

**DiaLing-activiteiten**  
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**MuMiL-EU: Multilingualism and Minority Languages in Ancient Europe**  
**Prof. dr. Mark Janse**

The present Collaborative Research Project aims at shedding light upon some very important defining features of past and modern European identity, such as multilingualism, languages in contact and the various types of cultural interaction involved, as well as prestige and 'transnational' languages and their impact on minority languages. These features are often perceived as a typical problem of contemporary Europe, linked to globalization and recent migrations, rather than a constitutive part of our identity since its foundation. However, the most ancient written documents found in the European continent already show traces of multilingualism and intense language contact, both in areas under the authority of a single and cohesive national power, such as the Hellenistic kingdoms or the Roman Empire, and in regions at the boundary between two or more nations or populations, such as ancient Phrygia and Anatolia at large, North-Western Greece and the Balkans, plus most areas of pre-Roman and Roman Southern Italy. One of the main problems is that in antiquity transnational and prestige languages such as Greek and Latin tended to replace in writing various local languages, which as a consequence are poorly attested and are usually classified as Restsprachen. Each of the five Research Units will focus on different aspects of multilingualism in Ancient Europe, especially by studying specific poorly documented minority languages and/or exploring different types of language contact. As a result, various superficially studied or unpublished documents written in Phrygian, Lydian, different dialects of Ancient Greek, Latin, Messapic and Cappadocian Greek will be edited, commented upon and examined in their historical context. At a more general level, each Research Unit will reflect, both with regard to its specific field and in cooperation with the other Units, on the sociolinguistic dynamics underlying the new philological, linguistic, historical and cultural data that will be disclosed during the project, in order to achieve a better understanding of the linguistic and cultural identities of nowadays Europe. As a matter of fact, a more complete picture of multilingualism in the Ancient European territory will allow to realize to what extent such European distinctive (and enriching) features as contact among languages and integration of cultures, as well as the concepts of inclusion, multiple identities and unity-in-diversity, are likely to reach back to a very ancient past - a kind of knowledge that can be used as a means for a more in-depth understanding of modern situations of language and culture contact.

**Asia Minor as a Linguistic Area:**  
**Greek-Turkish-Armenian Language Contacts and the Anatolian Substrate**  
**Isabelle de Meyer**

Three different varieties of Greek used to be spoken in Cappadocia (Turkish *Kapadokya*) until the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s: Cappadocian, Phrasiot and Lycaonian Greek. From the so-called "Cappadocian tablets", the earliest cuneiform records dating back to the beginning of the second millennium BC, we know that Cappadocia

has always been a multilingual and multicultural area, inhabited by Hatti, Hurrians, Hittites and Assyrians, and later by Phrygians, Persians, Greeks, Armenians, Turks and still others. Inevitably, the symbiosis of so many different peoples speaking languages belonging to different language families has left its traces on the Greek varieties spoken in Cappadocia. Watkins (2001) was the first to present evidence of ancient Asia Minor as a linguistic area (*Sprachbund*), focusing on the 2nd millennium BC. Bubeník (1989) lists a number of features which distinguish the Asia Minor Greek Koine from other varieties of Koine (Hellenistic) Greek. Many of these have been preserved in Cappadocian, Phrasiot and Lycaonian Greek, e.g. the preservation of the possessive adjectives *emós*, *sós* etc. (already on the decline in the Roman period, but prominently frequently used in the Gospel of John) and of the imperfect tense in *-(i)šk-* (attested in Hittite and, as an iterative formation, Homeric Greek). These varieties also have a number of grammatical features in common with Armenian, e.g. differential object marking (Janse 2004) and reduplication with fixed segmentism (Bağrıaçık & Janse 2015). Interestingly, differential object marking is also found in Turkish, which entered the area in the 11th century and has had a pervasive influence on both Greek and Armenian. The influence of Turkish on both the Asia Minor Greek dialects of Cappadocia and Armenian appears at all linguistic levels: phonology (e.g. vowel harmony), morphology (e.g. agglutinative inflections), syntax (e.g. SOV-type word order phenomena) and the lexicon (e.g. kinship terminology, cf. Janse 2015). The purpose of this part of the project is to study the Asia Minor linguistic area in Cappadocia during the Ottoman period (14th-20th century), with particular attention to the Asia Minor Greek dialects and the influence of the Anatolian substrate, the Armenian adstrate and the Turkish adstrate/superstrate, both in the grammar and in the lexicon. Careful attention will be paid to the social interactions and relations between the different speech communities, because they shed light on important societal questions which are still relevant today, such as language and identity, the relation between dominant/majority and dominated/minority languages, language death and language maintenance, and – last but not least - cultural and religious symbiosis. The Asia Minor Greeks of Cappadocia were (and still are) Orthodox Christians, a majority of whom had become monolingual Turkish-speakers in the course of the Ottoman period, whereas a minority were Greek-Turkish bilingual speakers, suggesting that religion was a stronger identity marker than language at one time. The cultural symbiosis of Greek Orthodox and Muslims produced utterances such as *Alláx Panayía mou* ‘Allah All-Holy [Mother Mary] of mine’. Asia Minor Greek was a dying variety in Cappadocia at the time of the exchange in the 1920s, even though it was not a dominated/minority language in most of the speech communities where it was spoken. After the exchange, Cappadocian, Phrasiot and Lycaonian Greek did become dominated/minority languages whose speakers were discriminated in their new fatherland (called *Ionanistán* instead of *Elláða*). Currently, there are no known speakers of Lycaonian Greek and only a few dozens of speakers of Phrasiot Greek left. Whereas most of the Cappadocian Greek speakers have shifted to Standard Modern Greek, one dialect (*Mišótika*) has survived to the present day and is even enjoying a temporary survival, suggesting that language has become an identity marker again at least for some Cappadocians. Present-day spoken Cappadocian and Phrasiot Greek, together with a limited number of descriptions from the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries are the only witnesses of the Asia Minor Greek dialects of Cappadocia spoken in the Ottoman period, literate Orthodox Christians in the area being exclusively Turkish-speaking (the so-called *Karamanlíðes*, who

wrote Turkish using the Greek alphabet). They constitute a unique corpus whose linguistic structures can be used to reconstruct the Asia Minor linguistic area in Cappadocia during the Ottoman period.

**Scribal Corrections and Language Variation and Change in Greek Documentary  
Papyri from Egypt (300 BCE – 800 CE)  
Dr Joanne Stolk**

After the conquest of Alexander the Great in the fourth century BCE, Greek becomes the main written language in Egypt until the seventh century CE. Many of the changes between Classical Greek and Modern Greek start to develop during this time. However, language change is not always easy to trace in written documents because people tried to write in an old-fashioned standard language. Greek documentary papyri from Egypt provide an important, but largely unexplored, source for linguistic study. They are preserved over a large period of time (300 BCE – 800 CE) and they cover various topics: from administrative and juridical texts to business notes and private letters. The papyri preserve a special type of information which has not been studied before: corrections made by ancient scribes. This project aims to identify changes in the language by analyzing scribal ‘errors’ and their corrections. What were the norms that these writers were trying to follow? Does the standard change over time? Did Greek scribes understand the standard language in a different way than we do?

**A multidisciplinary analysis of non-literary Latin texts from Roman Britain  
Francesca Cotugno**

In this paper I will discuss the provisional results of the analysis of the non-literary texts from Roman Britain, namely Londinium-Bloomberg, Vindolanda, Carlisle, defixiones and other stylus and ink written tablets found in different areas of this province.

The materials available offer an insight on the writers’ performance when dealing with the graphic codification of spoken language in the different areas of Roman Britain and in a temporal span of four centuries, from the Londinium tablets (50-80 CE) to the defixionum tabellae (3rd-4th century CE). For this reason, the diachronic and the diatopic aspects have been investigated since we are dealing with different levels of Latinization in different areas of this province and different periods, all of which are linked by a socio-cultural milieu. Sociolinguistic analyses can provide information on the multiple identities and cultural contacts through linguistic features.

These texts have been investigated and reviewed from a multidisciplinary approach drawing upon palaeography, linguistics and history, pinpointing phonological variations.

The originality of this project consists in collecting the data in one edition, followed by the linguistic analysis and the palaeographic revision. This will allow the creation of a diasystem containing meta-textual, extra-linguistic and linguistic data which are going to be digitalized, showing how and with what magnitude these phonological features change through space and time.