

Introduction to the problem of African Latin
Béla Adamik (University ELTE Budapest, Hungary)

II. Phonological changes in African Latin as evidenced in inscriptions

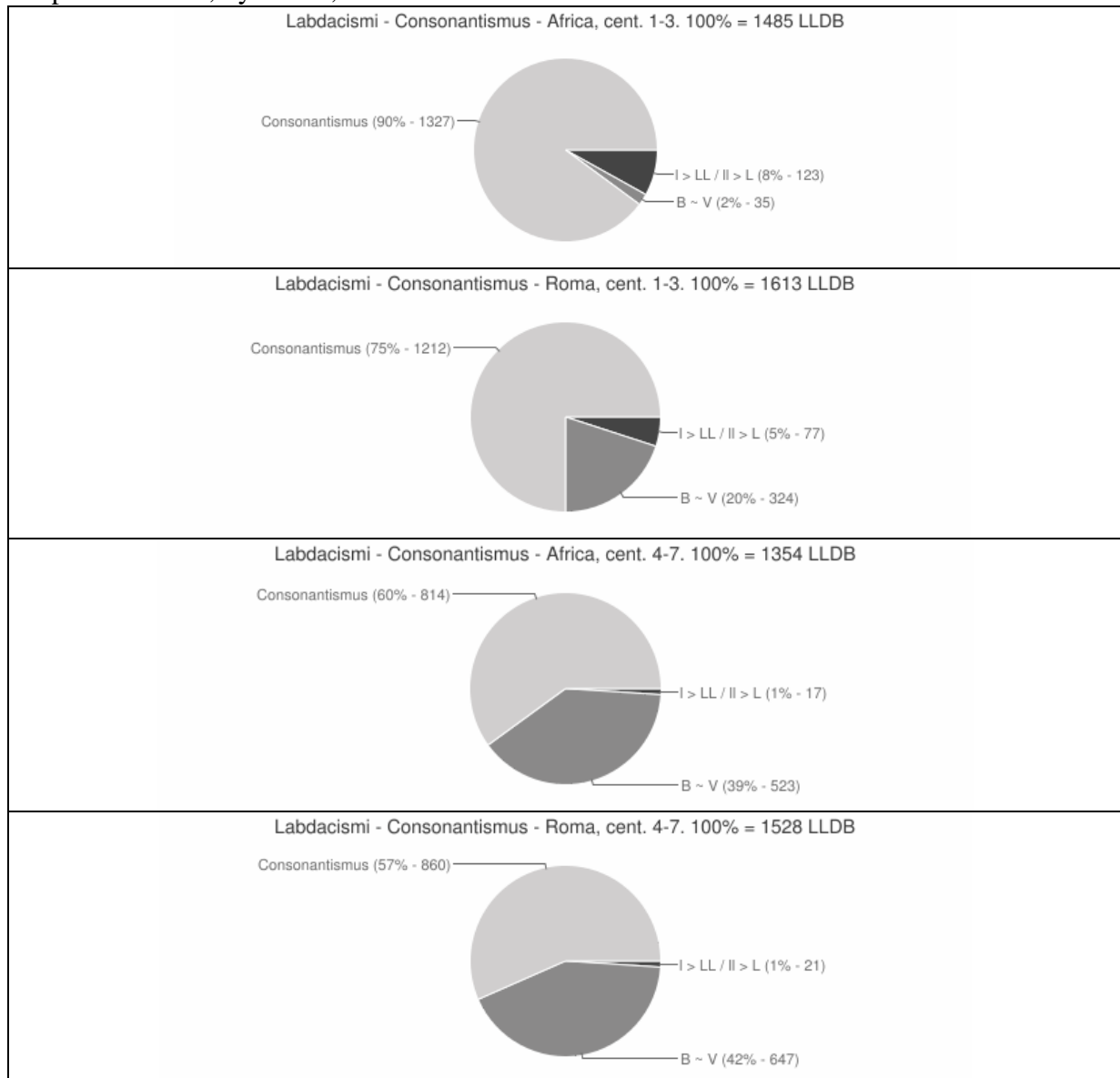
1. “Labdacismi”

LLDB-71554: I > LL, SVSTVLLIT = *sustulit*, ILaIlg 1, 3310, 14 = CIL 8, 1966, 14, Africa proconsularis, Theveste, undated

LLDB-51058: I > LL, AVRELLII = *Aurelii*, ILTun 1385, 2 = CIL 8, 26457, 2, Africa proconsularis, Thugga, 222-235 AD

LLDB-54401: II > L, BELA = *bella*, MAD 1559, 8 = CIL 8, 26450a, 8, Africa proconsularis, Thugga, 151-300 AD

LLDB-51382: II > L, GALIENI = *Gallieni*, ILTun 1732, 8 = CIL 8, 22051, 8, Africa proconsularis, by Tunes, 253-260 AD



Bibliography:

Acquati, A. (1971). Il vocalismo latino-volgare nelle iscrizioni africane, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Milano* 24, 155–84.

Adams, J. N. (2007). *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC–AD 600*. Cambridge.

Omeltchenko, S. W. (1977). *A Quantitativ and Comparative Study of the Vocalism of the Latin Inscriptions of North-Africa, Britain, Dalmatia and the Balkans*, Chapel Hill.

Petersmann, H. (1998). Gab es ein afrikanisches Latein? Neue Sichten eines alten Problems der lateinischen Sprachwissenschaft, in B. García-Hernández (ed.), *Estudios de lingüística latina: Actas del IX Coloquio internacional de lingüística latina 1*. Madrid, 125–36.

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2. Vowel lengthening and shortening

LLDB-52670: productio vocalium cum accentu, ERIGERE MAN = erigere manum, ILAlg 1, 276, 4 = CIL 8, 5352, 4, Africa proconsularis, Calama, AD 539.

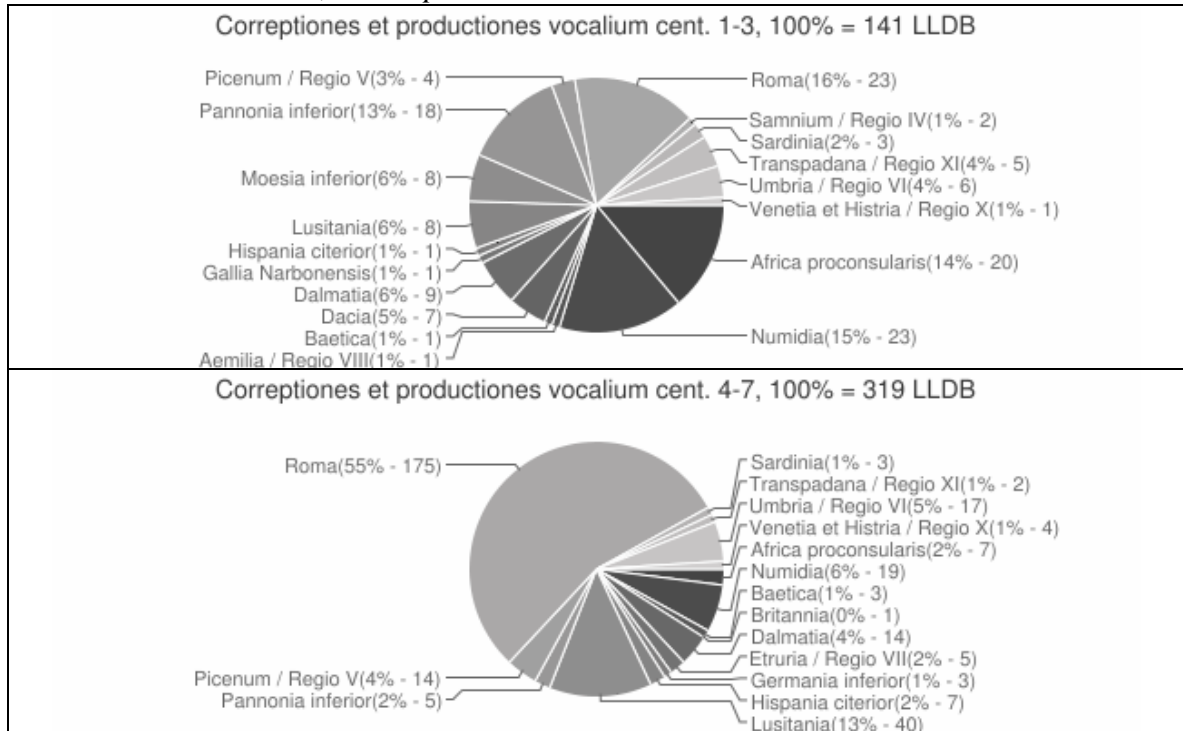
clausula hexametri, *ērigere mānum pro ērigere manum*

LLDB-64387: productio vocalium sine accentu in arsi, ROGATIANE TIBI = Rogatiane, tibi, ILAlg 2, 829, 3-4 = CIL 8, 7228, 3-4, Numidia, Cirta, undated.

Initio hexametri, *Roga:tiá-ne > Ro:gatiá:ne*

LLDB-53796: correptio vocalium sine accentu, IN GALLIA MORTE = in Gallia morte, ILTun 582, 1 = CIL 8, 702, 1, Africa proconsularis, Chusira, 201-300 AD,

clausula hexametri, *Gallia pro Gallia:*

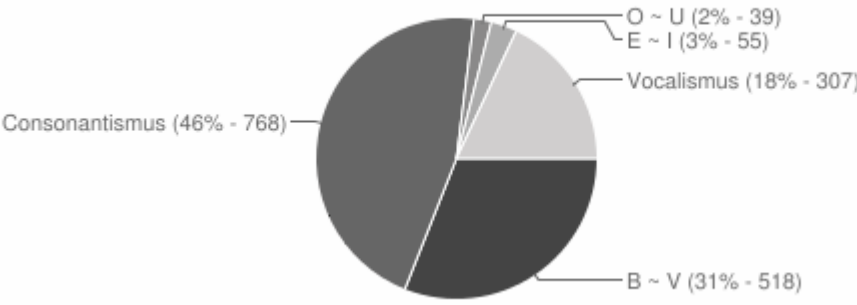
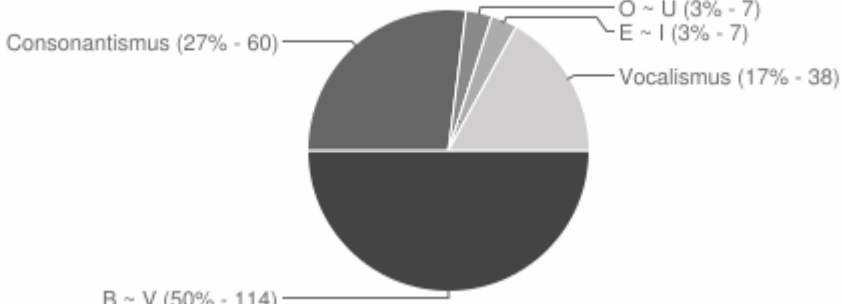
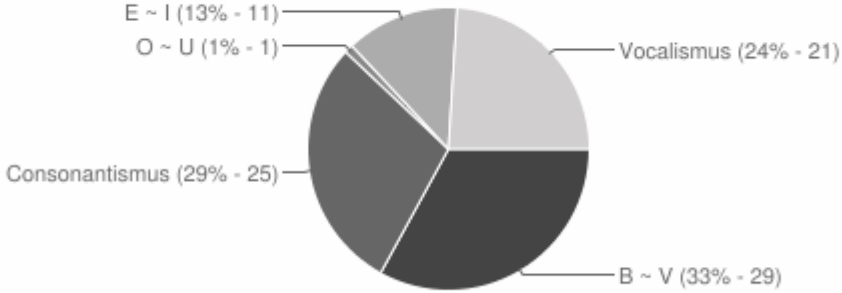
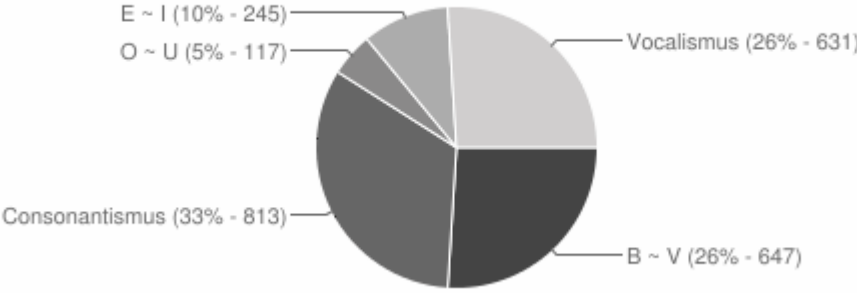


3. Vowel mergers - letter confusions

cl. Latin > vulgar Latin: *ē í > e, é > e; ō ú > o, ó > o; ē e i > e, ō o u > o* → E ~ I / O ~ V

- LLDB-46796: é: > I, FICI = fecit, ILTun 905, 7
- LLDB-48692: e: > I, FIDILIS = fidelis, IFCCarth 2, 182, 3,
- LLDB-37408: e > I, SINATO[R] = senator, ILAlg 1, 26, 1
- (LLDB-66050: é > I, INGINVA| = Ingenua, ILAlg 2, 2567, 3)
- (LLDB-12163: í: > E, PEREGRENO = peregrino, InscrAqu 3, 3103, 6)
- LLDB-70975: í > E, DOMETIVS = Domitius, ILAlg 2, 3735, 1
- (LLDB-43681: i: > E, ESIDORVS = Isidorus, IRT 201, 2)
- LLDB-47819: i > E, FEDELIS = fidelis, ILTun 1152, 1
- LLDB-46207: ó: > V, MENSVR = Mensori, ILTun 766, 1
- LLDB-58250: o: > V, NEPVS = nepos, ILAlg 1, 2261, 3,
- LLDB-59279: o > V, FECERON[T] | = fecerunt, ILAlg 1, 2881, 7
- (LLDB-71392: ó > V, LVNGOS | = longos, ILAlg 1, 3149, 5)
- (LLDB-58849: ú: > O, IOL = Iulius, ILAlg 1, 2500, 2)
- LLDB-73663: ú > O, OXOR = uxor, ILAlg 1, 2872, 1
- (LLDB-72796: u: > O, FOFIDIVS | = Fufidius, ILAlg 1, 3755, 2)
- LLDB-51365: u > O, ISTERCOLVS = Sterculus, ILTun 1710/74, 1

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Phonological changes in later Africa (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
1. 100% = 1687	C = 77% V = 23%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 5%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 1,5
Phonological changes in later Sardinia (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
2. 100% = 226	C = 77% V = 23%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 6%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 1
Phonological changes in later Bruttium et Lucania (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) d			
			
3. 100% = 87	C = 62% V = 38%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 14%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 13
Phonological changes in later Roma (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
4. 100% = 2453	C = 59% V = 41%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 15%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 2

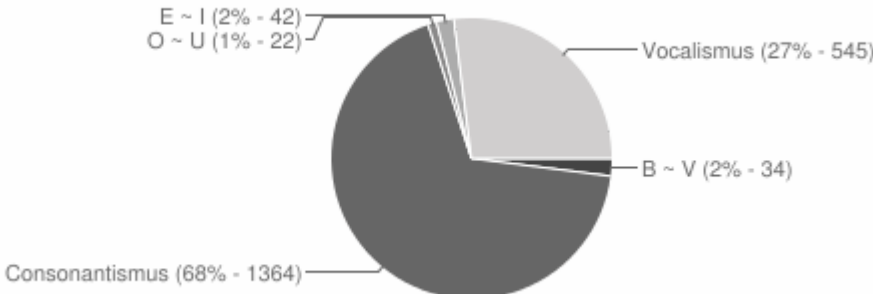
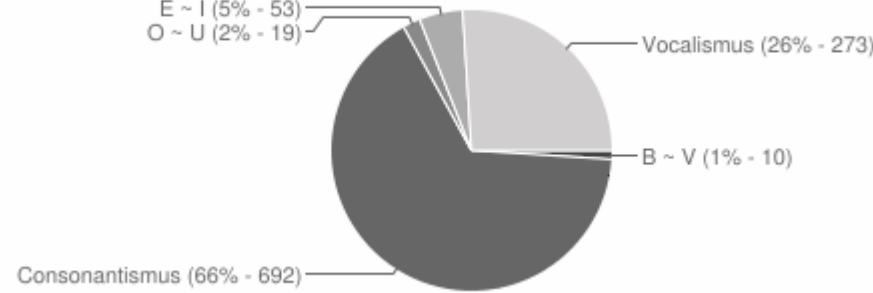
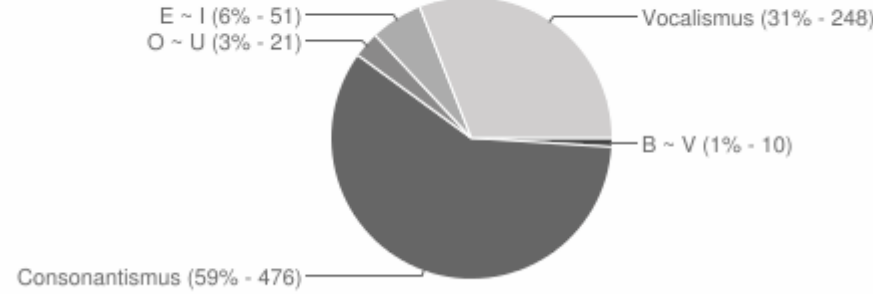
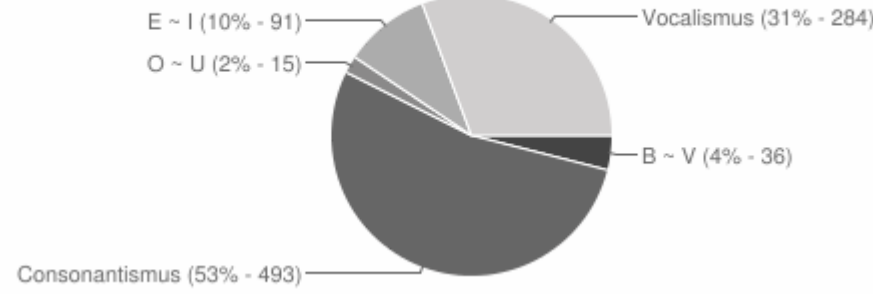
The first exploration of the vowel system of later African Latin based on a selection of Christian inscriptions (ILCV) was carried out by Omeltchenko 1977, who concluded that the Latin of Africa was characterized by the extreme conservatism of its vocalism (i.e. by the extreme rarity of E/I and O/U confusions).

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Phonological changes in later Apulia et Calabria (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) d			
5. (6.) 100% = 170	C = 68% V = 32%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 26%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 0,9
Phonological changes in later Hispania (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
6. (5.) 100% = 1047	C = 57% V = 43%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 22%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 2,7
Phonological changes in later Dalmatia (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
7. 100% = 478	C = 43% V = 57%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 32%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 2,2
Phonological changes in later Gallia (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
8. 100% = 1614	C = 24% V = 76%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 64%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 2

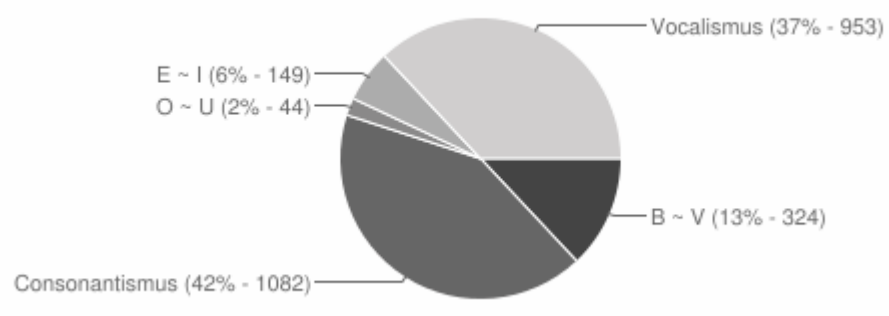
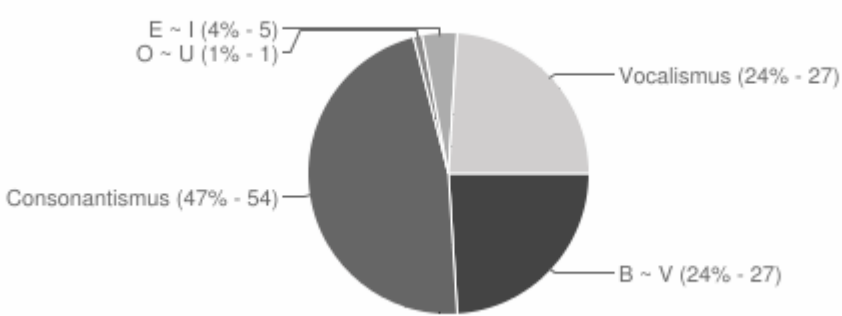
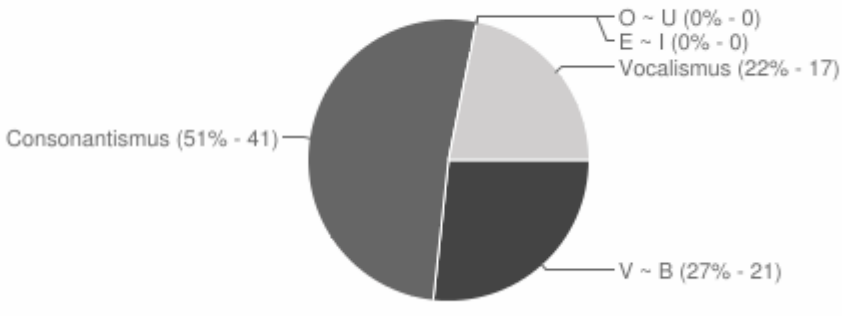
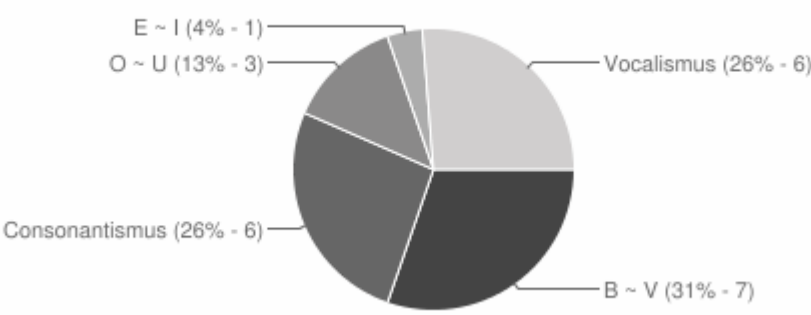
The results of Omeltchenko were supported by Adams 2007, who analysed the spelling errors of the Bu Njem ostraca and the Albertini tablets (both from Africa) not only regarding vowels but also consonants, with special attention to the *b-w* merger reflected in B/V confusions.

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Phonological changes in early Africa (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
1. 100% = 2007	C = 70% V = 30%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 3%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 2
Phonological changes in early Hispania (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
2. 100% = 1047	C = 67% V = 33%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 7%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 2,5
Phonological changes in early Gallia (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
3. 100% = 806	C = 60% V = 40%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 9%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 2
Phonological changes in early Dalmatia (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
4. 100% = 919	C = 57% V = 43%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 12%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 5

Nevertheless, the substantial investigations of Omeltchenko and Adams could not present a full picture since they did not use extensive epigraphic corpora but narrow selections or small corpora of inscriptions, while almost entirely overlooked the huge Pre-Christian epigraphic material.

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Phonological changes in early Roma (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
5. 100% = 2552	C = 55% V = 45%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 8%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 3
Phonological changes in early Apulia et Calabria (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) d			
			
6. 100% = 114	C = 71% V = 29%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 5%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 4
Phonological changes in early Bruttium et Lucania (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) d			
			
7. 100% = 79	C = 78% V = 22%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 0%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 0
Phonological changes in early Sardinia (excluding purely orthographic phenomena) detailed			
			
(8. 100% = 23	C = 57% V = 43%	E ~ I + O ~ U = 17%	E ~ I / O ~ U = 0,3)

The preliminary results of the investigation suggest that while in the later Christian period the African vocalism was indeed very close to the Sardinian one and quite far from the Gallic one, in the Pre-Christian period the situation was quite the opposite, and African vocalism resembled the Hispanic and Gallic ones instead of the Sardinian one.