



# Language and Identity in Antiquity

# Langue et identité dans l'Antiquité

Vendredi 19 – Samedi 20 juillet 2024

*Unil*

UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Faculté des lettres



Schweizerische Sprachwissenschaftliche Gesellschaft  
Société Suisse de Linguistique  
Società Svizzera di Linguistica  
Societad Svizra da Linguistica



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# Programme

**Friday, 19 July 2024 | Jeudi 19 juillet 2024**

08h50 Welcome | Mots de bienvenue

## Session 1

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09h00 **Invited Speaker | Conférencier invité**

Andreas Willi (University of Oxford)

*Marginal Greekness*

09h50 Liana Tronci (Università per Stranieri di Siena)

*Reflecting identities through morphology in diachrony:*

*Ancient Greek ethnonymic verbs in -ízō and nouns*

*in -ismós*

10h20 Dmitry Dundua (University of Oxford)

*Community-specific grammar? The case of Aelius*

*Aristides*

10h50 Coffee break | Pause-café

## Session 2

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11h20 Holly Hunt (University of Oxford)

*Sociolinguistic Features of Herodas and 'Herodas'*

11h50 Eleonora Selvi (Università di Verona)

*Language Choices and Identity Reflections in*

*Hellenistic Pamphylia: A Social Network Analysis of*

*Funerary Inscriptions*

12h20 Alexander Wilson (University of Oxford)

*Protagoras' dialectology: performative identity in Greek*

*ethnicity*

12h50 Lunch at Géopolis | Dîner à Géopolis

### Session 3

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- 14h30 **Invited Speaker | Conférencière invitée**  
Katherine McDonald (Durham University)  
*Reconsidering multilingualism and enslavement in antiquity*
- 15h20 Corinna Salomon (Maynooth University)  
*Lepontians and Cisalpine Gauls*  
*Linguistic identity (?) in late Iron-age northern Italy*
- 15h50 Rhiannon Smith (University of Cambridge)  
*Using Morphology to See Identity in Female Names*
- 16h20 Coffee break

### Session 4

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- 16h50 Olivia Elder (University of Oxford)  
*Language and Identity in the City of Rome*
- 17h20 Laura Nastasi (University of Manchester)  
*Expressing identity in a bilingual city: some examples from Roman Corinth*
- 17h50 Valentina Vari (Sapienza Università di Roma & Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)  
*“Inscribing Identities”: The Use of Latin in Funerary Inscriptions in Roman Greece*
- 19h30 Dinner at « Thaï au Lac » | Souper au « Thaï au Lac »

#### **Restaurant address | Adresse du restaurant :**

Avenue Emile-Henri-Jaques-Dalcroze 9, 1007 Lausanne

#### **Public transport | Transports publiques :**

Bus 2 / 24, stop | arrêt « Théâtre de Vidy »

## Saturday, 20 July 2024 | Samedi 20 juillet 2024

### Session 5

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- 09h00 Alexandre Loktionov (University of Cambridge; King's College London; HSE)  
*Choosing to hear? The concept of sDm as a tool for constructing identity among officials in Pharaonic Egypt*
- 09h30 Rostyslav Oreshko (ILARA & École Pratique des Hautes Études)  
*Language choice and ethnic identities in pre-hellenistic Lydia*
- 10h00 Shoni Lavie-Driver (University of Cambridge)  
*Jewish identity and language in Roman Caesarea*
- 10h30 Coffee break

### Session 6

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- 11h00 Gunnar Dumke (Münzkabinett Winterthur)  
*Greek, Indian, Indo-Greek? Bilingual coin legends of Hellenistic kings in India*
- 11h30 Kristian Christensen (University of St Andrews)  
*Everyday Speech and Prestige Literacy*
- 12h00 **Invited Speaker | Conférencier invité**  
Andrea Cuomo (Universiteit Gent)  
*Semiotic Poetics: The inclusive exclusivity of Byzantine texts*
- 12h50 Conclusory remarks | Mots de conclusion
- 13h00 Lunch | Dîner

# Abstracts

**Kristian Christensen (St Andrews)**

*Everyday Speech and Prestige Literacy*

“When his sister, a woman of Lepcis, came to him, scarcely able to speak Latin, the emperor was very embarrassed about her, [...] and told the woman to return to her home.”

This anecdote from the *Historia Augusta* about the relationship between the Roman emperor Septimius Severus (r. 193–211 AD) and his family reveals both the linguistic heterogeneity of the Roman Empire and the hierarchy within which languages were arranged. In the Libyan port city of Lepcis, even wealthy families such as Septimius’ spoke Punic. Yet diversity did not mean equality. Upon taking the throne, Septimius entered a court world where Latin reigned supreme and provincial tongues were frowned upon as signifiers of the non-elite.

The history of written Punic further demonstrates this. Originally a prestige language with its own script, by the 1st century AD it was written with Latin characters instead and was in decline in both geographic (later material deriving solely from Tripolitania) and social terms (tombs with Latin texts on the outside and Punic ones on the urns inside suggest a retreat of the latter language from the public to the private sphere) as well as in types of usage (monumental inscriptions ceasing by the 2nd century). Inscriptions clearly evidence a social layer that looked to a Latin language of power to articulate their status, their attempts to render Latin phrases and titles into Punic verbatim often producing faulty syntax. It would be easy to draw the conclusion that the latter language was moribund by the Imperial era. However, surprisingly, the writings of Augustine repeatedly attest to its continuance in the late 4th and early 5th centuries as a vibrant vernacular in a parts of Africa where all other evidence for it disappeared centuries earlier.

In order to understand this paradox the present paper employs an interdisciplinary and comparative approach, applying the anthropological model of universalization and localization developed for the study of Indian village communities and their interaction with literary Sanskrit culture (Chakrabarti, 2001). This approach lays bare the

prevalence in traditional agrarian societies of local communities with dual identities that saw prestige elements (e.g. the Latin language) employed for high status activities (e.g. lapidary epigraphy) while distinct local phenomena (e.g. a vernacular) flourished for more mundane everyday usages. This prevalence allows for crucial comparisons of the Punic case to similar examples in other communities subjected to imperial rule in pre-modern Eurasia. Thus the articulation by a rural Indian community of a distinct identity that blends Sanskritic borrowings with local traditions is shown as a useful comparandum for the Punic-speaking rural communities detailed in Augustine's writings. In turn, the comparison provides a framework for structuring the sparse and diverse, yet important evidence for perpetual, low-intensity interaction between local and prestige languages in the Roman provinces and the effect of this interaction on the formation and development of local identities.

### **References**

Chakrabarti, K., 2001, *Religious Process: The Purāṇas and the Making of a Regional Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **Andrea Cuomo (Gent)**

*Semiotic Poetics: The inclusive exclusivity of Byzantine texts*

Medieval Greek writers, regardless of linguistic register, relied on an already thousand-year-old literary tradition. With greater or lesser awareness, they alluded to, reused, readapted, and cited the literary models they shared with their readers. The result is extremely simple and at the same time extremely complex texts, as their reading and interpretation requires from simple linguistic skills to the most complex knowledge of literary models.

In my paper I will present four case studies—from Homer and Lukianos, to Tzetzes and Planoudes—which allow us to illustrate: (1) how the Byzantines read and quoted model texts; (2) the concept of dialogism and intertextual irony; (3) the semiotic and pragmatic function of intertextuality; and (4) to consider the semiotic approach to the interpretation of Byzantine language and literature.

## **Gunnar Dumke (Münzkabinett Winterthur)**

### *Greek, Indian, Indo-Greek? Bilingual coin legends of Hellenistic kings in India*

The so-called Indo-Greek kingdoms came into existence after the Graeco-Bactrian kings were repelled south of the Hindu Kush Mountains by an invasion of nomadic people of Scythian descent around the middle of the 2nd century BCE (see for the coins Bopearachchi, 1991; Bordeaux, 2018; Glenn 2020). Another century later Indo-Greek rule in turn was overthrown by Indo-Scythic rulers coming from Bactria (Senior, 2001–2004). Overall, sources from and about these kingdoms are not numerous, the only sources we have left in abundance are the various rulers' silver and bronze coins. Although their significance is supported by scattered and isolated material evidence, nearly everything we know about these kingdoms – their social structure, their religious pantheon, and of course their economy – must be deduced from these coins.

These coins show an intriguing design, with a portrait of the king on the obverse and a deity on the reverse, which follows the Hellenistic standard set by the successors of Alexander the Great. What is peculiar to Indo-Greek coins is that together with a Greek legend, naming the king with his epitheton (or even epitheta) on the obverse, a Prakrit (Indian) legend written in Kharoṣṭhī is set on the reverse, representing an exact translation of the Greek. Additionally, Indo-Greek bronze coins keep the twofold legend but are minted on square flans, likewise unseen in the rest of the Hellenistic world and following Indian precedents.

My paper will take a bifocal approach: On the one hand I will try to reconstruct the reasons behind this choice of languages regarding questions of monarchical self-representation and identity. On the other hand the concrete impacts this choice had on the producing of the coins will be analyzed by observing precisely the traces of the tools used for cutting the dies' metal surface. Whereas on the obverse – for the Greek legend – traces of usages of a drill are clearly visible, the reverse legend – the Indian – misses these marks. Furthermore, dashes can be found on the reverse, signaling the start of the Indian legend. These dashes are no longer found on the Indo-Scythian coins, hinting towards a change in the personnel at the mint. Furthermore, already on Indo-Greek coins the monograms, best understood as marks of a specific mint or workstation and usually consisting of pure Greek characters, are augmented with

Kharoṣṭhī signs hinting towards an inclusion of the “new” language in the mints’ workflow.

Therefore, the analysis of the possible applications of the two different scripts found on these coins and the meticulous observation of the tools used for preparing the coin dies allow us a deeper insight into the character and identity these rulers chose to portray for themselves on the one hand, on the other an insight into the people working in an Indo-Greek mint during Hellenistic times and their language choices.

### References

- Boppearachchi, O., 1991, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*. Paris : Bibliothèque nationale.
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### Dmitry Dundua (Oxford)

*Community-specific grammar? The case of Aelius Aristides*

Language was an obsession of Greek intellectuals of the High Imperial period. Debates about the classical pedigree of a given lexeme or form were widespread, as was ridicule of overly pedantic attitudes towards linguistic matters (Whitmarsh, 2005: 41–49). Importantly, however, these debates reflected the Greeks’ concerns about their own status and, particularly, about their status as a community with a present firmly anchored in the past (Eshleman, 2012). They had – at least for some – a direct bearing on issues of group identity, whose boundaries were always prone to be contested and renegotiated.

These concerns came to the fore especially in the context of sophistic performance. Common to Imperial-era rhetoricians, in one way or another, was a twofold distinction: first, between the uneducated and the educated and second, within this latter group, between a generally educated audience on the one hand and ‘cultural experts’ on the other who were also potential rivals for the practicing sophist (Korenjak, 2000: 52–65). Thus, group identity and its boundaries lay at the very core of



sophistic activity. The central claim of this paper is that these concerns found a reflection in the actual grammar of the Greek sophists used, with special attention to Aelius Aristides, who is in many ways the central figure for Imperial-era Greek rhetoric and was considered such already in Antiquity (cf. recently Miletto, 2018).

The paper focuses on Aristides' use of the optative. While the 'revived' optative in postclassical Greek has been often viewed as a hallmark of linguistic Atticism, its morphosyntactic behavior in Atticist Greek displays important differences compared to classical Greek prose (Anlauf, 1960; Dundua, 2024). Comparing a selection of Aristides' speeches with a baseline corpus of classical prose (Demosthenes, Isocrates, Lysias, Plato, Thucydides, Xenophon), the paper first presents statistical data pointing at rather significant differences in the use of main clause optatives between the two corpora. It then identifies several lexically highly specified optative constructions which Aristides makes systematic use of. On the one hand, these often have a traceable Attic genealogy, on the other, they are precisely what accounts for a rather large share of divergences between Aristides and classical prose. It is then argued that these constructions were Atticistic shibboleths (Silverstein, 2017) in that they possessed a particularly salient link with particular classical authors and, through them, with particular subregisters of higher-level Greek as part of their social meaning – even if their morphosyntax differed in significant respects from the classical prototype. Importantly, these shibboleths were a means to negotiate group identity as they were likely recognized primarily by insider 'experts.' Thus, Aristides' Greek emerges as a telling example of community-specific speech (Herbert & Kukla, 2016) – that is, of language in which the insider/outsider boundary is mapped out as part of its very pragmatic structure, and in this case pragmatic significance exerts an influence on morphosyntax. Finally, other features of Aristides' style are addressed which can be accounted for within this framework.

## References

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## **Olivia Elder (Oxford)**

### *Language and Identity in the City of Rome*

In this paper I will combine close sociolinguistic and historical analysis of two important series of bilingual inscriptions from the ancient city of Rome. I will argue that these multilingual inscriptions showcase the close but complicated relationship between language and identity at the heart of the Roman empire. It is in situations of multilingualism that the links between language and identity are most strongly cast into relief; the choice to use or avoid different languages spotlights the links between language and factors shaping identity like origin, social status, migration and imperialism.

My first case study will be the series of 25 inscriptions – in various mixtures of Palmyrene, Latin and Greek – associated with a Syrian community in the south-west of Rome (Chausson, 1995 provides the full corpus). These inscriptions have often been poster children for Rome's cosmopolitan identity and high rates of migration, and for the visible link between language and identity in ancient inscriptions. Several are now prominently placed at the entrance to the Capitoline Museum's *Galleria Lapidaria*, the first glimpse that many modern visitors get of the ancient city's epigraphic landscape. However, these inscriptions were in many ways exceptional within the ancient city: the epigraphic display of local languages like Palmyrene was in general rare; and the connection between language and identity in these texts is unusually direct. A close sociolinguistic reading of these inscriptions furthermore reveals their complexities, showing the multiple different aspects and definitions of identity – ethnic, juridical, social, religious – that are being juggled

within them. By situating these texts against Rome's wider linguistic and historical landscape I will show how they both conform to, and diverge from, wider patterns of language and identity within the city.

My second case study will shift focus away from language use amongst migrant communities to consider top-down, state-sponsored constructions of language and identity at Rome. I will examine in detail the series of Latin-Greek bilingual dedications by the people and kings of Asia Minor to Jupiter and the Roman people from the Capitoline Hill (*ILLRP* 174–181). There has been substantial debate about the dating of these inscriptions and the form of the monument on which they were displayed, but less attention has been paid to the content and sociolinguistics of the texts themselves. I will argue that these inscriptions clearly show the way that language was manipulated to make pointed and prominent statements about political identity and power; in particular they highlight the relationship between bilingualism and imperial identity.

Between them, these two series of bilingual texts exemplify the varied and complicated configurations of the relationship between language and identity at the heart of the Roman empire: monolingual and multilingual, top down and bottom up. I will argue that linguistic evidence both reflects and shapes wider historical structures of Roman identity: citizenship, slavery, empire, migration.

## References

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## Holly Hunt (Oxford)

*Sociolinguistic Features of Herodas and 'Herodas'*

This paper will consider some socio-linguistic markers in the poetry of Herodas, carrying out a quantitative survey of some markers relating to gender, status and politeness, such as manners of address and orders, before situating the poetic persona's own voice among his characters.

When Herodas' *Mimiamb*s were published toward the end of the 19th century, he was at first considered a great realist (Reinach, 1891), due to his low subject matter and conversational style replete with

proverbs and parataxis. On the other hand, since then the artificiality of his *Kunstsprache* has been acknowledged, combining as it does East Ionic dialect with Attic forms, and transplanting this hybrid – probably in homage to Hipponax, who may figure in the fragmentary 8th poem – into Doric-speaking Kos (cf. Reinach, 1891: 215; Sherwin-White, 1978: 350–2). His work has since come to be thought of as a ‘gioco di manierato verismo’ (Colombo, 1934). The common man and woman are made to speak in peculiar dialect, their conversational dialogue form moulded into choliambic verse.

Herodas is then something of a double-edged sword in terms of sociolinguistic study. Historical linguistics has been described as ‘the art of making the best use of bad data’ (Labov, 1994: 11), and Herodas’ data – fragmentary, and artificial in dialect and metre – is very bad data indeed. Herodas’ poetry is hardly a straightforward source from which to reconstruct the everyday speech of 3rd century BCE Greeks. However, there is also a sense that behind the artificialities of dialect and metre, his ‘unpleasant and immoral’ (Cunningham, 1971: 3) characters draw upon everyday life, and their speech may represent a ‘sub-literary’ register worth exploring.

Through studying sociolinguistic markers in his poetry, this paper will explore how characters within the artificial demi-monde of Herodas – a procuress and a pimp, a dildo-maker and a delinquent, to invoke but a few – use language to express aspects of their own identity and status, while at the same time the poet uses them to forge an identity for himself, and a voice for his new hybrid-genre. This study would build on that of Redondo-Moyano, which considered sociolinguistic markers in *Mimiamb* 3 (Redondo-Moyano, 2021), and would start with a quantitative analysis of how linguistic details such as manners of address, orders, politeness strategies, and patterns of convergence or divergence relate to the gender and relative status of the speakers.

The paper will culminate in a study of *Mimiamb* 8. In this monologue the poet’s own persona (the ‘Herodas’ of my abstract’s title) heaps abuse on two slaves, before recounting at length a dream to a third. His dream concerns a run-in with an old man, probably to be identified with Hipponax, making the poem itself into a proprietary *sphragis* which symbolises his peculiar sub-genre. Interpreting the language of ‘Herodas’

here, in the context of his other creations, may then reflect broadly upon the tone and status of his poetry as a whole.

## References

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## Shoni Lavie-Driver (Cambridge)

### *Jewish identity and language in Roman Caesarea*

Caesarea, the capital and economic centre of the Roman province Judaea-Palaestina, was a diverse city. No single group constituted a majority; rather, sizable groups of Greeks, Jews, Roman military veterans and their descendants, Samaritans, and eventually Christians lived side by side. This diversity is also reflected linguistically, with Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin all represented at Caesarea and throughout the province. I propose to focus on one of these groups and analyse the relationship between Jewish identity and language at Caesarea, focusing on the 3rd-6th centuries CE.

As recent research has recognised, Jewish identity in Roman antiquity was complex, both naturalising elements of Graeco-Roman culture but also defining itself against it (cf. Schwartz, 2009; Lapin, 2012; Rosen-Zwi, 2017). Linguistically, Aramaic and especially Hebrew were sometimes used as distinct markers of identity. For example, the move in the second Jewish revolt against the Romans (132–136 CE) to mint coins in Paleo-Hebrew script and Hebrew language has been commonly regarded as 'proto-nationalist' (cf. Rosén, 1982). The wide production of rabbinic literature in Hebrew and Aramaic under Roman rule, meanwhile, has few parallels, and takes countercultural currents also seen in the Greek Second Sophistic one step further (cf. Lapin, 2012).

However, Greek is also prominent among the Jews of Roman Judaea-Palaestina (cf. Liebermann, 1994). Caesarean Jews, in fact, are typically characterised as the most ‘Hellenised’ Jews of the province - a characterisation that has antecedents in Jewish discourses of antiquity. For example, Caesarea is identified as the opposite of Jerusalem, the Jewish city par excellence, and as a daughter of the Jews’ ancient enemy Edom (a common code for Rome; cf. *bMegillah*, 6a).

How, then, do the many Jews living in this Roman ‘Anti-Jerusalem’ negotiate their identities in a highly multilingual context? Incorporating evidence from inscriptions, Greek-language literature, and Aramaic/Hebrew rabbinic texts, I propose to dissect the complex relationship between language and identity for Jews at Caesarea (cf. Ameling *et al.*, 2011: 1121–2160).

I shall argue that the Jews of Caesarea do indeed give Greek a prominence that stands out among the Jewish communities of Judaea-Palaestina. There are no hints that it was considered a ‘non-Jewish language’; rather, we can see Caesarean Jews considering it highly prestigious, and even using it in the synagogue – the space where their Jewish identity is most salient. The most famous Caesarean rabbi, Abbahu, further uses Greek puns to justify his interpretations of Jewish law.

We cannot, however, simply categorise the Jews of Caesarea as part of the Greek-speaking world and move on. Aramaic and Hebrew also have an important presence. The Caesarean rabbis are presented as deeply embedded in a wider Jewish culture that prized and required profound knowledge of these two Semitic languages, and they apparently mastered them. Hebrew also retained some symbolic value as a marker of identity for the wider Jewish community in Caesarea. Greek-speaking Gentiles, meanwhile, associate the Jews with Aramaic and Hebrew even as they converse with them in Greek. Notably, finally, Latin is prominent at Caesarea until the 4th century CE, but we do not find any evidence for Jewish use of Latin, a phenomenon I shall explain.

## References

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### **Alexandre Loktionov (Cambridge)**

*Choosing to hear? The concept of sDm as a tool for constructing identity among officials in Pharaonic Egypt*

This paper offers a case study in Ancient Egyptian identity building based on association with a single word: *sḏm*, a verb ostensibly meaning “hear”, but possessing a wide range of lexical meanings including “obey”, “understand”, “satisfy”, and “judge” (cf. Faulkner, 1962: 259; Erman and Grapow, 1971: 284–389). Ancient Egyptian officials from as early as the Old Kingdom and through to the New Kingdom (i.e. 2700–1100BCE) regularly made use of the participial form of this verb, *sḏm.w* (“one who hears”) to describe themselves, and this paper seeks to shed further light on what exactly this might say about them. What was this exclusive group of people, marked out by a common connection with this concept, actually supposed to be hearing? And what might this tell us about power dynamics between those doing the hearing and those being heard?

As its core dataset, this paper uses the existing prosopographic corpora of Old, Middle and New Kingdom titles, which allow for analysis of every published attestation of official titles related to *sḏm* over the 1600-year chronological span of the study (cf. Jones, 2000; Ward, 1982; Fischer, 1985; Quirke, 1986: 107–133; Al-Ayedi, 2006). The paper will explore correlations between officials holding *sḏm*-containing titles and other indicators of social status, such as ranking titles indicating proximity to the royal administration or sources of authority in the Egyptian provinces, as well as autobiographical inscriptions describing activities in which holders of *sḏm*-containing titles participated during their careers. Such autobiographical inscriptions are relatively rare, but

where available they can provide a much deeper insight into the lifeways and sense of professional identity of a given official.

Alongside these primary aims, the paper will also offer thoughts on the long-standing methodological dilemma of identifying cause as opposed to consequence in studies of the interplay of language and its users. Thus, did holders of *sḏm*-containing titles construct their careers, social status, and material monuments in the way that they did precisely because they were associated with *sḏm* and felt a need to conform to specific modes of practice inherent in the concept, or conversely were they labelled (by themselves or others) as members of the *sḏm* group because they were already fitting the criteria? And, if the latter was true, to what extent might the aspiration to join or stay in the *sḏm* class influence the choices made by the officials in question? Of course, it should be stressed that not all of these questions might be answerable given that datasets are inevitably fragmentary, but from a perspective of methodological enquiry they are nonetheless worth interrogating to whatever extent may prove possible. In so doing, the paper hopes to renew debates around the usefulness of titles as markers of identity and as influencers of decisions made by the individuals holding them, both in Ancient Egypt and other societies more broadly.

## References

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## **Katherine McDonald (Durham)**

### *Reconsidering multilingualism and enslavement in antiquity*

Enslaved people were one of the largest groups of migrants into and around the Roman world, but their status as language learners and second-language speakers has never been examined in detail. This paper examines some of the epigraphic and literary evidence for mobile slaves in the Latin West over a broad period, centring the experiences of enslaved people and exploring how their language use, and the language used about them, was affected by their multilingualism.

Scheidel estimates that an average of 10,000 slaves per year came into Italy in the late Republican period, a total of two to four million in the period 200–1 BCE, exceeding the number of voluntary migrants (Scheidel, 2005). This was perhaps the most intensive period of slave migration in the Roman period, but slaves were nevertheless subject to involuntary migration throughout ancient times. Despite this, slaves and freed slaves are often sidelined in studies on both migration and multilingualism. Slaves' removal from their language communities must have had a profound effect on them, and Bradley (1994: 46–7) and Noy (2000: 37) are two of a handful of authors on ancient slavery to note the 'cultural and psychological dislocation' (Bradley) of this aspect of slavery. Scholarly interest in ancient slavery, and particularly in the agency and identity of slaves, is currently growing exponentially (Vlassopoulos, 2021); as yet, linguistic studies have yet to make a major contribution to this field.

In this paper, I seek to take some preliminary steps towards a wider discussion of the language of slaves, and to explore how our evidence can help us to understand slaves' and freed slaves' experiences. Case studies will include the inscribed statue based dedicated by Kanuta from Campo della Fiera (Etruscan, late sixth century BCE), the epitaph of Regina from South Shields (Latin and Palmyrene, second century CE), and Livy's account of the bilingualism of Marcus Fabius, his slave and their wetnurse in the fourth century BCE (Livy 9.35.8–36.7). I will bring sociolinguistic perspectives to bear on the surviving evidence, and I will show how we can use these sources to explore the history of multilingualism from below.

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## Laura Nastasi (Manchester)

### *Expressing identity in a bilingual city: some examples from Roman Corinth*

A century after the destruction of Corinth by L. Mummius, a Roman colony was founded on its site, and Roman institutions were installed. The elite of the colony appear to have been at least partially bilingual in Latin and Greek, as shown by a detailed analysis of the inscriptions produced after the foundation of *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* (Nastasi forthcoming). Latin is predominant in the inscriptions belonging to the public domain, but Greek is well-attested in the private domain (Millis, 2010: 31). In Roman Corinth, where Latin, Greek and their respective epigraphic conventions were well-known, different means were used to reflect the identity of individuals mentioned in the inscriptions. This paper presents two case studies where language choice and case usage seem to reflect the honorand's identity.

- (1) In the second century AD, the famous benefactor Herodes Atticus, a wealthy Greek who attained the office of consul in Rome, is honoured in Corinth in both Latin and Greek. When he is honoured as a philosopher and orator (*Corinth* 8.1.85), Greek is the preferred language, and his Greekness is reflected also in the dedication in verses to his wife Regilla (*Corinth* 8.3.128). On the other hand, when Herodes' offices in the imperial administration are mentioned, Latin is used to honour him (*AE* 2000, 1345), and other features highlight his (partial) Romanness. His Greek identity is nevertheless still expressed in the Latin inscription through the adoption of the Graecising "accusative of the honorand" rather than the "dative of the honorand" expected in dedications in Latin. This type of syntactic interference, in this case of Greek on Latin, is

thoroughly studied by Adams (Adams, 2003: 260, 586, 650, 658–661).

- (2) In the private domain, the only bilingual inscription from Corinth (*Corinth* 8.3 276, second half of the 3rd cent. AD?) shows the double affiliation of the deceased to both Roman and Greek society. Although the text is fragmentary, the identity of the deceased as a freedman of a Roman is clearly stated. A double identity is again reflected through language choice: Latin is used in a form of accommodation to (convergence with) the Roman society the deceased was part of, while Greek is used to reflect his probable Greek origins.

These two telling examples show how, in a bilingual city like Corinth, writers could resort to two languages and their respective epigraphic and linguistic usages. They adapted their choices to the communicative goal of the texts: important officials of Greek origin and former slaves of Roman families could be honoured and commemorated in both Latin and Greek, and the choice of one language over the other, in the case of Herodes Atticus, or the use of both languages, in the case of the funerary text for a freedman, seems to depend on the type of identity they wished to portray.

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### Rostyslav Oreshko (ILARA/EPHE)

#### *Language choice and ethnic identities in pre-hellenistic Lydia*

Due to scarcity of textual evidence, both literary and epigraphic, sociolinguistic situation in many regions of pre-Hellenistic Anatolia remains largely unclear. Lydia seems to be no exception: its modest epigraphical corpus comprises less than 50 stone inscriptions – some more more than 20 full lines, some just several broken text fragments –

and several dozens of graffiti, which are distributed very unevenly in the Lydian territory, and Greek authors give only vague idea of population in Lydia. And yet, epigraphic material does contain some interesting clues permitting one to gain at least a general idea of sociolinguistic dynamics in Lydia and neighbouring regions before ca. 320 BC. The aim of the present contribution is to give an overview of different kinds of evidence bearing on the questions of language and identity in Lydia.

The first part will concern personal names found in Lydian inscriptions, which contain indications of a mixed character of the Lydian population. The most salient characteristic of this material is the presence of significant number of names finding parallels in Phrygia and even more distant areas of northern Anatolia, on the one hand, and the total absence of Greek names, on the other. The second part will focus on the question of Mysian presence in Lydia. Here, I will discuss two remarkable pieces of epigraphical evidence, as well as toponyms which can be associated with Mysians. The final part will discuss the use of the Aramaic language in Lydia, and the problem of Persian presence in the region.

### **Corinna Salomon (Maynooth)**

#### *Lepontians and Cisalpine Gauls – Linguistic identity (?) in late Iron-age northern Italy*

Fragmentary remains of Celtic languages/dialects spoken in pre-Roman Italy and the adjacent Alpine region are preserved in currently ca. 450 epigraphic documents on objects found between Aosta and Verona, dating from around 700 to the late 1st c. BC. The inscriptions, predominantly on stone and ceramic vessels, are written in the Lepontic alphabet, one of the “North Italic” adaptations of the Etruscan alphabet.

The presence of speakers of Celtic in Italy is by no means a surprise, since both classical historiography and the archaeological record of Iron-age northern Italy document the immigration of Gaulish tribes from the Transpadanian area to the plains north and south of the Po in the early 4th c. BC. However, a considerable portion of the epigraphic evidence predates this historical population shift. Though the archaeological and historical data indicate that a Celtic-speaking population – the “Lepontians”, associated with the archaeological Golasecca culture of

the lake region – had been native to the area since the late Bronze age and was overlaid by the immigrating “Cisalpine Gauls”, these two putative Celtic layers have proved difficult to prise apart from a purely linguistic perspective. Though a few of the longer inscriptions from the last phases of Cisalpine Celtic epigraphy (La Tène D) show clear affinities with the Gaulish inscriptions of France in terms of the onomastic material and lexicon, it has not been possible to establish phonological or morphological criteria by which Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish can be reliably and convincingly distinguished. This suggests that the vernacular Lepontic and the Gaulish dialects were at the very least mutually intelligible. The issue is complicated by the gradual Gallicisation of the northern Padan plain, which must be expected to also have been reflected on the language level.

In my paper, I want to investigate the available evidence for a continued co-existence of distinguishable Lepontic and (Cisalpine) Gaulish features in the epigraphic record of the younger Iron age, in the form of potential manifestations of Lepontic identity in contrast to Gaulishness, and vice versa. After a brief outline of the relevant archaeological and historical aspects, I will discuss the slender linguistic data (archaisms/Leponticisms vs. evident Transalpine features) including onomastics (differences in personal name formation), inscription types and text formulae (e.g. chronology and classification of funerary stelae in the Ticino), as well as the use of the Lepontic alphabet as an identity marker – on the part of the Lepontians after the arrival of the Gaulish tribes and consequent breakdown of commercial and cultural relations with the civilisation of Italy, and possibly again on the part of the Gauls in the 2nd and 1st c. BC as a counter-cultural gesture under increasing political and cultural pressure from Rome.

### **Eleonora Selvi (Verona)**

*Language Choices and Identity Reflections in Hellenistic Pamphylia: A Social Network Analysis of Funerary Inscriptions*

This proposal aims to investigate the relationship between language choices and identity reflections within Hellenistic Pamphylian funerary epigraphy using a statistical approach. By employing Social Network Analysis (SNA), this study will focus on funerary epitaphs from the

dialect-speaking community of Hellenistic Aspendos in Pamphylia. Through SNA, I will explore which language features were utilized as markers of identity and how language choices interact with other markers of identity.

The multilingual environment of Hellenistic Pamphylia was characterized by the cohabitation of different communities and cultures: Anatolian indigenous groups, who spoke a late form of Luwian, and Pamphylian Greek dialect-speaking communities, both subjected to the pressure of the institutional language of the Hellenistic kingdoms and their officers, the koine. The funerary *stelai* of the dialect-speaking community of Aspendos were inscribed with brief epitaphs (3rd –1st c. BCE, as per *DGP*). These *stelai* exhibit a remarkable overall continuity in terms of their general appearance and layout, indicating the existence of a distinct epigraphic culture. However, they display various combinations of koine and epichoric linguistic and alphabetical traits (Selvi, 2023), which point to the existence of different linguistic choices among the community. Such linguistic choices are particularly significant since we are dealing mostly with personal names, a specific sub-set of linguistic and orthographic evidence: they show phonological and morphological features that are inconsistent with the contemporary state of the language and have a high degree of intentionality (Morpurgo Davies, 2000).

Through a SNA, I will examine the distribution of phonological and morphological linguistic features (e.g., the possible conservation of the posterior approximant in *anlaut* or the choice between Pamphylian masculine genitive singular -*av* vs the koine-driven one -*ov*) in a dataset of roughly one hundred inscriptions, comprising more than two hundred personal names of different linguistic origins, mainly Greek and Anatolian. The SNA focuses on understanding the relationships between individuals or entities within a social system and how those relationships influence the system's behaviour (Mills, 2017).

The paper will elucidate (1) which linguistic and alphabetical traits were more likely to be intentionally manipulated; (2) the patterns of language choices based on the linguistic origins of the deceased's personal names; (3) how these language choices interacted with other markers of identity, such as the material properties of the funerary *stelai*. Surprisingly, the preference for koine adaptations of epichoric personal

names is not correlated with the linguistic origins of the deceased, but rather with conscious choices regarding the alphabet employed or the type of the stele. It becomes evident that linguistic choices played a pivotal role in shaping the position of individuals and the overall community in the multiethnic and multilingual society of Hellenistic Pamphylia, characterized by a constant tension, rather than a linear development, between particularism and integration in the Hellenistic Greek world, as it was often the case for peripheral Greek (Consani, 2017) or non-Greek Hellenized communities (Rizza, 2018) in the Hellenistic period. The examination of linguistic and alphabetic features can therefore shed light on the linguistic diversity and identity dynamics of ancient Pamphylian society.

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## Rhiannon Smith (Cambridge)

### *Using Morphology to See Identity in Female Names*

'Different identities did not necessarily exclude each other, but could be displayed in a complementary manner side by side' (Kantola and Nuorluoto, 2022: 161) I will consider such overlapping identities through onomastics and morphology in women's names in Latin epigraphy,

specifically within Greek-influenced paradigms. I will focus on the genitive endings *-es* and *-aes* to determine what the use of these endings can tell us about the identity of the women named.

We have studied plenty of names recorded in epigraphy. This has led to ‘almost a factoid in modern scholarship that there was social stigma attached to Greek cognomina, because such cognomina were overwhelmingly born by slaves and freedmen’ (Bruun, 2013: 34–35). It is estimated that 60% of cognomina in Rome are Greek (Solin 1971:112). One in ten children born to parents with Latin names was given a Greek name (Thylander, 1952) and we know that the presence of a Greek cognomen does not prove that a person spoke Greek (Bruun, 2013: 22). Therefore, name choice alone does not predict personal identity well and I suggest we may gain better insights through focusing on morphology.

I have collected over 1000 examples of genitive *-es* and over 700 of genitive *-aes* with no chronological or geographical limitations beyond that the form appeared in a Latin inscription. Adams argues that genitive *-aes* was used by lower-class Greeks who had acquired or were acquiring Latin as a second language. He suggests genitive *-aes* was used as a Latinisation of genitive *-es* on Latin gentilicia when combined with Greek cognomina, probably among slaves with Greek names who had been freed and gained Latin gentilicia (Adams, 2003: 473–483). Using these datasets, I considered the role of the women named in the inscriptions and separated two categories for further analysis. The woman can be deceased with the genitive is used in a funerary formula. The deceased could have been a slave, freedwoman or free-born, although this information is not always provided. The genitive can also be used with *servus/a* or *libertus/a* to denote a woman who owned or had previously owned a slave. The woman named may herself be a free born or freed person, although again this is not always clear.

By analysing the distribution of *-es* and *-aes* on these two categories of women, I will show that an *-aes* ending is significantly more likely to be found on the name of a slave-owning woman than *-es* and significantly less likely to be found on the name of a deceased woman to whom the inscription was dedicated. I will also discuss inscriptions which include gentilicium-cognomen formula formed with *-es* and *-aes*. I will show that gentilicium *-aes* cognomen *-es* is actually no more common than gentilicium *-es* cognomen *-es* and is 63% less common than gentilicium



-*aes* cognomen -*aes*. Within these two analyses, I will break down the distribution of Greek and Latin name forms, in order to reveal how morphological choices show the personal identity of women in the Greek-Latin milieu of the Roman world.

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## Liana Tronci (Siena)

*Reflecting identities through morphology in diachrony: Ancient Greek ethnonymic verbs in -ízō and nouns in -ismós*

This paper focuses on two classes of Ancient Greek derivatives formed on ethnonymic lexical bases, which were highly productive since Archaic Greek to Hellenistic and Byzantine times. These classes include verbs ending in -*ízō* and correlated nouns in -*ismós*, e.g. *lakōnízō* and *lakōnismós* both signifying 'imitate/imitation of Lacedaemonian manners' and 'act/acting in the Lacedaemonian interest'. When denoting imitation of manners, the derivatives also implied connotations and stereotypes associated with behaviours of the ethnic and social group indicated by the lexical basis that might be perceived as foreign or unfamiliar to those who created and used the derivatives in -*ízō* and -*ismós*. These behaviours were mainly associated with language, e.g. *attikízō* / *attikismós* 'speak Attic / act of speaking Attic, use of Attic

dialect’, as well as aspects such as dressing, hairstyling, eating, drinking, dancing, etc. It is understood that connotations and stereotypes were socially and culturally determined and could change over the centuries and across social groups. Some of them became widespread and evolved into proverbial expressions, e.g. *krētízō* ‘imitate Cretan manners, i.e. lie’ (see example 1). Conversely, others had diverse connotations depending on the epochs and social groups. For instance, the verb *skuthízō*, which literally means ‘behave like a Scythian’, denoted the fashion of shaving the head according to Euripides (example 2a) and the attitude of drinking immoderately according to Athenaeus (example 2b).

- (1) μὲν οὖν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐποίει τὰ δυνατὰ· τοῦτο δ’ ἠγνόει, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον,  
**πρὸς Κρήτα κρητίζων·** (Plb. 8.19.5)  
 Achaeus indeed was doing his best, but he did not consider that, as the saying is, he was trying to play the Cretan with a Cretan.
- (2a) Ἡλ. καὶ **κρᾶτα πλόκαμόν τ’ ἐσκυθισμένον** ξυρῶι. (E. El. 241)  
 And the hair of my head is cropped close with a sharp blade.
- (2b) Ἱερώνυμος δ’ ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης **καὶ τὸ μεθύσαι σκυθίσαι**  
 φησί· (Ath. 11.101.10)  
 Hieronymus of Rhodes in his work on drunkenness refers to getting drunk as playing the Scythian.

This study aims to investigate the classes of verbs in *-ízō* and nouns in *-ismós*, with a particular focus on their meanings and usage in texts. In addition to literary works, I will consider ancient lexica and grammatical treatises, which serve as unique sources of information for several lemmas. My research is corpus-based and encompasses Ancient Greek texts from Archaic Greek to early Byzantine Greek (seventh century CE). I intend to provide both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the derivatives under scrutiny. Specifically, my interest lies in exploring how the connotations and stereotypes associated with these derivatives originated and spread, the types of texts in which they occur (e.g. history, theatre, oratory, etc.), and how their social meanings evolved over the centuries.

The topic addressed in this study sheds new light on the theme of language and identity from the perspective of internal linguistics. As a specific type of proper names, ethnonyms convey ethnic and social boundaries without assigning specific meanings to them. The examined

derivational processes illustrate how ethnic and social boundaries can acquire linguistic significance, transforming into identity markers.

**Valentina Vari (Rome/Groningen)**

*“Inscribing Identities”: The Use of Latin in Funerary Inscriptions in Roman Greece*

If the “discursive formations” were identified by Foucault (1989) as the means through which identity is shaped in our society, writing constitutes the most positive language performance that can be observed from antiquity (Adams, 2003: 6).

Funerary inscriptions constitute an attractive ground for individual expression in eternalizing the memory of the deceased based on self-representation. This paper addresses the use of the Latin language in funerary inscriptions in Greece during the Roman age (2nd BCE – 3rd CE), demonstrating how language choices can be a fundamental aspect of identity expression.

Despite the general predominance of a Western-Italian perspective in the scholarship, the last decades witnessed an increased interest in Graeco-Latin bilingualism and linguistic change also from a Greek point of view. The work of J.N. Adams (2003) can be considered the first systematical contribution on the topic; but other studies have focused on Graeco-Roman bilingualism (Biville *et al.*, 2008; Rochette, 2010: 284–289 with further bibliography) and its socio-historical implications (e.g. Rizakis, 2021).

For my paper, I will consider both monolingual inscriptions in Latin and bilingual inscriptions using the Greek and Latin languages. In bilingual inscriptions, studying the two versions of the same text in parallel can show how similar concepts may be adapted to each language, with different outcomes. Differences between Greek and Latin are often indicative of diverse cultural backgrounds. Information can be selected according to the language, in a way that not only the text on the stone but also what is not inscribed can become, for us, a valuable source of information. For example, in the bilingual epitaph of Q. Avilius from Rheneia (*CIL*, III 7242), the epithet *Lanuvine* (“from the city of Lanuvium”) in Latin is paired with the ethnic “Rhomaïos” in the Greek text. In this case, the Latin text consciously expresses more details

regarding the identity of the deceased, highlighting the deep interconnection between language and identity expression. In other inscriptions, attempts to translate a word into another language can show the will to unify the two versions for both the Latin and Greek audiences, smoothing cultural distances. Where already existing words were not considered suitable, new words were sometimes created. In yet other cases, the contribution of a second language is limited to the script (“transliterated” texts), or formulas. Finally, errors and misspellings not only show potential tensions between the original intentions and the effective manufacture of the monument but also a certain distance between the deceased’s cultural background and the local context.

The use of the Latin language in the Greek world can itself be considered a clear ethnic statement. In addition, the ways Latin was used, also in comparison with the Greek, can help us understand the dynamics and strategies adopted at different points in the encounter between Latin and Greek speakers. Starting from the funerary epigraphical evidence, this paper explores in which ways identity can be expressed, both consciously and unconsciously, through language, defining a range of possibilities as wide as all the different facets of identity.

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## **Andreas Willi (Oxford)**

### *Marginal Greekness*

While many different kinds of – especially social – identities can of course be encoded in language, the interaction of linguistic choices and ethnic identity has long been of particular interest in the study of the ancient world. That ‘Greekness’ somehow presupposes the ability of speaking Greek is stated in rather uncertain terms already by Herodotus (8.144). On closer inspection, however, certain issues come to the fore: How exactly is this linguistic condition to be defined and determined and how malleable is it?

Looking at various passages in ancient literature that explicitly deal with, or presuppose, some notion of an interconnectedness of language and ethnicity, I will investigate to what extent there is still room for manoeuvre – for marginalising and de-marginalising – even when the apparently ‘objective’ linguistic core requirement of Greekness is not itself called into question.

## **Alexander Wilson (Oxford)**

### *Protagoras’ dialectology: performative identity in Greek ethnicity*

Was dialect an important or useful part of identity formation in Archaic and Classical Greece? Jonathan Hall (1995) made a pointed argument against understanding the major Greek ethnic groups (Dorian, Ionian, Aeolian, etc) as linguistic groups despite the standard use of these ethnic categories in modern studies of dialect genetics. Although Hall has since moderated his emphasis on kinship criteria to the exclusion of other criteria and indicia, it is still reasonably argued that scientific dialectology and cladistic models, in particular, cannot be properly applied to the development of the major ethnic groups in the Bronze Age–Iron Age transition (García Ramón, 2017). Recent work has made some tentative steps towards exploring dialectal variation and linguistic choice in periods with more copious evidence, although restricting observations to cultural rather than ethnic identity (e.g. Hallmannsecker, 2022: esp. ch. 5). It would be good to think more carefully about how this operates and to address the instability of linguistic identity which Hall considered so problematic.

This paper will reconsider well known examples of dialect switching in Thucydides and Xenophon by adopting and adapting Judith Butler's concept of 'performativity' to dialect. 'Performativity' suggests that identity is constituted by repeated acts (here, utterances). I will argue that the vocabulary shared between linguistics and other forms of expression will allow us to see that early grammatical discourse in Greek were highly aware of the performative potential of their dialect. The paper will then focus on what Plato's *Protagoras* has to say about dialect performance, when Socrates and interlocutors analyse the language of Simonides' poetry by employing a form of basic sociolinguistics. It is hoped that, through an increased appreciation of such ancient perceptual dialectology, we can reintegrate the use of linguistic expression in the study of ethnicity, without relying too heavily on presuppositions about the existence of the identity.

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## Lunch | Dîner

We shall have lunch in the Géopolis building, c. 450m (6 min.) from the Château de Dorigny; see the map below.

Pour dîner, nous irons au bâtiment Géopolis, qui se trouve à 450m (6 min.) du Château de Dorigny ; vous trouverez une carte ci-dessous.



