

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> xix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxiv
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xxvi
I INTRODUCTION	I
I Introductory remarks; some issues in the study of bilingualism	1
II Bilingualism	3
III Élite and sub-élite bilingualism: anecdotal evidence and its shortcomings	9
III.1 Non-élite bilingualism	14
IV Romans, Greeks and others as language learners	15
V Code-switching, interference and borrowing	18
VI A further note on loan-words	29
VII Sources of information	29
VII.1 Bilingual texts	30
VII.2 Transliterated texts	40
VII.2.1 Latin in Greek script: introduction	41
VII.2.2 The use of Greek script for Latin as a matter of choice	43
VII.2.3 Latin written in Greek script by possible illiterates in Latin script	53
VII.2.4 Some other scripts	63
VII.3 Mixed-language texts	67

VII.4	Texts which implicitly reflect a bilingual situation	70
VII.4.1	Orthographic interference and alphabet-switching	71
VII.4.2	Translations of clichés, formulae, etc.	76
VIII	The authorship of inscriptions	84
IX	Pidgins and 'reduced' languages	93
X	Some concluding remarks	106
	Appendix: attitudes to the Greek accent in Latin	108
2	LANGUAGES IN CONTACT WITH LATIN	III
I	Introduction	III
II	Oscan, Umbrian, Venetic, Messapic	112
II.1	<i>Testimonia</i> and literary evidence	113
II.2	Bilingual texts	123
II.3	'Mixed-language' texts, 'Latinised' Oscan and 'Oscanised' Latin (?)	127
II.3.1	Conclusions	144
II.4	Bilingual areas: some remarks about Pompeii	145
II.5	Greek and Italic	148
II.6	Conclusions	150
II.6.1	Latin 'influences' Italic	155
II.6.2	Italic 'influences' Latin	157
III	Etruscan	159
III.1	'Roman' Etruscan	160
III.2	Loan-words and calques	163
III.3	Greeks and Etruscans	165
III.4	Etruscan and Italic	166
III.5	Etruscan and Latin: anecdotal evidence	166
III.6	Inscriptions	169
III.7	The prophecy of Vegoia	179
III.8	Conclusions	182

IV	Celtic (Gaulish)	184
	IV.1 Introduction: loan-words and interpreters	184
	IV.2 Gaulish and bilingual texts	185
	IV.3 Interference from Gaulish	190
	IV.4 Marcellus of Bordeaux	191
	IV.5 The spindle whorls from eastern France	196
	IV.6 Conclusions	199
V	Punic	200
	v.1 Introduction	200
	v.2 The early period	201
	v.3 Coins	207
	v.4 Sardinia	209
	v.5 Africa	213
	v.5.1 Bilingual texts and names	213
	v.5.2 Punic borrowing from and imitation of Latin	221
	v.5.3 Miscellaneous	224
	v.5.4 Conclusions	229
	v.6 The 'Latino-Punic' inscriptions	230
	v.6.1 Conclusions	235
	v.7 Bu Njem	236
	v.8 Later literary evidence	237
	v.9 Punic (Phoenician)-Greek code-switching or language mixing	240
	v.10 Conclusions	242
VI	Libyan, Berber	245
VII	Aramaic	247
	vii.1 Introduction	247
	vii.2 Palmyrenes abroad	248
	vii.3 Palmyra	259
	vii.4 Nabataean	264

VII.5	Native speakers of Latin and contact with Aramaic	264
VII.6	Conclusions	269
VIII	Hebrew	271
IX	Germanic	274
X	Hispanic languages	279
XI	Egyptian	283
XII	Getic and Sarmatian	283
XIII	Thracian	283
XIV	Conclusions	284
XIV.1	Regional Latin and language change	284
XIV.2	Code-switching	287
XIV.3	Language death and Romanisation	289
XIV.4	Bilingual inscriptions	291
XIV.5	Language learning	293
XIV.6	Accommodation	295
3	CODE-SWITCHING	297
I	Introduction	297
II	Code-switching and imperfect competence	305
III	Cicero's letters	308
III.1	Introduction	308
III.2	Critical terms	323
III.3	Code-switching as a form of coding or exclusion	329
III.4	Code-switching as distancing or euphemism	330
III.5	Code-switching and proverbial or fixed expressions	335
III.6	Code-switching and the <i>mot juste</i>	337
III.7	Code-switching and medical terminology	340
III.8	Special cases: the evocativeness of code-switching	341

III.9	The chronology of code-switching in Cicero	342
III.10	Some concluding remarks	344
IV	Solidarity: some inscriptional and other evidence	347
IV.1	Accommodation as an act of solidarity and as a form of disparagement	350
V	Identity	356
V.1	Identity: language shift across several generations	367
V.2	Identity: code-switching and names	369
V.3	Identity: code-switching in names in some other languages	375
V.4	Identity: filiations	376
V.5	Identity: official titles	380
VI	Code-switching, language choice and power	383
VI.1	Bilingual transcripts of hearings	383
VI.2	Code-switching and dates	390
VI.3	Power: code-switching and passwords and the like	393
VII	A special case: code-switching in the <i>scriptio</i> of letters	396
VIII	Code-switching and the expression of bureaucratic information: some remarks on 'diglossia' and the language of authority	399
IX	Code-switching and the evocation of the exotic	403
X	Unmotivated code-switching?	405
XI	Further institutionalised code-switching	406
XII	Conclusions	407
XII.1	Code-switching and the notion of the 'mixed language'	407
XII.2	The significance of funerary inscriptions	409
XII.3	Code-switching and markedness	410
XII.4	Code-switching and social intention: power and solidarity/ accommodation	413

XII.5	'Retention': some further observations about the code-switching of Roman Greeks	415
XII.6	Code-switching and gender	416
4	BILINGUALISM, LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND LANGUAGE CHANGE	417
I	Introduction	417
II	Borrowing and its diversity	418
III	Interference again: a problem of interpretation	424
IV	Second-language acquisition and regional variation in language: some introductory remarks	425
V	Borrowing and interference: types and case studies	431
V.1	Phonetic interference: accent	432
V.1.1	Greeks' Latin: some evidence concerning phonetic interference and accent	432
V.1.2	Some other accents	437
V.1.3	Phonetic interference: Celtic interference in Gallic Latin	438
V.2	Vocabulary	441
V.2.1	'Regional' loan-words	443
V.2.2	Greek	443
V.2.3	Germanic	447
V.2.4	Hispanic languages	450
V.2.5	Punic and Libyan	454
V.2.6	Celtic	455
V.2.7	Miscellaneous	457
V.2.8	The use of regional words as a marker of regional identity	458
V.2.9	Latin loan-words as regionalisms in Greek	458
V.2.10	Conclusions	458
V.2.11	Calques and loan-shifts	459
V.2.12	Translations of idioms	468

v.3 Morphology	473
v.3.1 Greeks' Latin: dative and genitive singular of female first-declension names in Latin	473
v.3.1.1 The genitive in <i>-aes</i>	479
v.3.1.2 Venusia and convergence	483
v.3.1.3 A new Latin suffix determined partly by contact with Greek	486
v.3.1.4 The type <i>Marciane</i>	490
v.3.1.5 Some concluding remarks	491
v.3.2 Genitive plural	492
v.3.3 Nominative singular	493
v.3.4 Accusative plural	494
v.3.5 Suffixation: some Latinate suffixes in the Greek of Egypt	495
v.4 Syntax	496
v.4.1 Roman Greek again: the Greek dative	497
v.4.1.1 The use of the dative in the Greek translations of <i>senatus consulta</i>	503
v.4.1.2 The dative in consular dates	504
v.4.1.3 The dative of duration of time	504
v.4.1.4 Another use of the dative	508
v.4.1.5 Conclusions	508
v.4.2 Greeks' Latin: the genitive (of time) in Latin	509
v.4.3 The genitive of filiation in Latin	511
v.4.4 African Latin: the use of the vocative for the nominative	512
v.4.5 The definite article: Romans' Greek and Roman Latin	515
v.4.6 Bilingualism and the system of gender	519
VI Conclusions	520
v.1.1 Contact-induced linguistic change of the creative type	521
v.1.2 Factors facilitating linguistic change in situations of language contact	522
v.1.3 Bilingualism and the diversity of Latin	524

	vi.4 The limitations of language contact as a determinant of language change	526
5	LATIN IN EGYPT	527
I	Introduction	527
	1.1 Latin, Greek and Egyptian	529
	1.2 Some questions	536
	1.3 Diglossia	537
	1.4 The availability of scribes as a determinant of language choice	541
II	The evidence from Egypt	543
III	Language choice as an expression of power or act of accommodation	545
IV	Latin as a language of power	545
	iv.1 Greek and Latin inscriptions at the Colossus of Memnon	546
	iv.2 The Abinnaeus archive	555
	iv.2.1 <i>P. Oxy. LXIII.4381</i>	557
	iv.3 The past and some miscellaneous texts	558
	iv.4 Bilingual transcripts of hearings	561
	iv.5 Latin as a language of power: the citizenship	562
	iv.6 The citizenship: some mixed-language official documents from Egypt	564
	iv.7 Some bilingual inscriptions: building inscriptions	571
V	Accommodation: introduction	576
	v.1 Accommodation in the religious sphere	577
	v.2 Pilgrimage and tourist sites	579
	v.3 Kalabcha (Talmis, the temple of Mandulis)	580
	v.4 The Syringes of Thebes	583
	v.5 Dakka (Pselchis)	586
	v.6 Inscriptions on the route from Coptos to Quseir	587
	v.7 Deir el-Bahari	588
	v.8 Conclusions	588

VI	Further aspects of diglossia in Egypt	589
	VI.1 Mundane practical bilingualism: linguistic competence as a determinant of language choice	589
	VI.2 The archive of Tiberianus and the roles of Greek and Latin	593
	VI.3 Conclusion: diglossia in Egypt	597
VII	Language use in the army in Egypt	599
	VII.1 Latin as the 'official' language of the army?	599
	VII.2 Latin as a super-high language in the army	608
	VII.2.1 Latin and the transmission of orders	608
	VII.2.2 Receipts	609
	VII.2.3 Diplomata	614
	VII.2.4 Dedications to emperors	614
	VII.2.5 Some epitaphs	616
	VII.3 Evidence for the learning of Latin in the army	617
VIII	The learning of Latin in Egypt	623
IX	Conclusions	630
	Appendix: the trilingual inscription of Gallus	537
6	BILINGUALISM AT DELOS	642
I	The community of <i>negotiatores</i> at Delos	642
II	Linguistic integration of Romans / Italians on Delos	645
III	Italici, Ῥωμαῖοι and identity: a type of inscription	649
	III.1 Formulaic structure	650
	III.2 Ῥωμαῖοι and Ἰταλικοί	651
	III.3 Accusative of the honorand	658
	III.4 Gemination of vowels	661
IV	Further aspects of language choice	663
	IV.1 Dedications to Roman dignitaries	663
	IV.2 A social dimension to language choice: the <i>collegia</i>	666

v	Some linguistic features of the inscriptions	670
	v.1 Uses of υίός: aspects of imitation, accommodation and code-switching	670
	v.2 Regionalisms (?)	677
vi	The Myconos curse tablet	680
vii	Conclusions	682
7	BILINGUALISM AT LA GRAUFESENQUE	687
i	Introduction	687
ii	La Graufesenque	688
iii	Language differentiation	693
iv	Code-switching	702
	iv.1 Intra-phrasal switching	702
	iv.2 Code-switching in names	703
	iv.3 Names, continued: the possible influence of the etymology of a name on the selection of its ending	707
	iv.4 Inter-sentential switching	711
	iv.5 Morphological code-switching	712
	iv.6 Some formulae	716
	iv.7 Conclusions	717
v	Latin at La Graufesenque	720
8	THE LATIN OF A LEARNER (<i>P. AMH. II.26</i>): A CASE STUDY	725
i	A translation of Babrius	725
	i.1 Commentary	733
ii	Verb-morphology in Claudius Terentianus and some Vindolanda texts	741
iii	Conclusions	749

9	SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS	751
I	Introduction	751
II	Identity	751
III	Diglossia	754
IV	Language attitudes	755
V	Language policies	757
VI	Language death	759
VII	The army	760
VIII	Slavery	761
IX	'Hellenisation' of the Latin language (?)	762
X	Vulgar Latin	765
XI	Literacy	765
	<i>Bibliography</i>	767
	<i>Indexes</i>	805