

SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL
WORKSHOP ON
COMPUTATIONAL LATIN
DIALECTOLOGY



13th June – 14th June 2024

Conference Room
HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics (HUN-
REN NYTK)
Benczúr utca 33
1068 Budapest
Hungary

PROGRAMME

Thursday, 13th June 2024

09:00–09:15 Opening – *In memoriam* József Herman (1924–2005) (CSER, A. — BAKRÓ-NAGY, M. – KISS, S.)

FIRST SESSION (Chair: KISS, S.)

09:15 History of the Latin sound system of Etruria (Tuscany) from Augustus to Charlemagne (ADAMIK, B.)

09:50 Crossroads of Cultures: Gothic, Greek, and Vulgar Latin in the Ravenna Papyri (BARCHI, S.)

10:25 Grammatical Gender in the Charters of St. Gallen (SZLOVICSÁK, B.)

11:00–11:30 Coffee break

SECOND SESSION (Chair: GRECO, P.)

11:30 From quill to query: Linguistic features and challenges of 8th-century Latin charters from Tuscany (TAMPONI, L.)

12:05 Changes in linguistic awareness according to the use of H as evidenced by the inscriptions of the city of Rome during the imperial period (SERES, D.)

12:40 Direct speech in medieval legal charters: a study of the *notitiae indicati* from Lucca (8th century) (D'ARGENIO, E.)

13:30–15:00 Lunch break

THIRD SESSION (Chair: SORNICOLA, R.)

15:00 *In ea vero ratione*. Legal Latin Language of the Precaria Documents of St. Gallen (NEMES, Sz.)

15:35 The legal vocabulary and aims of Latin curse writers (URBANOVÁ, D.)

16:10 *Vitaline*: lawyer or matron? A new curse text from Aquincum (BARTA, A.)

Friday, 14th June 2024

FIRST SESSION (Chair: SZABÓ, Á.)

09:00 *Panna*. The *status quaestionis* of a *vox epigraphica* (TANTIMONACO, S.)

09:35 Vulgar Latin names and epithets of deities in Pannonia (VÁGÁSI, T.)

10:10 *Mascellius* / *Mascellus*, *Bouius* / *Bonius* and other: an analysis of some specific uses of *nomina* and *cognomina* in the Roman inscriptions of the ancient *Lusitania* (GASPAR, C.)

10:45–11:15 Coffee break

SECOND SESSION (chair: CUZZOLIN, P.)

11:15 The *ars traducendi* of Hilduin's of St. Denis (COTUGNO, F.)

11:50 Additional aspects to the examination of the charters' demonstrative usage (ChLA I, II, CXVIII) (PÁLFI, D.)

12:25 Epigraphy and (historical) sociolinguistics. Some methodological remarks on the use of (Latin) inscriptions for the study of “vertical” variation (PAPINI, A.)

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

Please find the abstracts of the papers here.

OPENING – *IN MEMORIAM* JÓZSEF HERMAN (1924–2005) – 13th June, 09:00–09:15

CSER, András (Director, IHLUS¹, HUN-REN NYTK, Budapest)

BAKRÓ-NAGY, Marianne (IHLUS, HUN-REN NYTK, Budapest)

KISS, Sándor (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest – University of Debrecen)

FIRST SESSION – 13th June, 09:15–11:00

Chair: KISS, Sándor (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest – University of Debrecen)

ADAMIK, Béla (RGLHLD², HUN-REN NYTK, Budapest)

History of the Latin sound system of Etruria (Tuscany) from Augustus to Charlemagne

The aim of this paper is to show how the inclusion of a group of sources hitherto neglected in research modifies and expands our knowledge of the late history of the subsystems of Latin, in this case the sound system. This source is a group of private law texts written on parchment, mostly from the 7th and 8th centuries, which survived in their original form (i.e. not in copy) and which were made available to researchers in the second half of the 20th century in the

¹ IHLUS = Institute of Historical Linguistics and Uralic Studies

² RGLHLD = Research Group for Latin Historical Linguistics and Dialectology

volumes of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (ChLA). This group of sources is currently undergoing linguistic-historical-dialectological processing in the framework of an ERC project (cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101098102) in an international cooperation (nytud.hu/palyazat/digital-latin-dialectology-diladi) related to the development of the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (LLDB, lldb.elte.hu/).

The charter material that survived in Etruria (Tuscany) is particularly rich in data and contains an extraordinary wealth of variations from Classical Latin, especially vulgar Latin phenomena. Moreover, the volume of data added to the LLDB database from this material so far (after the full processing of ChLA volumes 23 and 38, and the partial processing of volumes 34 and 39) already allows for linguistic-historical-dialectological research. Thus, the history of two important changes of the Etrurian Latin sound system, primarily the *e-i* and *o-u* mergers, and contrastively the *b-w* mergers (so far known only from the inscription material up until the end of the 6th century), is used as an example to illustrate the outstanding linguistic historical value of this group of parchment sources for the so-called transitional phase of Latin (the 7th–8th century, immediately preceding the emergence of the Romance languages).

The paper will present the history of vowel mergers from the 1st century B.C. to the 8th century A.D. over five periods (spanning two hundred years each), analysing database data of purely phonological nature from various perspectives, such as the proportion of mergers compared to all vowel errors, the proportion of mergers involving front vowels compared to the proportion of mergers involving back vowels, and the proportion of mergers in stressed and unstressed syllables. The history of *b-w* mergers will be

presented similarly, for contrastive purposes: first according to their proportion compared to all consonant errors, and then according to their subtypes, i.e. in the intervocalic, word-initial and postconsonantal positions.

The preliminary results of this study will confirm that the Latin linguistic features of the 8th century parchment charters of the ChLA organically continue and complete the earlier processes in Latin mainly observed in inscriptions, leading to the development of the local Italo-Romance language in the 9th–10th centuries.

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BARCHI, Serena (University of Tuscia)

Crossroads of Cultures: Gothic, Greek, and Vulgar Latin in the Ravenna Papyri

The so-called “Ravenna papyri”, as is known, constitute a heterogeneous group of Latin papyraceous documents of Late Western Antiquity. They stem from the ecclesiastical archives of the archdiocese of Ravenna, and date from the mid-5th century to the early 8th century. This is a period which saw the succession of several crucial events in the history of the West, from the fall of the Western Roman Empire, to Ostrogoth domination, to Byzantine reconquest, to the later Lombard occupation.

These papyrus documents have attracted antiquarian attentions since the humanistic period, and the 18th-19th centuries saw the first philological edition by Gaetano Marini (on “pre-Tjäder” philological history, cf. Zingale, 2008). Currently, the reference edition is Tjäder (1954–1985); many

texts, with full-side facsimiles, are also published in the *ChLA* (*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, cf. <https://num-arche.unistra.fr/chla/chla.html> for concordances) and, as for the texts that fall into the correspondence category, in the *CEL* (*Corpus Epistularum Latinarum*). Some texts can also be found online on papyri.info (e.g., P. Ital. 2 59). Although the expression "Ravenna papyri" is currently in widespread use, some of them were not produced by the Ravenna chancery but were sent to Ravenna from other chanceries in Italy (e.g., Rome or Syracuse). For this reason, these documents are also referred to as "Italian papyri".

Altogether they consist of about 50 documents that can be clustered, according to Tjäder's classification, into the following macrogroups: donations, appointment of guardians, wills, receipts, purchase contracts, church inventories, court proceedings. These documents present important historical evidence of the prestige of the Ravennate church in the late antique period, and its connection with imperial administration, especially after Justinian's reconquest of Italy (Everett, 2013).

In this paper, we will focus on presenting a preliminary picture of the textual and linguistic diasystem that emerges from this documentation. It is appropriate to refer to a diasystematic picture because the documentation shows an articulation of different language varieties and writing systems, reflecting the historical complexity of the horizontal relationships as well as the evolution of the Latin language. In particular, we will focus on the following levels: an administrative and bureaucratic variety of the Latin language, characterized by typical formulaic expressions and abbreviations, with, however, peculiar instances of divergent phenomena (e.g., vowel prosthesis, cf. Cuzzolin and Sornicola 2018); outcrops of a substandard variety that, on the lexical front, stands in continuity with the Romance

framework (Adams, 2007: 457-464); the use of ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα (e.g., P. Ital. 16, 20) to write Latin texts; and finally, fragments of Gothic language that can be spotted in some documents (e.g., P. Ital. 13, 33).

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SZLOVICSÁK, Béla (RGLHLD, HUN-REN NYTK – Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Grammatical Gender in the Charters of St. Gallen

Understanding the grammatical gender system of Vulgar Latin has always been a difficult task. As Loporcaro (2018:14) and Väänänen (1981: 103) have noted, the disappearance of the neuter was not completely over by the emergence of the Romance languages. Therefore, it seems advantageous to study the grammatical gender system in the charters of St. Gallen.

The charters under study were published in the first two volumes of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (ChLA). The parchment charters contained in these volumes were written in the second half of the 7th century in the vicinity of St. Gallen. Using these charters, we can understand the transition from Latin to Romance, as they were written in dialects closer to Romance than the inscriptions studied by Szlovicsák (2022). In the present paper I will show what were the general distribution of gender confusions in the area under study and how (if at all) it differed from the picture we get from the inscriptional material. The use of legal documents could also help us review the results of other scholars as Löfstedt (1961: 230) had studied Langobardic documents to show the persistence of the neuter and Loporcaro (2018: 229) also used similar sources to achieve the same results.

In the present paper I will use the first two volumes of the ChLA to further my earlier results and to review the results of others. By doing this I hope to get a better picture of the transformation of the Latin neuter and to better understand the differences between the gender systems of the Romance languages.

References

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COFFEE BREAK – 13th June, 11:00–11:30

SECOND SESSION – 13th June, 11:30–13:30

Chair: GRECO, Paolo (University of Naples Federico II)

TAMPONI, Lucia (RGLHLD, HUN-REN NYTK – University of Pisa)

From quill to query: Linguistic features and challenges of 8th-century Latin charters from Tuscany

As is known, Latin private legal documents from the Early Middle Ages can be a valuable source for examining the transition from Latin to the Romance languages. Such texts are direct linguistic testimonies (i.e. they are not mediated by the manuscript tradition); furthermore, their dating and place of issue are known. Nevertheless, a strict methodology of analysis should be adopted when examining such documents, since the filter of the written language and the influence of the grammatical norms can obscure linguistic variation. Furthermore, both quantitative and qualitative analysis is required, in order to detect general tendencies and

to interpret them in the complex socio-historical context of the issue of the documents.

For this reason, in the framework of the HORIZON-ERC-2022-ADG project no. 101098102, the private charters on parchment included in the *Chartae Latine Antiquiores* corpus were manually digitized and annotated. In this paper, we will focus on the documents included in volume XXIII, containing the charters written in Southern Tuscany between AD 736 and AD 774. The corpus includes a total number of 21 texts from Chiusi, Sovana and Grosseto, with the addition of three non-Tuscan charters from Tuscania and Viterbo (i.e. from close localities in Northern Latium).

Although other charters from Tuscany are available (e.g. the documents from Lucca contained in *CbLA* 38), we decided to limit our analysis to volume XXIII, so as to build a more coherent corpus, reducing possible diatopic and diachronic variation: the examined texts cover a short time span of less than forty years and a defined geographical area.

Our preliminary results show that a ‘linguistic profile’ can be reconstructed for this area. The divergent spellings found in the texts involve both the consonantal system (>30%) and the vowel system (>20%); a quite large number of instances also involve morphological endings (ca. 30%). As for the vowel system, the spellings can in some cases be connected to the evolution of the ‘Common Romance’ vowel system (e.g. the instances of <e> for /i/ and <u> for /o/) or to specific lemmas. As far as the consonantal system is concerned, the majority of the divergent spellings involve the omission of final consonants *-m*, *-s*, *-t* (37%) and the confusion between and <u> (ca. 15%), a phenomenon already attested in epigraphic texts of various areas of the Empire (see e.g. Barbarino 1978 and Adamik 2017).

The main issues concerning both the annotation phase and the linguistic analysis of these documents will be

discussed, in the framework of quantitative and qualitative variationist analysis on Latin documents.

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SERES, Dániel (Semmelweis University, Budapest)

Changes in linguistic awareness according to the use of H as evidenced by the inscriptions of the city of Rome during the imperial period

In this paper I have a closer look at the changes in Roman spelling standards through the Roman inscriptions of the imperial period based on the data of the LLDB-Database. The study of spelling standards can be considered a narrow segment of sociolinguistics, since it reflects the linguistic-cultural, linguistic-literate level of the people who composed the inscriptions. The usage of *H* seems a rational approach to study this process, since the phoneme marked with *H* disappeared from the Latin language system at the end of the republican era and/or the beginning of the imperial era, but its use in spelling remained, and thus became a prime indicator of literacy/illiteracy.

The inscriptional corpus of the city of Rome seems also an obvious choice because the standard language from Varro onwards was Rome-centred. Thus, the theory of Roman linguistic awareness, known from the works of grammarians and rhetoricians, which saw Rome as an abstract ideal centre, can be contrasted with the practice of the inscriptional corpus, which reflects the everyday language of the lower classes.

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D'ARGENIO, Elisa (RGLHLD, HUN-REN NYTK, Budapest)

Direct speech in medieval legal charters: a study of the *notitiae iudicati* from Lucca (8th century)

The relationship between ‘formulaic’ and ‘free’ parts of medieval legal charters has long intrigued linguists, especially concerning the possibility of linking the study of written/spoken style variation to the transition from Latin to Romance. Since Sabatini’s seminal works (1965, 1968), scholars have grappled with difficulties in interpreting linguistic features primarily found in the ‘free’ sections of documents as traces of spoken language (cf. Sornicola 2017).

This presentation aims to offer a critical perspective on this issue by closely analysing three *notitiae iudicati/brevis* written in Lucca between 785 and 788 by three distinct scribes (ChLA 38, 1098, 1106, 1121). The textual typology of *notitia iudicati/brevis* is particularly suited for this purpose. It serves as a report of legal proceedings wherein testimonies presented before the judges during the trial are documented in the form of reported speech, predominantly in direct form. It can be assumed that these direct speech elements offer some of the most representative non-formulaic aspects within the documents, although repetitive formulas also emerge in these contexts (cf. Korkeganga 2016). This shows that the distinction between ‘formulaic’ and ‘free’ parts should not be understood dichotomously. Room for variation and innovation exists within the ‘formulaic’ sections, especially at the morphological and syntactic levels, as well as lexically, albeit within a selection among a few competing types – one of has a higher frequency than the others. Similarly, some repetition of terms and structures can be observed also in the ‘free’ segments.

While the selection of a very small corpus imposes clear limitations on generalisations, it facilitates a thorough investigation of phenomena impacting all levels of linguistic analysis. Moreover, the attention given to medieval charters from Lucca, not only by historians and paleographers but also by linguists, provides a well-founded cultural, historical, and linguistic framework for further linguistic studies.

Based on data recorded in the LLDB database (<https://lldb.elte.hu/en/database/>), which allows for instant observation of deviations from the norm, the presentation will provide a quantitative and qualitative analysis of different types of deviant and distinctive phenomena (e.g., the structures *veritas non est quod* and *veritas quia* and the hypercorrect use of dative instead of *ad* + accusative in ChLA 38, 1098; the representation of the indeclinable proper name *Deusdedit* as *Deusdedit* in subject function vs. *Deusdedi* in other functions and the use of *in* + accusative/ablative instead of dative in ChLA 38, 1106; the gender oscillation of *brevis* (feminine) vs *breve* (neuter) among different speakers and the use of *testimonia* in the meaning of *testes* in ChLA 38, 1121). Furthermore, any differences in the presence and consistency of the examined phenomena in other parts of the document will be taken into account (e.g., 2 occurrences of the type *testis* in the direct speech of some speakers vs. 9 occurrences of the type *testimonia* (= *testes*) in the direct speech of other speakers and in other parts of ChLA 38, 1106).

Finally, the fact that two of the three investigated scribes were among the most active in Lucca during the period under consideration (*Gumpertus subdiaconus* and *Filippus presbyter*) will allow for internal comparisons within their production. This includes considerations regarding different textual typologies such as *notitiae indicati* vs. *chartulae*; for instance, *Filippus*' use of *seu* (= *et*) and *seu et* (= *et*) only in the

chartulae, and Gumpertus' use of *suo* (= *eorum*) only in the *notitia indicati*.

The ultimate goal of this presentation is to investigate whether the linguistic differences between 'formulaic' and 'free' parts of charters and, more generally, the scribes' handling of the latter, can provide insights into a better characterisation of their linguistic abilities.

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LUNCH BREAK – 13th June, 13:30–15:00

THIRD SESSION – 13TH June, 15:00–16:45

Chair: SORNICOLA, Rosanna (Academia Europaea)

NEMES, Szilvia (RGLHLD, HUN-REN NYTK – Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

In ea vero ratione. Legal Latin Language of the Precaria Documents of St. Gallen

In my presentation, I would aim to show through the analysis of the documents and linguistic data (i. e. deviations from the classical norm) recorded in the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (LLDB: <http://lldb.elte.hu/>) of ChLA 1-2 (*chartae* from St. Gallen), how the word *ratio* gained a technical legal meaning in the legal practice.

Ratio itself has a long list of meanings in Latin, but two main semantical groups may be formed: the first one with the meaning of ‘the act of reckoning etc.’ (ThLL s. v. *caput prius: pertinet ad actionem statuendi, conveniendi de rebus computandis, metiendis*); the second one with the meaning of ‘the act of considering’ (ThLL s. v. *caput alterum: pertinet ad quamlibet actionem reputandi, statuendi*). The legal sources of the Corpus Iuris Civilis show a variety in both semantical groups, where the noun *ratio* has sometimes an attribute which connects it to legal terminology (*ratio iuris, ratio aequitatis*), but in most cases stands without an attribute, yet could refer to legal notions. Also there are common phrases which include this word, like the *Quae sententia habet rationem*, or *ratio suadet / ratio*

permittit etc. A uniform abstract noun (e. g. the rarely and lately attested *rationabilitas* or *rationalitas*) is not attested in the Corpus Iuris Civilis, which suggests that although the legal concept of the “reasonable person” is known by Roman law, in the legal terminology, it was not the word *ratio* which is used to refer to this concept. Therefore, the modern legal terminology for reasonableness (i. e. “reasonable person”, “personne raisonnable” etc.) comes from later legal developments. Due to the lack of abstraction, the Romans used *ratio* and *rationabilis* on a broad scale of interpretation and this can be witnessed in the sources of Roman Law.

Dealing with the legal language of “law in books” is, however, quite different from the legal language of the “law in action” (i. e. the legal practice). In my presentation, I would like to show the different meanings of *ratio* through the legal practice and concentrating on the origin of the phrase *in ea vero ratione* and the meaning of *ratio* here. I will examine the sources of Roman legal practice in search of this phrase and its origin, then proceed to its use in the documents of the ChLA.

Selected references

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URBANOVÁ, Daniela (Masaryk University Brno)

The legal vocabulary and aims of Latin curse writers

Two genres of Latin curses often contain legal terms or references to juridical language. The first are so-called legal or juridical curses (*defixiones iudiciariae*), related to court trials, documented on about 50 curse tablets. The authors of these curses attempted to prevent the opposing party from testifying or giving evidence against them in order to

influence the future course of an ongoing legal case in their favour. These curses usually attack the opponent's ability to speak and act rationally, making it difficult for them to win a lawsuit. The second group comprises so-called curses against thieves (*defixiones in fures*), also labelled as "prayers for justice", documented on more than 100 curse tablets. The authors of these curses suffered some kind of loss or damage or were the victims of some kind of fraud. They often included their names and requested help and vengeance from local deities. The aim of the writers was sometimes to recover stolen things, but they mostly expressed only the wish to take "proper" revenge on a perpetrator, whose identity is often unknown, through the power of the gods; in other words, they request for the perpetrator to be punished. All these texts contain a large number of legal terms from Roman law, and their structure often imitates or paraphrases the formulations of the complaints. The texts include terms commonly used in Roman law, such as *advocati, adversarii, legati, consularis, arbiter, periurium, contra loqui, respondere, defendere, dolus malus, furtum, fraus, fraudare, lis, mandatum, hereditas, fur, petitio, commonitorium, circumvenire, administrare, supradictus, suprascriptus, and adigere*; or the enforcement of the law, such as *vindicare, persequi, exigere, and conqueri*. These juridical terms attested in curse texts reflect the legal background of the writers and manifest their attempt to reach objective or subjective justice for the writers. There are several possible reasons someone might have resorted to making a curse tablet instead of filing a lawsuit, discussed in this study.

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BARTA, Andrea (RGLHLD, HUN-REN NYTK, Budapest)

Vitaline: lawyer or matron? A new curse text from Aquincum

This paper focuses on the fifth curse tablet from Aquincum, a recent discovery from early 2020, found within a meticulously documented archaeological site. The entire original content remained remarkably well-preserved without any surface damages. Its purpose appears to be a judicial binding curse, aimed at silencing a group from testifying in court. While bearing similarities to the other curse tablets from Aquincum, this one also showcases distinct characteristics. In comparison to the other four tablets, this one notably lacks a verbal predicate altogether. Instead, it presents a straightforward list of names accompanied by their respective occupations or social statuses. Additionally, it concludes with an incompletely formulated wish which lacks verbal syntax. Notably, the names of the individuals are provided in either nominative or accusative cases.

The linguistic phenomenon of nominative and accusative in lists has long been a topic of interest in the study of curse texts. The present paper aims to explore this phenomenon within the context of the new tablet, providing a thorough reading and interpretation for a deeper understanding.

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FIRST SESSION – 14TH JUNE, 09:00–10:45

Chair: SZABÓ, Ádám (Hungarian National Museum – University of Public Service Budapest)

TANTIMONACO, Silvia (University of Oviedo)

Panna. The status quaestionis of a vox epigraphica

The feminine noun *panna* occurs more than a hundred times in inscriptions scratched on clay dishes found in varying numbers in an area comprised between Hispania Citerior and Noricum. The word is attested in epigraphy in this form and in the variants *pana* or *pan(n)ia*, while it is deprived of comparisons within literary sources. In fact, outside inscriptions it only owns another mention in a Late Antique gloss. Although it is commonly accepted that the term *panna* designates a bowl, there is no scholarly agreement regarding the origin of the word itself (Latin or pre-Roman) and there seems to have been also a misunderstanding regarding the material from which such a bowl might have been made. The aim of this paper is to determine the *status quaestionis* of the term *panna*, whose main interest lies in the fact that it is an exclusively ‘epigraphic word’, clearly bound to a precise geo-linguistic domain.

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VÁGÁSI, Tünde (Semmelweis University, Budapest)

Vulgar Latin names and epithets of deities in Pannonia

This paper offers a linguistic analysis of votive texts from the Pannonian provinces in the light of the use and variety of Latin. The aim of the linguistic analysis is to identify variation in the context of votive texts, especially with regard to the problem of divinities. My previous study revealed that there are spatial differences in the different declensions and case confusions in divine names and their epithets. Pannonia and the Gallic provinces have been shown to be prominent among the provinces, as they have the highest number of case and declension confusions in the names of gods and epithets. What could be the explanation for this phenomenon? Why are these inscription types, which one would normally expect to be the most linguistically conservative, that show the most linguistic change in Pannonia?

In Pannonia, the provincial capitals of Carnuntum and Aquincum and their immediate surroundings are outstanding from a territorial perspective, from which more than 1500 sacral inscriptions are known. People from many parts of the empire migrated to Pannonia, mainly by military service. These temporary or permanent foreigners brought their own gods with them, so the inscriptions depict a wide variety of deities. A relatively large number of deities of Celtic, Germanic or Pannonian origin are known whose theonyms were problematic to the Latin speaker.

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GASPAR, Catarina (University of Lisbon)

Mascellius/Mascellus, Bouius/Bouus* and other: an analysis of some specific uses of *nomina* and *cognomina* in the Roman inscriptions of the ancient *Lusitania

In the western part of ancient Lusitania, namely, in the *ager* of the ancient *Olisipo*, the epigraphic *corpus* of Roman inscriptions has specific features, among them, the high frequency of some monument typologies as *cupae*, round-topped *stelae*, and prismatic *cippi* (Campos, 2019), the types of stone used in them, and onomastic elements that are evidence of the presence of Roman citizens, who had come early from Italy and are related to the ‘onomastic fossils’ (Navarro Caballero, 2006), and the provincials, usually, associated with the indigenous onomastic elements. As Solomies (2001) already stated for the eastern regions, there are some

onomastic elements, specifically the Roman *nomina* and *cognomina*, that have specific and unusual traits concerning the onomastic transmission between several generations; according to the author, “although we are used to speaking of Roman families in the east, and of people belonging to these families, we are in fact speaking of various kinds of persons with varying ties to the original Italian settlers or to the people who originally started to use a Roman *nomen* as new citizens” (Solomies 2001, p. 141). Among the western communities in the *ager olisiponensis*, we find a similar panorama related to the evidence of early Italic migration flows (Ribeiro, 2013), mixed with migration flows from other regions of *Lusitania* and from other regions of ancient *Hispania* (Olivares Pedreño, 2022) and with the local population.

In this paper, the aim is to analyse the local or unusual *nomina*, built with the Latin suffix *-ius* (e.g. *Valutius*), and the correlation between some *nomina* and *cognomina* (e.g. *Atilius/Atilus*, *Bouius/Bouus*, *Longinius/Longinus*, and *Mascellius/Mascellus*). The analysis of these *onomastic* traits demonstrates that the cultural and linguistic influence of early Italic migration flows to this region was significant and was kept in the urban and rural communities. Furthermore, this adds new data about the time and the process itself of adoption, use and reinterpretation of onomastic elements, both Roman and local. This can be seen as evidence of onomastic and linguistic hybridism, which aligns with other linguistic aspects of these epigraphic texts, namely the use of double genitive in funerary inscriptions (e.g. *Rufi Bouii*). We aim to demonstrate that proper names behave as exceptional elements for language study and demand some caution in their analysis. However, they can also be representative and valuable to studying the diversification and development of the Latin language.

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COFFEE BREAK – 14th June, 10:45–11:15

SECOND SESSION – 14TH JUNE, 11:15–13:00

Chair: CUZZOLIN, Pierluigi (Academia Europaea)

COTUGNO, Francesca (University of Verona)

The *ars traducendi* of Hilduin's of St. Denis

This paper aims to highlight some particular aspects of Hilduin of St. Denis' (-855), *ars traducendi*, taking into account his stylistic and syntactical choices, also in the light of the evolution of Romance languages and their later translations (Lapidge, 2017). Hilduin was the first translator of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, a collection of Greek treatises that expound a system of mystical theology that proved hugely influential in the Greek East and Latin West during the millennium from the late Antiquity beyond the Middle Ages. This work shows how some medieval Latin authors had a genuine knowledge of Greek even though Hilduin's translation has often been considered difficult to understand and in some cases, so bad as to be unintelligible (Louth, 1989; Stotz, 1995).

However, this view of Hilduin's translation is short-sighted, since Hilduin's work may reveal important things about medieval knowledge of Latin and the influence of his mother tongue on it, as well as about his knowledge of the Greek language conveyed through Latin (Omont, 1881). Despite some difficulties, Hilduin is consistent in translating conjunctions and other particles, from which an understanding of the period structure can be inferred. Yet, on some occasions, some specific peculiarities inherent to syntax emerge (Nuchelmans, 1991). The linguistic peculiarities concerning the syntactic construction (e.g. the lack of proficiency in the use of $\alpha\nu$ with conditional clauses in the

subjunctive), the use of linguistic calques and neologisms (e.g. *ymnificatur* for ‘is praised’ rather than ‘is hymned’, cf. Théry, vol. II: 179) and the use of transliteration of Greek words (e.g. *metusia* for Greek μετουσία, ‘participation’, cf. Chevallier 1937–1950: 155) will be examined both in the light of the Greek original and compared with later translations, such as that of Eriugena (Lapidge, 2017). In fact, previous scholarship has attributed many linguistic elements, such as calques and neologisms, as created from scratch by Hilduin (Lapidge, 2017); however, through the use of the Brepols database and the cross-reference tool, with this paper, we can provide further evidence of how Hilduin’s linguistic choices may be related to the knowledge of other scholars’ works, such as Andrea of Crete (-766/767), in which we can already find those alleged neologisms adopted by Hilduin (e.g. *deificatio*, cf. Orbán, 2000; Andrea of Crete, *Sermones in natalicium et dormitionem sanctae Mariae uirginis in latinum translati, ex codice Augiensi* LXXX 6, 67, 175).

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PÁLFI, Dorottya (RGLHLD, HUN-REN NYTK – Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Additional aspects to the examination of the charters' demonstrative usage (ChLA I, II, CXVIII)

In a previous study (Pálfi, forthcoming), the demonstrative usage of the 8th century parchment charters of St. Gall (*ChLA I, II, CXVIII*) had been examined by combining linguistic and formulaic methods i.e. considering not just the quantitative and qualitative features of the determiners, but the composition and the cultural background of the texts. This latter method was introduced due to 1) the highly rigid wording of the charters with less than 1% of narration, 2) the intra-formulaic differences manifested also in the demonstrative uses and 3) the lack of interpretations in instances when adnominal determiners and metalinguistic participles co-occurred in the same phrase (Cicarelli, 2017). This led to the conclusion that primarily, demonstrative duplications (*is+ipse; hic+iste*) and secondarily, additional metalinguistic participles or temporal adjectives (*ipse* or *hic* or *iste+supradictus; hic* or/and *iste+praesens*) can signal functional weakening, semantic changes. Therefore,

the present paper's aim is twofold. On one hand, it provides additional analysis and intends to answer the question, whether the phenomena described above show any temporal distribution within the already narrow time-span of the corpus (744–801). On the other hand, it also intends to examine the problems related to the linguistic categorisation of the data, since the complexity of the referential webs are sometimes inadequately portrayed by these categories (anaphoric and cataphoric, anaphoric and deictic overlaps etc.).

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PAPINI, Alessandro (RGLHLD, HUN-REN NYTK – Ghent University)

Epigraphy and (historical) sociolinguistics. Some methodological remarks on the use of (Latin) inscriptions for the study of “vertical” variation

The aim of the present paper is to discuss some of the methodological problems associated with the application of quantitative/statistical approaches to the study of sociolinguistic variation in Latin when using the epigraphic sources. It is generally assumed that, apart from the so-called “coherent corpora” (as defined by Adams 2007), sociolinguistic analyses based on inscriptions should focus mainly on the study of diaphasic rather than diastratic variation, and consider a corpus of synchronic, syntopic, but diaphasically different inscriptions. This is because it can be hypothesised that, if some deviations from the (so-called) “Classical Latin norm” are more frequent in [- formal] texts than in [+ formal] inscriptions, the underlying linguistic changes were more widespread in the (lower) varieties of the language represented by the former types of texts than in the (higher) varieties of the Latin diasystem reflected by the

language of [+ formal] inscriptions at a given time (see Mancini 2012; 2014).

In this case, I will attempt to address the problem of how “frequency” should be defined (cf. Adamik 2012). To do so, I will compare the number of the cases of <e> for /ae/ in a corpus of 1,650 inscriptions with the number of the corresponding “correct” alternatives (*i.e.*, <ae> = /ae/) and with the number of other epigraphic “misspellings” that occur in the same texts. All inscriptions considered were written in Rome between ca. 301 CE and ca. 600, and were divided into three sociolinguistically different groups (based on “formality”), namely, “formal” (*e.g.* building/honorary inscriptions), “informal” (*e.g.* funerary documents), and “diaphasically low” texts (such as *instrumenta inscripta* and *tabellae defixionum*). The choice of the investigated phenomenon (/ae/ > [ɛ:]) is motivated by the fact that, as clarified by Herman 2000b, the monophthongisation of /ae/ had already occurred in Latin by the 1st cent. CE. Consequently, instances of the spelling variation with <ae> vs. <e> are particularly suitable for studying the complex interaction between writing and pronunciation in the inscriptional sources.

The results of the study suggest that both of the above calculations can be used to shed light on the sociolinguistic dynamics that characterised the so-called “transition from Latin to Romance” (as defined by Herman 2000a).

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CLOSING REMARKS – 14th June, 13:00–13:10

BAKRÓ-NAGY, Marianne (IHLUS, HUN-REN NYTK, Budapest) and ADAMIK, Béla (RGLHLD, HUN-REN NYTK, Budapest)

NOTES

The Workshop is organized in the framework of the HORIZON-ERC-2022-ADG project no. 101098102 entitled Digital Latin Dialectology (DiLaDi): Tracing Linguistic Variation in the Light of Ancient and Early Medieval Sources and (<https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101098102>) and of the NKFIH (National Research, Development and Innovation Office) project no. K 135359 entitled Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (see: <http://lldb.elte.hu/>) to be realized with the collaboration of the Research Group for Latin Historical Linguistics and Dialectology of the HUN-REN Research Centre for Linguistics and of the Latin Department of the ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.



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