

Momentum
program



Introduction to the problem of African Latin 1:

*The problem of African Latin according to
the metalinguistic evidences*

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The problem of *Africitas*

- Sittl (1882) 92f: '**Tumor Africus**':

„So konnte es kommen, dass man ihn für die Eigentümlichkeit einer blossen Rhetorenschule, etwa dem *Asianum genus* der Griechen vergleichbar, ausgab, obgleich, wer auch nur oberflächlich mit einer semitischen Sprache vertraut ist, den spezifisch semitischen Charakter dieses Schwulstes nicht verkennen kann. An die Spitze stelle ich die Verbindung eines synonymen Genitivs mit einem Substantive, wobei die Abstrakta vorherrschen;“

The problem of *Africitas*

- E.g. Apuleius, De Platone 1,12: ***ad aevitatem temporis***, but also Lucretius 1,558: ***aetas ... temporis***, Firmicus Maternus (of Syracuse) 219,24: ***temporis aetas***, cf. Kroll (1897) 584f.
- cf. Svennung (1935) 211: *Genitivus inhaerentiae*: „echtlateinische ... Abundanz“ E.g. Palladius: ***mora temporis*** (= *tempus*), ***saevitiae ira*** (= *saevitia*)

The problem of *Africitas*

- Sittl (1882) 101f: „die Zusammenstellung verschiedener Grade (...) Hier stehen die Afrikaner wieder in der ersten Linie. (...) Der Superlativ wird mit dem Positiv verbunden, wobei letzterer meistens voranssteht“ E.g. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9,37: „***saevis () et ferocissimis canibus***“
- but cf. *Epistulae D. Bruti ad Ciceronem*: „***genus hominum () seditiosum et incertissimum***“ or *Bellum Alexandrinum* 3,1: „***homines ingeniosi atque acutissimi***“ cf. Kroll (1897) 586f.

The problem of *Africitas*

- Apuleius: *tota civitas eruditissimi estis (...)*
Carthago provinciae nostrae magistra
venerabilis, Carthago Africae Musa
caelestis, Carthago Camena togatorum.
(Florida 20),
- *Quis enim vestrum mihi unum*
soloecismum ignoverit? quis vel unam
syllabam barbaramente pronuntiatam donaverit?
quis incondita vel vitiosa verba temere
quasi delirantibus permiserit blaterare?
(Florida 9)

The problem of *Africitas*

- Norden (1898) 596: "der bombastische und zugleich gezierte Stil der Afrikaner nichts ist als der griechische Asianismus (Manierismus) in lateinischem Gewände (...) nur höre man auf, von einer in Afrika geborenen Latinität zu reden. Ich werde weiterhin beweisen, daß derselbe Stil später in Gallien herrschend wurde; daß er uns zuerst in Afrika begegnet, hat nichts Befremdliches."

African authors

- Historians: Suetonius, Florus, Apuleius, Fronto, Aurelius Victor
- Grammarians: Nonius Marcellus, Sulpicius Apollinaris, Marius Victorinus, Pompeius, Martianus Capella, Priscianus
- Lawyers: Aemilius Papinianus
- Christian authors: Tertullianus, Minucius Felix, Cyprianus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Augustinus



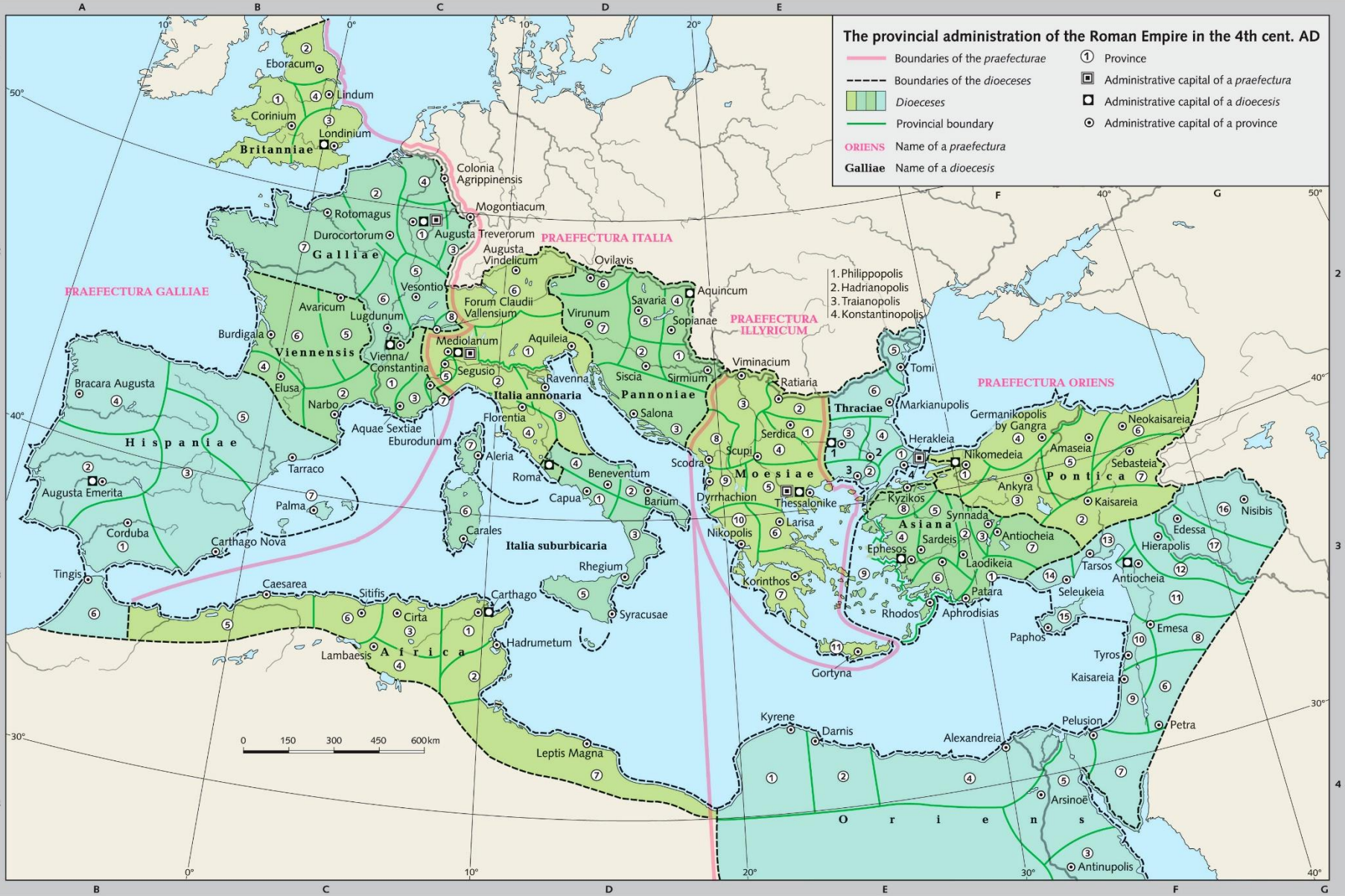
The provinces of the Imperium Romanum from Augustus to Septimius Severus (27 BC to AD 211)

- Italia (non-provincial special status)
- Senatorial provinces under Augustus
- Imperial provinces under Augustus
- Imperial provinces acquired under and after Augustus
- Provincial borders
- Administrative capital, Capital of the Empire

0 150 300 450 600 750 km

The provincial administration of the Roman Empire in the 4th cent. AD

- Boundaries of the *praefecturae*
- Boundaries of the *dioeceses*
- Dioeceses*
- Provincial boundary
- ORIENS Name of a *praefectura*
- GALLIAE Name of a *dioecesis*
- ① Province
- ⊠ Administrative capital of a *praefectura*
- ⊠ Administrative capital of a *dioecesis*
- ⊙ Administrative capital of a province



Kroll, W. (1897). Das afrikanische Latein. RhM 52, 569-590:

- „es wäre Unrecht zu leugnen, dass in der Zeit des Apuleius und Tertullian die Ansätze zu einer Sonderentwicklung des in Afrika gesprochenen Lateins vorhanden gewesen sein können. Aber das uns überkommene sprachliche Material ist nicht der Art, dass es uns gestattet, über diese Dialekticismen mehr zu erfahren als einige unsichere Einzelheiten.“

The problem of *Africitas*

- Löfstedt (1959) 42: „SITTLE's theory, propounded when he was only twenty years old, was subjected to a searching criticism by KROLL (Rh. Mus. LII, pp. 569 ff.), but had already been retracted by SITTLE himself in a remarkable palinode (BURSIAN'S Jahresber. LXVIII (1892), pp. 226 ff.; 236). The theory of African Latin now has no more than a historical interest, but it is instructive from the standpoint of methodology, as showing how easily one can generalize from a number of peculiarities in certain writers and be led thereby to false conclusions.”

First mention of dialectal variation in Latin

- Jerome: *Comm. in Gal.* 357A (PL 26):
unum est quod inferimus, et promissum in exordio reddimus, Galatas excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treuiros, nec referre, si aliqua exinde corruperint, cum et Aphri Phoenicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutauerint, et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore

African Latin: ancient *testimonia* cf. Adams (2007) 259ff. The African accent

- *Historia Augusta* Septimius Severus 19.9:
*canorus uoce, sed Afrum quiddam usque
ad senectutem sonans*
- *Sept. Sev. 15.7 cum soror sua Leptitana
ad eum uenisset uix Latine loquens, ac de
illa multum imperator erubesceret . . .
redire mulierem in patriam praecepit.*

African Latin: ancient *testimonia* the African grammarian Pompeius

GL V.286.34–287.6 labdacismus est ille, qui aut per unum / fit aut per duo; sed per unum, si tenuius sonet, per duo, si pinguius sonet. puta *llargus*; debemus dicere *largus*. ut pingue sonet; et si dicas *lllex* non *lex*: uitiosa sunt per labdacismum. item in gemino / [quando fuerint duo /], si uolueris pinguius sonare, si dicamus *Metelus*, *Catulus*. in his etiam agnoscimus gentium uitia; labdacismis scatent Afri, raro est ut aliquis dicat /: per geminum / sic locuntur Romani, omnes Latini sic locuntur, *Catullus*, *Metellus*.

African Latin: ancient *testimonia* the African grammarian Pompeius

- Isidorus (*Etym.* 1.32.8): labdacismus est, si pro una / duo pronuntientur, ut Afri faciunt, sicut *colloquium* pro *conloquium*; uel quotiens unam / exilius, duo largius proferimus. quod contra est; nam unum largius, duo exilius proferre debemus.

African Latin: ancient *testimonia* the African grammarian Pompeius

- *Pompeius, GL V. 285, 5–7: est alter (barbarismus), qui fit in pronuntiatu. plerumque male pronuntiamus et facimus uitium, ut breuis syllaba longo tractu sonet aut iterum longa breuiore sono.*
- (cf. Sergius, GL, IV. 522: *syllabas natura longas difficile est scire*)

African Latin: ancient *testimonia* *the grammarian* Consentius (from Gaul?)

- Consentius, *GL* V. 392. 3 *ut quidam dicunt 'piper' producta priore syllaba, cum sit brevis, quod uitium Afrorum familiare est, 392. 11 *ut si quis dicat 'orator' correpta priore syllaba, quod ipsum uitium Afrorum speciale est**

The Roman grammarian Sacerdos

- Cf. Herman (2000) 28: in the late third century the grammarian Sacerdos mentions the tendency to shorten long vowels in the final syllable of words and calls it a "barbarism of our time," barbarismus nostri temporis (GL, VI.493-94).
- *causā labōrō* (— — | U — —) >
causă labōrō (— U U | — —).
- *perspīcere possit* (— U U U — —) >
perspīcere possit (— — U U — —)
- Cf. Adamik (2014)

The grammarian Consentius (from Gaul?)

- Adams (2007) 264: „The two tendencies brought out by Consentius (lengthening of short vowels in accented syllables and shortening of long vowels in unaccented syllables) are not confined to Africa, despite his references to ‘African vices’. They show up in substandard versification, both in Africa (...) and other parts of the Empire”

African Latin: ancient *testimonia*

- *Augustinus, De musica* (written after Augustine's return to Africa, i.e. in/after 388)
2.1.1: itaque uerbi gratia cum dixeris *cano* uel in uersu forte posueris, ita ut uel tu pronuntians producas huius uerbi syllabam primam, uel in uersu eo loco ponas, ubi esse productam oportebat, reprehendet grammaticus, custos ille uidelicet historiae, nihil aliud asserens cur hanc corripere oporteat, nisi quod hi qui ante nos fuerunt, et quorum libri exstant tractanturque a grammaticis, ea correpta non producta usi fuerint.

African Latin

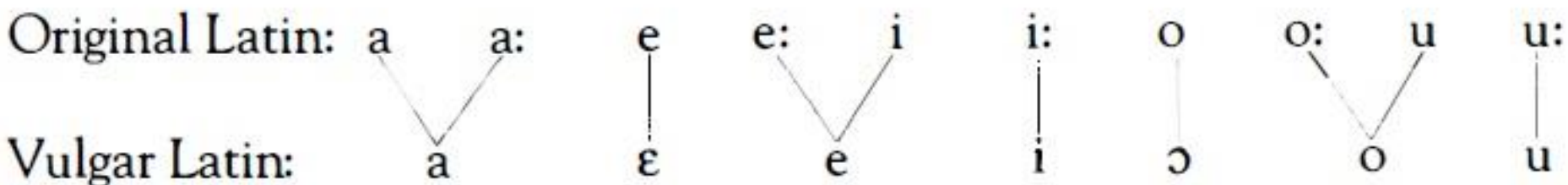
Ancient *testimonia*: Augustinus

- Augustinus, *Doctr. christ.* 4.10.24: cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem *ossum* potius quam *os* dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo, quod sunt *ossa*, sed ab eo, quod sunt *ora*, intellegatur, ubi Afrae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant?
- . *ōs* 'bone' vs. . *ōs* 'mouth'

African Latin: Augustinus

- *ōs* 'bone' vs. *ōs* 'mouth'
- Cf. Herman (2000) 31:

We can illustrate this reorganization of the vowels (as it applied to stressed syllables, at least) as follows:



(In the second line of this diagram, the traditional notation for ϵ , e , ɔ , and o would be e , e , o , and o). There is abundant evidence for this.

os [ɔs] 'bone' vs. *os* [os] 'mouth'

African Latin: Augustinus

- *ōs* 'bone' = *ōs* 'mouth' [os]
- Cf. Herman (2000) 33:

(a) In the West and the center of the Empire:

/i/ */e/* */o/* */u/*
/e/ */o/*
/a/

(b) In the Balkans:

/i/ */u/*
/e/ */o/*
/e/ */a/*

(c) In Sardinia:

/i/ */u/*
/e/ */o/*
/a/

and 32: „Vowel quality in Sardinia remained as it had been all along, even though the length distinctions were lost here as everywhere else”

African Latin: Augustinus

- Adams (2007): 262f: „The Sardinian system attracts attention in the present context. Could it be that African Latin had the same or a similar vowel system, and that Augustine’s remark about *ōs* / *ōs* should be read in that light as an indication that in Africa long and short *o* had fallen together? (...) Certainly Augustine’s assertion is consistent with a vowel system of the Sardinian type...”

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■ Gratias vobis omnibus maximas ago!