

What Happens When Two Languages Share the Same Stone? Greek-Latin Contact and Identities in Southern Italian Epitaphs

Table 1. *Leiwo's typology of Greek and Latin contact in the inscriptions*¹

A. L/G or G/L	B. L G or G L	C. L+G or G+L	D. L-G or G-L	E. Lg or Gl	F. LGmorph or GLmorph
Inscriptions which have the same text written in two languages. 'These are usually verbatim translations'	Texts which have almost the same information in both languages. In such cases cultural distinctions in language use are observed by the writer of the text	Inscriptions which have two clearly different texts written in different languages. Inter-sentential switch. The reasons for the code-switching are usually socio-linguistic as the languages used have different functional distributions	Inscriptions which have two clearly different segments written in different languages. Intra- or intersentential code-switching ³	Latin in Greek characters or Greek in Latin characters. The use of Greek or Latin letters could be due to the person who wanted the inscription engraved and the stonecutter being unfamiliar with Greek or Latin characters ²	Morphological code-mixing, <i>i.e.</i> isolated foreign grammatical elements in an otherwise Latin or Greek text
G. LGphon or GLphon	H. LGgraph or GLgraph	I. LGlex or GLlex	J. LGtrans or GLtrans	K. Lf or Gf	
Phonological code-mixing, <i>i.e.</i> isolated foreign phonological elements in an otherwise Latin or Greek text	Graphic and orthographic code-mixing, <i>i.e.</i> isolated foreign graphic elements (letters or symbols) or wrong orthographic distribution in an otherwise Latin or Greek text	Nonces and tag-switches	Translation and transference. Words of the source language (SL) are translated to form new, but not typical, words in TL	An abbreviated formula from another language	

¹ M. LEIWO, "From Contact to Mixture: Bilingual Inscriptions from Italy", in J.N. ADAMS, M. JANSE & S. SWAIN (ed.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 168-194.

² M. LEIWO, *ibid.*, p. 178, rejects the interpretation proposed by I. KAJANTO, "Minderheiten und ihre Sprachen in der Hauptstadt Rom", in G. NEUMANN & J. UNTERMANN (ed.), *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit*, Köln, 1980 (*Bonner Jahrbücher. Beihefte*, 40), p. 96. Kajanto's argument is that the use of the Greek alphabet reflects an "ideological Greekness."

³ M. LEIWO, *ibid.*, p. 177, favours the use of the term 'code-switching' over 'code-mixing', on the grounds that 'code-mixing' describes a situation in which the structures are not separate.

Table 2. Adam's typology of bilingual texts revised by Mullen⁴

Adams (2003)	1. <i>Bilingual texts</i>	2. <i>Texts implicitly reflecting bilingual situations</i>	3. <i>Mixed-language texts</i>	4. <i>Transliterated</i>
	Two separate parts in different languages and 'a content which is usually, at least in part, common to both' ⁵	'An "implicitly bilingual" text is on the face of it in a single language, but there is reason to think that another language played a part in its formation' ⁶	Texts showing any form of code-switching <i>or</i> code-mixing	Composed in language A, but the script is that of language B
Revised	1. <i>Bi- (/ tri-) version bi- (/ tri-) lingual texts</i>	2. <i>Texts displaying bilingual phenomena</i>	3. <i>Mixed-language texts</i>	4. <i>Transliterated texts</i>
	As above (plus specification of number of versions and languages)	Composed in language A, but showing interference/code-switching/borrowing from language B	3a Written in genetically mixed languages <i>or</i> 3b codes that are so mixed that it is impossible to identify the dominant language	As above. Can involve <i>texts displaying bilingual phenomena or bi-version bilingual texts</i>

Table 3. Tozzi's typology of the forms of bilingualism⁷

Tozzi (2019)	1. <i>Parallel bilingual texts</i>	2. <i>Juxtaposed bilingual texts</i>	3. <i>Texts in one language containing lexical elements from another</i>	4. <i>Transliterated texts</i>
	"Bilingual" inscriptions in the strict sense, <i>i.e.</i> two identical texts, one of which is a translation of the other, or two similar texts with minor additions or slight variations in one of the two versions	Two different texts, one in Greek and the other in Latin, juxtaposed in various ways on the same medium (<i>e.g.</i> , funeral dedications in prose, usually in Latin, associated with an epigram, usually in Greek)	A text in Latin that includes one or more isolated words or an entire expression in Greek, or vice versa (<i>e.g.</i> , texts in only one of the two languages, but within which there are ritual expressions or technical terms belonging to the other linguistic code)	Texts in Latin written entirely or partly in the Greek alphabet (in some cases these are also isolated letters) or, much less frequently, Greek texts written in the Latin alphabet

⁴ A. MULLEN, "Introduction: Multiple languages, multiple identities", in A. MULLEN & P. JAMES (ed.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge, 2012, p. 16 (= *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean: Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods*, Cambridge, 2013, p. 84).

⁵ J.N. ADAMS, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 30.

⁶ J.N. ADAMS & S. SWAIN, "Introduction", in J.N. ADAMS, M. JANSE & S. SWAIN (ed.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 2.

⁷ G. TOZZI, "Epigrafi bilingui a Roma. Traduzione, compresenza e trascrizioni tra greco e latino", *Axon* 3.2 (2019), p. 414-415.

Table 4. Mullen's typology of texts reflecting bi/multilingualism⁸

1. <i>Bi-version bilingual texts</i>	2. <i>Texts with bilingual phenomena</i>	3. <i>Mixed-language texts</i>
Two separate parts in different languages and a content which is usually, at least in part, common to both: a. Duplicating - same content in each version b. Partial - versions say partly the same thing, but one says more c. Overlapping - versions say different things, but part of it is the same in both d. Complementary - versions say different things, but part of the same text	Composed in one language but showing bilingual phenomena from another: a. Code-switching - ‘full blown switch from one language into another’ (Adams 2003, p. 19): • tag-switching - switch for e.g. a formula such as VSLM • inter-sentential - between sentence/clause boundaries • intra-sentential (lexical, syntactic, morphological, phonetic) - within sentence/clause boundaries b. Interference (lexical, syntactic, morphological, phonetic) -	In genetically mixed languages or codes that are so mixed that it is impossible to identify the dominant language
4. <i>Translingual texts</i>	5. <i>Biscriptal texts</i>	6. <i>Transliterated texts</i>
Different from <i>Text with bilingual phenomena</i> : translingualism, as the whole text would be translingual	Same language but using two script systems	Whole text is in a script which is not the primary one used for that language
7. <i>Texts with biscriptal phenomena</i>	a. Graphic interference - (‘accidental’) letter forms/orthographic rules/orthographic features from the script with which the author is more familiar intrude into the script of the text b. Transliteration - either by choice or because author doesn’t know the other script of another language being used c. Graphic borrowing/code-switching - when a script form is used from another set used to write a different language, for example to represent a sound in a name	

⁸ A. MULLEN, *Bilingualism in Digital Epigraphy* [Online], 2023, available at: <https://latinnow.eu/2023/09/22/bilingualism-in-digital-epigraphy/> (= "Appendix 1. Texts Reflecting Bi/multilingualism", in A. MULLEN & A. WILLI (ed.), *Latinization, Local Languages, and Literacies in the Roman West*, Oxford, 2024, p. 413-415).

Table 5. Tituli sepulcrales

	Place & Date	Content	Translation	Ref.
1. Cleon's epitaph	Spinazzola, 1 st c. BC–AD	[- - -] / [KλÉ]ωνος / [ιατροῦ ἀγρ]ὸς οἰκία κτῆ/[πος τ]άφος // [C(ai) Ma?]ici C(ai) l(i)berti / Cleonis medi/[ci ager do]mus hortus sepulchrum et / reliqua omnia secum / [- - -]ia P(ubli) l(i)berta) Haline coniu(n)x / vivit	[(Monument of) - - -] Cleon the physician. (There is) a field, a house, a garden and a tomb. [(Monument of) C. Ma?]icius Cleon, the physician, freedman of Catus. (There is) a field, a mai sonnette, a garden, a tomb and all that remains with him. [- - -]ia Haline, freedwoman of Publius, her wife, lives.	SEG 33, 759 Suppl. It. 20, no. 46
2. Heraklas'	Brindisi, 1 st c. AD	Herac las / Heraclidu / Alexandreus / vixit an(nis) L h(ic) s(itus) Ἡρακλᾶς / Ἡρακλίδου / Ἀλεξανδρεὺς / vixit an(nis) L h(ic) s(itus)	Heraklas of Alexandria, son of Heraklidos, lived fifty years. He lies here.	CIL IX, 6101 IG XIV, 678 IG Puglia, no. 51
3. Iulia Gemella's	Pozzuoli, 2 nd c. AD	D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae Gemellae / co(n)iugi / sanctissimae et incomparabili / quae vixit ann(os) XXXII me(n)s(es) V / peperit XVIII Philadelphus / maritus merenti // τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν αἰὼν λαλήσει	To the Manes. To Iulia Gemella, wife who is beyond reproach and has no equal, who lived thirty-two years and five months, who gave birth eighteen times. Her husband, Philadelphus, (erected this monument) for her who deserves (it). Posterity will speak of your soul.	CIL X, 2597 IG XIV, 843
4. L. Pullidius Phoebianus'	Pietradefusi, 2 nd –3 rd c. AD	D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Pullidio Phoe/biano Seppia Iusti/na coniugi incompa/rabili cum quo / vixit annis XLII / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit) // Amanti men/dax vale // Amanti γαῖρε	To the Manes. To Lucius Pullidius Phoebianus. Seppia Iustina (made this) for a husband with no equal with whom she lived forty-two years. She erected (this monument) for a well-deserving man. My love, liar: farwell. My love: <i>adieu!</i>	CIL IX, 2015

Place & Date	Content	Translation	Ref.
5.1. Lucius Pullidius Phoebianus' epitaph	Pozzuoli, 2 nd c. AD Ἀορίηλι(ο)ς Ὀσπιτιανός / Ἰούλιος Σερήνος / Ἰολίε Ζοσκοροῦτι / κούε βεῖξιτ ἀννίς / XVIII δης VI βενεν / μερεντι ποσουηρο(ντ) <i>Aureli(u)s (H)ospitianus / Iulius Serenus / Iuli(a)e Dioscoruti / qu(a)e vixit annis / XVIII dies VI bene{n} / merenti posueru(nt)</i>	Aurelius Hospitianus and Iulius Serenus for Iulia Dioscorutis, who lived eighteen years and six days. They erected (this monument) for her who is well-deserving.	CIL X, 2145 IG XIV, 844
5.2. Aurelius Impetratus' epitaph	Sorrento, 2 nd –3 rd c. AD Δε(ις) Μ(ανίβους) / Αορηλιους / Ινπετρατους / β(ετερανους) κ(λασσίς) Μ(ισηνενσις) βεῖξ(ιτ) ανο(ς) / ν' μηξες ζ' δει(ες) η' / κοζους ιμβεια Ευρηνα μαριτο βενε / μερεντι φη/κετ <i>D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius / Impetratus / (v)(eteranus) c(lassis) M(isenensis) (v)ixit an(n)o(s) / L me(n)ses VI di(es) VIII co(n)uix in(p)ia Irena marito bene / merenti fe/cit</i>	To the Manes. Aurelius Impetratus, veteran of the Misenean fleet, lived fifty years, six months, and eight days. His wife, Eirena, who failed in her duty, raised (this monument) for a husband who well deserved it.	CIL X, 719 IG XIV, 698
6. Fabia Sperata's and Sallustis Agathocles' epitaph	Reggio Calabria, 2 nd –3 rd c. AD D(is) M(anibus) / Fabia Sperata / Sallustis / A(g)athocles / o cae Ro[d]i]os / ἀτοῖς ἐπό[η]σαν	To the Manes. Fabia Sperata and Sallustis Agathocles, also known as “the Rhodian”, have erected (this monument) for themselves.	CIL X, 11 IG XIV, 626 IG Reggio Calabria, no. 38

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