

Introduction to the problem of African Latin 3: *Morpho-syntactic changes in African Latin as evidenced in inscriptions*

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1. Vocative for the Nominative

- LLDB-51653: voc. pro nom., SECVDE AMATO|R
= Secundus amator
- LLDB-51962: voc. pro nom., VERNA|CLE IN
[PACE] = Vernaculus in pace
- LLDB-52229: voc. pro nom., EVTICIANE | IN
PACE | VIXIT = Eutythianus in pace vixit
- LLDB-65289: voc. pro nom., LELI () SACE|RDOS
() VOTVM SOLVIT = Laelius () sacerdos votum
solvit
- LLDB-65290: voc. pro nom., SILVANE
SACE|RDOS () VOTVM SOLVIT = Silvanus
sacerdos () votum solvit

1. Vocative for the Nominative

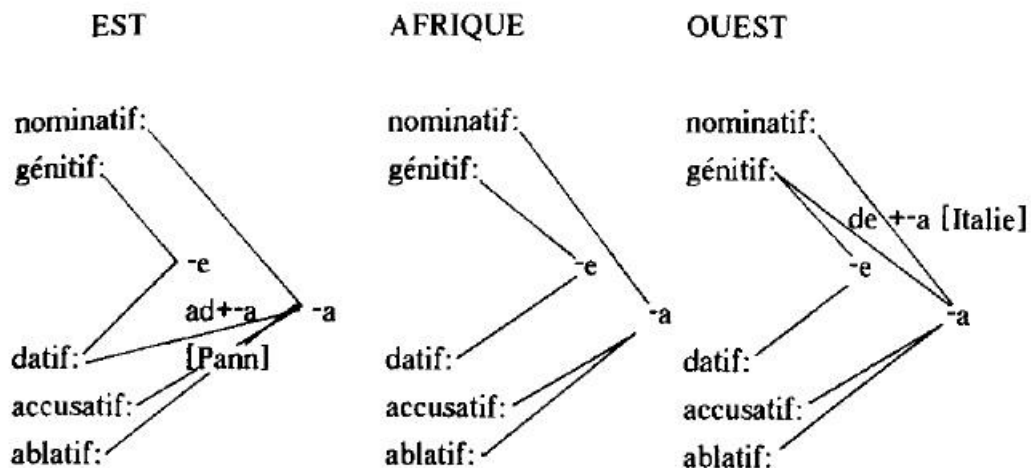
- Adams (2007) 570: „Statistically the examples in Latin inscriptions are minute, and could not be used to argue that African Latin in general had undergone a peculiar development, that is the replacement of the nominative endings in masculine names by the vocative.“

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

- Gaeng (1992) inferred a radical reduction of the five-case system of Classical Latin into a system with only one inflection in later African Latin. In his study, however, Gaeng did not do a real investigation of frequency. Instead, he practically quoted examples for each phenomenon, and, since he was able to find examples for nearly all phenomena of transformation in his corpus, he concluded that all changes took place equally in the language of the area and a system with only one i.e. no inflection became established in later African Latin.

PREMIERE DECLINAISON

Singulier

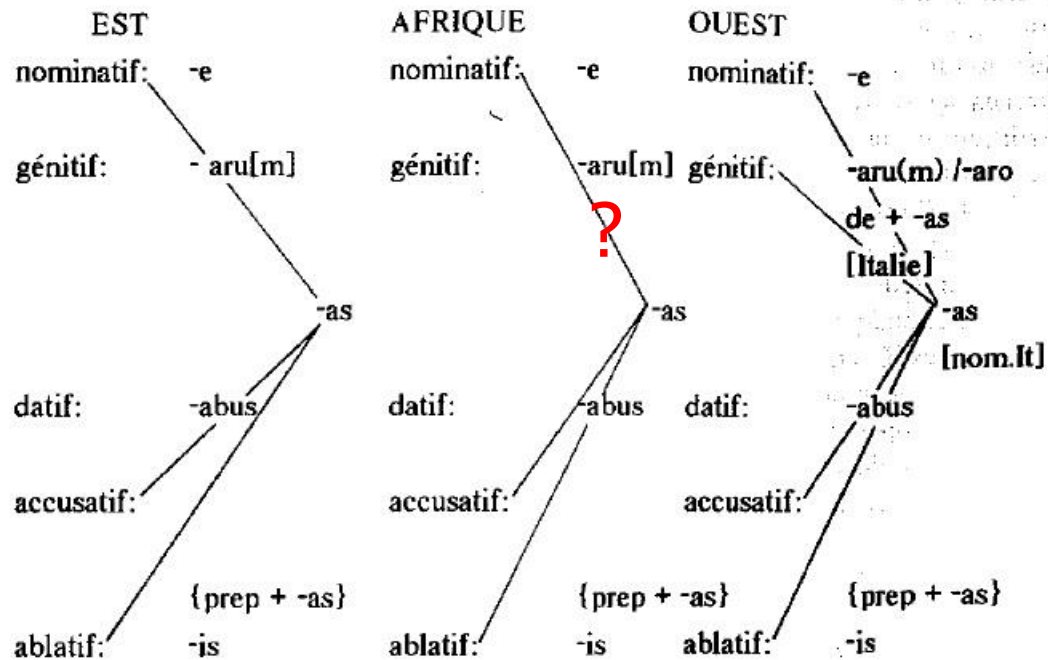


Gaeng 1992

LLDB-51295: nom./abl. pro
acc. in obiecto directo / -m
> ∅, MERVIT (|) CORONA
= meruit () coronam, ILTun
1681, 12.

LLDB-42895: nom. pl. -AS
pro -ae / acc. pro nom., VNA
ET BIS SENAS TVRRES
CRESCBANT = una et bis
senae turres crescebant,
ILAlg 1, 276, 1,
LLDB-59514: acc. pro abl.,
NATVS | CASAS MAIORES =
natus Casis Maioribus, ILAlg
1, 2758b, 5

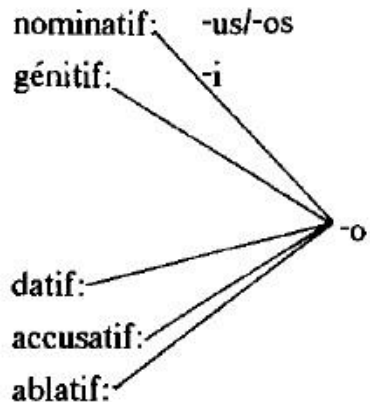
Pluriel



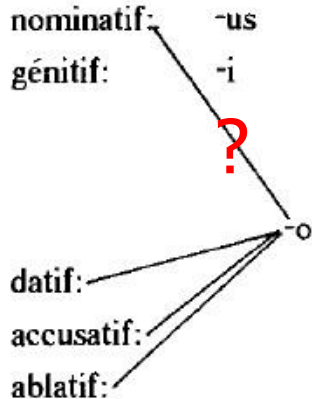
DEUXIEME DECLINAISON

Singulier

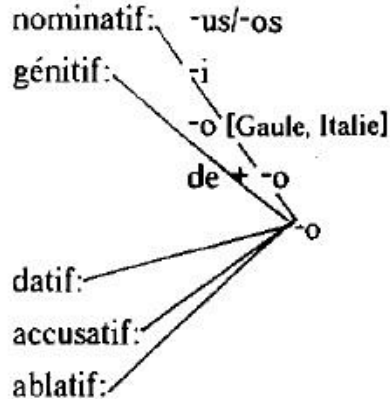
EST



AFRIQUE



OUEST

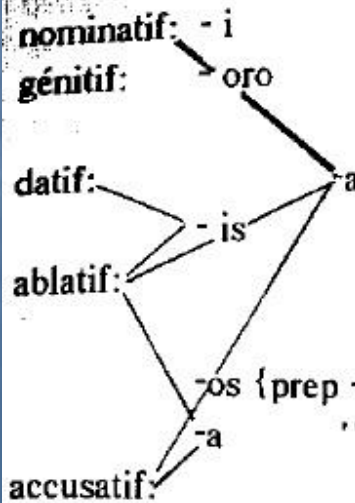


LLDB-43555: dat./abl. pro gen., COR|PVS FAMVLO CHRI = corpus famuli Christi, ILTun 271, 3
 LLDB-53143: dat./abl. pro nom. / dat./abl. pro acc., FACTO A () MARITO = factus / factum a () marito, ILTun 1109/62, 4

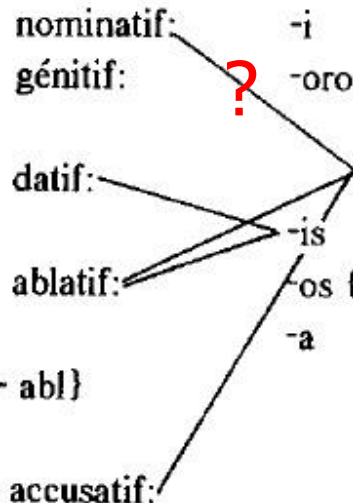
LLDB-68769: acc. pro nom., VISSITE|NT FILOS ET NEPOTES MEOS | = visitent filii et nepotes mei, IRT 900, 9
 LLDB-51762: acc. pro abl., ANTIVS () CVM | ANTIUS = Antius () cum Antiis, ILAlg 2, 491, 1-2

Pluriel

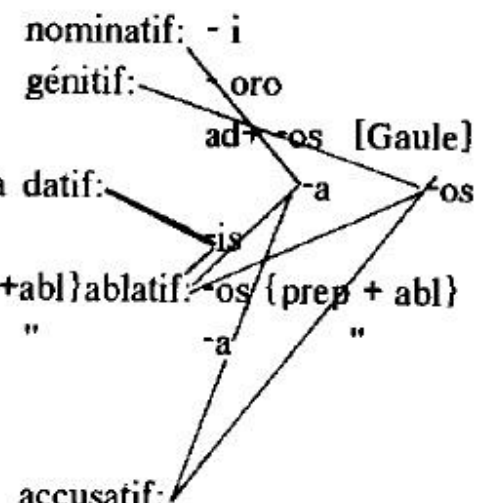
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AFRIQUE

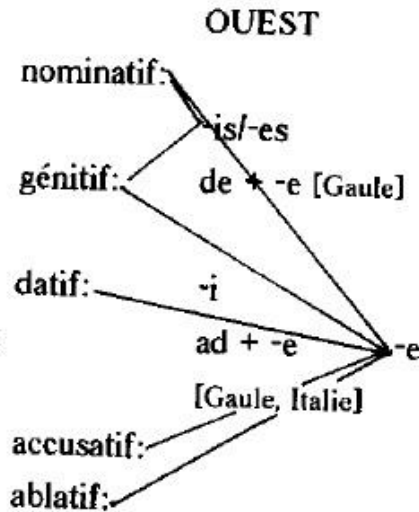
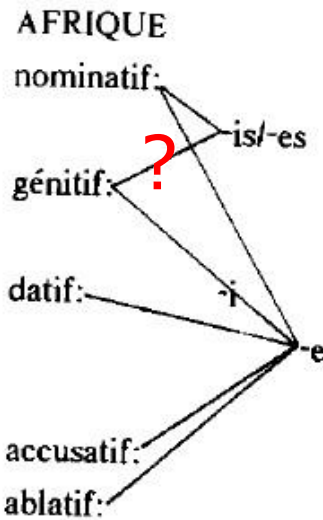
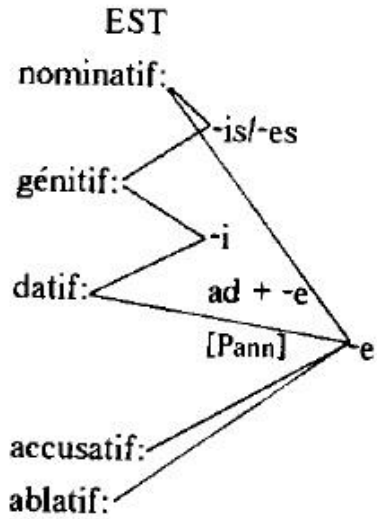


OUEST



TROISIEME DECLINAISON

Singulier

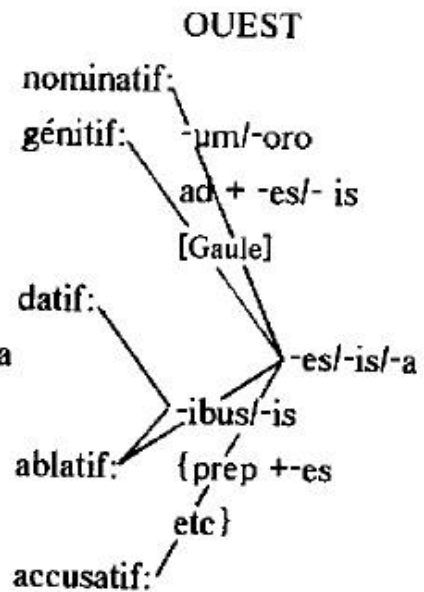
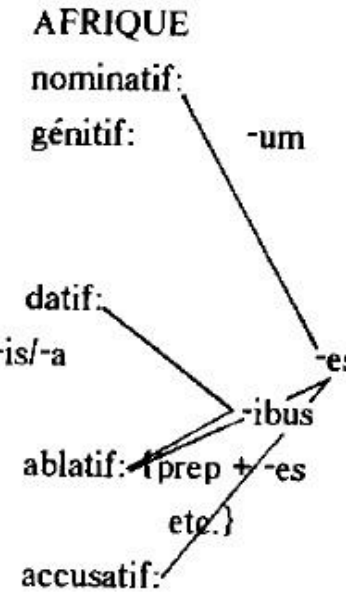
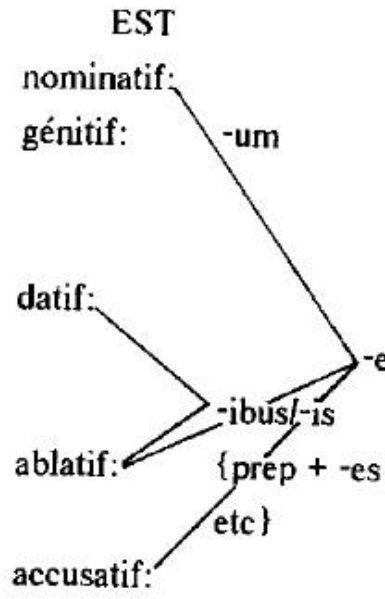


LLDB-53293: nom. pro gen., REGIS | ILDIRIX = regis Childerici, Haidra 1, 413, 8

LLDB-43553: -s > ∅ / dat. pro gen., IN NOMINE PATRI ET = In nomine patris et, ILTun 271, 1

LLDB-59514: acc. pro abl., NATVS | CASAS MAIORES = natus Casis Maioribus, ILAlg 1, 2758b, 5
 LLDB-71855: (/ dat./abl. pro acc.) VIXIT AN|NIS () MEN|SES = vixit annis () mensibus / annos () menses

Pluriel



Considered Regions of the Roman Empire



- we will analyse the distributional structures of nominal morphosyntactic 'errors' recorded from Latin inscriptions relevant to the changes of the inflectional system. We will consider all types of case confusions recorded in our material, with particular emphasis on *the substantial confusions between the accusative and the ablative, between the genitive and the dative, and between the nominative and the accusative.* It is the merger of these cases from where the Vulgar Latin declension system with just two or three cases (depending on the region) emerged, replacing the traditional declension system of five cases.

Table 1: Early Africa

1

Case system in early Africa Proconsularis and Numidia c. 1-3 AD (100% = 250)

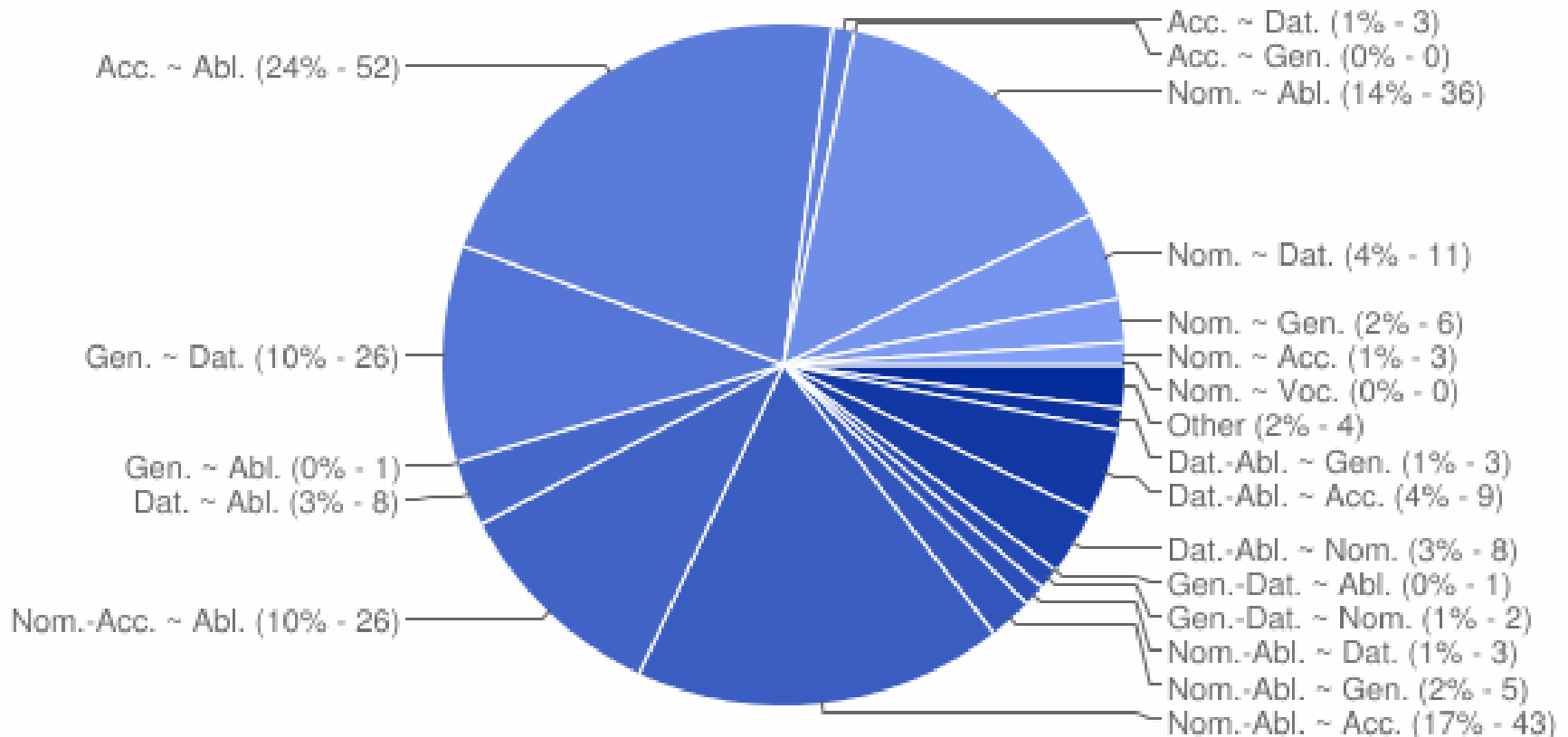


Table 1: Early Africa

Acc. ~ Abl. <u>24% - 52</u>	18	acc. pro abl.	LLDB-53906: (/ -ø > -m) PRO SALVTEM DOMINI = pro salute domini
	28	abl. pro acc.	LLDB-57803: (/ -m > ø) OB HONORE AEDILITATIS = ob honorem aedilitatis
	4	ablativus absolutus accusativis permixtus	LLDB-45926: CVRATORIB VS SATVRVM = curatoribus Saturo
	2	accusativus absolutus pro ablativo absoluto	LLDB-44026: CVRAN TES FILIOS EIVS = curantibus filiis eius
Nom.-Abl. ~ Acc. <u>17% - 43</u>	43	nom./abl. pro acc.	LLDB-43706: (/ -m > ø) CVRA EGERVNT = curam egerunt
Nom. ~ Abl. <u>14% - 36</u>	34	nom. pro abl.	LLDB-42945: (/ -s > ø) VI XIT A NI LII = vixit annis LII
	2	abl. pro nom.	LLDB-55990: (/ litterae superfluae), LIVIA ZA BA VXSO RE = Livia Zaba uxor

Table 1: Early Africa

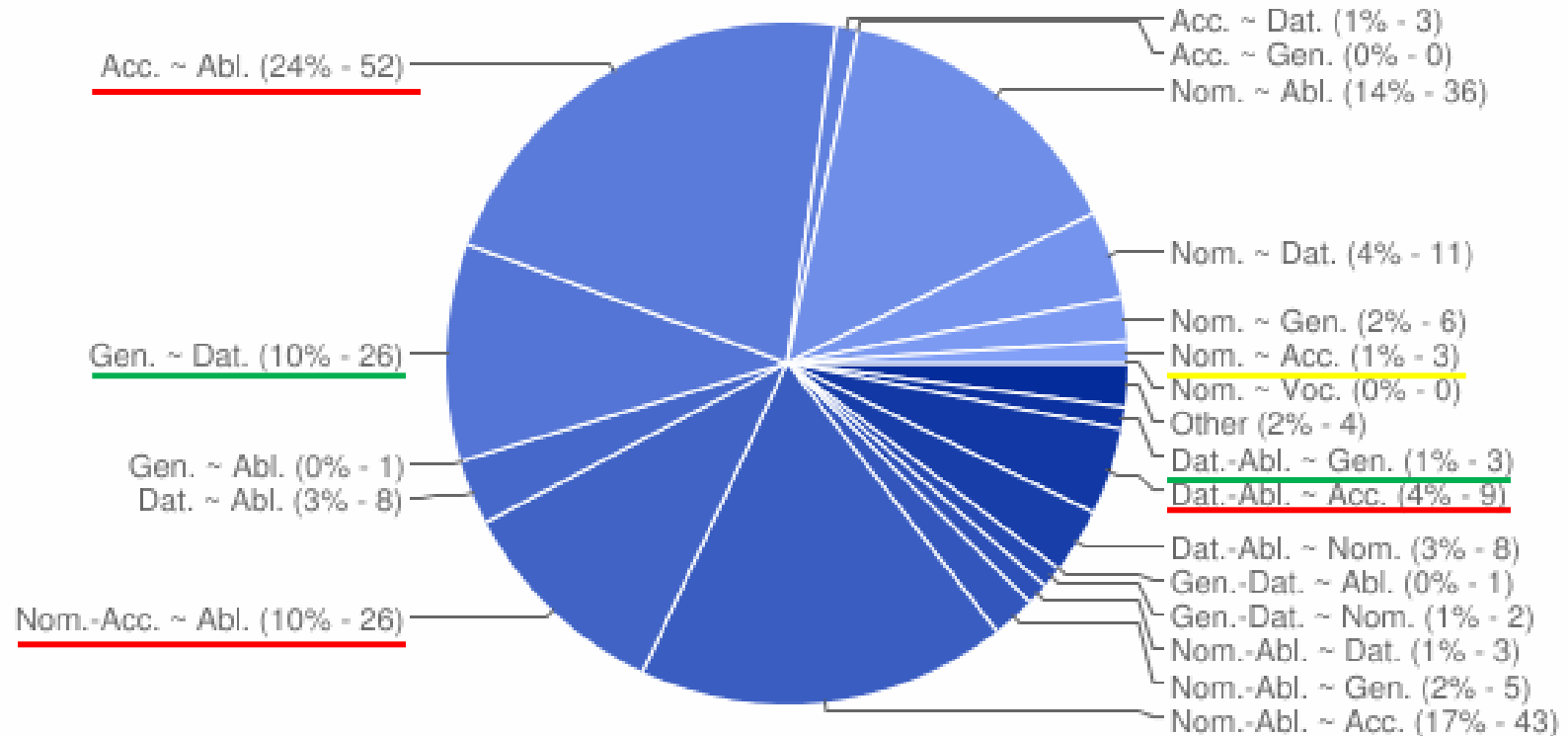
3

Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. <u>10% - 26</u>	26	nom./acc. pro abl.	LLDB-43583: (/ dat./abl. pro acc.) VIX IT ANNIS LX MENS ES TRES = vixit annis LX mensibus tribus / annos LX menses tres
Gen. ~ Dat. <u>10% - 26</u>	9	gen. pro dat.	LLDB-51063: M AVRELIO SEVERO ALEXANDRO PIO FELI CIS = Marco Aurelio Severo Alexandro Pio Felici
	17	dat. pro gen.	LLDB-40069: (/ -s > ø) VXOR Q SILICI MARTIA LI = uxor Quinti Silici Martialis,
Nom. ~ Dat. <i>4% - 11</i>	9	nom. pro dat.	LLDB-52396: (/ -s > ø), DI MANIBVS = Dis Manibus
	2	dat. pro nom.	LLDB-57763: (/ dat. pro gen.), FONTEIA VERNALI V = Fonteia Vernalis vixit
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. <i>4% - 9</i>	9	dat./abl. pro acc.	LLDB-50612: INTER EIS = inter eos, LLDB-46806: (/ -um > O) LEGENS TITVM MEO = legens titulum meum,

Table 1: Early Africa

4

Case system in early Africa Proconsularis and Numidia c. 1-3 AD (100% = 250)



Acc. ~ Abl. 24% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 10% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 4% = 38%

Gen. ~ Dat. 10% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1% = 11%

Nom. ~ Acc. = 1%

Table 2: Later Africa

Case system in later Africa Proconsularis and Numidia c. 4-7 AD (100% = 128)

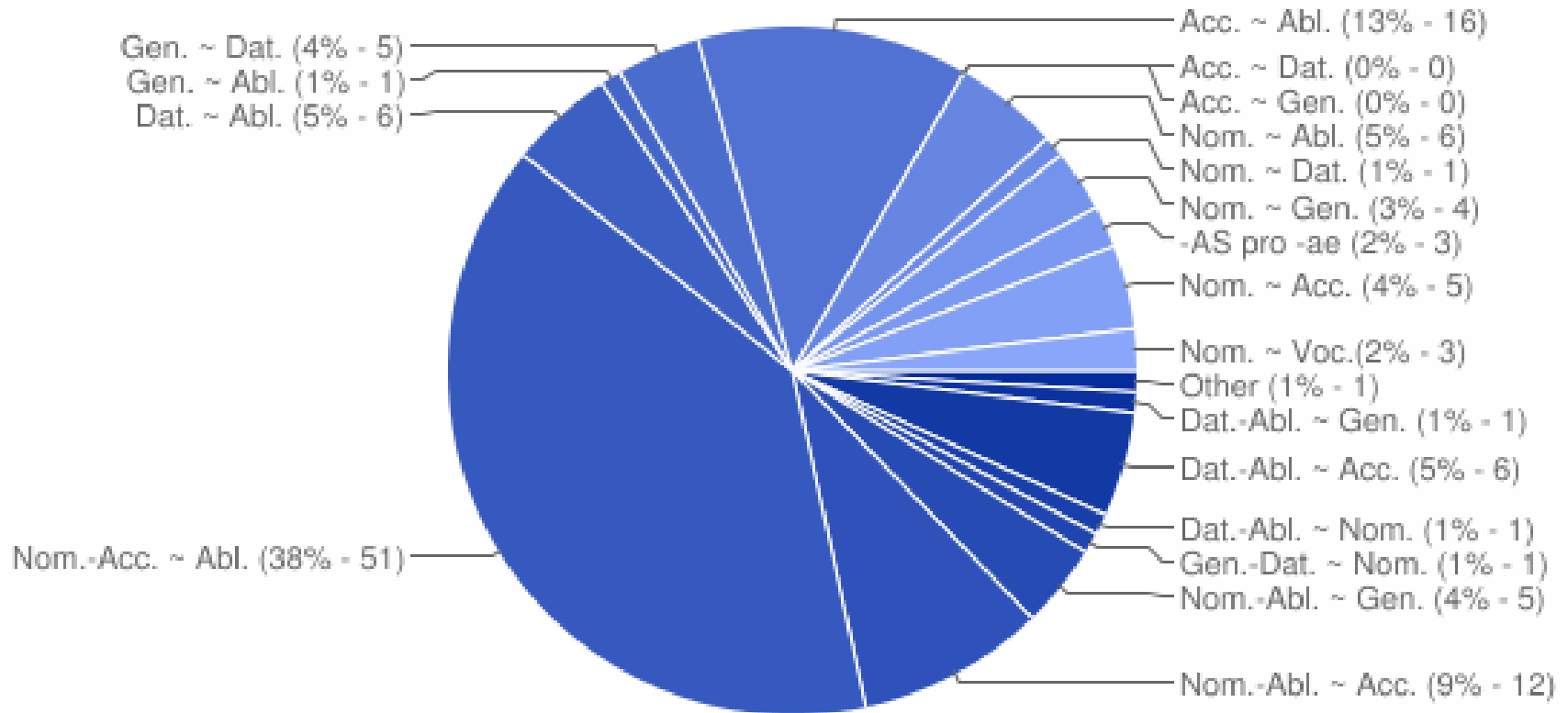


Table 2: Later Africa

6

Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. <u>38% - 51</u>	51	nom./acc. pro abl.	LLDB-71855: (/ dat./abl. pro acc.) VIXIT AN NIS () MEN SES = vixit annis () mensibus / annos () menses
Acc. ~ Abl. <u>13% - 16</u>	7	acc. pro abl.	LLDB-59514: NATVS CASAS MAIORES = natus Casis Maioribus
	9	abl. pro acc.	LLDB-43608: (/ -m > ø), HABVIT PATRE LAOMEDONTE = habuit patrem Laomedontem
Nom.-Abl. ~ Acc. <u>9% - 12</u>	12	nom./abl. pro acc.	LLDB-51295: (/ -m > ø) MERVIT () CORONA = meruit () coronam
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. <u>5% - 6</u>	6	dat./abl. pro acc.	LLDB-45538: (nom./acc. pro abl.) VIX IT ANNIS LXX MENSES V = vixit annis LXX mensibus V / vixit annos LXX menses V (5); LLDB-71921: (/ -um > O) PER SOLOMONEM () MAGISTRO = per Solomonem () magistrum (1)

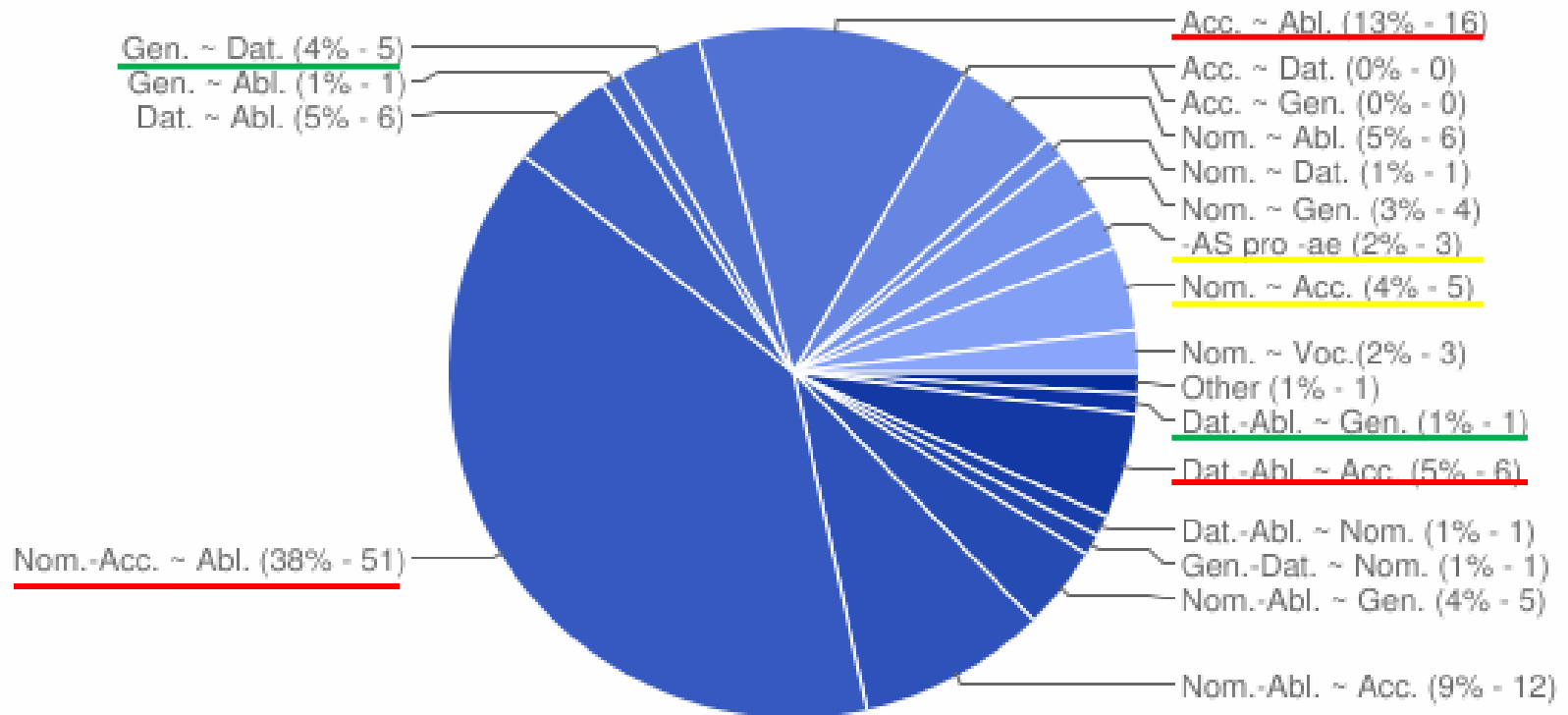
Table 2: Later Africa

7

Dat. ~ Abl. 5% - 6	1	dat. -ī > E	LLDB-67878: (/ i: > E) [I]NVICTO PIO FELICE () PON TIFICI = invicto pio felici () pontifici
	5	abl. -e > I	LLDB-40080: (/ e > I) IN PACI = in pace
Nom. ~ Abl. 5% - 6	4	nom. pro abl.	LLDB-43623: (/ -s > ø /) VIX ANNI XLVI = vixit annis XLVI
	2	abl. pro nom.	LLDB-51347: (/ -s > ø) CASTRENSSE DVLCS = Castrensis dulcis
Nom. ~ Acc. 4% - 5	3	nom. pro acc.	LLDB-68767: HEC MEMORIAM FECIT = hanc memoriam fecit
	2	acc. pro nom.	LLDB-68769: VISSITE NT FILOS ET NEPOTES MEOS = visitent filii et nepotes mei
-AS pro -ae 2% - 3	3	nom. pl. -AS pro -ae	LLDB-42896: (/ acc. pro nom.) VNA ET BIS SENAS TVRRES CRESCEBANT IN ORDINE TOTAS = una et bis senae turren crescebant in ordine totae
Gen. ~ Dat. 4% - 5	3	dat. pro gen.	LLDB-43553: (/ -s > ø), IN NOMINE PATRI ET = In nomine patris et
	2	gen. pro dat.	LLDB-64824: NICOMACHO FLAVIANO AGENTIS = Nicomacho Flaviano agenti

Table 2: Later Africa

Case system in later Africa Proconsularis and Numidia c. 4-7 AD (100% = 128)



Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 38% + Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 5% = 56%
Gen. ~ Dat. 4% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1% = 5%
Nom. ~ Acc. = 4%
 (+ -AS pro -ae 2% = 6%)

Chart 1a Early Hispania

**Acc. ~ Abl. 26% +
Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 2% +
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 4%
= 32%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 6% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Gen. 2%
= 8%

Nom. ~ Acc.
= 4%

Chart 2a Early Gallia & Germania

Acc. ~ Abl. 8% + Nom.-Acc. ~
Abl. 0% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 2%
= 10%

**Gen. ~ Dat. 26% + Dat.-
Abl. ~ Gen. 3%
= 29%**

Nom. ~ Acc.
= 2%

Chart 3a Early Italia

**Acc. ~ Abl. 15% + Nom.-
Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-
Abl. ~ Acc. 22%
= 50%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 4% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Gen. 2%
= 6%

Nom. ~ Acc.
= 1%

Chart 4a Early Roma

**Acc. ~ Abl. 17% +
Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 11% +
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 13%
= 41%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 6% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Gen. 1%
= 4%

Nom. ~ Acc.
= 0%

Chart 5a Early Illyricum

**Acc. ~ Abl. 18% + Nom.-
Acc. ~ Abl. 2% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Acc. 3%
= 23%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 11% + Dat.-Abl. ~
Gen. 2%
= 13%

Nom. ~ Acc. = 2% (+ -AS pro
-ae 4% = 6%)

Chart 6a Early Africa

**Acc. ~ Abl. 24% + Nom.-
Acc. ~ Abl. 10% + Dat.-
Abl. ~ Acc. 4%
= 38%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 10% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Gen. 1%
= 11%

Nom. ~ Acc.
= 1%

Comparison of early Africa with other early regions of the Empire

Table 3.3	c. 1-3 AD	Hispania	Gallia & Germania	Italia	Roma	Illyricum	Africa
Proportion of Acc.~Abl. and Gen.~Dat.		32% / 8% = 4	(10% / 29% = 0,3)	50% / 6% = 8	41% / 4% = 10	23% / 13% = 1,8	38% / 11% = 3,5
Rate of Nom.~Acc.		4%	2%	1%	0%	2%	1%

Chart 1b Later Hispania

**Acc. ~ Abl. 31% +
Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 1% +
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 23%
= 55%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 5% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Gen. 2%
= 7%

**Nom. ~ Acc. = 4% (+ -
AS pro -ae 4% = 8%)**

Chart 4b Later Roma

**Acc. ~ Abl. 43% +
Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 11% +
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 9%
= 63%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 2% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Gen. 1%
= 3%

Nom. ~ Acc.
= 0% (+ -AS pro -ae 1% =
1%)

Chart 2b Later Gallia & Germania

**Acc. ~ Abl. 45% +
Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 1% +
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 13%
= 59%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 5% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Gen. 8%
= 13%

Nom. ~ Acc. = 0%

Chart 5b Later Illyricum

**Acc. ~ Abl. 19% + Nom.-
Acc. ~ Abl. 2% + Dat.-Abl.
~ Acc. 7%
= 28%**

**Gen. ~ Dat. 17% +
Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 18%
= 35%**

Nom. ~ Acc.
= 3% (+ -AS pro -ae 2% =
5%)

Chart 3b Later Italia

**Acc. ~ Abl. 25% + Nom.-
Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-
Abl. ~ Acc. 4%
= 42%**

Gen. ~ Dat. 4% + Dat.-Abl. ~
Gen. 2%
= 6%

Nom. ~ Acc. = 2% (+ -AS
pro -ae 1% = 3%)

Chart 6b Later Africa

**Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 38% +
Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-
Abl. ~ Acc. 5%
= 56%**

Gen. ~ Dat.
4% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1%
= 5%

**Nom. ~ Acc.
= 4% (+ -AS pro -ae 2% =
6%)**

Comparison of later Africa with other later regions of the Empire 10

Table 4.3	c. 4-7	Hispania	Gallia & Italia Germania	Roma	Illyricum	Africa
Proportion of Acc.~Abl. and Gen.~Dat.	55% / 7% = 8	59% / 13% = 4,5	42% / 6% = 7	63% / 3% = 21	(28% / 35% = 0,8)	56% / 5% = 11
Rate of Nom.~Acc.	4%	0%	2%	0%	3%	4%
de + abl. pro gen. & ad + acc pro dat.	16 & 4	1 & 1	5 & 0	0 & 0	1 & 0	0 & 0

LLDB-47046: **de + abl. pro gen.**, VINDO PORTIONE| DE TERRA = *vendo portionem terrae*

LLDB-60035: **ad + acc. pro dat.**, AD EVM DICENS = *ei dicens*

Conclusions

Concerning the changes of the case system as evidenced in inscriptions we can state that dialectologically Africa and Hispania could have been nearly related. This dialectological affinity of Africa and Hispania that was emerging already in the early Empire, i.e. in the first three centuries A.D., and could have even increased and intensified in the later Empire, i.e. in the Christian era from the fourth century A.D. on and approximately up to the end of the 6th century. Later, however, these affiliations could not evolve further, perhaps because Africa became more and more detached and isolated from the Latin language area due to the Arabic invasions in the 7th century, crashing its Latinity and hindering the potential birth of a Romance language there.

Conclusions

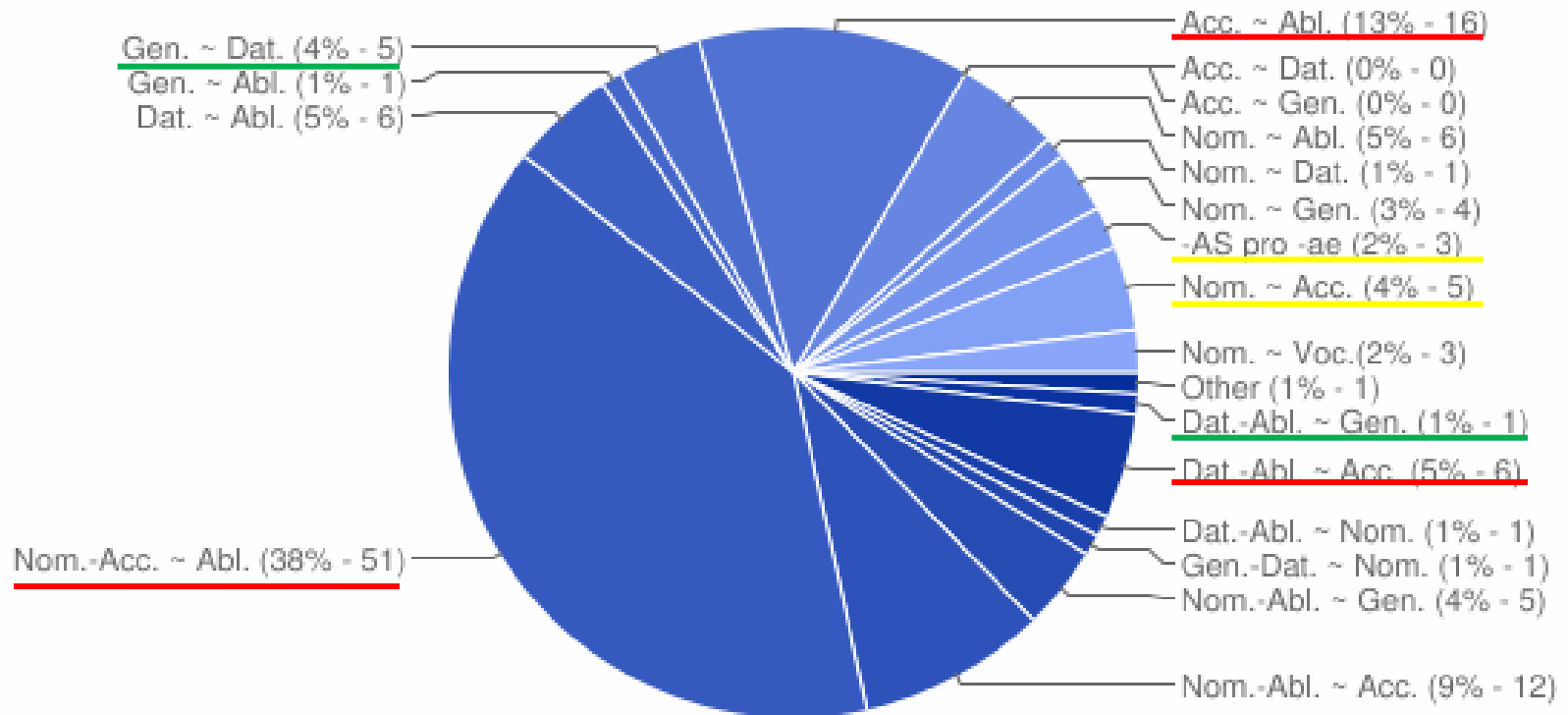
The positioning of Africa alongside Hispania as for the transformation of the case system is much more tenable than the conclusion of **Gaeng** (1992: 128-129), who **tried to connect Africa with Sardinia** in this respect but without any acceptable reasoning, **based on some similar peculiarities of the vocalism of later Sardinian and African Latin inscriptions.**

It is characteristic of the general dialectological patterns of the Latin language area that different dialectological patterns can be peculiar to different linguistic subsystems of the same corpus in the same region of a certain period, thus patterns of one single special subsystem (e.g. of vocalism) cannot be assigned and projected automatically to another linguistic subsystem (e.g. to the case system) of the same corpus.

Table 2: Later Africa

11

Case system in later Africa Proconsularis and Numidia c. 4-7 AD (100% = 128)



Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 38% + Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 5% = 56%

Gen. ~ Dat. 4% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1% = 5%

Nom. ~ Acc. = 4%
(+ -AS pro -ae 2% = 6%)

Table 5a (= Table 1 in Adamik 2014: 658, based on Herman 2000: 58-59)

Vulgar Latin Case-system	nominative	accusative-ablative	dative-genitive
1. Gaul (Old French, Old Occitan)			
2. Balkans (Rumanian)			
3. Africa (Hispania, Italia), modern Romance			

Table 1: Different regions of the Vulgar Latin declension system

Table 5b

Vulgar Latin Case-system	nominative	accusative-ablative	dative-genitive
1. Gaul (Old French, Old Occitan)			
2. Balkans (Rumanian)			
3. Hispania, Italia (modern Romance)			
4. Africa (no Romance)			

Table 5: Different regions of the Vulgar Latin declension system

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