–13:10

BAKRÓ-NAGY, Marianne (IHLUS, HRCL, Budapest) and
ADAMIK, Béla (RGLHLD, HRCL, Budapest)

NOTES

The Workshop is organized in the framework of the project “Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age” (National Research, Development and Innovation Office, NKFIH, No. K 135359, cf. <http://lldb.elte.hu/>) to be realized with the collaboration of the Research Group for Latin Historical Linguistics and Dialectology (former ‘Momentum’ Research Group for Computational Latin Dialectology) of the ELKH (former MTA) Research Centre for Linguistics and of the Latin Department of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. The organization of the Workshop was supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by means of the Application for support for organizing international conferences no. NKSZ_2022_23-20.

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