THE ROLE OF ARCHAISMS IN THE LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE: SOME NEW CONSIDERATIONS IN LIGHT OF COMPUTERIZED DIALECTOLOGY*

BY SILVIA TANTIMONACO**

Abstract: This paper aims to reconsider the role of archaisms in epigraphy and, above all, their possible dialectal value. Indeed, according to a traditional theory, provinces that were colonized earlier by the Romans preserved archaic varieties of Latin. Scholars have often used inscriptions to support this idea, particularly in the case of *Hispania*, but the results of this paper, which rely on the methodology of modern Computerized Dialectology, are negative in this regard.

Keywords: Latin linguistics, Roman epigraphy, geolinguistics, sociolinguistics, *Hispania*, archaisms

Introduction

There is a part of the academic tradition, which has its roots in the late 19th century, that claims that the main characters of Latin in a specific place reflect the state of the language at the time of the Roman occupation.[1] In the case of *Hispania*, which was one of the earliest territories in the Roman Empire to be colonized, this theory has been defended by distinguished scholars to explain the supposed conservatism – and correctness – of the Latin language attested in the local epigraphic *corpus*; even some supposed archaic elements of Ibero-Romance have

[1] Cf. Adams 2007, 21.

been traced back to Old Latin.[2] Such ideas are still widely accepted by the academic community, and scholars who have searched for the Hispanic variety of Latin have often stressed the relevance of archaisms in local epigraphy, connecting this phenomenon to the ancient date of the Roman presence in the area.[3]

A similar theory has also been applied to other territories where the Romans established contact and a base from an early stage, such as *Sardinia* – where the concept of 'archaicity' was extended to modern Sardinian dialects – or *Africa*, where Latin did not give rise to any Romance variety.[4] Even British Latin was considered as more archaic – and, besides this, more educated – than in other provinces, even though the Roman occupation of the island was relatively late.[5]

This line of thought – which, soon after its emergence, was corroborated by Bartoli's theory of the 'areal norms'– [6] has been recently rejected by Adams in his book on the regional diversification of Latin, as 'partly connected with notions of national identity'.[7] In particular, Adams devoted many pages to discussing the problem of the 'supposed conservatism of Hispanic Latin', focusing his attention on literary sources and lexical items. In my paper, I will resort instead to the inscriptional evidence, which is a class of evidence that provides above all data from the phonological domain,[8] by using the informatic database, 'Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age' (LLDB). Before that, I will briefly explore the concept of 'archaism' in linguistics, giving special attention to Latin.

---

[2] It was particularly Tovar who defended these theories, see e.g. *Id*. 1968. Cf. Adams 2007, 372-402. See also Devoto 1983[3], 277 and 299.

[3] See e.g. Sánchez Salor 1988, 380-381: 'No cabe duda (…) que en nuestras inscripciones aparecen evidentes y frecuentes arcaísmos. Ya hemos dicho que también Carnoy [*scil*. Carnoy 1906[2], 222 *et passim*] ha puesto de relieve la existencia de arcaísmos en *Hispania*, sobre todo en aquellas regiones o lugares que fueron romanizados en primer lugar: concretamente en el siglo II y I a.C. (…) En otras palabras, nuestra región y otras regiones de *Hispania* se nos presentan como conservadoras de aquella primera lengua que recibieron, conservadurismo que las lleva al mantenimiento de arcaísmos como los señalados [*scil*. phenomena such as: *K* or *Q* for *c*, *V* for i, *AI* for *ae*, *OV* for *ū*, *EI* for *ī*, plural feminine dative and ablative -*ABVS*, etc., cf. *ibid*., 376-380]'. More recently, see e.g. Edmondson 2002, 48-49.

[4] Cf. Adams 2007, 381, 396, 399 *et passim*. On the 'archaicity' of Sardinian modern dialects, see e.g. Koch 2004.

[5] Cf. Adams 2007, 583-587.

[6] Specifically, the norm of the 'area seriore', according to which exported languages preserve elements from the age of immigration of their speakers. Cf. Bartoli 1925, 13, who quotes the very case of the Roman provinces as compared with the Italian Peninsula. See also Tovar 1968, 13-14.

[7] Cf. Adams 2007, 21.

[8] Cf. Adamik 2014, 642.

Archaisms in Latin: A Geo-linguistic and Socio-linguistic Approach

The term 'archaism' has been hotly debated by modern linguists and has even been rejected by many of them.[9] Indeed, it seems to be incorrect to call 'archaic' a form that, even if dismissed in some territories, is still commonly used in some others.[10]

A good example of this phenomenon is the fact that European languages that were exported to other territories have been often labelled as 'archaic', especially with reference to the lexical domain.[11] Nevertheless, in the new places where they have been spoken, such languages have undergone independent innovations of a different type – for instance, under the influence of vernacular or surrounding languages – as an obvious effect of being 'living languages'.[12] The feeling of 'archaicity' is, thus, subjective and heavily localised, and, as a consequence of this, the term 'archaism' can be accepted in linguistics only in a purely conventional way.[13]

A definition of 'archaism' was provided by Krapp in an article devoted to the supposed archaism of American English. He says: 'The distinctive thing about an archaism is not that it is old, but that it has survived in certain special aspects of the language, dialectal, poetical, liturgical, technical, after it has passed out of general practice'.[14] If we focus on dialectal aspects, the first remark to be made is that isolation is generally considered as the most relevant factor to provoke linguistic conservatism.[15] According to Bartoli, isolated and peripheral areas (respectively called 'aree isolate' and 'aree laterali') are particularly suited to preserving archaic linguistic forms.[16] Indeed, innovations are somehow unable to reach these areas, or can do so only following a more prolonged period of time. In this framework, isolation is understood to be a physical condition – as in the obvious case of islands, valleys, regions which are separated by a mountain range, and such – and marginality is intended as a geographical concept as well.

---

[9] Cf. Mello-Wolter 2005, 190.

[10] For this reason, some scholars prefer to divide between 'absolute' and 'relative' archaisms, i.e. between linguistic forms which have disappeared everywhere, and others that are still in use in some places but not in other places anymore. Cf. Moreno de Alba 1992, 50-51.

[11] Cf. Lope Blanch 1968-1969, 94. Many of the works that deal with the differences between the local varieties of exported European languages focus, indeed, on lexical aspects, see e.g. Sala 1970 and Lerner 1974 for Spanish. A similar phenomenon has also been detected within the Italian communities which settled in America at the beginning of the 20th century, that preserved archaic features in their dialects, cf. Marcato 2002, 63-64.

[12] Cf. Šeleg 2001, 57-59. See other quotations in Adams 2007, 31.

[13] Cf. Lope Blanch 1968-1969, 93, 100-101 and 109; Moreno de Alba 1992, 29.

[14] Krapp 1927, 292.

[15] Cf. Adams 2007, 31.

[16] Cf. Bartoli 1925, 3-9.

Sometimes cultural reasons have favored linguistic isolation, such in the case of Irish English, which acquired an 'archaic' nuance, for in the past people were not so used to travel, and the Irish community remained isolated from England, in spite of its relative geographical proximity.[17]

Another variable that can imply linguistic conservatism is represented by the social context. In this regard, we should include not only jargon and technical languages – to which I will return later – but also specific phenomena related to age and gender condition. For instance, grandfathers' speech is generally more conservative than the speech of their grandchildren, who tend to welcome and take on more linguistic innovations.[18] Another example is that of Italian women, whose dialects at the beginning of the 20th century were more conservative than those of men, who used to travel outside the village for labour needs.[19] A similar phenomenon was observed by Cicero, who connected the archaic way of speaking shown by Crassus' wife's mother, Laelia, with the fact that Roman women tended to have fewer social relationships than men:[20]

'For my own part, when I hear my mother-in-law Laelia speaking—indeed, it is easier for women to keep the old usages unspoiled (*incorruptam antiquitatem conservare*), for, being excluded from many discourses, they always reproduce the same forms that they have learnt for the first time—well, I hear from her the same speech that I suppose I would be hearing from Plautus or Naevius.'[21]

In the following lines, the same author provides a hint about the ambiguity that exists around archaisms, as a sign of education or, on the contrary, as a feature of substandard language, particularly of the countryside:

'The actual sound of her voice [*scil.* of Laelia] is so unaffected and natural that she seems to introduce no trace of display or affectation; and I consequently infer that that was how her father and her ancestors used to speak – not harshly, like the person I mentioned, nor with a board or countrified or jerky pronunciation, but neatly and evenly and smoothly. Consequently our friend Cotta, whose broad pronunciation referred to before you occasionally copy, Sulpicius, in dropping the

---

[17] Cf. Krapp 1927, 296.

[18] Cf. Marcato 2002, 67 *et passim*. See also *ibid.* 41-52.

[19] Cf. Marcato 2002, 64-65.

[20] Similar to this explanation is Varvaro's hypothesis about the slower Latinization of women than men in the provinces; according to him, vernacular languages would have survived within local communities besides Latin exactly as a consequence of this phenomenon. Cf. Varvaro 2005, 118-119.

[21] Cic., *de Orat.* III 12, 45: *Equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam – facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant, quod multorum sermonis expertes ea tenent semper, quae prima didicerunt – sed eam sic audio, ut Plautum mihi aut Naevium videar audire.*

150

letter I and substituting a very full E,[22] is in my opinion copying not the orators of old days but the farm-labourers'.[23]

Cotta's frustrated ambition to emulate the speech of the old orators, which ends up rather as being an imitation of the peasants' substandard variety, is mentioned by Cicero elsewhere too, for instance when he says that:

'Lucius Cotta, the praetorian, (…) tried to emulate the ancient speech, not only by means of his vocabulary but also even his almost rustic pronunciation'.[24]

As is well known, there was a clear tendency in Rome to contrast the linguistic standard of the capital city (so-called *urbanitas*) with rural and foreign varieties, and this geo-linguistic variation turned soon into a sociolinguistic one. In this regard, it is useful to quote Cicero a second time:

'Consequently, as there is a particular accent peculiar to the Roman race and to our city, that contains (…) no note or flavor of provincialism, let us make this accent our model, and learn to avoid not only the rustic roughness (*rustica asperitas*) but also the provincial solecism (*peregrina insolentia*)'.[25]

---

[22] Dipthong *ei* passed through an intermediate phase *ē* before becoming *ī*, cf. Kent 1945[3], 47-48.

[23] Cic., *de Orat*. III 12, 45: *Sono ipso vocis ita recto et simplici est ut nihil ostentationis aut imitationis afferre videatur; ex quo sic locutum esse eius patrem iudico, sic maiores, non aspere, ut ille quem dixi, non vaste, non rustice, non hiulce, sed presse et aequabiliter et leniter. Quare Cotta noster, cuius tu illa lata, Sulpici, nonnunquam imitaris ut iota litteram tollas et E plenissimum dicas, non mihi oratores antiquos sed messores videtur imitari* (English translation by H. Rackham from the edition of the Harvard University Press, London–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960).

[24] Cic., *Brut*. 36, 137: *L. etiam Cotta praetorius in mediocrium oratorum numero dicendi non ita multum laude processerat, sed de industria cum verbis tum etiam ipso sono quasi subrustico persequebatur atque imitabatur antiquitatem.* See also Cic., *Brut*. 74, 259: *Cotta, qui se valde dilatandis litteris a similitudine Graecae locutionis abstraxerat sonabatque contrarium Catulo subagreste quiddam planeque subrusticum, alia quidem quasi inculta et silvestri via ad eandem laudem pervenerat*; and Cic., *de Orat*. III 11, 42: *Est autem vitium quod nonnulli de industria consectantur: rustica vox et agrestis quosdam delectat, quo magis antiquitatem, si ita sonet, eorum sermo retinere videatur: ut tuus, Catule, sodalis L. Cotta gaudere mihi videtur gravitate linguae sonoque vocis agresti, et illud quod loquitur priscum visum iri putat si plane fuerit rusticanum.* Cf. Quint., *Inst*. XI 3, 10: *Sunt tamen (…) qui verborum atque ipsius etiam soni rusticitate, ut L. Cottam dicit Cicero fecisse, imitationem antiquitatis adfectant.*

[25] Cic., *de Orat*. III 12, 44: *Quare cum sit quaedam certa vox Romani generis Urbisque propria, in qua nihil offendi, nihil displicere, nihil animadverti possit, nihil sonare aut olere peregrinum, hanc sequamur, neque solum rusticam asperitatem, sed etiam peregrinam insolentiam fugere discamus.* Cf. also Quint., *Inst*. VI 3, 107: *Nam meo quidem iudicio illa est urbanitas, in qua nihil absonum, nihil agreste, nihil inconditum, nihil peregrinum neque sensu neque verbis neque ore gestuve possit deprendi, ut non tam sit in singulis dictis quam in toto colore dicendi, qualis apud Graecos atticismos ille reddens Athenarum proprium saporem*; Quint., *Inst*. XI 3, 30: *Non alia est*

The role of cities as gravitational points for linguistic innovations is a clear presupposition also of modern geo-linguists.[26] Even today, dialects spoken in rural areas are generally labelled as 'archaic'.[27] The sociological implication of this geographical differentiation (city vs surrounding countryside) is also another clear element of the modern world, as is proved by the fact that people often display a general prejudice towards the rustic dialects, while urban varieties are considered as the prestigious ones, especially those of the capital cities.[28] Today, just like yesterday, 'judgments on language become judgments on people'.[29] In the case of Latin, the polarization between urban and rural or provincial can be seen as an opposition between the linguistically normative and the substandard, as well as a more socially prejudicial distinction between the educated and the 'vulgar'.[30]

The trend to consider as 'vulgar' what is 'archaic' is another reported phenomenon in contemporary times, such as in the case of Spanish:

'We have a quite high number of forms, that are traditionally called 'archaisms', for they are words that *have disappeared from normative educated Castilian Spanish* but have survived, in many cases with an enormous intensity of use, in specific regions where Spanish is spoken, like some American countries or the Canary Islands, *or have ended up increasing the number of vulgar terms of all the languag*e' (my italic).[31]

However, as I have already pointed out, archaisms can also be interpreted as a sign of cultivation. In fact, according to Krapp's definition, there are other 'special aspects of the language', apart from the dialectal one, that usually show the presence of archaic forms, namely poetical, liturgical and technical contexts (see above). Such a situation is clearly attested also in the case of Latin.

---

autem ratio pronuntiationis quam ipsius orationis. (...) Emendata erit, id est vitio carebit, si fuerit os facile explanatum iucundum urbanum, id est in quo nulla neque rusticitas neque peregrinitas resonet. See González Rolán 1978, 143-147.

[26] Cf. Marcato 2002, 77. However, it has to be observed that cities do not have a linguistic unity in themselves, so the concept of 'linguistic area' is in general more suitable than that of 'linguistic point', cf. Romanello 2003. On the concept of 'linguistic area', see also Marcato 2002, 127.

[27] Cf. Marcato 2002, 53.

[28] Cf. Grassi 1982, 144; Marcato 2002, 55.

[29] Romanello 2003, 345.

[30] Cf. Mancini 2006, 1023, 1027 *et passim*.

[31] Corrales, Corbella 1994, 8: 'Tenemos (después) un número bastante numeroso de arcaísmos, llamados así tradicionalmente por tratarse de palabras desaparecidas en el castellano normativo culto, pero que han sobrevivido, en muchos casos con enorme intensidad de uso, en determinadas zonas del español, como pueden ser algunos países de América o las islas Canarias, o han pasado a engrosar las listas de vocablos vulgares de todo el idioma'.

As for literary usage, we can speak about 'archaizing' styles, i.e. the deliberate choice of using archaisms for stylistic reasons.[32] But interpreters have alternatively considered archaisms – as well as the opposite phenomenon, i.e. neologisms – as a means of surprising the reader or, in contrast, as a manifestation of ordinary speech, whose function would have been to make the text more accessible to the public.[33] Thus, the ambiguous meaning of archaisms is evident, and it seems often difficult to distinguish between archaic and vulgar forms in Latin, particularly because we are forced to deal with written sources, such as inscriptions are.[34]

Among technical languages, archaisms are typical of juristic jargon,[35] which is proper to laws and texts of a similar nature, many of which are preserved in inscriptions. Further to the law, the sector of magic and the management of 'superstitious' practices are also characterized by fossilized formulas of olden times.[36] For these reasons, in my study I have dealt only with inscriptions of a private nature – choosing to exclude the *defixiones* – , and I have omitted official inscriptions, such as laws, treaties, milestones, etc. Moreover, I have not considered verse inscriptions, for the poetic context could influence the use of archaizing forms, has we have seen.

Archaisms in Latin Inscriptions: A Quantitative and Territorial Analysis[37]

Archaisms attested in epigraphy belong almost exclusively to (morpho-)phonology, while in other domains – namely, syntax and lexicon – they are found much more infrequently.[38] In particular, I will focus on the sector of vocalism, which

---

[32] Cf. Penney 1999, 250: 'The distinction between deliberate selection of an archaic pattern because of its antiquity and its adoption simply in imitation of forerunners must be borne in mind, but naturally there is always the possibility that a poet intends a combination of the two'. Well-known examples of archaizing authors are Lucretius and Sallust, cf. Devoto 1983³, 179 and 149 respectively. See also the following note.

[33] These are, for instance, the theories which have been defended, respectively, by Marache (1952, 9-12) in the case of Fronto and Gellius, and by Devoto (1983³, 143-144), who has stressed in particular the linguistic convergences between Old and Late Latin. See also Zamboni 1969, 171-172 and Del Barrio Vega 1986-1987. Cf. Quint., *Inst.* I 6, 39, quoted below, n. 62.

[34] For instance, archaisms and vulgarisms in Horace are treated together in the monograph by Ruckdeschel (1911). On this problem, see also Mancini 2006, 1029-1030.

[35] Cf. Devoto 1983³, 149 and 271.

[36] Cf. Quint., *Inst.* I 6, 40: (…) *Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta. Sed illa mutari vetat religio et consecratis utendum est.*

[37] Data provided in the following section refer to the state of works of LLDB as of June 2018. I have used only dated inscriptions and omitted phenomena labelled as '*fortasse recte*'.

[38] Among the sporadic examples recorded in LLDB, see, for lexicon: *PVERAE* for *puellae* (*CIL* III 14359/20 = LLDB-47848), even if it might be a technical error; for syntax: *EXPERTEM PATRIA INCOLVMITATE FORTVNISQE OMNIBVS* (*IRCPacen* 647 = LLDB-29649), for the use of

contains a very high number of examples.[39] Indeed, recurring features are spellings such as: *AI* for diphthong *ae*, *OI* for *oe*, *EI* for *ī*, *OV* for *ū*, *V* for *i*, the masculine singular nominative and accusative endings *-OS* and *-OM* in place of *-us* and *-um* respectively, the verbal ending *-ONT* instead of *-unt*, and other such phenomena.[40]

In order to analyse the possible dialectal value of archaisms in the inscriptional *corpora* of the Roman provinces – especially the oldest of them –, I have compared the relative frequency of vocalic archaisms such as the above-mentioned ones[41] to the relative frequency of vocalic mergers (*e ~ i* and *o ~ u*, which are both very typical phenomena in Vulgar Latin), within the general frame of vocalic phenomena (Table 1).[42] In doing so, I have treated archaizing spellings and vocalic mergers as opposed phenomena *a priori*.[43]

---

expers with ablative instead of genitive is mainly restricted to Old Latin, cf. Martin 1909, 20. As for consonantal system, I can quote spellings such as *F.Q.* for *faciendum curavit* (e.g. *HEp* 1996, 224 = LLDB-44019), or *KARVS* for *carus*, which is very common in *Gades*, in the province *Baetica* (e.g. *CIL* II 1737, 1756, 1778, etc.).

[39] Moreover, in the consonantal domain a problematic issue is represented by degeminations, which might be alternatively considered as mere misspellings, as features of Vulgar Latin, or as archaizing spellings, since double consonants do not appear in very ancient inscriptions and are said to have been 'invented' by Ennius. Cf. Devoto 1983[3], 108.

[40] It has to be observed that spellings such as *maxumus*, *optumus*, *septumus*, which are common in epigraphy, have been excluded from the present study according to LLDB's guidelines, because they also appear in the works of Classical authors. In this framework, the panorama presented in my paper must be considered not only as provisional but also as indicative, for it follows the specific methodology of LLDB. However, it has to be recognized that this methodology – according to which, all phenomena that are also attested in the Classical sources are excluded from statistical treatment – is essential for understanding if spellings recorded in Latin inscriptions are effectively eligible as dialectal features.

[41] I have gathered together from LLDB all data recorded as '*archaismus*' which referred to vocalism as well as the specific phenomena *AI* for *ae* (coded as '*ae/áe > AI*') and *OI* for *oe* (coded as '*oe > OI*').

[42] Such a contrastive analysis based on the statistical frequency of different phenomena is inspired in Herman's dialectological principles. See e.g. Herman 2000, 126.

[43] Another methodological precondition was to consider all endings such as *-om*, *-os* or *-ont* (mentioned above) as archaisms and not as an effect of the vocalic merger (*u ~ o*); otherwise, my data-set would have been duplicated. Unfortunately, the amount of data with which I have been dealing is so large that I cannot quote them individually, but I only present their sum in my tables and graphics.

Group (I-III)	Province	Archaisms		Vocalic mergers		Other vocalic phenomena		Tot. nr.
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	
I. Archaisms (1-10%) < Vocalic mergers	Britannia	0	0%	18	37%	31	63%	49
	Dacia	5	3%	55	37%	87	60%	147
	Moesia Inferior	7	4%	70	42%	90	54%	167
	Germania Inferior	3	7%	18	39%	25	54%	46
	Pannonia Inferior	12	8%	52	34%	91	58%	155
	Moesia Superior	7	8%	43	52%	34	40%	84
	Noricum	13	9%	25	17%	105	74%	143
	Aquitania	5	9%	20	37%	29	54%	54
	Pannonia Sup.	14	9%	66	44%	70	47%	150
II. Archaisms (10-30%) < Vocalic mergers	Africa Procons.	19	10%	40	21%	129	69%	188
	Baetica	9	13%	13	20%	44	67%	66
	Dalmatia	43	13%	129	38%	170	49%	342
	Germania Sup.	22	14%	45	28%	94	58%	161
	Lusitania	23	14%	55	34%	85	52%	163
	Lugdunensis	8	14%	22	38%	28	48%	58
	Tarraconensis	27	20%	50	38%	56	42%	133
	Gallia Narb.	32	28%	36	32%	46	40%	114
Exception	Roma	238	24%	253	26%	496	50%	987
III. Archaisms (+30%) > Vocalic mergers	Latium et Camp.	27	31%	21	24%	39	45%	87
	Samnium	16	35%	12	26%	18	39%	46
	Umbria	15	39%	9	23%	15	38%	39
	Transpadana	22	41%	11	20%	21	39%	54
	Apulia et Calabria	16	46%	7	20%	12	34%	35
	Liguria	12	48%	5	20%	8	32%	25
	Venetia et Histria	83	56%	31	21%	35	23%	149

Table 1: Archaisms, vocalic mergers and other vocalic phenomena in selected territories of the Roman Empire (1st cent. B.C. – 3rd cent. A.D.)

The data recorded in Table 1 do not show the existence of any inverse relationship between linguistic conservatism, as supposedly represented by archaisms, and linguistic innovation, as represented by vocalic mergers. In fact, a very similar percentage of vocalic innovations appears, for instance, both in *Dacia* (37%), where the number of archaisms is very low (3%) and in *Tarraconensis* (38%), where their frequency is much higher (20%). In contrast, a scarce presence of archaisms is opposed to a relevant percentage of vocalic mergers in *Moesia Superior* (8% vs 52%), but not in *Noricum* (9% vs 17%). Consequently, we can infer that vocalic archaisms in inscriptions do not actually reflect a conservative trend of this sector of the linguistic system.

Despite this inference, it is possible to distinguish between three main groups on the basis of the incidence of archaisms within the different regional *corpora* (Groups I-III in Table 1). In the first group, the percentage of vocalic archaisms is so low that it does not even reach 10%; in the second group, the presence of

archaisms becomes more considerable, up to 28% of *Gallia Narbonensis*; and finally, in the third group, archaisms are counted as beyond 30% and, at the same time, surpass the relative frequency of vocalic mergers, while in the groups I and II archaisms were always second-rated in comparison with the vocalic mergers. For this reason, territories from the first two groups are both marked in Map 1a by a conventional minus sign, and those from the third group with a conventional plus sign. An exception to this trend is represented by the city of Rome, where the relative frequency of archaisms is balanced with that of the vocalic mergers, rather than surpassing it (24% ~ 26%). Consequently, Rome appears with a conventional equal sign in the map. For territories labelled with a question mark we do not have sufficiently available quantities of data for a proper statistic treatment.[44]
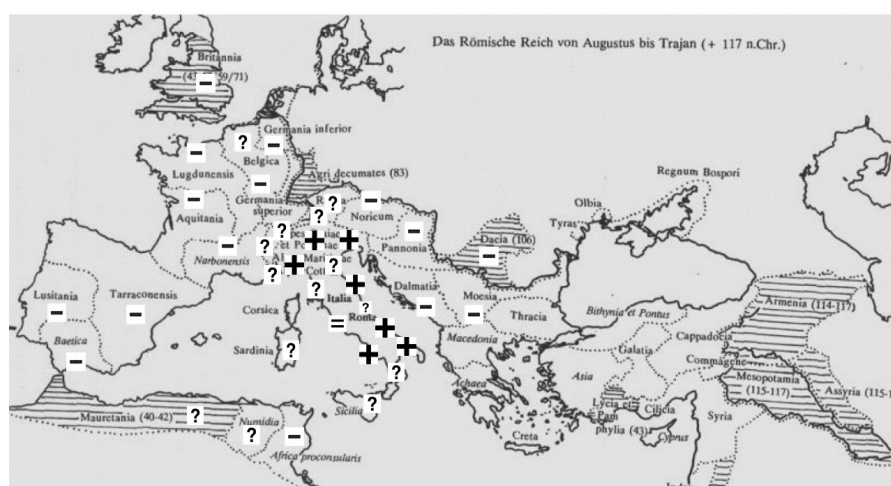

Map 1a: Impact of archaisms in selected regions of the Roman Empire
(1st cent. B.C. – 3rd cent. A.D.)[45]

It seems remarkable that areas indicated by the plus sign are all included within the Italian Peninsula (Map 1b). Conversely, it is noteworthy that the provinces located in the most peripheral areas of the Empire are all labelled with a minus sign (Map 1c).

---

[44] The general number of vocalic phenomena is lower than 20 records. This occurs in following provinces of the Roman West: *Numidia, Mauretania, Alpes Cottiae, Alpes Maritimae, Alpes Graiae, Alpes Poeninae, Belgica, Raetia, Aemilia, Etruria, Picenum, Bruttium et Calabria, Sicilia* and *Sardinia*.

[45] Maps 1a-c are re-elaborated versions from the original map included in Bringmann 2001[6], 71.
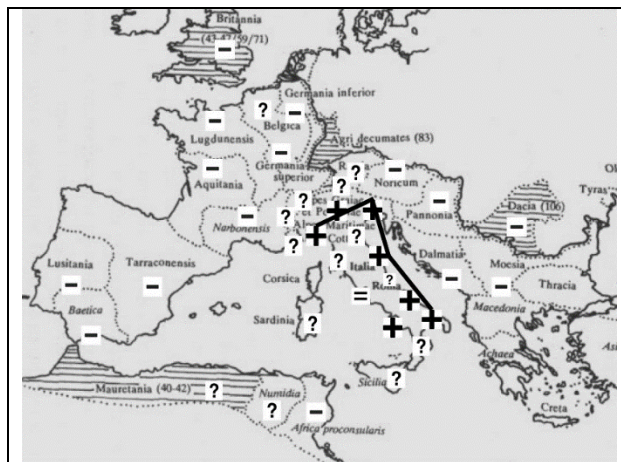
Map 1b: Most relevant concentrations of archaisms
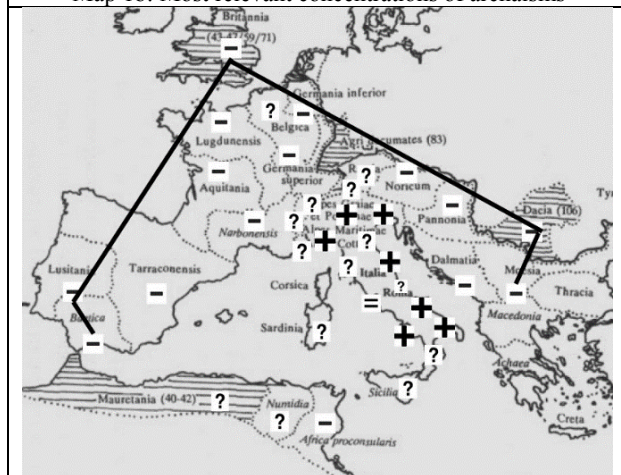
Map 1c: Lower frequencies of archaisms

This phenomenon clearly demonstrates that there is no evident relationship between the peripheral location of a province and the frequency of archaisms in the related *corpus* of Latin inscriptions; on the contrary, archaisms tend to focus in the core sector of the Empire. For instance, one would expect to record a particularly high frequency of archaic features in *Lusitania* (14%), which is located in the extreme West, especially when compared with the other Hispanic provinces. Nevertheless, the percentage is quite similar in the province *Baetica* (13%) and is higher in the province *Tarraconensis* (20%).

Another significant element is that in the Italian *regiones* – where archaisms are especially widespread according to the inscriptional evidence – there are some forms that repeat themselves very frequently. *VIVOS* for *vivus* is the most remarkable example of this, for it constitutes 30% of all vocalic archaisms attested in northern Italy.[46] It also appears outside of Italy (Map 2), but *Hispania* remains almost immune from this phenomenon, particularly *Lusitania* and *Baetica*, for which no occurrences have yet been recorded, while in the *Tarraconensis* we find at least some of them.[47]

Map 2: A territorial distribution of *VIVOS* for *vivus*[48]

As for *-os* endings as a substitution for the Classical *-us*, one should not exclude the possible influence of Greek, especially in areas, such as *Moesia* or *Dalmatia*, where Greek and Latin were in continuous contact, and linguistic contamination was a much more frequent phenomenon than elsewhere. Both in *Magna Graecia,* as well as in Sicily*,* and in the city of Rome, where there was a large Greek-speaking community, the same phenomenon might have occurred as well. Nonetheless, in the specific case of *VIVOS*, the high frequency and significant

---

[46] Specifically, in the following provinces: *Liguria*, *Transpadana* and *Venetia et Histria*.

[47] Cf. *CIL* II²/14, 557 (= LLDB-20126), 1299 (= LLDB-35325), 1435 (= LLDB-35330) and 1612 (= LLDB-35411) as well as *HEp* 1989, 514 (= LLDB-71971). The spelling *VIVOS* mainly appears within the formula '*vivus fecit*' (less frequently, '*vivus posuit*'), which does not seem to be particularly common in the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, according to *EDCS*, there are only 44 examples in *Hispania Tarraconensis*, 5 in *Lusitania* and zero in *Baetica*; in contrast, we find 1.008 examples in *Venetia et Histria*, 605 in *Noricum*, 262 in *Dalmatia*, 262 in *Gallia Narbonensis*, 225 in *Transpadana*, 166 in *Pannonia Superior*, 136 in *Aemilia*, 77 in *Liguria*, etc. (June 2018). Consequently, it seems clear that such formula is more typical of these territories. I have searched for both singular and plural / masculine and feminine variants.

breadth of its distribution, with many examples outside areas under Greek influence, seem to confirm that it reflects a phenomenon which was proper to Latin.

The forms *SIBEI* for *sibi* and *SVEIS* for *suis* (Maps 3a-b) are also repeatedly attested, but these are found almost exclusively in the central and north(-eastern) Italian regions. For this reason, they are likely to be a characteristic of the Latin epigraphy produced in these parts of Ancient Italy.[48]

| Map 3a: A territorial distribution of *SIBEI* for *sibi* | Map 3b: A territorial distrib. of *SVEIS* f. *suis* |

Hic is another word that might occur in its archaic variant, namely *HEIC*. The territorial distribution of this form (Map 4) shows a clear concentration in Italy (particularly in the center) and in the Iberian Peninsula,[49] with other exceptional examples also occurring outside of these territories, such as in *Gallia Narbonensis*, *Germania Superior* and *Dalmatia*.[50]

---

[48] According to *EDCS*, the formula '*sibi et*' (often '*sibi et suis*') is very common in the province *Venetia et Histria*, where we find 1.038 examples. It is also widely attested in *Noricum* (487 records), *Gallia Narbonensis* (375), *Dalmatia* (319), *Transpadana* (302), *Apulia et Calabria* (254), *Samnium* (221), *Aemilia* (203), etc. As for *Hispania*, there are 114 examples in *Tarraconensis*, 32 in *Lusitania* and 24 in *Baetica* (June 2018). We find *SIBEI ET SVEIS* e.g. in *Carthago Nova* (*CIL* II 3444 = LLDB-29548).

[49] See below, n. 51.

[50] From *Gallia Narbonensis*: *CIL* XII 870 (= LLDB-74216), 1262 (= LLDB-17873) and AE 1994, 1160 (= LLDB-357); from *Germania Superior*: *AE* 1952, 16 (= LLDB-24785); from *Dalmatia*: *AE* 1964, 256a1 (= LLDB-3441).

Map 4: A territorial distribution of *HEIC* for *hic*

Consequently, it seems reasonable to infer that forms such as the above-mentioned ones (*VIVOS*, *SIBEI*, *SVEIS* and *HEIC*) reflect conservative 'writing traditions' that were commonly adopted by stonemasons according to local epigraphic habits. In this regard, it is also important to stress the legal status of funerary epigraphy, for all the involved terms usually appear within standardized formulas, which have a clearly juridical nature – namely *vivus fecit*, *(fecit) sibi et / sibi et suis* and *hic situs est* –, some of which are characteristic of regional *corpora*, as is clearly the case of *hic situs est*, one of the most common expressions of the funerary epigraphy of *Hispania*.[51]

Another aspect that can be highlighted is the fact that archaisms are mainly attested within inscriptions that are dated to the early period, above all before the 3rd century A.D.[52] This chronological factor is shown in Table 2, that focuses in particular on the above-mentioned forms (*VIVOS*, *SIBEI*, *SVEIS*, *HEIC*), to which we can add the use of diphthong *AI* in place of *ae*.

---

[51] According to *EDCS*, there are 1.726 examples of this formula in *Baetica*, 1.725 in *Lusitania* and 1.177 in *Tarraconensis*. It also seems to be common in *Apulia et Calabria* (610 records), while it is less frequent in other territories, such as *Venetia et Histria* (73), *Noricum* (39) or *Gallia Narbonensis* (29). See also the cases of the formulas '*vivus fecit*' and '*sibi et*' mentioned above, n. 47 and 48 respectively.

[52] LLDB only records inscriptions from the early imperial age onwards, up until approximately the 8th century. Thus, for example, inscriptions from the 2nd century B.C. are not included in the database.

Cent.	1st B.C.		1st A.D.		2nd A.D.		3rd A.D.		4th A.D.		5th A.D.		6th A.D.	
Form	%	Nr..	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.
VIVOS	6%	8	38%	54	38%	54	17%	24	0%	0	0%	0	1%	2
SIBEI	58%	15	15%	4	23%	6	4%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
SVEIS	41%	15	27%	10	32%	12	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
HEIC	20%	7	49%	17	31%	11	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
-AI-	6%	13	51%	119	29%	68	9%	22	3%	8	1%	2	1%	3

Table 2: A chronological distribution of selected archaic spellings

A more general overview on archaisms, which considers not only vocalism but all levels of the linguistic system, provides similar results from a chronological perspective, as is evidenced in Chart 1. Centuries from 1st to 2nd A.D. contain, indeed, the major part of the data (32% and 35% respectively), while there is a sharp decrease in the 3rd century (13%), that continues steadily up to the 7th century (0%).
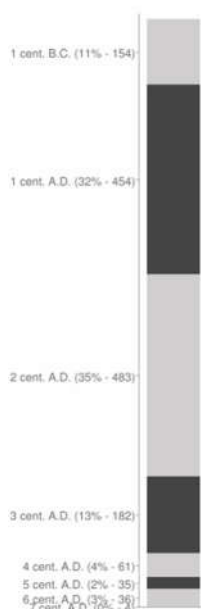

Chart 1: The general distribution of archaisms from a chronological perspective

To go back to vocalic archaisms, I have summarized the data that refer to their chronological evolution in some selected territories in comparison with vocalic

mergers (Table 3). In all cases the percentage of archaisms becomes null or insignificant over time, hitting a peak of 4% in *Apulia et Calabria*. In contrast, vocalic mergers strongly increase everywhere, up to 96% in the same region.[53]

	Archaisms		Trend	Vocalic mergers		Trend
	Century			Century		
	1 B.C.-3 A.D.	4-8 A.D.		1 B.C.-3 A.D.	4-8 A.D.	
Britannia	0%	0%	=	37%	95%	↑
Pannonia Inferior	8%	0%	↓	34%	56%	↑
Pannonia Superior	9%	0%	↓	44%	50%	↑
Africa Proconsularis	10%	1%	↓	21%	46%	↑
Baetica	13%	0%	↓	20%	73%	↑
Lusitania	14%	0%	↓	34%	64%	↑
Tarraconensis	20%	0%	↓	38%	85%	↑
Roma	24%	1%	↓	26%	67%	↑
Gallia Narbonensis	28%	0%	↓	32%	91%	↑
Samnium	35%	0%	↓	26%	69%	↑
Umbria	39%	2%	↓	23%	79%	↑
Transpadana	41%	1%	↓	20%	83%	↑
Apulia et Calabria	46%	4%	↓	20%	96%	↑
Liguria	48%	0%	↓	20%	83%	↑
Venetia et Histria	56%	1%	↓	21%	76%	↑

Table 3: Archaisms and vocalic mergers in selected territories of the Roman Empire from diachronic perspective

At first sight, it seems remarkable that provinces which were created relatively late, such as *Britannia* or—even more impressively—*Dacia*,[54] pertain to the group where the lowest percentages of archaisms are recorded (Group I in Table 1), while on the opposite side, with many archaisms, we find several Italian regions, which were the first territories to be conquered by Rome (Group III). In the intermediate stage (Group II), one can find ancient provinces such as *Hispania* or *Africa*,[55] or also *Gallia Narbonensis*, that was created quite early (in 122 B.C.) and shows a particularly relevant percentage of archaisms (28%). However, as Devoto emphasises, Gaul 'did not find itself in the condition of isolation conducive to the conservation of archaic forms', above all because it was the

---

[53] However, it must be considered that the very presence of archaisms in epigraphic texts – sometimes accompanied by an archaizing style of the letters – has often induced scholars to date those inscriptions to an early epoch, what in some cases has turned out to be a mistake. A relevant example is the case of *CIL* II 2660, that Mariner dated by the 1st century A.D. but can be dated instead to the years 162-166 A.D. according to prosopography. Cf. del Hoyo 2000, 76 and 93. I am grateful to Javier del Hoyo for this important remark.

[54] *Dacia* was the last province of the Roman Empire to be created, see below, n. 58.

[55] The Romans arrived in *Hispania* in 218 B.C., around a period of time during which they founded some of the oldest colonies in *Baetica*, such as *Italica*, in 206 B.C., while *Africa Proconsularis* was created in 146 B.C. Cf. Devoto 1983³, 276-277.

intersection between the Italian and the Iberian Peninsula and the way-point of many Roman roads.[56]

For this and other reasons, it seems plausible that archaisms attested in epigraphy mainly correspond to conservative writings – not to conservative dialectal features –, which were preserved or adopted in epigraphy for cultural reasons and were gradually abandoned in the course of time. Factors such as the territorial proximity to Italy or the geographical origin of the colonists might have favoured the spread of archaic spellings to the provinces and might have influenced the dynamic of this process of spreading.

In this regard, it is important to observe that historical developments such as *ai > ae* or *ei > ī* date to quite early times (II century B.C.),[57] and it would not be logical to think that archaisms of this type were maintained spontaneously in the provinces, particularly in those of later occupation, such as those along the *limes*. In fact, when the Romans occupied these territories, such phenomena had already disappeared a long time ago from the standard language of the capital city.[58] Now, one cannot exclude the possibility that archaisms were brought to these provinces by people (soldiers, veterans, merchants and colonists) who spoke conservative dialects, but in this case, it would make no sense to establish a connection between the age of the conquest and the state of the language. On the contrary, conservative writing traditions seem to have 'moved' throughout the Empire following migration flows.

Moreover, as has been shown, archaisms are particularly frequent in the first and second centuries after Christ and tend to disappear from epigraphy over time. In inscriptions produced from the 3rd century A.D. onwards, when Latin underwent a progressive 'popularization' (i.e. simplification) at all levels of the linguistic system,[59] vulgar deviations represent a permanent feature, while archaisms – as an expression of cultivation – are clearly passing out of use. A move towards greater political decentralization following Diocletian's reforms also meant the separation of the provinces from the linguistic standard promoted by the capital city as well as from the literary language; this fact indeed encouraged the rise of discrepant linguistic innovations with a limited territorial spread, that

---

[56] Cf. Devoto 1983³, 278: 'Questi elementi fanno sì che la Gallia non si trovi, dal punto di vista della fedeltà al modello latino, nelle condizioni di isolamento propizie alla conservazione delle forme arcaiche'.

[57] Cf. Kent 1945³, 47-48. On the oscillation between the spellings *EI* and *I*, see Mancini 2006, 1035-1038. Cf. also Väänänen 1966³, 29: 'On sait que l'*o* des finales *-os*, *-om* et *-ont* est devenue *u* dès le IIIᵉ siècle av. J.-C., sauf après *u*, où il s'est maintenu jusqu'à la fin de l'époque républicaine'.

[58] For example, the province of *Noricum* was created in 15 B.C., *Pannonia* in 10 A.D., *Moesia* in 15 A.D. and *Dacia* only in 106 A.D. Cf. Devoto 1983³, 280.

[59] Cf. Mohrmannn 1951, 215-216.

will develop into the future Romance languages.[60] It has to be added that in paleo-Christian inscriptions Latin was adopted as the liturgical language and adapted to new liturgical needs. This phenomenon obviously implied the creation of neologisms – including loanwords from Hebrew and Greek – rather than the continuation of archaic forms.[61]

Consequently, it seems possible to suggest that archaisms originated in the language of the first inscriptions and were occasionally maintained in the following centuries – and with special frequency until the end of the 2nd century A.D. It is plausible that their function was to provide an elevated degree of formality and authority to epigraphic texts.[62] In this regard, it is important to stress the role of inscriptions as 'exhibited texts', which, many times, served to publicly legitimate individual acts, such as the consecration and juridical regimentation of burials (in the case of funerary inscriptions), the formal dissolution of 'vow-agreements' (in the case of votive inscriptions),[63] and so on.

The high formalism and standardization of the epigraphic language – which was, at least, always pursued, despite occasional vulgarisms – is a consequence of the practical functions of epigraphy itself. Thus, epigraphic archaisms clearly fall within the framework of the formal language, rather than being dialectal relics or substandard features. Indeed, it is natural to think that the speech of rural people – whose educational level was presumably lower than that of the speech of the urban population – tended to be conservative especially in the field of lexicon, while in other levels of the linguistic system their language would be particularly spontaneous and innovative, for it was not biased by the grammatical rules.[64] From this point of view, the low frequency of lexical data in inscriptions represents a clear disadvantage for research.

Moreover, the fact that archaisms in epigraphy have a mainly 'aesthetic' function is proved by the presence of pseudo-archaisms, of which the most evident is

---

[60] Cf. Devoto 1983[3], 296-297. See also Mancini 2006, 1024.

[61] Cf. Devoto 1983[3], 309-341.

[62] Cf. Quint., *Inst.* I 6, 39: *Verba a vetustate repetita* (...) *adferunt orationi maiestatem aliquam non sine delectatione: nam et auctoritatem antiquitatis habent et, quia intermissa sunt, gratiam novitati similem parant.*

[63] The juridical nature of Roman religious vows has been recently evidenced in González Rodríguez, Ortíz de Urbina 2017.

[64] Cf. González Rolán 1978, 156-157: '(…) El habla rústica, por la propia idiosincrasia de los campesinos, ha debido ser en principio, particularmente «conservadora» de arcaísmos. Ahora bien, hay otro aspecto que no debemos pasar por alto, y es que se trata de gente fundamentalmente inculta, como en muchos pasajes tienen ocasión de recordarnos los escritores. Esto lleva consigo el que su lengua, si bien tendía a un cierto conservadurismo léxico, estaba más expuesta que el habla de la Urbe a una evolución más rápida y espontánea, puesto que no se veía estorbada por la influencia de la escuela ni por la preocupación de hablar bien'.

probably the form *PIISSVMVS* for *piissimus* or – even more remarkable – *PIENTISSVMVS* for *pientissimus*. In fact, despite being widely used on funerary inscriptions, these superlative forms are not normative in Classical Latin, the second one being exclusively attested in epigraphy.[65] In this case, the connection of archaizing spellings with local habits is particularly evident, because such forms are especially concentrated in *Hispania* (Map 5).[66]

Map 5: A territorial distribution of the pseudo-archaizing forms *PIISSVMVS* and *PIENTISSVMVS*

A further argument to support the interpretation of archaisms as a sign of cultivation, rather than to interpret them as always being dialectal features, is their specific connection to inscriptions produced in towns in comparison with the countryside. Indeed, the data recorded in Chart 2 show that archaic vocalic spellings mostly focus in urban centres, not in their *ager*.[67] Actually, in most of the Italian *regiones* the frequency of archaisms is directly either zero or very low in the countryside.[68] It has to be observed that inscriptions of a certain formalism,

---

[65] Cf. Cic., *Phil*. XIII 43: *Tu porro ne pios quidem, sed piissimos quaeris et, quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis*; see also GLOSS. V 93, 5: *Piissimum aput nos antiqui dicere noluerunt; nam pius (...) non habet superlativum*. For this reason, I have decided to omit these forms from Table 1.

[66] Examples from outside of *Hispania* are: *CIL* V 6027 (= LLDB-60670), in *Mediolanum*; *CIL* VI 5086 (= LLDB-57625) and 24692 (= LLDB-37611), in *Roma* and *CIL* XIII 1914 (= LLDB-26752), in *Lugdunum*.

[67] Inscriptions 'from the countryside' are meant here as those labelled as found 'in the territory / in the vicinity of' a specific ancient town in LLDB.

[68] Cf. *Liguria*, *Umbria*, *Samnium*, *Latium et Campania*, *Apulia et Calabria*.

showing a high level of cultivation, are also documented in rural contexts, but this occurs especially in the frame of *villae* belonging to rich people.[69]
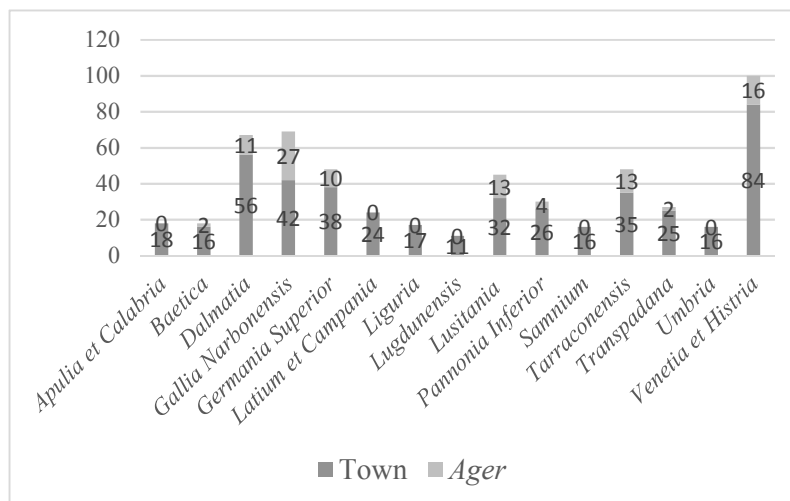

Chart 2: Percentage of archaisms attested in the city centers and in the countryside

This evidence stands in sharp contrast with the principles of geolinguistics to which I have referred above, which identify the most conservative areas with the countryside and the most innovative ones with urban environments. It represents, thus, another hint for the general use of archaisms as stylistic features in epigraphy.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the evidence at hand that has been compiled by my use of the LLDB database and re-elaborated according to the methods of the Computerized Dialectology suggests that the epigraphy cannot sustain traditional theories that regard the supposed conservatism of provincial Latin(s), in opposition to what previous scholars stated, particularly with reference to the Hispanic provinces. On the contrary, my data analysis allows us to confirm Adams' belief that the widespread presence of archaisms in inscriptions 'does not concern language use,

---

[69] Cf. Sánchez Salor 1998, 381: 'En definitiva, nuestra región (*scil.* modern Extremadura), por la fecha de su primer contacto con Roma y por la organización social que en ella quedaría, organización en la que sin duda habría latifundios con propietarios ricos, que son normalmente conservadores, se mantuvo durante siglos como una zona conservadora desde el punto de vista lingüístico'.

but spelling'.[70] Indeed, particularly the type and geographical distribution of such phenomena clearly showcase the existence of specific writing traditions, which focused especially in Italy, and which in due course over the process of colonization spread to the provinces of the Roman Empire.

Abbreviations

AE = L'Année Epigraphique, Paris, 1888-
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berolini, 1863-
EDCS = Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (db.edcs.eu)
HEp = Hispania Epigraphica. Madrid, 1989-
LLDB = Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age (lldb.elte.hu)

Bibliography

Adamik 2014 = Adamik, B.: In Search of the Regional Diversification of Latin: Changes of the Declension System according to the Inscriptions. In: Molinelli, P. *et al.* (edd.): *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif X. Actes du Xe Colloque International sur le Latin vulgaire et tardif. Bergamo, 5-9 septembre 2012*. Bergamo, 641-661.
Adams 2007 = Adams, J. N.: *The Regional Diversification of Latin. 200 BC – 600 AD.* Cambridge.
del Barrio Vega 1986-1987 = del Barrio Vega, M. F.: Sobre los arcaísmos en Gelio. *CFC(L)* 20, 63-71.
Bartoli 1925 = Bartoli, M.: *Introduzione alla neolinguistica*. Genève.
Bassols de Climent 1983[6] = Bassols de Climent, M.: *Fonética latina. Con un apéndice sobre fonemática latina por Sebastián Mariner Bigorra*. Madrid.
Bringmann 2001[6] = Bringmann, K.: *Römische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Spätantike*. München.
Carnoy 1906[2] = Carnoy, A.: *Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions. Étude linguistique*. Bruxelles.
Corrales, Corbella 1994 = Corrales, C., Corbella, D.: *Diccionario de las coincidencias léxicas entre el español de Canarias y el español de América*. Tenerife.
Devoto 1983[3] = Devoto, G.: *Storia della lingua di Roma (Storia di Roma, vol. XXIII)*, I-II. Roma.
Edmondson 2002 = Edmondson, J.: Writing Latin in the Roman Province of Lusitania. In: Cooley, A. E. (ed.): *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*. Porthsmouth, 41-60.

---

[70] Adams 2007, 399. See also Kent 1945[3], 48: 'After 150 B.C., EI was *merely graphic* for $\bar{\imath}$' (my italic).

González Rodríguez, Ortíz de Urbina 2017 = González Rodríguez, Mª C., Ortíz de Urbina, E.: La fórmula *voti compotem aliquem facere* y sus variantes en la epigrafía latina del Occidente romano. *Epigraphica* 79, 253-273.

Gónzalez Rolán 1978 = González Rolán, T.: Delimitación del *sermo rusticus* en época arcaica: rasgos fonéticos y morfológicos. In: *Actas del V Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, 20 al 25 de abril de 1976)*. Madrid, 143-161.

Grassi 1982 = Grassi, C.: Ville et campagne dans la sociolinguistique italienne. In Dittmar, N., Schlieben-Lange, B. (edd.): *Die Soziolinguistik in romanischsprachigen Ländern / La sociolinquistique dans les pays de langue romane*. Tübingen, 143-152.

Herman 2000 = Herman, J.: Differenze territoriali nel latino parlato dell'Italia tardo-imperiale: un contributo preliminare. In Herman, J., Marinetti, A., Mondin, L. (edd.): *La preistoria dell'italiano: Atti della Tavola rotonda di linguistica storica (Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, 11-13 giugno 1998)*. Tübingen, 123-135.

del Hoyo 2000 = del Hoyo, J.: *Cvrsv certari.* Acerca de la afición cinegética de *Q. Tvllivs Maximvs* (*CIL* II 2660). *Faventia* 24/1, 69-98.

Kent 1945[3] = Kent, R. G.: *The Sounds of Latin. A descriptive and historical Phonology.* Baltimore.

Koch 2004 = Koch, P.: Il cosiddetto 'conservatorismo' lessicale del Sardo. In: Grimaldi, L., Mensching, G. (edd.): *Su Sardu. Limba de Sardigna e limba de Europa. Atti del congresso di Berlino, 30 novembre – 2 dicembre 2001.* Linguistica 3. Cagliari, 67-104.

Krapp 1927 = Krapp, G. P.: Is American English archaic? *Southwest Review* 12/4, 292-303.

Lerner 1974 = Lerner, I.: *Arcaísmos léxicos en el español de América*. Madrid.

Lope Blanch 1968-1969 = Lope Blanch, J. M.: El supuesto arcaísmo del español americano. *Anuario de Letras* 7, 85-110.

Mancini 2006 = Mancini, M.: "*Dilatandis Litteris*": uno studio su Cicerone e la pronunzia "rustica". In: Bombi, R. *et al.* (edd.): *Studi linguistici in onore di Roberto Gusmani.* Alessandria, 1023-1046.

Marache 1952 = Marache, R.: *Mots nouveaux et mots archaïques chez Fronton et Aule-Gelle*. Paris.

Marcato 2002 = Marcato, C.: *Dialetto, dialetti e italiano*. Bologna.

Martin 1909 = Martin, H.: *Notes on the Syntax of the Latin Inscriptions found in Spain*. Baltimore.

Mello-Wolter 2005 = Mello-Wolter, R. M.: Arcaísmos en el español de Paraguay. In: Volker, N. *et al.* (edd.): *El Español en América. Aspectos teóricos, particularidades, contactos*. Madrid, 189-200.

Mohrmann 1951 = Mohrmann, C.: Les formes du latin dit «vulgaire». Essai de chronologie et de systématisation de l'époque augustéenne aux langues romanes. In: *Actes du premier Congrès de la Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques (à Paris, 28 Août – 2 Septembre 1950)*. Paris, 207-229.

Moreno de Alba 1992 = Moreno de Alba, J. G.: *Diferencias léxicas entre España y América*. Madrid.

Penney 1999 = Penney, J.H.W.: Archaism and Innovation in Latin Poetic Syntax. In: Adams, J. N., Mayer, R. G. (edd.): *Aspects of the Language in Latin Poetry*. Oxford, 249-268.

Romanello 2003 = Romanello, M. T.: The Perception of Urban Varieties: Preliminary Studies from the South of Italy. In: *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*, II. Amsterdam–Philadelphia, 329-349.

Ruckdeschel 1911 = Ruckdeschel, F.: *Archaismen und Vulgarismen in der Sprache des Horaz.* Erlangen.

Sala 1970 = Sala, M.: Arcaísmos e innovaciones en el léxico del español americano. In: Magis, C. H. (ed.): *Actas del Tercer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas celebrado en México, D.F., del 26 al 31 de agosto 1968*. México, 779-785.

Sánchez Salor 1988 = Sánchez Salor, E.: El latín de Extremadura a partir de las inscripciones. *Anuario de estudios filológicos* 11, 371-387.

Šeleg 2001 = Šeleg, M.: Les particularités lexicales du français québécois. *Verbum* 1, 55-62.

Tagliavini 1962 = Tagliavini, C.: *Fonetica e morfologia storica del latino*. Bologna.

Tovar 1968 = Tovar Llorente, A.: *Latín de Hispania. Aspectos léxicos de la romanización*. Madrid.

Väänänen 1966[3] = Väänänen, V.: *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*. Berlin.

Varvaro 2005 = Varvaro, A.: La latinizzazione delle province come processo di lunga durata. In: Kiss, S. *et al.* (edd.): *Latin et langues romanes. Études de linguistique offertes à József Herman à l'occasion de son 80ème anniversaire*. Tübingen, 115-133.

Zamboni 1969 = Zamboni, A.: Contributo allo studio del latino epigrafico della *Regio X Augustea (Venetia et Histria)*. Il lessico. *Studi Linguistici Friulani* 1, 110-182.