

III. Morpho-syntactic changes in African Latin as evidenced in inscriptions

1. Vocative for the nominative (cf. Adamik T 1987, Petersmann 1998 and Adams 2007)

- LLDB-51653: voc. pro nom., SECVDE AMATO|R = Secundus amator, ILTun 1692, 2 = AE 1911, 115, 2, Africa proconsularis, Thabraca, 313-700 AD.
- LLDB-51962: voc. pro nom., VERNA|CLE IN [PACE] = Vernaculus in pace, IFCCarth 3, 311, 1-2 = CIL 8, 14223, 1-2, Africa proconsularis, Carthago, 351-400 AD.
- LLDB-52229: voc. pro nom., EVTICIANE | IN PACE | VIXIT = Eutythianus in pace vixit, IFCCarth 3, 582, 1 = CIL 8, 25320, 1, Africa proconsularis, Carthago, 470-530 AD.
- LLDB-65289: voc. pro nom., LELI () SACE|RDOS () VOTVM SOLVIT = Laelius () sacerdos votum solvit, ILaI 1, 2941, 1 = CIL 8, 2182, 1, Africa proconsularis, Aquae Caesaris, undated.
- LLDB-65290: voc. pro nom., SILVANE SACE|RDOS () VOTVM SOLVIT = Silvanus sacerdos () votum solvit, ILaI 1, 2941, 1 = CIL 8, 2182, 1, Africa proconsularis, Aquae Caesaris, undated.
- LLDB-29142: voc. pro nom., DOCTE PVER () COMITATVR = doctus puer () comitatur, ICI 1, 13, 7 = CIL 11, 2839, 7, Etruria / Regio VII, Volsinii, 351-430 AD.
- LLDB-37807: voc. pro nom., AVRELIVS () DEPOSTE = Aurelius () depositus, ICUR 2, 4305, 1, Roma, Roma, 301-400 AD.

2. The transformation of the case system in African Latin

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.

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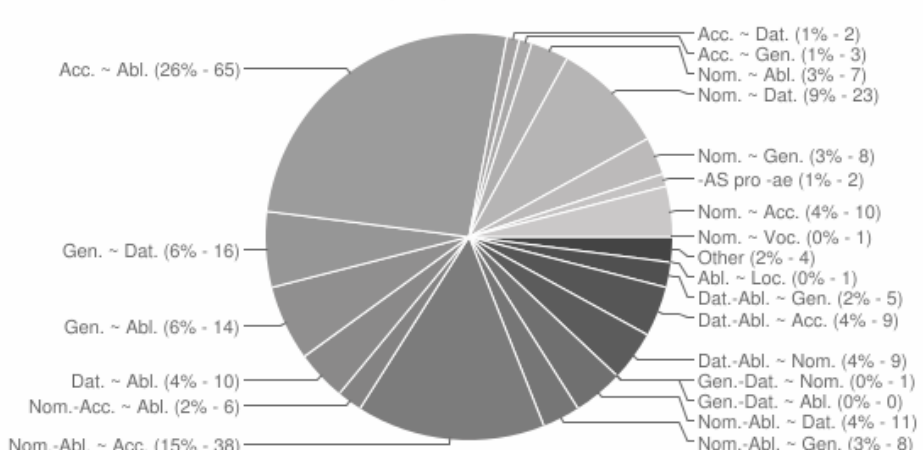
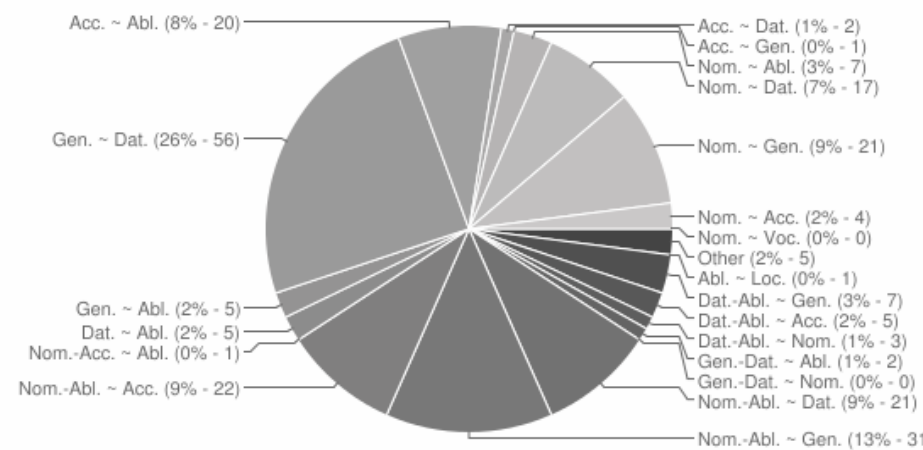
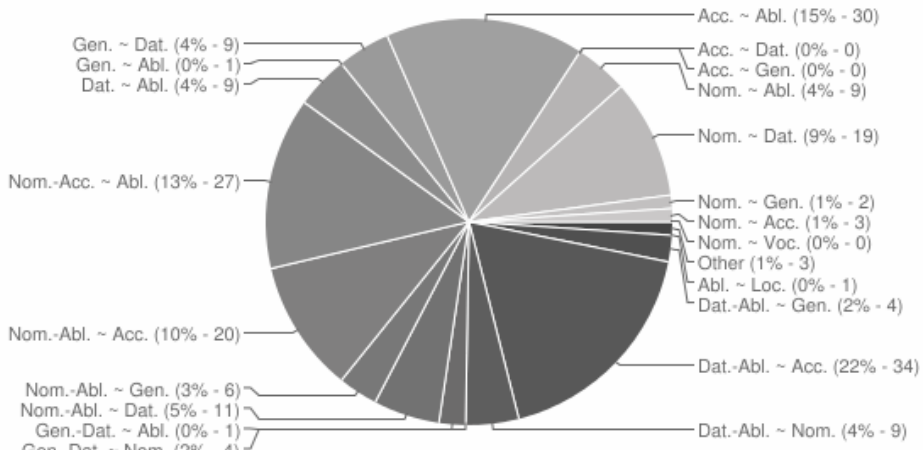
Introduction to the problem of African Latin
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Case system in early Africa Proconsularis and Numidia c. 1-3 AD (100% = 250)				Table 1
				<p>Acc. ~ Abl. 24% + Nom.- Acc. ~ Abl. 10% + Dat.- Abl. ~ Acc. 4% = 38%</p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 10% + Dat.- Abl. ~ Gen. 1% = 11%</p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = 1%</p>
Nom. ~ Acc. 1% - 3	1	nom. pro acc.	LLDB-54964: PER FETVS DECESSIT = per fetum decessit	
	2	acc. pro nom.	LLDB-60722: QVAM PER FETVS DECESSIT = quae per fetum decessit	
Nom. ~ Gen. 2% - 6	5	nom. pro gen.	LLDB-50926: MEMORIAE L FABI () OMNIBVS HONORIBVS FVNCTVS = memoriae Lucii Fabi () omnibus honoribus functi	
	1	gen. pro nom.	LLDB-46085: (/permixtio syntagmatum)M CORNELIVS FELICIS = Marcus Cornelius Felix	
Nom. ~ Dat. 4% - 11	9	nom. pro dat.	LLDB-52396: (/s > o), DI MANIBVS = Dis Manibus	
	2	dat. pro nom.	LLDB-57763: (/ dat. pro gen.), FONTEIA VERNALI V = Fonteia Vernalis vixit	
Nom. ~ Abl. 14% - 36	34	nom. pro abl.	LLDB-42945: (/s > o) VI XIT A NI LII = vixit annis LII	
	2	abl. pro nom.	LLDB-55990: (/litterae superfluae), LIVIA ZA BA VXSO RE = Livia Zaba uxor	
Acc. ~ Dat. 1% - 3	3	acc. pro dat.	LLDB-38255: STATVAS AENEAS DVAS VICTORIAE AVGVSTAE ET FOR TVNAM REDVCIS = statuas aeneas duas Victoriae Augustae et Fortunae Reducis	
Acc. ~ Abl. 24% - 52	18	acc. pro abl.	LLDB-53906: (/ -o > -m) PRO SALVTEM DOMINI = pro salute domini	
	28	abl. pro acc.	LLDB-57803: (/ -m > o) 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	
Gen. ~ Dat. 10% - 26	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 > o) VXOR Q SILICI MARTIA LI = uxor Quinti Silici Martialis,	
Gen. ~ Abl. 0% - 1	1	gen. pro abl.	LLDB-54706: (/ permixtio syntagmatum) VIXIT ANNIS XXVII ET MEN SVM VI = vixit annis XXVII et mensibus VI	
Dat. ~ Abl. 3% - 8	6	dat. -i > E	LLDB-71716: (/ i: > E), D M ET PERPETVE SE CVRITATE = D(is) M(anibus) et perpetuae securitati	
	2	abl. -e > I	LLDB-51388: (/ e > I) FORTISSIMO IMP ET PACA TORI VRBIS () FELICE = fortissimo imperatore et pacatore urbis () Felice	
Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 10% - 26	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	
Nom.-Abl. ~ Acc. 17% - 43	43	nom./abl. pro acc.	LLDB-43706: (/ -m > o) CVRA EGERVNT = curam egerunt	
Nom.-Abl. ~ Gen. 2% - 5	5	nom./abl. pro gen.	LLDB-68293: (/ permixtio syntagmatum) [E]X AVCTORI[TATE] () NERVA TRAIANI = ex auctoritate () Nervae Traiani	
Nom.-Abl. ~ Dat. 1% - 3	3	nom./abl. pro dat.	LLDB-51444: (/ litterae omissae), MARITA MERENTI = maritae merenti	
Gen.-Dat. ~ Nom. 1% - 2	2	gen./dat. pro nom.	LLDB-54034: (/ nom. pro gen.) D M S CECILIVS COTTAE P V = Dis Manibus sacrum Caecilius Cotta / Caecili Cottae pius vixit	
Gen.-Dat. ~ Abl. 0% - 1	1	gen./dat. pro abl.	LLDB-65327: TRIBVNICI AE POTESTA TAE II = tribunicia potestate II	
Dat.-Abl. ~ Nom. 3% - 8	8	dat./abl. pro nom.	LLDB-51377: (/ -us > O) M IVL IO PHILIPPVS INVIC TVS = Marcus Iulius Philippus Invictus	
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 4% - 9	9	dat./abl. pro acc.	LLDB-50612: INTER EIS = inter eos, LLDB-46806: (/ -um > O) LEGENS TITVM MEO = legens titulum meum	
Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1% - 3	3	dat./abl. pro gen.	LLDB-37721: (/ permixtio syntagmatum) [PRO] SALVTE () AVRELI COMMODO = pro salute () Aureli Commodi	
Other 2% - 4	4	commutatio vel permixtio casuum aliorum	LLDB-45802: AD MISERABILE MO RTIS V = ad miserabilem mortem vixit	

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Case system in later Africa Proconsularis and Numidia c. 4-7 AD (100% = 128)			Table 2
			<p>Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 38% + Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 5% = <u>56%</u></p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 4% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1% = <u>5%</u></p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = <u>4%</u> (+ -AS pro -ae 2% = 6%)</p>
Nom. ~ Voc. 2% - 3	3	voc. pro nom.	LLDB-52229: EVTICIANE IN PACE VIXIT = Eutychianus in pace vixit
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 turres crescebant in ordine totae
Nom. ~ Gen. 3% - 4	3	nom. pro gen.	LLDB-53293: REGIS ILDIRIX = regis Childerici
	1	gen. pro nom.	LLDB-53140: (/ x > S / SS / CX) GILIVS SE NIS FIDELIS = Gilius senex fidelis
Nom. ~ Dat. 1% - 1	1	dat. pro nom.	LLDB-48749: (/ -s > ø) HOSTRILD I FIDELIS () VIXIT = Hostrildis fidelis () vixit
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 DVLCIS = Castrensis dulcis
Acc. ~ Abl. 13% - 16	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
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 agentis
Gen. ~ Abl. 1% - 1	1	gen. pro abl.	LLDB-53530: (/ permixtio syntagmatum) VIXIT AN NORVM LXXX = vixit annis / annos
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.-Acc. ~ Abl. 38% - 51	51	nom./acc. pro abl.	LLDB-71855: (/ dat./abl. pro acc.) VIXIT AN NIS () MEN SES = vixit annis () mensibus / annos () menses
Nom.-Abl. ~ Acc. 9% - 12	12	nom./abl. pro acc.	LLDB-51295: (/ -m > ø) MERVIT () CORONA = meruit () coronam
Nom.-Abl. ~ Gen. 4% - 5	5	nom./abl. pro gen.	LLDB-51131: SVMMA BONITATIS ET INGENI PVER = summae bonitatis et ingenii puer
Gen.-Dat. ~ Nom. 1% - 1	1	gen./dat. pro nom.	LLDB-49368: (/ permixtio syntagmatum) IVLIA FLO RIANAE FIDE LIS VIXIT
Dat.-Abl. ~ Nom. 1% - 1	1	dat./abl. pro nom.	LLDB-43775: (/ -s > ø) NON [I]A FIDELI VIXIT = Nonia fidelis vixit
Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 5% - 6	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 ()
Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1% - 1	1	dat./abl. pro gen.	LLDB-43555: COR PVS FAMVLO CHRI = corpus famuli Christi
Other 1% - 1	1	commutatio vel permixtio casuum aliorum	LLDB-52749: [I]NVICTIS [A]VGG[G] BONO R P NATVM = Invictis Augustis bono rei publice natis

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Table 3.1: Comparison of the EARLY regions	
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in early Hispania c. 1-3 AD (100% = 253)</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 1a</p> <p>Acc. ~ Abl. 26% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 2% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 4% = <u>32%</u></p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 6% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 2% = <u>8%</u></p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = <u>4%</u></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in early Gallia and Germania c. 1-3 AD (100% = 236)</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 2a</p> <p>Acc. ~ Abl. 8% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 0% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 2% = <u>10%</u></p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 26% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 3% = <u>29%</u></p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = <u>2%</u></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in early Italia c. 1-3 AD (100% = 202)</p> 	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 3a</p> <p>Acc. ~ Abl. 15% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 22% = <u>50%</u></p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 4% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 2% = <u>6%</u></p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = <u>1%</u></p>

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Table 3.2: Comparison of the EARLY regions

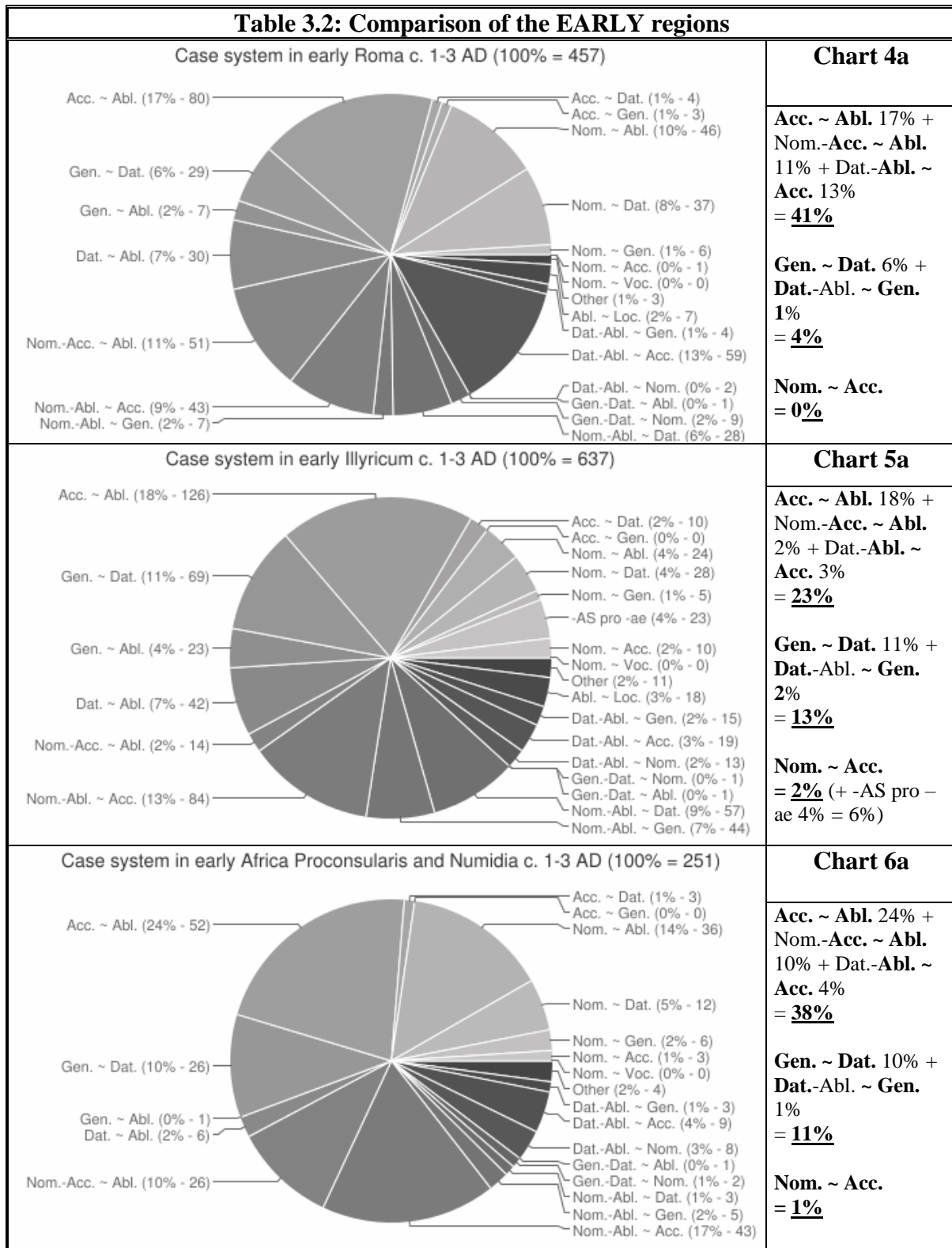


Table 3.3	c. 1-3 AD	Hispania	Gallia & Germania	Italia	Roma	Illyricum	Africa
Proportion of Acc.~Abl. and Gen.~Dat.		32% / 8% = 4	(10% / 29% = 0,3)	50% / 6% = 8	41% / 4% = 10	23% / 13% = 1,8	38% / 11% = 3,5
Rate of Nom.~Acc.		4%	2%	1%	0%	2%	1%

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Table 4.1: Comparison of the LATER regions	
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in later Hispania c. 4-7 AD (100% = 216)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 1b</p> <p>Acc. ~ Abl. 31% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 1% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 23% = <u>55%</u></p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 5% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 2% = <u>7%</u></p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = <u>4%</u> (+ -AS pro -ae 4% = 8%)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in later Gallia and Germania c. 4-7 (100% = 150)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 2b</p> <p>Acc. ~ Abl. 45% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 1% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 13% = <u>59%</u></p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 5% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 8% = <u>13%</u></p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = <u>0%</u></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in later Italia c. 4-7 AD (100% = 311)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 3b</p> <p>Acc. ~ Abl. 25% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 4% = <u>42%</u></p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 4% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 2% = <u>6%</u></p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = <u>2%</u> (+ -AS pro -ae 1% = 3%)</p>

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Table 4.2: Comparison of the LATER regions	
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in later Roma c.4-7 AD (100% = 261)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 4b</p> <p>Acc. ~ Abl. 43% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 11% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 9% = 63%</p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 2% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1% = 3%</p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = 0% (+ -AS pro -ae 1% = 1%)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in later Illyricum c. 4-7 AD (100% = 157)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 5b</p> <p>Acc. ~ Abl. 19% + Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 2% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 7% = 28%</p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 17% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 18% = 35%</p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = 3% (+ -AS pro -ae 2% = 5%)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Case system in later Africa Proconsularis and Numidia c. 4-7 AD (100% = 128)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Chart 6b</p> <p>Nom.-Acc. ~ Abl. 38% + Acc. ~ Abl. 13% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Acc. 5% = 56%</p> <p>Gen. ~ Dat. 4% + Dat.-Abl. ~ Gen. 1% = 5%</p> <p>Nom. ~ Acc. = 4% (+ -AS pro -ae 2% = 6%)</p>

Table 4.3	c. 4-7	Hispania	Gallia & Germania	Italia	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

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Note to Table 4.3:

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

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

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

Present paper intends to explore the process of the transformation of the case system as evidenced in the inscriptions of the Roman provinces Africa Proconsularis and Numidia. First the peculiarities of the transformation of the case system in African Latin in the pre-Christian and Christian periods will be analysed. Then the African distributional patterns of case system changes will be compared to those of other regions of the Empire selected for the survey including Spain, Gaul (including Germany), Italy, Illyricum, and the city of Rome. Finally, the results of the present analysis, especially those regarding the dialectological positioning of Roman Africa, will be compared with the results of the investigation of Gaeng 1992 regarding the later, Christian period.